

Shogun and Samurai

Tales of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu

by

Okanoya Shigezane
(1835-1919)

Translated and Edited

by

Andrew and Yoshiko Dykstra

Shogun and Warlords

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Acknowledgement

We appreciate our friends, including Professor Paul Varley of the University of Hawaii, Professor George Hlawatsch, and Professor Richard Swingle of the Kansai Gaidai University, who read our translations and gave us many precious suggestions.

The translation is based on the texts appearing in *Meishôgenkôroku* by Okanoya Shigezane (1835-1919), Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1943. In translation, we placed family names first in the Japanese style. All the story titles and the information in the brackets and parentheses are supplied by the translators. Diacritics are deleted in popular place-names including Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Kanto, Honshu, Kyushu. The glossary contains main terms related to the stories. For dates and years, the Gregorian calendar is used in place of the old Japanese way of calculation, as in 1596 for the first year of Keichô.

Most of the illustrations come from the *Ehon Taikôki* written by Takeuchi Kakusai and illustrated by Okada Gyokusan (1797-1802) but was banned in 1804. The translators, Andrew H. Dykstra was Provost Emeritus of the Kansai Gaidai Hawaii College, Hawaii, and Yoshiko K. Dykstra, Professor of the Kansai Gaidai University, Osaka, Japan

The Background of the work and the author

”I will kill the cuckoo if it does not sing,” said Nobunaga. “I will make the cuckoo sing,” said Hideyoshi, and “I will wait until the cuckoo sings,” said Ieyasu. These three views on a cuckoo tersely describe the personalities and characteristics of the three lords who survived the warring period in sixteenth and seventeenth century Japan, and are the main protagonists of this book, *Shogun and Warlords*.

A general view is: Oda Nobunaga¹ took the first step to unify warring Japan; Toyotomi Hideyoshi took over and attained Nobunaga’s half-achieved ambition, the unification of Japan; and Tokugawa Ieyasu assumed the position of the first Shogun of the Tokugawa Shogunate to rule a unified Japan. The well-systematized new Shogunate succeeded in maintaining peace through more than two hundred and sixty years until the black ships of Commodore Perry appeared at Shimoda in 1853.

This book, *Shogun and Warlords*, is based on the *Meishôgenkôroku*², *The Records of the Sayings and Conduct of Famous Lords* by Okanoya Shigezane, a book that includes tales, anecdotal accounts, and episodes of one hundred and twenty-nine lords from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, beginning with Lord Hôjô Sôun. What was the purpose of Shigezane’s work? His introduction states, “As I read the recent historical writings, the detailed accounts of the conduct and sayings of past famous lords have been recorded variously and have greatly benefited the people. However, unfortunately, these accounts are

¹ Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582) , Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉(1536-1598) , Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1542-1616)

² Meishogenkoroku 名将言行録 by Okanoya Shigezane 岡谷繁実 contains one hundred and ninety-two lords and generals’ short biographical tales divided into seventy one maki., and first published in thirty maki in 1871, and later in seventy maki in 1896 which were given to Itou Hirobumi 伊藤博文 and other

scattered, and it is difficult to obtain a body of information and materials for each lord. Above all, some information is repetitious and erroneous. So I decided to take notes and quotations from miscellaneous sources and compile my own work to help the serious readers. Since then, I have researched and written down all important information that I found on each lord when reading. Since my own library is not enough, I have borrowed books and used others' libraries as I expanded my work, which has become quite a strenuous toil. . .”

The names and the titles of the books and writings to which he refers in his work amount to a total of 1252 including various chronicles, biographies, diaries, and family and clan records as well as lost accounts of battles, revolts, incidents, and events. As Shigezane also mentions in his introduction, “Rather than describing the career of each lord, his behavior, conduct and words are the main features” of this work. Shigezane describes when and how certain actions were taken and orders were issued, and gives the reasons for the deeds and the words of the lords involved. Each story, written in the mixed *kanji* and *kana* style, is short and anecdotal, but conveys pin-point views of the protagonists involved. Shigezane began his work at about the age of nineteen in 1854, and finished in 1869. The work was first published in 1871 in thirty *maki* (volumes).

The present book, *Shogun and Warlords*, includes 164 tales of the three prominent warlords, Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu, who distinguished themselves in the chaotic warfare of sixteenth century Japan. The tales describe these lords in terms of their human relationships with colleagues, vassals, and subjects, including retainers and servants. Even when the author's biased views are discounted, these tales contribute to understanding the

contemporary intellectuals in appreciation of the meritorious deeds of the past samurai lords.

life and times of the three lords, and also help us to grasp how and why they distinguished themselves by overcoming odds and predicaments in very difficult situations.

Today, many Japanese businessmen read Shigezane's work to find hints and ideas to improve relationships with their employees, colleagues, and business associates. The work's tales convey certain values still held by the Japanese, who enjoy the most high-tech life in the world.

Let us briefly survey these three lords' careers in relation to the tales in *Shogun and Warlords*. Tales 1 and 2 of Nobunaga and tale 1 of Ieyasu in *Shogun and Warlords* clearly tell how they were already perceptive and analytical in their youth, and quite distinct from other children of their age.

Different from the two who were born in traditional samurai lordly families, Hideyoshi was the son of a lowly, landless foot soldier. However, with the wit and talents described in tales 2 and 3 of Hideyoshi, he successfully climbed the political ladder to the position of Regent of the country. What was the condition of Japan when such a lowly man could climb to heights even higher than the position of Shogun?

In 1467, the Ônin War³ began in Kyoto, involving the Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa, his younger brother Yoshimi, and his son Yoshihisa, as well as the two families of the

³ Ônin War 応仁の乱(1467-1477): The conflict over their inheritance among Ashikaga Shogun Yoshimasa's 足利善政 younger brother, Yoshimi 義視, and his son, Yoshihisa 義尚, and the two supporting families loyal to the Ashikaga Shogunate, the Hatakeyama 畠山 and the Shiba 斯波, triggered a greater fight between Hosokawa Katsumoto 細川勝元 (leading the Eastern army) and Yamana Sôzen 山名宗全 (leading the Western army) which devastated the city of Kyoto over the span of ten years. As a result, the Ashikaga Shogunate lost political power while the traditional *shôen* (manor system) collapsed, and local military magnates became prominent as they developed into *sengoku* 戦国 warring daimyo who expanded their territories. The Yamana was a prosperous family in the Muromachi Period once controlling eleven provinces in the Chûgoku Area. Yamana Sôzen (1404-73), nicknamed the "Red Monk", was one of the protagonists in the Ônin War. For the background of the war, see Varley, pp.123-135; for the causes of the war, see Yoshimura, pp.67-102; for the effect of the war on the people in Kyoto, see Kobayashi, pp.1-31.

Hatakeyama and the Shiba, who competed for inheritance rights. Eventually the conflict developed into further struggles between two great families, the Hosokawa and Yamana. By the time the fighting ended in 1477, the capital was devastated and the suzerainty of the Ashikaga Shogunate had declined while the local daimyo acquired power, and eventually a trend termed *gekokujiô*, the lower supplanting the higher, became prominent as in Hideyoshi's case.

Under these circumstances, those who acquired power by conquering their weaker neighbors wished to go up to the capital to obtain Imperial approval for their political hegemony. Among such ambitious lords, Nobunaga was the first who had the aspiration to unify warring Japan.

Oda Nobunaga:

Born as the second son of Oda Nobuhide in Owari Province, Nobunaga's youthful name was Kippôshi, as related in tales 1 and 2. He was a wild and uncontrollable youth, paying little heed to the governance of his domains. The Oda family elder, Hirate Masahide, feeling responsible for Nobunaga's wild behavior, committed suicide as a remonstrance. Moved by Masahide's devotion, Nobunaga reformed himself, as described in tales 3 and 4. His strong concern and attachment to Masahide is tersely described in tale 33.

Despite Nobunaga's extraordinary appearance, a certain foreign Christian missionary appraised him, saying, "He was tall, slender, and delicate in constitution and did not seem able to survive misfortunes. Yet his mind and spirit were strong enough to compensate for his physical weakness. I have never met a man with a greater sense of honor than he." The Nobunaga's extraordinary appearance deceived his enemies is clearly

described in tale 5. Tales 6 and 7 tell how cunning and shrewd Nobunaga was in weakening the power of his future enemy, Saitô Dôsan,⁴ by using his wife, who was Dôsan's daughter.

Succeeding his father in 1549 at the age of 15, Nobunaga defeated the powerful army of Imagawa Yoshimoto at Okehazama in 1560. In his dealings with the Imagawa, whom he destroyed, the treacherous Nobunaga is described in tales 8 and 9. Subsequently he attacked the Saitô in Mino Province in 1564, and moved to Inabayama Castle which had belonged to the Saitô. It remained his headquarters until he moved to Azuchi Castle in 1576. Before this, Emperor Ôgimachi⁵ and Ashikaga Yoshiaki⁶ had secretly asked Nobunaga to restore peace in the country. He attacked the Rokkaku in Ômi Province, took their Kannonji Castle, and entered the capital of Kyoto unopposed in 1568. His relationship with the Emperor and his activities in the capital are described in tale 13.

Nobunaga then controlled Yamashiro, Kawachi, and Izumi Provinces. Yoshiaki was made Shogun and Nobunaga was rewarded. Loyal to the Emperor, he contributed large funds for the upkeep of the Imperial Court and ordered that the Imperial Court nobles' estates confiscated by warlords be returned to their original owners. He also had a mansion built for Shogun Yoshiaki in Kyoto.

As tale 11 tells us, Nobunaga made peace with Tokugawa Ieyasu, and together they

⁴ Saitô Toshimasa Dôsan 齊藤利政道三(1494-1556): A former priest and oil merchant, Dôsan murdered Nagai Nagahiro who had protected him. He made war against Oda Nobuhide 織田信秀(Nobunaga's father), and had his daughter marry Nobunaga. When his adopted son, Yoshitatsu, challenged him, he went to war and was killed.

⁵ During the time of Emperor Ogimachi 正親町天皇 (1517-1593) , Nobunaga and Hideyoshi were active in the unification of Japan. At the age of 70 the emperor abdicated in favor of his grandson, Gôyozei 後陽成 (r.1567-1611).

⁶ Ashikaga Yoshiaki 足利義照, also called Kôgen'in (1537-1597) took the tonsure, but later was assisted by Nobunaga, and became the fifteenth Ashikaga Shogun. Later due to a conflict against Nobunaga, he was expelled from Kyoto, finally was aided by Hideyoshi , and died in Osaka. For the relation of Nobunaga and Yoshiaki, see Berry, PP. 41-44.

attempted to subdue Asakura Yoshikage⁷, a warlord in Echizen, but were unsuccessful owing to the intervention of Asai Nagamasa⁸. Nobunaga's attack on the militant priests of Mt. Hiei in 1571 appears in tale 16. Setting their temples on fire, Nobunaga's forces almost annihilated the priest-soldiers. He gave Akechi Mitsuhide⁹, one of his vassals, rice fields in Sakamoto at the foot of Mt. Hiei, and ordered him to build a castle there to prevent any possible future rebellion by the priests. He defeated the combined forces of Asai and Asakura in 1573, as described in tale 15.

Meanwhile, Shogun Yoshiaki was resentful after Nobunaga rebuked him for neglecting his duties, as is partially described in tale 17. With the assistance of Takeda Shingen, lord of Kai Province, the Shogun attempted to get rid of Nobunaga. Nobunaga besieged the mansion of the Shogun at Nijō in Kyoto in 1573. Although a temporary peace was concluded, Nobunaga finally drove Shogun Yoshiaki from Kyoto and became the virtual ruler of Japan.

Tales 21 and 22 involve the Battle of Nagashino¹⁰ in which the combined forces of Nobunaga and Ieyasu defeated Takeda Katsuyori, son of Shingen, at Nagashino in 1575. In

⁷ Asakura Yoshikage 朝倉義景 (1533-73) sided with Asai Nagamasa at the Battle of Anegawa and killed himself in 1573 when under siege in Ichijogatani.

⁸ Asai Nagamasa 浅井長政(1545-1573): A son of Hisamasa. Nagamasa married Nobunaga's sister, Oichinokata, and defeated Rokkaku Yoshitaka and Saitō Tatsuoki. Nagamasa then joined the Asakura and the monks of Mount Hiei in an alliance against Nobunaga, and was defeated at the Battle of Anegawa in 1570. [N: 15] A truce was concluded, but hostilities broke out again in 1573 when Nobunaga besieged him in Odani. Finally Nagamasa entrusted his family to Nobunaga and committed suicide. His eldest daughter, Yodogimi (Lady Yodo), married Hideyoshi, and the second daughter married Kyōgoku Takatsugu. The third daughter married Tokugawa Hidetada and was the mother of the third Tokugawa Shogun, Iemitsu. For the Asai and the Asakura, see, Suzuki, pp.64-67.

⁹ Akechi Mitsuhide 明智光秀(1526-82): Mitsuhide began to serve Nobunaga in 1566, and received the fief of Sakamoto in Ōmi Province in 1571. In 1582 he attacked Nobunaga at the Honnōji Temple in Kyoto. With Nobunaga dead, Mitsuhide assumed the reins of government for thirteen days, but was soon defeated by Hideyoshi at the Battle of Yamasaki.

¹⁰ Nagashino 長篠 is at the confluence of the Kana and Ure Rivers in the eastern part of Aichi Prefecture where the allied force of Nobunaga and Ieyasu defeated Takeda Katsuyori 武田勝頼 by using new weapons, arquebuses, in 1575. For the battle, see Berry, p. 62,

1576, Nobunaga ordered Niwa Nagahide, lord of Wakayama Castle, to build a fine castle at Azuchi. In Kyoto, he had Nijô Castle built for himself. It was later donated to the Imperial Court¹¹. Before this, priest-soldiers in Kaga Province were brought under control and those in Saiga in Kii Province swore allegiance to Nobunaga. Tale 26 introduces an interesting episode about Nobunaga and the Negoro monks¹² in Kii Province.

As narrated in tale 25, Nobunaga defeated Matsunaga Hisahide by burning his Shiki Castle, and destroyed the Hatano in Tanba Province. The Court made him Minister of the Right in 1576. Nobunaga ordered Kyoto townsmen to build walls for the Imperial Palace. He commissioned Toyotomi Hideyoshi to subjugate the Môri in the Chûgoku Area and Shibata Katsue to control the Hokuriku Area along the Sea of Japan.

When Ieyasu visited Nobunaga at Azuchi Castle in 1582, Nobunaga made Akechi Mitsuhide head of the reception committee. Dissatisfied with Mitsuhide's preparations for the reception, Nobunaga relieved him of the task and ordered him to participate in the Chûgoku campaign. Mitsuhide, chagrined, threw all the food and utensils he had prepared for entertaining Ieyasu into the castle moat and returned to Sakamoto. On the following day, May 29, Nobunaga started from Azuchi with his son Nobutada to assist Hideyoshi in Chûgoku. He entered Kyoto and put up at the Honnôji Temple. On June 1, Mitsuhide started for Kyoto from Sakamoto with his troops. When they came to the Katsura River near Kyoto,

¹¹ For the relation between Nobunaga and the Imperial court, see, Wakita, pp.39-60.

¹² Warrior-monks of the Negoroji Temple 根来寺 of Kii Province who excelled in military arts including the knowledge of newly imported guns (see Berry, p.252n26), and fought against the Kongôbuji Temple, the main headquarters of the Shingon Sect of Mount Koya. Popularly called the Negoroshû (Negoro People), they numbered 8,000 to 10,000. During the years of Nobunaga's rise to power, these monk-soldiers of the Negoroji achieved their own reputation for skill in the use of firearms. The Negoro Monks fought against Nobunaga in the Battle of Ishiyama Honganji. Later together with the Saiga, the Negoro Monks fought against Hideyoshi who burnt their temple in 1585. In the Edo Period, many of them were hired by various daimyo for their knowledge of gunnery. For the warrior priests and the Ikkô-ikki 一向一揆 revolts, see Suzuki,

he made the famous declaration to his men, “Our enemy is in the Honnôji Temple!”

On June 2, Mitsuhide’s troops surrounded the temple. Nobunaga fought with bow and arrows and spears, and finally killed himself in a blazing temple room. Thus Nobunaga ended his life abruptly without succeeding in his ambition to unify Japan.¹³

Not only a genius in military tactics, Nobunaga was an a statesman as he explains in “The Way of a Great General” by criticizing his inferior son, Nobutada, in tale 32. (Just as if he had apprehended his son’s lack of ingenuity as a great general, Nobunaga, in his tale, criticized his son who could not help him at the critical moments of his death).

His fair way of governing a province is well described in tale 20.¹⁴ Though no idealist, he was farsighted enough to envision distant future developments. He knew that Emperor worship was the best guiding principle for national unification and always upheld the contemporary Emperor as is shown in tale 13. His strong effort to restore peace in the chaotic capital where the Emperor resided is depicted in tale 28.

He adopted the policy of protecting Christians to check the growth of Buddhism, and tales 16 and 30 narrate his strong antagonism toward the traditional Buddhist establishment. In economic affairs, he encouraged free market practices in preference to the system of *za* (guilds). He told Shibata Katsue¹⁵ not to collect taxes from barriers and marketplaces in tale 20. His Azuchi Castle illustrates an epoch in castle planning and architecture in Japan. The many paintings and art objects in the castle were specimens

pp.107-122.

¹³ For Nobunaga’s last moments in the Honnôji Temple called Honnôji no hen 本能寺の変, see Wakita, pp.167-71, and Suzuki, pp.172-184.-

¹⁴ For Nobunaga’s economic and governing policies in rural and urban areas, see Wakita , pp.82-125.

¹⁵ Shibata Katsue 柴田勝家 (1530-83): A loyal follower of Nobunaga. In 1570 Katsue was entrusted with the defense of Chôkôji Castle. He remained loyal to the Oda Family after the Toyotomi takeover, but his army under Sakuma was defeated

heralding the gorgeous Momoyama Epoch.

His moralistic views, including his appreciation of filial piety, are related in tale 25 in which he protects the honor of his enemy's son. Tale 24 narrates Nobunaga's clever use of psychology by stimulating the human foibles, greed and desire, of the enemy general, Kageie, who was finally led to his destruction.

Hideyoshi criticized Nobunaga's personality in tale 20 of Hideyoshi, saying, ". . . Once someone was against him, he would never forget nor forgive, and attacked to extinction all their relations. . . That was the cause of Akechi Mitsuhide revolt against him." This observation tersely reflects Nobunaga's harsh and quick-tempered character as revealed in the popular saying about a cuckoo, "I will kill the cuckoo if it does not sing."

Although he ended his life without attaining his ambition of unifying Japan, his successor, Hideyoshi accomplished this because he took over where Nobunaga left off.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi:

A brilliant strategist and shrewd politician, Hideyoshi finally completed the unification of Japan begun by his master, Nobunaga. At birth, Hideyoshi was called Hiyoshimaru. Later his name was changed to Tōkichirō, the family name being Kinoshita. In 1558, on entering Nobunaga's service, he was called Kochiku; in 1562, he changed his family name, Kinoshita, to Hashiba. In 1585 he was appointed Imperial Regent (*kanpaku*); in 1587 he was appointed grand minister of state and was given the family name Toyotomi. Hideyoshi is popularly known as *Taikō*, the honorary title for a retired *kanpaku*.

Hideyoshi was born in 1537 (or 1536) at Nakamura in Owari Province, the son of

at Shizugatake. Katsuie withdrew to Kitanoshō of Echizen Province and killed himself.

Kinoshita Yaemon, a foot soldier in the service of Oda Nobuhide, the father of Nobunaga. Tales 1 and 2 tell of his youthful life until he met Nobunaga. In 1558, Hideyoshi presented himself to Nobunaga, who quickly took a liking to him as described in tale 3 and nicknamed him Saru, Monkey, as told in tale 6.

At the time, in the struggle for military hegemony, the army of Imagawa Yoshimoto¹⁶, lord of Mikawa, Tôtômi, and Suruga Provinces, was advancing on Kyoto. But in his path lay the lands of Nobunaga, who defeated him in the battle of Okehazama in 1560.¹⁷ By mid-1573 Nobunaga was firmly established in central Honshu, having destroyed his brother-in-law, Asai Nagamasa (whose daughter, Yodogimi, was to become Hideyoshi's favorite concubine), and his erstwhile ally, Asakura Yoshikage. The Asai lands in Ômi Province were given to Hideyoshi. Tale 10 tells of Hideyoshi's clever tactic in a rearguard action to assist Nobunaga at the Battle of Anegawa (also see tale 16 of Nobunaga).

In 1575 Nobunaga was defeated in a naval battle in the Bay of Osaka by the combined forces of Mōri Terumoto and the temple-fortress of Nishiyama Honganji. Nobunaga retaliated by dispatching two armies, including one led by Hideyoshi, in a pincer movement aimed at subduing the Mōri home base in western Honshu. Hideyoshi took Himeyama Castle in 1577, the fortress of Tottori in Inaba Province in 1581, and Takamatsu Castle in Bitchû Province in 1582 by employing the novel tactic of flooding.

After Nobunaga was treacherously eliminated by Akechi Mitsuhide, Hideyoshi

¹⁶ Imagawa Yoshimoto 今川義元 (1519-60) was defeated by Oda Nobuhide 織田信秀 (Nobunaga's father) at Azukizaka in 1542, but still controlled Mikawa, Tôtômi, and Owari Provinces. In 1560 he moved into Owari Province, where he met the small force of Nobunaga at the decisive Battle of Okehazama, and was killed.

¹⁷ Okehazama 桶狭間 is in the north of Chita District of Owari Province (present Arimatsu in Midori-ku, Nagoya City) where Nobunaga destroyed Imagawa Yoshimoto by a sudden attack in 1560. For the Battle of Okehaama, see Wakita, pp. 15-19

defeated Akechi in the Battle of Yamazaki on July 2, 1582. Hideyoshi at 45 became master of Ômi, Harima, Yamashiro, Tanba, and Kawachi Provinces. Then, by defeating Shibata Katsuei at Shizugatake (refer to tales 22 and 23), he annexed Echizen, Kaga, Noto, and Etchû.

In 1584, after the Komaki-Nagakute campaign (refer to tale 26), he arrived at a settlement with Ieyasu, who had supported Oda Nobukatsu, Nobunaga's son. Tale 28 tells how Hideyoshi finally met Ieyasu in the capital. He then subdued all of Kii Province and destroyed the Buddhist organization of the Jôdo-shin sect (Ikkô-ikki revolt) of Saiga¹⁸ in that province. He proceeded to conquer the Chôsogabe Family of Shikoku. By the end of 1585, Hideyoshi, newly appointed *kampaku*, or Imperial Regent, could lay claim to all civil and military powers by authorization of the Emperor. In 1587 he extended his power in Kyushu, thwarting the aristocratic class. Hideyoshi's ambitions of the Shimazu family as described in tales 30 and 31.

On July 23, 1587, Hideyoshi issued an eleven-point edict denouncing Christianity and prohibiting forced conversion to that religion.¹⁹ In 1588 he carried out his famous sword hunt.²⁰ This reduced the likelihood of armed rebellion and separated the peasantry from the warrior's conquest of the northeast remained was barred by the Hôjô Family, who occupied the Kanto region. In 1590, Hideyoshi destroyed the allies of the Hôjô and besieged and forced the opening of Odawara Castle.

Odawara Castle capitulated on 12 August, 1590, and the Kanto Provinces were

¹⁸ For controlling the Ikkô-ikki revolts by Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, see Suzuki, pp.30-35

¹⁹ For Hideyoshi's policy against the Christians, see Owada, pp.137-142.

²⁰ For the sword hunting; see Suzuki, pp.101-107., see Owada, pp. 142-146.

reorganized. Tales 33 through 37 involve the incidents that occurred during Hideyoshi's attack on Odawara Castle. To remove Ieyasu from central Japan, Hideyoshi gave him the six Kanto Provinces in exchange for his former holdings in Mikawa, Tôtômi and Suruga as described in tale 38. In 1591, Hideyoshi crushed all resistance in the far north of Honshu.

The military unification of Japan was now complete; all territory belonged to Hideyoshi or to his vassals and a new feudal hierarchy had been established. His power is described in tale 43 in which Hideyoshi said about his escaped crane, “. . . I may have him back someday, since everything in this country is within my reach.” Also in the same tale, he said, “There may be someone in the world who betrays me, but no one will defeat me.” Once master of Japan, Hideyoshi in 1592 launched his first expedition to conquer Korea²¹, as seen in tale 42. The second expedition was abandoned after his death in 1598.

In his last years, especially after 1593, he seemed almost to have lost touch with reality around him. Two years earlier, his son, Tsurumaru, had died, and Hideyoshi had nominated his nephew, Toyotomi Hidetsugu, as his heir. After he had another son, Hideyori, he became convinced that Hidetsugu was plotting against him and ordered Hidetsugu to commit suicide. Tale 41 narrates how Hideyoshi despised Hidetsugu and called him a typical fool. Eventually during 1595, Hidetsugu's wife, consorts, and children, a total of thirty people were killed. Hideyoshi did this so that his two-year-old son Hideyori could become his unrivaled heir. Anxious for the future of his son, now his successor, he created a council of Five Great Elders (*Gotairô*) and made them swear allegiance to Hideyori. Tale 50 gives us

²¹ For Hideyoshi's Korean invasion; see Berry, pp. 207-217; Suzuki, pp.157-201: and for the effect on his government after the invasion, see Owada, pp.152-175.

a glimpse of Hideyoshi's private life with his beloved young son, Hideyori.

Hideyoshi also became increasingly fearful of Western interference in Japan's internal affairs, especially after the Spanish ship *San Felipe* was shipwrecked on the Japanese coast in 1596.²² Further irritated by the continuous bickering between the Jesuits and the Franciscans, Hideyoshi sentenced to death twenty-six Christians, the Twenty Six Martyrs of Nagasaki. Hideyoshi fell ill in the summer of 1598 and died on September 18, 1598.

His private letters²³ show him to have been open and affectionate, genial, and impatient with formality. He even showed atypical generosity toward his enemies as described in tales 14 and 20. His generosity in tales 50 and 52 is contrasted with Ieyasu's stinginess in Ieyasu's tales 66 and 67. In tale 51, Tentokuji says Hideyoshi was much more warm and open-hearted than his rivals, Shingen and Kenshin.²⁴ Tale 9 concludes, ". . . many heroic men wished to work under Hideyoshi." Such popularity and generosity helped make him able to unify all Japan.

Despite his grandiose plans for conquest abroad depicted in tale 12 and the megalomania of the last few years of his life revealed in tale 43, he is one of the great figures in Japanese history. His scheming, ingenuity, and cleverness in obtaining what he wanted are revealed in tales 4, 6, 7, 26, and 27. With all these superior qualities, it was certainly possible for him to make a cuckoo sing as the famous quotation says, "I will make the cuckoo sing."

Tokugawa Ieyasu:

²² In 1596 a Spanish ship, the *San Felipe* drifted to Urado of Tosa Province (Kôchi Prefecture). Hideyoshi confiscated the cargo. Because of the slanderous remarks of the Portuguese in Japan, Hideyoshi suspected a future Spanish invasion of Japan, and prohibited Christianity. The death of the Twenty-Six Martyrs of Nagasaki in 1597 was a result.

²³ For the English translation of Hideyoshi's 101 letters, see Boscaro, pp.1-86.

²⁴ For Shingen 信玄 and Kenshin 謙信 in the Battle of Kawanakajima, see Sasamoto, pp.58-76.

Tokugawa Ieyasu , outwitting many major contemporaries and outliving the rest, inherited what was left by Hideyoshi. He established the Tokugawa Shogunate to maintain peace in unified Japan.

Born Matsudaira Takechiyo in small Okazaki Castle in Mikawa Province, he was the first son of Matsudaira Hirotada. His mother, known to posterity as Odainokata, was the daughter of a neighboring warrior leader, Mizuno Tadamasa, of Kariya in Mikawa. Ieyasu spent his youth first as a captive of his father's enemy, the Oda Family, and then as a hostage to his father's eastern ally, the Imagawa, as described in tales 1 and 2 of Ieyasu. During this time he took the personal names Motonobu and then Motoyasu.²⁵

In 1561 Ieyasu, having recently gained independence from the Imagawa and taken control of his father's domains, abandoned his alliance with the Imagawa, allying himself with Oda Nobunaga. Tale 3 tells how Nobunaga was impressed with Ieyasu who tried to defend Ôtaka Castle. This action secured Ieyasu's western flank, and by 1568 his eastward expansion had made him master of Mikawa and Tôtômi Provinces. He had also changed his personal name to Ieyasu and had been permitted by Imperial order to substitute for Matsudaira the more ancient family name of Tokugawa.

In 1570 at Anegawa²⁶ near Lake Biwa, the Oda and Tokugawa forces combined to destroy two local warrior houses, the Asai and Asakura, in a decisive battle described in tale 15 of Nobunaga. From 1572 to 1582 Ieyasu gradually expanded his territorial grasp, fighting much of the time against the Takeda Family as told in tales 5 through 8. In 1572 the

²⁵ For the young Ieyasu and Imagawa Yoshimoto 今川義元、 see, Kitajima, 16-23.

²⁶ Battle of Anegawa 姉川合戦: In 1570 Nobunaga fought against Asai and Asakura by the Anegawa River in Ômi Province. Thanks to the assistance of Ieyasu, Nobunaga had a victory which caused the decline of Asai and Asakura. For the

redoubtable Takeda Shingen's son Katsuyori gave Ieyasu the worst defeat of his career. But successive battles at Nagashino in 1575 and Takatenjin in 1581 drove the Takeda back, leaving Ieyasu master of Mikawa, Tôtômi, and Suruga Provinces. Tales 9 and 10 narrate the Battle of Nagashino and the fall of the Takeda.

In 1579 Ieyasu was obliged to put his wife (who was from an Imagawa vassal family) to death and force his firstborn son to commit suicide to reassure Nobunaga of his own loyalty.²⁷ Both were suspected by Nobunaga of having colluded with the Takeda. Ieyasu reacted to the turmoil after Nobunaga's death in 1582 by making himself master of the Takeda heartland, Kai and Shinano Provinces, which gave him an important position among the contending factions in central Japan.

His relations with Nobunaga's successor, Hideyoshi, began inauspiciously. In 1583 Ieyasu rejected several overtures from Hideyoshi (refer to tales 26, 28, and 29 of Hideyoshi), and in 1584 Hideyoshi attacked a Tokugawa fortress on Mt. Komaki (refer to tale 26 of Hideyoshi). Tales 12 and 14 relate the Battle of Nagakute in which Ieyasu and Oda Nobukatsu as allies defeated the army of Hideyoshi. Both Ieyasu and Hideyoshi then decided to agree upon an alliance. Therefore, in 1584, Ieyasu sent a son to Hideyoshi for adoption, receiving in return two years later Hideyoshi's forty-three-year-old sister, specially divorced so that she might marry him. In 1590 the two men joined forces to attack the great Kanto chieftain, Hôjô Ujimasa²⁸, in his Odawara Castle. Tales 18 through 20 introduce

battle, see Fukuda, pp.50-62.

²⁷ For the death of his wife, Lady Tuki-yama 築山殿, and his son, see, Takigawa, pp.76-90.

²⁸ Hôjô Ujimasa 北条氏真, popularly known by his Buddhist name, Sôun 早雲 (1538-1590): The eldest son of Ujijasu. The Hôjô had held a large domain in the northeastern Kanto Area of Japan, and had been a menace to the lords of the central parts of Japan, including Nobunaga and Hideyoshi. In those days, a powerful lord like Hôjô coming to greet Hideyoshi meant his submission to Hideyoshi. Ujimasa committed suicide when his Odawara Castle 小田原城 was attacked by

episodes related to the campaign of attacking Odawara Castle.

By overthrowing the Hôjô at Odawara Castle in 1590 (refer to tale 33 of Hideyoshi and tale 18 of Ieyasu), Hideyoshi won a degree of control in eastern Japan unrivaled since the Kamakura Period. Ieyasu was required to surrender his five provinces, including Mikawa, his native province, and move to a new domain comprising Musashi, Izu, Sagami, Kazusa, and Shimôsa and Shimotsuke Provinces. His unfamiliarity with the new domain was a strategic, administrative, and probably fiscal disadvantage, but it was geographically more unified than his former holdings. As headquarters, Ieyasu chose Edo, a little fishing town on the edge of what is now Tokyo Bay (described in tale 20).

In 1592, Hideyoshi began his invasion of Korea., an enterprise that consumed the remainder of his life and the resources of those warrior-leaders forced to take part. Ieyasu was able to preserve his own resources by maintaining a comfortable distance from this campaign. Shortly before Hideyoshi died in 1598, he made his senior generals, including Ieyasu, swear to faithfully serve his son, Hideyori. Within two years Ieyasu broke that promise, forming alliances with four powerful warrior families. In response, Ishida Mitsunari, one of Hideyoshi's vassals, armed with promises of support from several families, declared war against him in 1600.

On October 21, 1600, Ieyasu led an army of 104,000 men into battle at Sekigahara²⁹ and won a victory. In relation to his victory, tale 22 narrates: When Hideyoshi ordered Kobayakawa Hideaki to transfer to Echizen Province, Ieyasu interceded for Hideaki so that

Hideyoshi. For attacking Odawara Castle and Ieyasu's control of the area, see Kitajima, pp. 67-89; and for his insight and economic control of the Odawara and the Kanô area, see Yamamoto, pp. 99-102.

²⁹ For the Battle of Sekigahara 関が原合戦, see Asano, pp. 146-159, and after the battle, see Niki, pp. 160-172.

Hideyoshi finally withdrew his order. The grateful Hideaki, as if to show his appreciation to Ieyasu, deserted his ally, Ishida Mitsunari, at a crucial point in the Battle of Sekigahara. His defection brought Ieyasu a great victory.

Tales 27 through 31 describe the Battle of Sekigahara and how Ieyasu dealt with the defeated. As a result, Ieyasu assumed a great many of Hideyoshi's powers, establishing his control over the city of Kyoto (and hence over the Emperor), and claiming authority over all Japanese daimyo.

After 1600, Ieyasu was the most powerful warrior leader in Japan. In 1603 he assumed the ancient title of *Seiitaishōgun*, "Barbarian Quelling Generalissimo" with the assent of Emperor Goyōzei. Since then he and his descendants, like their predecessors of the Minamoto and Ashikaga Families, were entitled to speak for the Emperor on national affairs. The Shogun, as commander-in-chief of the entire samurai class, would be obeyed by all military lords and their vassals.

In 1605 Ieyasu, then 63, resigned from the office *Seiitaishōgun* in favor of his third son, Hidetada, and two years later he retired to Sunpu. Although retired, Ieyasu by no means relinquished his authority, especially in foreign affairs.

Above all, Ieyasu was concerned about Japan's internal strategic balance, since the Tokugawa were dependent upon other warriors who could withdraw their support at any time. Discontent with the Tokugawa Shogunate inevitably gathered around Hideyoshi's son, Hideyori. In the winter of 1614, Ieyasu attacked Osaka Castle, Hideyori's fortress, but failed. In the following spring (May of 1615) he finally took it as described in tales 32 and 35. Hideyori chose to commit suicide, and his seven-year-old son, Kunimatsu, was beheaded.

After the fall of Osaka Castle and the destruction of the Toyotomi House, Ieyasu's major accomplishment was having his advisers draw up two basic documents of early Tokugawa legislation. The *Bukeshohatto* (Laws for Military Houses) and the *Kinchû-narabini-Kugesohatto* (Laws Governing the Imperial Court and Nobility) were both issued in 1615. Ieyasu died on June 1, 1616. Tale 73 describes his wish for a simple mausoleum. A year later his remains were moved to Nikkô, where by Imperial decree he was canonized under the title of Tôshô Daigongen, a manifestation of the Buddha as healer.

Luck was an important factor in Ieyasu's success as was his patience and endurance³⁰ depicted in various tales and anecdotes. He outlived his great contemporaries, Nobunaga, and Hideyoshi, and was survived by five sons, four of whom became entrenched in powerful positions. His achievements by the time of his death had brought peace, and had provided a succession stable enough to remain over two hundred and sixty years. Other contemporaries could perhaps have achieved as much, but no one could have done more.

Retrospectively, as we review these tales in *Shogun and Warlords*, even if Nobunaga had lived longer, attainment of his goal, unification of Japan, would have been difficult because his cold and severe characteristics described by Hideyoshi caused antagonistic feelings among the lords. Soon or later someone like Akechi Mitsuhide would have rebelled and destroyed him.

By contrast, Hideyoshi's generous and relaxed personality and natural talents discernible in various tales enabled him to unify the country. However, most unfortunately, because of his low birth without any traditional subjects and capable relatives to support and

³⁰ For Ieyasu's last moments and his funeral, see Urai, pp. 223-235.

succeed him, his glory lasted only one generation, his own.

On the other hand, Ieyasu was blessed with faithful subjects, the so-called Mikawa Samurai, who had served his clan, the Tokugawa, for generations and were willing to die for him.³¹ Ieyasu cherished them so much, as described in tale 46, that he was able to establish the Tokugawa Shogunate.

Popularly called *Tanuki-jijii*, or old badger, Ieyasu was famous for sagacious and cunning characteristics that enabled him to survive through hardships experienced in his young days. He changed sides readily from the Imagawa to the Oda and then to the Toyotomi, whom he finally destroyed to establish his own hegemony. His shrewd and unscrupulous techniques are tersely described in tales 32 through 35, which tell for example, how he tricked Lady Yodo and her son Hideyori, the heir of Hideyoshi, into filling the moats of Osaka Castle³².

Ieyasu also is famous for saying, “One’s life is like trudging one’s way step by step carrying a heavy load on one’s back.” The qualities of endurance and perseverance are often associated with Ieyasu, especially in tales 64 to 67. And among all the traits revealed in these tales, “patience” should be particularly emphasized, as described in tale 18, which narrates how Ieyasu stopped his men from attacking Hideyoshi, saying, “. . . An attempt to take him now would be a hasty action, which would only reveal our fear of him. If we wait, our time will come in due course. “ The tale clearly reflects Ieyasu’s “patience” in terms of a cuckoo, “I will wait until the cuckoo sings.”

³¹ For the relation of the Tokugawa and Mikawa samurai in relation to the Mikawa Ikkô-ikki revolt, see Shingyo, pp.38-49.

³² Campaigns of Osaka, Winter and Summer 大阪冬の陣、夏の陣: In November of 1614 Ieyasu attacked Osaka Castle where Lady Yodo 淀君 and her son, Hideyori 秀頼, resided. During the temporary truce, Ieyasu filled the outer and inner

Lastly, a brief personal history of the author, Okanoya Shigezane, should be added. He was born in 1835 as a son of Okanoya Shigemasa, who served Lord Akimoto of the Tatebayashi Clan. From the time of his youth, Shigezane was trained in learning and military arts. He excelled in classical Chinese studies, and was recognized by Lord Akimoto, who promoted him to be an official messenger when he was nineteen in 1853.

Later, however, Shigezane was unfortunately involved in a political conflict of his lord who had sided with the Chôshû faction against the Tokugawa Shogunate. Eventually, he became a scapegoat assuming all the blame against his lord for himself as the Chôshû official messenger and was expelled from Chôshô by the Shogunate. During his confinement in the mansion of Konoe in Kyoto, he continued to work on his book as he states in the latter part of his introduction, “In these confused circumstances, I was expelled and have been wandering, traveling, and confined. Physically and mentally exhausted, unable to think of anything but surviving, I have been trying to finish my work at whatever cost. No matter how difficult and precarious my situation, there was no occasion when I gave up the idea of writing this book.”³³

His statement in his introduction clearly shows his strong belief in his work. He was able to resist and survive pressure thanks to his firm resolution and belief in his lifetime work, the compilation of *The Records of the Sayings and Conduct of Famous Lords*. In other words, these distinguished lords’ conduct and sayings and their valorous life styles must have encouraged and enlightened him as he endured his own hardships. In that sense, working on

moats of Osaka Castle, violating his word. The enraged Hideyori with his vassals challenged Ieyasu in the following May, and committed suicide as the castle fell. For the campaigns and the fall of the Toyotomi, see Takahashi, pp.187-210

³³ Okanoya, p. 24.

this voluminous work was truly the test of his life. Okanoya Shigezane passed away on the ninth of December, 1919 at age eighty-five.

There may be some factual discrepancies in Shigezane's tales, but some facts may have been distorted in the course of transmission. And readers should have the boldness of Nobunaga in appreciating these tales just as Hideyoshi and Ieyasu showed their generosity and patience in dealing with their men. After all, just as Herodotus in ancient times, jotted down things he saw and heard about and called them, collectively, "history", our Japanese author, Shigezane, collected what impressed him in actions and sayings of famous lords.

Today, we still see in his writing the values which the Japanese have cherished as the samurai spirit, an old-fashioned yet quite charismatic trait which we see in the Way of *Karate* and *Jûdô*. Such values are likewise discernible in old American films, including *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, and some new ones, such as *Star Wars*, in which the protagonists assume hero images, the most valorous universal images, the very ones that all those past samurai and their warlords had cultivated throughout their lives as is succinctly depicted in the 164 tales of "*Shogun and Warlords*."

The translators, Andrew H. Dykstra was Provost Emeritus of the Kansaigaidai Hawaii College, Hawaii, and Yoshiko K. Dykstra, Professor of the Kansaigaidai University, Osaka, Japan

The Translation of the Stories
of
Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu
from the
Meishôgenkôroku

Story Titles:

Oda Nobunaga

1. A Stone-Throwing Game 2. A Small Snake 3. His Extraordinary Appearance 4. The Suicide of Masahide 5. An Interview with Hidetatsu 6. The Elders Defect 7. Yoshitatsu Kills His Father 8. An Old Vassal Defects 9. An Attack on the Imagawa 10. An Attempt to Assassinate Nobunaga 11. Making Peace with Ieyasu 12. A Marriage Proposal 13. Going Up to the Capital 14. A Man Fit for the Position 15. The Battle of Anegawa 16. Burning Mount Hiei 17. Crossing the Uji River 18. A Pair of Short Thongs 19. A Remonstrance 20. Advice on Governing Provinces 21. The Battle of Nagashino 22. Plucked Larks 23. A Man of Mino 24. Sending Tiger Skins 25. Attacking Matsunaga 26. The Wearing of a Helmet 27. The Size of the Army 28. An Execution for a Penny 29. A Fair Judgment 30. Executing Monk Muhen 31. A Reply to Terutora 32. The Way of a Great General 33. Remembering Masahide

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Tokugawa Ieyasu

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Ichinomiya 5. The Battle of Mikatagahara 6. A Boy Assassin 7. Holding a Castle by Lowering the Drawbridge 8. Shingen's Death 9. The Battle of Nagashino 10. The Fall of Takeda 11. Assisting Nobukatsu 12. The Battle of Nagakute 13. Mutual Admiration 14. Reviewing the Battle of Nagakute 15. A General Does Not Reveal His Scheme 16. Adoption of the Shingen Style of Military Arts 17. Going Up to the Capital 18. Attacking Odawara Castle 19. Expert Horsemanship 20. Entering Edo Castle 21. The Order of Going into Battle 22. Securing Hideaki's Domain 23. A War Cry 24. Questions on Attacking a Castle 25. Departing for the Kanto Area 26. Caring for the Hawks 27. The Battle of Sekigahara 28. The Ishida Men 29. The Chief of the Beggars 30. Dealing with the Defeated 31. Unifying the Country 32. The Osaka Winter Campaign 33. Forging Three Letters 34. Impressing the Mother 35. Filling the Moats 36. No Moorings in Osaka 37. Let Them Burn Their Bridge 38. The Retreat Route 39. A Stupid Plan for Attacking a Castle 40. Treating the Defeated Generously 41. A Request from Nobunaga 42. Dismounting for His Retainers 43. Loose Arrowheads 44. Advisers and Remonstrations 45. More Important than the First Spear Breaking the Enemy Line 46. His Most Precious Treasures 47. The Way of Employment 48. Dealing with the Brothels 49. The Official Heir 50. The Way of Ruling the Country 51. Rice in the Storehouses 52. The Way of Subjects 53. Observing Manners 54. Hunting During Peacetime 55. Eliminating Brothers 56. Reviewing the Battle of Kawanakajima 57. The Heike Soup 58. Law Enforcement 59. The Hood of a Good Fortune Deity 60. The Three Complaints of a Disciple 61. Ignoring One's Lord 62. The Signs of a Good Crop 63. No Starvation During the Famine 64. Peaches in Wintertime 65. Wheat-Rice Mix in the Summertime 66. How Stingy He Is! 67. Lecturing the Maids 68. Encouraging Learning 69. A Veteran of Campaigns 70. Hideyoshi's Comment 71. A Pretended Fool 72. The Elders' Concern 73. A Simple Mausoleum

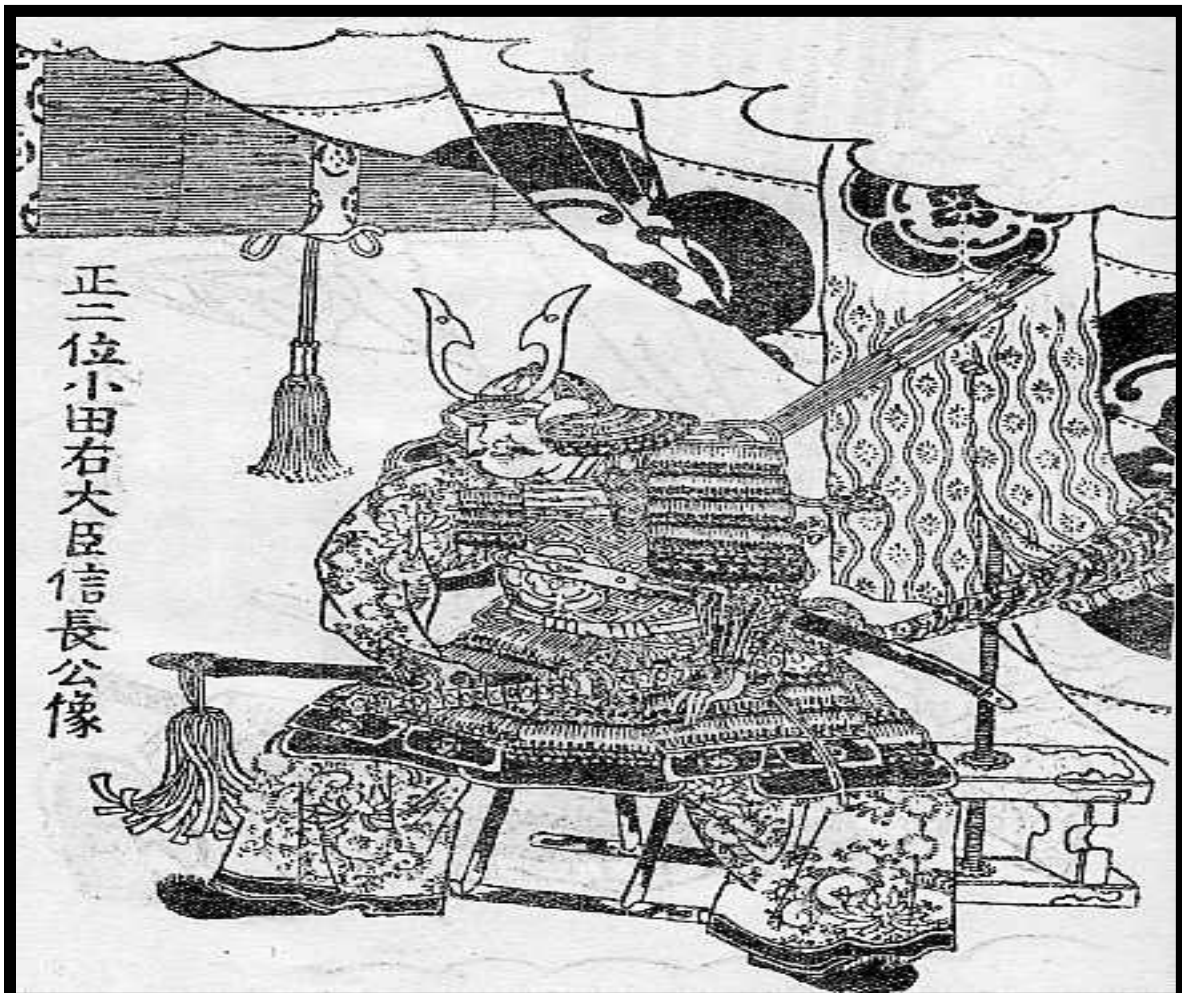
Oda Nobunaga

Oda Nobunaga [1534-82],³⁴ son of Nobuhide and Minister of the Right, lived in Azuchi Castle controlling twenty-four provinces. He committed suicide at the age of forty-nine during the attack by Akechi Mitsuhide in 1582, and was granted the posthumous title of Junior First Rank.

[Oda Nobunaga from the *Ehon Taikōki*]

1 A Stone-Throwing Game:

The young Nobunaga, called Kippōshi, studied with forty or fifty children at a temple of Kiyosu.³⁵ In his youth, on the fifth of May [which is Boy's Day], he used to love to



play a stone-throwing game called *injiuchi* with other children who were divided into two teams called East and West.

For the occasion, his mother used to send him gifts including writing brushes, ink cakes, paper, three *to*³⁶ of rice and one *kan*³⁷ of Eiraku coins. Nobunaga gave the coins to the children who did well in the game. Thus he gave away all his gifts to the children according to their merits in the game, and did not keep any for himself. Those who watched this were all impressed, saying, “This child will surely become a great lord and general.”

2. A Small Snake:

Once, when young Nobunaga was playing in the yard, a small snake appeared. Grasping it in his hand, Nobunaga asked one of his attendants, “Do you call my action brave?” The attendant replied, “You don’t need to be afraid of such a small snake.”

The young Nobunaga asked again, “The size of the snake has nothing to do with its poison. If you are not afraid of a snake because it is small, then do you disdain your lord if he is young and small?” At this, the attendant was most embarrassed.

3. His Extraordinary Appearance:

The bright and talented Nobunaga had great ambition. Since his youth, he had been wild and brave. As he became older, he collected extraordinary people around him, and enjoyed bold valorous actions while making quick and hasty decisions that ignored details.

He was always training his horses, learning how to use guns, bows, arrows, and swimming. He had his attendants and retainers often fight with bamboo spears, saying

³⁶ One *tō* is 18.039 liters.

³⁷ One *kan* is 3.75 kilogramme.

“Longer ones are better,” and used three-and-a-half-*ken*-long [21-foot] spears³⁸.

In those days his appearance was most distinguished and extraordinary. Dressed in a wide-sleeved robe with a short *hakama* skirt, he carried various things at his waist, including a flint bag and a long sword in a red sheath. His topknot was bound by a cord with loose ends. On the street, he walked leaning against someone’s shoulder while eating rice cake. Seeing his wild appearance and bold manners, people in neighboring and distant places spoke of him as “Nobunaga, an incomparably great fool!”

His father, Nobuhide,³⁹ passed away in 1549, and the funeral was held at the Manshōji Temple. Numerous people including Nobunaga and his younger brother, Kanjūrō Nobuyuki,⁴⁰ attended the funeral. Wearing no *hakama* skirt but a long-hafted sword which was bound by a rough straw rope at his waist, Nobunaga, his hair as usual bound into a topknot, advanced to the altar, grabbed a handful of incense, threw it at the tablet of his father, and left.

All the witnesses praised his younger brother, Nobuyuki, who was formally dressed in a ceremonial outfit with a *hakama* skirt and a wide-shouldered robe, and severely criticized the older brother, Nobunaga, saying, “A fool, as usual!” Among them was a monk from Kyushu. Only he praised Nobunaga, “This man will surely possess and control the

³⁸ It is a remarkable coincidence that the twenty-one-foot length selected for the spears of his infantry by Philip of Macedon was the same as that favored by Nobunaga in his tale. See Will Durant *The Life of Greece* (Simon and Schuster), pp. 476-77.

³⁹ Oda Nobuhide (1510-51?): Nobuhide, the father of Nobunaga, distinguished himself in against the Saitō and defeated the Imagawa in 1542.

⁴⁰ Oda Nobuyuki (d.1557): Nobuyuki, the brother of Oda Nobunaga, held Suemori Castle in Owari Province. In 1557, he sided with Hayashi which Nobunaga perceived as treason. Nobunaga sent Ikeda Nobuteru to besiege Suemori Castle and kill Nobuyuki.

country some day!” he declared.

4. The Suicide of Masahide:

Because of Nobunaga’s vulgar behavior, his councilor, Hirate Masahide,⁴¹ who had been responsible for Nobunaga’s upbringing since his youth, was most distressed, and often vainly admonished him. Finally, to teach Nobunaga a lesson at the cost of his own life, Masahide committed suicide on the thirteenth of January in 1553.

The shocked Nobunaga confined himself in a room, where he grieved greatly and lamented the death of Masahide with chagrin and regret. After the death, Nobunaga built the Seishûji Temple on Masahide’s domain, and visited there on every anniversary, saying, “No use to grieve. I will compensate by my good deeds, and accumulate great merits in the eyes of the world.” After that, Nobunaga concentrated on military affairs as he strengthened his defenses against the neighboring provinces.

5. An Interview with Dôsan:

Nobunaga was to marry a daughter of the Governor of Yamashiro Province, Saitô Hidetatsu, also called by his priestly name, Dôsan.⁴² Before the marriage took place, Dôsan, who had heard of the notorious Nobunaga, sent him a message saying that he would like to see him at the Shôtokuji Temple and set a date for the interview.

When the day arrived, over seven hundred of Dôsan’s men dressed in traditional formal attire were standing in a row before the temple. Dôsan was secretly watching Nobunaga from a small rented house at the end of the town.

⁴¹ Hirate Masahide 平手政秀 (1492-1553): An old councilor or elder of Nobunaga who committed suicide to restrain Nobunaga .

Nobunaga looked more extraordinary than usual on that occasion. With his hair in a topknot, he appeared in a broad-sleeved hemp robe of bold design. At his waist, he wore a sword in a gold-plated sheath. The haft was wound with a crude straw rope and he had a thick cord looped and tied around his wrist. Flint bags and several gourds were dangling over his short *hakama* skirt made of tiger skin. Mounted on a stout stallion, Nobunaga had a vanguard of five hundred gunmen and archers who were carrying three-and-a-half-*ken*-long spears, and had a rearguard of seven hundred young foot soldiers. All the spectators on the roadside were surprised at this impressive procession.

At the temple, Nobunaga disappeared behind a standing screen. Soon he reappeared in a very conservative outfit: a long dark-brown *hakama* skirt, a slimmer refined sword at his waist and a conventional hair style. Seeing this, the men of Dôsan were amazed, saying to each other, "So his usual daily appearance has deceived us. We never knew his true qualities."

When Nobunaga slowly and quietly walked along the corridor to the main hall, Dôsan's old vassals and elders, Hotta Dôkû and Kasuga Tango, urged Nobunaga, saying, "Please, quickly come this way." Completely ignoring the elders, Nobunaga calmly passed before many major vassals of the Saitô Clan, and sat leaning against a pillar by the entrance to the hall.

Now Dôsan returned to the temple from the rented house, changed his clothes, and advanced toward Nobunaga, who appeared disinterested.. Quickly, Dôkû came again, whispering to Nobunaga, "Here comes Lord Dôsan." "Is that so?" asked Nobunaga as he

⁴² See Note 4.

finally stood up, entered the hall, greeted Dôsan, and took his seat facing his host. Nobunaga was most casual and refined.

At the interview, Nobunaga's manners were very relaxed and discreet. After having exchanged some *sake* cups, Nobunaga left after everything had been transacted so smoothly. Surprised by his unexpectedly good manners, and rather confused, Dôsan walked with him for twenty blocks before he bade him farewell, saying, "Let us meet again."

While everything thus went on smoothly with the Nobunaga party on that day, the Hidetatsu men felt most deflated and frustrated as they left the temple, since their spears were too short to match the long lances of the Nobunaga foot soldiers.

After Nobunaga left, Inoko Hyôtsuke asked Dôsan, his lord, "No matter how he acted, Nobunaga appeared as a great fool to me. What do you think, sir?" "That's it. You shall see. I am afraid that someday my children will be hitching their horses to the pole of that fool's gateway. It's most unfortunate that I can see it even now," replied Dôsan with tears in his eyes. Nobunaga was only twenty years old at that time.

6. The Elders Defect:

Formerly, Nobunaga had always failed whenever he fought Saitô Dôsan to expand his territory. Greatly disturbed, Nobunaga planned to alienate Dôsan's old elders, saying, "I, Nobunaga, am not an enemy of Lord Dôsan. If I am allowed to marry Dôsan's daughter, Nôhime, I will serve and fight under his banner whenever he is in danger." [At the recommendation of his elders], Dôsan finally accepted Nobunaga's marriage proposal for his daughter.

Nearly a year had passed since Nobunaga married Nôhime. At one time, Nobunaga

stealthily left his bedchamber while his wife was sound asleep, and returned before daybreak. His nocturnal outings lasted about a month, and finally his wife confronted him, saying, "If you have someone whom you are secretly seeing and exchanging your pledges, tell me everything. I am not jealous at all. You have been acting very strange lately." Nôhime sounded as if she was blaming him. Nobunaga made an excuse, saying, "Your suspicion is quite natural, but there are no women involved. Yet I have a secret plan that no one should know."

Another month passed, and his wife became more suspicious and pressed him with repeated questions. Again Nobunaga tried to explain. "Our marriage is not in jeopardy at all. But sometimes one has to keep a secret. Otherwise my plan will fail. As I have said, I have no problems with any women. But I feel quite bad that my keeping a secret has troubled you so much."

Nôhime replied, "I have never thought that I would be so estranged from you like this. It must be due to my womanly ignorance, and it is no use to complain. So why don't you invite the woman with whom you are so deeply involved. I will leave and go wherever I can." At her tearful lamentation, Nobunaga finally gave up, and began to confess.

"Your father, Dôsan, and I had been enemies for a long time. We have temporarily made peace against my will. Now for sometime, I have communicated with your father's elders. They have agreed to let me know by lighting a signal at the Hour of the Ox [from midnight to two o'clock] when your father has been killed. I have been up for the past fifty to sixty nights waiting for the signal, standing in the frost under the starlit sky. However, since there is no signal so far, the councilors must have had no chances yet. At the signal, I will

lead my army to attack and take over Mino Province. Now, you should never expose this secret to anyone, nor even think about it.”

Thus Nobunaga strictly warned his wife, and told his guards to watch her so that she would not communicate with her father either by messenger or letter. Now he frequently sent messages to the two elders, which began to raise suspicious rumors among the people. At the same time, Nobunaga ordered his men to prepare for night attacks at anytime.

Meanwhile, Dôsan heard rumors of Nobunaga’s movements from the spies he had sent to Nobunaga’s Owari Province. While wondering about his spies’ reports, Dôsan finally received a letter from his daughter, who succeeded in finding a moment to send her message. After reading the details in her letter, the infuriated Dôsan immediately executed his two old elders. Thus Nobunaga finally succeeded in weakening Dôsan’s power, which declined considerably after the death of his two elders.

7. Yoshitatsu Kills His Father:

In April of 1556, ignoring his eldest son, Saitô Yoshitatsu,⁴³ Dôsan had supported his younger son as his heir. Learning of his father’s intention, Yoshitatsu kidnapped his younger brother, and killed him. Finally he fought against his father, Dôsan, and also killed him. At the news, Nobunaga led his army hoping to help Dôsan, but failed and headed for home. Yoshitatsu pursued Nobunaga, who was retreating in the rearguard.

Meanwhile, the castellan of the Iwakura Castle set up camp in Tanbarano with his three thousand men to assist Yoshitatsu. Nobunaga had only eighty-three mounted men in his rearguard. He immediately told the people in the town of Kiyosu to cut shafts of bamboo,

⁴³ Saitô Yoshitatsu 齊藤義竜 (1527-61): The son of Toki Yoshinari was adopted by Saitô Dôsan. When his father planned

and had them array the bamboo spears behind his army. At this sight, the enemies assumed that a great army was coming to aid Nobunaga, and retreated.

8. An Old Vassal Defects:

Plotting to destroy Imagawa Yoshimoto in Suruga Province, Nobunaga first tried to make Yoshimoto's old vassal, Tobe Shinzaemon, defect. Tobe was an expert in calligraphy. Nobunaga first obtained a specimen of Tobe's writing. Tobe was then staying in Kasadera Castle in Owari Province of Nobunaga. Nobunaga had his clerk study and imitate Tobe's writing until the clerk could write in exactly the same style as Tobe.

Next, Nobunaga had his clerk write a letter addressed to Murai Shōnosuke that mentioned Tobe's secret communication with Nobunaga. Meanwhile, Nobunaga sent one of his men, Mori Yoshinari, to Yoshimoto's Suruga Province where Mori wandered about as a merchant. One day, Mori came to Asahina Shōzaburō, who bought a sword-guard from Mori. When Asahina casually looked at the old paper wrapping, he saw a letter addressed to Murai Shōnosuke in Tobe's handwriting.

The surprised Asahina asked Mori, "Where did you get this old letter?" Mori replied, "Last spring, I sold a sword-guard to a close retainer of Murai Shōnosuke who gave me his old sword-guard wrapped in this used piece of paper." With this old letter, Asahina immediately reported to Yoshimoto. The enraged Yoshimoto thought of calling Tobe from Kasadera to investigate, but soon changed his mind, saying, "Never mind. He does not have to come to Suruga," and had him killed in Yoshida. This incident eventually gave Nobunaga a chance to attack Yoshimoto in Suruga Province.

to disinherit him, he fought and defeated him. Yoshitatsu died of leprosy.

9. An Attack on the Imagawa:

After having attacked the castles in Marune and Washizu [in Nobunaga's domain] in May of 1560, Imagawa Yoshimoto took up a position, and set up his camp in Okehazama. Nobunaga was going to fight by going out to Narumi. But his councilors advised him, saying, "Since the enemy has a greater army, to guard our Kiyosu Castle will be better." Ignoring his councilors' warning, Nobunaga held a feast before his departure, and entertained his men with *sake* and food. While he was enjoying the *kusemai* dance and singing, he heard the report that the enemy was approaching. Nobunaga repeatedly recited the verses:

"As one reflects on
The fifty years of one's life,
All seems a dream and an illusion
In this secular world."

As soon as he finished, Nobunaga, to the sound of blown conch shells, galloped out with six mounted men leading two hundred foot soldiers to the Atsuta Shrine. While he made his vows at the shrine, his foot soldiers finally caught up. When he left the shrine, Nobunaga saw two white herons flying over his banner. "This is the sign that the Great Bright Deity of the Shrine is going to help us," said Nobunaga. He encouraged his men, and advanced on his way.

From the Gendayû Shrine, Nobunaga saw black smoke rising from Marune and Washizu in the east. He advanced straight on the eastern route to Kasahara since the tide was rising on the coast. He gathered and collected more men at various forts on the way, and arrived at the fortress of Nakashima.

In a loud voice, Nobunaga said to his men, “My plan is to attack Yoshimoto who was still camping with his smaller army at Okehazama⁴⁴ while his greater army is waiting behind on the main route. If we attack the camp now from the mountainside, I am sure we can take them!” All his men were most excited at his idea, and stealthily headed to Okehazama along the foothills [avoiding the main route].

Meanwhile, Yoshimoto and his men were enjoying a victory feast [in Marune and Washizu]. Suddenly they were caught in a shower, which descended like a waterfall, and could not hear the approaching sounds of Nobunaga’s men from the mountainside because of the violent winds and the rolling thunder. At the war cries of the Nobunaga’s men, the confused Yoshimoto army failed to fight. After Mōri Hidetaka decapitated Yoshimoto, the Imagawa were completely lost. Around four o’clock that afternoon, raising a shout of victory, Nobunaga and his men returned to their town, Kiyosu, with 2500 enemy heads. After that, Nobunaga’s valor became more widely known.

Before this battle, Nobunaga’s generals, including Shibata Katsuie and Ikeda Nobuaki, had warned Nobunaga against fighting since the enemy had a greater army. Only Yanada Masatsuna agreed with Nobunaga’s plan, saying, “After having destroyed the two castles of Marune and Washizu, the enemies have not yet moved their camp [in Okehazama]. Their greater army must be waiting somewhere behind. If we proceed now, we can surely take them.” So Nobunaga executed his plan and succeeded. Yanada was highly rewarded with three thousand *kan* of land in Kutsukake Village while Mōri Hidetaka, who had taken

⁴⁴. Okehazama is in the north of Chita District of Owari Province (present Arimatsu in Midori-ku, Nagoya City) where Nobunaga destroyed Imagawa Yoshimoto by a sudden attack in 1560.

Yoshimoto's head, received a lesser reward.

10. An Attempt to Assassinate Nobunaga:

To fulfill his enduring wish, Nobunaga finally decided to go up to the capital and quietly started on his way, taking along eighty-some men. Avoiding traveling through the enemy province of Mino [of Saitô Yoshitatsu], Nobunaga and his party left Atsuta by boat and landed at Kuwana of Ise from where they stealthily traveled through the Nara Area while carefully studying and observing local geographic features. Nobunaga finally succeeded in having an interview with Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiteru in the capital of Kyoto.

At the news of Nobunaga's trip to the capital, Saitô Yoshitatsu immediately sent five strong men to assassinate him. As soon as Nobunaga learned about Yoshitatsu's plot, he sent Kanamori Nagachika to the inn in Takoyakushi where the assassins were staying. Kanamori told the assassins that since his lord, Nobunaga, had already learned about them, they should meet and greet him. The five assassins were most amazed.

On the following day, the five men went to Ogawa where Nobunaga happened to appear after having finished sightseeing. Nobunaga immediately said to the five assassins, "I hear that you have come all the way to the capital from Mino Province to assassinate me. I admire your ambition. If you truly wish to attain your purpose, why not do it now?" Quite awestruck, the five assassins were most distressed as they replied, "Such a project is utterly unthinkable."

Four or five days later, Nobunaga went down to Moriyama. In spite of the great rain at daybreak, he began his trip, passed over Yakaze Pass, walked a distance of seventeen *ri* along the mountainside, and arrived at Kiyosu in one day. Hearing this, everyone in the

capital and the local areas admired his valorous actions.

In 1561, Governor Akazawa of Kaga Province in Tanba sent two fine hawks as a gift. The pleased Nobunaga returned the birds to Akazawa, saying, “I appreciate your goodwill. But now I am too much occupied with many things to enjoy hawking. I will receive your gift after I have pacified all Japan.” As expected, Nobunaga advanced to the capital to control all Japan within ten years.

11. Making Peace with Ieyasu:

When Ieyasu came to Kiyosu, Nobunaga made peace with him, saying, “While I take care of the Five Areas,⁴⁵ you will control the Suruga Area. The purpose of this pact is to provide mutual assistance when we face strong enemies. If we cooperate, unifying and controlling all Japan will not be difficult. However, there is one thing we should consider. As you know, in old times, with an Imperial order, the two generals, Taira Kiyomori and Minamoto Yoshitomo, pacified Japan.⁴⁶ But later, the two fought and caused their decline. This also happened between Nitta Yoshisada⁴⁷ and Ashikaga Takauji.⁴⁸ This is exactly what is meant when they say the fall of the front cart will warn the following cart. Hereafter the two of us should not fight, but work together. When I, Oda Nobunaga, become a general, you, Tokugawa, will belong to us. There are no false words in this matter.” They exchanged promises and were said to be very pleased.

12. A Marriage Proposal:

⁴⁵ Five Areas or Kinki or Kinai: Five Areas refer to five provinces near the capital: Yamashiro including Kyoto, Yamato including Nara, Kawachi, Izumi, and Settsu including Osaka.

⁴⁶ Both Kiyomori and Yoshitomo supported Emperor Goshirakawa and won the Battle of Hōgen(1156).

⁴⁷ Nitta Yoshisada (1301-38): Yoshisada supported Emperor Godaigo and captured Kamakura from the Hōjō in 1333.

In November of 1570, Nobunaga sent a message to Takeda Harunobu⁴⁹ proposing a marriage between his son, Nobutada,⁵⁰ and Harunobu's seven-year-old daughter. All the Takeda generals warned Harunobu, saying, "Nobunaga seems to have great ambitions. Now he is asking for a relationship with you, but we don't know what is in his mind. It's better to refuse him."

Harunobu explained, "Nobunaga's feelings toward me are sincere. When I scratched a wooden box and a chest that he sent me as gifts, I found the wood and the lacquer work of the best quality. His attitude toward me has not changed during the past two years since Takeda Katsuyori [Harunobu's son] became my relative by marriage. [In 1568, Nobunaga had proposed a marriage between his niece and Katsuyori]." Saying this, he took out the chest to show his men.

Harunobu also said to his generals, "Besides, you can tell if one is sincere or not by the exchange of letters. You may be sent letters or messages once or twice, but communicating more than three times a year is not so easy even for common people, and those like Nobunaga and me who have provinces to administer are usually too busy to show others frequent consideration. However, Nobunaga has sent me messages showing his concern seven times a year. If I sent my response, he would naturally reply. Although I contacted him only once during the past two years, he still repeatedly paid me his respects as

⁴⁸ Ashikaga Takauji (1305-58) was the first Ashikaga Shogun.

⁴⁹ Takeda Harunobu or Shingen (1521-73): The eldest son of Nobutora, and a celebrated daimyo, ruled his provinces well aided by his Twenty-Four Generals. Uesugi Kenshin was his rival against whom Shingen fought on five occasions at Kawanakajima. He was killed by a sniper's bullet at Noda Castle in 1573.

⁵⁰ Oda Nobutada (1557-82) was the eldest son of Nobunaga and fought beside his father on many occasions. He was in Kyoto when his father was attacked by Akechi Mitsuhide but failed to save him. Nobutada withdrew to Nijō Castle where was forced to commit suicide by Akechi troops.

if to his parents and superiors. So his wish and intention to become one of my relations are truthful.” Saying this, Harunobu accepted Nobunaga’s proposal. This shows how Nobunaga was attentive to everything concerned in these matters.

13. Going Up to the Capital:

In September of 1571, in order to assist the new Shogun, Ashikaga Yoshiaki [who had become the Shogun in 1568]⁵¹, Nobunaga took his army to the capital. Many people of the capital feared Nobunaga as a demon since they had heard of his wild and violent actions, and they fled to avoid plunder by his soldiers.

However, as soon as he arrived at the capital, Nobunaga issued strict orders to maintain peace in the city which were faithfully observed by his men. At one time when Sugenoza Nagayori was patrolling, he saw a foot soldier squabbling with a merchant. Immediately Nagayori caught and bound the soldier to a tree for public edification. Thus Nobunaga and his men gradually gained the trust of the people in the capital.

Since Nobunaga succeeded in controlling the Kinki Area including the capital, the grateful Emperor [Ôgimachi who ruled from 1557 to 1586] offered him the title of Lower Junior Fourth Rank, and the position of Director of the Imperial Guard of the Left and the Right. However, Nobunaga declined, saying, “I have only subjugated the rebels against the Emperor and the Way of Heaven. How could I receive such a distinguished title and a position as the result of my work?” He finally accepted the title of Lower Junior Fifth Rank, and a position as third ranking officer of the Ministry of Justice. Shogun Yoshiaki also

⁵¹ Ashikaga Yoshiaki, also called Kôgen’in (1537-1597): A son of Yoshiharu, took the tonsure, but later was assisted by Nobunaga, and became the fifteenth Ashikaga Shogun. Later due to a conflict against Nobunaga, he was expelled from Kyoto, finally was aided by Hideyoshi, and died in Osaka. For Yoshiaki in relation to Nobunaga, see Wakita, pp.19-38.

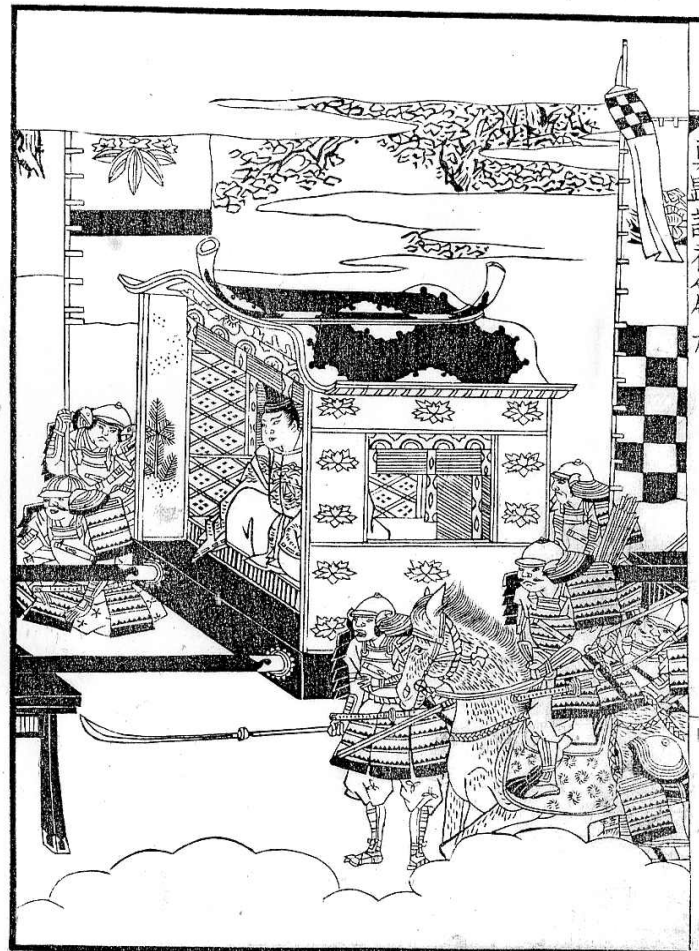
offered Nobunaga the position as *kanrei*, regent of the Shogun, with the title of lieutenant shogun, which Nobunaga likewise declined.

The Shogun tried to offer a feast with thirteen selections of *sangaku* music and dance at his mansion to celebrate Nobunaga's victory. However, Nobunaga warned the Shogun, "Recently only small numbers of rebels have been subjugated, and there will be many more. This is not yet the time to entertain ourselves leisurely in playing and dancing. Besides, all my men are anxious to return home soon. Probably a solemn ceremony will be more suitable for the occasion than playing *sangaku* music." So the Shogun had them play only five instead of thirteen pieces.

Soon Nobunaga abolished the barriers in the area near the capital. Now the pleased people could come and go freely. The Shogun, who was disappointed that he could not offer Nobunaga any grants, gave him a letter of appreciation, calling him his father. [However, in five years, Nobunaga expelled the Shogun from the capital and ended the Ashikaga *bakufu* regime in 1573]. Soon Nobunaga returned to Gifu.

In the New Year's season of the following year, Nobunaga heard that a party of Miyoshi Chôkei had besieged the Shogun's mansion at Rokujô in the capital. Nobunaga quickly took his soldiers to the capital. At his departure, he heard some grooms squabbling about the weights of the loads on their horses. Immediately dismounting, Nobunaga handled each load by himself, and said to his grooms, "There is no difference in the weight of the loads. Quickly mount and go!" The squabble ended right there.

Meanwhile the Imperial Palace had been terribly damaged because of successive battles and fighting in the capital. [In 1569] Nobunaga ordered Murai Michiie to take charge



of the repairs of the palace. The restoration of the palace was completed in 1570. Nobunaga also made loans to the people of the capital, and allocated the interest from the loans for the maintenance of the palace. He also clarified the ranks and lineage of those who had been serving at the court, promoted the officials whose advancement had been delayed, and restored the positions and prestige of the neglected noble families.

[Shogun Yoshiaki in Mino]

14. A Man Fit for the Position:

After Shogun Yoshiaki moved to the new palace of Nijō in the capital, he told

Nobunaga, “I don’t feel safe lately because of the constant fighting. I should have a capable general to protect me.” People thought that Nobunaga would choose one of his three veteran generals, Sakuma Nobumori, Shibata Katsuie, or Niwa Nagahide⁵² who had been serving him for many years.

However, to everyone’s surprise, Nobunaga chose Hideyoshi [who had begun serving him in 1558]⁵³ for the Shogun’s bodyguard. Some were jealous of Hideyoshi who had the special favor of Nobunaga, and they often slandered him. However, Nobunaga increasingly favored Hideyoshi, saying, “One should choose a man fit for the position depending on his talent and ability, but not on the number of the years he has served.” People admired Nobunaga for his efficiency.

15. The Battle of Anegawa:

In 1570, Asai Hisamasa⁵⁴ and his son, Nagamasa, fought a decisive battle at the Anegawa River [in present Shiga Prefecture against Nobunaga, who was trying to unify Japan by aiding Shogun Yoshiaki].⁵⁵ Before the battle, Asai asked their ally, the Asakura⁵⁶ for assistance. Asakura Kagekata brought over ten thousand men to help the Asai. On the

⁵² Niwa Nagahide (1535-85): Nagahide served Nobunaga, married Nobunaga’s niece, and constructed Azuchi Castle.

⁵³ Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-98), a foot soldier of Nobunaga, later became a *taikō*, regent of Japan.

⁵⁴ Asai Hisamasa (1524-73): The son of Sukemasa who established Odani Castle in 1516, and held out against Sasaki. Hisamasa was defeated by Sasaki, and retired in favor of his son, Nagamasa. Asai Nagamasa (1545-1573): A son of Hisamasa. Nagamasa married Nobunaga’s sister, Oichinokata, and defeated Rokkaku Yoshitaka and Saitō Tatsuoki. Nagamasa then joined the Asakura and the monks of Mount Hiei in an alliance against Nobunaga, and was defeated at the Battle of Anegawa in 1570. A truce was concluded, but hostilities broke out again in 1573 when Nobunaga besieged him in Odani. Finally Nagamasa entrusted his family to Nobunaga and committed suicide. His eldest daughter, Yodogimi (Lady Yodo), married Hideyoshi, and the second daughter married Kyōgoku Takatsugu. The third daughter married Tokugawa Hidetada and was the mother of the third Tokugawa Shogun, Iemitsu.

⁵⁵ Battle of Anegawa: In 1570 Nobunaga fought against Asai and Asakura by the Anegawa River in Ōmi Province. Thanks to the assistance of Ieyasu, Nobunaga had a victory which caused the decline of Asai and Asakura. For the intention of Nobunaga and the young Ieyasu’s speculation on the battle, see Fukuda, pp.50-62. Also refer to note 26.

⁵⁶ Asakura Yoshikage (1533-73) sided with Asai Nagamasa at the Battle of Anegawa. In 1573 Yoshikage killed himself when under siege of Ichijōgadani. For the Asakura and Asai in the Battle of Anegawa, see Fukuda, pp.60-61.

night of the twenty-seventh [of June], both the Asai and the Asakura camped at Ôyoriyama, and had a conference regarding their tactics. Nagamasa proposed, “It is four miles from here to Nobunaga’s camp. Our men and horses are too tired now. So we should move our camp to Nomura-Mitamura tonight, and make a sudden attack early in the morning.”

One of the Asai men, Hansuke, opposed this, saying, “As we study Nobunaga’s ways, he moves as quickly as a monkey jumping from one tree to another. He reads his enemies’ minds so fast and always moves ahead of them. So I am afraid that we won’t be able to move our camp tonight, since he may have already read our plan.” Endô Naotsugu supported Nagamasa, “My lord, I agree with your idea.” So they decided to move their camp and began to prepare to leave.

Meanwhile, the clever Nobunaga was watching the campfires of his enemy from a distance through the night, and concluded, “So the Asai and the Asakura are moving their camp during the night, and will attack us early in the morning. This is exactly what I want.”

Just as Nobunaga had perceived, early in the morning the enemy made a sudden attack, but unexpectedly met the well-prepared Nobunaga army, which inflicted upon them a fatal blow.

16. Burning Mount Hiei:

In September of 1571, Nobunaga camped in Seta and ordered his generals to set fire to Mount Hiei to destroy the Enryakuji Temple⁵⁷ and the small shrines and halls on the

⁵⁷ The headquarters of the Tendai Sect in Japan was built by Priest Saichô on Mount Hiei in 788. Since the Heian Period, the temple had enjoyed power and prestige by maintaining monk-soldiers, but was burnt by Nobunaga in 1571. It was later restored by the assistance of the Toyotomi and the Tokugawa.

mountains. His appalled generals, including Sakuma Nobumori, warned him, saying, “Since the time of Emperor Kanmu [ruled 781-806], who built the temple and the shrines on the mountain, they have been the guardians of our country during the centuries. That is why no one has ever violated this mountain. If you destroy the mountain now, what will happen to us?”

Nobunaga retorted, “I am only saying that we should remove rebels and traitors. Why are you trying to stop me? I have been working day and night spending all my time and efforts to pacify this country with the aim of restoring the declining Imperial Way. Last year, the Asai and the Asakura attacked me. I sent messengers to the priests [of the Enryakuji Temple on Mount Hiei] asking their support. But these priests sided with the Asai-Asakura faction and tried to resist the Imperial Way. Now what else would you call them but national traitors? Unless we pluck these evil buds now, they will bring greater harm to this country in the future.

Moreover, I often hear that these priests have been violating many precepts as they eat the forbidden foods [including strong-smelling scallions], keep mistresses, and ignore the incantation practices [including the occult chants of the *darani* incantations for curing illness]. How can they guard our nation in their corrupt ways? Besiege them, burn them, and don’t let any of them live!”

Finally, his generals agreed, attacked the mountain, set fires, and burnt the Konponchûdô Hall, and twenty-one shrines and halls. After that, Nobunaga gave the Shiga District [which included Mount Hiei] to one of his generals, Akechi Mitsuhide,⁵⁸ built a

⁵⁸ Akechi Mitsuhide (1526-82) began to serve Nobunaga in 1566, and received the fief of Sakamoto in Ômi Province in

castle in Sakamoto, and had Mitsuhide live there as a castellan.

17. Crossing the Uji River:

In July of 1573, Shogun Yoshiaki [after a dispute with Nobunaga] raised an army against Nobunaga. Yoshiaki was based on Makinoshima Castle, and faced the Nobunaga army across the Uji River. Heavy rain had raised the water level nearly to the top of the banks. [Wondering how to cross the river], Nobunaga halted his horse at the shore as he said to his mounted men, “I heard that in the old days of 1184, both Sasaki Takatsuna and Kajiwara Kagetoki⁵⁹ competed in taking charge at this point of the river. I wonder if they were not demon deities.”

Suddenly, they heard a mounted samurai ride out into the river with a big splash. Seeing this, Nobunaga said to his men, “It must be none other than Kajikawa Takamori.” Indeed, it was Takamori. “Don’t let him die alone!” Shouting, the rest of the Nobunaga men dashed into the water, and achieved a great victory over the enemies across the river. Takamori had received a black stallion from Nobunaga as a gift a few days before.

18. A Pair of Short Thongs:

For every battle, Nobunaga used to carry a pair of short straw thongs called *ashinaka*, which were attached to the sheath of his sword. In the Tone River Battle, Kanematsu Masanori was the first to break through the enemy line, and he brought an enemy head to Nobunaga. As the impressed Nobunaga saw him walking barefoot, he immediately gave Masanori his short thongs to show his appreciation, saying, “I have been looking

1571. In 1582 he attacked Nobunaga at the Honnōji Temple in Kyoto. With Nobunaga dead, Mitsuhide assumed the reins of government for thirteen days, but was soon defeated by Hideyoshi at the Battle of Yamasaki.

⁵⁹ Kajiwara Kagetoki (?-1200): Kagetoki joined Minamoto Yoritomo to destroy the Heike. When Minamoto Yoshitsune (younger brother of Yoritomo) communicated with ex-Emperor Goshirakawa, Kagetoki caused the downfall of Yoshitsune.

forward to seeing someone as brave as you for a long time. Today, for the first time, I finally have found a courageous one in my army. You are the one for whom I truly have longed.”

19. A Remonstrance:

In July of 1574, when Nobunaga was confronted with a revolt in Nagashima, Gamô Ujisato⁶⁰ recklessly tackled a strong enemy, decapitated him, and brought the head before Nobunaga. Nobunaga simply sneered and did not praise him. After a while, he admonished Ujisato, saying, “Victory and failure are unpredictable in fighting, and merit in battle is the principal quality of a warrior. However, all depends on the situation. What you did was rash and hasty. Anyone who intends to become a fine warrior should never try to attain merit in your way. There is nothing meritorious about ignoring one’s safety. Don’t forget this.”

20. Advice on Governing Provinces:

After obtaining two provinces, Kaga and Echizen, Nobunaga gave Shibata Katsuie⁶¹ the eight districts in [Echizen] province to govern. Nobunaga built a castle in Kitanoshô-Asuwa [present Fukui Prefecture] where he placed Katsuie as the castellan.

Nobunaga advised Katsuie, saying, “Echizen is most important for guarding against the Uesugi Clan. Among all my generals, I have chosen you to govern the province. I hope you will do your best. One should not only rely on one’s military merits but on showing benevolence and prestige to obtain the peoples’ trust.”

He continued his advice, “Don’t raise taxes, or collect taxes from the barriers and

⁶⁰ Gamô Ujisato (1557-96), the son of Katahide, distinguished himself by taking Ôkôchi Castle in Ise at the age of thirteen. He married Nobunaga’s daughter. After the siege of Odawara Castle, he received Aizu (Mutsu Province) with a yearly revenue of 420,000 *koku*. In 1591 he defeated Kunoe Masazane, and received a yearly revenue of 1,000,000 *koku*. His brilliant career ended at the age of forty, when Hideyoshi is believed to have had him poisoned.

the marketplaces.⁶² Don't despise the natives. Try to be fair in lawsuits and verdicts. Strengthen the military defenses and be on guard. Don't be idle in the fields [as in hunting]. If you see rebels abusing the Imperial family manors, you should properly allocate the profits according to certified papers. If any uncultivated land and lots are found in the province, you should grant them to your samurai according to their merits so that no land is wasted. When you find anything unreasonable about my orders, come to me immediately and discuss it with me. If you are right, I will instantly revise my views." Nobunaga also ordered, Fuwa, Sassa, and Maeda to assist and consult with Katsuie in administering the province.

21. The Battle of Nagashino:

In the battle of Nagashino [May, 1575], Nobunaga [deliberately] took three days to travel only three *ri*. Everybody said that Nobunaga was afraid of his enemy, Takeda Katsuyori. But Nobunaga's idea was to beat his enemy who assumed his weakness. As expected, his enemy, ignorant of Nobunaga's scheme, slighted him, and failed greatly because of reckless tactics.

22. Plucked Larks:

In the Nagashino Battle, Nobunaga ordered his men, saying, "I hear our enemies, the Takeda, ride well enough to break through our lines. Before they come, put up fences and stockades to block them." He also advised [Ieyasu], "Since Takeda Katsuyori has been your old enemy, you may become so involved and carried away as to fight and lose your life. It's no use winning this battle if you lose your life. So I recommend that you relax and leave

⁶¹ See note 15.

⁶² In 1568 Nobunaga first practiced a Free Market policy in Mino Province, and in 1577 at Azuchi aiming at economic and commercial improvements by abolishing monopolies of the privileged merchants who belonged to certain *za* (guilds).

everything to us in this battle. I will make the Takeda men into plucked larks.”

Now Takeda Katsuyori began to cross the river. Nobunaga had his foot soldiers carry their guns. When the enemy began to charge at full speed, the Nobunaga men retreated behind the stockades. The enemy rode in groups of five, ten and thirty. As soon as they turned back when blocked by the poles of the stockades, the allies shot at the groups of five or ten. After a while, the Takeda men showed their fatigue and looked as shabby as plucked larks. “Now is the time!” At Nobunaga’s signal, his men swarmed over the enemy who were completely defeated.

23. A Man of Mino:

In this battle, Nobunaga men caught a samurai who wore a red damask undersash. When asked his name, the samurai ignored the question. At this, Ieyasu said to him, “We will let you commit suicide in honor by cutting your belly yourself, if you tell us your name.” Finally, the samurai named himself as Tada Hisazô. Nobunaga said to him, “You must be a man of Mino Province. Join my army.” Hisazô declined, saying, “How can I serve you, once caught and bound by you?” Nobunaga explained, “Once Suzuki was caught by us, but now he is honored by us for his merits. So don’t mind.” Nobunaga released him.

After a while, there was a commotion somewhere in the dark in the camp. “What happened?” “The released samurai just killed three of our men with a spear, so we killed him,” At this, Nobunaga said grudgingly, “He must have done that to relieve himself of the shame of being caught. Even if he had killed a few foot soldiers, I’d have forgiven him. It’s a shame to lose such a brave man.”

24. Sending Tiger Skins:

As Nobunaga expanded his domain throughout Japan, he granted his meritorious vassals the names of the strong and powerful fiefdoms in the west including those in Kyushu whose lineage had ended without heirs. Akechi Mitsuhide received the name Koretô while Hanawa Naomasa was named Harada.

[In order to display his power and influence], Nobunaga sent hawks and horses of the eastern provinces to the lords in the western provinces and tiger and leopard skins of the west [Nobunaga must have obtained these animal skins as gifts because there were no tigers and leopards in Japan] to the eastern provinces. All those who received such rare gifts thought that Nobunaga had already obtained the provinces where the gifts were produced.

Learning that Uesugi Terutora⁶³ intended to go up to the capital with his army, Nobunaga was anxious to block him on the way and weaken his power. Just at that time, Kakizaki Kageie, one of Uesugi's best generals, was staying in Etchû Province of Nobunaga's domain.

At one time, Kageie sent a horse that was born in the north to Nobunaga. Nobunaga thought this a good chance to fulfill his purpose, happily bought the horse, and sent several hundred pieces of gold and a tiger skin to Kageie with a letter saying, "In the future, if you have more fleet steeds like the last one, be sure to send them to me." Ashamed of having been greedy [as he had accepted the pieces of gold from Nobunaga], Kageie did not make this public. However, a tale bearer eventually found this out, and reported the news to Uesugi.

⁶³ Uesugi Terutora Kenshin 上杉輝虎謙信 (1537-78): One of the greatest samurai commanders in Japanese history. He was adopted by Uesugi Norimasa, and was often at war with both the Takeda and the Hôjô. He fought Takeda Shingen five times at Kawanakajima. In 1578 he entered an alliance with Takeda Katsuyori against Nobunaga. His sudden death in mysterious circumstances caused many to suspect assassination

The infuriated Uesugi immediately recalled Kageie from Etchû Province. Pressed hard, Kageie finally admitted his fault and was killed by his lord. Nobunaga succeeded in his plot and caused his enemy to lose one of his best generals.

25. Attacking Matsunaga:

In October of 1577, when Nobunaga was attacking Matsunaga Hisahide at Shigi Castle, he found that food and rations had been carried into the castle from Sakai. Nobunaga sent some disguised foot soldiers as coolies carrying food into the castle, and had them set fire to the castle compound. While the castle was in commotion and confusion, Nobunaga attacked and easily took over the castle.

In his last moments in the castle, Hisahide called his son, Hisamichi, and said to him, “You leave this castle, and live to avenge your father.” Hisamichi refused, saying, “I wish to die with you in this castle.” Hisahide scolded his son, “You are unfilial. Why are you refusing your father’s order?” The helpless Hisamichi followed his father’s order, tried to flee, but was caught, and decapitated.

People said, “Wanting to save his life, Hisamichi abandoned his father, and lost his life. He was unfilial and a coward!” Hearing this, Nobunaga said, “Hisamichi must have followed his father’s order. He was not a coward.”

In March of 1582 when Nobutada attacked Takatô Castle in Shinano Province, a pair of sixteen-year-old young men, Yamaguchi Kôben and Sassa Seizô, distinguished themselves in the fighting. Nobunaga called Kôben and praised him, “I hear that you are highly recommended by your lord, Nobutada, for having done very well in the last fighting. I am immensely pleased that you have met your lord’s expectations.” Nobunaga gave him a

letter of commendation with a sword called Kunihisa.

Next, Nobunaga summoned Seizô, and showed his approbation, “They say you did your best in the last fight. And yet, I have expected your achievements since you are a nephew of the great Kuranosuke.” So saying, Nobunaga gave him a letter of appreciation and a sword called Nagamitsu.

Establishing merit in fighting was most extraordinary for someone like Kôben who was of low birth [not of the samurai class]. As for Seizô, Nobunaga did not forget to mention his honorable uncle. Thus Nobunaga was always most attentive in treating people, and never minced words in praising and appreciating his men.

26. The Reversed Helmet:

At one time before a battle, Ichinose Hisasaburô was arranging Nobunaga’s helmet. Elder Hayashi, Governor of Sado Province, happened to come by, and warned Ichinose sharply, “Your lord’s helmet is facing the north, a wrong direction. Correct it!” Embarrassed by his mistake, Ichinose was about to turn the helmet. Nobunaga said to him, “Never mind. We will be fighting against rebels who may come from any direction. So just leave the helmet as is!” This relieved Ichinose from the humiliation of the rebuke.

Meanwhile, some enemies appeared from the woods in the north, and the allies bravely advanced, gaining a great victory. Ichinose was the first to breach the front line. At night, Nobunaga called Ichinose, and asked him about the fighting. Ichinose replied, “Thanks to you, sir, I did my best to make up for my mistake.” Nobunaga gave him a letter of appreciation with a prize. He also rewarded the elder who had been concerned about the correct way for his lord to wear armor.

At another time, when Nobunaga was heading to the northeast, he dismounted before Ieyasu's castle in the town of Okazaki. The Ieyasu men guarding the castle in their lord's absence were most amazed at his polite manner. Nobunaga said to them, "I did not stop at the castle to greet you. But it is proper for anyone to dismount before such a famous castle."

Nobunaga was once passing through the town of Negoro in Kii Province. The soldier-monks of Negoro, who had heard that Nobunaga liked largess, prepared very large lunch boxes, and offered him three boxes containing many pieces of rice cake. The mounted Nobunaga opened one of the boxes, picked up a few pieces of the cake with his hair ornament, ate them, and sprinkled the rest of the cakes over the horse droppings on the ground, saying, "Let my men eat them!" Seeing the men picking up the cakes from the horse droppings and appreciating them, the Negoro monks were most impressed, saying, "Indeed, Lord Nobunaga has so much influence over his men." Later when Nobunaga attacked Negoro, the awestruck monks immediately surrendered.

27. The Size of the Army:

Takeda Harunobu sent Nobunaga a messenger, Akiyama Jôrôbei, whom Nobunaga cordially received and asked, "What is the total of the Takeda army?" The messenger replied, "It's about sixty thousand." Nobunaga continued, asking, "What is the distance between Kôshu and Suruga?" "It's about a three-day trip, sir." "Is it through Iwadono or Nekata of Fuji?" "The three days' trip would be through Zentokuji and Kôkokuji Temples of Suruga Province passing Nekata of Fuji." At the messenger's reply, Nobunaga closed his eyes for a while, and gave his estimate, saying, "In that case, the Takeda army must include a total of

thirty thousand men. The proper calculation requires about thirty thousand men to pass through the mountain path of Nekata of Mount Fuji in three days. Especially in the heavy snow of the last winter, the number must have been about twenty-five thousand including five thousand men carrying small loads.” Indeed, his calculation was quite correct.

28. An Execution for a Penny:

Born in Owari Province, Nobunaga constantly had wished to pacify the country, avoided vanity, and recommended that others assume the position of the Barbarian Quelling General, saying, “No need for me to hurry to be the Shogun.” In governing, he generously praised his men for their military merits, and appreciated fair play and genuine deeds. He used the fines and penalties from prisoners to repair public roads and bridges.

Raised in the midst of the confused world of the warring period, Nobunaga tried to rectify injustice while aiming at strengthening his forces to enrich the country. His fabulously equipped and well-disciplined armies excelled others, and so much impressed his northern enemies that when facing the Nobunaga men, they all felt as if demon deities had descended to punish them.

Having replaced the Ashikaga Shogunate [in 1573], Nobunaga enacted strict ordinances to control twenty-four provinces including those in the Kinki Area [Kyoto, Osaka, Shiga, Hyôgo, Nara, Wakayama and Mie]. One man was executed for stealing only one *sen*, a penny. Robbers and thieves were so frightened that they left alone any travelers with luggage who were sleeping on the roadsides. People thought this most extraordinary during the warring period.

29. A Fair Judgment:

Once there was a dispute between the courtiers and the samurai guards in the Imperial Palace that confused the magistrate's office. Nobunaga listened to both sides, and judged that the courtiers were in the right. The displeased guards asked Oda Umanosuke, one of Nobunaga's relations, to plead for a retrial. At this, the infuriated Nobunaga dismissed Umanosuke, saying, "How can I reopen the case on account of private feelings once a fair judgment has been rendered in public!"

At another time while hawking, Nobunaga saw an old woman crying. When questioned, the old woman tearfully explained that she was greatly disturbed because of coming hunger and cold after the village head had usurped her ancestral land. Feeling pity, Nobunaga ordered Niwa Nagahide to investigate, and summoned the village head. Learning that the old woman was correct, Nobunaga had the village head return her land. People were all impressed by his fair treatment.

On his frequent hawking trips, Nobunaga passed through various villages and listened to the people's complaints and troubles. A crippled man was begging travelers for food in the mountains between Mino and Omi Provinces. Nobunaga heard a rumor that one of the beggar's ancestors had killed Lady Tokiwa in the old days on that spot, and that since then his descendants had been cripples. The villagers called him "Monkey." Feeling pity at the sight of the cripple, Nobunaga gave him twenty *tan* of cotton cloth, and ordered the villagers to look after him. The impressed villagers sold half of the cotton cloth to build a house for the beggar and bought food for him with the remainder.

30. Executing Monk Muhen:

In 1573, Monk Muhen was making pilgrimages to various provinces while

preaching to the people, “I have neither home nor parents. I have never settled in anyplace, but have a mysterious power. If one acquires this power, he will avoid innumerable adversities in this life and eliminate limitless sins and punishments in the other life.” All those who heard him put their faith in him and offered him money and rice, which was piled high by his seat. Ignoring the offerings, Muhen stayed only one or two days in a village, appearing in the morning and disappearing in the evening.

At one time, Muhen came to the town of Azuchi. At the news, Nobunaga immediately called him, and went to see him in a stable. While standing and glaring at the monk, Nobunaga questioned, “Are you the one called Muhen?” He continued, “Where were you born?” The monk replied, “Muhen [literally meaning nowhere].” “Is what you call Muhen in China or in India?” asked Nobunaga. “It is neither in Heaven nor on Earth nor in the void,” responded Muhen.

Nobunaga asked again, “Where else does one find peace and safety to maintain one’s life except in Heaven and on Earth?” The monk said nothing. Nobunaga continued, “All the sentient beings cannot exist unless in Heaven or on Earth. Are you a monster? Let me test you.” Saying this, Nobunaga had someone apply a heated branding iron to the monk’s face. The shaking monk finally confessed, saying, “I come from Mount Haguro of Dewa.” Nobunaga further pressed him, saying, “Lately I hear that you have been doing all kinds of tricks, and call yourself an incarnation of Priest Kôbô.⁶⁴ I want you to show me your special power.” The monk remained silent. Nobunaga gave him his final words, “Allowing a

⁶⁴ Kôbô 弘法 or Kûkai 空海(774-835): The founder of the Shingon Sect of Japan. After returning from China in 806, Kûkai administered the Tôji Temple in Kyoto and the Kongôbuji Temple on Mount Kôya, a 1000-meter-high mountain located in the northeast of present Wakayama Prefecture.

degenerate monk like you to wander around will cause the people to blindly rely on Buddhas and gods, and to seek unreasonable fortunes. This is a great loss for the world. After being killed by me, show me how you revive by your mysterious power!” Saying this, Nobunaga executed the monk.

31. A Reply to Terutora:

In 1577, Uesugi Terutora said to his men, “Lately, Nobunaga is the only one who is strong enough to be my enemy.” Hoping to attack Nobunaga, and to go up to the capital as a victor, Terutora sent a messenger to Nobunaga in Azuchi Castle, warning, “We are going to leave Echigo Province on the fifteenth of next March [1578].”

Nobunaga replied, “I understand everything. Lately, I desire nothing more after having obtained various provinces on account of my own merits. If you come to me in Azuchi, I will receive you, bowing my shaven head, and offer you thirty-three provinces of the Kantô [northeast] Area.”

At his reply, Terutora was most impressed, saying, “What an extraordinary warlord Nobunaga is!” However, Terutora passed away before advancing to Azuchi. Nobunaga thought, “My ambition is to control all Japan by supporting our Emperor. Kôshû and Echigo Provinces are strong but Mino and Ômi Provinces are weak. While allied with the strong, I will take over the weak to open a way to advance to the capital.”

Thus Nobunaga with his polite language and abundant gifts was on friendly terms with Kôshû and Echigo Provinces while he made peace with Ieyasu who guarded the Kanto region. Nobunaga concentrated on the west and soon took over Mino and Ômi Provinces,

and finally went to the capital. While Harunobu and Terutora were squabbling in the local provinces, Nobunaga set up his banners on Higashiyama in the capital.

32. The Way of a Great General:

Once Nobunaga asked his men about the ability of his son, Nobutada. Naitô replied, “Everyone says he is veritably a genius.” “What do you mean?” asked Nobunaga. Naitô explained, “For example, in treating his guests, we might assume that he would give a horse to this man, and a suit of armor or a kimono to that man, and he gives the exact gifts we have assumed.”

Nobunaga retorted, saying, “How can you say that he is such a genius? He is not a genius at all from my viewpoint. He can hardly inherit my position in this way. I mean this: When his subjects think that he would give his guest a sword, he should give a kimono contrary to their assumption. While they are thinking of a horse as a gift, he should give something else. Or when they expect that he should not give anything significant, he should give a great amount of money. This is what a great general would do. In attacking enemies, he would not place his soldiers on the spot where others assume his enemies would appear, but at a place where no one would expect them, and upset the enemies by a surprise attack. By sending his men to the exact place where his enemies expect them, how can he win the battle? The one who appears to be smart is a real fool. The truly great general will use unexpected means and tactics, ignoring common and usual ways and manners.”

Nobunaga used to gather many generals to listen to their ideas and plots. If he found a good stratagem, he would adopt it, saying, “That is exactly what I think.” He also said, “The samurai who is always attentive in the Way of the Samurai is superior to the one who was just

born into a samurai family.”

33. Remembering Masahide:

After taking control of the Kinai Area [Yamato, Yamashiro, Kawachi, Izumi and Settsu Provinces], Nobunaga increased his power day by day. Some flattering attendants said to him, “Without seeing you holding your present power, Hirate Masahide committed suicide. It was a hasty action.”

Nobunaga changed color in anger, and said to them, “Because of his death, I have been successful in the Way of Bows and Arrows. His death has helped me to reform my shameful deeds. I feel very regretful that some of you think Masahide’s death was a hasty action.” Whenever something happened, he remembered and recalled Masahide. Often in hawking, he tore off a piece of the flesh of the killed fowl, threw it up in the air, and said tearfully, “Here, Masahide, eat this!”

Toyotomi Hideyoshi



「Kinoshita Tōkichirō or young Toyotomi Hideyoshi」

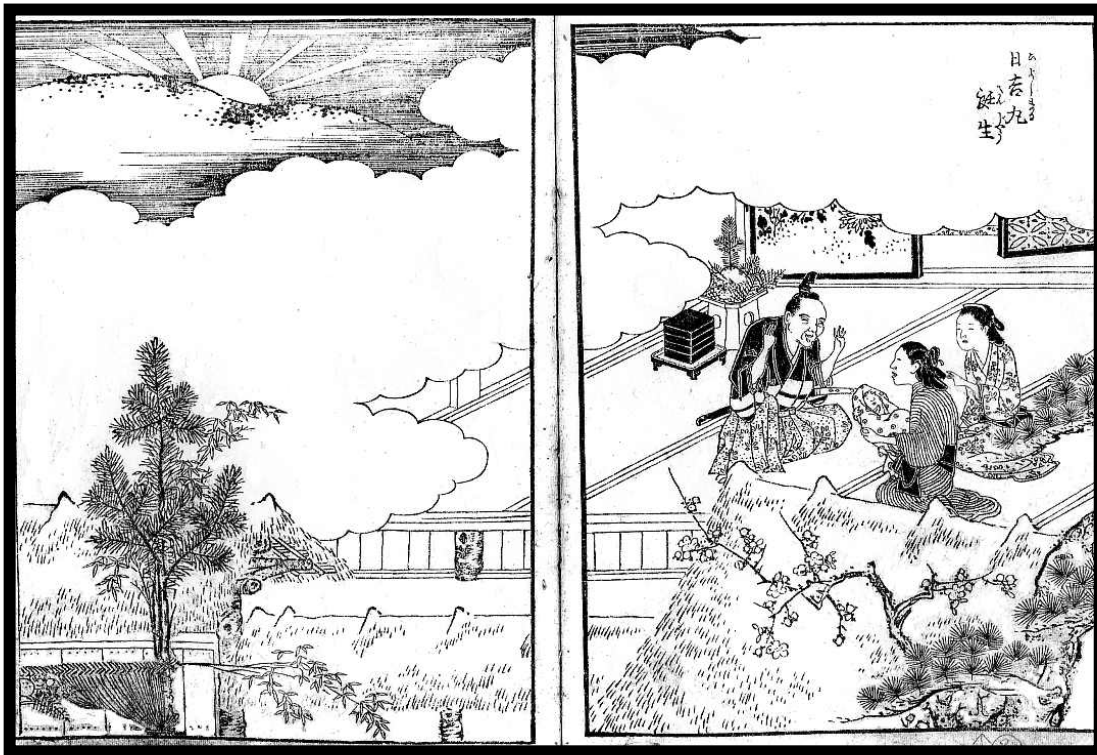
Toyotomi Hideyoshi [1537-98]⁶⁵, a son of Kinoshita Yaichiuemon, was born in Nakamura Village of Echi District of Owari Province. Despite his low birth, Hideyoshi succeeded in controlling Japan, sent armies to Korea, received a surname, Hashiba, and a position, Governor of Chikuzen Province. Later he was granted Junior First Rank, and the titles of Chancellor and Regent, and finally assumed Toyotomi as his family name. He passed away on the eighteenth of August in 1598, and posthumously was referred to as the

⁶⁵ Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-98). His family name was Kinoshita. He was called Hiyoshimaru at birth, later Tokichiro. In 1562, he changed name to Hideyoshi, and in 1572, family name to Hashiba. In 1586, he was granted family name of Toyotomi by Emperor Goyōzei, and became *taikō* (allelation for the father of kanpaku, regent) in 1592. Died in Fushimi on 18 September, 1598.

Bright Deity of the First Rank of the Bountiful Country.

1. Childhood:

[Hideyoshi was born]



Hideyoshi, called Hiyoshi in his youth, was bright by nature. As he grew up, he became rebellious against any restrictions, and especially against his stepfather, Chikuami. Ignoring his worried mother, he behaved wildly. At the age of eight, his parents sent him to the Kômyôji Temple in the village hoping that learning would help him to become a priest.

However, neglecting his studies, Hideyoshi daily played war games with bamboo sticks. Yet he attentively listened to anyone who talked about military arts. “Monks and priests are all useless beggars. Why do I have to become one?” he asked and frequently acted

violently by beating other children.

Finally, the distressed priests of the temple told him that they would send him back to his family. Afraid of his stepfather's scolding at home, Hideyoshi threatened the priest, "If you expel me, I will set fire to this temple and kill you all!" He continued to act violently.

Eventually, the priests made excuses, and coaxed him to leave by offering him some gifts, including a kimono and a fan. Finally, Hideyoshi left the temple to return home.

2. Serving Under Yukitsuna:

At home, Hideyoshi helped his parents by tending rice paddies, cutting grass, and catching small fish in streams. Out of poverty, his stepfather eventually sent him to other families where he worked as a helping hand. Yet, wherever he was sent, he lasted only for a few months, and never stayed at a place between spring and fall. At home, he repeatedly fought with his stepfather.

One day when he was listening to his tearfully complaining mother, he said to her, "I am thinking of success in the eastern provinces. So I will leave you soon." Thinking it impossible for her son to live with his stepfather, the mother understood him and gave him one *kan* of copper coins. Finally he left home in 1552. He was sixteen years old. Hideyoshi first went to the town of Kiyosu [in Owari Province, Oda Nobunaga's domain], bought some needles, sold them, and used the money to cover his trip toward the east.

One day, Matsushima Yukitsuna⁶⁶, a subject of Lord Imagawa, was on his way to visit his colleague, Iio Akitoshi, and happened to see Hideyoshi resting on a bridge at Hikuma in Enshû Province. Yukitsuna asked him, "Where are you from?" "I am from Owari

⁶⁶ For the relation between Yukitsuna and young Hideyoshi, See, Berry, p. 9.

Province, and am heading east seeking a job.” At this, Yukitsuna laughed loudly, “With your appearance, who would hire you?” Hideyoshi retorted laughingly, “What a shallow-minded man you are! You don’t seem to have the capacity of a great general. Just because you don’t like my looks, there is no reason why others won’t.” Yukitsuna replied, “Indeed. You are right. I will hire you as my attendant.”

Hideyoshi remained silent for a while. “What are you thinking?” asked Yukitsuna. “I am estimating your status,” replied Hideyoshi. “What do you think?” “I would say your annual income is about eight to ten thousand *koku*.” “How did you guess that?” Hideyoshi explained, “You are inferior to one who earns ten thousand *koku* in Owari Province, but are just above one with five thousand. However, conditions are inferior here to those in Owari Province. That is the basis of my assumption.” The impressed Yukitsuna asked him, “Are there any problems in working under me?” “No, there is nothing as far as I see,” said Hideyoshi, and they entered a verbal contract on the bridge as a master and a servant.

Yukitsuna immediately took Hideyoshi to Akitoshi, and explained about him. Akitoshi was interested in Hideyoshi, and took him into an inner room where the ladies of the mansion were gathering. When asked to sing a song, Hideyoshi sang a peasants’ rice-planting song. To show off his agility, he climbed on the beam of the room and greatly pleased the ladies. The well-entertained ladies gave him a kimono for a reward. Finally they asked Yukitsuna if they could keep Hideyoshi at their mansion.

The happy Yukitsuna immediately called Hideyoshi, saying, “How lucky you are! Lady Ohisa, the daughter of this mansion, wishes to keep you here. So I have decided to leave you here.” Hideyoshi flatly refused, saying, “In that case, I should leave now.”

“Staying here will be better for you,” insisted Yukitsuna as he tried to persuade him. Laughing loudly, Hideyoshi said, “Indeed, the one who wants to keep me here is amazing, but the one who gives me away is something else. A master should usually keep his servant for a year before releasing him if he finds him useless. And a servant customarily serves his master for three years before he takes his leave when he is not advancing. But you have just hired me today, and already want to give me away. You are violating the way of a master.” Overcome by his logic, Yukitsuna declined the lady’s offer for Hideyoshi, and took him home.

At Yukitsuna’s mansion, Hideyoshi’s duty was to watch the storehouse. He took the job very seriously. He obtained a dog and vigilantly guarded the storehouse which had been frequently burglarized but now remained safe after Hideyoshi took the job. Soon he was promoted to a position in control of the storehouse.

Meanwhile, some jealous men in the mansion made a false charge against Hideyoshi, and pressed Yukitsuna to hand him over to them for punishment. The helpless Yukitsuna said to Hideyoshi, “I am sorry for you, but you cannot replace so many attendants. So you had better leave here.”

Hideyoshi asked, “What have I done wrong? Please let me confront my accusers.” “If you had done something wrong, I would allow you to confront them. But your honesty has caused everyone to be jealous and to accuse you of duplicity. Sooner or later they will harm you if you stay here. So I am urging you to leave now for your own safety.” However, Hideyoshi strongly protested, saying, “Once called a thief, I will have to put up with the shame all my life, unless I clear myself of the charge. So, I beg of you, let me face my

accusers. Otherwise, I can not leave this mansion.” Yukitsuna became impatient at his obstinate attitude and scolded him, shouting, “How dare you talk back to your master!”

The surprised Hideyoshi jumped away, and said tearfully, “This is most regrettable. No matter how many subjects you have, if you retain only the wretched ones who slander each other, what is their utility? On the other hand, even if you have only one who is faithful to you, you have a true subject. It is most unfortunate that I have been doing my best to serve such an inferior master!” Declaring this with provoking indifference, Hideyoshi returned the sword and five hundred *kan* of coins to Yukitsuna, and returned to his native village of Nakamura.

3. Serving Nobunaga as a Sandal-Bearer:

On September first of 1558 when Nobunaga was hawking, Hideyoshi came by, and begged to be hired as a sandal-bearer. Still young, Nobunaga nightly visited women. For such private rendezvous, Nobunaga took along only his footgear men. Since Hideyoshi wanted to keep the job longer, he asked the supervisor of the footgear men, “I want to learn everything, so I would like to accompany our lord on night duty.” The supervisor agreed, and allowed Hideyoshi to take charge of the night duty. The wondering Nobunaga asked the supervisor, “I see the same young man nightly. Is that because the older ones are neglecting their duties?” The supervisor explained, “No, sir. He volunteered for the job himself.”

On one snowy night when Nobunaga was to leave a woman’s place, and began to put on his wooden clogs, he felt they were warm. “You must have been sitting on them. What a rude rascal!” Scolding him, Nobunaga hit Hideyoshi with his stick. “No sir. I did not sit on them,” Hideyoshi contradicted him. The angry Nobunaga continued, “Don’t lie to me.

I will punish you!” Then a woman came out, and interceded for Hideyoshi who was still excusing himself, “I did not sit on them, sir.”

Nobunaga insisted, “Then, why are these clogs so warm?” Hideyoshi explained, “Since it’s a cold night, I thought your feet might be cold. So I have warmed your clogs by putting them on my back under my kimono.” “Show me the proof!” Hideyoshi took off his kimono, and showed his back which was clearly marked by the clog thongs. The impressed Nobunaga immediately promoted Hideyoshi to supervisor of the footgear attendants.

Hideyoshi continuously accompanied Nobunaga on night duty. While waiting for their lord, customarily the supervisor had stayed indoors while the footgear men remained outside. But Hideyoshi always waited outside while keeping his footgear men indoors. When Nobunaga asked him why, Hideyoshi replied, “Because you will be more relaxed with the ladies. In these warring days, enemies may appear from any direction. So I have been watching outside, sir.” Nobunaga was more impressed with his loyalty.

4. Tangerine Peels:

While working under Nobunaga, Hideyoshi always wanted to be known among the Nobunaga men. At one time, he deliberately hid himself under the floor boards of a toilet. When a young page urinated, Hideyoshi scolded him, “Who is pissing on me?” The page apologized, “Sorry, but I did not know you were there.” Hideyoshi casually replied, “Don’t be bothered. It’s quite all right.” As the story was repeated, Hideyoshi became gradually known among the young pages as a good-natured man.

At another time, Hideyoshi got some tangerine peels from a page boy. After a while, he appeared wearing a sleeveless kimono, saying to the page, “This is made from the

tangerine peels you gave me.” “Why is that?” asked the page, and Hideyoshi explained, “Well, I dried the peels, sold them to a medicine dealer [dried tangerine peels were useful in Chinese medicine], and obtained some money with which I had this kimono made.” All those who heard this were most impressed with his ingenuity.

At another time when Nobunaga needed bamboos before a battle, and was wondering whom he should ask to get them, immediately Hideyoshi volunteered, “Let me do it.” As soon as he cut a bamboo, he gathered the leaves, and gave them to the people in the kitchen, saying, “You can use these with firewood.” He also gave some extra bamboos to peasants, sold the rest at the price of thirty *kan*, and used the money to cover expenses for the battle.

Before accompanying his lord in battle, Hideyoshi obtained a horse with his colleague to ride by turns. Hideyoshi carefully calculated the days before the battle, had his colleague ride first, and rode himself just at the time of the actual fighting. With many merits gained by riding the horse in battle, Hideyoshi was finally rewarded with one hundred *kan* of annual income.

Once at dawn when Nobunaga started for Inuyama Castle⁶⁷, he saw someone riding before him. “Who are you?” asked Nobunaga. Hideyoshi replied, “It’s me, Kinoshita Tōkichirō [the adult name of Hideyoshi].” Sometime later, Nobunaga left early at dawn to go hawking. He saw someone near him, and asked, “Who is it?” “It’s me, Tōkichirō.” Again Nobunaga was impressed and felt closer toward Hideyoshi.

⁶⁷ Inuyama Castle in Owari was taken by Ikeda Tsuneoki from Oda Nobukatsu in 1584. The castle was later given to Hideyoshi’s brother-in-law, Miyoshi Yoshifusa who was called Inuyama Dono. Boscaro, L 11, 14.

5. A Mounted Samurai:

Nobunaga was camping at night on a battlefield. Just at the time when everyone began to relax, he heard a sentry call in a clear voice, “Everyone take precautions!” These calls from a sentry were heard every night, and the voice was loud and clear. The wondering Nobunaga finally learned it was Hideyoshi. Impressed, Nobunaga appointed Hideyoshi to take charge of the gunnery [matchlocks] for the eight districts of Owari Province.

Now Hideyoshi thought, “I cannot do much on foot. To be a mounted samurai, I must get a horse and a weapon to perform well in my new position. But I have no one to help me. What shall I do?” He went to a relative who was a peasant in Jimokuji Village of Owari Province, and explained his situation, and asked him for a horse and a servant. The relative was a difficult man, but was finally about to consent. Now Hideyoshi proudly said to his relative, “My purpose is to establish our clan. So come and join me as my attendant.” The relative became irritated at Hideyoshi’s pompous attitude, and said laughingly, “You sound most incredible and ridiculous. I will not let you have a horse or a man.” Hideyoshi tried to persuade him, “Trust me, please. I will certainly reward you for your service.” But the man would not listen to him, and finally Hideyoshi lost his patience, saying, “Fine. You are not my relative any more,” and left.

Next, Hideyoshi went to an acquaintance, another peasant in the same village, and told about his ambition. The peasant agreed, and offered him a horse with an old spear, and followed him as his attendant. So finally, Hideyoshi became a mounted samurai with an attendant, rode around the eight districts of the province, and began to collect [funds for] guns from the villages. As he taxed the villagers heavily for guns, the distressed villagers

offered him various articles as substitutes which he sold, and used the money to hire more men. He repeated the same process from one village to another until he gathered nearly one hundred men and three hundred packhorses with guns.

At just about that time, Nobunaga was on his way to attack Mino Province. Ahead, he saw a procession of loaded horses waiting by the riverbed. When he asked who was leading the procession, Niwa Nagahide [one of Nobunaga's close attendants] replied, "It is Tokichirô." At this, Nobunaga said, "So, that Monkey [Hideyoshi's derogatory nickname] has finally become a full-fledged man. Call him right away." When Hideyoshi appeared, Nobunaga asked him, "Whose men and horses are they?" "They are mine, sir. I thought you would need more men to attack Mino, so I have brought them for you." Again, the impressed Nobunaga allowed Hideyoshi to join his rearguard. Hideyoshi was highly rewarded for his good work in the battle.

6. The Wall of Kiyosu Castle:

In 1559, Nobunaga wanted to repair the wall of his castle in the town of Kiyosu. The stone wall had collapsed for about one hundred *ken*. Those in charge had their men work on the wall for twenty days, but had made little progress. Hideyoshi who was accompanying Nobunaga to inspect the work, said to himself, "It's most unfortunate that the progress has been so slow when we are surrounded by enemies who may attack us at any moment." Hearing his soliloquy, Nobunaga asked him, "Monkey, what are you mumbling?" Hideyoshi whispered to him his criticism. Then Nobunaga ordered him, "In that case, you take charge of the job." After saying this, Nobunaga introduced Hideyoshi to his older subjects [for their assistance].

Now at his lord's order, Hideyoshi gathered his men, treated them with food and drink, divided them into ten teams with ten men on a team, and allocated to each team ten *ken* of the wall to repair. Hideyoshi visited each team, and constantly urged and encouraged his men to work harder. Thus his men finished repairing one hundred *ken* of the wall in two days. When Nobunaga saw the completed assignment after returning from his hunting trip, he was overwhelmed, and rewarded Hideyoshi by promoting him to be an officer in his army.

7. Extraordinary Patience:

In 1560, Hideyoshi made a recommendation to Nobunaga, "Kiyosu Castle lacks water. It will be better to move to Komaki." Nobunaga already had been aware of the fact, but did not mention it to his men because of the expenses for moving. Besides, he did not want his people to know the defects of the castle, and deliberately scolded Hideyoshi, saying, "How can a Monkey know anything? How dare you influence a top decision with gibberish while in such a lowly status? Such a preposterous attitude may deserve the death penalty!" When Hideyoshi tried to make an excuse, he was immediately scolded again. Hearing this, everyone laughed at Hideyoshi, saying, "No one has as thick a hide as he does!" However, Hideyoshi paid no attention to the scornful remarks and continuously tried to be accepted by Nobunaga.

Hideyoshi's patience was most remarkable. Still in a lowly status, he was once kicked into a muddy ditch by his colleagues. Instead of losing his temper, Hideyoshi, who had greater ambition than any of his colleagues, quietly crawled out from the ditch without a word. He had never caused any trouble involving injuries and killing. In 1563 when Nobunaga took his men fishing at a river, he placed Hideyoshi in charge of the fishing for a

joke. Hideyoshi took the job so seriously that he gave each of his men a role to play and commanded them as if he were a military expert.

At another time, Nobunaga was concerned about the economy of his province, and wanted to save expenses for firewood. He appointed Hideyoshi to take charge of the firewood. Hideyoshi made a screen in front of the fireplace in the kitchen which narrowed the space for burning firewood, and thus reduced the amount of firewood consumed. Hearing this, Nobunaga came to the kitchen and called Hideyoshi, and asked, “What is this screen for? It is unsightly and is inconvenient when something happens.” Immediately Hideyoshi pulled a cord, and instantly the screen collapsed to clear the way. Nonetheless, although only temporarily, Hideyoshi managed to cut expenses for firewood, as requested by his lord.

At one time when Nobunaga took his army to attack Mino Province, he saw a strange banner in his army, and asked, “Whose banner is that?” “It is mine, Tōkichiro’s, sir,” replied Hideyoshi. “Who has allowed you to hoist your banner?” Nobunaga became angry and had the banner broken. However, Hideyoshi calmly accepted his lord’s scolding, showing no animosity.

8. Realizing One’s Wish:

One night, Hideyoshi was conversing with his colleagues. Each talked about his wishes and hopes. Some wanted to be the lord of great provinces, while others wished to control all Japan. Hideyoshi told them about his wish, saying, “With all my efforts, so far, I have only three hundred *koku* of annual income. Now my only hope is to have three hundred more.” Everyone laughed at his small wish. Hideyoshi explained, “All your talk is for

something unattainable. But mine is more realistic. I have been working days and nights forgetting my food and sleep as I wish to have six hundred *koku* someday, and I am sure to have it since my wishes always have been realized.”

By 1566, Nobunaga had already defeated the Imagawa, controlled Owari Province, and was attacking Saitô of Mino Province. However, he had often failed to send his men across the Sunomata⁶⁸ River. He gathered his commanders, and consulted them, saying, “I am thinking of constructing a fort west of the river, and having a commander guard it.” Finding his plan too dangerous, no generals volunteered for the job. Nobunaga asked Hideyoshi, “What do you think?”

Hideyoshi expressed his opinion, saying, “Since the fort will be in enemy territory, no one will be willing to stay there. If someone stays, and fails due to a lack of knowledge of the local topography, certainly no one will go in the future. I suggest that you should choose someone from the local area including Shinoki, Kasui, Shinano, Hatagawa, Obata, and Moriyama. When I was once in Mino Province, I closely associated with powerful local men, including great robbers. How about inviting such men and using them?” Saying this, Hideyoshi counted such men on the roster, and listed more than sixty including Hachisuka Koroku,⁶⁹ Inada Ôi, Kajita Hayato, and Aoyama in the area. Nobunaga said, “I have heard of them. But who will be their commander?” Hideyoshi volunteered, “If there is no one else, I will be the one.” Nobunaga immediately granted him the position.

9. Releasing a Captive:

⁶⁸ Sunomata: The town located in the southwest of Gifu Prefecture where the three rivers, the Kiso, the Nagara, and the Ibi Rivers meet. It had been a frequent battleground since the time of the Genji-Heike. Hideyoshi built a fort overnight there.

⁶⁹ Hachisuka Koroku Masakatsu (1526-86), served Saitô Dôsan, Oda Nobukiyo and helped Hideyoshi constructing

By a tactical trick, Hideyoshi made Ôsawa Jirôzaemon, a castellan of Uruma Castle, agree to offer his allegiance to Nobunaga, and accompanied him to Kiyosu Castle to have an interview with Nobunaga. After seeing Ôsawa, Nobunaga privately ordered Hideyoshi, “This man, Ôsawa, has military valor, but seems to be fickle, and cannot be trusted as an ally. Tonight, you arrange to have him commit suicide.” Hideyoshi warned him, saying, “You may be right. But if you kill the one who has come to surrender to you, no one will come to you in the future. It would be better to release him now.” But Nobunaga did not listen to him.

At home, Hideyoshi pondered solutions to the matter. If he followed his lord’s order, there would be no future surrenders by potential allies. If he sent Ôsawa back, he would have to confront the angry Nobunaga.

Finally, Hideyoshi stealthily called Ôsawa, and said to him, “I have taken care of you until now, but staying here will bring you trouble. I suggest that you leave immediately. And if you are afraid of being attacked on the way, why don’t you take me with you?” Saying this, Hideyoshi took off his swords, and talked with him cordially. Finally Ôsawa expressed his gratitude to Hideyoshi, saying, “I deeply appreciate your care till now,” and escaped from Kiyosu. Hearing this, many heroic men wished to work under Hideyoshi.

10. A Rearguard:

In April of 1570, Nobunaga attacked Asakura Yoshikage. Meanwhile, Asai Hisamasa and his son, Nagamasa, assisted Yoshikage since they were angry with Nobunaga who had broken their contract. The appalled Nobunaga was now pressed from the front and the rear by enemies, and decided to retreat by leaving a unit as a rearguard in Kanagasaki. He

Sunomata Castle. Thanks to his merit of negotiating with the Mori, his son, Iemasa, received Awa Province. A popular

asked
his
men,
“Is
there
anyon



e who will stay here and lead the rearguard?” Nobody replied except Hideyoshi who stepped forward, saying, “This job is important. Leave it to me.” The impressed Nobunaga gave Hideyoshi his orders.

[Hideyoshi led the rearguard]

It was quite an honor for Hideyoshi with his small force to be given charge of the rearguard, and he got the position thanks to his valor and loyalty. Many impressed vassals helped him by offering five, ten, or twenty mounted men. At this, the relieved Nobunaga left Tsuruga on the night of the twenty-eighth.

Hideyoshi had a total of more than seven hundred mounted men. He hid three hundred, and divided the rest into two units of two hundred each. The enemies in Kanagasaki Castle saw the retreating Nobunaga, and said to each other, “Only Hideyoshi remains to confront this castle. What can he do with such a small army? Now we will show him!” Raising war cries, Asakura Taisuke [the castellan of the castle] came out of the castle leading

legend says he was a head of robbers. Boscaro, L 8.

a thousand mounted men.

As planned, Hideyoshi's two hundred men coped with their enemies, but soon failed. The encouraged enemies continued to press, and one of Hideyoshi's additional small units fought back, and failed as it lost seventeen or eighteen mounted men. At a good moment, Hideyoshi shouted to his men, "This is the time to fight for your life!" After a while, his three hundred hidden men suddenly appeared while roaring war cries, and attacked the shocked enemies who started to run back to their castle. Hideyoshi pursued seventy to eighty mounted enemies to the castle gates. He wanted to advance into the castle, but Keya Shichizaemon of the Asakura quickly shut the gates preventing Hideyoshi from taking over the castle.

The enemies in the castle were overwhelmed by Hideyoshi's determination, and said to each other, "It's no use to fight against someone who is betting his life on this fight." They proposed to make peace. Hideyoshi demanded a hostage who was immediately given. So finally Hideyoshi retreated, returned the hostage from Wakasa, hurried to the capital, and joined Nobunaga who was most pleased at his report.

11. Saving the Shogun :

In 1573, Nobunaga was about to attack Uji-Makinoshima. Hideyoshi asked Nobunaga, "Let me hear your future plans for Shogun Yoshiaki, sir." Nobunaga replied, "His last plot was unjust enough to harm the whole country. So I should dispose of him. This is entirely his fault, and serves him right."

Hideyoshi warned him as he explained, "What you say is true, sir. But if we attack him by crossing the river, his castle will definitely fall. In the castle, someone may suggest

that the Shogun commit suicide. No matter how weak his character, the Shogun may think it proper to commit suicide rather than be killed by a common soldier. If that happens, you will certainly be criticized as “the murderer of a Shogun”, and your name will remain notorious for generations. An example is how Miyoshi Nagayoshi tried his best to support the two Shoguns, Lord Manshōin [the twelfth Shogun, Yoshiharu]⁷⁰ and Lord Kōgen’in [the thirteenth Shogun, Yoshiteru]; he finally expelled Shogun Yoshiteru, and became known as a traitor. So please treat Shogun Yoshiaki more generously and avoid a great mistake. This is a most important decision, sir.”

Nobunaga accepted his warning, saying, “Indeed, you are right.” And Hideyoshi immediately sent Shogun Yoshiaki to Miyoshi Yoshitsugu in Wakae of Kawachi Province.

12. The Red Umbrella:⁷¹

In 1577, Nobunaga tried to pacify the Chūgoku Area,⁷² and said to Hideyoshi, “I will appoint you as the general for the Chūgoku Area by giving you Harima Province and a *shugasa* red umbrella.

Hideyoshi politely accepted his order, saying, “I am most honored by the appointment. With the red umbrella, I will certainly pacify the Chūgoku provinces. However, it will be inefficient to ask your advice and opinions from the distant Chūgoku Area. Now that I have received the red umbrella, I would like to manage everything in my own way. I will forgive those who surrender, and attack anyone who resists. Such a lenient and resourceful attitude will be equal to the occasion and will surely bring us a victory over

⁷⁰ Ashikaga Yoshiharu (1511-1550): The twelfth Ashikaga Shogun, also called Manshōin, retired in favor of his son, Yoshiteru, in 1546.

⁷¹ Red Umbrella: *Shugasa*, a large vermilion paper umbrella with an eight-foot-long handle mainly used by a leading priest

the Mōri Clan⁷³ in Chûgoku. Once the Chûgoku Area is pacified, please give the land to govern to those who have been serving you, including Nonomura, Fukutomi, Yabe, and Mōri. After that, I can easily pacify the Kyushu Area. When Kyushu is under my control, I would like to use the income of one year from Kyushu to prepare an army, rations and a large ship to attack Korea. If you think of rewarding me, please give me a letter saying that you will give me Korea as a reward. After conquering Korea, I will invade the country of Ming. If I conquer Ming, send someone among the noble courtiers as a general to rule Ming. Thus the three countries will eventually fall into your hands.”

At his preposterous talk, everyone present was most amazed and appalled. Nobunaga laughed loudly as he said to Hideyoshi, “Fine, in that case, you don’t need to ask my advice about the Chûgoku Area.”

It was said that Hideyoshi deliberately proposed his ideas on the Korea and China expeditions to divert Nobunaga’s attention. Since he knew of Nobunaga’s suspicious nature towards his capable subjects, Hideyoshi cleverly avoided Nobunaga’s suspicion and jealousy toward him by clearly indicating that he would prefer the award of a foreign country to territory in Japan.

13. Opening an Escape Route:

In April of 1578, Hideyoshi attacked a castle in Noguchi which belonged to Bessho

at a Buddhist ceremony in the garden. The Red Umbrella in tale 12 symbolizes Hideyoshi in charge of the Chûgoku Area.

⁷² Chûgoku Area: The area includes present Okayama, Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Shimane, and Tottori Prefectures.

⁷³ A powerful daimyo family who dominated the Chûgoku Area including the Inland Sea of Japan for half a century. Mōri Motonari (1497-1571) fought the Amako on behalf of his overlord Ôuchi Yoshitaka who was overthrown by Sue Harukata. Eventually, Motonari acquired most of the former territories of the Ôuchi. He was succeeded by his grandson, Terumoto (1553-1625 who made peace with Hideyoshi, and served in the Kyushu expedition.

Nagaharu. The castellan, Nagai Shirôzaemon, failed to successfully defend the castle. When the allied soldiers broke through forty to fifty *ken* of the outer wall and were almost taking the castle, Nagai proposed a truce. Hideyoshi's men would not listen, saying, "If this is his wish, he should have made such a proposal earlier. It's too late to ask for his life when he has failed to this extent."

Hideyoshi said to his men, "You are wrong. In fighting, we should be content with a victory of sixty to seventy percent. If we press for unconditional surrender, they will fight back desperately at the cost of their lives, which will often make our victory difficult. An efficient way to take a castle is to provide an escape for deserters who will give us a quick and easy victory. You should never interfere with an offer to surrender." Soon Hideyoshi took over the castle with no difficulty.

14. A Short Sword:

In November of 1578, Araki Murashige⁷⁴ rebelled against Nobunaga. Even though Hideyoshi went from his Harima Province to the Arioka Castle of Murashige and tried to change his mind, Murashige would not listen. At that time, Murashige entertained Hideyoshi with *sake* in his castle.

When Murashige left the room to fetch some fish dishes, one of his colleagues, Kawarabayashi Harufuyu urged Murashige to kill Hideyoshi. Murashige stopped him, and told Hideyoshi about Harufuyu. Hideyoshi said, "He is a brave man," and called Harufuyu to the room. After having exchanged several *sake* cups with Harufuyu, Hideyoshi took off his

⁷⁴ Araki Murashige 荒木村重 (?-1586): Murashige served Oda Nobunaga and fought against Môri Terumoto. He was accused of treason by Akechi Mitsuhide, and fortified himself in his Itami Castle. After a year-long siege the castle fell, but Murashige escaped to live in obscurity. Yagyû Munenori (1571-1646): Boscaro, L 4.

short sword from his waist and offered it to Harufuyu as a gift.

When Murashige asked Hideyoshi, “Don’t you need another sword as a replacement?” Hideyoshi replied, “I am not serving Lord Nobunaga for only one short sword. And Lord Nobunaga is not employing me as an insignificant retainer.” He insisted that Harufuyu accept the sword as a gift. Because of such a valorous attitude, no one in the castle dared to attack Hideyoshi.

15. Miki Castle⁷⁵:

Nakamura Tadashige in Miki Castle was a subject of Bessho Nagaharu. While attacking the castle, Hideyoshi sent Tadashige his messenger, Tani Moriyoshi, who said to Tadashige, “If you allow our men into your castle, you will be greatly rewarded.” Tadashige complied with Hideyoshi’s offer, sent his daughter to Hideyoshi as a hostage, and let more than a thousand of Hideyoshi’s men enter the castle. As soon as Hideyoshi’s soldiers were inside the castle compound, Tadashige’s soldiers surrounded them, and killed them all. The infuriated Hideyoshi immediately crucified Tadashige’s daughter.

By the time Hideyoshi took over the castle, Tadashige had disappeared. After having searched everywhere, Hideyoshi’s men finally caught him in a deep mountain of Tanba-Ayabe. Hideyoshi said to Tadashige, “It was most aggravating that you tricked me, and killed so many of my strong men in your castle. I can cut you into pieces with a saw, or broil you in a blazing fire. But you did all for your lord, even sacrificing your loving daughter. Your sense of duty and loyalty should be praised.” Hideyoshi entrusted him to the care of Nakamura Kazuuji, and granted him an annual stipend of three thousand *koku* of rice.

⁷⁵ Miki Castle in Harima was taken by Hideyoshi in 1578. The lord of the castle was Bessho Nagaharu who killed himself

16. Mitsuhide with a Plot:

Miyabe Kahyôe, a subject of Akechi Mitsuhide⁷⁶, once had served Hideyoshi. One day Mitsuhide asked Miyabe, “I understand that you used to work under Hideyoshi. How did he use his men?” Miyabe replied, “Not so much different from others, sir. But he rewarded his men remarkably well even for minimal merits.” At this, Mitsuhide was most impressed.

Open-hearted and relaxed by nature, Hideyoshi spoke frankly and pompously as he exaggerated. In contrast, Mitsuhide, a serious man, always spoke politely and cautiously. At one time, Hideyoshi bluntly questioned Mitsuhide, “I hear that you are developing a plot to trick me. Is it true?” Mitsuhide quickly denied this, saying, “Never. You speak of something that never happened.” And Mitsuhide was said to have quit whatever he was planning.

17. Regretting Katsuyori:

In 1582 when Nobunaga destroyed the Takeda Clan, Hideyoshi could not join in the battle since he was fighting against the Môri⁷⁷ in the Chûgoku Area. Hearing of the death of Takeda Katsuyori, Hideyoshi deeply sighed, “It is most regrettable that such a magnificent samurai lord as Katsuyori is dead. If I had joined the battle, I would have recommended that my lord spare him, and give him both Kai and Shinano Provinces to govern. Then we could have controlled the eastern country more quickly and easily.” Saying this, Hideyoshi repeatedly regretted the death of Katsuyori.

rather than surrender besieged by Hideyoshi. See note 9.

⁷⁶ See note 9.

⁷⁷ The Môri, a powerful daimyo family who dominated the Chûgoku Area including the Inland Sea of Japan for half a century. Môri Motonari (1497-1571) fought the Amako on behalf of his overlord Ôuchi Yoshitaka who was overthrown by Sue Harukata. Eventually, Motonari acquired most of the former territories of the Ôuchi. He was succeeded by his grandson, Terumoto

18. Buying Rice at a High Price:

While camping in Bitchû Province of the Chûgoku Area, Hideyoshi was scheming to make peace with the Môri. He secretly bought the rice in the Chûgoku Area at high prices. Except for Kobayakawa Takekage who prohibited his men from selling rice in the castle, many Mori men brought rice from their castle to sell at high prices.

Upon the news that Nobunaga had committed suicide during the attack by Akechi Mitsuhide, Hideyoshi immediately wanted to return to the capital to avenge his lord, and forced the Môri to make peace. The Môri had to comply, since the rice in their castle had become scarce.

19. A Fort Built Overnight:

When Hideyoshi was attacking Takamatsu Castle in Bitchû Province of the Chûgoku area, he camped on the opposite mountain, and made a fortress during one night by digging ditches, setting up turrets with wainscots, and applying plaster. The fortress looked like one which required a few years to finish. Those who saw it in the distance were all amazed, saying that it could not be the construction of a human.

At the news from Honnôji Temple⁷⁸ in the capital where Nobunaga died, Hideyoshi quickly made peace with the Môri, and hastily advanced to the capital, leaving his camp as it was in the Chûgoku Area. People found that the fortress was made of many sheets of board for doors and windows, which were painted black with *sumi* soot ink, and many sheets of Harima paper pressed against the earth and dirt to look like the plastered walls from a

⁷⁸ Honnôji Temple 本能寺: Built in 1415 as the headquarters of the Honmonryô of the Hokke Sect at present Chûû-ku of Kyoto City. It was burnt down when Akechi Mitsuhide attacked Nobunaga who killed himself in the temple.

distance. Later, Hideyoshi used the same technique to construct a makeshift fort during one night.

Before leaving Bitchû for the capital, Hideyoshi became suspicious of his enemies in the Chûgoku area. Since he did not know what the elders of the Ukita in Okayama Castle of Bizen Province had in their mind, he sent a message to their young lord, Ukita Hideie,⁷⁹ saying, “Soon, I am leaving for the capital to avenge my deceased lord, Nobunaga. But first I am coming to plan for the future with you in your castle.”

The Ukita who had been siding with Akechi Mitsuhide [who had attacked Nobunaga in the Honnôji Temple in the capital] were wondering if they should block Hideyoshi on his way to the capital. Now at Hideyoshi’s message, they were all pleased to think that they would be able to kill him in their castle when he came, and anxiously waited for him.

Meanwhile, Hideyoshi spread the news that he was leaving Takayama in Bitchû at daybreak of the seventh of June, arriving at Miyauchi about noon, and soon reaching Ukita’s Okayama Castle. Meanwhile, Hideyoshi suddenly got sunstroke, and was resting when a messenger came from Ukita. Hideyoshi’s servant met and said to Ukita’s messenger, “Our master is now ill in bed of sunstroke. He vomited, but is now resting as his abdominal pains subside.”

While his servant was gaining time with false excuses, Hideyoshi, mounted on a famous steed called “The Black”, crossed the Yoshii River with a small detachment of

⁷⁹ Ukita Hideie (1572-1655): Hideie, the son of Naoie, was brought up by Hideyoshi after his father died, and served Hideyoshi loyally. He took part in the attack on Fushimi Castle in 1600, was defeated at the Battle of Sekigahara, and exiled to Hachijôjima.

soldiers, passed Katakami, rode up to Une, and finally sent a message to Ukita in Okayama Castle, saying, “On account of urgent business, I had to take a shortcut, and unfortunately failed to visit your castle.” At his message, all the Ukita were most amazed and deflated.

Previously when Nobunaga was still in power, one of his enemies, Yabe Zenshichi, camped in Awajishima. After the sudden death of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi [who had grasped power in place of Nobunaga] gave Awajishima into the charge of Sengoku Hidehisa. Hidehisa questioned him, saying, “Being of lesser status, I have only a small number of men, and wonder how I can do well?”

Hideyoshi encouraged him, saying, “That’s easy. You send messages to the samurai in Awajishima, saying that they will be highly rewarded if they attack Yabe’s castle.” Following his instructions, Hidehisa immediately sent messengers to Awajishima. As expected, all the samurai in Awajishima revolted against Yabe, and besieged the castle which Yabe eventually handed over to Hidehisa.

20. The Cause of Mitsuhide’s Revolt:⁸⁰

[After Nobunaga passed away], Hideyoshi said to his men, “Lord Nobunaga was a brave general, but not a good one. He knew how to beat the weak with the strong, but was ignorant of how to control the strong with the weak. Once someone was against him, he would never forget, nor forgive, and attacked to extinction everyone related to him. He killed even those who came to surrender. Thus he was constantly involved in fights for vengeance.

⁸⁰ This refers to the Battle of Yamasaki. Yamasaki is the old name for the area to the south of Kyoto-fu and a part of Shimamoto-chô of Osaka-fu where in 1582 Hideyoshi fought against Akechi Mitsuhide who had attacked Nobunaga at the Honnôji Temple. Hideyoshi’s victory laid the foundation for him to unify Japan. For Akechi Mitsuhide, see note 9.

This was because he lacked largess and generosity. People kept at a distance from him, and never loved him. He was like a wolf or a tiger. Everyone was afraid, and tried to eliminate their fear by killing him. That was the cause of Akechi Mitsuhide's revolt against him."

So after Nobunaga, Hideyoshi reformed Nobunaga's policies, forgave those who came to surrender, and treated them generously as if they were his old subjects. Now his old enemies became his new subjects who tried to be loyal to him even at the cost of their lives. Thus, Hideyoshi was quickly on his way to pacify all Japan.

21. Brainy Generals:

Hideyoshi had friction with Shibata Katsuie on the issue of succession to Nobunaga's domain. Hideyoshi proposed that Takigawa Kazuma and Oda Nobutaka should be their intermediaries. Katsuie agreed with Hideyoshi and sent him a message, saying, "It is useless to disagree over trifles, so let's make peace." Hideyoshi replied to Katsuie's messengers, saying, "Indeed, I agree with whatever Lord Katsuie says." The messengers asked Hideyoshi, "It is most fortunate that you agree with our lord. Now we would like to have your letter of approval, sir." Hideyoshi replied to the messengers, "I will send my letter later. Now before you return home, I suggest that you visit the grave of our past Lord Nobunaga in the Daitokuji Temple of the capital to pay your respects." The messengers followed Hideyoshi's suggestions, visited the temple, and returned to their home in Echizen Province.

After the messengers left, the laughing Hideyoshi said to his men, "Katsuie's purpose is await the spring for fighting since he can not lead his army easily through the deep snow of Echizen Province. This must be a suggestion by someone like Takigawa. There

used to be splendid brainy generals including Chang Liang in Han China and Kusunoki Masashige in Japan, but how can I be tricked by someone with Shibata's brains?" Saying this, Hideyoshi advanced his army to Echizen Province.

22. The Battle of Shizugatake:

In April of 1583, Hideyoshi in Gifu of Mino Province received a message saying that Nakagawa Kiyohide had been defeated by Sakuma Morimasa, a nephew of Shibata Katsuie, at the battle of Shizugatake. Unimpressed, Hideyoshi said, "So, this message promises my victory over the Shibata," and quickly rode out, instructing his men, "Tell my army to follow me!" Only seven mounted men finally caught up with him.

When Hideyoshi arrived at the Haruaki station, he called some messengers, and said to them, "A group of you will run around the villages along the main route, and tell them to greet the coming army in the evening with torchlights. He also instructed another party of messengers, saying, "You run to the town of Nagahama, and tell the townsmen to bring plenty of rice gruel, soya beans, and fodder to the Kinomoto station. Tell them that they will be highly rewarded after I destroy the Shibata this evening."

It was almost sunset when Hideyoshi arrived at the Kinomoto station. While Hideyoshi was resting before a Jizo Hall, and waiting for his army to catch up, many townsmen of Nagahama brought food and fodder which immensely pleased Hideyoshi and his men. Holding hundreds of torchlights in their hands, the villagers and townsmen greeted Hideyoshi, "We have come here to welcome you." Hideyoshi ordered one of his men, "I can not remember each of their names. You remember the names of their villages and reward them later." This was all thanks to his good treatment of the people when he had once stayed

in the town of Nagahama.

Now Hideyoshi's army finally advanced to a distance of two *ri* from the Morimasa Army which sent a message to Hideyoshi, saying, "We appreciate your coming this far. We will meet tomorrow morning." Hideyoshi gave his reply, saying, "Thank you for your greetings. I understand your message."

Morimasa's plan was to attack Hideyoshi and his army, tired from their long journey. The laughing Hideyoshi had his army withdraw three *ri* from the enemy armies. In order to block Morimasa's night attack, he had the farmers and the villagers make campfires in the mountains and fields near the midpoint of the three *ri*.

On the following day, the twenty-first of April, after a severe battle, the wounded soldiers of both allies and enemies were suffering under the hot sun in the battlefield. Feeling pity, Hideyoshi borrowed the hats of the spectators, and used them to shelter the wounded men regardless of their side. All those who saw and heard this praised his consideration.

23. A Way to Feed Fifty Thousand Men:

After the great casualties in the Battle of Shizugatake,⁸¹ the Shibata army retreated to Kitanoshô into which the pursuing Hideyoshi poured his army like an avalanche. Now the Shibata men were completely surrounded by the Hideyoshi men. At the news, Hideyoshi said to his men, "Leave them as they are!" Some Shibata men asked Hideyoshi men to look after them. When Hideyoshi heard this, again he said to his men, "Such a thing is not rare in the custom of fighting. I will pay them as much as they received from the Shibata. If they

⁸¹ Battle of Shizugatake: Shizugatake is a 421-meter-high hill to the north of Lake Biwa in Shiga Prefecture where Hideyoshi fought against Shibata Katsuie in 1583. After the death of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and Katsuie, who was an old veteran of Nobunaga, fought for hegemony, and Katsuie who lost the Battle of Shizugatake retreated to his castle in Kitanoshô of Echizen, and committed

appreciate serving me, tell them to line up to greet me at the roadside!”

Seeing fires rising from Kitanoshô, Hideyoshi was already on his way back to Etchu Province. He did not even bother to examine the head of Katsuie which was not at all on his mind at that moment. This was an example of Hideyoshi’s swift movements.

Before this battle, Hideyoshi gave thirty foot soldiers to Katô Kiyomasa, and had him borrow rice, gold and silver from all the rich men of Ômi Province at three times the going interest rate. Thus Hideyoshi obtained much fodder and rations enough to feed fifty thousand men who all said to each other, “This is the first time we have eaten our fill before fighting!”

24. A Lifetime Vassal:

On the twenty-second of April, after having destroyed Sakuma Morimasa, Hideyoshi went to see Maeda Toshiie [who had sided with the Shibata]⁸² accompanied by only his page. Before the gateway, Hideyoshi raised his voice, and shouted out, ”Hey, Mataza [Toshiie’s old name], Hideyoshi is here.” The surprised Toshiie appeared, apologizing, “It is most unfortunate that we have lost like this, being no match for you. As in the usual way of fighting, we have left our fate to heaven, but still it is a terrible shame to see you in this way. I am ready to commit hara-kiri before you.”

As soon as Toshiie finished, Hideyoshi began, “Don’t be so distant. You and I have been old friends. Due to our fate of being samurai, we have been temporarily separated as enemies. But now the Shibata are gone, and you should have no personal grudge against me

⁸² Maeda Toshiie (1538-99): Toshiie served Oda Nobunaga, and fought at the Battle of Anegawa in 1570, and received the fief of Fuchû in Echizen Province after the destruction of the Asakura. In 1581 he obtained the province of Noto, and then Kaga in 1583. He fought against the Hôjô in 1590 for Hideyoshi who placed strong trust in Toshiie as described in tale 47 of

as I have none against you. Even though the Shibata are finished, still all sorts of problems remain, and I need your support to solve them. I only think of pacifying the country by relying on you.” Thus Hideyoshi openly expressed his hearty feelings to his old friend, Toshiie, who finally understood him, and became his lifetime vassal.

25. A Plot Against Nobukatsu:⁸³

In 1584, plotting to destroy Kitabatake Nobukatsu [Oda Nobukatsu], Hideyoshi invited Nobukatsu’s four major retainers, including Okada Shigeyoshi, Tsugawa Yoshifuyu, Asai Tamiyamaru, and Takigawa Katsumasa.

After having entertained them well, Hideyoshi said to them, “You will urge Nobukatsu to commit suicide. Then I will highly reward you.” He sounded threatening enough to scare the four who felt they would lose their heads by disobeying him. Hideyoshi continued to press them, saying, “Now, all of you write letters pledging loyalty.” The helpless four men wrote letters, and Hideyoshi also wrote one for himself, saying, “I accept your pledges.”

The reason why Hideyoshi gathered the four men, and made them pledge before each other was that if one of them betrayed the others, and reported to Nobukatsu, the rest surely would be executed. Hideyoshi also considered and speculated that the four men, after having written the pledges, would suspect each other, and would never cooperate. Just as he expected, Takigawa Katsumasa eventually informed against the three to Nobukatsu who immediately executed the three men.

Hideyoshi.

⁸³ Oda Nobukatsu 織田信雄 or Nobuo (1558-1630): The second son of Nobunaga, Nobuo, was adopted by Kitabatake Tomofusa to ensure the Oda hegemony over Ise Province. He fought in the Battles of Komaki and Nagakute, and in the Battle of Sekigahara for Ieyasu, and received a fief of 50,000 *koku* with Uda District of Yamato Province.

26. A Major Scheme Ignores Minor Defects:

After the Battle of Nagakute [in 1584 when Hideyoshi fought against Oda Nobukatsu and Ieyasu],⁸⁴ thinking it difficult to defeat Ieyasu, Hideyoshi secretly sent two messengers, Tomita Nobuhiro and Tsuda Nobusue, to Oda Nobukatsu. The two messengers met Nobukatsu at Yadagawara of Ise, and delivered Hideyoshi's message which said, "I am afraid that Lord Nobukatsu misunderstands the whole situation. Your present ally, Ieyasu, who was originally a samurai of the Mikawa Area, has come to his present power thanks to the past favor of our Lord Nobunaga. Ieyasu will not offer you control over all Japan. Lord Nobunaga controlled only seventeen provinces during his lifetime while I, Hideyoshi, presently have forty provinces under my control. I have no intention of giving you controlling power, either. However, since you are the first son of Lord Nobunaga to whom I have had a great obligation, I offer you a good province to govern with a stipend of a million *koku*, if you make peace with me." Nobukatsu immediately agreed and made peace with Hideyoshi.

Now at the news that Nobukatsu had made peace with Hideyoshi without consulting Ieyasu who was siding with Nobukatsu only out of his loyalty to the past Lord Nobunaga, Ieyasu felt most frustrated, saying, "The coward, Nobukatsu, has made a fool of me."

After a while, Hideyoshi sent Ieyasu another messenger, Hashiba Katsutoshi, to propose a truce. Ieyasu was hawking when Katsutoshi arrived. At the hunting ground, Ieyasu received the messenger and asked him, "So you come from Hideyoshi. What does he want to say?"

⁸⁴ Nagakute 長久手 is to the east of Nagoya City where Hideyoshi's army lost to Ieyasu in 1584.

Katsutoshi delivered the message, saying, “Our Lord Hideyoshi wishes to stop fighting. If you agree, he hopes that you will come to the capital to discuss with him about the nation.”

Ieyasu replied to Katsutoshi, the messenger, “I regret that I sided with the coward Nobukatsu. As you see now, I am just enjoying hawking with a small number of attendants. My other men are resting at their own places. This is all because we are building our energy to fight against Hideyoshi in the future. Now, go and tell him this.”

Katsutoshi returned with Ieyasu’s message when Hideyoshi was taking a bath. After hearing Ieyasu’s reply, Hideyoshi told Katsutoshi to return home to rest. Hideyoshi was washing his hair at that time. After some thought, Hideyoshi called back Katsutoshi who had already walked several blocks toward his home, and asked him, “I am sorry, but instead of returning home, will you go back to Ieyasu with another message? I have a plan to make him come up to the capital.”

The message said, “I understand every detail of your reply. However, the issues about the nation should be discussed by us together. So I hope you will come up to the capital by all means. Now I hear that presently you have no wife, and I would very much like to offer you my youngest sister whom Ômandokoro [Hideyoshi’s mother] cherishes so much that she could not live without her. So I will also offer you my mother.”

After hearing Hideyoshi’s message detailed by Katsutoshi, Ieyasu consulted his old vassals and subjects who all agreed to accept Hideyoshi’s proposal with the proposed conditions. Finally Ieyasu sent his consent to Hideyoshi.

At the news of sending Ômandokoro to Ieyasu as a hostage, Hideyoshi’s younger

brother, Grand Councilor Hidenaga, disagreed, saying, “It is a great shame for a samurai to offer his mother as a hostage. If Ieyasu refuses, why don’t you fight him?”

The laughing Hideyoshi explained to his young brother, “As they say, ‘A major scheme ignores minor defects.’ You sound like a man of smaller capacity who can not fathom the greater. If a great general like Ieyasu follows me, how easy it will be to control all Japan. If we fight against him, our victory that will last only a while, and greater casualties will surely ensue. Winning without fighting is a good general’s objective.” Hearing this, the most impressed Hidenaga followed Hideyoshi’s idea.

27. A Secret Discussion Leaked :

In 1585, before Hideyoshi invaded Etchû Province [Sassa’s domain], he secretly discussed his plan with his men, saying, “Greatly favored by Lord Nobunaga, the talented Sassa⁸⁵ with many military merits must be very alert. To cope with him, we should divide our army to press Kaga, Noto, Hida, and Echigo Provinces. Now relying on the geographical advantages of high and steep Mount Kurikara, Sassa may not have placed many men by the mountain. In that case, our great army can easily go into Etchû Province through Mount Kurikara.”

Hideyoshi deliberately had this secret discussion leaked, and some spies of Sassa heard and reported it to Sassa who immediately increased the mountain’s defenses by cutting big trees and constructing palisades at the foot of the mountain. Indeed, Sassa heavily concentrated on the defense of Mount Kurikara, ignoring his headquarters in Toyama Castle.

⁸⁵ Sassa Narimasa 佐々成政 (1539-1588): Narimasa served Nobunaga and received the fief of Etchû Province. Aiding Oda Nobuo, he fought against Hideyoshi, and was defeated by Maeda Toshie. Following Hideyoshi to Kyushu, he received the fief of Higo Province where he was later blamed for the revolt of Higo and was forced to commit suicide. Boscarro, L 17

As soon as he reached Kaga, Hideyoshi sent only his vanguard to Kurikara, and led his private unit and the rearguard of twenty thousand men to Noto. He boarded a ship from Ishido, and went up the Nameri River of Etchû while setting fires sporadically here and there until he reached Toyama Castle.

Even with his entire army, Sassa would be no match for Hideyoshi. Now the best and the majority of the Sassa men had gone to Mount Kurikara leaving the castle almost unguarded. Hideyoshi's army easily took the second station and pressed the main keep of the castle. The appalled Sassa men in the castle were too frightened to fight the attackers and confined themselves in the main keep.

Meanwhile, the ten thousand Sassa men around Mount Kurikara finally learned of their endangered situation as they were pressed by the Hideyoshi vanguard while their castle had been taken by his rearguard. They were too confused to fight, as they were concerned about their evacuated castle, and simply remained dumbfounded without shooting a single arrow. After Mount Kurikara was taken, Sassa with his shaven head appeared to surrender, asking for his life. Hideyoshi, for the sake of the old days, forgave him.

28. Meeting Ieyasu in the Capital:

In 1586, Ieyasu who had made peace with Hideyoshi came up to the capital on the twenty-seventh of September. Hideyoshi sent his young brother Hidenaga and Asano Nagamasa to Ieyasu with a message saying that a bad cold made it impossible for Hideyoshi to come to greet him, and that the interview with various lords would be postponed for four to five days. Some lords suspected that Hideyoshi might force Ieyasu to commit suicide.

On the contrary, Hideyoshi stealthily and privately visited Ieyasu that night. He expressed his appreciation that Ieyasu came to the capital with other lords for an official interview, offered him a famous sword, and left after having exchanged a few cups of *sake*. On the following night, Hideyoshi revisited Ieyasu, and presented him a costly tea container. Again on the night of the twenty-ninth, he went to Ieyasu and offered him three hundred pieces of gold.

On the night of the first of October, Hideyoshi again went to Ieyasu, presented him a kimono, and politely asked, “We are supposed to meet officially after ten o’clock tomorrow morning [the second of October]. As I have already written you, I hope you will greet me politely before the other lords. Then, all the lords who served our past Lord Nobunaga will show me their respect and regard me as their overlord.” Ieyasu replied, “As long as I am in the capital, I will do what you say.” Hideyoshi bowed three times to him and left.

On October the second, Hideyoshi sent notes to the other lords saying that they should come to the castle in formal attire for an interview with Ieyasu by nine o’clock. Those lords said to each other, “Ieyasu, who accepted Hideyoshi’s mother as a hostage, must take a higher seat which will make us look like Hideyoshi’s vassals.”

When Ieyasu appeared, Shinjô Naoyori, Governor of Suruga Province, introduced him, “Lord Tokugawa Ieyasu, Governor of Mikawa Province.” Hideyoshi cordially greeted him, saying, “I appreciate your coming up to the capital.” To this, Ieyasu politely replied. After the lords retired, they talked to each other, “Ieyasu greeted Hideyoshi as his master.” Since then, the daimyo lords from the time of Nobunaga began to pay much more respect to Hideyoshi.

29. A *Jinbaori* Coat:⁸⁶

While Ieyasu was still in the capital, Hidenaga [Hideyoshi's younger brother] invited him for breakfast, and Hideyoshi also joined them. Hideyoshi was dressed in a white *jinbaori* coat which was lined in dark pink with the red sleeves embroidered in arabesques.

When Hideyoshi left the room temporarily, Hidenaga and Asano Nagamasa stealthily asked Ieyasu, "Will you ask Regent Hideyoshi for his coat?" Ieyasu refused their request, "I have never asked anyone for anything in my life." The two explained, "He usually wears the coat over his armor. Now you have made peace with him. If you ask for his coat, saying, 'I will not let you wear any armor, as I will have your *jinbaori* coat hereafter,' the Regent will be most pleased." Ieyasu understood their reason.

After the breakfast, Ieyasu left for Osaka Castle with Hideyoshi where all the other lords were waiting for them. In the presence of the lords, Hideyoshi said to them, "Everyone, including Lords Mōri and Ukita, listen to me. Since I would like to see my mother sooner, I am going to have Lord Ieyasu return to his province tomorrow." Then, he said to Ieyasu, "It is especially cold today. You had better put on an extra kimono. I will offer you one for a parting gift. Please take off your sleeveless robe."

Hidenaga and Nagamasa came to Ieyasu and helped him take off his sleeveless robe. Now Ieyasu asked Hideyoshi, "Will you please give me your *jinbaori* coat?" Hideyoshi refused, "This is my *jinbaori* and I don't want to lose it." Ieyasu insisted, "Hearing that it's your personal *jinbaori*, I would like to have it still more. As long as I am with you, I assure you that you will never wear it over your armor, sir." At this, the immensely pleased

⁸⁶ *Jinbaori* coat: A sleeveless coat usually worn over armor. In tale 29 of Hideyoshi, Ieyasu asks for Hideyoshi's *jinbaori*

Hideyoshi took off his coat, and put it on Ieyasu by himself, saying, “In that case, have this by all means.” Next, Hideyoshi spoke to the lords present, “Just as you all have heard, Lord Ieyasu would not let me put on my armor any longer. I am most fortunate to have such a splendid brother-in-law!”

On that day, Hideyoshi complained to the magistrate in charge of attendants that there were too many attendants for each lord. The magistrate made an excuse, saying, “Even though I have asked each lord to bring a minimum number of attendants, but. . .” The laughing Hideyoshi said to Ieyasu, “Did you hear that, my lord Ieyasu? Just for the short distance between here and the Kiyomizu Temple, twenty to thirty thousand attendants are following us.”

In the following year, Ieyasu said to his close subjects, Ii Naomasa and Honda Masanobu, “Last year, Hideyoshi’s men wanted me to request his coat so that Hideyoshi could show his power to the daimyo lords of the Chûgoku and Shikoku Areas with my support. Moreover, Hideyoshi tried to show off his power by threatening me with twenty to thirty men who would follow even when he just went out of the neighborhood. Those were all his calculated techniques.”

As Hideyoshi had expected, the news of the interview with Ieyasu and the reputation of Hideyoshi’s power reached the distant provinces in the Chûgoku, Shikoku, Shiranui and Tsukushi [of Kyushu] Areas within ten days after the interview, and the prestige of Regent Hideyoshi was greatly enhanced.

At another time, Ieyasu said to his men, “When I was in the capital, Hideyoshi came

coat which suggests a pact because Hideyoshi will not need the coat over his armor since he will not fight in the future.

to see me incognito, and bowed to me three times in the presence of his subjects including Hidenaga, Asai Nagamasa, Chaya Shirôjirô and Kagatsume who had to write the letters pledging to keep what they saw secret. The way he outwits other lords is most amazing, and no one can surpass him. We need time and devices to cope with such a clever man.”

30. Putting Up Signboards:

Prior to the attack on the Shimazu in Kyushu, Hideyoshi sent Sengoku Hidehisa to Kyushu disguised as a merchant to check and learn about the geographical features of the Kyushu Area. After spending three years, Hidehisa returned with detailed illustrated reports. Contrary to a general assumption that Hideyoshi’s attack on the Shimazu would be haphazard, his actual invasion was well prepared with a deliberate strategy and timely tactics.

When Hideyoshi camped at Udo of Higo Province in Kyushu, he seriously reflected, “Since I left Osaka, I have had no strong enemies, and defeated all others. The Shimazu of Kyushu will be the same. This must all be due to the help of Heaven as well as my merits. Now, instead of causing more casualties and miseries by killing and robbing, I should spare and guarantee their lands on which they can work harder.” He immediately ordered Ishida Mitsunari and Ankokuji Ekei, saying, “Go and tell the people of this island that I will grant and guarantee the tenure of their land to all those who come and greet me and surrender.”

Ekei replied, “Since everyone in this province has run away into the mountains and the forests, we find no one at their former addresses.” Hideyoshi ordered, “In that case, put up signboards to let them know my intention.” Three days after the signboards were set up at various places, sixty to seventy enemy warriors appeared at the camp to surrender.

31. A Tea Container:⁸⁷

On that occasion, Akitsuki Tanenaga left his Oguma Castle, and came to greet Hideyoshi. After Hideyoshi accepted Tanenaga's greetings and surrender, he casually asked him, "I hear that a most celebrated tea container called Narashiba has been handed down in your family. I would very much like to see it." Tanenaga said, "I will go and get it now." "No, instead of you, we can send someone to fetch it."

When Hideyoshi saw the tea container brought by Tanenaga's man, he politely asked Tanenaga, "This is a most exquisite artifact. I know it's your family treasure. But I wonder if I can have it?." "Why should I withhold anything from you after having surrendered to you?" replied Tanenaga.

The pleased Hideyoshi said to him, "In that case, you had better leave this camp sooner before your soldiers become suspicious of us. It was the Way of the Warrior that you once challenged me. But now that you have come to me like this, I have no personal grudge against you, and will guarantee the land of your domain which you have been governing."

The joyful Tanenaga immediately returned to his men who had been anxious to attack Hideyoshi in case their lord had been killed. They were all relieved to hear about the tea container exchanged for their land. As the news spread, many former enemies in Kyushu came to Hideyoshi to surrender without fighting.

32. The Shaven-Headed Yoshihisa:

With his round head, Shimazu Yoshihisa⁸⁸ came to Hideyoshi's camp. Hideyoshi

⁸⁷ Tea container: The tea ceremony was popularly observed among the samurai class during the Muromachi Period and costly tea utensils including cups and containers were highly appreciated among the daimyo. An old tea container could replace and save a fiefdom as a Hideyoshi tale narrates.

said to him, “You have opposed our Emperor for the past fifteen years, and should be punished as an Imperial traitor. However, since you have come to greet me like this, you should be spared. Hereafter, we should communicate well with each other. I see you are without a sword, which is commendable for the occasion. Now, take this.” Hideyoshi took out one of his swords, held the end of the sheath, and offered it to Yoshihisa. Hearing this, more people were impressed by Hideyoshi’s valor and largess.

When Hideyoshi had an interview with Niuro Tadamoto, a subject of Yoshihisa, he asked, “Do you still want to fight?” Tadamoto replied, “I do, as long as you see my Lord as your enemy.” “Indeed, you are a splendid samurai warrior,” said the impressed Hideyoshi as he took off his *jinbaori* coat and offered it to him. Tadamoto courteously accepted it, and retired to an adjacent room. After a while, Hideyoshi called him back, saying, “I have something else to give you.” He took out a long sword named “Cricket Head”, held it by its end, and offered it to him. The awestruck Tadamoto received it and took it home where he said to his young men, “Hideyoshi is not a man for me to fight. He impressed me so much today.” Tadamoto had thought of stabbing Hideyoshi at the interview.

33. Conquering Odawara Castle:⁸⁹

Hôjô Ujimasa⁹⁰ in his Odawara Castle had been ignoring Hideyoshi’s repeated requests to come up to the capital for a greeting. Finally Ujimasa replied, saying, “I will

⁸⁸ Shimazu Yoshihisa 島津義久(1533-1611), the head of the clan, was the eldest son of Takahisa. After a succession of battles, he led his family to dominance on Kyushu. However, the Shimazu submitted to Hideyoshi at his invasion of Kyushu.

⁸⁹ Odawara is located to the southwest of Kanagawa Prefecture and was the domain of the Hôjô during the *senjoku* Warring Period. In 1590 Hideyoshi besieged Odawara Castle, and defeated Hôjô Ujimasa and Ujinao. Ujimasa committed suicide while Ujinao fled to Mount Kôya of Kii Province.

⁹⁰ See note 28.

come up to the capital to greet you if you will let me have the Numada Area of Sanada Masayuki.” At this, many of the Hideyoshi men warned him, saying, “We cannot believe Ujimasa. Even if you give him Numada, he will not come up to the capital. Numada is in a strategic location. Instead of giving it up, we should attack him right away.”

“Numada annually yields only eighty thousand *koku* of rice and it is not worth sending so many soldiers to retain it. Besides, I do not want to involve my soldiers in such a small matter while they are weary from the incidents frequently happening in the western area. If Ujimasa will not come up to the capital even after obtaining Numada, he will lose other lords’ trust. Being Regent, I have been controlling all the state affairs for the Emperor. I can easily destroy him as an Imperial traitor if he is disloyal to me.” Saying this, Hideyoshi gave Numada to Ujitsuna who still did not appear at the capital, and was finally destroyed.

34. A Letter to the Dragon Palace:

In 1590, when Hideyoshi was heading to Odawara by ship, the boatmen said to him, “Since old times, they say that if a boat contains any horses or anything made of horsehide, it will be destroyed around Omaesaki of Ômi Province. So we should not even mention the word ‘horse’.” Hideyoshi wrote something on a piece of paper, and gave it to the boatmen, saying, “If you send this letter to the Dragon Palace in the sea, we will have no trouble.”

When the boats arrived near the spot, suddenly the sky became clouded and violent winds began to blow. The boatmen quickly threw the letter into the water which soon became calm, and the boats remained safe. The letter said, “To the Lord of the Dragon Palace: We are heading to Odawara to attack the Hôjô. Please let us travel safely. From Regent Hideyoshi.” This letter soothed the ignorant boatmen who became confident and

relaxed as they handled the boats.

35. Manners in Dismounting:

During the battle when attacking Odawara Castle, Hideyoshi camped at Numazu. Hideyoshi saw two powerful samurai galloping at a distance. One was Kawada Hachisuke displaying a large *sashimono* banner on his back, and the other, Narazaki Jûbei, had a huge *horo* cloak⁹¹ made of eighteen *tan* [about 26-28 feet] of cloth. Hideyoshi sent his messenger to learn their names. The mounted messenger asked the two men, “Lord Hideyoshi wishes to know your names.” The two did not even turn to reply to the messenger. At the report, Hideyoshi said to the messenger, “I’ll bet you asked for their names without dismounting. Unless the messenger is carrying an Imperial letter, or in the crucial time of battle, one has to dismount even before the altars to Buddhas and gods. While mounted, asking the names of men with a superior banner and a *horo* cloak was bad manners. No wonder they ignored you.” Immediately Hideyoshi sent another messenger who dismounted, and asked the two men who also dismounted, and politely named themselves.

In this battle, Hideyoshi was most frightened by a bullet shot right over his head. Shocked and ashamed, Hideyoshi immediately ran close to the enemy castle where the shooting was most active, and urinated on that spot. When his men hastily followed, and tried to shield him with bundled bamboos, Hideyoshi said to them, “Being shot or not all depends on one’s luck!”

Also in this battle, Hideyoshi held a Noh performance in his camp before which all

⁹¹ *horo* cloak: The *horo* was used as a decoration attached to the back of armor and to block arrows. In the Heian Period, it was made of a long piece of cloth and in the Muromachi Period, a bamboo basket was inserted which made the *horo* like a wind-blown cloak. It was also used as *sashimono* flags.

soldiers dismounted to show their respect except Hanabusa Motoyuki, a subject of Ukita Hideie. The mounted Motoyuki was passing before the camp without even doffing his helmet. At this, the guardsmen tried to stop him. Ignoring them, Motoyuki shouted out in a loud voice, “How can I dismount for a fool who amuses himself by a Noh performance on a battlefield?” Saying this, Motoyuki spat toward Hideyoshi.

The furious Hideyoshi summoned Hideie, and gave an order, saying, “Hang him!” Hideie stood up and left to follow Motoyuki for a block. Then he was called back by Hideyoshi who had just changed his mind, and said to him, “I told you to hang him out of my quick temper. But this time, tell him to commit hara-kiri.”

After Hideie followed Motoyuki for a few blocks, he was called back again by Hideyoshi who again had changed his mind, saying, “No matter how wide the world, there is no one in this country who has talked boldly to me like that. It’s a shame to lose such a brave man. Spare him, and rehire him with increased pay!”

36. Tardy Masamune:

In June, Date Masamune⁹² appeared at Hideyoshi’s camp in Odawara asking to become his subject. Many generals who had been worried about him were relieved since they had known that Hideyoshi would certainly destroy him after he had taken Odawara Castle.

⁹² Date Masamune 伊達政宗(1567-1636): One of the greatest daimyo who ruled much of northern Japan. He succeeded his father in 1584, defeated the Ashina at the Battle of Suriagehara, and controlled all of Aizu. He continued his expansion until he controlled a large area including present Fukushima, Yamagata, Miyagi and the south of Iwate Prefectures. In 1590, following the defeat of the Hôjô, Hideyoshi confiscated Masamune’s domain of Aizu. After Hideyoshi’s death, Masamune approached Ieyasu. In 1600 he supported the Tokugawa cause in the north by making war against Uesugi Kagekatsu in Aizu, and defeated Naoe Kanetsugu, a retainer of the Uesugi. As a reward he received the Uesugi fief which enabled him to establish himself in Sendai where he built the celebrated Aoba Castle. Interested in Christianity, Masamune sent an embassy to Rome in 1613 headed by Hasekura Tsunenaga. He was renowned as the “One-Eyed-Dragon” diplomat-warrior since he had lost his right eye in his youth.

However, Hideyoshi was not happy about Masamune's delayed appearance as he said to his men, "He must have been calculating and waiting to see which side he would join by comparing me to Hôjô Ujimasa in his Odawara Castle. If I were inferior, he would have changed his mind. However, as he learned that many troops had deserted Odawara Castle, he must have decided to come to me. That explains his delay. So his surrender is from calculation, but not from sincere obedience to me." He sent a messenger to Masamune and pressed him. Finally, Masamune admitted his intention and apologized for his delay.

A few days later, the armored Hideyoshi sat on a stool and accepted Masamune's official greeting and surrender. When Masamune was about to leave, Hideyoshi stopped him, saying, "I will forget your delay, now that you have come to me all the way like this. I will show you my entire camp as a gift. Come up to the top of the mountain." Hideyoshi stood up and began to climb the mountain, and Masamune followed him.

At the top of the mountain, Hideyoshi said to Masamune, "You may be familiar with small battles in your northern country, but not with the schemes of grand battles. So look carefully and learn about my tactics." Pointing at the various camps below the mountain, Hideyoshi explained to Masamune the formations of the troops and his detailed reasons and strategies in battle. At that time, Hideyoshi, accompanied only by a few boy attendants, had Masamune carry his sword, stood by the edge of the mountain, and did not even look back at Masamune, being almost as unconscious of him as if he were a wriggling worm.

After Hideyoshi let Masamune return to his own province, all his men became critical, saying, "Letting him go back to his country now is like releasing a tiger with a range of a thousand miles." Hideyoshi laughed at them, replying, "How can you see anything with

such narrow vision? Masamune's power in the northern country is like that of a big frog in a small pond. He must have been most impressed and even threatened by watching my superior tactics with my great armies. I will subjugate the northern country without a bloodstain on our blades. You shall see!" Surely what he said came true.

Later Masamune told someone, "When I saw Regent Hideyoshi in Odawara, such and such things happened. Awestruck, I never thought of harming him at that time. He was a man on a huge scale with a powerful aura."

37. The Quality and Quantity of the Heads:

In this battle, Maeda Toshiie and Uesugi Kagekatsu⁹³ attacked Hachiôji Castle. Maeda sent three thousand enemy heads while Uesugi sent a hundred and fifty. Some Hideyoshi men said, "Though we have heard of the valorous Uesugi, the heads he sent are fewer than those of Maeda. Maeda is superior to Uesugi."

Hearing this, Hideyoshi scolded his men, saying, "Don't be so ignorant. Hachiôji Castle could not have so many superior warriors. So Maeda's three thousand heads must include those of the local peasants and temporarily enrolled semi-samurai, while Uesugi's are those of full-fledged samurai. So Uesugi is superior to Maeda in quality. Never make such a shallow remark!"

[After the battle], Hideyoshi cross-examined Sakabeoka Kôsessai [a prisoner of the Hôjô]: "Last year you came to me as a messenger from the Hôjô. But later you attacked and took Nagurumi Castle, breaking your promise. Was that your own idea or Hôjô Ujinao's?"

⁹³ Uesugi Kagekatsu 上杉景勝(1555-1623): Kagekatsu was the adopted son of Uesugi Kenshin 上杉謙信. On the death of Kenshin, Kagekatsu served Hideyoshi, became a member of his Five Great Elders, and received the fief of Aizu, with a revenue of 1,200,000 *koku*. He fought against Ieyasu in the Battle of Sekigahara. After the battle, he received the fief of Yonezawa in Dewa Province with 300,000 *koku*.

“I will tell you the truth,” said Kôsessai.

When Kôsessai with his hands bound behind was dragged out to the yard where handcuffs and irons were on display, the angry Hideyoshi repeatedly interrogated him, saying, “Breaching a promise is unforgivable. Beside, are you pleased to have challenged the soldiers of this country of Japan, and caused the destruction of your master’s clan?”

Without changing color, Kôsessai quietly replied, “Our lord, Ujinao,⁹⁴ never broke his promise. But the ignorant countryside warriors took over the castle and caused the casualties. The failure of the Hôjô Clan was beyond my measure. It must have been their fate. However, it was quite an honor for the Hôjô to cope against the soldiers of Japan. I have nothing more to say. So quickly decapitate me!”

Now the relaxed Hideyoshi said to him, “I thought you would deserve crucifixion in the capital. However, your words defending the honor of your master have impressed me well enough to spare you. You will serve me hereafter.” After that, Sakabeoka changed his name to Oka.

38. Placing Ieyasu in Edo:

After having defeated the Hôjô, Hideyoshi gave the old domain of the Hôjô in the Kanto Area to Ieyasu, saying, “Edo⁹⁵ will be the best place for you.” Edo in those days was a plain rural place with a shabby castle and houses for less than a hundred townsmen. This decision was quite unexpected since people had thought somewhere near Kamakura or

⁹⁴ Hôjô Ujinao 1562-91): Ujinao was the fifth and last of the Odawara Hôjô daimyo.

⁹⁵ Present Tokyo where the Edo Family had formerly resided, and Ôta Dôkan 大田道灌 had built a castle in 1457. It was a great blow for Ieyasu and his Tokugawa men to move to Edo in a swampy countryside which had been ruled by their enemy, the Hôjô, leaving their traditional domain in Mikawa Province. However, Ieyasu obediently followed Hideyoshi’s order, hired many Hôjô men as his subjects, and successfully built a castle town by taking advantage of access to water, the present Tokyo Bay, as modeled after Osaka where Hideyoshi resided.

Odawara would be the choice.⁹⁶ However, as the town of Edo prospered yearly, the people were all impressed with the insight of Hideyoshi.

Hideyoshi also gave the Aizu Area to Gamô Ujisato as his fief, saying, “This is a vital place to control the Ôshû Area, so guard it well. You may even hire the samurai who had been against me if they are good in both letters and military affairs. It is vital to have two kinds of subjects, those excelling in letters and in military affairs. The rest of the regulations will be sent to you later in letters.” Sometime later when Ujisato visited Hideyoshi to express his gratitude for his fief, Hideyoshi mentioned nothing but only asked, “I understand you excel in calligraphy. Why don’t you make a copy of a Noh text for me?” Hideyoshi took out a writing set with some paper.

39. Wagtail Seals:

After Hideyoshi took Odawara, he had to face revolts in Kasai and Osaki in the north. Date Masamune sided with the rebels, but did not appear at the front due to pressure from Gamo Ujisato. After the rebels were pacified, Hideyoshi called Masamune. In the following year, accompanied by Ujisato, Masamune came to Hideyoshi who pressed him by exposing his letters to the rebels.

Masamune insisted on his innocence, saying, “I did not side with these rebels. It must be a slander. The wagtails in the seals of these letters have no pupils while mine have. So these letters are fake.” Later Hideyoshi had his men collect Masamune’s letters which had been sent to various lords, and learned what he had said about his seal was true. Finally he

⁹⁶ It was a great blow for Ieyasu and his Tokugawa men to move to Edo in a swampy countryside which had been ruled by their enemy, the Hôjô, leaving their traditional domain in Mikawa Province. However, Ieyasu obediently followed Hideyoshi’s order, hired many Hôjô men as his subjects, and successfully built a castle town by taking advantage of access to water, the present Tokyo Bay, as modeled after Osaka where Hideyoshi resided. For Ieyasu’s insight and ambitious plan

pardoned Masamune.

Later Ii Naomasa heard about this, and asked Ieyasu, “Last year when I was in the north, I was most certain that Masamune was siding with the rebels. But he was pardoned. I wonder if the investigation by Regent Hideyoshi was thorough.”

Ieyasu explained, “Regent Hideyoshi was not ignorant of Masamune’s scheming. But he gave him credit because Masamune came to see him when called. That was the first reason. The second was that he was impressed by Masamune’s bold attitude as an indefatigable warlord who insisted that the letters were faked. The third was Masamune’s high-handed attitude or clever scheming in having sent letters to many lords with his seal of wagtails as if he had anticipated the future outcome. Such a well-prepared calculation shows nothing but a superior quality of an excellent warlord. Our Lord Hideyoshi perceived and admired these three qualities of Masamune and forgave him. And this likewise shows Regent Hideyoshi’s capacity and perception are even greater than those of of Masamune.”

Later when Hideyoshi was in Nagoya, Seyakuin accompanied him and greatly praised Masamune. The slightly displeased Hideyoshi said to him, “I knew well that he had sided with the rebels in the north last year. However, I need his ability in military affairs at the present time when we are sending our armies to Korea. Besides, look at Mōri and Shimazu who were once against me. Now they have become quite subservient. I have pardoned Masamune to appease his antagonistic feelings toward me. Why are you praising him so much? I wonder if you are supporting him.” Those who heard this were much impressed by Hideyoshi’s deep insight.

When there was a revolt in Kunoe, Hideyoshi ordered Masamune to quell it. Masamune did a great job. At the good news, Hideyoshi happily talked to Maeda Toshiie, one of his best allies, saying, “Masamune is like a tiger or a wolf. It’s hard to use him with a sense of obligation, but better to employ him with power. I remember that he did a good job by siding with the rebels in the north last time. I also know that he has not been relaxed with me because of his past relations with the rebels, and wanting to make it up to me. So I ordered him to take care of the revolt in Kunoe. And just as I have expected, he has done a marvelous job this time.” Hearing this, Ieyasu praised Hideyoshi, saying to his men, “His tactic of employing Masamune for the last revolt was most remarkable. That is exactly what they mean when they say, ‘Controlling rebels by using rebels.’”

40. Exorcism of an Evil Spirit:

On the thirteenth of April in 1591, Ukita Hideie’s wife became deranged and was possessed by an evil spirit. Hideyoshi went to Ukita’s mansion, and learned that the spirit of an old fox was annoying the wife. He immediately sent a letter to the deity of the Inari Shrine [which controls fox spirits], saying, “I see an evil fox spirit possessing Ukita’s wife. Why are you doing this? This time, I will forgive you, but if you continue to annoy people in this manner, I will order a yearly fox hunt throughout Japan. So quickly eject the spirit from her. I will report the details to the deity of the Yoshida Shrine.” Immediately, the wife became herself.

41. A Typical Fool:

At one time, Yagyû Munenori,⁹⁷ an expert in military arts, appeared at the capital.

⁹⁷ Yagyû Munenori 柳生宗盛(1571-1646): The Yagyû, a minor daimyo family of Nara, succeeded in becoming tutors to the

Hearing the rumor that he could take away an opponent's sword without using his own, Regent Hidetsugu [Hideyoshi's nephew] summoned Munenori, and asked to see his art. Munenori replied, "Taking away the opponent's sword is nothing special. It is the only way to deal with the situation when I am attacked without a sword. I have been practicing this just for fun."

At this, Hidetsugu began to attack Munenori with his sword. As soon as Munenori stepped forward, Hidetsugu swung his sword straight down. A kick by Munenori instantly tossed the sword into the air. The sword landed on the ground six feet away. At the same time, Munenori held Hidetsugu's fist, saying, "Forgive me." After praising him, Hidetsugu immediately became Munenori's disciple, and later recommended him to Hideyoshi through Kinoshita Hansuke.

At this, Hideyoshi interrogated Hansuke, asking, "Is the story you heard really true?" "Yes, that was exactly what I heard about him and Regent Hidetsugu," replied Hansuke. Hideyoshi became infuriated as he said, "If it was true, Hidetsugu can never be my heir with his shallowness. What's the purpose of attacking someone with his sword and probably being killed if he wishes to rule a country? A great general would never take such a stupid risk. I have succeeded in ruling the whole nation, but never attacked anyone by myself alone. I always have stayed in the background behind the scenes instead of risking my life and waited for others to attack our enemies. That is my way of success in surviving and controlling the people. In that sense, Hidetsugu is a typical fool!"

Once Kuroda Yoshitaka said to others, "I love playing chess. Regent Hidetsugu is

slightly better than I. He often invited me to play chess. Every time he won, he asked me if I had lost purposely. I replied, ‘No, never, sir.’ And he made me to swear it every time he won. When I played with Lord Hideyoshi who barely knew how to move his chessmen, and knew very well that I lost purposely, he was most delighted when he won. Thus, Hideyoshi is always so broad-minded and relaxed while Regent Hidetsugu is too small-minded in every way to be the successor of his uncle, Hideyoshi, and to control the whole nation.” What Kuroda said proved to be quite true.

42. The Expedition to Korea:⁹⁸

When Hideyoshi was camping in Hakata of Kyushu, he ordered his men, “I heard that the Chinese and Korean men enjoy having beards and mustaches. I don’t have either. Make one for me.” Immediately a great mustache was made for him. Putting on the mustache, he paraded through the town of Hakata and finally went into Nagoya Castle.

At one time, someone recommended to Hideyoshi an expert in Chinese letters and calligraphy, saying, “I hope you will learn the Chinese letters.” The laughing Hideyoshi said to him, “I am thinking of spreading the Japanese language throughout the continent. What is the use of learning the letters of a foreign country?” Since Hideyoshi could not remember all the names of the Eight Provinces of Korea, he had an artist make a screen which depicted the provinces in different colors. Later he sent the colored maps to his generals in Korea and

⁹⁸ Korean Expedition: Hideyoshi sent an army of over 150,000 soldiers led by Katô Kiyomasa and Konishi Yukinaga to Korea in 1592-3, and again in 1597-98 which failed upon his death. In relation to the foreign affairs, in 1596 a Spanish ship, the *San Felipe* drifted to Urado of Tosa Province (present Kôchi Prefecture). Hideyoshi confiscated the cargo. Because of the slanderous remarks of the Portuguese in Japan, Hideyoshi suspected a future Spanish invasion of Japan, and prohibited Christianity. The death of the Twenty-Six Martyrs of Nagasaki in 1597 was a result. For Hideyoshi’s personal feelings on the Korean expedition, see Boscaro, letters; 26, 39, 40, 41,42,43,44,48,50,51,52,& 53.

referred to each province by color like red, blue, and white.

At the time of sending troops to Korea, Hideyoshi boasted to his men, saying “I will take not only the Eight Provinces of Korea, but the Four Hundred States of Ming China. After that, I will attack India, and if there is a way, I want to advance into hell to subjugate the ox- and horse-headed demons so that King Enma of hell and Amida Buddha in paradise will come to Japan to greet me!”

Later when his generals in Korea asked him for reinforcements, he conferred with his vassals, including Ieyasu and Maeda Toshiie, who all insisted that a hundred thousand men were vital to guard Kyoto and Osaka, and that another hundred thousand in Nagoya were not ready to be sent overseas. After hearing them quietly, Hideyoshi said, “Because of my poor karma, I happened to be born in such a small country like Japan. It is most regrettable that I cannot fulfill my wish due to the lack of manpower after having succeeded in invading a foreign land to this extent,” and shed tears. Those who heard him were most amazed at his bold ambition.

At one time, the Japanese army in Korea asked for more rations. Almost all the ships of Hideyoshi had gone to Korea and there was no means to transport the rice across the sea. Hideyoshi said to his men, “It’s easy. Tell the merchants of Osaka and Sakai that the rice will be sold at twice the price here if they export quantities to Korea.” So, many merchants happily sent rice to Korea by their ships which raised the price of rice in Japan, and made both the merchants and the Japanese soldiers in Korea happy.

43. An Escaped Crane:

Hideyoshi loved cranes and used to keep some in his mansion. One day, one of the

cranes escaped, and flew away by a mistake of the caretaker. When the caretaker explained and asked for punishment for his mistake, Hideyoshi asked him, “Do you think that the crane flew to a foreign land?” The caretaker said, “I don’t think so, since he has been domesticated.” The laughing Hideyoshi said, “In that case, I may have him back some day, since everything in this country is within my reach.” He pardoned the caretaker.

The close attendants of Hideyoshi used to hear him saying, “There may be someone who betrays me under heaven, but no one will beat me.”

44. Being Off Guard:

On the twelfth of July in 1596, Fushimi Castle of Hideyoshi was completely destroyed due to a great earthquake. Ieyasu immediately came to the castle to ascertain the safety of Hideyoshi, and consulted him, asking, “I wonder if I should go to the Imperial Palace to see if the Emperor is safe.” “That is exactly what I am thinking. But since my attendants are few now, I would like to go with you and your men.” So saying, Hideyoshi started on his way with Ieyasu.

On the way, Hideyoshi said to Ieyasu, “My sword feels heavy since I have not carried it for a long time. Will you find someone among your men to carry it for me?” Ieyasu tried to carry it himself. Hideyoshi felt it improper and insisted on asking Ieyasu to have it carried by one of his men. So Ieyasu gave it to Ii Naomasa who was attending nearby.

After a while, more Hideyoshi men joined the party with a carriage for Hideyoshi. Just before he stepped into the carriage, Hideyoshi called Honda Tadakatsu, a strong Ieyasu man, saying, “You must have been thinking that today is a good day to kill me. But your master, Ieyasu, is not a man who would harm anyone coming trustfully to him.. I originally

wanted to let you carry my sword. It was most unfortunate that you missed the chance. It would have been most interesting if you had carried my sword. I am saying this because you are a small-minded man, a small-minded man.” At this, Tadakatsu, who had been regarded as one of the Ieyasu’s Four Deva Kings for his valor, simply remained wordless, lowering his head.

45. The Flower-Viewing Party at Daigo:

One day in March of 1598, Hideyoshi asked one of his men, “I wonder how the merchants of the capital are doing? Are there any who are in trouble?” The man replied, “This year, the capital looks most prosperous as the mountains and fields are crowded with flower-viewers.” Hideyoshi said, “That is not a good but a bad sign. When the daimyo lords in the capital are busy with various events, they spend money for the occasions, and the merchants have no time for flower-viewing. This year, I have given leave to these lords so that they could rest from their duties in the capital. So many lords have left the capital for their home provinces. As a result, the merchants without business are going around to amuse themselves. In this way, the capital will deteriorate.” Saying this, Hideyoshi ordered a great flower-viewing party at Daigo. Now all the major and minor daimyo who were in Osaka and Fushimi Castles ordered new clothing to outfit entourages to accompany Hideyoshi to Daigo, and the merchants in the capital as well as in the Kinai area were benefited.

At another time when Hideyoshi was in Fushimi Castle, he and his men heard scores of gunshots which made them feel uneasy. But Hideyoshi said laughingly, “Maybe some daimyo lords went hunting and emptied their extra shells on their way home.” Immediately someone was sent outside to examine the situation which turned to be exactly as Hideyoshi

had guessed. A few days later, the concerned lords who were embarrassed and distressed came to the castle. Instead of scolding them for having fired the gunshots, the smiling Hideyoshi simply asked them, “Did you enjoy your hunting the other day?”

When Hideyoshi was going about his camp, he heard someone singing accompanied by a *tsutsumi* hand drum. He stopped, peeped through a hedge, and saw three samurai in armor. One was sitting on a chest and beating a hand drum, another was singing from a Noh text with a fan in his hand, and another was enjoying the music, sipping *sake* with a cup in his hand. Meanwhile, Hideyoshi’s attendants became uneasy, thinking that their lord might feel critical [at such a relaxed sight before a battle]. On the contrary, Hideyoshi said, smiling to the attendants, “Look at them. They never become bored in that way. Give them more *sake*, but tell them not to overeat, nor to get drunk.”

At another time Hideyoshi was inspecting his camp. When he saw a small patch of land covered with green, he said to his attendants, “Look at that. They must be thinking that preparations for this battle will take longer, and have planted something to kill their boredom.” He gave some white rice to those who cultivated the patch.

46. A Yodo River Flood:

At one time Hideyoshi was inspecting the flooded Yodo River, and its broken dykes. Afraid of further floods in the Yamashiro and Settsu Areas, Hideyoshi immediately chose Tomoda Sakonemon, a subject of Miyabe Keijun, and began to carry the dirt on his shoulders together with him. Seeing this, everyone around including the attending daimyo lords and men and women joined in the work and the dykes were mended in no time. Those who saw this called Tomoda “A rare man who shouldered the dirt with Grand Minister Hideyoshi.”

47. Strong Trust in Maeda Toshiie:

When Hideyoshi visited the Great Buddha [in Nara], Maeda Toshiie did not accompany him due to illness. Someone on the way warned Hideyoshi, saying “Please be careful. Lord Maeda is plotting.” At this, Hideyoshi became angry, saying, “How hateful to slander Toshiie who would surely shed tears at my death. Catch the man and send him to Lord Toshiie immediately!” and had Teranishi Chikuzennokami send the man to Toshiie.

Later, Toshiie came to greet Hideyoshi. Hideyoshi tearfully said to Toshiie, “Just because I have asked you to look after my son, Hideyori, someone jealous must have plotted to breach our friendship. So thoroughly investigate and punish the man.” Toshiie was tearfully impressed at Hideyoshi’s concern and trust in him.

48. The *Rônin* on Mount Kôya:

At one time, one of Hideyoshi’s entertainers was much concerned about some *rônin* gathering on Mount Kôya. Hideyoshi said to him nonchalantly, “There is nothing to worry about. There are many other places for gathering; the fact that they are gathering at Mount Kôya tells us that they are no one but the long-sleeved [the derogatory appellation of aristocrats and priests] and weak *rônin*.”

Hearing of Hideyoshi’s remark, the *rônin* on Mount Kôya felt most insulted, saying to each other, “We have never been late for any battles. It is most unfortunate that we are compared with those weak cowards called the long-sleeved.” They immediately left the mountain. It was another trick of Hideyoshi who wished to get rid of the *rônin* from the mountain.

49. The Celebration of New Year’s Day in Osaka Castle:

Hideyoshi used to receive New Year's Day greetings from various *daimyô* lords in Osaka Castle. In those days, the celebration was held in the thousand-*tatami*-matted main hall of Tamatsukuriguchi where the daimyo gathered in the early morning. The hall was lighted by many lamp-stands and warmed by scattered braziers containing burning charcoal.

About the time when most of the daimyo had gathered, Hideyoshi casually appeared in his nightgown with disheveled hair followed by a nun called Kôzôsu⁹⁹ who held his sword and another lady with a hand-held light. He said to the lords, "My lords, you have come so early. This morning is especially cold. First of all, please warm yourself by the charcoal fires. You must be really cold. Now, have some *sake*." Before he finished, page boys brought in prepared hot *sake* and filled the cup of each lord. "Now I can allocate the seats and positions for you," said Hideyoshi as he appointed each daimyo to a proper seat and said, "Now I am going to prepare myself for the occasion." After a while, he reappeared fully dressed and officially received the greetings of the lords.

50. Taking One of a Hundred Coins:

When Tachibana Muneshige came to Osaka to see Hideyoshi, he brought and set up a tray that contained one hundred silver coins in the hall, and waited outside. Meanwhile, Hideyoshi with his loosely bound sash noisily appeared from the inner part of the castle. He was followed by a nursemaid who held his son, Hideyori, a young maid, and Nun Kôzôsu who held his swords. They were all chasing a sparrow that had escaped from Hideyori's hand.

Seeing Muneshige, Hideyoshi said, "Oh, are you Muneshige? You have come to see

⁹⁹ Kôzôsu: nun who became Hideyoshi's adviser was a daughter of Kawazoe Katsushige. Later she served

me with these silver coins? It is most gracious of you.” Hideyoshi took one coin for himself, and said to Muneshige, “I will keep this one. You may have the rest for yourself. The capital is a very interesting place. Why don’t you enjoy your leisure by spending these coins.”

51. Comparing Shingen, Kenshin, and Hideyoshi:

At one time, Tsuchiya Kengyô compared Hideyoshi to Takeda Shingen and Uesugi Kenshin, saying, “I hear men of Kai Province saying that Shingen [of Kai Province] would have had all Japan in his hand if he had lived longer. At that time, I agreed with them, but now I have a different view about Hideyoshi. The reason is: When Sano Tentokuji had an interview with Shingen and Kenshin, he could not easily raise his head since he was intimidated by their awesome atmosphere while he felt so relaxed with Hideyoshi.

When Tentokuji was introduced, he was cordially addressed by Hideyoshi who came closer, saying, “Tentokuji, you are most welcome here.” Hideyoshi continued, tapping his knees, “It’s been a long time. I am so pleased to see you.” Tentokuji was so heartily treated that he truly felt grateful to Hideyoshi. Finally, Tentokuji concluded by saying, “No wonder he has succeeded in controlling all Japan. Everyone feels so friendly towards him thanks to his largess. He is so much different from Shingen and Kenshin.”

When someone among his subjects wanted to leave, Hideyoshi called him, treated him by fixing the tea himself, offered him a sword as a parting gift, and said to him, “Wherever you go, you can always come back when you find things unsuitable.” When the man returned as he could not find any better position outside, Hideyoshi rehired him with the same conditions as before.

Tokugawa Hidetada. Her name appears in Hideyoshi’s letters. Boscaro, 1 28, 45 & 59.

52. The Great Purse:

Whenever he went out, Hideyoshi used to carry a great purse full of silver coins which he gave away to the children and the beggars on the roadside. There were two times when Hideyoshi performed the *kurabarai*, emptying the storehouse. He took out all the gold and silver coins in his storehouse, and distributed them to his daimyo lords, saying, “Hoarding gold and silver in the storehouse is just like imprisoning good samurai.”

When Hideyoshi granted his lords some increase to their income, he generously offered them one or two provinces in place of a small bonus. Some advisors were concerned and warned him, saying, “You are decreasing your own income in this way.” Hideyoshi replied, “Since all Japan is in my hand, even if I give them so many provinces, they are all mine anyway. And when I have no income of my own, each daimyo can offer me a bowl of rice everyday. That will do.”

When Hideyoshi learned that a daimyo was in financial difficulty, he said, “I will tell him to engage in construction.” Counting the days from the time when the daimyo left for his province to the completion of the construction, Hideyoshi advanced the expenses for four hundred men although the estimated actual construction required only two hundred men. In this manner, the lord was benefited by the additional expenses of the manpower of two hundred men.

53. A Hundred Times More Merits:

When Hideyoshi was discussing the past generals and warlords with his subjects, all his men unanimously agreed that Yoshitsune,¹⁰⁰ the younger brother of Yoritomo,¹⁰¹ was an

¹⁰⁰ Minamoto Yoshitsune 源義経(1159-89): One of the most celebrated samurai of all times, the younger brother of

excellent general. Hideyoshi disagreed, saying, “Yoshitsune was brave, but lacked prestige and status. Kajiwara Kagetoki¹⁰² once criticized him by calling him ‘a wild boar warrior’. From the old times to the present, the one who excelled most in military affairs and merits has been his older brother, Yoritomo. However, being the first son of the distinguished Genji Clan, accumulating merit must have been easier for Yoritomo. On the contrary, I, a son of a lowly man, have unified the whole country which had been in a chaotic condition since the time of the Ônin War (1467-1477),¹⁰³ and now am controlling all Japan. So I have a hundred times more merit than Yoritomo.”

54. Identifying the Owners of Five Swords:

At one time when Hideyoshi saw five swords left in the main hall of Fushimi Castle, he said to his men, “Just for fun, I will guess who are the owners of these swords,” and began to point from one sword to another, and guessed correctly. One of the impressed men praised him, saying, “Truly, you are a genius, sir, blessed with god-like knowledge!” The laughing Hideyoshi replied, “It is easy since I know the personality of the owners. For example, this gold- inlaid sword must belong to Ukita Hideie¹⁰⁴ since he loves something extravagant. This long one must belong to Uesugi Kagekatsu¹⁰⁵ whose father preferred a longer sword.

Minamoto Yoritomo won victories in Ichinotani, Yashima and Dannoura. Later he was exiled by Yoritomo and hounded to his death at Koromogawa.

¹⁰¹ Minamoto Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147-1199): Yoritomo was the first Shogun of the Kamakura Shogunate and the son of Yoshitomo. He defeated the Heike Clan in 1185, and was appointed Barbarian Quelling Generalissimo in 1192.

¹⁰² Kajiwara Kagetoki 梶原景時(?-1200): Kagetoki joined Minamoto Yoritomo to destroy the Heike. When Minamoto Yoshitsune (younger brother of Yoritomo) communicated with ex-Emperor Goshirakawa, Kagetoki caused the downfall of Yoshitsune.

¹⁰³ See note 3.

¹⁰⁴ See note 76 and Boscaro, L 80.

¹⁰⁵ Uesugi Kagekatsu (1555-1623), a nephew of Kenshin, served both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, was one of the *gotairô*, the Five Elders. Boscaro, L.80.

Maeda Toshiie¹⁰⁶, who is now lord of a large province thanks to his military merit, still loves his old sword with a haft bound in leather. So this sword belongs to no one other than Toshiie. This one with a strange decoration must belong to Mōri Terumoto who favors something exotic. That one with nothing special must belong to Tokugawa Ieyasu who is strong and great enough to discount his sword. He does not need to attract attention to his sword, and prefers an ordinary one with no special designs and decorations. Thus I have guessed, and my assumptions are correct.”

55. Mushrooms:

Towards the end of August of a certain year, Hideyoshi heard of the splendid *matsutake* mushrooms in Higashiyama. He said to his men that he would go to gather the mushrooms in a few days. Some men were sent to Higashiyama to tell the people of the capital not to collect the mushrooms in Higashiyama. However, most of the mushrooms were already gone. So people brought many mushrooms from other mountains and planted them in Higashiyama overnight before Hideyoshi came.

On the following day, accompanied by many attending ladies, Hideyoshi enjoyed the entire day by gathering mushrooms in the mountain. The ladies asked each other, “Does our lord know the difference between the naturally grown mushrooms and those artificially planted?” Some of them finally told him the truth. The smiling Hideyoshi said to them, “I knew it. But how could I ignore the sincere people who had tried so hard to please me? Don’t say anything more.”

¹⁰⁶ Maeda Toshiie (1538-99): Toshiie served Oda Nobunaga, and fought at the Battle of Anegawa in 1570, and received the fief of Fuchū in Echizen Province after the destruction of the Asakura. In 1581 he obtained the province of Noto, and then Kaga in 1583. He fought against the Hōjō in 1590 for Hideyoshi who placed strong trust in Toshiie as described in tale 47 of Hideyoshi. See Boscaro, L 15, 80.

At another time, Hideyoshi had a monk called Umematsu in charge of Yamasato in Yamashiro. Soon the monk planted pine trees, gathered some *matsutake* mushrooms, and presented them to Hideyoshi who was first pleased, saying “This is the result of my influence.” The mushrooms were thus presented several more times, but eventually he found that those mushrooms were bought and presented to him. Finally he said to his men, “Stop him from bringing me more mushrooms which are becoming too numerous.”

56. Rice Gruel and Echizen Cotton:

When Hideyoshi climbed Mount Kôya, he asked for the special rice gruel called *warigayu* which was made of ground grains of rice. When the cooks served the gruel, the pleased Hideyoshi said to them, “Since there is no mortar on Mount Kôya, you must have brought a mortar to this mountain to prepare this special rice gruel for me. I appreciate your efforts.” However, the truth was that many cooks gathered and ground grain to make the special gruel for him. Later when Hideyoshi learned this, he became displeased, saying, “They should have served me the common gruel which is eaten daily at Mount Kôya. With my prestige, certainly I can afford such a special gruel of ground rice which is cut into pieces, but I prefer not to indulge myself in such an extravagance.”

At another time when the villagers of Nakamura Village, Hideyoshi’s native place, presented him with a large amount of Echizen cotton to celebrate his expedition to Korea, he said to his men, “This is most preposterous indeed. The peasants in Nakamura Village have been privileged to present only radishes and burdocks in place of rice for tax. But now, they have become extravagant enough to send me such costly Echizen cotton. I have been rather anxious to have the radishes and the burdocks from my native village. This is quite contrary

to my expectations. From now on, have them send the rice as their tax!”

57. Instructions to His Close Subjects:

Hideyoshi used to say to his men, “There are three good medicines to cure the illness of a nation. The first is to fear Heaven, the second to cultivate oneself, and the third is to be economical. There are four things to avoid. The first is being egotistical, the second being greedy and avaricious, the third being idle, and the fourth is being unreasonable. If the people observe the former three while avoiding the latter four, their country will remain healthy.

He also daily instructed his close attendants, saying, “Do not drink too much, and rise early. Do not become bored, nor trust women, and deliberate well even over minor things. Watch the ignorant, avoid fighting, and consider your future. Pay attention to public affairs. Be careful about fire, and control yourself. Try to change troubles into pleasures, and think of hardships at happy times. Take for granted that those of higher status will be unreasonable. The master should be merciful to his subjects. A subject should cultivate his own household. One should have a sense of obligation, and respect the Way of Heaven. Avoid lawsuits, and be sympathetic with women. Never tell lies, and try to be patient in everything. Be lustful only so much, and think of your afterlife. Consider well others’ future, but do not be excessively playful with them. Avoid the drunkard and give way to him.”

He also warned his generals, saying, “As I see the world, friction among the vassals and colleagues is usually caused by their egotistical attitudes. What one likes does not necessarily please others. This is true among subjects. A general should pay attention to these facts, select someone who has affinity with him as his close advisor, and listen to his opinions from time to time. It is most important to correct one’s conduct following his

advisor, and to be aware of everything to control one's affairs. If one ignores this, his mistakes will grow before he knows, and he will be estranged from others, and eventually destroy his clan and himself."

58. His Will:

Before he passed away, Hideyoshi secretly spoke to Koide Hidemasa¹⁰⁷ and Katagiri, "If you try to preserve our clan, you will immediately invite misfortune to this country of Japan. As I now reflect, my great mistake was to have caused hatred on the part of the people of Korea and Ming China by invading their countries¹⁰⁸. After my death, hardly any of the hundreds and thousands of men sent to these countries are likely to return. And none in these countries will forego vengeance for their sufferings of the past months and years. Good examples include the invasions by the ancestors of Yuan. After my departure, who would control and protect this nation from disturbances? There would be no one but Tokugawa Ieyasu in Edo who could do that.¹⁰⁹

If Ieyasu provides merit for the welfare of this country, the gods and the Sacred Kings will be impressed by his virtues and the influenced people will respect and follow the way of the Tokugawa Clan. In that case, if someone tries to fight against the Tokugawa out of the sense of obligation to my clan, Toyotomi, by assisting Hideyori, my son, the decline of the Toyotomi will surely come sooner. If you wish the

¹⁰⁷ Koide Hidemasa 小出秀政 (1540-1604), a son of Masashige, shared the native place with Hideyoshi. In 1585, he received Kishiwada of Izumi Province for his fief because of his service to Hideyoshi as his domain.

¹⁰⁸ For the result of Hideyoshi's Korean invasion, see Owaka, pp.169-172.

¹⁰⁹ For Hideyoshi's last days and the political conflicts which led to the Battle of Sekigahara after his death, see Owada, 173-175; Kitajima, pp. 120-140.

continuation of the Toyotomi Clan, make sure to follow and serve the Tokugawa so that they do not think ill of my son, Hideyori. Only then, the Toyotomi Clan may survive.”

Hideyoshi began his will, saying, “People usually make wills at their last moments. When they are very ill, their mind is confused and they cannot think logically. Therefore, I am making a will when I am still mentally healthy.” After the preface, Hideyoshi continued, “Since old times, the correct begin weakly, but will always gain power later. The wrong and evil may succeed in the beginning, but will surely come to harm later. One should be discreet.”

Tokugawa Ieyasu

Tokugawa Ieyasu [1542-1616], a son of Great Councilor Matsudaira Hirotada, rose from Okazaki, united all Japan, and became the Barbarian Quelling Shogun. He was granted the Junior First Rank, and became the Grand Minister. He passed away in 1616 at the age of seventy-four, and posthumously became the Deity of Tōshōgū of the First Rank¹¹⁰.

1. Childhood:

In his youth, Ieyasu was called Takechiyo. At the age of six, he was sent to Imagawa Yoshimoto¹¹¹ in Sunpu as a hostage. On his way, he was captured by the men of the Oda, and was detained in the town of Atsuta in Owari Province. The people of the town presented Ieyasu a small bird called the Black Tsugumi [a thrush] which imitated human voices. All his retainers were much impressed by the mimicking bird. However, Ieyasu said to the retainers, “I appreciate the unusual bird, but return it to the people.”

When the retainers asked his reason after the townsmen left with the bird, Ieyasu replied, “That bird must lack its own voice. As for humans, small people lack large wisdom. A person with the capacity of a great general should not toy with one lacking his own wisdom.” Those who heard were all impressed.

At the age of ten, Ieyasu [who stayed in Sunpu as a hostage of the Imagawa¹¹² from the age of eight to fifteen], rode on the shoulders of an attendant to the bank of the Abe River

¹¹⁰ Tokugawa Ieyasu, called Matsudaira Motoyasu was appointed *dainagon* (great councilor) in 1587, *naidaijin* (the minister below the Ministers of the Right and Left) in 1596, and one of the Five Elders of Hideyoshi.

¹¹¹ See note 16.

to watch a stone-throwing fight during the Boys' Festival in May. One party had three hundred men and the other only a hundred and fifty. Assuming the victory of the one with more manpower, all the spectators ran to the side of the presumed victors. The attendant carrying Ieyasu on his shoulders was also joining the majority. Ieyasu tried to stop him, saying, "Why are you taking me to the side where everyone is going? If they fight, the one with the smaller number will surely win. So let's go to that side." However, the irritated attendant insisted on his own way, saying, "What nonsense you talk," and joined the majority.

As Ieyasu expected, when the fight began, a large number of reinforcements joined the side with less manpower, and began to chase their enemies who were eventually dispersed as they ran away together with the confused spectators. At this, the laughing Ieyasu slapped the head of his attendant, saying, "So, just as I said!" Later when Imagawa Yoshimoto heard this, he was greatly pleased and his hopes for Ieyasu's future increased as he said, "A future general in a family of generals."

2. Coming of Age:

At fifteen, Ieyasu celebrated his coming of age, and was renamed Kurando Motonobu. His mentor, Imagawa Yoshimoto, said to him, ">From this year, you may return to your ancestral Okazaki Castle [the base of the Matsudaira family, the ancestors of the Tokugawa Clan], and take charge of administration for your family." Ieyasu humbly replied, "I am most grateful that you have taken care of me since my youth, and now allow me to return to my native castle. I will return to Okazaki with great respect and appreciation for

¹¹² For his hostage life, see Kamisaka, pp. 25-37.

you. However, being still young, I would very much like to remain in the second station of the castle and follow the instructions of Yamada Shinzaemon who has been in charge of the main keep there.” At this, the most impressed Yoshimoto said tearfully to his old retainers, “I can not believe that those were the words of the young man, Motonobu [Ieyasu], who is indeed very discreet and considerate. When he has matured, what a superior man he will become! Certainly, he would be a good companion for my son, Ujinao. I am very pleased with him. If his father, Hirotada, were alive, he would be most delighted by his son.”

Later when Uesugi Terutora¹¹³ in Echigo Province heard of this, he was also impressed as he said to his men, “At the age of fifteen, he is already blessed with discretion and knowledge in human relations. Indeed, he promises to become a rare and incomparably superior general.”

3. Sending Rations to Ôtaka Castle:

Imagawa Yoshimoto installed Udono Nagamochi as the lord of Ôtaka Castle [south of Nagoya] to fight against Oda Nobunaga. Nobunaga tried to block the supply of rations to the castle by constructing forts at various spots including Tange-Zenshōji, Nakajima, Washizu, Marune, Terabe, Koromo, and Hirose like the beads of a rosary to relate and communicate with each other along the route to Ôtaka Castle. Meanwhile, Yoshimoto requested that Ieyasu send rations to the castle.

Ieyasu was about to obey the order promptly when his men, Sakai Tadatsugu and Ishikawa Kazumasa, tried to stop him, saying, “It is unthinkable to send rations by breaking through the well-prepared barriers of Nobunaga.” “I have my own plan,” Ieyasu insisted as

¹¹³ Uesugi Terutora, or Kenshin (1530-78) fought against the Hōjō and Takeda Shingen. See note 24.

he ordered Matsudaira Chikatoshi, Sakai Tadachika, and Ishikawa Yoshirô to lead over four thousand soldiers to attack the fort of Terabe on one night in September of 1559 while observing the forts of Marune and Washizu.

After a while, Ieyasu took some eight hundred soldiers with packhorses, and waited at a place ten blocks from Ôtaka Castle¹¹⁴. Meanwhile his vanguard attacked the fort of Terabe, causing a commotion in the compound, and broke through by setting fire to Ichinokidoguchi, further pressed Umetsubo, and burnt the third station.

Seeing the flaring flames illuminating the sky, and hearing the war cries in Terao, the enemies in the forts of Marune and Washizu communicated, saying, “So enemy soldiers came all the way from Mikawa [Ieyasu’s domain] to attack our forts. They must have a reason. We should defend our positions.” Immediately they sent reinforcements to Terabe and Umezu.

Meanwhile, Ieyasu with his twelve hundred packhorses safely carried the rations into Ôtaka Castle. The enemies in Marune and Washizu helplessly watched this since their soldiers had left to surround Ieyasu’s vanguard which was laying siege to the fort of Terabe. Afterwards, Ieyasu and his men safely returned to Okazaki. All those who heard this greatly admired his strategy.

In 1560, with his large army, Imagawa Yoshimoto invaded Owari Province [of Oda Nobunaga], took castles including Ôtaka and Shiozaki, and placed Ieyasu in charge of Ôtaka Castle. However, on the following day, Yoshimoto passed away. Most of the captured castles were vacated as his army retreated.

¹¹⁴ About Ôtaka Casle, See Sadler, p. 53.

Ôtaka Castle in enemy territory was especially isolated without allies on whom to rely. Ieyasu's old subjects urged him to retreat, but Ieyasu retorted, "Quite naturally many of our castles have been empty after the death of our lord, Yoshimoto. Now, all allies know that Lord Yoshimoto entrusted me with this castle while he was alive. I should receive an official notice from our headquarters before I retire from this castle. It is their fault that we have not yet received any instructions. In any case, abandoning this castle because of various rumors before obtaining definite information is unthinkable." Finally, the old subjects suggested that Yamada Shinzaemon should be sent as a messenger, and Ieyasu agreed.

Meanwhile, Mizuno Nobumoto, an uncle of Ieyasu on the side of Oda Nobunaga at that time, secretly learned about Nobunaga's attack on Ôtaka Castle. Hearing of Ieyasu holding the castle with a sense of obligation to his old lord, the impressed Nobumoto became sympathetic, and quickly sent him a message to abandon the castle. However, at his uncle's warning message, the unmoved Ieyasu who had been staying at the second station, now moved up to the main keep, and affirmed his resolution to hold the castle against the enemy attack.

Eventually, Yamada Shinzaemon returned with an official notice, and Ieyasu finally retreated. Hearing this, Oda Nobunaga was moved with admiration.

4. The Rearguard of Ichinomiya

In 1564, with over twenty thousand soldiers, Imagawa Ujizane besieged Ichinomiya Castle¹¹⁵ which Honda Momosuke and Nobutoshi were defending. Ujizane

¹¹⁵ Battle of Ichinomiya. In 1585 Hideyoshi invaded Shikoku successfully, and Ichinomiya was the final battle whereby Hideyoshi gained control of Shikoku from the Chôsokabe

divided his army, and appointed Takeda Nobutora¹¹⁶ to protect the rear of his army with eight thousand of his twenty thousand men.

At the news, Ieyasu was promptly going to assist Honda in the castle. His old subjects warned him, “The enemy strength is ten times yours. And Takeda Nobutora is an especially valorous general.” Ieyasu replied, “Maybe you are right. However, the Way of Man is to uphold the two concepts, ‘faith’ and ‘righteousness,’ irrespective of one’s high or low status. If we attack an enemy castle, we may leave as it collapses. When our allies are confined in their castle, how can we just leave them because the enemies’ manpower exceeds ours? Retainers help their masters in crisis while masters assist their retainers in need. That is the Way of Bows and Arrows. Even to be defeated by the enemy rearguard and have our corpses exposed in the battlefield is our fate [as samurai].” Hearing this, many of Ieyasu’s men were moved, thinking, “What a reliable lord he is! We do not begrudge our lives to help our lord!” and willingly joined him. Taking advantage of their spirit, Ieyasu advanced, leading two thousand men. Avoiding Nobutora’s rearguard of eight thousand soldiers, Ieyasu and his men directly approached the castle. The news overjoyed those in the castle.

While Ujizane and his men were consulting and discussing how to surround and capture all opposing forces, including Ieyasu’s men outside and those inside the castle, Ieyasu swiftly assisted Nobutoshi to evacuate the castle, and returned home. Nobutoshi and his four hundred men fought desperately to break through at the risk of their lives, and galloped through the enemy lines with Sakai Tadatsugu, Ishikawa Kazumasa, and Makino

¹¹⁶ Takeda Nobutora (1493-1573): Nobutora attacked Hiraga Genshin at Unnokuchi in 1536, but had to retreat. His fifteen-year-old son, Harunobu, marched back and took the castle. Despite this, he planned to disinherit Harunobu in favor of his younger brother, so Harunobu revolted and sent his father into exile.

Yasushige covering their rear. Their fighting spirit appeared so fierce that Ujizane could not move as he feared their reaction if pursued. So Nobutoshi and his men safely reached their home base. This operation called “The Rearguard of Ichinomiya” commanded the popular admiration of his contemporaries.

In 1571, Oda Nobunaga sent a message to Ieyasu [in Hamamatsu Castle] which said, “Since Hamamatsu Castle is adjacent to Takeda’s domain, I hope you will leave some of your old subjects in charge of the Hamamatsu Area, including Yoshida of Mikawa [the present Toyohashi], if possible.” Ieyasu replied to the messenger, “I will comply with anything your lord wishes, but for at least one day, I will remain here in Hamamatsu.”

After having sent back the messenger, Ieyasu said to his men, “If I were to retire from Hamamatsu Castle [leaving my old subjects behind in charge of the castle as Nobunaga has requested], I would renounce the Way of the Samurai by breaking my swords. As long as I survive as a samurai, I will never withdraw even a step from Enshû [west of present Shizuoka where Hamamatsu is].”

5. The Battle of Mikatagahara:¹¹⁷

In May of 1572, Ieyasu lost many men in the Battle of Mikatagahara [where Takeda Shingen defeated Oda Nobunaga and Ieyasu]. Pressed from all directions, one of Ieyasu’s men , Natsume Jirôzaemon Yoshinobu, did his best to defend his master while taking the bridle of Ieyasu’s horse, but finally was killed in the battle. Yoshinobu was from the

¹¹⁷ Battle of Mikatagahara 三方ヶ原の戦: Mikatagahara is located between Tenryû River and Lake Hamana to the north of Hamamatsu City of Shizuoka Prefecture where Takeda Shingen defeated the allied Nobunaga and Ieyasu in 1572. For the battle, See Sudô pp.64-73.

powerful local clan of Mikawa¹¹⁸ in Ieyasu's domain. At the revolt of the Jôdo-Shin Sect,¹¹⁹ Yoshinobu frequently fought against Matsudaira Tomonosuke Koretada who had sided with Ieyasu in Okazaki. One day, caught in a sudden attack by Koretada, Yoshinobu hastily hid in the storeroom of a temple in Harizaki. Surrounding the storeroom, Koretada immediately reported this fact to Ieyasu, and asked permission to punish Yoshinobu. Ieyasu first expressed his appreciation to Koretada for trapping the rebellious Yoshinobu, and secondly replied, "Executing Yoshinobu in the storeroom is just like killing a bird in a cage. Forgive and release him." Koretada thought the decision too lenient, but followed the order, and released Yoshinobu.

The freed Yoshinobu felt quite ashamed and tearfully regretted his past treason against such a generous lord as Ieyasu who had spared his life. After that, he daily went into his worship hall, and loudly prayed to the Buddha, saying, "Please let me be useful to my lord and give my life for him." He finally fulfilled his wish to repay his obligation to his lord in his last battle.

Ieyasu, defeated in the last battle, barely made his way home to Hamamatsu Castle. He told Torii Mototada to keep the castle gates open for his troops returning from the battle. He said, "Even though our enemies are pursuing our soldiers, they will not dare to enter the

¹¹⁸ Mikawa Province along the Tokaidô Highway includes the present eastern part of Aichi Prefecture. After the Battle of Okehazama, the Tokugawa controlled the province. The samurai who contributed in the rise of the Tokugawa were called the Mikawa *Bushi* or Mikawa Samurai and were renowned for their loyalty and valorous deeds for the Tokugawa. Their affection for their homeland of Mikawa is described in tales of Ieyasu.

¹¹⁹ Jôdo Shin Sect 浄土真宗: The Shin Sect is related to the Pure Land School of Japan founded by Priest Shinran who advocated salvation by solely relying on Amida Buddha. The sect is also called Ikkôshû or Shinshû. Ishiyama Honganji Temple was the headquarters of the Ikkô-ikki Revolt (Ikkô means the Ikkô Sect or the Jôdo Shin Sect and *ikki* means "those of the same mind", and later referred to a revolt) which had grown into the center of a complex ring of 51 outposts, supported well by organized firearms squads. In April of 1576, Nobunaga made an attack on the Ishiyama Honganji with a force of 3,000 men under the command of Araki Murashige and Akechi Mitsuhide, but 15,000 were pitted against him, and Nobunaga was forced to withdraw. For Ishiyama Honganji and the revolts, See Wakita, pp.151-171

castle where I stay. So keep burning torchlights by the gateways.” After having consumed three bowls of rice in hot water served by his lady attendant, Hisano, Ieyasu fell asleep, saying, “I am exhausted,” and began to snore loudly.

Meanwhile, the enemy general, Yamagata Masakage, came closer to the castle, and asked his man, Baba Nobufusa, “It seems that Ieyasu did not have enough time to close the gates. How shall we attack him?” Baba Nobufusa replied, “Usually losers would run into their castles, and close the gates and drawbridges. But since we see the torch lights burning as brightly as in the daytime, he may have some subterfuge. We should be discreet considering that Ieyasu is said to be the best archer of the Kaidô Area [the fifteen provinces along the Tôkaidô Eastern Sea Road]. It’s better to watch for a while.”

While the enemies were thus lingering, suddenly Mototada with over a hundred men ran out of the castle to attack. The confused enemies ran away, and never returned.

After the battle, Baba Nobufusa came before Takeda Shingen and said, “I think that no generals are superior to Tokugawa Ieyasu and Uesugi Terutora in contemporary Japan. In the last battle, I observed that all the Mikawa men [led by Ieyasu] including the lowest foot soldiers and the workmen fully committed themselves in fighting.” “Why do you say that?” asked Shingen.

Nobufusa explained, “The corpses of the Mikawa men were either lying facing their enemies or on their backs with their heads turned toward Hamamatsu [showing their aspirations and loyalty to their homeland]. Last year when Imagawa Ujizane attacked us, if you had allowed Ieyasu to control the entire Enshû Area, and had established a close

relationship with the Tokugawa and the Mikawa men, you would have obtained the southern areas including Kyushu by this time. That you did not do this is my greatest regret up to now.” Saying this, Nobufusa retired.

6. A Boy Assassin:

As Takeda Shingen [Harunobu] increased his power, he planned to destroy Oda Nobunaga and Tokugawa Ieyasu during the Genki Period (1570-1573). Afraid of a possible alliance between Nobunaga and Ieyasu, Shingen stealthily selected a beautiful boy among his subjects, confided his plot to him, and expelled the boy from Kai Province on the pretext of some fault. The boy assassin went to Mikawa, lived in the town, and finally, through a connection, obtained a job in the castle where Ieyasu was staying. .

One day, when the boy saw Ieyasu dozing off, leaning against a pillar, he was delighted at this great opportunity. When the boy was stealthily approaching with his sword, a black Buddhist image on the altar at the side suddenly fell and scattered various utensils on the floor. Ieyasu woke up at the sound, and saw the boy coming at him with a sword. At Ieyasu’s surprised cries, his retainers appeared, and caught the boy who was immediately interrogated. Being pressed, the boy finally confessed everything, and expressed his wish to die for his failure. More men on duty in the castle hastily gathered. However, Ieyasu pardoned and released the boy, saying to his men, “For a young boy to come into the enemy castle all by himself to fulfill his duty at the cost of his life is very admirable.” The boy returned to his province, but was immediately killed by the enraged Shingen.

Later when close retainers asked Ieyasu why he had released the boy, Ieyasu replied, “I was greatly overwhelmed by the boy’s strong determination. Besides, killing someone

who is already caught is as easy as crushing birds' eggs. Instead of blaming him for the attempt on my life, I appreciated his sense of loyalty to his lord. Isn't this a proper attitude for a great lord or a general to take?"

7. Holding a Castle by Lowering the Drawbridge:

Takeda Shingen attacked Noda Castle [in present Aichi Prefecture] in January of 1573. Castellan Sugenuma Sadamitsu reported this to Ieyasu who said [in his reply], "Until my reinforcements arrive, all our castles should be firmly held. "Lowering the drawbridge holds a castle!" Soon an army of Ieyasu's reinforcements advanced to Mount Kasanokashira.

Later when Honda Hirotaka asked Ieyasu, "What did you mean when you said, 'Lowering the drawbridge holds a castle?'" "In holding castles, if they raise the drawbridges and confine themselves in the castles, their soldiers cannot operate to their fullest capacity, and finally the castles will fall. On the contrary, we lower our drawbridges, guard our gates, distribute guns and arrows to our soldiers, and attract the enemy who come close to our castle. We can suddenly attack through the gates and across the drawbridges, drive away the confused enemy, and quickly retreat without pursuing them too far. In this way, we can easily hold our castles," replied Ieyasu.

Later when Fushimi Castle [built by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in Fushimi in Kyoto City in 1594] was besieged, they raised the drawbridge which spanned the Matsunomaru station of the castle when the enemy attacked. At the news, Ieyasu said, "Instead of building a drawbridge where there was no drawbridge, they have raised the existing drawbridge. Holding the castle in that way will be difficult." Four or five days later, he heard that the castle fell as he had assumed.

8. Shingen's Death:

In April of 1573, Takeda Shingen¹²⁰ passed away. Hearing this, Ieyasu said to his men, "It is most regrettable to lose such a rare and great general who excelled in the Way of Bows and Arrows. Since my youth, I have emulated him while trying to learn his military methods. In that sense, he had been my teacher. Since we have been opposing each other recently, I will not send a message of condolence. But I do not feel like rejoicing at the death of such an excellent general of my neighboring province. Since this is the way I feel, my subjects should imitate me. Feeling sad at the news of a renowned general's demise, though he is one's enemy, is the Way of the Warrior. Moreover, if one has a strong opponent as his neighbor, one should endeavor to polish one's military arts as well as to govern his province well in competition with his adjacent opponent.¹²¹ This will bring prosperity to one's family and clan. Otherwise, one will become conceited, idle, and negligent, which will finally lead to one's downfall. So the death of our enemy general is nothing to be pleased about." His attitude was communicated among his men of high and low status who all mourned the death of Shingen.

9. The Battle of Nagashino:¹²²

At the time of the Nagashino Battle [in which Takeda Katsuyori¹²³ was defeated by Nobunaga and Ieyasu as allies in 1575 at Nagashino to the northeast of present Toyohashi City, Ieyasu sent one of his subjects, Oguri Dairoku Shigetsune, to Nobunaga asking for

¹²⁰ Takeda Shingen or Harunobu (1521-1578). See notes.24 and 115.

¹²¹ For Shingen's way of governing the people and province, see Sasamoto, pp.164-174

¹²² Nagashino is at the concourse of the Kansa and Ure Rivers in the eastern part of Aichi Prefecture where the allied force of Nobunaga and Ieyasu defeated Takeda Shingen by using new weapons, arquebuses, in 1575.

¹²³ Takeda Katsuyori, a son of shingen, was forced to kill himself by Nobunata at Tenmokuzan in 1582.

reinforcements. However, Nobunaga did not comply with Ieyasu's request, but assumed the gradual decline of Takeda Katsuyori and his ignorant subjects who were defecting after the death of his father, Shingen.

Before Ieyasu sent his second request, he said to his messenger, Shigetsune, "Last year, I made peace with Nobunaga, promising mutual aid. Since the time when we defeated Sasaki Yoshikado, I have helped him several times for his great success. If Nobunaga will not help me now in spite of his promise, I will join Katsuyori as his vanguard, attack Owari Province [of Nobunaga], give Katsuyori Tôtômi Province and keep Owari Province for myself. You tell my intention secretly to Yabe Zenshichirô [a Nobunaga man] when Nobunaga refuses my request."

Again Shigetsune went to Nobunaga who again refused Ieyasu's request. So Shigetsune told Yabe of Ieyasu's intention. At Yabe's report, the greatly surprised Nobunaga finally sent reinforcements.

At this battle, Ieyasu, while glancing at the enemy camp, said to his men, "If the enemy attacks us with volleys, we will lose because of inferior manpower. However, as I look at their formations and positions which appear quite normal and standardized, I believe they will come at us with smaller units one after another, to give us an impression of their greater manpower. In that case, we will have no doubt of victory as we shoot them with guns from behind fences and stockades." The result came out just as he had assumed.

Also at this battle, when Takeda Katsuyori killed one of his subjects, Torii Katsutaka, Ieyasu said, "Katsuyori does not have the capacity of a great general because he does not know how to use valorous men. He should have saved and appreciated such a brave

man as Torii, even if he were his enemy, so that he could have shown other men what loyalty meant. How could a master hate and execute his man who had tried to be faithful to him? You shall see that as his power declines, his old subjects who have been serving his clan for generations will defect. What a shame!” Thus Ieyasu disdained Katsuyori and eventually his prediction came true.

10. The Fall of the Takeda:

After Takatenjin fell, the inspection began of heads taken. A head of indeterminate sex was brought in. The well-combed hair was neatly tied and the face with blackened teeth was lightly made up. Ieyasu said to his men, “Open the eyes. If the irises are clear, it’s the head of a male.” Just as he said, it was the head of Tokita Senchiyo, a cherished young page of Kurita Gyôbu.

Meanwhile Oda Nobunaga had killed Takeda Katsuyori whose head was presented for examination. Nobunaga abused the head, saying, “Your present situation is due to the unrighteous deed of your father, Shingen who could not escape the punishment of Heaven after expelling his father, Nobutada. I once heard that your father wanted to go to the capital. I will forward your head to fulfill your father’s wish and it will be exposed to the spectators including the women and children of the capital.” He sent it to Ieyasu for a further examination.

When Katsuyori’s head arrived, Ieyasu immediately stood, and said to his men, “Offer a proper service before bringing it here.” He said to the head, “This is all due to your immaturity.” Ieyasu’s kind and proper treatment of the head of Takeda Katsuyori made many men of Kai and Shinano Provinces [Takeda’s domain] decide to join Ieyasu.

After having defeated the Takeda, Nobunaga wanted to see the mansion of Takeda Shingen, and tried to ride into the mansion. However his horse would not advance, so he returned on his way. On the other hand, when Ieyasu wanted to see the mansion while governing Kai Province [Takeda's former domain], he dismounted before entering the compound.

When Nobunaga defeated the Takeda, many Takeda men were killed. Ieyasu felt pity and secretly saved numbers of the Takeda by inviting them to his Tôtômi Province, and employing them with stipends of rice. As a result, many Takeda men later worked as hard as the Mikawa men, the traditional retainers of Ieyasu.

Once when Ieyasu was fighting against Takeda Shingen, an enemy, Hirose Gôzaemon Kagefusa, galloped close to his camp. Seeing this, one of Ieyasu's men tried to shoot him with a gun. Ieyasu stopped him, saying, "Do not shoot such a brave man. He will certainly join me when Kai Province is under my control." Sure enough, Kagefusa became one of Ieyasu's faithful retainers.

After having defeated and employed many Takeda men, Ieyasu said to them, "Takeda Katsuyori, although born to be a son of Shingen, was like a son of his enemy. On the contrary, I was not a blood relation of Shingen, but had so much confidence in Shingen's martial arts and rules that I have adopted them for my family. So I am like his son. So now you serve me as if I were a son of your old lord, Shingen. In return, I will treat each of you with great consideration." Ieyasu always praised and showed his respect for Shingen whenever he saw the former Shingen men.

While ruling Kai Province, Ieyasu built the Keitokuin Temple at the place where

Katsuyori and his father were buried, donated rice fields for income, and placed a priest who was a younger brother of Komiyama Naizen Tomonobu in charge of the temple. Ieyasu also rebuilt the Erinji Temple which had been burnt by Nobunaga.

11. Assisting Oda Nobukatsu¹²⁴:

The valorous Hideyoshi's fame and power spread after he had destroyed Akechi Mitsuhide who had attacked and sent Oda Nobunaga to his death. Superficially he respected Oda Nobukatsu as the lawful heir of his former Lord Nobunaga. But in reality, Hideyoshi had been plotting against Nobukatsu by making Nobukatsu's old elders defect. Believing the slanderers' words, Nobukatsu had executed his old elders. With that as an excuse, Hideyoshi was going to advance his army into Nobukatsu's Owari Province.

At the news, the frightened Nobukatsu asked his father's old vassals for help. However, the contemporary trend was to support the powerful Hideyoshi, and no one complied with his request. The distressed Nobukatsu finally sent a message to Ieyasu, saying, "There is no one but you, Lord Ieyasu, on whom I can depend. For the sake of your old relationship with my deceased father, please help me out of this most desperate situation."

Feeling great pity, Ieyasu said to the messenger, "At present, Hideyoshi's fame and power make him very prosperous. However, he was originally a slave of Matsushita Yukitsuna, and thanks to the help of Lord Nobunaga, he has advanced to his present position. Now having forgotten his old lord's favor, he is turning against the heir. His action lacks the sense of loyalty and obligation. Now Nobukatsu's men, including the old vassals and subjects of his father, are supporting Hideyoshi and ignoring the heir of their old lord. Their

¹²⁴ Oda Nobukatsu, a son of Nobunaga, attacked the ikko-ikki of Nagshima, fought against Hideyoshi at the Battle of

actions are likewise faithless. I will violate the Way of the Samurai if I reject the desperate request of the son of Nobunaga with whom I once exchanged a firm promise of mutual aid.

So as my messenger, you will go and tell your lord, Nobukatsu, that I will come to help him when Hideyoshi attacks. If I come with my army, no matter how large Hideyoshi's force, your lord will be safe. So tell him not to worry at all." At Ieyasu's reply, Nobukatsu and his men were most relieved and felt Ieyasu most dependable.

12. The Battle of Nagakute:¹²⁵

In the Battle of Nagakute [in the east of present Nagoya City, Nobukatsu and Ieyasu as allies defeated the army of Hideyoshi in April of 1582]. Ikeda Nobuteru, [siding with Hideyoshi], attacked and took Inuyama Castle¹²⁶. At the news, Ieyasu immediately advanced his army on the castle, but Nobuteru had already abandoned the castle, leaving fires burning in scattered spots.

Ieyasu called the village chief and inquired about the situation. He learned that the Ikeda father and son, attacking the castle suddenly with twenty or thirty thousand men, had set fires everywhere, and had withdrawn at about the Hour of the Snake [10 a.m.]. Meanwhile, Nobukatsu finally arrived at the spot, saying, "It is most regrettable that I just missed Nobuteru." Ieyasu said to him, "It is quite strange that the Ikeda suddenly attacked and took Inuyama Castle. They may have had spies among the villagers who assisted them since the area once belonged to the Ikeda. Judging by the words of the village chief, they must have communicated beforehand. The size of Nobuteru's army sounds exaggerated. For

Nagakute and joined Ieyasu at Sekigahara, and received the fief of 50000 *koku* including Uda District of Yamato Province.
¹²⁵ Nagakute is to the east of Nagoya City where Ieyasu and Oda Nobukatsu (Nobunaga's son) fought against Hideyoshi in 1584. The battle ended in peace.

a sudden attack, they could have gathered only five or six thousand troops. The village chief must have tried to intimidate us by describing Ikeda's army as so large. The cooperation of villagers usually brings military benefits including spies. We can take hostages from the village chiefs and manorial officers in the Inuyama and Komaki Areas. Cutting their communications will guarantee our victory." The impressed Nobukatsu took the wives and children of the village chiefs and manorial officers as hostages, and his enemy lost contact with the villagers.

In this battle, the soldiers of Nobukatsu and Ieyasu were about to attack the double moats [the concentric defenses constructed] around the enemy encampment. The excited enemy troops reported this to Hideyoshi who was playing a *go* game. He said to his men, "As soon as the double moats are penetrated, send in our men, and let me know." He resumed his game.

At the same time, Ieyasu also received reports from his men, and said to them, "When the enemy sends in their rearguard, we will attack them. Otherwise, do not move, but wait." Finally both allies and enemy withdrew.

Ten years later [in 1592], at the Tsukushi camp [in Nagoya], Hideyoshi asked why Ieyasu did not attack the double moats. Ieyasu replied, "Although my men wanted to cross the moats, I stopped them since I wanted to attract your soldiers to Komaki. I was planning to attack from Komaki." The impressed Hideyoshi said, "I thought that if the double moats were crossed, I was sure to win by attacking with my large army from the Komatsujii Temple." Hearing this, Mori Tadamasa later spoke to someone, "Truly these two are great

¹²⁶ Refer note 57.

generals, excelling in timing and analysis.“

13. Mutual Admiration:

In this battle, learning that his army had been defeated, Hideyoshi sent more soldiers to the front. But by the time his reinforcements had arrived, his enemy, Ieyasu, had already retreated to Obata. That night, Hideyoshi camped on Mount Ryûsenji, and heard an analysis of the tactics from Hidetsugu¹²⁷ and Hori Hidemasa. Hideyoshi said to his men, “Shônryû Musashinokami ignored my words and caused the failure.” The angry Hideyoshi talked to his men about surrounding Obata at daybreak. He sent out a scout in the dawn, and learned that Ieyasu had already left for Komaki leaving Honda Tadakatsu as his rearguard.

At the news, Hideyoshi admired Ieyasu, saying, “What a fantastic general he is. We can never entrap him, no matter what method we use. Fighting against him has trained me quite well.” After he left the camp, again he said to his men about Ieyasu, “Reviewing Ieyasu’s military maneuvers in the Nagakute Battle, I conclude that no general can surpass Ieyasu in present and future Japan. Unfortunately, I lost the last battle with him, but I will surely make him come to the capital dressed formally in a long *hakama* skirts.” Meanwhile, Ieyasu, having retired to his castle, said, “We have seen no general superior to Hideyoshi, not even in China.”

14. Reviewing the Battle of Nagakute:

Some years later before the Battle of Odawara [when in 1590 Hideyoshi defeated the Hôjô in Odawara Castle], in reviewing the tactics in the Battle of Nagakute, Ieyasu

¹²⁷ Hidetsugu 秀次 (1568-95), a son of Hideyoshi’s sister, Zuiryûin Nisshu, was adopted by Hideyoshi in 1591, nominated kanpaku regent in 1592, and was forced to commit suicide by Hideyoshi. Boscarro. L 12, 42, 45.

gathered his old retainers, and asked, “In the Battle of Nagakute, we won during the daytime. Hideyoshi’s army pursued us. But after darkness fell, they camped on the beach of the Ryûsenji River, and decided to attack us early in the morning. Some of you urged me to make a night attack on the Hideyoshi camp, but I disagreed, and retreated to Komaki Castle during the night. Did you really think that we would have won if we had attacked them during the night?”

Honda Tadakatsu¹²⁸ replied, “Well, both Ii and Sakakibara joined in the daytime fighting, but I didn’t because I had to stay in Komaki Castle. So I wanted to fight at night. But I did not think of catching Hideyoshi at that time.” Both Ii and Sakakibara agreed. Ieyasu continued, “Indeed. I thought we could win if we attacked at night. But I decided against it because missing Hideyoshi that night would be disastrous. Remember that Hideyoshi had the great ambition of controlling all Japan. He had a hundred thousand soldiers available for the battle while we had only thirty thousand including those of Nobukatsu. Yet we managed to win in the daytime fighting which was more than enough to ensure our reputation for valor. And if we had won in the night attack, but missed Hideyoshi, he would have been greatly enraged and so vengeful as to pay all his attention to our destruction rather than to the control of all Japan. If that happened, it would have been an utter waste. His ambition is proved by his destruction of the Hôjô in the recent battle and his present plans to obtain the Ôshû Area.” Hearing this, everyone was impressed.

Takai Takejirô, once a retainer of the Imagawa, did not win any merits in the Nagakute Battle. Takejirô tearfully apologized to Ieyasu, “I feel most ashamed that I have not

¹²⁸ Honda Tadakatsu 本田忠勝 (1548-1610): He was one of the four important subjects of Ieyasu, and was the Lord of

done well in the last battle while everyone else was successful.” Ieyasu said to him, “That you were not blessed with a chance to be meritorious in the last battle was unfortunate. I understand how you feel. But I appreciate your service of informing your old lord, Imagawa, of the details of the enemy movements. In these days, those who make conscientious reports to their masters are becoming rare. I will cherish someone like you more than those who have taken so many enemy heads.” This remark restored Sukejirô’s honor and made others appreciate him more.

15. A General Does Not Reveal His Scheme:

At the time of the Battle of Kanie [a town between Nagoya City and Kuwana City],¹²⁹ Ieyasu heard that the enemy had arrived at the offing near Kanie Castle. Seeing more enemy soldiers arriving by boats, Ieyasu kept saying to his men, “Don’t bother them. Let them enter the castle.” When Sakai Tadatsugu asked him, “Why don’t you stop them?” Ieyasu asked, “What do you think?” Sakai replied, “That’s it. If you allow more soldiers to enter when the castle is already full, an attack will be more difficult. What are you thinking of, my lord?” Ieyasu ignored his question, saying, “A general does not reveal his scheme.”

Later Ieyasu drove away the enemy boats and cut the entrance of rations into the castle. With so many soldiers in Kanie Castle, the enemy soon exhausted their food, eventually killed Maeda Yojûrô, asked to surrender, and finally handed Kanie Castle to Ieyasu.

Kuwana Castle in Ise

¹²⁹ As a move against Oda Nobuo (the second son of Nobunaga) in 1584, Hideyoshi threatened Kanie Castle which was located between Kiyosu and Nagashima in Owari Province. Castellan Maeda Tanetoshi was persuaded to change sides by his cousin Takigawa Kazumasu who had been pardoned by Hideyoshi for his part in supporting Shibata Katsuie. Kanie was attacked by the forces of Sakakibara and Oda on behalf of the Tokugawa and Oda alliance. The attackers negotiated a surrender on condition that they be given the head of the traitor Maeda, who had vainly tried to escape, and which was

16. Adoption of the Shingen Style of Military Arts:

After Ieyasu's victory in the Battle of Nagakute, the people including Ieyasu's men heard rumors of a bigger quarrel between Hideyoshi and Ieyasu. Meanwhile, Ishikawa Hôkinokami Kazumasa, one of Ieyasu's elders, defected, and joined Hideyoshi. All Ieyasu's men were much concerned and talked to each other, "Kazumasa, together with Sakai Tadatsugu, has been one of the most important elders with the Tokugawa Family, and is familiar with the Tokugawa military ways and rules. Now that he has joined Hideyoshi, the Tokugawa traditional military arts and tactics will be exposed by Kazumasa to our enemy which will make our next campaign against Hideyoshi more difficult." However, the unconcerned Ieyasu appeared even happier, and his men all wondered.

Meanwhile, Ieyasu ordered Torii Mototada, a deputy district officer of Kai Province [which used to belong to Takeda Shingen], to collect and bring all the documents and writings concerning military arts and tactics issued during the time of Takeda Shingen as well as the weapons and armor to Hamamatsu [where Ieyasu stayed]. He appointed Naruse Kichiuemon Masakazu and Okabe Jirôzaemon Masatsuna as the magistrates for this duty under the supervision of Ii Naomasa¹³⁰ and Honda Tadakatsu.¹³¹ He also told the Takeda men who now belonged to Naomasa to speak up about whatever happened while they were serving the Takeda.

Afterwards, sometime in the beginning of November [of the year 1582], Ieyasu announced to all his men that the Tokugawa military arts and rules were to be replaced with

finally handed over by his cousin.

¹³⁰ Ii Naomasa (1561-1602) served Ieyasu, achieved greatness in the Battle of Nagakute, and was wounded in the Battle of Sekigahara while fighting against Shimazu Yoshihiro.

those of the Takeda Shingen style.

17. Going Up to the Capital:

After the Battle of Nagakute, without informing Ieyasu, Oda Nobukatsu made peace with Hideyoshi who sent a message to Ieyasu, saying, “Since Nobukatsu and I have made a truce, I hope that you will also do the same.” Ieyasu replied, “I agree with you. I have opposed you at the request of Nobukatsu. If Nobukatsu has made peace with you, I have no quarrel with you.”

Hideyoshi sent another message, “I am pleased at your compliance. In exchange for your future favor, I will offer you my younger sister.” Soon Hideyoshi’s younger sister arrived to become Ieyasu’s wife. Ieyasu said to his men, “Now I have no reason to refrain from going up to the capital to see Hideyoshi.” But one of his elders, Sakai Tadatsugu, objected, saying, “My lord, please drop your idea. There is no need for you to go. It does not matter even if we are estranged from Hideyoshi as a result.” Other elders and vassals also disagreed with Ieyasu and tried to stop him.

Ieyasu asked them, “Why are you trying to stop me? If something happens, I alone can cut my belly and save all of you. If I refuse him now, we will surely become his enemies. They may attack us with an army of a hundred thousand men, and we may defeat them. But as happens in fighting, things may not necessarily go as we plan. If hundreds of my men including our peasants perish in the fields and mountains due to my single decision, the horrible resentment of their ghosts will be intolerable. I can save so many men’s lives if I alone cut my belly.” At this, Elder Sakai finally gave in, saying, “My lord, if your resolution

¹³¹ Honda Tadakatsu (1548-1610), an important subject of Ieyasu, was the Lord of Kuwana Castle in Ise.

is that firm, please go.” People said to each other that the elder’s reply was proper at that time.

The news of Ieyasu’s arrival at the capital pleased Hideyoshi immensely and he sent his mother to Okazaki [in Ieyasu’s domain] in exchange with a message to Ieyasu, saying “As an assurance, I am sending my mother as a hostage to you in Okazaki.” Ieyasu responded, “Thank you, but there is no need to send her here.”

However, before he started on his trip, Ieyasu entrusted Hideyoshi’s old mother to his elders, Ii Naomasa and Ôkubo Tadayo, saying, “If the situation should cause me to cut my belly, kill the old mother. But do not kill her lady attendants. If people say that Ieyasu killed these ladies and died himself, it will not sound well for my descendants in future generations.”

Contrary to the concern of the Ieyasu retainers, Ieyasu was well treated with feasts in the capital by Hideyoshi, and safely returned home. Everyone in the province was pleased and the old mother happily returned to the capital.

18. Attacking Odawara Castle¹³²:

After having returned from Odawara Castle, Ieyasu said to his retainer, Honda Masanobu, “Judging from the situations of Matsuda and Ujiteru [a younger brother of Hôjô Ujimasa], the Hôjô are deteriorating.” As presumed by Ieyasu, soon the Hôjô declined due to the betrayal of Matsuda and the despotic Ujiteru who ignored Ujinao, the heir of Ujimasa.

In the spring of 1590, Ieyasu sent his third son, Chômaru [later renamed Hidetada], to the capital for an interview with Hideyoshi. Greatly pleased at seeing Chômaru, Hideyoshi

¹³² See note 28.

took him to the inner part of his residence where his old mother, Ômandokoro,¹³³ rearranged Chômaru's hairdo and dressed him in better clothing with a large sword decorated in gold. When Chômaru appeared in the front room, Hideyoshi said to Ii Naomasa who was escorting Chômaru, "Lord Ieyasu is most fortunate to be blessed with so many good sons. Chômaru is very gentle and of fine birth. We just rearranged his hairdo and clothing in a sophisticated style since he appeared like a boy from the countryside. I suppose Ieyasu must be very anxious about his son in a distant place. Take him home quickly." Thus Naomasa and his men received many gifts from Hideyoshi and took Chômaru safely home.

Meanwhile, after sending his son to Hideyoshi as a hostage prior to the attack on the Hôjô, Ieyasu anticipated Hideyoshi's design of using the castles in his domain, and ordered Honda Masanobu to repair the castles and roads east of Mikawa. Three days later, he received a message from Hideyoshi asking Ieyasu for various castles. Ieyasu's men were all impressed by their lord's perception.

For this battle, Ieyasu appointed Komiyama Masachika to command the spearmen, saying to Masachika, "You are still young, but I am giving you this important position because of your elder brother, Naizen, who, despite his loyalty to his lord, Takeda Katsuyori, was cut off due to slander. However, he returned later, was pardoned, and served his lord till the end of his life as a good warrior. After Naizen's childless death, you, as his younger brother, have become his heir. So be aware that the position is meant for Naizen, and you should do your best not just for your own sake, but for the honor of your brother."

During the battle, a rumor that Hideyoshi and his army would stay at Sanmaibashi

¹³³ Hideyoshi's mother, called Ômandokoro died in 1592, Omandokoro, a shortened form of Ôkita no Mandokoro or Great

Castle [Numazu Castle] for a few days reached Ieyasu. Ii Naomasa¹³⁴, Honda Tadakatsu¹³⁵, and Sakakibara Yasumasa asked Ieyasu, “Sanmaibashi Castle is in your domain, sir. We should definitely entertain Hideyoshi who rarely comes to the northeast region. However, we have not heard any instructions from you. Why?” Ieyasu replied, “I had originally thought of entertaining him, but have finally decided not to bother. Careful study of his nature and characteristics has made me reach this conclusion. Hideyoshi is controlling this country with his extraordinary talents. He often antagonizes and thwarts those who are superior. On the contrary, he usually treats those who appear inferior to him much better.” Ieyasu did not bother to entertain Hideyoshi on that occasion.

In this battle when attacking Miyaginoguchi and Takeuraguchi, it was prearranged that Ieyasu would command the vanguard while Hidetsugu would lead the second unit. However, Hidetsugu tried to precede the vanguard. Ieyasu sent Murakoshi Naoyoshi to advise Hidetsugu, saying “It is quite natural that a young man like you wishes to go in advance. But one should be discreet. I will open the way for you. I also want to gain merit in benefiting by your valor. However, we are invading a strange land with which the enemy is very familiar. Besides, it is becoming dark. Camping at the foot of a mountain should be avoided according to military tactics. So why don’t we stay here tonight, and attack in the early morning.” The impressed and embarrassed Hidetsugu camped on the hillside of Mount Hakone and burned bonfires throughout the night.

In this battle, there was a time when Hideyoshi was camping with only fourteen to

Kita no Mandokoro was a title given to the mother of *sesshō-kanpaku* regents. Boscaro, L 32, 39.

¹³⁴ Ii Naomasa 井伊直政(1561-1602): Naomasa served Ieyasu, achieved greatness in the Battle of Nagakute, and was wounded in the Battle of Sekigahara while fighting against Shimazu Yoshihiro.

fifteen mounted men. Ii Naomasa and Sakakibara Yasumasa suggested to Ieyasu, “This is a good chance. If you attack and take him, you can have the whole country in your hand.” Ieyasu explained, “You may be right. But in this battle, Hideyoshi has heavily depended on me. One should not practice cruel deeds like snapping the neck of a tame bird. In a military way, one can not compete against one blessed with luck and fortune by nature. Hideyoshi could not have climbed to his present position without luck. An attempt to take him now would be a hasty action which only reveals our fear of him. If we wait, our time will come in due course. It’s too early now.”

In this battle, Ieyasu and Oda Nobukatsu [the son of Nobunaga] visited Hideyoshi’s camp. After seeing Hideyoshi, the two retired and were passing through a corridor when Hideyoshi came after them holding a crisscrossed spear in his hand as he called Ieyasu’s name. Seeing Hideyoshi following with the spear, Ieyasu held his sword in his left hand, and leisurely knelt to wait for him. The laughing Hideyoshi reversed the spear with the handle towards Ieyasu and held it out to him, saying, “This is my cherished spear. I want you to have it.” Deeply bowing, Ieyasu accepted the gift. Soon Hideyoshi’s retainer appeared, put the spear in a sheath, and handed it to Ieyasu’s attendant on the porch.

Meanwhile, Nobukatsu was frightened at the sight of Hideyoshi coming after with the spear and had disappeared, leaving Ieyasu alone in the corridor. Hideyoshi and his men were amazed at the behavior of Nobukatsu and criticized him.

Ieyasu cherished the spear as his favorite weapon for a long time.

19. Expert Horsemanship:

¹³⁵ Honda Tadakatsu(1548-1610), one of the four important vassals of Ieyasu, was the lord of Sawayama Castle in Ise.

In this battle, Ieyasu, with the vanguard, advanced through Sonohara. Meanwhile, Niwa Nagashige, Hasegawa Hidekazu and Hori Hidemasa were heading towards Odawara through Hikanegoe. When they were walking along a ridge, and looking into the valley, they saw Ieyasu's banners down below. They decided to watch how Ieyasu and his men would cross the river in the valley. There was a narrow bridge which spanned the river. Unable to cross the bridge while mounted, the Ieyasu men waded under the bridge. When the mounted Ieyasu arrived at the bridge, the three generals on the ridge, Niwa, Hasegawa, and Hori, said to each other, "Lord Ieyasu is known for his horsemanship. Let's see how he controls his horse while crossing the bridge."

Ieyasu dismounted before the bridge, left his horse with his grooms, and crossed the bridge while carried on the back of one of his men. The three generals first laughed, "So the expert in horsemanship could not ride over the bridge, but crossed the river on someone's back." However, soon the three generals changed their attitude and admired Ieyasu's way of treating his animal, "Well, we did not know he was that skillful in handling his horse. A real expert does not take a chance. Especially before a big battle, one should refrain from reckless deeds. He is truly a contemporary success."

From his youth until his old age, Ieyasu always had dismounted when the road was bad for his horse. At one time he said to one of his close retainers, "Dismounting on bad roads is one of the secret techniques of the Ôtsubo Style of Horsemanship. Unless one can afford a spare horse, one should always dismount while considering the conditions for the horse on a difficult road. One who thinks only of riding without considering his horse eventually damages his horse, and cannot ride when a mount is really needed. That is stupid.

Remember this.”

When Ieyasu was in his Fujinomori mansion at the capital, he did not bother to repair his stable. Kagatsume Haito Masahisa almost rebuked him, saying, “Your stable needs repairing. Other lords take care of their horses by hanging mosquito nets in summer, and protecting the mounts with *futon* coverlets in winter. But your horses drink soiled water and have crude straw hangings on the doorway.”

Ieyasu firmly remonstrated, saying, “The horses of samurai should always wade through rivers without any assistance. Just think which horse, the one accustomed to the straw and soiled water, or the one pampered by mosquito nets and coverlets, will climb difficult and steep cliffs, ford violent currents, and withstand severe cold and the blazing sun? When you train your horses, are you going to use the urban style of the Kansai Area? How wasteful!”

20. Entering Edo Castle:

In July of the same year [1590], Odawara Castle [of the Hôjô Clan] fell. As a reward, Hideyoshi gave Ieyasu the Eight Provinces of the Kanto Area which had belonged to the Hôjô in exchange for the five provinces of Ieyasu which included Suruga, Tôtômi, Mikawa, Kai and Shinano . Now Ieyasu hurried to move to his new domain and entered Edo Castle¹³⁶ on the first of August in the same year [1590]. All his people of high and low status finished moving during the two months of August and September, and a message was sent to Hideyoshi that Ieyasu was ready to hand over his five old provinces. At the news, Hideyoshi

¹³⁶ For Ieyasu’s moving to Edo, see note 33 and for Ieyasu’s designing and constructing Edo as a future city, see Kitajima, pp. 99-108

was most amazed as he said to one of his close men, Asano Nagamasa, “If he is in hurry, handing over four of his old provinces is understandable, but quickly giving up Suruga Province which has been his traditional domain is most unusual. Why does he do everything so rapidly? Whatever he does is most extraordinary, and beyond our imagination.”

After having given Ieyasu the old Hôjô domain, Hideyoshi asked him, “How much are you going to increase the income of your three retainers including Ii, Honda, and Sakakibara?” Ieyasu replied, “I thought I would increase their fiefs to one hundred thousand *koku* each, but decided to give them sixty thousand each.” But later, Hideyoshi told him to give the three men a hundred thousand *koku* each for their fiefdoms.

21. The Order of Going into a Battle:

In the following year when a revolt broke out in Kokonohe of Ôshû [Iwate Prefecture], Ieyasu advanced to Iwatsuki Castle of Bushû [Saitama Prefecture], and told Ii Naomasa, “After your preparations are complete, go to the front and assist Asano, and supervise the military affairs of Kokonohe.” Hearing this, Honda Masanobu came forward and suggested to Ieyasu, “Since Naomasa is our important councillor, how about sending someone lower to the front. If that does not succeed, you can still send Naomasa.”

Ieyasu retorted, “That would be an indiscreet action which someone inferior like my son-in-law, Hôjô Ujimasa, might take. If we send an incapable one and he fails, he would lose his life and repute. Losing a retainer thus would be most regrettable.”

Later, when Tsutsui Sadatsugu’s domain was confiscated due to his major misconduct, Honda Daisuke Tadakatsu and Matsudaira Tadamasa and several other men were sent to take Sadatsugu’s castle in Iga -Ueno. Ieyasu said to his men at that time, “Since

Sadatsugu is in Edo and his castle is guarded only by his retainers, there is no need to send so many people to take the castle. However, once decided, to alter the arrangements will be improper. This situation is like someone tucking his skirts way high up at his waist to ford the river where the water comes only to his knees. Certainly he won't be drowned."

22. Securing Hideaki's Domain:

In March [of 1598], Hideyoshi ordered Kobayakawa Hideaki¹³⁷ transferred to Echizen Province due to his indiscreet actions in the campaign in Korea. The order greatly disturbed Hideaki. Ieyasu tried his best to appease Hideaki who had rejected the order, saying, "As long as I live, I will never go to Echizen," since he believed that everything was caused by Ishida Mitsunari's slander. However, upon Ieyasu's sincere recommendation, finally Hideaki said, "I will consider my action after reflection."

Meanwhile, Ieyasu called two of Hideaki's elders, Sugihara and Yamaguchi, and secretly consulted with them, saying, "I suggest that you send some of your men to Echizen, and have them stay there at an inn. This is to show Regent Hideyoshi that his order has been carried out." So, without telling Hideaki, the elders secretly chose samurai who had newly joined their clan and sent them to Echizen Province.

After that, Ieyasu daily went to see Hideyoshi. When Hideyoshi saw him everyday at his castle, he said to him, "My lord Ieyasu, you have been so devoted to your duty these days." Taking advantage of the situation, Ieyasu tried to appeal to Hideyoshi, saying, "I have been wishing that you would change your mind about sending Lord Hideaki to Echizen Province. But I haven't been able to express my preference since I am afraid that I may hurt

¹³⁷ Kobayakawa Hideaki (1582-1602), an adopted son of Hideyoshi, sided with Ieyasu in the battle of Sekigahara. which

your feelings.” Ieyasu continuously visited Hideyoshi who was quite pleased while showing his appreciation for Ieyasu’s devotion. Ieyasu repeated his appeal, saying, “I would very much like to make a petition for Lord Hideaki, but I am afraid to ask since I may upset you.” At Ieyasu’s persistent appeal, finally Hideyoshi said, “If you think that much of him, it’s now up to you.” “I truly appreciate your decision, sir.” said the tearfully pleased Ieyasu who immediately went to Hideaki’s mansion, and told the two elders, “Bring back the samurai from Echizen Province, and send them to your home province of Chikuzen.”

Meanwhile, on the second of June, Ieyasu together with Hideaki visited Hideyoshi. The pleased Hideyoshi offered Hideaki two swords forged by Sadamune and Yoshimitsu, two Daihannya tea containers, some instruments for the tea ceremony, two hawks, and one thousand pieces of gold. Ieyasu received the sword forged by Mitsutada, and three hundred pieces of gold. The two were well entertained with good food and returned to their mansions.

Later, Hideaki sent Nagasaki Izunokami who expressed gratitude to Ieyasu on behalf of his master, saying, “Thanks to your efforts, we are able to return to our province. We will eventually find a time to show our proper appreciation.”

23. A War Cry:

In March [of 1599], Ieyasu arrived at Osaka from Fushimi, visited the ill Maeda Toshiie, and spent the night at Tôdô Takatora’s in Nakanoshima. Since someone warned Ieyasu that the men of Ishida [Mitsunari] might attack him, Ieyasu remained on guard through the night.

Towards daybreak, they heard a war cry in the vicinity. The surprised retainers

brought a victory to Ieyasu.

reported this to Ieyasu who said, “I have sent scores of spies to the mansions of the Ishida retainers. Since they have not returned yet, that cry can not be a war cry of the Ishida. That must be the noise of boatmen and merchants since this place is close to the ferry. It’s daybreak now.” Indeed, the merchants’ voices sounded like a war cry.

24. Questions on Attacking a Castle:

[In 1599], Ijûin Genjirô, a subject of the Shimazu Clan, revolted against Shimazu Tadazane and Tadatsune who sent Ieyasu a messenger with a map of their domain.

Ieyasu questioned the messenger, “How many soldiers?”

“About eight thousand, sir,” replied the messenger.

Ieyasu continued his questions, “Did the allies obtain this year’s crops?”

“We took only half and the other half went to the enemy.”

“Are the peasants in the besieged enemy castle?”

“Yes, they are.”

“What about the rice and salt, are they coming from other provinces?”

“No sir, all the routes around the castle are blocked.”

“In that case, the castle will definitely fall by the coming spring. It’s better to wait rather than to attack hastily and to lose our men.. Even if the young Tadatsune attacks now, the older Ijûin will surely overpower him.” Just as Ieyasu predicted, the castle fell in the following spring.

Meanwhile a rumor spread in Fushimi and Kyoto that many lords in Fushimi were cooperating to attack the mansion of Ieyasu there. Ieyasu immediately had large bamboo palisades erected around the mansion and had his men prepare long-barreled guns at the

entrance while the front gates were wide open. Shinjō Suruganokami came and suggested to Ieyasu, “I think we should close the gates while preparing the weapons.” Ieyasu replied, “The enemy will disdain us as they see our closed doors. So all the preparations should be made at the entrance with the gates opened.”

25. Departing for the Kanto Area:

[While Ieyasu was still staying in the Kansai Area], before the Battle of Aizu, Ieyasu secretly called his close retainers, Honda, Ii, Sakakibara, Honda Tadakatsu, and said, “This revolt was caused not only by Kagekatsu but by many other lords of the Kansai Area headed by Ishida who supported Kagekatsu. If I go down to the Kanto Area, I am sure they will revolt in unison in my absence. So I will go leisurely to the east, stay longer in Edo Castle in the Kanto Area, and observe the situation.”

All four suggested, “In that case, why don’t you send Shimazu and Tachibana with Mōri and Ukita as their leaders to Aizu while you remain in Osaka with the excuse that you will guard Lord Hideyori [Hideyoshi’s son]. As soon as you leave for the Kanto Area, those in the Kansai Area will raise their banners in revolt.”

Ieyasu disagreed, “What you say is quite wrong. If I send these men to Aizu, they will surely ally themselves with Kagekatsu and eventually attack Edo Castle in the Kanto Area. And if I leave Edo at that time, the Ishida here will pursue us. The Kanto Area has been in our domain. If I am in the Kanto Area, even if all the lords attack me, we can defeat them with our own troops. I have been considering this idea for several years and have been collecting all the brave samurai soldiers irrespective of their status as long as they are faithful to me. These men will support and remain with me even if dissension occurs in the Kansai

Area. This is why I am leaving for the Kanto Area now, even if my leaving may cause a commotion in the Kansai Area.” All his men were quite impressed at Ieyasu’s sincere intention.

On this occasion, Ieyasu ordered his men, “Keep the burning torches attached to the cords of your swords” and passed from Ishibe through Minaguchi during the night. On the following day, a rumor circulated in Minaguchi that the Tokugawa army which had passed on the previous night was equipped with numerous guns. [The rumor must have been spread by those who saw the lights on the cords of the Ieyasu soldiers in the dark, and assumed there were arquebuses whose serpentine cords contained the ends of glowing and smoldering matches.]

26. Caring for the Hawks:

“On this journey to the north, Ieyasu stayed at Suruga where he paid attention exclusively to his hawks and neglected military affairs. When Honda Tadakatsu came to warn him, Ieyasu was busy examining the cords for binding the hawks. Seeing Tadakatsu, Ieyasu asked him, “What is it, now?” Tadakatsu said, “I have something to discuss with you. Please provide privacy.” Ieyasu took him to an inner room where Tadakatsu began asking questions, “We understand that we have come here to attack Uesugi Kagekatsu. However, instead of preparing for battle, you have been leisurely attending to your hawks from morning till evening. While you waste your time here like this, someone in Kansai will certainly rebel. Then what will you do?”

“Do you think what I am doing here looks foolish?” asked Ieyasu.

“I am afraid you will bring ruin to your clan.” As soon as Tadakatsu replied, Ieyasu put his hand over Tadakatsu’s mouth and said, “Shut up. This is the only way to take the

country. The reason is that as long as I take time for foolish things like this, these Kansai lords will not rebel. But as soon as one of them causes trouble, I will return to the Kansai Area and suppress him as well as the others. After I control this country, you will be a samurai lord with a province to govern.” “It would be wonderful if something like that happened,” said Tadakatsu and retired.

Some time later, the situation turned out just as Ieyasu had assumed. One day, Tadakatsu spoke to Murakami Saemon, “Whatever our lord Ieyasu said has come true like the words of a Yin-Yang master. But what he said about giving me a province has not come true,” said Tadakatsu angrily.

27. The Battle of Sekigahara [1600]:¹³⁸

When Ieyasu was about to participate in the Battle of Sekigahara, a retainer, Ishikawa Iemasa, tried to advise him, “According to the [zodiac] signs, movement to the west is ill-advised today. It will be better to leave on another day.” “If the way to the west is blocked, I will open it,” said Ieyasu as he departed for the front.

Later, before the Battle of Osaka when Ieyasu was going to pass through Kuragaritôge, the Dark Pass of Yamato, all his men tried to stop him, saying, “Since ancient times, we have seen no examples of victory in battles after crossing the Dark Pass of Yamato. These signs are ominous.” In spite of their warning, Ieyasu forcibly entered the pass and took Yokonawate Road. Thus, Ieyasu skillfully adjusted his tactics

¹³⁸ In 1600 at Sekigahara in Mino Province [the southwest of Gifu Prefecture], Ieyasu leading the Eastern Army which included the forces of Katô, Fukushima, and Kuroda defeated Ishida Mitsunari who led the Western Army including the forces of Mōri, Ukita, Uesugi and Shimazu. Ishida’s army totaled over 80,000 while Ieyasu’s was over 100,000. Due to the defection of Kobayakawa Hideaki (See [I: 22]) of the Western Army, Ieyasu had a victory which laid the foundation for his hegemony.

to the speed of his enemy.

On the way to Ohama, Ieyasu said to his close retainer, "I forgot to bring my signal fan. Go and find a small bamboo stick in the grove over there." When a bamboo stick was brought, Ieyasu took out some paper, used the front of his saddle to cut it into small strips, tied them to the stick, and shook the stick a few times as he said, "This is just enough to split the Uesugi." Later passing near the same bamboo grove on his way back to Osaka, Ieyasu threw away his bamboo signal fan, saying, "No need for a signal fan to break the enemy in Osaka." He said this to appease and relax his people who were frightened by the great number of enemies in the east and west.

At the time of the Battle of Sekigahara, Ieyasu perceived that his enemies, the lords of the Western army, would try to exhaust his allies of the Eastern forces by confining them in their firmly defended Ôgaki Castle. Ieyasu said, "If the enemy will not come out of their castle, I will have some men besiege Ôgaki Castle, and attack Ôsaka Castle immediately." Hearing this, all the lords of Ôgaki came out of their castles and fought.

On the fourteenth of September, when Ieyasu was patrolling in Nangûzan, Honda Tadakatsu came near his bridle and said to Ieyasu, "Kobayakawa Hideaki has sent Kuroda Nagamasa as his messenger, and has offered to exchange hostages as he wishes to join us." At this, Ieyasu said in a loud voice, "Why did Hideaki change sides? With this, we have already won this battle!" Hearing this, all his men were joyously encouraged.

Ieyasu soon sent Konishi Masashige and Nishio Masayoshi to the camp of Hideaki in Matsuoyama to inspect the situation. When the two returned, they loudly reported to him, "Hideaki seems to be defecting as we thought." Ieyasu advised them, "In a case like this,

you should speak quietly since our forces will be discouraged if Hideaki does not defect.”

About the Hour of Monkey [4 p.m.] on the fifteenth of that month, it began to rain so hard that even the axles were bogged down and cooking rice became impossible. Ieyasu sent messengers to his men in the camp, saying, “Those who are hungry should not eat raw rice which will spoil their digestion, but should soak the rice well in water and eat it at about the Hour of the Dog [8 p.m.]” People were all impressed by his consideration.

In the Battle of Sekigahara when Ieyasu moved his camp, his enemy, Tamishima Tomoyuki of the Ishida pursued the allies to the foot of the mountain where Ieyasu had encamped. Ieyasu told his men to lower their banners, and the enemy finally retreated. Later the enemy said that as they looked up, they saw that the whole camp of Ieyasu was coming down to attack them.

Finally, the Western army was completely defeated in the Battle of Sekigahara, and Ieyasu declared, “According an old saying, ‘One should tighten the cord of his helmet after his victory,’” and faced his men wearing his helmet. Oka Kosetsu urged him, “Please hold a Victory Ceremony.” Ieyasu disagreed, saying, ”Thanks to the merits of my warlords, we have the victory. But unless we return the lords’ wives and children who are still in Osaka as hostages, I don’t feel relaxed, nor like having any ceremonies.” Those who heard him were all impressed, but on the strong recommendation of Ii and Honda, Ieyasu finally held the ceremony in the Kira style [the Kira Clan who had influential connections with the nobles in Kyoto traditionally controlled the rites and ceremonies for the samurai class].

28. The Ishida Men:

Hiratsuka Etchûnokami, a younger brother of Tamehiro, was a strong and bold

warrior. When he was a *rōnin*, Ieyasu tried to hire him, but he refused, saying “Ieyasu is a miser. He speaks kind words, but is not generous with promotions for economic reasons.” Finally Hiratsuka joined Ishida Mitsunari¹³⁹ and became a magistrate. Hearing this, Ieyasu became angry.

After the Battle of Sekigahara and the defeat of the Western army, Hiratsuka was captured, and brought before Ieyasu. Seeing him, Ieyasu greatly scoffed at him, saying, “You have really done a splendid job appearing here like this, after rejecting me and serving Ishida.” At this, Hiratsuka with strong hatred in his eyes said most abusively, “Being captured in battle is nothing new for a samurai since ancient times. You, yourself, were caught as a hostage by the Imagawa in your youth, were later caught by Toda, handed to the Oda, and had a miserable time for three years confined at Tenshubō in Owari Province. Ignoring your own experiences, you ridicule me like this. Besides, you repeatedly made vows and broke them. Moreover, against the will of past Regent Hideyoshi, you have ignored his heir Lord Hideyori. You are a shameful samurai. I will never regard someone like you as my master. Quickly cut off my head!” The enraged Ieyasu said to him, “What a hateful man! It’s too easy to behead you now. I will make you live and suffer for a long time. Release him.” Saying this, Ieyasu expelled him.

After that, Honda Hachiya asked Ieyasu, “Since you hated Hiratsuka so much, I thought you would kill him, especially after he abused you in public. Why did you save him?” Ieyasu replied, “He is a samurai of strength and logic blessed with eloquence. I save

¹³⁹ Ishida Mitsunari (1560-1600) was favored by Hideyoshi and became one of his Five Great Elders (*Gotairō*) as he excelled in finance. He was promoted to Lord of Sawayama Castle with a yearly income of 190,000 *koku*. At Sekigahara,, he tried to destroy Ieyasu , and was decapitated in Kyoto. For Ishida’s plot, see Yamamoto, pp. 198-200.

him because he will be a good advisor for my sons including Hidetada.”

Another Ishida man, Obata Nobuyo, was fighting in the battle while closely attending his master, Ishida Mitsunari, but after the defeat, he lost his master and went to various places searching for him. When he was hiding in Ishiyama, he was recognized by a villager, and was caught by Ieyasu’s men in the Ôtsu camp. Ieyasu immediately summoned him and asked him the whereabouts of Ishida.

Without hesitation, Nobuyo replied, “I am Mitsunari’s close retainer. I know well the whereabouts of my lord, but I cannot tell you that. Please understand me. How can I commit a disloyal act such as telling my lord’s location to save my life? Even if you break my flesh and bones, I will not tell you.” Hearing this, Ieyasu said, “Indeed, you are blessed with the sense of loyalty and righteousness. You probably do not know the whereabouts of your lord. If you know, you must feel that you should find out about the life and death of your lord. If you happen to know his whereabouts, you will certainly not confess. If a lord tortures a faithful subject like you, he does not understand the will of a true brave samurai.” He had Nobuyo’s bonds untied and released him. After leaving Ieyasu, Nobuyo went to a nearby temple where he committed suicide. Hearing this, Ieyasu felt great regret.

29. The Chief of Beggars:

Kuruma Zenshichiro, a retainer of Satake Yoshinori, was a son of Tanbanokami who was killed in the Battle of Sekigahara where he sided with the Western army. Holding a strong grudge, Kuruma wished to avenge his father by killing Ieyasu. Thanks to some connection, he obtained a position as a gardener at Ieyasu’s Edo Castle.

One day he saw Ieyasu in the garden. Thinking this a good chance, Kuruma threw

his shears at Ieyasu's face while standing about three feet from Ieyasu. The surprised attendants called to each other, "An attacker is here. Catch and kill him!" At this, Ieyasu stopped his men, "What are you saying? Why does he want to harm me? While trying hard to cut a tree branch, he must have dropped his shears by mistake. It was a mistake. We are now in changing times and people are easily affected and disturbed by fears. If we punish an innocent man, the people's affection will leave us. So do not punish him. He must have been surprised. Give him some *sake* and excuse him." Ieyasu went inside and his attendants left the scene.

Kuruma escaped from his predicament, and thought, "Ieyasu is a very clever man, and he must have pardoned me although he knew my harmful intention. No matter what, he is my fatal enemy, and I will attain my purpose by all means." With a firmer resolution, Kuruma reflected, "Last time I failed because I was too hasty and too far from him. Next time, I will attack him and cut off his head, regardless." Working daily in the garden, he was quite familiar with the details of the interior of the castle. At that time, there were not so many people living in the castle. One night he hid behind a rock near the toilet in a corner of the garden.

At about the Hour of the Boar [10 p.m.], Ieyasu came out of his bedchamber accompanied by his attendants who held flares. Kuruma thought this a chance but hesitated for a moment because of so many bright lights. Meanwhile, Ieyasu went into the latrine and said to his men, "It is strange that we hardly hear the insects tonight. Search the garden with flares." So his men jumped down into the garden and looked about with lights. Now, unable to escape, the confused Kuruma dashed to the latrine trying to slash Ieyasu at least once, but

was immediately caught, bound, and dragged before Ieyasu.

When asked his name, Kuruma thought it useless to try to hide his identity, and confessed everything, “Now I will meet my fate. Kill me quickly.” Ieyasu was impressed by his fidelity, and said to him, “To attempt the life of a Shogun after a defeat is quite like the behavior of the old Chinese retainer, Yü-hu [a loyal Chinese subject of Jin], who tried to take the life of his lord’s enemy, Cü Xiang-zi. Xiang-zi pardoned Yü-hu. How can I ignore this example? If I kill such a filial son, I will violate the Way of Filial Piety in this country. You live and raise your name as a warrior. However, you would not want to serve me since you still regard me as your father’s foe, so serve your former lord Satake.”

Kuruma refused, saying, “How can I raise my name as a warrior while living under the same sky with my father’s enemy? Even if pardoned from execution, I would commit suicide.” The enraged Ieyasu rebuked him, “No one under the same sky in this country will disobey my order. If you insist on killing yourself against my command, I will execute all your relatives in the city.” Finally Kuruma agreed as he said, “Not only can I not avenge my father, but also if I bring death to my mother, it will be most unfilial. I will not disobey you anymore. But it will be too unbearable to continue living with my colleagues and others after being forgiven by you whom I had once tried to harm. So from now on, I will retire from a conventional life, and end my life as a beggar of the lowest class.”

Ieyasu felt more sympathetic, and told an officer to make Kuruma the chief of the beggars so that he could survive through cold and hunger. His descendants still live today under the same name, Kuruma Zenshichirô.

30. Dealing with the Defeated:

After the Battle of Sekigahara, Honda Masanobu questioned Ieyasu, “Since Naoe Kanetsugu, [Uesugi Kagekatsu’s retainer],¹⁴⁰ was a leader in this battle, should he be punished.” Ieyasu replied, “Indeed. However, not only Naoe, but former subjects of the various lords including Mōri and Shimazu fought against us to assist their lords who had sided with Ishida Mitsunari. If I punish him now, all other old subjects may raise armies out of fear and cause more great confusion. So I will pardon him and tell him to come to see me in the capital.” Masanobu was most impressed and the old subjects of the defeated lords were all relieved.

Ieyasu also pardoned and allowed Hijikata Katsuhisa and Ôno Harunaga¹⁴¹ to keep their land. The two had plotted to kill Ieyasu when he moved from Fushimi to Osaka at the order of the Five Magistrates of Hideyori [the heir of Hideyoshi]. Some of the Ieyasu men disagreed, saying, “You are too generous to the two who attempted your life. Leaving them alive should be enough and allowing them to keep their lands is unnecessary.” Ieyasu said to him, “You may be right. However, these men did what they were ordered in trying to be loyal to their overlord, Hideyori. They were indeed my enemies, but were faithful subjects of Hideyori. Besides, these men worked for me at the Battle of Sekigahara. Ôno belonged to Asano Yukinaga, and attacked Gifu Castle, and in the Battle of Sekigahara, he was the one of the first to break the enemy line while fighting against the Ishida with Fukushima Masanori, and defeated Kawachi Shichirōemon. Hijikata also left Mito and went to the northern provinces as my messenger, and worked hard to make arrangements with our ally, Maeda

¹⁴⁰ Naoe Kanetsugu (1560-1619), a governor of Yamashiro Province, served Uesugi Kagekatsu, and excelled in poetry.

¹⁴¹ Ôno Harunaga (?-1615), a warrior lord who served Hideyoshi, was favored by Lady Yodo, took part in negotiations with Ieyasu who was attacking Osaka Castle, and died with Hideyori when the castle fell.

Toshiie, which contributed to our victory. Regretting their past and conciliating the allies are more than enough. We should not dwell on their past, but properly evaluate their efforts in the last battle.”

31. Unifying the Country:

After the Battle of Sekigahara, the country was pacified by Ieyasu who ruled by his power and prestige. However, the Imperial edict appointing Ieyasu as Shogun had not been issued. Some lords like Tôdô Takatora and Konchiin Sunden flattered Ieyasu, saying, “People wish to congratulate you early on your promotion to Shogun.” Ieyasu humbly replied, “I am not in a hurry. Presently, reconstructing the national political system and providing peace for the people should be my primary concerns. Besides, while many lords are busy reorganizing the provinces they govern, I have no time to contemplate my own promotion.” [Ieyasu was eventually appointed Shogun, and Barbarian Quelling Generalissimo in 1603, but soon retired in favor of his third son, Hidetada, who was Shogun from 1605 to 1623].

After the battle, Yamaoka Dôami and Maeba Hannyû visited Ieyasu and had a conversation. They suggested to him, “Anyone who has control under Heaven will have a name that endures if he leaves something great and unusual behind him. Regent Hideyoshi had the Great Buddha made.” Ieyasu replied to them, “Well, you may be right. Indeed, Regent Hideyoshi’s name will live with the Great Buddha for generations. In my case, instead of leaving my name, I will think of nothing but the good of the country and the people, and leave everything to my descendants. This will be far superior to making numbers of Great Buddhas.” The two were very impressed.

In November of 1603, Hidetada visited Uesugi Kagekatsu. This action was taken at

Ieyasu's instigation to appease the anxious Western lords who had lost the battle. Just as expected, the doubts and fears of these defeated lords toward Ieyasu were cleared as they said to each other, "Well, if Uesugi who was the cause of the last battle has been treated this well, we have no worries."

32. The Osaka Winter Campaign :

[In November of 1614, the well-known Winter Campaign of Osaka¹⁴² began. Ieyasu, trying to destroy the Toyotomi Clan headed by Hideyori,¹⁴³ attacked the Osaka Castle of the Toyotomi, but had a temporary truce in December. Later in the Summer Battle of Osaka which started in April of the following year and ended in May, Hideyori, and his mother, Lady Yodo,¹⁴⁴ passed away. This terminated the period of the Toyotomi Clan, and laid a firm foundation for Ieyasu's Tokugawa rule].

For this battle, Hidetada [the heir of Ieyasu and the second Shogun of the Tokugawa rule] codified the military laws, and sent the code to Ieyasu through Honda Masazumi. Seeing it, Ieyasu said, "For Shogun Hidetada, this kind of writing maybe fine. But since my youth, I have never issued any military rules and laws for battles. If my men fail even when

¹⁴² Campaigns of Osaka, Winter and Summer: In November of 1614 Ieyasu attacked Osaka Castle where Lady Yodo and her son, Hideyori, resided. During the temporary truce, Ieyasu filled the outer and inner moats of Osaka Castle, violating his word. The enraged Hideyori with his vassals challenged Ieyasu in the following May, and committed suicide as the castle fell.

¹⁴³ Toyotomi Hideyori (1593-1615): Succeeding his father, Hideyoshi, at the age of six, Hideyori witnessed the rise of the Tokugawa, whom he challenged in 1614 in the siege of Osaka. In 1615 he committed suicide with his mother, Lady Yodo, as the castle fell.

¹⁴⁴ Lady Yodo (1567-1615): Yodogimi 淀君 or Yododono 淀殿 who was popularly called Chacha was Hideyoshi's favorite concubine. She was the first daughter of Asai Nagamasa who was destroyed by Nobunaga at the Battle of Anegawa. Her mother was Nobunaga's younger sister, Oichinokata, who was married to Shibata Katsue who was defeated by Hideyoshi at the Battle of Shizugatake. After the death of Katsue, Yodogimi became Hideyoshi's favorite concubine, and gave birth to Hideyori, Hideyoshi's son. After Hideyoshi passed away, Lady Yodo (49 years old) assisted her son (23 years old), and committed suicide with him when Osaka Castle fell by the attack of Ieyasu. For the Osaka campaign and Lady Yodo, see Kuwata, pp. 132-158.

following such rules, they will have no reason to be blamed. And in success, they will have no reason to be praised. So I have dealt with everything without laws while depending on the situation.”

For this battle, Ieyasu called Itakura Katsushige, and said, “Give 1500 *koku* of rice daily to the 300,000 men of all the allies participating in this campaign. And double the amount with some silver coins to those coming from distant provinces.” He offered two hundred coins while Hidetada gave three hundred silver coins to the lords of Kaga and Sendai, and three hundred to Mōri Tadamasa. On that occasion, some tried to cheat and take advantage of the situation by exaggerating the number of their men to obtain more rice. They were about to be investigated. Ieyasu excused them, saying, “Being economical depends on the situation. When we attack Osaka Castle, our success will depend on our manpower. If more rice will increase the number of our men, give them as much as they want.” Also he erected palisades on both sides of the Atsuta Bridge to avoid having his soldiers fall and also to show off his manpower.

During this campaign, Ieyasu called and asked Hyūga Masanari, “What kind of men have gathered in Osaka Castle?” Masanari casually replied, “They are mainly *rōnin* who will leave the castle as soon they get some lengths of bamboo [bamboo stalks filled with gold and silver to be used as coins].” Hearing this, Ieyasu became displeased. Later, Masanari was summoned again. Fearful of being scolded, he appeared without swords. Ieyasu told him to sit nearby and said softly, “I was angry last time, as I thought that if what you had said became known among those in the castle, they would become overly cautious, and even

those who had wanted to leave with lengths of bamboo might be used to strengthen the defenses of the castle and make our attack difficult.”

33. Forging Three Letters:

Three forged letters contributed to make peace during the Osaka Winter Campaign. Ieyasu prepared three forged letters of the three major lords including Sanada Yukimura, Chôsokabe Morichika¹⁴⁵, and Môri Katsunaga. The calligraphy carefully imitated the writing style of the secretaries of these lords and contained replicas of their individual seals. Each letter sounded as if the lord secretly agreed with Ieyasu’s proposal for making peace.

Sanada’s letter said, “Thank you for your consideration in granting me 200,000 *koku* and any province to govern after I join you. Handing you Hideyori will be easy in any way you wish. We should discuss the details later.”

The letter of Chôsokabe read, “I appreciate that you will let me have my native province of Tosa if I join you. I will contact you later.” The letter of Môri said, “It is very generous of you to return me my former province of Toyomae after I join you. I gratefully accept your offer.”

Now Ieyasu had the mother of Lord Kyôgoku Takatora take these three letters to Lady Yodo and Hideyori in Osaka Castle. Upon reading these letters, Lady Yodo was surprised. Without thinking much, Hideyori who was familiar with the calligraphy of these

¹⁴⁵ The Chôsokabe grew to dominate the island of Shikoku. Chôsokabe Kunichika built Toyooka Castle in Tosa Province. After the death of his father, Motochika expanded his territory in a series of military campaigns, and finally took over all of Tosa Province. He then completed the conquest of Shikoku on behalf of Nobunaga. After Nobunaga’s death, Hideyoshi invaded Shikoku in 1585, and Motochika submitted. He took part in the Kyushu and Korean campaigns, then transferred his domain to his son, Morichika, who sided against Ieyasu at the Battle of Sekigahara, and was dispossessed. In 1615 Morichika fought at Osaka, and fled at the fall of the castle. On being caught, he was beheaded.

three lords and their seals, simply followed his mother's suggestions and agreed to make peace with Ieyasu. Since the peace was stipulated in such a secret way, other lords of the Western army like Ôno Harunaga and Kimura Shigenari were quite ignorant of the situation.

34. Impressing the Mother:

“Since Osaka Castle is such a well-built castle, a protracted campaign will bring us trouble,” thought Ieyasu as he first negotiated with the mistress of the castle, Lady Yodo, and her son, Hideyori. Second, he plotted an attack on the castle. As a mediator, he selected the mother of Lord Kyôgoku, who had a connection with Lady Yodo.

Meanwhile, the allies began to gather miners and diggers in the vicinity of Tanba to mine the castle. Itakura Katsushige said, “The men of the Tanba Area know nothing of tunneling into castle grounds. The job must be done by sappers from Kai Province.” So instead of hiring miners from the vicinity, they employed those from distant Kai Province. When asked about digging under the moat around Osaka Castle, the Kai miners replied, “Digging under a moat like this will not be difficult.” “What about working in deep water?” The miners explained, “We go to the bottom of the moat in boxes made of boards. And we know how to make such boxes.” So many carpenters were hired and many cypress boards were brought. Finally numerous wooden boxes were piled like a mountain by the moat.

Then the mother of Lord Kyôgoku was sent into Osaka Castle with a message from Ieyasu addressed to Lady Yodo, saying, “My son, Shogun Hidetada, with his strong personality is determined to destroy your son, Hideyori. In order to mine the castle grounds, he has been hiring miners from distant Kai Province who have been experienced in that kind of work since the time of Takeda Shingen. The Shogun also has ordered various lords to

gather lumber with which many boxes have been made for digging under the moat with special techniques. Such boxes are now piled like a mountain by the moat as you can see, or send someone to view. I have tried to stop the Shogun in vain. If the attack starts, I will be most distressed to lose my granddaughter, Senhime, who is married to your son, Hideyori. Losing my loving granddaughter in my old age is most unbearable. Since the present Shogun is your son's father-in-law, if the two cooperate, they can rule this country peacefully after my death. If your ladyship and your son agree, I with the mother of Lord Kyôgoku will try again to persuade the Shogun to save my granddaughter." Concluding her request, the mother of Lord Kyôgoku did her best to appeal to Lady Yodo. Lady Yodo finally agreed to make peace because of her motherly wish to spare her son.

35. Filling the Moats:

Meanwhile, with strong recommendations from Ieyasu, the mother of Lord Kyôgoku, Honda Masanobu, and Itakura Katsushige, Shogun Hidetada began to consider a temporary truce provided that Hideyori would show proof of his loyalty to the Shogun.¹⁴⁶

So Ieyasu mediated again as he said to Hideyori in Osaka, "My son, Shogun Hidetada, has a strong character by nature which can not be altered. If you, Lord Hideyori, do something like filling the outer moat of your Osaka Castle to show him your submission, the Shogun will make a truce with you. Once you establish the truce, you will be relieved from the inconvenience of being besieged, and I can return to my place to enjoy hawking." Hideyori agreed to fill the outer moat, and the contracts were signed by him and the Shogun, and the truce was finally arranged.

¹⁴⁶ For making the temporary truce and filling the moats, see Takahashi, pp.196-201

Now, Ieyasu appointed Honda Masazumi [a son of Masanobu (1538-1616)], and Andô Naotsugu to supervise the whole operation, and some experts as foremen of the workers. After filling the outer moat, the workmen began to fill the interior moat of the second keep in the castle. The men of the castle complained to Masazumi, saying that filling the moat in the second keep violated the contract. Masazumi immediately went to the foremen and told them to stop the work. But as soon as he left, the foremen ignored his instructions and continued.

At the news, the distressed Lady Yodo and her son, Hideyori, sent their chief lady-in-waiting, Otama, to Masazumi. But being insolent by nature, Masazumi treated Otama insultingly with abusive language. Next, Otama was sent to another supervisor, Naotsugu, who completely ignored her. Meanwhile, the workmen continued to fill the interior moat. Finally Lady Yodo sent Otama and Ôno Harunaga to Honda Masanobu, the father of Masazumi, in Kyoto. At the report, Masanobu said to the messengers, "This is all my ignorant son's fault. I will report this to our lord, Ieyasu, as soon as he has recovered from his bad cold." Some days passed, but Masanobu, using the pretext of illness, did not go to see Ieyasu. When Itakura Katsushige, another officer of Ieyasu, heard the report from the messengers from Osaka Castle, he said to them, "I will report this to Lord Ieyasu as soon as my colleague, Honda Masanobu, has recovered." More days passed during which the interior moat was completely filled up to the main keep.

Finally, when the report reached Ieyasu, he said to the messengers, "Indeed, I understand your complaints. I have no idea why this happened. I will immediately send Honda Masanobu to Osaka to investigate. So please return to Osaka before him." When

Masanobu went to Osaka Castle, he saw that all the moats in the castle had been filled completely and no workers were about. “I have come here to halt the workmen from filling the moats like this. But now they have finished their job, ignoring our instructions. This is all the fault of our incapable supervisors including my son. They will be severely punished when Lord Ieyasu learns this. I am returning to Kyoto now,” said Masanobu as he left.

Afterwards, Ieyasu finally left for his Eastern provinces, saying, “Now with all the moats filled, Shogun Hidetada will certainly make peace.” And in the second attack of the Summer Campaign in May, Osaka Castle finally fell.

Sometime later when someone admired Ieyasu’s plot to take over Osaka Castle, Ieyasu simply said, “That was Hideyoshi’s own idea. Everyone knows that when Hideyoshi built the castle, he said, ‘Osaka Castle may not fall by force at one time, but may fall sequentially.’”

36. No Moorings in Osaka:

During this battle, a rumor spread that the Shimazu and other Western lords were going to send several thousand shiploads of rations to supply the Osaka forces of Hideyori. Ieyasu summoned messengers, and ordered them to locate moorings for boats and ships between Osaka and Sakai. The messengers were about to leave when Ieyasu asked them their actual purpose. As they could not make a detailed reply, the angry Ieyasu said, “You don’t know anything about mooring ships. Beaches are not satisfactory for loading and unloading moored boats and ships. Places like inlets where vessels can be kept moored for a while are needed.” The messengers returned without finding moorings upon which Ieyasu said, “In that case, even if Shimazu and others send the rations, they will have no place to

moor their ships.”

37. Let Them Burn the Bridge:

Also in this battle, the soldiers of Osaka Castle burnt all the bridges except the Imabashi and the Kôraibashi Bridges. One of Ieyasu's men, Ishikawa Tadafusa, tried to defend one of the bridges by his gunners who were eventually wounded by shots from the castle. Meanwhile, Oguri Tadamasa and Nagai Naokatsu reported this to Ieyasu, “Shall we ask our allies in the Awa camp near the bridge to help Tadafusa to protect the bridge?” At their suggestion, Ieyasu's mood changed and he said to them, “You people don't understand military tactics. I also want to burn the bridge. But if I do, ignorant persons will think that we have given up our attack. That's why I am leaving it as is. If those in the castle want to burn it, let them. When we attack the castle with all our force, one or two bridges won't matter.” Saying this, the angry Ieyasu stood up holding a long sword, and frightened the two men who left immediately. Later Ieyasu told his men, “Our enemy may make a surprise attack at night across the bridge, so watch closely.” Just as he said, a few days later, Ban Naoyuki and his men tried a night attack from the castle across the bridge so as to reach the allies in the Awa camp near the bridge.

38. The Retreat Route:

In retreating from Osaka, Ieyasu announced that he was first going to withdraw his camp to Senba and then to Tamatsukuri. Also he gave notice that he would take the Senba Way and ordered packhorses with small loads to proceed. Many spectators gathered along the way. But in reality, he took a different route along the moat to avoid the crowds. Later the impressed Honda Masazumi commented, “That was exactly the technique he often uses

in changing from one plan to another, depending on his opponents' movements."

In this campaign, Ieyasu wanted some of his close retainers to keep a night watch, but did not tell them. He asked his men, "I heard a gunshot over there last night. Did any of you hear it?" He praised the one who replied, "Yes, I did," and said to the one who heard nothing, "So you were sleeping well." Soon, his men began to keep an alert vigil.

Also in this attack on the castle, many people entered through the Tenôji Entrance Way. Some tried to stop them, but Ieyasu said, "Leave them alone. Such men will never become good samurai. Besides, the entry of so many lowly supporters will cause more confusion. So let as many of them enter as wish."

39. A Stupid Plan for Attacking a Castle:

At the time of the Osaka Summer Campaign, Ieyasu set up camp by a small hill called Chausuyama. Wishing to hear the old experts' ideas on attacking the castle, he hid himself behind a paper sliding door, and eavesdropped on the conversations between his elders and some old veterans. Yamana Zenkô suggested, "If you leave Senba and start attacking from Bizenjima, the castle will fall right away," and continued to explain his plan step by step.

In the following year, Ieyasu recalled and criticized Yamana's idea, "What Yamana had said about attacking the castle sounded as if the castle were empty. If we had adopted his plan, and pressed the castle in that manner, those in the higher station in the castle would have tried to climb over the palisades using hooked poles, while others would try to drag them down. And those in the middle station would have become most confused merely by the sounds and noises, and those in the lower station would have run away at the commotion. In that way, we would have had more casualties instead of taking over the castle. A castle like

that will not fall by such a stupid plan which I would never conceive. Even to catch a swan which will peck you with its sharp beak, you need one man to hold the beak, another the wings, another the body, and finally someone to capture it. So a few men are needed only to catch a swan. How could one take a castle with a simple and crude plan?"

40. Treating the Defeated Generously:

After the Osaka Summer Campaign, Ieyasu heard a report and a suggestion for penalizing some Shinto priests of the Ise Shrine who had made a figure resembling Ieyasu, and put a curse on it at a request from Hideyori. Ieyasu said to the reporter, "Nothing is unlikely for these Shinto priests and the *yamabushi* mountain ascetics who practice such cults for a fee as their patrons request. They would have done the same thing if I had paid them a large amount to put a curse on Hideyori. One can never control a country while bothered by such trifles. Release them all." So forty or fifty Shinto priests were all freed and were much impressed by Ieyasu's treatment.

Ieyasu also pardoned all the masterless *rōnin* who had been confined in Osaka Castle during the last campaign, and freed them to serve any lords who would hire them. Taking advantage of the situation, many *rōnin* came out of their hiding places, and were employed according to their merits and experience.

Right after the castle fell, some ten young pages of Hideyori including Akaza Naganari fled to the Myōshinji Temple in Kyoto, and sent Priest Kaizan as their messenger to ask Ieyasu, "If you send an official inspector, we will commit hara-kiri before him." Again Ieyasu pardoned them, saying, "It is most commendable for retainers serving the Toyotomi to observe the correct Way of the Samurai by wishing to commit suicide after their Lord

Hideyori's death. Except for the ringleader, Ôno Shuri, and those who had been released after the Battle of Sekigahara, but sided with Hideyori, the rest are free to leave for anyplace."

41. A Request from Nobunaga:

Formerly when Ieyasu made peace with Hôjô Ujimasa, and had an interview with Ujimasa on the Sanmaibashi Bridge, he had lowered himself with his hands on the ground, and greeted Ujimasa who was resting on a stool. Seeing this, Sakai Tadatsugu later complained to Ieyasu, saying, "It was most regrettable to see you humbling yourself like that before the arrogant Ujimasa. In this way, you will lose the respect of our men." Putting his palms together, Ieyasu apologized to Sakai, saying, "Forgive me, forgive me, this time. Later, I will tell you why. . ."

Sometime later when Ieyasu received a letter from Oda Nobunaga who asked for Ieyasu's support, he threw the letter before Sakai, saying, "This was the reason why I was humble with the Hôjo." This shows how calculating Ieyasu was in competing with the contemporary magnates including Hôjô, Uesugi and Oda who all wished to have Ieyasu's support as their partner. He presumed that Nobunaga would surely come and ask for his partnership upon news of the peace made between Hôjô and Ieyasu.

42. Dismounting for His Retainer¹⁴⁷:

At one time when Ieyasu and his army retreated to Mikura Fort, the shouting enemy pursued them with gunshots which wounded several Ieyasu men of the rearguard. Hearing of this at Mikura, Ieyasu immediately returned, but found the enemy already gone. Seeing

¹⁴⁷ For Ieyasu's observing proper manners in the warring period, see Kitagawa, pp.79-81.

Tamai Kitarô injured in his thigh, Ieyasu immediately dismounted and said to him, “Oh, you are wounded. Take this horse. I heard the gunshots in the rear and returned here. I did not know my rearguard had been attacked.” Everyone was impressed at his consideration for his man.

When a flood washed away the Yahagi Bridge in Okazaki one year, Ieyasu ordered his men to reconstruct the bridge. His old subjects all opposed him, saying, “We have been thinking of this matter all the time. This is a good chance to give you our opinion. It will cost too much to reconstruct such a big bridge. Especially now in the warring period, a wide river like this will advantage us by blocking our enemy. We suggest that we should use ferries instead of a bridge.”

Ieyasu disagreed, saying, “Indeed, the bridge on this river has been recorded in old writings, and has been known for generations in provinces throughout Japan. The cost of rebuilding the bridge is not a reason to give it up. Besides, causing great trouble to his people and travelers in crossing the river is not what their lord should wish. So rebuild the bridge as soon as possible, regardless of the expense. You talk about a great advantage against our enemy, but it all depends on the time and the place. Presently I am not thinking of such an advantage. But we should remove this impediment to our people as soon as possible.”¹⁴⁸

At another time when Ieyasu arrived at Tanaka of Suruga, he learned that the bridge on the Tenryu River was just finished, and that the people were forbidden to cross before Ieyasu’s arrival. Ieyasu said to the reporter, “Once constructs a bridge to be useful for travelers. They should not be forbidden to use it on account of me. However for many to use

¹⁴⁸ For a discussion on Ieyasu’s flood control and river improvement, see Yamamoto, pp. 113-119.

it at one time may damage the bridge. So go carefully one by one.”

At another time, Ieyasu told one of the magistrates to bring the water of the Abe River to the pool in the garden of his Sunpu Castle. The magistrate erected posts on the ground for the location of the prospective waterway. Seeing this, Ieyasu became unhappy as he said, “This way of drawing water will damage the temple neighborhood.” The magistrate suggested to him, “Since you own all these lots in the vicinity, why not move the temple to another location.” “It all depends on the situation. I have no intention to move the old temple just to please myself by bringing water into the pool. You can make a waterway by detouring the temple ground.”

One day when Ieyasu was hawking, he saw an old woman crying and holding a baby in her bosom. Ieyasu asked about her problem. She replied, “Last night, I caused a fire by mistake and burnt my house. The local magistrate has expelled me for three years as a punishment for my grave sin of burning my house. With great difficulty, I left my home last night and have been wandering like this since I have no place to go.” Ieyasu told one of his men, “Take her to the local magistrate and tell him that no one would purposely burn one’s own house. If there is a law that one has to be expelled for causing such a fire, I should have been expelled, too, since I have caused two fires in castles in recent years. Explain this well to the magistrate, saying, ‘This old woman is fortunate enough to have met me, and I sympathize with her. So build a house for her.’”

43. Loose Arrowheads:

After the Takeda were destroyed, many soldiers of Kai Province joined Ieyasu. One of them said to Ieyasu, “When we worked for the Takeda, we used arrowheads loosely fixed to

the shafts so that they would remain deep in the wounded flesh.” Hearing this, Ieyasu ordered his men, “In campaigns, soldiers will fight for their lords and masters. Once they defeat their enemies, they attain their aims. But causing prolonged pain and suffering among the wounded is inhuman. >From now on, in my army, you will attach the arrowheads firmly to the shafts.”

At one time in Okazaki of Ieyasu’s domain, the poor could not feed their children. Ieyasu had rich men hire the poor as their servants. If wealthy relatives wanted to have such servants, the relatives would pay fivefold. So no one starved in Okazaki at famine time.

44. Advice and Remonstrations:

In Okazaki, Ieyasu kept three three-foot-long sea breams for special occasions to entertain high-ranking guests like Imperial Messengers. Meanwhile, Suzuki Yasaburô took one of the breams to cook and share with the people in the kitchen as they drank the *sake*, a gift from Nobunaga.

Just at that time, Ieyasu happened to come into the kitchen, and saw only two breams left in the water tank. Immediately the monk in charge of the fish was called, and was questioned. The monk told him what had happened. Hearing this, the infuriated Ieyasu inquired further into the incident and those in the kitchen all verified the monk’s remarks. Having lost his temper, Ieyasu stood on the veranda with his naked halberd in his hand, shouting, “I will kill him,” and called Suzuki.

“I’m here,” said the undisturbed Suzuki as he appeared at the entrance which was about twenty *ken* from the veranda. As Ieyasu spoke to him, “You insolent Suzuki, I will punish you,” Suzuki took out his swords from his waist, threw them away to a distance of

five to six *ken* behind him, and said to Ieyasu, “How can you replace the life of birds and fish with human life? If you think thus, it will be impossible to rule the whole country. As for me, do what you like, sir.” As he spoke, Suzuki exposed his shoulders and came closer to the veranda. Now Ieyasu dropped his halberd, went inside the room, and began to reconsider the whole situation.

Ieyasu concluded that Suzuki had deliberately cooked the sea bream to remind him of two lowly foot soldiers who had been detained for punishment: one had caught a bird at a place off limits for hunting, and another had fished in the castle moat. Ieyasu immediately released the two, and called Suzuki again, saying, “I have understood what you meant.” Suzuki tearfully explained, “I deeply appreciate your decision, sir. I would have done everything discreetly if we were in a peaceful country. But now we are in wartime when a lowly samurai like me can speak out to benefit you, my lord. I did not do it to enhance my own prestige.”

At another time when Ieyasu was in Matsumoto, Honda Masanobu and three retainers were called before Ieyasu. One of the three took a letter from his bag, opened it, and offered it to Ieyasu, who asked, “What is this?” He replied, “I have listed what I have in my mind. For your reference, I would like to show the list to you.” “How kind of you,” said Ieyasu who had Honda Masanobu read it for him. At every item read, Ieyasu nodded and said, “Yes, indeed.” After Masanobu had finished, Ieyasu said to the man, “Hereafter, whenever you notice something, let me know.” “Thank you for your attention, sir,” said the man as he retired.

After the man was gone, Ieyasu asked Masanobu, “What do you think of the list you

read?" Masanobu replied, "I think no item is useful to you, sir." Waving his hand, Ieyasu disagreed, "No, no. The list is just fine. It contains what he has noticed and recognized about me. True, there is nothing I can use in the list. But what I appreciate most is that he has written down whatever he thought important to me, and has kept it to show me at an opportune time. Such consideration for me is incomparable. Whether his suggestions in the list are used or not depends on the situation. In general, one can not see one's own faults. One of humble rank will easily learn about his faults and defects by comparing himself to his friends and colleagues. That is the advantage of someone in a lowly status. On the contrary, one of higher status has difficulty in learning his faults because he has no competitors and no communication with his colleagues. Those with whom he daily associates are his retainers including his entertainers who are in a lowly status, and always agree with him on everything. Naturally, he will neither learn his errors, nor have a chance to correct his defects. This is the disadvantage of someone in a higher status. Since old times, hardly anyone was successful in maintaining his clan and country without taking others' advice and criticism." Later Masanobu tearfully told this to his son, Masazumi.

When Ieyasu was in Nijō Castle in Kyoto, there were many graffiti. Itakura Katsushige, the magistrate of Kyoto, ordered his men to search for the culprits. Ieyasu told him to ignore the graffiti. He said, "Leave them as they are. I like to see the graffiti." After having seen them, he said, "Do not prohibit graffiti. Some are shameful, but others are quite useful to me. So leave them. I will see them as often as I want."

45. More Important than the First Spear Breaking the Enemy Line:

Ieyasu said to his men, "Trying to give advice and remonstrate with one's master

should be considered as more important than first breaking the enemy's frontline with one's spear. Merits in campaigns are accomplished only by fighting at the risk of one's life. Depending on one's fate, one may kill or be killed. However, even if one loses one's life on the battlefield, one's name and honor will remain and be recalled by one's descendants with one's lord's appreciation. So one's death will be well rewarded with prosperity for one's offspring. In that sense, one will win whether one lives or dies.¹⁴⁹

On the contrary, remonstrating against one's master is like a most dangerous gamble. If the master is indiscreet and prefers evil deeds, he will never listen to his councilors' and elders' remonstrations and they eventually will avoid him. And if the master has sycophantic retainers, he will believe such retainers' slanderous remarks about the advisor who will eventually become disappointed with his master, stop giving advice, and retire with false excuses like being sick. Nine out of ten cases will end in such a way. If the advisor continues to insist on his advice and his moralistic views while ignoring his master's negative attitude, he will eventually be forced to confine himself, or even lose his life by being slain by his lord, and bring misfortune to his wife and children. Judging by this, breaking the enemy's front line with his spear is much easier."

46. His Most Precious Treasures:

At one time, Hideyoshi said to Ieyasu, "Starting with the famous sword, Yoshimitsu, I have collected most of the precious treasures in this country." Counting on his fingers, he asked Ieyasu, "What sort of treasures do you have?" Ieyasu replied, "I have nothing famous nor special. But I have about five hundred horsemen who cherish me so much that they are

¹⁴⁹ For Ieyasu's appreciation for martial arts and prowess in the battle fields, see Yamamoto, pp.56-60.

willing to go through fire and water for me while regarding their lives as dirt. With these five hundred cavalymen, I have nothing to fear throughout the sixty provinces of Japan. I regard them as my most precious treasures and daily cherish them.” At this, the embarrassed Hideyoshi remained wordless as he blushed.

When Katô Kiyomasa¹⁵⁰, Katô Yoshiaki, and Fukushima Masanori [who used to be Hideyoshi’s men] and Hosokawa Tadaoki¹⁵¹ [who had been a Nobunaga man] came to Ieyasu’s mansion and asked, “We would like to hear your valorous experiences.” Ieyasu told his man, Toki Sadamasa, to tell them. Instead of Ieyasu’s experiences, Toki began to introduce every detail of the names and the careers of the fathers of the present two hundred Ieyasu men; where they had come from, what they had done, and how they had acquired their merits in various campaigns. Hearing this, the visitors thought, “In addition to his own military merits, Lord Ieyasu is blessed with valorous retainers and subjects who will certainly assist him to rule the whole country.”

47. The Way of Employment:

Ieyasu was going to place Takagi Kiyohide in charge of messengers while placing Kakei Masashige at the head of the bannermen of the Shogun. Honda Masanobu disagreed, saying, “Takagi with his higher salary should assume the position of the head bannermen while Kakei with less income should become the head messenger.” Ieyasu retorted, “The right way to employ people should be according to their talents and abilities, not by their

¹⁵⁰ Katô Kiyomasa (1562-1611), popularly called Toranosuke, served Hideyoshi since youth, made merits in the Korean expedition which created a legend that he fought a tiger in Korea. He joined Ieyasu in the Battle of Sekigahara and received Higo Province.

¹⁵¹ Hosokawa Tadaoki (1564-1645) married Gracia, the daughter of Akechi Mitsuhide, known for her strong Christian faith. Before the Battle of Sekigahara, Ishida Mitsunari attempted to take Gracia hostage but she committed suicide rather than submit. Tadaoki fought both at Sekigahara and Osaka, and received the fief of Kokura in Buzen Province.

stipend. As I see it, Takai is more talented in conveying messages while Kakei is more suitable for the post of Banner Magistrate. If Kakei thinks his income is too small, I will increase it.” Masanobu was impressed.

At another time, Ieyasu said, “Good generals used to select people by their positive points. This is like a superior doctor who is familiar with the effects of his medicine and will give the proper medicine according to the condition of his patient, and cures the sick well, while an inferior one with poor knowledge of his medicine abuses it, and kills his patients. Another example is the case of Ukita Hideie who lost his province by employing Osafune Kii instead of Oka Echizen and destroyed himself with great suffering. So good lords should hire people fairly and impartially.”

He also said, “When hiring someone, pay great attention to his strong points. Just as one’s nose, ears, mouth and eyes function respectively, birds like cormorants are most efficient at catching fish in water while hawks are best in the sky. Each man has his own merits and one should not expect all the merits to be concentrated on one person.

Also, magistrates and local magistrates should not be changed too frequently. For them to understand the hearts and the minds of the people who work under them takes time just like learning the quality of the fields cultivated under their charge. Otherwise, the administrators will lose greatly.”

Ieyasu also emphasized that two major points, the intelligence and the ability of the candidate should be considered greatly in hiring. “If you find someone blessed with intelligence, diligence, a sense of loyalty, administrative ability, generosity and modesty, you should hire him with a higher salary, and place him in charge of political affairs. This means

to respect one's intelligence. Suppose you see someone whose daily conduct and behavior are not necessarily commendable, but his talents in some fields are exceptional. Employ him for his talents, and help him to develop these talents. This is the way to utilize someone's ability. If you observe these two points, you usually do not lose your men." Ieyasu applied these two points when he promoted Honda Masanobu who used to be in charge of his hawking expenses to his present post as a close attendant due to Masanobu's superior administrative talents, and Ôkubo Nagayasu who used to be a *sarugaku* music and dance performer to his present post [in charge of the Iwami silver mine].

At one time, Honda Tadakatsu said to Ieyasu, "You have never said anything clearly since your youth, and I have felt frustrated now and then. But now as I have become older and have to use people under me, I understand how you have dealt with your men. When you are in a higher position, you can see things better than when in the lower ones, and if you constantly keep telling your men what to do, they will always feel pressed. Now I see why you have been more reserved and not too decisive with your men."

At one time, in Suruga, those on watch went to the town for fun till late at night while leaving only one guard in the station. On one night, Ieyasu suddenly appeared at the guardroom and saw only one man left in the room. Naturally, he scolded and warned the guard, saying, "You must be certainly a coward or a fool since you have been left alone like this while the others are all gone." Since that, no one wanted to remain alone behind. So eventually, the guards all stayed in the station.

48. Dealing with the Brothels:

When Ieyasu was in Suruga, he heard a rumor that his young men were visiting the

brothels in the town of Abegawa. Hikosaka Mitsumasa, the town magistrate, suggested to Ieyasu that the town should be moved a few *ri* [one *ri* from its location]. Ieyasu asked him, “If you move the town, what will happen to the people?” Mitsumasa responded, “They will lose their business.” “Well, the prostitutes are like merchandise in a sense. If you move the town, they can not make living. Leave it as is,” said Ieyasu. Soon the town became very prosperous and many young men began to have financial difficulties.

Meanwhile, Ieyasu called Magistrate Mitsumasa and said, “I heard the voices of dancers outside the castle. I would like to watch them. Bring some into the castle.” When the dancers came to the castle, they were entertained with red-bean rice balls and *sake* for their three nights’ performance. After that, Ieyasu asked, “What about the dancers from the town of Abegawa?” “We did not invite any from the town because it has brothels,” replied Mitsumasa. Ieyasu said, “Well, as I become older, I prefer female dancers to crude male ones.” So a large group of courtesans and high-ranking prostitutes was invited to the castle, and a list of the popular girls was presented. Referring to the list, the courtesans stepped up on the stage and were called one by one to be interviewed by Ieyasu. After having introduced themselves individually by telling their names to Ieyasu, they went into an adjacent room where trays of sweets were prepared for them. Meanwhile, Fukuami, one of Ieyasu’s attendants, whispered to these girls, “Who knows, some of you may be personally called and invited by the lord later.” This information was immediately spread among the girls and their young samurai customers. Immediately, the young men’s visits to the brothels stopped because of their fear that the girls might say something about their young customers before Ieyasu.

49. The Official Heir:

When Ieyasu learned that his son, Shogun Hidetada, was intending to make his second son, Kunimatsu, his heir in place of the first son, Takechiyo, Ieyasu invited his two grandsons to his castle. When the two boys appeared in the main room, Ieyasu first spoke to Takechiyo, "Takechiyo, come here," and had him seated beside him in the higher seat. When Kunimatsu tried to follow his older brother to the higher seat, Ieyasu rejected him, saying, "No, you sit over there," and gave him a lower seat. When rice cakes were brought out, Ieyasu told one of his servants, "Offer a piece to Lord Takechiyo," and next said to the servant, "Let Kunimatsu eat one, too." Thus he even changed his language to differentiate the two brothers' status.

Next, he called the personal attendants of Takechiyo, had them sit close to the higher seat, picked up some pieces of cake, and said to them, "Try these." After that, the attendants of Kunimatsu were also called in, and when they were about to take their seats, Ieyasu said to them, "No, no, not there," picked up the pieces of cake, threw them into the adjacent room, and said to the servants, "Eat over there." As soon as Hidetada heard this report, he gave up his intention to make his second son his heir.

50. The Way of Ruling the Country:

Ieyasu said at one time, "There are three ways to rule the country; that is by measuring the country, the people, and the food. First, study well the mountains, the rivers and the fields for cultivation. Second, learn about the people's needs and their daily lives so that they will not lose their livelihood. And third, investigate and control the amount of the foods produced. When a province has more people, encourage them to cultivate new land

which will provide more employment. The province will become prosperous by attracting more people. When the province has fewer people, do not cultivate new fields, which will always cause a poorer crop in the old fields.

People are the foundation of the country. Welcoming more people by keeping a good balance among farmers, craftsmen, and merchants will bring success to a country . When a country declines, the ruler loses his correct way of governing while spending gold and silver on luxuries like sumptuous houses, clothes, and articles [including utensils for tea ceremonies]. This tendency will enrich the craftsmen and merchants while the farmers try to stay in the town forgetting their land, and the jobless drifters will increase. Such wanderers without income eventually engage in theft and robbery which contributes to the downfall of the country. That is what we call ‘Disrupting a Country Without Campaigns.’

Observe the case of the fourth Ashikaga Shogun, Yoshimochi, under whom peace continued as laziness and idleness prevailed with increasing luxuries among the ruling class. Without paying attention to political affairs, they indulged themselves in feasts and entertainments while taking bribes as they used their powers. The righteous ones were rejected while the shrews and slanderers were accepted. Such degradation continued as the sixth Shogun, Yoshinori [a younger brother of Yoshimochi], continued to ignore the situation. If he had rectified the condition by suppressing avarice and desire among his family members, and tried to control the situation with correct measures, he could have restored his rule and the country, but unfortunately, he repeated the failures of the former Shogun Yoshitoki, and brought further confusion to the country where the tendency to upset the old traditional value system prevailed while the new lower class samurai warlords were allowed to overcome the

traditional higher class by force.

Thus the confused warring period appeared as the Ashikaga Shoguns' prestige and power as the rulers of this country collapsed. By the time of the seventh Shogun, Yoshikatsu, and the eighth Shogun, Yoshimasa, only their titles without power were maintained. So, in order to rule the country well, the ruler should always keep a good balance among the samurai, farmers, craftsmen, and merchants while making the people feel safe through their own status and occupations. This is the basic way of prolonging and preserving the country."

Ieyasu continued, "Standardized rules and laws are inevitable in governing the country. Such laws like a measure for a six-foot-mat are applicable wherever one goes through this country. Suppose an ignorant ruler influenced by evil subjects changes the measure by introducing a seven-foot mat which will fit nowhere throughout the country, and is just like changing the traditional laws and creating new ones. Usually, the traditional rules and laws have been made and transmitted after years of deliberation, devices, and experiments to fit the ways of people and the country. When descendants, unable to maintain the traditional laws, tried to change them, they failed.

So the one who wishes to rule his country should appreciate the minds of his ancestors who created the laws, and try to maintain them. Also the one who wants to be above the others to control them must be able to distinguish good and evil. No matter how much he decorates himself superficially, his people will not follow him. Without his people, his power is false. Accumulating treasures only for himself while creating suffering among his people will invite only misfortunes. Scattering treasures among the people is the way to attract enduring prosperity. Mercy is comparable to plants' roots which bring forth beautiful

flowers and fruits. Peace among the people is like flowers and fruits. A ruler should remember this as he faithfully preserves the traditional laws, avoids luxuries, and regards the concept of mercy as the basis of governing.”

51. Rice in the Storehouses¹⁵²:

After having moved to Edo, Ieyasu had the local rice transported to Edo from various provinces. Some officers consulted with each other and suggested to Ieyasu, “Too much rice in the storehouses results in spoilage, and transporting rice to Edo is expensive for the local magistrates. If you reduce the number of the storehouses, you will save.”

The suggestion greatly displeased Ieyasu who said to them, “I already know the rice in many storehouses may spoil. If the rice is not sent to Edo from the local provinces, the price of the rice in Edo will rise which will cause difficulties for the people from local provinces who stay and obtain their food in Edo. The rice in the storehouses is for sudden needs. Without considering emergencies among the people, the head of the accounting office only thinks of the convenience of his master, and making such a suggestion is most unacceptable.”

When Ieyasu began to govern Kai Province after the Takeda were destroyed, he used the Takeda Family Laws, and applied Hôjô Family Laws in ruling the Kantô Area where the natives were easily controlled. Besides, he used his Mikawa Province Laws to collect taxes which were lighter to benefit the people.

Ieyasu used to say to his son, Hidetada, “To govern the country, I have used the old Mikawa Province Laws with which I have easily controlled the people with lower taxation.

¹⁵² For a discussion on the economic control and policies by Ieyasu, see Murakami, pp.211-222.

You should maintain these laws. In the future, if the peace continues, the higher classes will indulge in luxuries while the lower classes will become sycophantic and payments will become difficult. As a result, the local magistrates will try to tax the people heavily, and press the peasants who will certainly hold grudges against the higher classes. If the rulers employ such ignorant officers and increase their income, certainly the country will decline. Confusion a hundred years later will be caused by the condition of the peasants. The assistance of subjects is vital for mediocre rulers. Superior rulers are the exceptions. Remember that the water on which a boat floats often will upset it, too.”

52. The Way of Subjects:

At one time, Shogun Hidetada¹⁵³ sent a messenger to Ieyasu in Sunpu. Ieyasu said to the messenger, “You seem to be well trusted in your position by the Shogun. Regardless of one’s status, it is not so easy to serve a lord to the extent that one will be appreciated. All depends on one’s efforts and resolution. These days, all the generals and daimyo throughout Japan should be grateful to the Shogun. However, some are dissatisfied and hold grudges against the Shogun while forgetting the favors received from him. That is also up to them and you should know that.”

“Once you are favored by your lord, it is quite natural that you develop pride and arrogance of which you may not be aware, but others will be. Arrogance eventually encourages laziness from which all evils arise. You should remember this. The closer you are to your lord, the more you should be discreet as you maintain good relationships with your colleagues whom you treat fairly.”

¹⁵³ Tokugawa Hidetada (1579-1632), the third son of Ieyasu, assumed the shogunship in 1606.

“Try to be attentive to others’ characters and personalities, and always think of your Shogun first. Also be generous to the men who may assume higher positions in the future like magistrates, and make them feel comfortable in working even though you may not like them personally. Above all, that you should be able to distinguish the frivolous from the serious and truthful ones is most important.”

“Being obtrusive and egotistical are great faults. No matter how bright and smart one is, if he has these defects, he may be successful at the outset, but will inevitably fail later. Traveling in a carriage, one needs several good carriage bearers of the same six-foot height to go safely through difficult routes for a long time. One bearer, no matter how strong he is, can never make it. Ruling a country is the same. A ruler needs numbers of good councilors and elders with whom he can talk and discuss freely to maintain his country successfully. People are the treasures of a country. Since old times, faithful subjects and retainers, without being egotistical, have always recommended good supporters among their colleagues to assist their lords instead of acquiring merits only for themselves. Remember this and return to Edo and tell this to your colleagues.”

Once Ieyasu also said to Inoue Masanari, the head of the treasury, “The chief retainers in charge of political affairs should be in good terms with each other. Just as when a shrub catches fire, the whole mountain will burn, the country will fall if the ministers fight against each other. So you should be always discreet and humble when you associate with others. If you monopolize the politics and abuse your power, you will bring damage to the country.”

53. Observing Manners:

When Hideyoshi was still alive, he entertained Ieyasu and Maeda Toshiie and said, “Next time, let us enjoy ourselves at the Jurakudai [a palace built by Hideyoshi], and visit Lord Ieyasu’s place on our return.” Ieyasu replied, “Since you always entertain us with feasts at the Jurakudai, I would like to offer you some tea at my place.”

At his place in Fushimi, Ieyasu had his mansion cleaned, scattered water in the garden, cut open a new tea container, and had one of his tea masters, Shusai, grind the tea leaves. When the day arrived, Ieyasu returned earlier from the Jurakudai and found the amount of the ground tea reduced. At his question, Shusai told him that Mizuno Tadamoto, Ieyasu’s favorite page boy, had taken some tea.. Now Ieyasu opened a new container, and had Kyûkan grind the tea.

Meanwhile Kagazume Masahisa suggested to him, “Regent Hideyoshi will appear soon. Instead of grinding new leaves now, how about using the ones already ground which are sufficient.” Ieyasu scolded him, “What are you saying? You have always imitated me, but how can you speak like that? Even if I have no freshly ground tea to offer and would be punished for that, how can I entertain the Regent with the leftovers of someone else? With such a petty mind, you can never serve me well.”

Even after having assumed the three great positions [of Prime Minister, and the Ministers of the Left and the Right], Ieyasu always dismounted when he passed by Okehazama where his old mentor Imagawa passed away, and stepped down from the higher seat when he saw Lady Kenshōin, a daughter of Lord Takeda Harunobu.

54. Hunting During Peacetime:

Ieyasu said to Honda Masazumi, “Hunting is to be enjoyed as a martial art, but is not

for holiday-making. Besides, by going through the countryside and mountains, you will know the peasants. Abusing peasants will harm agricultural activities. In peacetime, people tend to become idle and spoil their health and bodies. In an emergency, such samurai will be useless. While riding and running through the fields and mountains, lords can give their soldiers good exercise and training using hunting as an excuse.

At one time when Ieyasu saw his young men wrestling in a sitting room, he said to them, "You should turn over the *tatami* mats, so that Fukuami will not complain about the mats' broken hems." Hearing this, the supervisor forbade wrestling in the sitting room.

Ieyasu also said, "Towards the end of the Muromachi Period when peace continued, the aristocrats began to copy the samurai style while the samurai imitated the noblemen's lifestyle. That was a sign of future disruption in the country. In wild times, engaging in martial arts is not unusual. It is like a rat which attacks people for fear of being caught. Enjoying martial arts during peaceful times is the true Way of the Warrior."

Ieyasu was always attentive to military affairs. When he was watching the Noh drama in Nijō Castle, he whispered to Itakura Katsushige. Later questioned by his son, Katsushige explained, "While watching the Noh, Lord Ieyasu told me to have some bamboo cut for the banner poles, since bamboo is now in season."

55. Eliminating Brothers:

While enjoying a nighttime conversation, Ieyasu heard one of his entertainers saying, "People often call Minamoto Yoritomo a great commander, but I don't agree because Yoritomo had killed his two younger brothers, Noriyori and Yoshitsune, who had worked meritoriously for him in attacking the Heike Clan."

At this, Ieyasu remarked, “You comment like children and women who usually sympathize with the weak and the losers like Yoshitsune. Such a comment is quite useless and meaningless. Yoritomo managed to control the country. A controller needs but a single heir to succeed him. Ignoring his other sons as well as his younger brothers was quite proper. Even if he allowed his brothers and relatives to survive as local daimyo and magistrates, he would treat them in the same way as other lords without any special favor. Such siblings and relatives should be discreet and respectful to the Shogun. Otherwise, they should be punished to show fair play on the part of the Shogun before other lords. If they are charged with something minor like lacking manners or insulting others, they simply will be expelled. However, when accused of treason as in the case of Yoshitsune, the death sentence would be unavoidable considering the effect on public peace and safety. Controlling a whole country is naturally different from governing a province. So what Yoritomo had done was correct.”

Ieyasu continued, “After failing in the Battle of Ishibashiyama, Yoritomo was hiding in the hollow of a tree. Kajiwara Kagetoki found him and asked, ‘When you control the country, please make me your assistant.’ ‘I will, but as soon as I find you engaging in private profit-making business, I will cut off your head,’ said Yoritomo. I think he was a great man.”

56. Reviewing the Battle of Kawanakajima:¹⁵⁴

Reviewing the Battle of Kawanakajima, Ieyasu said, “Takeda Shingen’s idea of blocking the way to Echigo Province by crossing the river was correct. But camping where he crossed the river was wrong. Unaware of Kenshin who had crossed the river during the

¹⁵⁴ Battle of Kawanakajima: Kawanakajima is located to the south of Nagano-shi in the vicinity of the confluence of the two rivers, the Chikuma River and the Sai River, where Takeda Shingen and Uesugi Kenshin had fought several times since 1553. The battles were popularly adapted for the *jôruri* and *kabuki* dramas in the Edo Period.

night, he gave his enemy a chance to defend the position, and failed.

If Shingen had been aware of Kenshin crossing the river during the night, he could have had soldiers from his main camp attack the enemy then. In that case, some of his vanguard heading towards Mount Sai would have heard the noise, and returned to assist the allies. Sandwiching his enemy from the front and the back, surely Shingen could have had a victory even at night.”

“As for the opponent, Kenshin, he should have waited at the entrance to the town of Umezu after having crossed the river. When Shingen’s force left the town, Kenshin could have driven them back, giving Kenshin a better chance to win. However, fearing each other, both failed to take these measures. Don’t you agree?” Hirose and Mishina who were listening to Ieyasu replied, “We had not heard of your ideas while we were serving Shingen, sir. Now we see the situation more clearly.” Another listener, Naotsugu, said happily, “I appreciated the ideas of the three great generals [Shingen, Kenshin, and Ieyasu].”

57. The Heike Soup:

At one time before Ieyasu, Maeba Hannyû narrated various stories for entertainment. He began, “At one time, wishing his villagers to listen to a recitation of the famous *Tales of the Heike*, a village chief invited a blind storyteller to recite the story to the accompaniment of his *biwa* lute.”

“Somehow, the villagers misunderstood their chief, and gathered as they said to each other, ‘This is most unusual. How does one eat the Heike soup?’ One of them suggested, ‘The old man, so and so, is familiar with antiquated manners. So let’s go and see him.’ The

old man said to the villagers, ‘You always have been ignoring me and calling me a senile old man, but now you ask a question to which I know the answer. The proper way in this case is to eat the soup from a new soup bowl. This was the custom of the old days.’ So the impressed villagers gathered at the chief’s place with their new soup bowls.”

“While the villagers were anxiously waiting for the soup, only a blind man appeared, recited a long story, and disappeared. The villagers returned home disappointed. There is always such a misunderstanding,” laughingly finished the narrator. At this, Ieyasu immediately summoned his old elders, and had them listen to the narrator who repeated the story. After that, Ieyasu instructed his elders, “Just as this story tells us, things sound quite differently at the end of the course after they circulate. So when you convey my orders, you should consult well with your men to avoid discrepancies, otherwise a small misunderstanding will become greater by the time my order reaches the lower level.”

58. Law Enforcement:

Ieyasu said, “Enforcing a law is comparable to the parable of a burning fire versus a quiet pool. A burning fire repels people, and thus prevents them from losing their lives. On the contrary, a quiet pool often attracts people, and causes them to be drowned due to its calm surface which hides the depth. So in enforcing a law, one should make it stricter in the beginning and adjust it later according to the situation. In this manner, people first avoid violating the law from fear. On the contrary, if you enact a mild law, and then make it more severe, you may condemn those who don’t deserve it.”

59. The Hood of a Good Fortune Deity:

Once Sorori Bannai, an entertainer from the time of Hideyoshi, told Ieyasu about the

true meaning of Daikoku, Deity of Good Fortune¹⁵⁵, as he explained, “The reason why Daikoku keeps a hood covering his high forehead is to avoid looking up so that he will not envy anyone of higher status. If one does not wish for something unobtainable, but is content with what he has, he will be happier.”

Ieyasu partly agreed with the entertainer, saying, “What you said about the Deity is partly correct, but what the Deity truly means is that he takes off his hood to look up at the proper time. It is like the case of a samurai and his sword. He polishes his sword all the time although he hardly uses it. But that does not mean he is not going to use it at all. If he is not, what’s the use of polishing it? He also takes care of his body so that he can use it effectively when the time comes. This is what the hood of the Daikoku Deity truly means.”

60. The Three Complaints of a Disciple:

At one time, Ieyasu told his elders a story, *The Three Complaints of a Disciple*, “Once a priest of a mountain temple took a boy from the village as his disciple. After living with the priest for a while, the boy ran away and returned home. When his parents asked the reason, the boy said, ‘Shaving my head, I have been working hard to become a future priest. But the strict priest forces me to do impossible duties, and always scolds me so much that I cannot tolerate any more.’

The parents asked him exactly what had happened in the temple, and the boy explained, ‘Among all the troubles, there are three. First, the priest wanted me to learn how to shave his head, and I tried, but since I was a beginner, I made mistakes now and then when my razor slipped and cut his head from time to time, and I was severely punished. Second, when I

¹⁵⁵ Generally seven lucky gods include Ebisu, Daikoku, Bishamonten, Benzaiten, Fukurokuju, Jurōjin, and Hotei.

prepared bean paste to make *miso* soup, he hit me in the morning and evening, saying that my way of making the paste was wrong. Third, every time I went to the toilet, I was scolded. How can I continue my practice under such severe conditions?’ After hearing their son’s three complaints, the angry parents went to the priest and told him about their boy’s complaints saying that they wanted the boy back.

The priest said to them, ‘Practicing the Way of the Priesthood is not easy. Parents wish their sons to attain the Way, but often they fail. If you believe your son’s words, it will be impossible for him to continue his practice. So I will let him go as you like. But let me explain what has really happened so that other patrons of this temple will not misunderstand life in this temple.

Concerning the second of the three complaints, we usually use pestles to grind soya beans to make paste in our temple. Ignoring my repeated advice, your boy used the handles of ladles, and spoilt three ladles. About his using the toilet, we have built a particular toilet room for our special guests including the local magistrate, and none of us in the temple except your boy has ever used the special toilet.

About his first complaint on shaving my head; since he said that he had had enough practice, I had him shave my head, and this is the result,’ said the priest as he took off his hood and exposed his round head with scores of cuts covered by a special styptic ointment to stop bleeding. Seeing that, the surprised parents deeply apologized to the priest.” **61. Ignoring One’s Lord¹⁵⁶:**

At one time, a retainer of a certain lord brought an enemy general’s head for inspection.

¹⁵⁶ For Ieyasu’s sense of loyalty in relation to the Mikawa men, see Kitajima, pp.4-30., Shingyô, pp.38-49.

Many Ieyasu men praised the retainer's accomplishment, "While his young and inexperienced lord acquired no merits in the battle, the retainer did well." Ieyasu was not so pleased and asked the retainer, "You say that your lord did not take any enemy heads, but where was he?" The retainer replied, "I don't know."

Ieyasu said to his men, "It is most preposterous for the retainer to bring the head to show his own accomplishment while ignoring his young lord whom he should have helped to acquire merits in the battle. Don't hire him after this." He had the young lord dismiss the retainer.

62. The Sign of a Good Crop:

While hunting, Ieyasu stopped before a wheatfield, and asked his men, "We seem to have a good crop of wheat this year. Can you tell that?" When they replied negatively, Ieyasu continued, "When the wheat plants are slanting to the left, the crop will be poor. Look at them now, they are all slanting towards the right which is the sign of a good crop. Besides the peasants' babies and young children look all fine. This means that their mothers are eating good cereals and giving their babies good milk. Moreover, the high-piled potatoes at the sides of the houses means that the people have other foods to consume."

63. No Starvation During the Famine:

In one year, various provinces had famines. An old councilor asked Ieyasu, "Shall we issue sumptuary laws?" Ieyasu disagreed, "If we tell them to be more economical at a time like this, more people will starve. Instead, if people want to build or rebuild their houses, let them do as they like regardless of their status." As soon as the matter was publicized, many people including lords and wealthy townsmen and merchants began to build and

remodel their mansions and houses most elaborately, saying, “If we miss this chance, we will never build our houses as we like.” Since the construction business provided new jobs, no one starved in that year.

64. Peaches in Winter time:

At one time in the beginning of November, Nobunaga sent Ieyasu a basketful of beautiful peaches out of season. Many Ieyasu men admired the peaches. However, Ieyasu, glancing at the fruit, was not so pleased as he said to his men, “It is not that I dislike peaches. Nobunaga’s status is so different from mine. Still in a humble condition, if I cherish something costly and unusual, I will invite nothing but ill fortune. One will spend wastefully for his attachment to something rare, and eventually be unable to afford something more important like supporting his retainers. I wish nothing more than to have enough for military needs. Lord Nobunaga in his grand status can afford all kinds of rare objects. To me, something military is more precious than something rare.” So saying, the smiling Ieyasu said to his men, “Why don’t you share the peaches among yourselves.” Hearing this later, Takeda Shingen commented, “So Ieyasu is a man who disciplines himself, and avoids anything extravagant but appreciates military matters since he aspires to something greater.”

65. Wheat-Rice Mix in the Summertime:

While in Mikawa Province, Ieyasu ate only a wheat-rice mix [in place of costly polished white rice] every summer. One day, close retainers secretly put white rice covered with the wheat-rice mix in a bowl, and offered it to Ieyasu. Ieyasu said to them, “You don’t understand me at all. You may be thinking that I am stingy. Let me explain it to you. Now in wartime, we annually spend very much on military affairs. While my soldiers are too busy to

enjoy their food and sleep, how can I alone eat luxurious food? I am trying to save for our military expenses by economizing on my food. I will not enrich myself while my peasants are suffering.”¹⁵⁷ He also said, “In the old days, those who destroyed the Heike were the Heike themselves, and those in Kamakura caused their own decline. That was the result of indulgence and extravagance. We should remember that.”

When someone presented Ieyasu an ornate gold fan, the surprised Ieyasu immediately had it hidden, saying, “Using the very precious metal of the country in this way is most wasteful!”

Another offered him a lacquered toilet exquisitely painted with gold dust. Ieyasu became infuriated, saying, “If you paint a trifling article like a chamber pot so expensively, what will you do with something more practical and useful like a piece of furniture?” Ieyasu immediately ordered his men to smash the pot.

At another time when Ieyasu saw one of his retainers dressed elaborately, he said to his men, “Any of my close attendants who wears such an extravagant costume will eventually produce vanity among others.” He ordered the retainer to sequester himself.

66. How Stingy He Is!:

In traveling from Edo to Fushimi, Ieyasu preferred simplicity. He took only two spears, one long sword, one bow, two chests, and only thirty foot soldiers. In Fushimi, he was generous with rice stipends for the lowly samurai, exempted those with an annual income under a thousand *koku* of rice from keeping horses and servants, and allowed them to rent townsmen’s houses. Though very economical in every respect, he was quite generous on

¹⁵⁷ For Ieyasu’s sense of economy regarding the tax from the farmers, see Kitajima, pp.170-179.

occasion.

When Fushimi Castle was burnt down, he had old pieces of lumber collected and made a temporary crude structure. The men in Osaka laughingly criticized him, saying, “How stingy Lord Ieyasu is!” Also when someone suggested that he reinforce the Nijô Castle in Kyoto, he said, “No, no. I stay in this castle only when I am in the capital. I am deliberately making it easier for anyone to take, so that I can retake it easily. So leave everything including the moat and the rock wall as they are.”

In Sunpu, Ieyasu kept two boxes for his socks: one for the new and another for the old. When the second box was full, he had his maids select those less soiled and put them back into the box, and gave the rest to the maids to use.

67. Lecturing the Maids:

At one time a maid was scrubbing the dirt from her lord’s white robe so hard that her fingers began to bleed. The head maid suggested to Ieyasu, “Since you have so many, how about wearing only new robes instead of old ones, sir?” Ieyasu said to her, “Being ignorant and shortsighted, you don’t understand anything. I will explain my intention to you. So bring the rest of your maids here.” When they appeared, Ieyasu began, “You may think that I am very stingy in everything. And you must be thinking that the storehouse here in Sunpu is the only one I have. Right? Wrong! I have storehouses everywhere including in Osaka, Kyoto, and Edo which are all full of gold, silver, and satin clothes. So I can daily afford a new robe. But I am saving everything for others including my descendants, and for this country in need. For the sake of this country, I do not wish to waste any robes.”

When Ieyasu heard a rumor criticizing his stinginess, he said to Matsudaira Masatsuna,

“When people of higher status amass gold and silver for themselves, the common people do not have much. In that case, the price of commodities is depressed. When more gold and silver are available, prices becomes higher and the commoners suffer.”

When he was in Sunpu, and heard the price of rice was rising, he opened his storehouses and sold rice. When the price was low, he bought back the rice at government expense, and stored it. In this way, the price of rice was usually stabilized, and hardly anyone made excessive profits. But some ignorant persons satirically criticized him, “Lord Ieyasu engages in business well.”

68. Encouraging Learning¹⁵⁸:

While staying in Nagoya, Ieyasu met a Confucian scholar, Fujiwara Seika. He took him to Edo as an advisor and had him give lectures on the Chinese classics including the Four Books and Five Classics. He also encouraged learning through reading, printed the *Jôgan Seiyô* [which contains discourses between Emperor Tai Zong of Tang China and his subjects], gave copies to his lords, and kept one for himself.

Another Confucian scholar, Hayashi Razan was lecturing in Kyoto about Neo-Confucian studies which were not yet popular in Japan. Ieyasu encouraged him to propagate his research, saying, “We should respect broad knowledge in learning. Why should we promote only the old studies based on the Han and Tang writings? We should appreciate the new ones too.”

Ieyasu began to make copies of all the old documents and writings which had been kept in the Imperial and noblemen’s households, selected priests excelling in calligraphy, and

¹⁵⁸ For Ieyasu’s encouragement for learning and employing Fujiwara Seika, see Yamamoto, pp. 122-123

had them copy these documents from six o'clock in the morning till six in the evening at the Nanzenji Temple in Kyoto with Hayashi Razan and Konchiin Sûden as supervisors. Of the three copies made, Ieyasu sent one to the Imperial Palace, one to Edo, and another to his residence in Suruga Province.

He also bought old books including the *Shokunihongi* from Izuhannyain Temple, the *Honchômonzui* from Kuonji Temple of Minobu, the *Ritsuryô* from the Hino Family, and the *Sandaijitsuroku*¹⁵⁹ from the Funabashi Family. Seeing the discrepancies in the *Azumakagami*¹⁶⁰ and the *Genpeiseisuiki*¹⁶¹, he had Hayashi Razan correct and collate the two. No one in the history of Japan had ever done something like this.

69. A Veteran of Campaigns:

>From his youth to his old age, Ieyasu had been in a total of forty-eight battles and campaigns in which he always gave signals using his directing fans, but when excited, he used to shout, "Go, go, go," hitting his fists against the front of his saddle till the skin of his knuckles broke and bled. Eventually, the calloused knuckles became hard and the skin would not stretch in his old age.

In the meeting on the twenty-eighth of March during the campaign of Odawara [1590], Ieyasu commented on a military affair. After that, the impressed Kuroda Takataka visited Ieyasu in his camp twice daily to hear him talk. Later Kuroda told one of the Mōri men, saying, "Lord Ieyasu was a general imbued from head to toe with knowledge on

¹⁵⁹ The *Sandaijitsuroku* in 901, a historical writing containing the articles on the three emperors, including Seiwa, Yōzei, and Kōkō, for thirty years.

¹⁶⁰ *Azumakagami*, a historical writing which describes the incidents related to the Kamakura Shogunate from 1180 to 1267.

¹⁶¹ *Genpeiseisuiki* in the mid Kamakura period (1185-1333) contains historical tales about the Genji and the Heike clans.

military affairs. Regent Hideyoshi was a bright man, but became quiet when Lord Ieyasu talked about the Way of Military Arts.”

70. Hideyoshi's Comments:

During his nightly conversations, one of Hideyoshi's men said, “There is no one as foolish as Ieyasu.” “Why do you say that?” asked Hideyoshi. “Well, he has such a big belly that he needs a few pages and maids to dress him in his sash, and cannot do even his toilet by himself. If you count them, he is slow about many things.” Hideyoshi then asked, “What kind of man do you call smart? The one I call smart and quick has military abilities exceeding those of hundreds and thousands of men, with many provinces under his control, and sufficient gold and silver. Ieyasu whom you call a fool has incomparable talent in military arts, and controls the Eight Kantô Provinces. I hear he has accumulated more gold and silver than I. As long as he has met these three conditions, he does not deserve to be called slow about other things. His reputation as ‘a pretended fool’ is something you can never achieve.”

On another day, a man said to Hideyoshi, “Lord Oda Nobukatsu¹⁶² excels in every field including calligraphy, poetry, and the *sarugaku* music and dance. On the contrary, Lord Ieyasu has no taste for anything. He is like a peasant who became a samurai.” Hideyoshi commented, “Nobukatsu excels in the unimportant while Ieyasu is slow in the insignificant. Why do you call Ieyasu inferior? He is blessed with superior talents while his valor exceeds that of any warriors in history. Who can compete against him?. Your comment on him is irrelevant.”

¹⁶² Oda Nobukatsu (1558-1630), the second son of Nobunaga attacked the Nagashima Ikkô Revolt, joined Ieyasu at the

71. A Pretended Fool:

At one time, Hideyoshi held a Noh music and dance party in the Jurakudai palace. Oda Nobukatsu was one of the major performers of that day. Nobukatsu's dance was indescribably beautiful. On the contrary, Ieyasu, who took Yoshitsune's role in a historical play, was simply pathetic with his fat and unsightly physique and awkward movements when he imitated the young and dashing Yoshitsune in the swashbuckling scenes which invited rolling laughter among the audience. Some sensible lords like Katô Kiyomasa,¹⁶³ Kuroda Nagamasa,¹⁶⁴ and Ishida Mitsunari¹⁶⁵ perceived Ieyasu's intention as they said to each other, "Nobukatsu was a real fool. Why dance so well on this occasion today? And the old badger, Ieyasu, tried to make fun of Hideyoshi by acting like a fool. What guts he had, a truly formidable veteran!" They were deeply impressed with Ieyasu's mental capacity and psychological aptitude.

72. The Elders' Concerns:

Yorinobu¹⁶⁶ [Ieyasu's tenth son, the initial head of the Kii Family, 1602-1671] reviewed Ieyasu's concerns about governing.¹⁶⁷ He said to his people, "During the time of Ieyasu, his elders and councilors including Honda Masazumi¹⁶⁸ and Andô Naotsugu¹⁶⁹ were

Battle of Sekigahara and received a fief of 50000 *koku*. See note 80.

¹⁶³ Kato Kiyomasa (1662-1161) known for his valor served Hideyoshi and joined Ieyasu at the Battle of Sekigahara.

¹⁶⁴ Kuroda Nagamasa (1568-1628) was brought up as a hostage of Nobunaga, later joined Hideyoshi and finally Ieyasu. He became the lord of Chikuzen-Fukuoka Castle in Kyushu.

¹⁶⁵ Ishida Mitsunari (1560-1600), one of the Five Elders of Hideyoshi, made merit at the battle of Shizugatake, and became the lord of Sawayama Castle in Omi with fief of 180000 *koku*. After the death of Hideyoshi, he fought against Ieyasu at the Battle of Sekigahara, lost and was decapitated.

¹⁶⁶ Tokugawa Yorinobu (1602-1671), Ieyasu's tenth son, was the initial head of the Kii Family, one of the *gosanke*, the Three Families (the Kii, Owari, and Mito) which were closely related to the Tokugawa Family.

¹⁶⁷ For a discussion on Ieyasu's positive and negative characteristics in relation to his role in the contemporary society, see Kitajima, pp.222-227.

¹⁶⁸ Honda Masazumi, a son of Honda Masanobu (1538-1616), served Hidetada, the second Tokugawa Sogun.

¹⁶⁹ Ando Naotsugu (1544-1635), a close retainer of Ieyasu and a daimyo lord who served Tokugawa Yorinobu as a guardian.

constantly concerned about various things. They were anxious to know if anyone opposed Ieyasu in his thinking and actions, or if anyone whose life had been ruined on account of a single mistake had received fair treatment posthumously, or if anyone was not in compliance with the Way of a Warrior, or if any priests and Confucian scholars were unsuitable for their positions as educators, or if any samurai, peasants, craftsmen and merchants had suffered, or if there were criminals including the unfilial, thieves, and arsonists. If they found only one of the above, these elders felt culpable, and discussed the issue before Ieyasu. Ieyasu was so concerned about crime that his elders felt that they were at fault for these crimes and wanted to hide themselves in the depths of the earth. Andô used to repeat these accounts.”

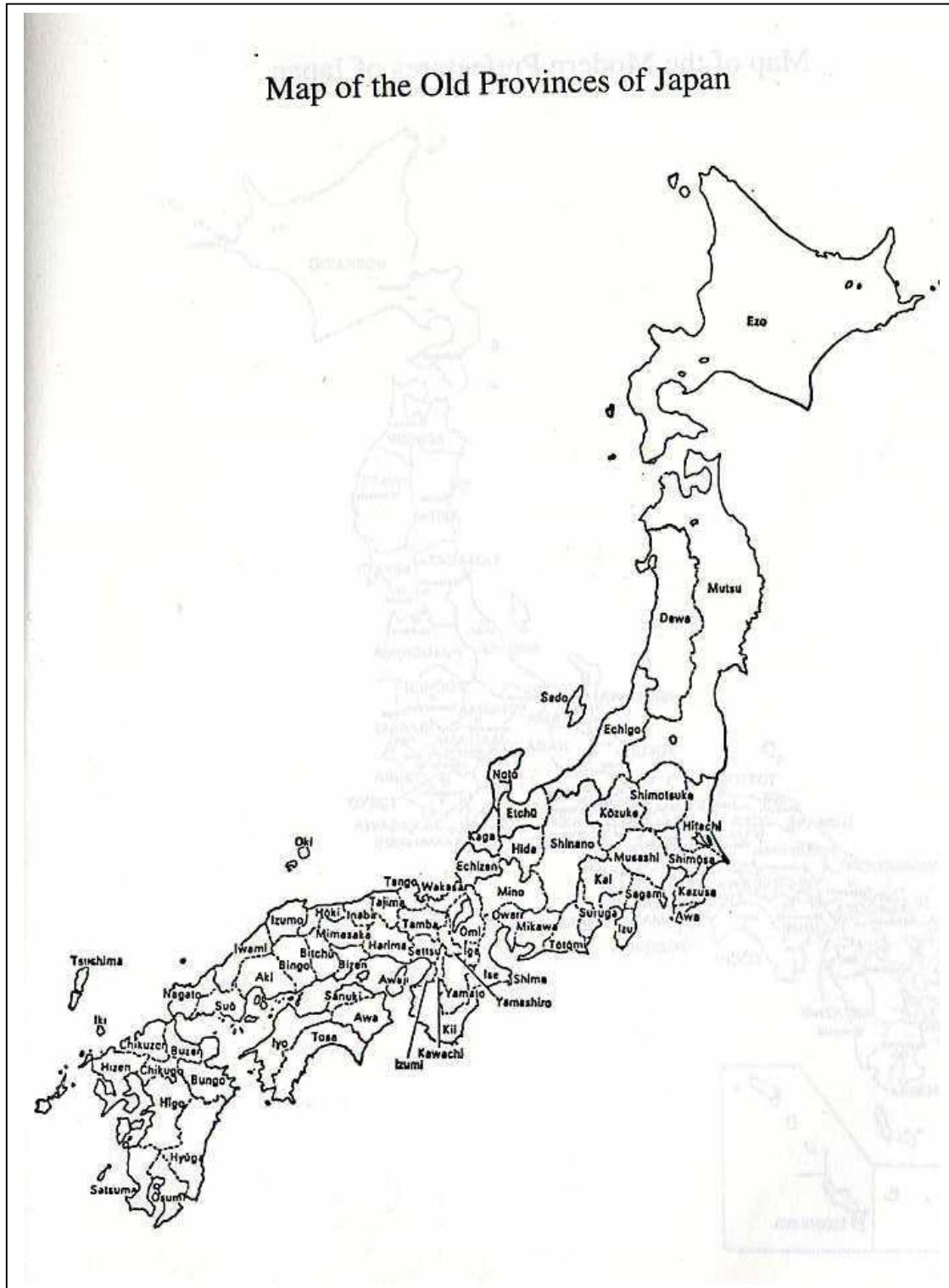
73. A Simple Mausoleum¹⁷⁰:

Near his demise, Ieyasu summoned Itakura Shigemasa, and said to him, “After my death, the Shogun will certainly order a great mausoleum for the first Shogun of the Tokugawa. But it will be quite unnecessary. Because after me, all my descendants will want something better and bigger than mine, the first one. So mine should be as simple as possible.”¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ After his death, Ieyasu was buried in Tōshōgū Shrine in Kunozaan. Later in 1617, his relics were moved to the Nikkō Tōshōgū Shrine.

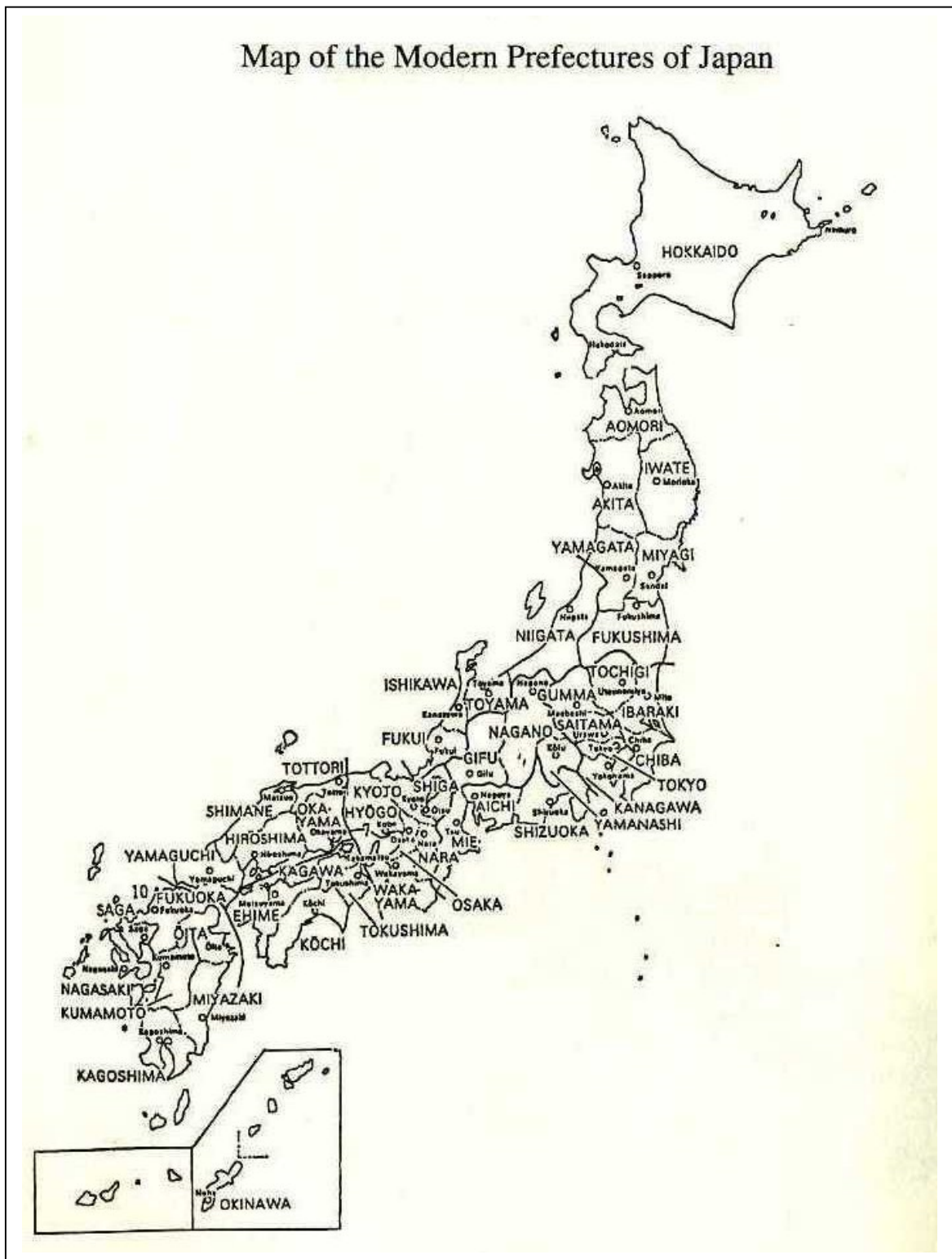
Appendix I

Map of the Old Provinces of Japan



Appendix II

Map of the Modern Prefectures of Japan



Glossary

Abbreviations: N- Nobunaga, H-Hideyoshi, I-Ieyasu

The brackets contain the abbreviations of the three lords and the tale numbers:

[N: 15]- Nobunaga: Tale 15

Akechi Mitsuhide (1526-82): Mitsuhide began to serve Nobunaga in 1566, and received the fief of Sakamoto in Ômi Province in 1571. In 1582 he attacked Nobunaga at the Honnôji Temple in Kyoto. With Nobunaga dead, Mitsuhide assumed the reins of government for thirteen days, but was soon defeated by Hideyoshi at the Battle of Yamasaki. [H: 16, 20,]

Araki Murashige (?-1586): Murashige served Oda Nobunaga and fought against Môtî Terumoto. He was accused of treason by Akechi Mitsuhide, and fortified himself in his Itami Castle. After a year-long siege the castle fell, but Murashige escaped to live in obscurity. [H: 14]

Asai Hisamasa (1524-73): The son of Sukemasa who established Odani Castle in 1516, and held out against Sasaki. Hisamasa was defeated by Sasaki, and retired in favor of his son, Nagamasa. [N: 15, H: 10]

Asai Nagamasa (1545-1573): A son of Hisamasa. Nagamasa married Nobunaga's sister, Oichinokata, and defeated Rokkaku Yoshitaka and Saitô Tatsuoki. Nagamasa then joined the Asakura and the monks of Mount Hiei in an alliance against Nobunaga, and was defeated at the Battle of Anegawa in 1570. [N: 15] A truce was concluded, but hostilities broke out again in 1573 when Nobunaga besieged him in Odani. Finally Nagamasa entrusted his family to Nobunaga and committed suicide. His eldest daughter, Yodogimi (Lady Yodo), married Hideyoshi, and the second daughter married Kyôgoku Takatsugu. The third daughter married Tokugawa Hidetada and was the mother of the third Tokugawa Shogun, Iemitsu. [N: 15, 16]

Asakura Yoshikage (1533-73): Asakura Yoshikage sided with Asai Nagamasa at the Battle of Anegawa. In 1573 Yoshikage killed himself when under siege in Ichijôgadani. [N: 15, H: 10]

Ashikaga Takauji (1305-58): Takauji was the first Ashikaga Shogun. [N: 11]

Ashikaga Yoshiaki, also called Kôgen'in (1537-1597): A son of Yoshiharu, took the tonsure, but later was assisted by Nobunaga, and became the fifteenth Ashikaga Shogun. Later due to a conflict against Nobunaga, he was expelled from Kyoto, finally was aided by Hideyoshi, and died in Osaka. [N: 13, H: 11]

Ashikaga Yoshiharu (1511-1550): The twelfth Ashikaga Shogun, also called Manshôn, retired in favor of his son, Yoshiteru, in 1546. [H: 11]

Battle of Anegawa: In 1570 Nobunaga fought against Asai and Asakura by the Anegawa River in Ômi Province. Thanks to the assistance of Ieyasu, Nobunaga had a victory which caused the decline of Asai and Asakura. [N: 15, H: 10]

Battle of Ichinomiya: In 1585 Hideyoshi invaded Shikoku successfully, and Ichinomiya was the final battle whereby Hideyoshi gained control of Shikoku from the Chôsokabe. [I:

4]

- Battle of Kanie: As a move against Oda Nobuo (the second son of Nobunaga) in 1584, Hideyoshi threatened Kanie Castle which was located between Kiyosu and Nagashima in Owari Province. Castellan Maeda Tanetoshi was persuaded to change sides by his cousin Takigawa Kazumasu who had been pardoned by Hideyoshi for his part in supporting Shibata Katsuie. Kanie was attacked by the forces of Sakakibara and Oda on behalf of the Tokugawa and Oda alliance. The attackers negotiated a surrender on condition that they be given the head of the traitor Maeda, who had vainly tried to escape, and which was finally handed over by his cousin. [I: 15]
- Battle of Kawanakajima: Kawanakajima is located to the south of Nagano-shi in the vicinity of the confluence of the two rivers, the Chikuma River and the Sai River, where Takeda Shingen and Uesugi Kenshin had fought several times since 1553. The battles were popularly adapted for the *jôruri* and *kabuki* dramas in the Edo Period. [I: 56]
- Battle of Mikatagahara: Mikatagahara is located between Tenryû River and Lake Hamana to the north of Hamamatsu City of Shizuoka Prefecture where Takeda Shingen defeated the allied Nobunaga and Ieyasu in 1572. [I: 5]
- Battle of Nagakute: Nagakute is to the east of Nagoya City where Hideyoshi's army lost to Ieyasu in 1584. [I: 12, 14]
- Battle of Nagashino: Nagashino is at the confluence of the Kansa and Ure Rivers in the eastern part of Aichi Prefecture where the allied force of Nobunaga and Ieyasu defeated Takeda Shingen by using new weapons, arquebuses, in 1575. [I: 9]
- Battle of Okehazama: Okehazama is in the north of Chita District of Owari Province (present Arimatsu in Midori-ku, Nagoya City) where Nobunaga destroyed Imagawa Yoshimoto by a sudden attack in 1560. [N: 9]
- Battle of Sekigahara: In 1600 at Sekigahara in Mino Province [the southwest of Gifu Prefecture], Ieyasu leading the Eastern Army which included the forces of Katô, Fukushima, and Kuroda defeated Ishida Mitsunari who led the Western Army including the forces of Môri, Ukita, Uesugi and Shimazu. Ishida's army totaled over 80,000 while Ieyasu's was over 100,000. Due to the defection of Kobayakawa Hideaki (See [I: 22]) of the Western Army, Ieyasu had a victory which laid the foundation for his hegemony. [I: 27, 28]
- Battle of Shizugatake: Shizugatake is a 421-meter-high hill to the north of Lake Biwa in Shiga Prefecture where Hideyoshi fought against Shibata Katsuie in 1583. After the death of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and Katsuie, who was an old veteran of Nobunaga, fought for hegemony, and Katsuie who lost the Battle of Shizugatake retreated to his castle in Kitanoshô of Echizen, and committed suicide. [H: 23]
- Battle of Yamasaki: Yamasaki is the old name for the area to the south of Kyoto-fu and a part of Shimamoto-chô of Osaka-fu where in 1582 Hideyoshi fought against Akechi Mitsuhide who had attacked Nobunaga at the Honnôji Temple. Hideyoshi's victory laid the foundation for him to unify Japan.
- Campaign of Odawara: Odawara is located to the southwest of Kanagawa Prefecture and was the domain of the Hôjô during the *senjoku* Warring Period. In 1590 Hideyoshi besieged Odawara Castle, and defeated Hôjô Ujimasa and Ujinao. Ujimasa committed

suicide while Ujinao fled to Mount Kôya of Kii Province. [H: 33, I: 18]

Campaigns of Osaka, Winter and Summer: In November of 1614 Ieyasu attacked Osaka Castle where Lady Yodo and her son, Hideyori, resided. During the temporary truce, Ieyasu filled the outer and inner moats of Osaka Castle, violating his word. The enraged Hideyori with his vassals challenged Ieyasu in the following May, and committed suicide as the castle fell. [I: 32-35]

Chôshû Faction: The Chôshû Faction (in western and northern Yamaguchi Prefecture) fought twice against the Tokugawa Shogunate, in 1864 and in 1866. The coalition between the Chôshû and the Satsuma (in Kyushu) Factions in 1866 laid the groundwork for the uprooting of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

Chôsokabe: The Chôsokabe grew to dominate the island of Shikoku. Chôsokabe Kunichika built Toyooka Castle in Tosa Province. After the death of his father, Motochika expanded his territory in a series of military campaigns, and finally took over all of Tosa Province. He then completed the conquest of Shikoku on behalf of Nobunaga. After Nobunaga's death, Hideyoshi invaded Shikoku in 1585, and Motochika submitted. He took part in the Kyushu and Korean campaigns, then transferred his domain to his son, Morichika, who sided against Ieyasu at the Battle of Sekigahara, and was dispossessed. In 1615 Morichika fought at Osaka, and fled at the fall of the castle. On being caught, he was beheaded.

Chûgoku Area: The area includes present Okayama, Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Shimane, and Tottori Prefectures. [H: 12]

Date Masamune (1567-1636): One of the greatest daimyo who ruled much of northern Japan. He succeeded his father in 1584, defeated the Ashina at the Battle of Suriagehara, and controlled all of Aizu. He continued his expansion until he controlled a large area including present Fukushima, Yamagata, Miyagi and the south of Iwate Prefectures. In 1590, following the defeat of the Hôjô, Hideyoshi confiscated Masamune's domain of Aizu. After Hideyoshi's death, Masamune approached Ieyasu. In 1600 he supported the Tokugawa cause in the north by making war against Uesugi Kagekatsu in Aizu, and defeated Naoe Kanetsugu, a retainer of the Uesugi. As a reward he received the Uesugi fief which enabled him to establish himself in Sendai where he built the celebrated Aoba Castle. Interested in Christianity, Masamune sent an embassy to Rome in 1613 headed by Hasekura Tsunenaga. He was renowned as the "One-Eyed-Dragon" diplomat-warrior since he had lost his right eye in his youth. [H: 36, 39]

Edo: Present Tokyo where the Edo Family had formerly resided, and Ôta Dôkan had built a castle in 1457. It was a great blow for Ieyasu and his Tokugawa men to move to Edo in a swampy countryside which had been ruled by their enemy, the Hôjô, leaving their traditional domain in Mikawa Province. However, Ieyasu obediently followed Hideyoshi's order, hired many Hôjô men as his subjects, and successfully built a castle town by taking advantage of access to water, the present Tokyo Bay, as modeled after Osaka where Hideyoshi resided. [H: 38, I: 20, 25]

Emperor Goyôzei (1571-1617): A grandson of Emperor Ôgimachi who published classical works including the *Nihonshoki*.

Emperor Ôgimachi (1517-1593): During the time of Emperor Ôgimachi, Nobunaga and

- Hideyoshi were active in the unification of Japan. [N: 13]
- Enryakuji Temple: The headquarters of the Tendai Sect in Japan was built by Priest Saichô on Mount Hiei in 788. Since the Heian Period, the temple had enjoyed power and prestige by maintaining monk-soldiers, but was burnt by Nobunaga in 1571. It was later restored by the assistance of the Toyotomi and the Tokugawa. [N: 16]
- Five Areas or Kinki or Kinai: Five Areas refer to five provinces near the capital: Yamashiro including Kyoto, Yamato including Nara, Kawachi, Izumi, and Settsu including Osaka. [N: 11]
- Five Great Elders or *Gotairô*: Hideyoshi selected five councilors including Tokugawa Ieyasu, Maeda Toshiie, Ukita Hideie, Môri Terumoto, and Kobayagawa Takakage to supervise political affairs. After his death, as Ieyasu's power increased, the functions of the five councilors were diminished, and finally disappeared after the Battle of Sekigahara.
- Free Market: In 1568 Nobunaga first practiced a Free Market policy in Mino Province, and in 1577 at Azuchi aiming at economic and commercial improvements by abolishing monopolies of the privileged merchants who belonged to certain *za* (guilds). [N: 20]
- Gamô Ujisato (1557-96): Ujisato, the son of Katahide, distinguished himself by taking Okochi Castle in Ise at the age of thirteen. He married Nobunaga's daughter. After the siege of Odawara Castle he received Aizu (Mutsu Province) with a yearly revenue of 420,000 *koku*. In 1591 he defeated Kunoe Masazane, and received a yearly revenue of 1,000,000 *koku*. His brilliant career ended at the age of forty, when Hideyoshi is believed to have had him poisoned. [N: 19]
- Hachisuka Koroku (1526-1586): A local magnate from Hachisuka Village of Owari Province who served Saitô Dôsan, Oda Nobutaka, and finally Hideyoshi. [H: 8]
- Hirate Masahide (1492-1553): An old councilor or elder of Nobunaga who committed suicide to restrain Nobunaga. [N: 4, 33]
- Hôjô Ujimasa, popularly known by his Buddhist name, Sôun (1538-1590): The eldest son of Ujiyasu. The Hôjô had held a large domain in the northeastern Kanto Area of Japan, and had been a menace to the lords of the central parts of Japan, including Nobunaga and Hideyoshi. In those days, a powerful lord like Hôjô coming to greet Hideyoshi meant his submission to Hideyoshi. Ujimasa committed suicide when his Odawara Castle was attacked by Hideyoshi. [H: 33]
- Hôjô Ujinao (1562-91): Ujinao was the fifth and last of the Odawara Hôjô daimyo. [H: 37]
- Hokuriku Area: The present Toyama, Ishikawa, Niigata, and Fukui Prefectures.
- Honda Tadakatsu (1548-1610): He was one of the four important subjects of Ieyasu, and was the Lord of Kuwana Castle in Ise. [I:16,18, 26]
- Honnôji Temple: Built in 1415 as the headquarters of the Honmonryô of the Hokke Sect at present Chûô-ku of Kyoto City. It was burnt down when Akechi Mitsuhide attacked Nobunaga who killed himself in the temple. [H: 19]
- horo* cloak: The *horo* was used as a decoration attached to the back of armor and to block arrows. In the Heian Period, it was made of a long piece of cloth and in the Muromachi Period, a bamboo basket was inserted which made the *horo* like a wind-blown cloak. It was also used as *sashimono* flags. [H: 35]
- Hosokawa: The Hosokawa who were related to the Ashikaga Shogunate assisted politically

in the administration of the Ashikaga Shogunate. The most prominent was Hosokawa Tadaoki (1564-1645) who married Gracia, the daughter of Akechi Mitsuhide, known for her strong Christian faith. Tadaoki fought in the Odawara campaign. Before the Battle of Sekigahara, Ishida Mitsunari attempted to take Gracia hostage but Gracia committed suicide rather than submit. Tadaoki fought both at Sekigahara and Osaka, and received the fief of Kokura in Buzen Province.

Ii Naomasa (1561-1602): Naomasa served Ieyasu, achieved greatness in the Battle of Nagakute, and was wounded in the Battle of Sekigahara while fighting against Shimazu Yoshihiro. [I: 18]

Ikkô-ikki: Towards the end of the Muromachi Period, monks, priests, and the congregations of the Ikkô Sect revolted and fought against the system of control by daimyo in Kaga, Echizen, and Mikawa Provinces. (Refer to Ishiyama Honganji)

Imagawa Yoshimoto (1519-60): Yoshimoto was defeated by Oda Nobuhide (Nobunaga's father) at Azukizaka in 1542, but still controlled Mikawa, Tôtômi, and Owari Provinces. In 1560 he moved into Owari Province, where he met the small force of Nobunaga at the decisive Battle of Okehazama, and was killed. [N: 8, 9]

Ishida Mitsunari (1560-1600): Mitsunari was favored by Hideyoshi and became one of his Five Great Elders (*Gotairô*) as he excelled in finance. He was promoted to Lord of Sawayama Castle with a yearly income of 190,000 *koku*. Later, he tried to destroy Ieyasu in the Battle of Sekigahara, and was decapitated in Kyoto. [I: 28]

Ishiyama Honganji (Temple): The headquarters of the Ikkô-ikki Revolt (Ikkô means the Ikkô Sect or the Jôdo Shin Sect and *ikki* means "those of the same mind", and later referred to a revolt) which had grown into the center of a complex ring of 51 outposts, supported well by organized firearms squads. In April of 1576, Nobunaga made an attack on the Ishiyama Honganji with a force of 3,000 men under the command of Araki Murashige and Akechi Mitsuhide, but 15,000 were pitted against him, and Nobunaga was forced to withdraw. [I: 5]

jinbaori surcoat: A sleeveless coat usually worn over armor. In tale 29 of Hideyoshi, Ieyasu asks for Hideyoshi's *jinbaori* coat which suggests a pact because Hideyoshi will not need the coat over his armor since he will not fight in the future. [H: 29]

Jôdo Shin Sect: The Shin Sect is related to the Pure Land School of Japan founded by Priest Shinran who advocated salvation by solely relying on Amida Buddha. The sect is also called Ikkôshû or Shinshû. [I: 5] (For the revolt, refer to Ishiyama Honganji)

Kajiwara Kagetoki (?-1200): Kagetoki joined Minamoto Yoritomo to destroy the Heike. When Minamoto Yoshitsune (younger brother of Yoritomo) communicated with ex-Emperor Goshirakawa, Kagetoki caused the downfall of Yoshitsune. [H: 53, I: 55]

Kakizaki Kageie (dates ?): One of the Twenty-Eight Generals of the Uesugi. He led the vanguard during the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561. [N: 24]

kan One kan is 3.75 kilogramme; 1000 *monnme*.

Kanto Area: Eight provinces of northeast Japan including present Tokyo City, Kanagawa, Saitama, Gunma, Tochigi, Ibaragi, and Chiba Prefectures.

ken: One *ken* equals 1.8 meters.

Kiyosu: The town is in Nishikasugai District of Aichi Prefecture, and was the home base of Oda Nobunaga. [N: 6]

- Kobayakawa Hideaki (1582-1602): Hideaki was a son of Kinoshita Iesada who was the elder brother of Hideyoshi's wife, Kitanomandokoro. He was first adopted by Hideyoshi, and later by Kobayakawa Takakage, and had fiefs of Chikuzen and Chikugo Provinces in Kyushu.
- Kôbô or Kûkai (774-835): The founder of the Shingon Sect of Japan. After returning from China in 806, Kûkai administered the Tôji Temple in Kyoto and the Kongôbuji Temple on Mount Kôya, a 1000-meter-high mountain located in the northeast of present Wakayama Prefecture [N: 30]
- koku*: one *koku* equals 180 liters, used for the measure of rice.
- Korean Expedition: Hideyoshi sent an army of over 150,000 soldiers led by Katô Kiyomasa and Konishi Yukinaga to Korea in 1592-3, and again in 1597-98 which failed upon his death. [H: 42]
- Maeda Toshiie (1538-99): Toshiie served Oda Nobunaga, and fought at the Battle of Anegawa in 1570, and received the fief of Fuchû in Echizen Province after the destruction of the Asakura. In 1581 he obtained the province of Noto, and then Kaga in 1583. He fought against the Hôjô in 1590 for Hideyoshi who placed strong trust in Toshiie as described in tale 47 of Hideyoshi. [H: 24,37,47]
- Mikawa: Mikawa Province along the Tokaido Highway includes the present eastern part of Aichi Prefecture. After the Battle of Okehazama, the Tokugawa controlled the province. The samurai who contributed in the rise of the Tokugawa were called the Mikawa *Bushi* or Mikawa Samurai and were renowned for their loyalty and valorous deeds for the Tokugawa. Their affection for their homeland of Mikawa is described in tales of Ieyasu. [I: 5, 46]
- Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-1199): Yoritomo was the first Shogun of the Kamakura Shogunate and the son of Yoshitomo. He defeated the Heike Clan in 1185, and was appointed Barbarian Quelling Generalissimo in 1192. [H: 53, I: 55]
- Minamoto Yoshitomo (1123-60): Yoshitomo was the son of Tameyoshi. He captured Emperor Goshirakawa at the Sanjô Palace in 1160, but was defeated in a counterattack, and was later murdered.
- Minamoto Yoshitsune (1159-89): One of the most celebrated samurai of all times, the younger brother of Minamoto Yoritomo won victories in Ichinotani, Yashima and Dannoura. Later he was exiled by Yoritomo and hounded to his death at Koromogawa. [H: 53, I: 55]
- Môri : A powerful daimyo family who dominated the Chûgoku Area including the Inland Sea of Japan for half a century. Môri Motonari (1497-1571) fought the Amako on behalf of his overlord Ôuchi Yoshitaka who was overthrown by Sue Harukata. Eventually, Motonari acquired most of the former territories of the Ôuchi. He was succeeded by his grandson, Terumoto. [H 17]
- Môri Terumoto (1553-1625): Terumoto supported the Ikkô-ikki of the Ishiyama Honganji. After the death of Nobunaga, Terumoto made peace with Hideyoshi, and served in the Kyushu expedition. In 1600 he opposed the Tokugawa, and was forced to take the tonsure. [H:17]
- Naoe Kanetsugu (1560-1619): He was a governor of Yamashiro Province, served Uesugi Kagekatsu, and excelled in poetry. [I: 30]

- Negoro Monks: Warrior-monks of the Negoroji Temple of Kii Province who excelled in military arts including the knowledge of newly imported guns, and fought against the Kongôbuji Temple, the main headquarters of the Shingon Sect of Mount Koya. Popularly called the Negoroshû (Negoro People), they numbered 8,000 to 10,000. During the years of Nobunaga's rise to power, these monk-soldiers of the Negoroji achieved their own reputation for skill in the use of firearms. The Negoro Monks fought against Nobunaga in the Battle of Ishiyama Honganji. Later together with the Saiga, the Negoro Monks fought against Hideyoshi who burnt their temple in 1585. In the Edo Period, many of them were hired by various daimyo for their knowledge of gunnery. [N: 26]
- Nitta Yoshisada (1301-38): Yoshisada supported Emperor Godaigo and captured Kamakura from the Hôjô in 1333. [N: 11]
- Niwa Nagahide (1535-85): Nagahide served Nobunaga, married Nobunaga's niece, and constructed Azuchi Castle for Nobunaga.
- Oda Nobuhide (1510-51?): Nobuhide, the father of Nobunaga, distinguished himself in fighting against the Saitô and defeated the Imagawa in 1542.
- Oda Nobukatsu or Nobuo (1558-1630): The second son of Nobunaga, Nobuo, was adopted by Kitabatake Tomofusa to ensure the Oda hegemony over Ise Province. He fought in the Battles of Komaki and Nagakute, and in the Battle of Sekigahara for Ieyasu, and received a fief of 50,000 *koku* with Uda District of Yamato Province. [H: 25, 26, I: 11]
- Oda Nobutada (1557-82): Nobutada was the eldest son of Nobunaga and fought beside his father on many occasions. He was in Kyoto when his father was attacked by Akechi Mitsuhide but failed to save him. Nobutada withdrew to Nijô Castle where was forced to commit suicide by Akechi troops.
- Oda Nobuyuki (d.1557): Nobuyuki, the brother of Oda Nobunaga, held Suemori Castle in Owari Province. In 1557, he sided with Hayashi which Nobunaga perceived as treason. Nobunaga sent Ikeda Nobuteru to besiege Suemori Castle and kill Nobuyuki. [N: 3]
- Odainokata (1528-1602): The mother of Ieyasu, and a daughter of Mizuno Tadamasa who was the lord of Kariya Castle. She was also known by her Buddhist name, Dentsûin.
- Ônin War (1467-1477): The conflict over their inheritance among Ashikaga Shogun Yoshimasa's younger brother, Yoshimi, and his son, Yoshihisa, and the two supporting families loyal to the Ashikaga Shogunate, the Hatakeyama and the Hashiba, triggered a greater fight between Hosokawa Katsumoto (leading the Eastern army) and Yamana Sôzen (leading the Western army) which devastated the city of Kyoto over the span of ten years. As a result, the Ashikaga Shogunate lost political power while the traditional *shôen* (manor system) collapsed, and local military magnates became prominent as they developed into *sengoku* warring daimyo who expanded their territories. [H: 53]
- Ôno Harunaga (?-1615): A warrior lord who served Hideyoshi, was favored by Lady Yodo, took part in negotiations with Ieyasu who was attacking Osaka Castle, and died with Hideyori when the castle fell. [I: 30]
- Ôshû Area: It includes present Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate, Aomori, and a part of Akita Prefectures.
- Red Umbrella: *Shugasa*, a large vermilion paper umbrella with an eight-foot-long handle

mainly used by a leading priest at a Buddhist ceremony in the garden. The Red Umbrella in tale 12 symbolizes Hideyoshi in charge of the Chûgoku Area. [H: 12]

ri: One *ri* equals 2.44 miles or 3.92 kilometers.

Saitô Toshimasa Dôsan (1494-1556): A former priest and oil merchant, Dôsan murdered Nagai Nagahiro who had protected him. He made war against Oda Nobuhide (Nobunaga's father), and had his daughter marry Nobunaga. When his adopted son, Yoshitatsu, challenged him, he went to war and was killed. [N: 5, 6, H: 8]

Saitô Yoshitatsu (1527-61): The son of Toki Yoshinari was adopted by Saitô Toshimasa. When his father planned to disinherit him, he fought and defeated him. Yoshitatsu died of leprosy. [N: 7]

Sakuma Nobumori (d.1582): Nobumori defeated Rokkaku in 1570 for Nobunaga, and served in a long campaign against the Ikkô-ikki of Ishiyama Honganji, but failed, and retired to Mt. Kôya. [I: 5]

San Felipe: In 1596 a Spanish ship, the *San Felipe* drifted to Urado of Tosa Province (present Kôchi Prefecture). Hideyoshi confiscated the cargo. Because of the slanderous remarks of the Portuguese in Japan, Hideyoshi suspected a future Spanish invasion of Japan, and prohibited Christianity. The death of the Twenty-Six Martyrs of Nagasaki in 1597 was a result.

sangaku, sarugaku: The old term for Noh music and performances.

Sassa Narimasa (1539-1588): Narimasa served Nobunaga and received the fief of Etchû Province. Aiding Oda Nobuo, he fought against Hideyoshi, and was defeated by Maeda Toshie. Following Hideyoshi to Kyushu, he received the fief of Higo Province where he was later blamed for the revolt of Higo and was forced to commit suicide. [H: 27]

Shibata Katsuie (1530-83): A loyal follower of Nobunaga. In 1570 Katsuie was entrusted with the defense of Chôkôji Castle. He remained loyal to the Oda Family after the Toyotomi takeover, but his army under Sakuma was defeated at Shizugatake. Katsuie withdrew to Kitanoshô of Echizen Province and killed himself. [N: 20, H: 21]

Shimazu Yoshihisa (1533-1611): Yoshihisa was the eldest son of Takahisa. After a succession of battles, he led his family to dominance on Kyushu. However, the Shimazu submitted to Hideyoshi at his invasion of Kyushu. [H:32]

Spear: It is a remarkable coincidence that the twenty-one-foot length selected for the spears of his infantry by Philip of Macedon was the same as that favored by Nobunaga in his tale. [N: 3] See Will Durant, *The Life of Greece* (Simon and Schuster), pp. 476-77.

Steichen, M., *Les Daimyo Crétiens ou un siècle de l'histoire religieuse et politique du Japon*, 1549-1650, Hong Kong, 1904.

Sunomata: The town located in the southwest of Gifu Prefecture where the three rivers, the Kiso, the Nagara, and the Ibi Rivers meet. It had been a frequent battleground since the time of the Genji-Heike. Hideyoshi built a fort overnight there. [H: 8]

Suruga or Sunpu Area: The central part of present Shizuoka Prefecture.

Taira Kiyomori (1118-81): Kiyomori was the most celebrated warrior and statesman of the Taira or Heike who opposed the rise of the Minamoto or Genji.

Takeda Harunobu or Shingen (1521-73): The eldest son of Nobutora, and a celebrated daimyo, ruled his provinces well aided by his Twenty-Four Generals. Uesugi Kenshin was his rival against whom Shingen fought on five occasions at Kawanakajima. He

- was killed by a sniper's bullet at Noda Castle in 1573. [N:12, H: 51, I: 8,10, 16]
- Takeda Katsuyori (1546-82): Katsuyori inherited his father (Shingen's) domain and his fierce reputation. Unfortunately, he was unable to sustain the Takeda dominance as he lost the Battle of Nagashino in 1575. Finally in 1582 he was defeated and committed suicide at the Battle of Tenmokuzan. [N: 22, H: 17]
- Takeda Nobutora (1493-1573): Nobutora attacked Hiraga Genshin at Unnokuchi in 1536, but had to retreat. His fifteen-year-old son, Harunobu, marched back and took the castle. Despite this, he planned to disinherit Harunobu in favor of his younger brother, so Harunobu revolted and sent his father into exile. [I: 4]
- Tea container: The tea ceremony was popularly observed among the samurai class during the Muromachi Period and costly tea utensils including cups and containers were highly appreciated among the daimyo. An old tea container could replace and save a fiefdom as a Hideyoshi tale narrates. [H: 31]
- Toyotomi Hidetsugu (1568-95): A nephew of Hideyoshi. Hidetsugu's mother was an older sister of Hideyoshi. In 1591 he was adopted by Hideyoshi as his heir and became *kanpaku* regent. However, after Hideyori, the son of Hideyoshi, was born, and when Hidetsugu refused to serve in Korea, his relationship with Hideyoshi became strained as he was called "a typical fool" by Hideyoshi, and was finally forced to commit suicide on a pretext of treason. [H: 41]
- Toyotomi Hideyori (1593-1615): Succeeding his father, Hideyoshi, at the age of six, Hideyori witnessed the rise of the Tokugawa, whom he challenged in 1614 in the siege of Osaka. In 1615 he committed suicide with his mother, Lady Yodo, as the castle fell. [I: 32-35]
- Uesugi Kagekatsu (1555-1623): Kagekatsu was the adopted son of Uesugi Kenshin. On the death of Kenshin, Kagekatsu served Hideyoshi, became a member of his Five Great Elders, and received the fief of Aizu, with a revenue of 1,200,000 *koku*. He fought against Ieyasu in the Battle of Sekigahara. After the battle, he received the fief of Yonezawa in Dewa Province with 300,000 *koku*. [H: 37, I: 26]
- Uesugi Terutora Kenshin (1537-78): One of the greatest samurai commanders in Japanese history. He was adopted by Uesugi Norimasa, and was often at war with both the Takeda and the Hôjô. He fought Takeda Shingen five times at Kawanakajima. In 1578 he entered an alliance with Takeda Katsuyori against Nobunaga. His sudden death in mysterious circumstances caused many to suspect assassination. [N: 24, 31, H: 51]
- Ukita Hideie (1572-1655): Hideie, the son of Naoie, was brought up by Hideyoshi after his father died, and served Hideyoshi loyally. He took part in the attack on Fushimi Castle in 1600, was defeated at the Battle of Sekigahara, and exiled to Hachijôjima. [H: 19, 35, 54]
- Yagyû Munenori (1571-1646): The Yagyû, a minor daimyo family of Nara, succeeded in becoming tutors to the Tokugawa Shoguns by their swordsmanship. Munenori served the Tokugawa to the third generation Shogun Iemitsu. [H:41]
- Yamana: The Yamana was a prosperous family in the Muromachi Period once controlling eleven provinces in the Chûgoku Area. Yamana Sozen (1404-73), nicknamed the "Red Monk", was one of the protagonists in the Ônin War.
- Yodo, Lady (1567-1615): Yodogimi or Yododono who was popularly called Chacha was

Hideyoshi's favorite concubine. She was the first daughter of Asai Nagamasa who was destroyed by Nobunaga at the Battle of Anegawa. Her mother was Nobunaga's younger sister, Oichinokata, who was married to Shibata Katsuie who was defeated by Hideyoshi at the Battle of Shizugatake. After the death of Katsuie, Yodogimi became Hideyoshi's favorite concubine, and gave birth to Hideyori, Hideyoshi's son. After Hideyoshi passed away, Lady Yodo (49 years old) assisted her son (23 years old), and committed suicide with him when Osaka Castle fell by the attack of Ieyasu. [I: 32-35]

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