

2021 Summer Special Exhibition

From Ieyasu to Yoshinao



The Transition to a Powerful Pre-Modern State

July 17 (Sat.) - September 12 (Sun.), 2021

INTRODUCTION

Striving through the *sengoku* (Warring States) period, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) finally achieved the unification of the whole country. Yoshinao (1601-1650), the ninth son of Ieyasu, was assigned to govern the Owari domain during the era of peace. The two were father and son, yet they lived in contrasting times. Yoshinao, who inherited a large fortune of assets and texts from Ieyasu, established the foundations of the Owari domain and led Nagoya to prosperity. Focusing on the principles of their rule, passed down from Ieyasu to Yoshinao, this exhibition traces their lives, their administration, and Yoshinao's feelings towards Ieyasu, as observed in historical documents and inherited objects.

PART 1

TOKUGAWA IEYASU, TOYOTOMI FAMILY, AND TOKUGAWA YOSHINAO

[EXHIBITS NUMBER: 1-42]

EXHIBITION ROOMS AT HOSA LIBRARY

[SECTION 1]

IEYASU DURING THE AGE OF THE WARRING STATES: THE EVE OF YOSHINAO'S BIRTH

This section deals with the dramatic changes that occurred in the latter part of Ieyasu's life, spanning the battle of Nagakute in 1584—in which Ieyasu and Nobukatsu (the second son of Nobunaga) fought Hideyoshi after Nobunaga's death in 1582, Ieyasu's subsequent vassalage to Hideyoshi, and the battle of Sekigahara in 1600.

[SECTION 2]

YOSHINAO DURING THE AGE OF THE WARRING STATES

After the death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi on the 18th of the 8th month of 1598, Ieyasu increasingly came into conflict with Hideyoshi's heir, Hideyori, and his vassals of western Japan, led by Ishida Mitsunari. Finally, at the pivotal battle of Sekigahara on the 15th of the 9th month of 1600, Ieyasu defeated Mitsunari's forces. With this victory, Ieyasu succeeded in securing control over the entire country, though the Toyotomi would continue to vie tenuously for authority.

In the 11th month of that very same year, Tokugawa Yoshinao, who would become the founder of the Owari domain, was born at Osaka Castle. His birth came at just the tense moment when Ieyasu was consolidating his power despite the presence of Hideyori, who was severely weakened after Sekigahara, but still commanded much respect from the remaining Toyotomi vassals.

Yoshinao was first nominally charged in 1603 with governing the Kai domain (Yamanashi prefecture). His responsibilities were then transferred in 1607 to the Kiyosu region of Owari (Aichi prefecture). In actuality, however, he did not serve in these places because he was still far too young, being raised in Sumpu (Shizuoka City) at Ieyasu's castle. Hiraiwa Chikayoshi (1542–1611), a faithful vassal of Ieyasu, was assigned to look after Yoshinao, and he was actually the one who administered the domain affairs on behalf of Yoshinao. As the daimyo of Owari, Yoshinao made his debut in battle at the winter siege of Osaka in 1614, commanding 15,000 soldiers. In this siege, Ieyasu attacked Hideyori at Osaka Castle. The following year, Ieyasu finally destroyed the Toyotomi clan, who had remained as the sole rival to Tokugawa authority.

NAGOYA CASTLE

In 1609, with his son Yoshinao, Ieyasu visited Kiyosu Castle, and decided to move the province's capital from Kiyosu to Nagoya. The next year, he ordered the construction of Nagoya Castle. At that time, Toyotomi Hideyori was still based in Osaka Castle from where he commanded considerable influence. Nagoya was thus chosen as the most strategically valuable stronghold to besiege Osaka Castle. Moreover, in ordering the construction of Nagoya Castle, Ieyasu selected 20 daimyo allied with the Toyotomi, such as Katō Kiyomasa and Fukushima Masanori, to be in charge. Their selection was part of Ieyasu's strategy for diminishing the Toyotomi clan's power base. The castle's main keep (donjon) was completed in 1612, the *honmaru* residence in 1615, and the *ninomaru* residence in 1617. Yoshinao moved into the castle in 1616, the same year as the death of his father.

The castle's main keep was extraordinarily large, only rivaled by the castles of Edo, Sumpu, and Osaka. The main compound, or the *honmaru*, was surrounded by a 15-meter high stone wall and guarded with *tamon yagura* turrets. It was further defended with fortified enclosures and other features such as the *koguchi* (tiger's den) and the *umadashi* (space for horses in preparation for battles). Nagoya Castle was simply impregnable. Though all the castles built by the Tokugawa-allied daimyo generally integrated sophisticated military engineering, Nagoya Castle was among the most outstanding in this respect because of its historical context.

IYASU'S CONTINUED RULE

Ieyasu was designated as the shogun in 1603, but a mere two years later in April 1605, he transferred this position to Hidetada, his third son. By doing so, Ieyasu publicly demonstrated that the Tokugawa would not give back the governing authority to the Toyotomi clan, and that the shogunate would be inherited within the Tokugawa clan. Yet, despite his retirement, Ieyasu continued to exert control over military and diplomatic affairs. He thus came to be known as the Ōgosho. His subsequent move to Sumpu in 1607 created a period of dual authority between himself in Sumpu and Hidetada in Edo.

During this time, Ieyasu reinforced and consolidated Tokugawa power. For example, in 1615 he issued edicts that restricted the activities of the emperor and the imperial court. He also placed importance on foreign policy, and in 1601 initiated overseas trade with merchant fleets that were given red-sealed letter permits bestowed by the shogunate. He also made efforts to restore relations with Joseon Korea. But toward the West he adopted a stricter attitude. In 1612, a bribery scandal took place and since those involved in the case were Christians, Ieyasu adopted policies to prohibit the Christian faith.

Toward the Toyotomi clan, Ieyasu initially adopted a conciliatory posture by marrying Senhime (1597–1666), Hidetada's daughter, to Hideyori. At the same time, he increased pressure by building a number of castles encircling Osaka.

徳川家康
Tokugawa Ieyasu
The first Tokugawa shogun



THE WINTER AND SUMMER SIEGES OF OSAKA

In 1614, Toyotomi Hideyori reconstructed Hōkōji Temple in Kyoto, but an issue arose with the words inscribed on a hanging temple bell. The words were interpreted as putting a curse on Ieyasu while praying for the prosperity of Toyotomi. As Hideyori brought a number of *rōnin* (unaffiliated samurai) into Osaka castle, the situation worsened, and a war between the two sides became inevitable. Finally, war broke out, starting with the battle of Kizugawaguchi on the 19th of the 11th month (the Winter Siege of Osaka).

At this siege, Ieyasu surrounded Osaka castle with a force of as many as 200,000. Nevertheless, he could not capture it. His troops also suffered serious losses while being driven back by rallies at Sanadamaru, a fortification led by Sanada Nobushige, also known as Sanada Yukimura. This stalemate resulted in the ceasefire and peace accord of the 20th of the 12th month, and Ieyasu withdrew his troops. Yoshinao, who won the first battle of the siege, suffered relentless gunfire from within the castle, but reportedly did not even bat an eye.

The following year, on the 26th of the 4th month, conflicts broke out again over the issue of the filling in of the castle moat, a condition of the peace treaty between the two. This disagreement reignited the war (the Summer Siege of Osaka). During the battles in nearby areas such as Nara and Osaka, major Toyotomi commanders were killed. Then on the 5th of the 5th month, in the battle of Tennōji and Okayama, the Toyotomi forces were annihilated, and the donjon of Osaka Castle was engulfed in flames. On the 8th, Yododono (Hideyoshi's wife) and Hideyori (their son) committed suicide in the castle, where the Toyotomi clan met its demise.

PART 2



THE REIGN OF YOSHINAO

[EXHIBITS NUMBER: 43-120]

EXHIBITION ROOMS 7-9 AT THE TOKUGAWA ART MUSEUM

[SECTION 3]

FROM IEYASU TO YOSHINAO

After gaining victory in the *sengoku* (Warring States) period and finally achieving the unification of the country, Tokugawa Ieyasu established the Edo Shogunate and became its first shogun. After handing over the position to Hidetada, his third son, Ieyasu continued to exert control over military and diplomatic affairs as the Ōgosho (the retired shogun, and the father of the incumbent) at Sumpu Castle. As for his ninth son, Yoshinao, Ieyasu ordered him to succeed Matsudaira Tadayoshi, Yoshinao's elder brother, in governing the Owari domain. This section describes the life of Yoshinao, who, at the mere age of 17, inherited Ieyasu's legacy upon his father's death in 1616. Set off on his own, he went on to establish the Owari Tokugawa, a new, but one of the most powerful daimyo clans of the realm. Yoshinao's accomplishments in the first half of his life led to the growth of Nagoya. When he died at the age of 51 in 1650, he was succeeded by his son Mitsutomo (the second Owari Tokugawa lord).

IEYASU'S LEGACY

On the 17th of the 4th month in 1616 at Sumpu Castle, Ieyasu ended his life of seventy-five years. He bequeathed the majority of his vast assets at Sumpu Castle among the so-called Gosanke, or the three major Tokugawa branch families: Yoshinao, Ieyasu's ninth son (the first Owari Tokugawa lord); Yorinobu, the tenth son (then the lord of Suruga Province, and later the first Kii Tokugawa lord); and Yorifusa, the eleventh son (the first Mito Tokugawa lord). This divided inheritance was referred to as the "Sumpu Bequest," and a catalogue, "Items of the Sumpu Bequest" was made to facilitate the inheritance's transfer. The registry records a wide range of items including gold and silver implements, swords, arms, armor, tea utensils, Noh costumes and props, clothing, furnishings, paintings, writings, imported fabrics, and medicines. This catalogue thus vivifies Ieyasu's last years, in which the great unifier maintained influence even after becoming the Ōgosho in his later years.

THE DEIFICATION OF IEYASU

After his death at Sumpu Castle, Ieyasu's remains were interred at Mount Kunō (City of Shizuoka), according to his last will. During the following process of deification, a fierce dispute broke out between the monk Tenkai, who wanted Ieyasu's posthumous name to be Gongen, and others including the monk Konchiin Sūden, who preferred Myōjin. Hidetada (the second shogun) chose Gongen based on Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō beliefs, and Tenkai took the leadership in Ieyasu's deification.

On the 15th of the 4th month in 1617, the year after Ieyasu died, he was enshrined at Nikkō as Tōshō Daigongen. Nikkō Tōshōsha shrine was extensively rebuilt in 1636 by Iemitsu, the third shogun, who revered Ieyasu. In 1645, the shrine was granted the status of *gū*, the same imperial

rank held by the Ise Jingū shrine, and elevated from Tōshōsha to Tōshōgū. This made Tōshō Daigongen into a national deity.

In the Edo period, there were numerous examples of daimyo, shogunate retainers, temples, shrines, or regular citizens establishing their own Tōshōgū shrines, and it is said there were over 700 across Japan. A forerunner to these is the Tōshōsha that had been built in Nagoya Castle's *sannomaru* residence at the order of Yoshinao (the first Owari Tokugawa lord) in 1619. The Kii Tokugawa and Mito Tokugawa clans, the other two Gosanke families, established their own Tōshōsha shrines two years later.

THE BEGINNING OF THE OWARI DOMAIN

Yoshinao became the lord of the Owari domain in 1607 at the age of eight upon the death, by illness, of his elder brother, Matsudaira Tadayoshi. This was the start of the Owari domain. Because Yoshinao was still so young, he was living with his father in Sumpu. Ieyasu thus ordered Hiraiwa Chikayoshi to administer this territory on Yoshinao's behalf. In 1612, Hiraiwa died without an heir, so that same year, Ieyasu then appointed his vassals Naruse Masanari and Takenokoshi Masanobu as guardians for the 13-year-old Yoshinao. These two men continued serving as chief vassals of the Owari Tokugawa clan even after Yoshinao attained adulthood.

Yoshinao became the direct ruler when he turned 18 in 1617. He confirmed land ownership previously granted to vassals, and began issuing new black-sealed letters under his own name. The issuance of these texts that dictated orders to vassals came to be called in later years as the "start of black-sealed letters" that represented Yoshinao's mode of governance. In the same year that he sent out his first black-sealed letter, he started working on developing various governmental policies and structures, such as establishing laws, assigning vassals to new posts, and increasing their annual stipend. This was the real beginning of Yoshinao's rule over Owari.

YOSHINAO'S PROJECTS

Besides the Owari domain, Yoshinao received additional territories in 1615 from the Tokugawa shogunal family: namely the region around Mount Kiso and the banks of the Kiso and Nagara Rivers in Shinano province (Nagano prefecture). Yoshinao began construction work to manage these rivers by opening embankments to create outlet channels, and completed the Miyata and Kottsu irrigation water systems. He had the vast Iruka Pond built as an agricultural water reservoir in 1633, and also focused efforts on developing Atsuta and other new rice fields to increase the domain's revenue. Moreover, abundant timber was produced at Mount Kiso, but the depletion of forest resources became an issue caused by nationwide logging from the end of the 16th century to the 17th century. To preserve the forests, Kiso mountain villages in Owari domain were prohibited from felling timber in 1644, including for tax purposes.

High-quality clay had long been produced in Seto, and its ceramic industry was protected as one of the domain's industries. Seto potters were put to work making Ofuke-yaki ware at the Lower Ofuke Garden in the northern part of Nagoya Castle.



徳川義直

Tokugawa Yoshinao
The first Owari Tokugawa Family

YOSHINAO'S STUDIES

From his youth, Yoshinao stood on the battlefield, but he also enjoyed scholarship and continued studying throughout his life. He collected books, founded the Suruga Library from Ieyasu's bequest, and left behind a massive library of his own. Yoshinao also authored many of his own books. His most representative works include *Jingi Hōten* about the documented origins of shrines across Japan and their worshipped deities, and *Ruijū Nihongi*, a categorized compendium of ancient history spanning from the age of the gods to Emperor Kōkō in the Heian period. At the foundation of these books lay Confucianism, which Yoshinao had studied from his young age. He even had built a Confucian worship hall in the *ninomaru* residence of Nagoya Castle, leading to his studies being called "a single-minded pursuit of Confucianism" (*jukyō ippentō*).

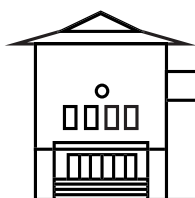
YOSHINAO'S FAMILY

Yoshinao was the son of Ieyasu and Lady Okame (1573-1642). Hidetada (the second shogun, 1579-1632) was his older paternal half-brother, and Yorinobu (the first Kii Tokugawa Lord, 1602-1671) and Yorifusa (the first Mito Tokugawa Lord, 1603-1661) were his younger paternal half-brothers. Yoshinao's legal wife was Haruhime (1603-1637), the daughter of Asano Yoshinaga (1576-1613). Haruhime died, however, without bearing any children. Afterwards, the serious and scrupulous Yoshinao refused to marry again, but he did take Lady Osai (1608-1684) as a concubine at the recommendation of Doi Toshikatsu (1573-1644), a chief shogunate minister who feared that the Owari Tokugawa clan would not continue without ample potential successors. Lady Osai gave birth to Yoshinao's daughter Kyōhime (1626-1674). As for his heir, Yoshinao's concubine Lady Ojō (birth year unknown-1634) had given birth to Mitsutomo (1625-1700, the second Owari Tokugawa Lord), while Haruhime was still alive.

Mitsutomo married Chiyohime (1637-1698), the eldest daughter of Iemitsu (the third Edo shogun), which solidified Owari's ties to the shogunal Tokugawa family. Kyōhime was wed to the nobleman Hirohata Tadayuki (1624-1669).

YOSHINAO'S HEIRS AND BEYOND

Yoshinao suffered many illnesses starting around 1647, the year he turned 48. From that point on, he focused on recuperation, but he passed away three years later from illness at the Kōjimachi Residence in Edo on the 7th of the 5th month in 1650. He was 51 years old. His remains were brought from Edo to Nagoya, and a funeral service was held at Sō'ōji temple. On the 28th of the 5th month, he was interred in a Confucian ceremony at Jōkōji temple in Kasugai district (Seto City, Aichi Prefecture). On the 28th of the 6th month, Mitsutomo, Yoshinao's heir, officially succeeded Yoshinao and became the second Owari Tokugawa lord when he visited Iemitsu (the third shogun) to mark his succession. Although the shogunate frequently ordered the relocation of clans to other domains, the Owari Tokugawa clan ruled Owari continuously until the Meiji Restoration.



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