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Some Observations on the Weddings of Tokugawa Shogun's Daughters – Part 1

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This is part of a book manuscript about the Ôoku I had worked for many years. I abandoned the project several years ago and left the manuscript untouched. Now I am back to the Ôoku, revising and shortening it. I have not worked on this section for a long time, but I will upload it as an independent essay in two segments. I hope someone will be kind enough to read it, and point out mistakes and suggest revisions. Thank you.

Cecilia Segawa Seigle

In this study I shall discuss the marriage politics of Japan's early ruling families (mainly from the 6th to the 12th centuries) and the adaptation of these practices to new circumstances by the leaders of the following centuries. Marriage politics culminated with the founder of the Edo bakufu, the first shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616). To show how practices continued to change, I shall discuss the weddings given by the fifth shogun Tsunayoshi (1646-1709) and the eighth shogun Yoshimune (1684-1751). The marriages of Tsunayoshi's natural and adopted daughters reveal his motivations for the adoptions and for his choice of the daughters' husbands. The marriages of Yoshimune's adopted daughters show how his atypical philosophy of rulership resulted in a break with the earlier Tokugawa marriage politics.

Marriage Politics – Early examples

In early sixth century, when the Soga family began to marry their daughters to the emperors, marriage politics as political artifice was instituted and laid a strong base for the tradition for successful political power acquisition and at the top level of Japanese politics.

Soga family heads before the mid-seventh century pioneered the purely political use of marriage. In order to share in the sanctity of the imperial lineage, Soga no Iname (d. 570), who served as minister to both Emperors Senka (early sixth century) and Kinmei (mid-sixth century), seems to have been the first political figure to marry his daughters to emperors.¹ By making his two daughters consorts of Emperor Kinmei,² he became the maternal grandfather of the future Emperors Yomei (?-587), Suiko (554-628), and Sushun (?-592?). This was a contorted application of Neo-Confucian ethics of patri-lineal legitimacy of a family, violating the canonical relationship of a lord and subject. He made another daughter a consort of Emperor Yômei, which meant that Yômei married his aunt, but she did not produce a successor. As a result of these and subsequent matches, Soga no Emishi and his son Iruka were completely dominant in the early seventh century, until the Taika Reform *coup d'etat* of 645, when Nakatomi no Kamatari (614-669) helped Prince Naka-no-Ôe (626-671) to eliminate both of them. When the prince became Emperor Tenchi (r. 668-671), Kamatari became the chief minister of the new government. He changed his surname to Fujiwara and became the progenitor of many Fujiwara rulers to follow. From the

¹ There were earlier courtiers whose daughters married an emperor but they did not assume political power as did the Soga clan.

time of Kamatari's son Fujiwara no Fuhito (659?-720) on, the heads of the various Fujiwara branches almost always married their daughters to the reigning emperors.³

Thereafter, numerous Fujiwara ministers became maternal grandfathers of emperors, establishing a formula and model of political marriages to achieve prosperity and glory of their families. The Fujiwaras hastened the abdication of the reigning emperor once his heir was born, and governed the state as a maternal grandfather and Regent of a very young emperor. Fujiwara no Michinaga (966-1027) refined political marriages to the level of an art: by making three of his daughters empresses and two others imperial consorts, he became the maternal grandfather of three emperors.⁴

This tradition of marriage politics continued through the end of the Heian period (794-1185). Emperors married mostly Fujiwara daughters and some imperial princesses, but in either case the union did not always produce imperial heirs.

Toward the middle of the twelfth century, the newly rising samurai, the

² Daughters: Kitashi-hime and Oanegimi, and Ishikina married Emperor Yōmei.

³ For example, Fuhito's daughter Miyako married Emperor Monmu (683-707); Kōmyōshi (701-760), daughter by Fuhito's second wife Tachibana no Michiyo, married Emperor Shōmu (701-756), son of Emperor Monmu and Miyako. Emperor Shōmu married his half-aunt. Thus Fuhito confirmed the pattern set by Soga no Iname, becoming maternal grandfather to Emperors Shōmu, Kōken (718-770, r. 749-758) and Shōtoku (r. 764-770). Emperor Kōken, daughter of Emperor Shōmu and Kōmyōshi, was the first woman emperor of Japan. She abdicated the throne in favor of Emperor Tenmu's grandson, Emperor Junnin (733-765), but re-acceded to the throne as Emperor Shōtoku in 764.

⁴ Michinaga married daughters Shōshi to Emperor Ichijō (980-1011), Kenshi to Emperor Sanjō (976-1017), Ishi to Emperor Goichijō (1008-36), Kishi to Emperor Gosuzaku (1009-45), and Kanshi (Hiroko) to Prince Koichijōin (994-1051). Michinaga was grandfather of Emperors Goichijō, Gosuzaku, and Goreizei.

Taira clan, emulated Fujiwara's marriage politics. The clan's head, Taira no Kiyomori (1118-1181), married his daughter Tokuko to Emperor Takakura (1161-1181), and became the maternal grandfather of the child Emperor Antoku. The Taira's prosperity collapsed when the new samurai clan, the Minamoto, drove their forces westward. Kiyomori's widow Tokiko held the seven-year old Emperor Antoku in her arms and plunged into the sea of Dan no ura.

During the Kamakura to the early Muromachi period the upper-class samurai, who were gradually gaining power, transformed their objectives of marriages to gain immediate and more practical answers to fit the political climate. Although various branches of the Fujiwara nobles continued to arrange marriages of their daughters to the emperors, the samurai class saw no advantage in such marriages. In times of political unrest and continued warfares, the samurai rulers saw much more practical advantage in systematically consolidating their affined and neighboring forces as well as their territory, than becoming the maternal grandfather of an impoverished emperor.⁵

However, the clan-affined-neighboring network formation by marriage collapsed as Japan entered into the period of warring domains in the mid-fifteenth century. In the climate of rising and multiplying of powerful warlords, marriage relationships no longer

secured trust between a man and his father-in-law and other in-laws. Thus, by the sixteenth century the form and significance of marriage politics had transformed considerably, especially affected by the frequent disturbances in the seat of the Ashikaga bakufu in Kyoto. The constant warfare among the warlords throughout Japan resulted in the weakening of the Ashikaga bakufu and its eventual collapse. It was a time of military prowess and battle mastery, a time of general upward mobility, when “the inferior overcomes the superior” (*Gekokujō* 下克上) became Japanese society's byword and goal. Every warlord was a potential hegemon of the entire nation, provided that he managed to amass a fortune and expand his own territory by invading adjoining domains. Every rambunctious vagabond had an opportunity to become a samurai of note and a captain of troops if he managed to murder his master. There was no time for elegant marriages.

It was an era when women were aggressively exploited for political marriages, but in a different manner from what had prevailed during the Heian period or the Kamakura-Muromachi periods. Female members of the upper-class samurai families in the new era were used as hostages and spies in enemy households, and at the same time as tools for alliances with powerful warlords and insurance against their betrayal. Many daimyo used their mother, sister, wife, and daughter as security, hostage, or spy in combination with

⁵ Tabata Yasuko, “Yomeirikon e no ikō” p. 68. Itō Tasaburō points out such marriages existed concurrently with fierce military and political battles among families and relatives of the daimyo families in the northeast. Itō Tasaburō, *Kinseishi no kenkyū*, 3:194.

marriage.⁶

Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), unifier of Japan in late sixteenth century, and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616), the first Tokugawa shogun, had no qualms about using marriages as a political tool, but lest others should use the same method for mighty alliances, Hideyoshi had decreed in 1595:

1. Marriage should be arranged after consultations with various leading daimyo and their relatives.

2. No daimyo, not only those of small domains but even major daimyo should engage many concubines.

Hideyoshi was not the first to forbid a marriage between the families of two provincial daimyo without his approval. It is interesting that he considered concubinage had the same effect as legitimate marriage. Basically, what everyone feared was the alliance of any daimyo with a province outside his own, therefore this prohibition had been incorporated before Hideyoshi in the house rules of daimyo such as Takeda, Date, and Oda.⁷

Although Hideyoshi himself had various consorts, he also knew that concubinage could be a basis for treaties and alliances among the daimyo who were potential rebels against the Toyotomi rule. Aware of his approaching death and deeply concerned over his

⁶ e.g., mothers (Hideyoshi, Maeda Toshinaga [*Jikki*, 1:66]), sisters (Nobunaga, Hideyoshi), wife (Hosokawa Tadaoki), and daughter (Nobunaga) were used as hostages or spies in marriage. See Kuwata Tadachika, *Momoyama jidai no josei* for examples.

⁷ Chikamatsu Machiko, "Daimyo no kon'in," p.115.

five-year old son Hideyori, on 1598/7/1 Hideyoshi made all vassal daimyo swear loyalty to his son. Separately on 1598/8/5, he summoned his five leading daimyo, as well as Tokugawa Ieyasu and Maeda Toshiie,⁸ and made them take an oath of everlasting loyalty to the boy Hideyori. Agreements were signed and exchanged among these daimyo to the effect that they should not arrange any marriage without consulting with all other members of the group.

Hideyoshi died within the same year, and Ieyasu immediately broke the covenant and began to arrange the marriage of his sixth son Tadateru with the daughter of Date Masamune, the strongest and richest of the northeastern daimyo. He also betrothed his adoptive daughters to the sons of powerful daimyo such as Fukushima Masanori and Hachisuka Iemasa.⁹ When reproached by other leading daimyo, Ieyasu repeated his bold promise of upholding the treaty and law and yet nonchalantly continued to form alliances with various daimyo through marriages with his adoptive daughters. This inevitably caused a split among major daimyo, some supporting Ieyasu and the others opposing him, indirectly resulting in the great battle of Sekigahara (1600). By that time Ieyasu had secured many allies with his intuitive ability to persuade others, and with his quiet charisma

⁸ The five leading daimyo were Natsuka Masaie, Ishida Mitsunari, Masuda Nagamori, Asano Nagamasa, and Maeda Gen'I. Hayashiya Tatsusaburô, *Tenka tôitsu*, p. 497.

⁹ Hayashiya, *ibid.*, 501.

and leadership. His force won the battle, granting him the decisively dominant power *over* the majority of daimyo, although a few Toyotomi allies still supported Hideyori.

After Sekigahara, Ieyasu continued to arrange marriages. In 1601 he married his second granddaughter Nene-hime to Maeda Toshitsune, the son of Hideyoshi's leading daimyo. His oldest granddaughter Sen-hime married Hideyoshi's son Hideyori in 1603 to fulfill Hideyoshi's dying wish, who wanted her as an assurance for Ieyasu's good will toward the Toyotomi family.¹⁰ Ieyasu had consented with full knowledge that his granddaughter was a hostage and that one day he would send his army to attack Hideyori's Osaka castle. In 1606 he married his son Tadateru to the daughter of Date as he had attempted earlier and in 1609 engaged another son Yoshinao to the daughter of Asano Yukinaga.

The purpose of all these marriages was to solidify an alliance with the great daimyo families of the day, no matter how long or short a time the alliance might promise to endure.

Ieyasu's Ultimate Ambition

Subsequent to the Battle of Sekigahara, in 1603 the emperor appointed Ieyasu to the

¹⁰ Tabata Yasuko emphasizes the peaceful purpose of these political marriages and objects to the traditional tragic view of sixteenth century political marriages; she considers tragic ending of those marriages rather as exceptions. Tabata, *Nyonin seiji no chûsei*, 190-91. I believe that each period had its modus operandi and reasons for arranging political marriages, but the fact remains that the individual woman's wishes and feelings were generally ignored, especially when they were very young, and many women's lives ended tragically or at least unhappily.

exalted position of shogun to head all daimyo of Japan. While following his own willful marriage politics, Ieyasu imposed a separate, contradictory rule upon other daimyo.

Immediately after the fall of Osaka Castle in the seventh month of 1615, he issued the Samurai Class Codes (*Buke shohatto*, 武家諸法度), including Hideyoshi's idea in Article 8:

Private arrangements of marriages are prohibited. . . .An alliance through a marriage is the basis of an evil conspiracy.¹¹

He expanded this decree prohibiting a private arrangement of marriages for daimyo (samurai above 10,000 koku stipend), domain lords, castle owners, Edo castle officers above *hoi* (布衣 sixth rank), and the shogun's personal attendants. In addition, he ruled that marriages with the nobles must be authorized by the bakufu.¹² After Ieyasu's death, the bakufu repeated this decree again and again. In 1632 the bakufu extended the prohibition of private marriage to all samurai below 10,000 koku, at the same time ordering the simplification of wedding banquets and construction of houses for newlyweds.¹³ This meant that all samurai above the *hatamoto* class (旗本 bannersmen, the knighted class) must not arrange a marriage without permission from the bakufu (and the shogun), and below hatamoto, without permission of a superior.

When he issued the first decree in 1615, Ieyasu conveniently excluded himself from

¹¹ *Ofuregaki Kanpô shûsei*, 2: 3. 1617/6th month. Inagaki Shisei, *Kôshô Edo buke shidan*, p. 125.

¹² *Ofuregaki Kanpô shûsei*, 3, 11, 14, 15, 16. etc.

¹³ Wakita, Hayashi, and Nagahara, eds, *Nihon joseishi*, p. 121.

this law; as a matter of fact, he had had no intention of keeping the agreement he had made with five other leading daimyo in front of Hideyoshi in 1598.

Because Ieyasu never managed to eradicate feelings of inferiority deriving from his undistinguished ancestry, the bakufu sought to ennoble Tokugawa offspring by joining Ieyasu's descendants in marriage to women with a direct lineage of the aristocratic Fujiwara ministers who had held the top ruling positions since the seventh century. Thus, after the third shogun Iemitsu, every shogun married a Fujiwara descendant or a Kyoto royalty. Furthermore, emulating the Fujiwara of the Heian period, Ieyasu conceived what for his time was an ambitious and audacious marriage plan; joining a Tokugawa daughter with an emperor. As soon as his son Hidetada and his wife Oeyo had their fifth daughter Masako in 1607, Ieyasu planned Masako's marriage to an emperor, to insure that the second shogun Hidetada would become a future emperor's grandfather. This act, supplemented by many other alliances to consolidate the shogunal power, would guarantee that the Tokugawa shogun would become the incontestable ruler of Japan, and perpetuate the empowerment of this dynasty for generations to come. The violation of Confucian ethics of patri-lineal legitimacy of a family and righteous lord-subject relationships was again perpetrated as in the Nara-Heian marriage politics. Although the Tokugawa bakufu had adopted Neo-Confucianism as its official political philosophy, it did not hesitate to bend its moral bases for convenience; the bakufu applied an entirely political theorem to its interpretation.

Whether Ieyasu ever expressed his ambition of inter-class, inter-cultural marriage is unknown, but Kumakura Isao quotes the rumor recorded by Gien *Jugô* (court rank just below Empress Dowager and Empress) of the Daigoji temple in his diary on 1608/9/26: “It is said that the daughter of the shogun is going to be chosen for the consort of the Imperial (Crown) Prince...”¹⁴ Kumakura follows Gien's comment with the statement that the rumor had spread through the Eastern provinces as though the engagement had already taken place in 1608 when Masako was barely one year old. Like the earlier hegemony such as Imagawa Yoshimoto, Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who all tried to use the imperial authority to legitimize their right to rule Japan, Ieyasu also intended by this union to give his dynasty the final touch of imperial halo.

Emperor Gomizunoo had succeeded to the throne in 1611, and a negotiation for the proposed marriage of Masako was initiated in 1612 by the bakufu in Kyoto while Ieyasu was still alive and well. The liaison aristocrats (武家伝奏 *buke densô*) responded in the fourth month of 1614 by delivering an imperial edict to Ieyasu in retirement in Sunpu castle requesting Masako's hand in marriage. An additional message also promoted Ieyasu to *Dajô Dijon* (太政大臣 chancellor) and *Jugô* (准后). Ieyasu gratefully accepted the Imperial marriage proposal to Masako but humbly declined the promotion and titles.

¹⁴ Kumakura Isao, *Gomizunoo Tennô*, p. 58. Gien was a grand bishop of Daigoji and a *Jugô*. I could not locate this item in Gien's diary, *Gien jugô nikki*. (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijû Kanseikai, 1976).

It is remarkable that this occurred on the eve of the final battle between the Tokugawa and Toyotomi forces which began in the tenth month of the same year. However, no sooner was the last battle won by the Tokugawa side and the Toyotomi forces decimated, than Ieyasu became ill from food-poisoning of tempura. He died on 1616/4/17 without seeing through the wedding of Masako, and without knowing that his granddaughter would receive the legitimate title of “Empress” in the eleventh month of 1624.¹⁵ This title was revived for the first time since the reign of Emperor Godaigo (1288-1339).¹⁶

Preparations for the wedding began in earnest in 1618, though interrupted by problems. It was revealed that Emperor Gomizunoo, who was already twenty-three, had a mistress, an aristocratic lady-in-waiting, who had given birth to a little prince in 1618. Furthermore, a princess was born of the same mother in 1619.¹⁷ This news incensed the Shogun Hidetada and his Midaidokoro (御台所、the shogun's legitimate wife) Oeyo (also called Ogô, Tatsuko), and the bakufu announced the postponement of the wedding. With the existence of a prince, the chance of the Tokugawa shogun becoming an imperial grandfather diminished.

The young Emperor Gomizunoo was not happy with the idea of marrying the

¹⁵ *Jikki*, 2:331. Kan'ei 1, 1624/11/18 & 19.

¹⁶ From the early 14th century, no imperial consort was named Empress, perhaps for financial and political reasons. Wakita Haruko, *Nihon chûsei joseishi no kenkyû*, p. 240.

¹⁷ The lady was Oyotsu, daughter of Yotsutsuji Kintô. Prince Kamo-no-miya died shortly in 1622, but the princess, Ume-no-miya, lived, married briefly, then founded the nunnery Enshô-ji in Nara and continued life as a nun until she was seventy-eight.

daughter of a samurai, regardless the title of Shogun. In fact he resented it and was angry at the audacity of Ieyasu who tried to force upon him a little girl, a daughter of an upstart samurai, from his imperial point of view. But he was inconvenienced financially and had had his own troubles with his father, the retired Emperor Goyōzei (1571-1617), whose resentment of the bakufu and bad health had turned into misanthropic rage against everyone around him, including his heir. Unable to appease his father's anger even on his deathbed, Gomizunoo blamed the bakufu for this relationship turning irreparably bitter.

But the political and financial power of the Tokugawa bakufu was such that the Kyoto court had to accept this humiliating matrimonial alliance. The royalty and aristocracy were extremely poor in this period, for the stipends doled out by the bakufu barely sustained them. Even the emperor's stipend was only 3000 koku a year, an amount allocated to a middle-class hatamoto. After Gomizunoo married Masako, with the 10,000 koku dowry she brought, the emperor finally attained stipend of the lowest level daimyo.¹⁸

Furthermore, the entire aristocracy of Kyoto was under pressure from the Laws Ruling the Imperial Court and Aristocracy (*Kugeshu hatto*, 公家衆法度 of 1613 and *Kinchū narabi kuge sho-hatto*, 禁中並公家諸法度, issued in 1615), which robbed the Kyoto court of its dignity and ability to assert its legitimate claim for governing Japan. Gomizunoo threatened to abdicate and let his older brother Prince Toshihito succeed to the

¹⁸ It was later increased to 30,000 koku in 1634 by the third shogun Iemitsu on his second visit to Kyoto.

throne.¹⁹ In the meantime, Hidetada moderated his ire and resumed proceeding with the plan for Masako's wedding.

The bakufu councilor Doi Toshikatsu, who was in charge of Masako's wedding, is reputed to have told his subordinates who were comparison-shopping for various trousseau items for her, to purchase the most expensive selections of everything, because no samurai shogun's daughter had married an emperor since the Kamakura period; the more money spent, the higher respect to the emperor.²⁰ The bakufu spent a sum equivalent to 700,000 koku of rice, some of which was for the new palace built for Masako contiguous to the emperor's residence. After a few anxious months, the Tokugawa *himegimi* (princess 姫君) left Edo on 1620/5/8 to marry Emperor Gomizunoo. She arrived in Kyoto in twenty days.

The wedding itself was a brilliant affair. On that day, 1620/6/18, Masako left Nijô castle, the Tokugawa residence in Kyoto in her oxen-drawn carriage, guarded by several hundred soldiers. She took with her thirty-two high-ranking ladies on carriages and thirty-six lower-ranking maids on palanquins (*tsurigoshi* 釣輿).²¹ Her trousseau consisted of 260 cedar chests, thirty pairs of folded screens in boxes, and numerous pieces of furniture

¹⁹ Hachijônomiya Toshihito was Emperor Goyôzei's choice for the throne but Ieyasu objected to his accession because Toshihito had been adopted by Hideyoshi.

²⁰ *Buya shokudan*, p. 205.

²¹ Women's names are recorded. Tsunoda Bun'ei, *Nihon no joseimei*, vol. 1.

and paraphernalia, carried by twenty-nine groups of porters in matching light blue livery.²²

The route, close to a mile, was solidly lined by the shogun's major daimyo and their brigades. The procession made a great spectacle for the Kyoto citizens, who installed viewing stands and hung luxurious drapes and screens along the route. Kyoto's female spectators spent the night in their finery on the roadside on carpets, waiting to see the splendor of the wedding procession to appear.

Thus on this day Masako made real her grandfather's dream of marrying a Tokugawa *himegimi* to an emperor with unsurpassed pomp and ceremony.

This extravaganza was possible only at this time, just as the Tokugawa power and wealth reached their peak: under Ieyasu's careful economic policy, the bakufu treasury bulged with gold, silver, luxurious textiles, raw silk, perfume wood, and arms.²³ The daimyo of the entire nation had sworn allegiance by coming to Edo annually to pay respects to the shogun, and showed no sign of rebellion. Such a wedding would have been politically impossible earlier, and later it would have been difficult financially, coupled with the lack of

²² *Jikki*, 2: 192. Genna 6, 1620/6/18. Few wealthy daimyo daughters' records remain and some approach the extravagance of Masako's trousseau. But they are from the mid-eighteenth century when spending culminated; the Kii Tokugawa for example spent as much as 11,265 ryô for a daughter's wedding. Koike Tomio, "Daimyô no konrei chôdo," p. 141. In comparison, a wealthy farmer's daughter might take one chest of drawers, one cedar chest, one small chest, one cosmetic chest, one sewing chest. This example is from the wedding of a village head's daughter to the priest of Suwa Shrine in 1821. Masuda Yoshimi, "Nôson josei no kekkon", p. 174.

²³ Tsuji Zennosuke, *Edo jidai shiron*, 9-12.

a suitable daughter and an emperor who could have been compatible in age. The wedding of Masako to the emperor, and the subsequent visits of the third shogun Iemitsu and the retired Shogun Hidetada in 1626, and another visit by Iemitsu in 1634, were all manifestations of the Tokugawas' unparalleled wealth. They distributed lavish and abundant gifts, displayed luxurious carriages, finely-crafted paraphernalia, exquisite clothing, grand banquets, a stellar corps of dignitary attendants, and massive guards who had accompanied them all the way from Edo. Of course the purpose of these rituals, ceremonies, social and cultural events was to demonstrate the power of the Tokugawa, but they had exceeded precedents of previous samurai rulers.

Speaking of exhibitions of wealth, the third shogun Iemitsu demonstrated munificence to the point of vulgarity. On his visit to Kyoto in 1634, he presented himself at the court to see his niece the emperor, and then the retired emperor Gomizunoo. Iemitsu declined the court appointment of the title of Dajô daijin adamantly. By my count there were something like 734 attendants including the courtiers and his own subjects on this day. Iemitsu presented (more like scattered) to Kyoto aristocracy 4,560 pieces of silver and 1,350 sets of seasonal clothes.²⁴ Then, he invited town elders from Kyoto city, and announced that the citizens would receive 120,000 pieces (or 116,253 pieces) of silver commemorating

²⁴ *Jikki*, 2: 646-648.

his visit to Kyoto.²⁵ He was truly generous to his subjects, also. The bakufu treasury left rich by Ieyasu was reduced considerably after the third shogun Iemitsu.²⁶

Adoption and Marriage

Western historians are surprised by the preponderance of child adoptions during the Edo period,²⁷ but point out the adoptions were usually of boys and not girls. Actually, in the absence of a marriageable daughter, the Japanese did not hesitate to adopt girls, especially in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Hideyoshi used the adoption of a daughter most effectively; Ieyasu emulated Hideyoshi in his own pursuit of marriage politics.

Adopted daughters were just as important as natural daughters, indispensable elements in the political strategy of the Tokugawa dynasty. For the Tokugawa family, sons were unquestionably of utmost importance for securing heirs to the shogunate, for sustaining the dynastic succession according to the aspiration and plan of the first shogun.

All shoguns after the third, Iemitsu, except the last shogun Yoshinobu, were born of concubines, and of all fifteen shoguns, six were adopted from the Tokugawa collateral

²⁵ *Jikki*, 2: 648. Kan'ei 11, 1635/7/19-22.

²⁶ When the councilors admonished Iemitsu for his extravagance he said, "Of course gold and silver are valuable, but if you leave them piled up in the treasury, it's the same as mud and stones. Hatamoto are all offspring of loyal retainers since Mikawa, who sacrificed their lives. How can I not save them in their difficulty?" *Jikki*, 3:708.

²⁷ Mary Elizabeth Berry pointed this out in her presentation of "Did women Have a Genroku?" at the Symposium "Wives, Concubines, Courtesans, Nuns, Early Modern Japanese Women," at the University of Pennsylvania, April 4, 2009.

houses. The lack of an heir for any samurai, from daimyo on down, meant the loss of samurai status and the discontinuation of the family name and lineage, as well as the confiscation of the entire estate by the bakufu. Therefore adoptions of a boy occurred frequently in samurai households, but the procedure was regulated by adoption laws and had to be officially recognized with the permission of the bakufu. However, the adoption of a boy in the samurai household had different, more complex requirements than for a girl, such as creating a new branch of the family and fiefs, or causing disputes over the adopted boy when the biological parents lost their heir. So the Tokugawa shogunate did not adopt boys unless absolutely necessary for the perpetuation of lineage. Laws permitting or controlling adoption in samurai houses were first spelled out in the 1615 “Laws of the Military Houses” (*buke shohatto*), but addenda were frequently issued, especially in the reign of the eighth shogun Yoshimune as new situations and questions arose.²⁸

Ieyasu had learned early the art of marriage politics through the history of his own family. Since the time he was taken as a hostage at age of five, he learned from his protector-host Imagawa Yoshimoto, his superior Oda Nobunaga, and more than anyone else,

²⁸養子制, *Ofuregaki Kanpô shûsei*, 523-34 lists decrees on the following dates (first figure year, second month) Kan'ei: 19/ 12, 20/12; Tenwa 3/2; Genroku 5/6, 13/11; Hôei 2/5, 7/7; Shôtoku 5/11, 6/1, 6/2, 6/leap 2; Kyôhō era listings are numerous: Kyôhō 2/12, 3/8, 4/3, 4/8, 5/4, 5/8, 7/5, 7/6, 7/8, 9/7, 12/3, 12/11, 15/8, 15/12, 16/2, 17/3, 18/4, 18/4, 18/4, 18/10, 18/12; Genbun 1/ 8. All regulations concerning adoption in samurai houses.

養子制 in *Jikki*, 2: 55, 56, 57; 3, 301. *Jikki* 5:472. *Jikki*, 6: 385, 421, 580. *Jikki*, 8:124, 151,189, 271, 424-5, 442, 540, 558, 595, 628, 647, 728, 729, 733, 734, 788, 794. *Jikki*, 9: 363, 535, 603, 617, 641-2, 650, 696, 721, 766. Iemitsu issued two decrees concerning

from his enemy Toyotomi Hideyoshi, strategy in power building by using adoptions and marriages. Ieyasu had witnessed Hideyoshi's willful adoptions of sons and daughters to be married off to achieve his goal and saw that the more daughters he had, the better he would be situated. Therefore, in addition to his six biological daughters, Ieyasu adopted twenty-two or three others as instruments of alliances, negotiations, security, and diplomacy. For him, the aim of adoption was clearly political and nothing else. It was not surprising that Ieyasu with his background, observations, and experience began early to use these tactics even when he was still one of the generals, matching his daughters and adopted daughters to the daimyo and his hereditary vassals (*fudai* 譜代), whom he wished to reward or tie down as his allies and press into obligations.

The list in Appendix A represents the daimyo to whom Ieyasu married off his daughters, adopted daughters, and granddaughters. In this list, the frequency of Tokugawa daughters' remarriages may surprise the reader in view of the prohibition of widowed midaidokoro's remarriages.²⁹ But these remarriages occurred only in the early days of the seventeenth century.³⁰ In the beginning, Ieyasu married his daughters by command of Hideyoshi, for example, his daughter Suke-hime, who married Hôjô Ujinao in 1583, was

adoption, Tsunayoshi four, Ienobu one, Ietsugu four, and Yoshimune twenty-two to thirty of such decrees.

²⁹ This is discussed in my studies of the Ôoku.

³⁰ Remarriages in the samurai class took place frequently to the end of the sixteenth century, but much less often during the Edo period. The rule of thumb was that the widowed mother of the heir did not remarry; the mother of daughters could marry freely. *MEZ*, 11:35.

rescued when the Odawara castle fell to Hideyoshi, who arranged her remarriage³¹ to the lord of Harima, Ikeda Terumasa. But later Ieyasu arranged his daughters' remarriages by his own wish or motivation.

Sen-hime, the oldest daughter of Shogun Hidetada, had married Toyotomi Hideyori by the wish of his father Hideyoshi to assure Tokugawa's allegiance. She became a widow in 1615 when the Osaka force was defeated and the castle toppled in flame, from which she was able to escape. Her first marriage ended tragically, but remarried to Honda Tadatoki, whom she herself chose (or was maneuvered by others to think so), she spent some ten years of happy and peaceful marriage, a rare case. She became a nun, Tenju-in (天樹院), after her second husband, age thirty-one, died in 1626 from illness.³²

The fourth daughter of Hidetada, Hatsu-hime (初姫 1602-1639), who was married to her cousin Kyôgoku Tadataka, Midai Oeyo's nephew, died of a painful illness, neglected by her husband. Tadataka ignored his dying wife while he enjoyed a sumo match in the

³¹ *Bakufu soinden*, op. cit., 29.

³² It is said that Sen-hime saw the young and handsome Honda Tadatoki from her palanquin on her trip back to Edo and wanted to marry him. Kashiwazaki Eii, *Korô sawa*, p. 58. Some historians believe this chance meeting was arranged. Shinmen Akiko, "Senhime," in ed. Enchi Fumiko, *Tokugawa-ke no fujintachi*, 133- 34. After her second widowhood, her father Hidetada made efforts to marry her again in 1629 to Maeda Mitsutaka, the wealthiest daimyo, but she rejected the idea; then again to Matsudaira Tadamasa (a Tokugawa relative), in 1630. But she firmly turned it down. *Hosokawa-ke shiryô*, vol. 3: Letters 751 and 753; vol. 9, Letters 313, 314, 331, and 402. According to the letters of Hosokawa Tadatoshi, Tenju-in did not wish to remarry, especially because the mother of Maeda Mitsutaka disapproved that she had lost two husbands, claiming that Mitsutaka might be the third (Vol. 9, Letter 331).

garden with his retainers.³³ On her deathbed Hatsu-hime confided to her lady-in-waiting all the unhappiness caused by her husband. Hearing about it later, her father Hidetada was incensed and inconsolable.

After 1615, Ieyasu's reason for giving his daughters to the daimyo, and adopting daughters from major daimyo transformed from alliance-building to exhibition of approval of the daimyo's contribution toward solidifying the Tokugawa bakufu. To insure their loyalty by creating a marital relationship, he devised a way of adding a finishing touch for the daimyo by hortatively bestowing his old family name of Matsudaira. Carrying Ieyasu's old family name was tangible proof of having become a relative of the shogun.³⁴ These are the reasons for the appearance of many Matsudairas in Appendix A. In the list we can see the strategies and the patterns of Tokugawa marriages.

There were also Matsudairas from the relatives of Ieyasu's paternal family and their descendants, and from Ieyasu's male children on whom he did not bestow the Tokugawa

³³ *Hosokawa-ke shiryô*, vol. 9, Ltr.361, 1710/3/29.

³⁴ Bestowing the name of Matsudaira was not limited to marriages with Tokugawa daughters; some of the shogun's special favorites also received the name. But the conferring of the name seems to have had an added motivation; even after the final victory of 1615, appointment of daimyo with court ranks and domain titles seems to have continued in the name of Toyotomi, at least as indicated in some documents issued by the Kyoto court. Consequently, for Ieyasu and Hidetada, one of the urgent projects was to sever the daimyo from the Toyotomi name and to monopolize their official investiture, by awarding them the Matsudaira name. Yamaguchi Kazuo, "*Kinsei shoki buke kan'i no tenkai to tokushitsu ni tsuite*" (The development and characteristics of military ranks in the early Edo period), in Hashimoto Masanobu, ed., *Kinsei buke kan'i no kenkyu*, 124-25.

surname. Some Matsudairas were disinherited, and at the end of the Edo period, only eighteen families were officially recognized as Tokugawa-related Matsudairas.³⁵

The impressive array of daimyo (and a prince and an emperor) with whom Ieyasu arranged marriages of his daughters, adopted daughters and granddaughters makes clear that he had remained flexible in his interpretation of traditional political marriage and applied it pliantly to serve the diverse needs of the Tokugawa family. His choices seem to suggest his sensitivity and consideration for these women; but it would be closer to the truth if we interpret his flexibility as a well-thought-out strategy to make them gifts to the daimyo. By adopting the daughters of his important subjects, he obligated them to show gratitude and loyalty; all these “favors” were primarily motivated by his concern for the future of the Tokugawa.

Appendix A: Marriages of Early Tokugawa Daughters

Ieyasu's natural daughters and their husband daimyo: (they were not yet called himegimi)

1. Kame-hime 亀姫+ Okudaira Nobumasa 奥平信昌
2. Suke-hime 督姫 (by the command of Hideyoshi) + Hôjô Ujinao 北条氏直,
after his death + Matsudaira (Ikeda) Terumasa 松平(池田)輝政
3. Furi-hime 振姫+ Gamô Hideyuki 蒲生秀行; after his death, + Asano Nagaakira
浅野長
4. Matsu-hime 松姫–1595- 1598.
5. Ichi-hime 市姫– 1607-1610. Engaged to Date Masamune's son, Tadamune 伊達忠宗
6. Nameless daughter - died prematurely.

Ieyasu's adopted daughters and their husband daimyo:

() actual relationship with Ieyasu . Many names are not recorded.

1. Daughter of Honda Tadakatsu 本多忠勝娘 + Sanada Nobuyuki 真田信幸

³⁵ Matsudaira Tarô, *Edo jidai seido no kenkyû*, p.6.

2. (Niece) daughter of Matsudaira Yasutoshi 松平康俊娘+Yamanouchi Kazutoyo
山内一豊 (uncertain, *Bakufu soinden, Tokugawa shoke keifu II:48*)
 3. (Granddaughter) daughter of the first son Nobuyasu 徳川信康娘+ Ogasawara Hidemasa
小笠原秀政
 4. (Niece) daughter of Matsudaira Yasumoto 松平康元娘+Okabe Nagamori 岡部長盛
 5. (Niece) Mate-hime 満天姫, daughter of Matsudaira Yasumoto 松平康元娘+ Fukushima
Tadakatsu 福島忠勝; after his death + Tsugaru Nobukazu 津軽信牧
 6. (Niece) daughter of Hoshina Masanao 保科正直娘+Kuroda Nagamasa 黒田長政
 7. (Niece) daughter of Matsudaira Yasumoto 松平康元娘 + Tanaka Tadamasu 田中忠
政; after his death, +Matsudaira Narishige 松平成重
 8. (Niece) daughter of Matsudaira Yasumoto 松平康元娘+ Matsudaira (Nakamura)
Tadakazu 松平(中村) 忠一; after his death + Ôe Hidemoto 大江秀元
 9. (Niece) daughter of Matsudaira Yasumoto 松平康元娘+ Matsudaira (Sakakibara)
Tadamasu 松平(榊原) 忠政; after his death + Suganuma Sadayoshi 菅沼定芳
 10. (Niece) daughter of Matsudaira Sadakatsu 松平定勝娘 + Matsudaira (Yamanouchi)
Tadayoshi 松平(山内) 忠義
 11. Hasu-hime 蓮姫, daughter of Matsudaira (Nagasawa) Yasutada 松平(長沢) 康忠娘
+ Arima Toyouji 有馬豊氏
 12. Daughter of Matsudaira (Sakurai) Yasuchika 松平(桜井) 康親娘+ Ii Naomasa 井伊直政
 13. Daughter of Okabe Nagamori 岡部長盛娘+ Nabeshima Katsushige 鍋島勝茂
 14. (Great granddaughter) daughter of Honda Tadamasu 本多忠政娘+Matsudaira (Hori)
Tadatoshi 松平(堀) 忠俊; after his divestment + Arima Naozumi 有馬直純
 15. (Great granddaughter) daughter of Honda Tadamasu 本多忠政娘+ Ogasawara
Tadamasu 小笠原忠政(There are certain confusions with item 14 above in the r
ecords of *Bakufu soinden*, p.51)
 16. Daughter of Mizuno Tadashige 水野忠重娘+ Katô Tadahiro 加藤忠広
 17. (Great granddaughter) Man-hime 万姫, daughter of Ogasawara Hidemasa
小笠原秀政娘+Matsudaira (Hachisuka) Yoshishige 松平(蜂須賀) 至鎮
 18. Adopted daughter (niece; ID unknown) + Koide Yoshihide 小出吉英
 19. Adopted daughter (ID unknown) + Toda Ujitetsu 戸田氏鉄
 20. Adopted daughter (ID unknown) + Katô Akinari 加藤明成 (*Bakufu soinden*, p.52)
 21. Adopted daughter, Niece of Abe Nobumori's wife 阿部信盛室 and daughter of
Hoshina Masanao 保科正直娘 (marriage not mentioned. *Bakufu soinden*, p.52)
 22. Adopted daughter (ID unknown) + Ôkubo Tadachika 大久保忠隣 or Tadachika's son
tadatsune 大久保忠常
- (The last three adopted daughters' records are unclear, states *Bakufu soinden*, p.52)

Hidetada's daughters and their husbands (they were not yet called himegimi):

1. Sen-hime 千姫 + Toyotomi Hideyori 豊臣秀頼; after his death + Honda Tadatoki 本多忠刻
2. Nene-hime 子々姫 + Matsudaira (Maeda) Toshitsune 松平(前田)利常
3. Katsu-hime 勝姫 + Matsudaira Tadanao 松平忠直
4. Hatsu-hime 初姫 + Kyôgoku Tadataka 京極忠孝
5. Masako 和子 + Emperor Gomizunoo 後水尾天皇

Hidetada's adopted daughters (marriage arranged before Ieyasu's death)

1. (Niece) Tosa-hime 土佐姫, daughter of Hideyasu 秀康娘 + Matsudaira (Môri) Hidenari 松平(毛利)秀就
2. (Niece) Chiyo-hime 千代姫, daughter of Ogasawara Hidemasa 小笠原秀政娘+ Hosokawa Tadatoshi 細川忠利
3. (Niece) Daughter of Okudaira Iemasa 奥平家昌娘+ Horio Tadaharu 堀尾忠晴
4. (Niece) Furi-hime 振姫, daughter of Ikeda Terumasa 池田輝政娘+ Matsudaira (Date) Tadamune 松平(伊達)忠宗
5. (Niece) Daughter of Gamô Hideyuki 蒲生秀行娘+ Katô Tadahiro 加藤忠広
6. Daughter of Sakakibara Yasumasa 榊原康政娘+ Matsudaira (Ikeda) Toshitaka 松平(池田)利隆

Hidetada's adopted daughters (marriage arranged after Ieyasu's death)

1. (Niece) Kame-hime 亀姫, daughter of Matsudaira Tadanao 松平忠直娘+ Prince Takamatsu Yoshihito 高松宮好仁親王
2. Daughter of Matsudaira (Hisamatsu) Tadayoshi 松平(久松)忠良娘+ Matsudaira (Kuroda) Tadayuki 松平(黒田)忠之
3. (Granddaughter) Katsu-hime 勝姫, Daughter of Honda Tadatoki and Senhime 本多忠刻と千姫の娘+ Matsudaira (Ikeda) Mitsumasa 松平(池田)光政

Iemitsu's daughter

1. Chiyo-himegimi 千代姫君+ Owari Tokugawa Mitsutomo 尾張徳川光友

Iemitsu's adopted daughters and their husbands

1. (Granddaughter) Kame-hime 亀姫+ Oe Tadahiro 大江忠広
2. (Cousin) Ô-hime 大姫, daughter of Mito Tokugawa Yorifusa 水戸徳川頼房娘+ Matsudaira (Maeda) Mitsutaka 松平(前田)光高
3. (Cousin) Tsuru-hime 鶴姫, daughter of Matsudaira Tadanao 松平忠直+ Kujô Michifusa 九条内大臣道房
3. (Grandniece) Teru-hime 輝姫, daughter of Matsudaira (Ikeda) Mitsumasa 松平

(池田)光政+ Minister of the Right, Ichijō Norisuke 一條右大臣教輔

Adopting Daughters: A Changing Rationale

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the power of the shogunate and the Tokugawa family was absolute. With the solid and smooth running of the bakufu, Tokugawa no longer needed truly political marriages; consequently it would have been unnecessary to create daughters - adopted or natural - as inducements for political negotiations or alliances. However, the tradition of adoption did not disappear; as the years went by, each decade produced new familial, social, and political situations that induced adoptions.³⁶ Naturally, the manner and purpose of shogunal adoptions changed, and some shoguns appropriated the practice for individual reasons.

Some adoptions even suggest an emotional rather than a strategic or political reason. Adoptions of daughters (and sons for different goals) now occurred for as many reasons as the shogun's promotion of his retainers: first, for solidifying family ties among various Tokugawa branches established by Ieyasu; second, as "rewards" to vassalage daimyo, providing an enhanced status with the Tokugawa connection; and third, as a method of improving overall Tokugawa prestige.

In the second case, the marital connection did not necessarily bring an enhancement of

³⁶ Takie Sugiyama Lebra has detailed discussions of male and female adoptions in Japanese aristocracy in Lebra, *Abobe the Clouds*, Chapt. 4. Lebra touches upon Tokugawa midaidokoro in the same book, Chapt. 6.

the vassal daimyo's lineage; they might have had a better pedigree from their historical lineage compared with the upstart Tokugawa. However, for less distinguished vassal daimyo, marrying a Tokugawa child (natural or adopted), as stated earlier, usually won the surname of Matsudaira as a collateral relative. Being taken into the circle of the shogun's family (to be in the good graces of the ruling power) especially by a marital connection (perhaps more telling than a blood linkage) provided a tremendous satisfaction to the vassal daimyo. Only toward the end of the Edo period did such "privilege" become burdensome for some daimyo and disastrous for many.³⁷

The shogun's family often adopted a child in order to arrange a marriage with a Tokugawa relative, regarding it as the best method for solidifying family ties; this approach was applied to both girls and boys of the clan. However, as has been stated already, only when the shogunate lacked an heir did a male adoption become imperative. Adopting a girl and marrying her off as a shogun's daughter was more economical and less problematic if the shogunal succession was not the issue. In most cases, the adopted daughters came from the relatives of the shogun himself or of his midai. The adoption was emotionally satisfying for the adopter, and when the adopted daughter married, it was prestigious for the provider of her bridegroom.

Tokugawa shoguns took a view, as Claude Lévi-Strauss stated "offering woman

³⁷ Mitamura Engyo discusses numerous cases of daimyo bankruptcy and disputes because of coerced marriages with the shoguns' children. *MEZ*, 1:160-80.

herself ...is the supreme gift among those that can only be obtained in the form of reciprocal gifts.”³⁸ Lévi-Strauss expounds the relationship that exists between marriage and gifts in many cultures, beginning with the English language of “betrothal,” “giving away the bride” and “asking for hand.” For the purpose of rewarding a daimyo with a gift of a bride, the improvement of her social status through adoption by the shogun was crucial, because only then could the daimyo take pride in a marital relationship (though nominal) with the shogun's family.

In this case, also involved was the change of the appellation, from *hime* (a girl, young woman, princess) to *himegimi* (princess, her highness).³⁹ This was not a small matter. The title *himegimi* in the Tokugawa lexicon referred only to the shogun's daughters, although this was not the rule in the early days of the bakufu. By the end of the second shogun Hidetada's reign, the bakufu succeeded in limiting the use of such terms as *midaidokoro* and *himegimi* to the unique Tokugawa terminology.⁴⁰ These appellations in the bakufu view were as strictly protocol-ruled as the modern British use of "her royal highness" or "her serene highness" for English royalty. In Kyoto, the daughters of high-ranking noblemen were called *himegimi* by their family, relatives, and family retainers, but for the Tokugawas,

³⁸ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, p. 65. Lévi-Strauss also examined Asian cultures in which marriages were regarded as gifts, but best is as a voluntary gift without reciprocity. 398-9.

³⁹ The appellation *himegimi* did not become official until the time of the third shogun Iemitsu.

⁴⁰ Strict appellation rules were spelled out and adhered. Ichioka Masakazu, *Tokugawa Seiseiroku*, vol. 1, 2:24, B-25-B.

they were not *himegimi* unless born a shogun's daughter or adopted by him. For example, Konoe Motohiro and his wife consistently called their daughter Hiroko (Shogun Ienobu's wife) *Himegimi* from her childhood well into her middle age.⁴¹ However, Motohiro knew the difference. When the daughter of Shimazu Yoshitaka, Mitsu-hime, was to be married to the widowed Konoe Iehisa (Motohiro's grandson), she was adopted informally by Shogun Ienobu and Midai Hiroko to give her a new exalted status. Motohiro was overjoyed in his diary entry:

1711/6/26. At night, a letter arrived from Midai (Shogun Ienobu's midaidokoro Hiroko) and....the young girl is now granted the appellation of Mitsu-*himegimi*, this fact to be announced to the Satsuma (Shimazu) family tomorrow. I wrote her back how happy I was.

The rather perfunctory adoption by the shogun gave Shimazu's daughter a more exalted status and made her marriage more palatable for both the Shimazu and Konoe families.

The mere change of the appellation from *hime* to *himegimi*, and the placement of the adoptive daughter in the pantheon of the Tokugawa hierarchy, were part of important social elevation.

As time passed, the matter of status and suitability of the background became increasingly more important, and cases of double adoptions began to appear. Double

⁴¹ *Mujôhôn-dono gonikki*, MS, passim. *Motohirokô-ki*, MS, passim.

adoptions were not unusual in Edo Japan: a female child was adopted by a more respectable family so that she could be adopted again by a nobler, even more distinctly aristocratic family; a step-adoption, so to speak, mounting the ladder step by step. In other words, the second adoption was not possible unless her status was first elevated making her acceptable from the point of view of the second adopting family. In the case of a marriage into an important family, this was an extremely useful sequence. For example, the eleventh and the thirteenth shoguns married the daughters of the wealthy daimyo of southern Kyushu, the Shimazu of Satsuma domain, unlike all other shoguns since the third shogun Iemitsu, who married daughters of Kyoto nobles and royalty. Each of the Shimazu daughters had been adopted by an aristocratic Konoe family before she married a shogun. Ienari's wife Tadako was the daughter of the Shimazu clan head Shigehide, and was adopted by the Minister of the Right Konoe Tsunehiro. As for Iesada's midai Atsu-hime, she was the daughter of the secondary house of Shimazu, so she had to be adopted first by the head of the Shimazu's main house, Nariakira, then by the Kyoto noble and politician, Konoe Tadahiro, before she could marry Shogun Iesada.

Now I will discuss specific weddings of a shogun's natural daughter and adopted daughters because of the significant implications they evidence in Tokugawa history; they are usually not pointed out by historians because of the lack of published documents.

Financing the daughter's marriage: Trousseau building

First I have chosen to discuss cases of fifth shogun Tsunayoshi's real daughter and adopted daughters to examine Tokugawa weddings; Shogun Tsunayoshi (1646-1709) adopted four daughters, adding to the already difficult bakufu treasury problems. Probably for this reason, he established an unorthodox method of preparing a wedding trousseau for them, which became a tradition in Tokugawa weddings.

a. Tsuru-himegimi: Tsunayoshi's natural daughter

Tsuru-himegimi (鶴姫君, 1677– 1704), daughter of the fifth shogun Tsunayoshi was born to his top concubine Oden. In 1685, at the age of eight, she was married to Tsunanori (綱教), oldest son of the Kii Tokugawa head Mitsusada and Yasunomiya.⁴² The method with which Tsunayoshi collected wedding trousseau for Tsuru-himegimi was self-serving and arbitrary.

To examine his method, first we shall see the engagement of the third shogun Iemitsu's daughter Chiyo-himegimi to the Owari Tokugawa's head Mitsutomo. In 1638, Shogun Iemitsu announced the engagement and commanded all daimyo to give specifically scaled, modest amounts of money for wine and food, as though by a formula. Some daimyo had given more substantial wedding gifts on their own accord, but they were voluntary gifts and not costly enough to make other daimyo feel peer pressure. The major

⁴² Yasunomiya was the daughter of Prince Fushimi Sadakiyo and elder sister of the fourth shogun Ietsuna's midai, Asanomiya Akiko.

trousseau set that Chiyo-himegimi took to her husband's home, known as "Paraphernalia of The First Warbler" (*Hatsune no odôgu* 初音のお道具), was a gift from her father Iemitsu, although paid for with the bakufu's money. Designed on the theme of The First Warbler, a chapter from *The Tale of Genji*, the set included luxurious gold lacquered cabinets, tea ceremony sets, decorative shelves, cosmetic sets, vanity mirror sets, writing sets, various game sets, etc. – at least twenty-four magnificent suites of furniture and paraphernalia.⁴³

With Tsuru-himegimi's wedding almost fifty years after that marriage, her father Tsunayoshi instituted an act to coerce daimyo to help in building her trousseau. However, he seems to have hesitated to make outright demands for his daughter, and therefore the command is implicit without an open command from the shogun. In Tsuru-himegimi's wedding documents, a memo at the time of her engagement reads: "The messengers of Tokugawa relatives and daimyo castellans of above 30,000 koku, bearing [wedding] gifts will meet the councilor Ôkubo Kaga-no-kami in the Willow Hall."⁴⁴ And it gives a sample format for presenting the gift: "Because of Tsuru-himegimi's marriage next month, castellans and daimyo above 30,000 koku presented her with wedding trousseaux."⁴⁵ Does this not sound as though the daimyo voluntarily presented the gifts? But the records of gifts prove otherwise; the total number of presenters was 163; under the reign of Tsunayoshi, the

⁴³ The trousseau items can still be viewed at the Tokugawa Museum of Nagoya. Photographs can be seen in *Konrei* (see bibliography) throughout.

⁴⁴ *Tsuru-hime sama gokonrei kakimono*, MS. vol. 1, dated 1685/1/21.

⁴⁵ *Jikki*, 5:536-537. Jôkyô 2, 1685/1/21,25.

total number of daimyo was said to be 243; but throughout the bakufu history, well over 100 among them were minor daimyo (*shômyô* 小名) whose fief was 10,000 to 29,000 koku, below the category Tsunayoshi specified.⁴⁶ That implies that all daimyo above 30,000 koku were compelled to give presents.

This wedding was significant because it established a definite new pattern of having vassal daimyo contribute trousseau for a shogun's daughter. Tsuru-himegimi was Tsunayoshi's first child and he showed special love for her with his frequent gifts of money, objects, and entertainment recorded in bakufu journals.⁴⁷

This wedding marked the beginning of a heavy financial burden imposed on the daimyo for trousseau building, and for the family the himegimi was marrying into, the entire cost of the wedding – even though they were close relatives of the Tokugawa shogun. Tsuru-himegimi's wedding document records the fact that the head of the Kii family at this time asked for a loan of 50,000 ryô from the bakufu.⁴⁸ Other later documents testify to the large debts of families such as the Kii and Mito Tokugawa, incurred by weddings and

⁴⁶ I could not find the 1685 list of the daimyo with their fiefs, but the lists I could find with each one's stipend showed 118 above and 146 below 30,000 koku in 1798, and 120 and 120 in 1866. *Edo bakuhan daimyôke jiten*, vol. 2.

⁴⁷ e.g. gift: 1686/12/22, *Jikki* 5:591, 1000 ryô in gold. Banquet and sarugaku, 1687/11/25, *Jikki* 5:617. Visits and Nô performance on 1684/2/22, etc. *Ryûei hinamiki*, MS. e.g. In 1698/1/5, 2/11-26, 10/16, 11/25; in 1699/1/5, 2/1-5, 4/5, 6/?-13, 7/19-25, 8/14-21; in 1703/12/26, *Bakufu nikki*, MS. 1698-1703, passim.

⁴⁸ *Tsuru-himegimisama gokonrei goyô*, MS vol. 2, dated 1684/7/4.

gift-giving.⁴⁹

As with Western weddings, the cost of Japanese weddings was usually borne by the family of the bride; but in Tsuru-himegimi's case, her future father-in-law, Kii Tokugawa Mitsusada, had to bear the cost, not only of the wedding ceremony and banquet, but a large part of the trousseau. Wedding documents contain memos issued by the Ôoku for items to be made to order by the bakufu's crafts workshop (*osaikudokoro*, 御細工所), personalized items for toiletry, wardrobe cabinets, dressing-room furniture, hundreds of lacquerware dinner sets, serving sets, writing paraphernalia, and the names of the purveyors who were ordered to prepare them. Instructions from the Ôoku specified that furniture and dinner sets were to be in black or red lacquer with personal crests and specific individual patterns in gold for each family member: Tsuru-himegimi, her husband-to-be, her future father-in-law, mother-in-law, older sister-in-law (married to Uesugi Tsunanori), another sister-in-law Iku-hime (unmarried), and the head lady-in-waiting of the Kii Tokugawa family. These new items were ordered for receiving the shogunal daughter into the family as the heir's bride and the orders did not reflect the wishes of the Kii's family members.

As a matter of fact, records reveal indications of the family head Mitsusada's annoyance by

⁴⁹ Also, *Jikki*, 5:517, 1684/7/2, quoting from the bakufu diary, records that the Kii's head Mitsusada borrowed 50,000 ryô in gold from Tsunayoshi. Another example: a Mito Tokugawa memo on the loan of 30,000 ryô from the bakufu, 1698/4/26, *Yae-himegimisama goyôshi oosedasare no tome*. op. cit. Also, in *Ito-himegimisama goengumi shomuki ukagai sono hoka*, correspondence between 1850-1854 dickers about the debts of the Mito Tokugawa for the weddings with the shogun's adopted daughters.

his numerous questions sent to the Ôoku concerning the items required for the wedding.

The Kii Tokugawa had to bear the cost of all the newly ordered items for each of the family members, as well as the expenses for the entire wedding, including the construction of a new residence for the shogun's daughter.

Other expenses included, for example, separate gifts from the groom and the groom's father to the shogun, the midai, the shogun's son (the boy who died soon after), Keishô-in (Shogun Tsunayoshi's mother), and Lady Oden (Tsuru-himegimi's biological mother) and various other concubines, as well as to the retinues of the shogun, midai, and Tsuru-himegimi respectively. All the officials who worked for the wedding also had to be thanked with gratuities.

A collection of town gossip during the Genroku era reports that in 1685 the Kii Tokugawa family had a debt of 9 million ryô because they had to pay the entire expenses of the wedding of Tsuru-himegimi, a debt exacerbated further by other financial burdens in later years.⁵⁰

One hundred sixty-three daimyo presented gifts to Tsuru-himegimi (See Appendix B). These were all strictly nonreciprocal gifts from the daimyo and hatamoto to the shogun's

⁵⁰ *Genroku sekenbanashi fûbunshû* (1696-1703), p. 59. Tsunayoshi's two visits to the Kii mansion in Edo in 1697 and 1701 incurred a tremendous expenditure. Later came the funerals of Mitsusada, Tsunanori, and Yorimoto that occurred in 1705 within six months. There were also famine and a major tsunami in 1707 that forced the new head Yorikata (later Yoshimune) into austerity and thrift for twelve years, 1705 – 1716. Ôishi Manabu, *Yoshimune to Kyôhō no kaikaku*, pp.12-14.

daughter.

In the correspondence of the Ôoku about this wedding, one almost comical touch in the memo is the "post-it" type of notes, referring back to Chiyo-himegimi's wedding forty-six years earlier, attached by Ôoku otoshiyori (Ooku elders; supervisor of ladies), who prepared the list with a note: "350 cedar chests. For Chiyo-himegimi, 500 chests were ordered but we have economized by reducing the order by 150." There are as many as nineteen of these self-congratulatory memos, all referring back to Chiyo-himegimi's wedding and the economizing they achieved for this wedding. Ôoku women at this time were indeed being uncharacteristically economical. These memos seem to suggest that Tsunayoshi's administration was still influenced by the stringent thrift and saving policy of his councilor Hotta Masatoshi – although Hotta had died the year before.⁵¹

Tsuru-himegimi evidently became pregnant in 1696, and she underwent the ritual of putting on a sash.⁵² Konoe Motohiro wrote, "The shogun's daughter is expecting a delivery in the near future; a letter from Edo informed us of a command for congratulatory gifts."⁵³

Then, mysteriously, no further mention occurs of Tsuru-himegimi's baby in either the bakufu's journals or Motohiro's diary. It appears that she miscarried the baby, but the event

⁵¹ Hotta had been promoted to Chief Councilor from Junior Councilor for succeeding in making Tsunayoshi a shogun. In 1684 he was stabbed to death by his cousin Inaba Masayasu in Edo castle for a personal grudge.

⁵² *Jikki*, 6:250, Genroku 9, 1696/1/22. In the fifth month of pregnancy, a white cotton sash was put around the hips of the expecting mother, in order to protect and keep her warm, to keep the baby in the right position and prevent its overgrowth.

⁵³ *Motohirokô-ki* entry on Genroku 9, 1696/10/2.

was met with complete silence in the records.

Tsuru-himegimi contracted smallpox in the first month of 1704 and died on 4/12 at the age of twenty-seven. A year later, 1705/5/14, his widowed son-in-law Tsunanori died of smallpox. He was forty-one years of age.

b. Yae-himegimi, first adoptive daughter of Tsunayoshi

Tsunayoshi's first adoptive daughter was Yae-himegimi (八重姫君, 1689 -1746), Midai Nobuko's niece. Tsunayoshi decided to adopt the little girl putatively for the sake of his wife, who wanted a companion and a child to care for. Yae-hime, the daughter of Takatsukasa Sukenobu (鷹司輔信), had already been adopted by Nobuko's older brother Takatsukasa Fusasuke (房輔), Regent and former Kanpaku. Her first adoption was probably in preparation for the second by the shogun. Her adoption by Tsunayoshi was privately announced after her arrival from Kyoto in 1691 when she was only three years old.⁵⁴ Her official adoption was not announced until six years later,⁵⁵ specifically mentioning that midaidokoro adopted her. The reason was never given; Tsunayoshi's young son was still alive and Tsuru-himegimi was already married and very much alive. Therefore, the adoption of Yae-hime was related not to the question of a political marriage but to Nobuko's wish, which Tsunayoshi honored. Childless and threatened by the

⁵⁴ *Jikki*, 6:121. Genroku 4, 1691/9/18.

⁵⁵ *Jikki*, 6:285. Genroku 10, 1697/2/25.

concubine Oden, who presented Tsunayoshi with two children, Nobuko wanted to have someone who was a blood relative and whom she could cherish. While Tsunayoshi might not have been loving toward his wife, he showed her respect and consideration. Thus Yae-hime became Yae-himegimi. The former Kanpaku Takatsukasa Fusasuke sent an emissary to thank the shogun for the adoption.⁵⁶

Two months later, on 1697/4/18, Tsunayoshi announced that Yae-himegimi would be married to Tokugawa Yoshizane (吉孚), the heir to the head of the Mito branch Tokugawa.⁵⁷ All the vassals came the next day to Edo Castle to congratulate the shogun. A fortnight later, traditional wedding engagement gifts arrived from the groom to be.⁵⁸

Mito's Yoshizane presented himself to Tsunayoshi at Edo Castle with his father and offered the list of his personal gifts to the shogun in gratitude for permission for the engagement.⁵⁹ Various gifts were presented to the shogun, midai, Keishô-in, and Lady Oden by the Mito father, son, and grandfather respectively, and the shogun bestowed on the father

⁵⁶ Takatsukasa emissary came to thank for the adoption on Genroku 10, 1697/2/28. *Jikki*, 6:288.

⁵⁷ *Jikki*, 6:294; Genroku 10, 1697/2/13. Then the wedding was announced to take place in the sixth month the year after, *Jikki*, 6:319. Genroku 11, 1698/2/13.

⁵⁸ The wedding gifts from the prospective groom's family in this case were: 20 sets of seasonal apparel, 20 obi, 500 pieces of silver, 20 kinds of fish, and 20 pairs of wine kegs. *Yae-himegimisama goyôshi oosedasareno tome* (Memo on the shogunal announcement of the adoption of Yae-himegimi), MS. Also in *Jikki*, 6:295. Genroku 10, 1697/4/30.

⁵⁹ *Jikki*, 6:295. Ise Teijô (or Sadatake, 1717-1784), authority on ceremonies and etiquette, says that in ancient times prenuptial presents were exchanged between the groom and father-in-law, but by the early eighteenth century, only the groom sent presents to the father-in-law. Ise Teijô, *Teijô zakki*, p. 13.

and son gifts of swords.

Prior to the wedding, Tsunayoshi set another precedent by issuing an unequivocal command to the daimyo for presenting a trousseau for his “adoptive” daughter. Unlike the occasion of Tsuru-himegimi’s wedding, this time he bluntly ordered all daimyo vassals over 30,000 koku fief to donate gift items for Yae-himegimi’s trousseau.⁶⁰ Tsunayoshi probably felt that he had a legitimate reason for demanding gifts from the daimyo. The fact that Yae-himegimi was not his own daughter, and the Takatsukasa family despite its high social status was not wealthy gave a more justifiable reason for ordering trousseau gifts.

One hundred seventy-six daimyo (including Tokugawa relatives) sent Yae-himegimi gifts - but they were poorly planned, with many duplicates. The two other branches of Tokugawa were ordered to give ten pairs of folded screens, and the Mito Tokugawa, five. Thereafter, these items in these numbers became standard trousseau gifts to the shogun’s daughter from the *Gosanke* (御三家, three collateral Tokugawas, Owari, Kii, and Mito). In addition, ten other major daimyo gave Yae-himegimi folded or standing screens - not just one each, but five pairs. Altogether, the little himegimi received fifty pairs of folded screens and four standing screens. She received a mountain of silk fabrics, 1,160 rolls of them and 1,300 bales of cotton. The donors were so unimaginative that those who gave a mosquito net, or 1,000 candles, or a writing desk, appeared positively original and clever. Especially

⁶⁰ *Jikki*, 6:320, Genroku 11, 1698/2/23.

worthy of praise was Nabeshima Mototake, a major daimyo (350,000 koku) of Hizen Saga, who gave 530 pieces of porcelain dinnerware; his domain was famous for producing Nabeshima and Arita kiln porcelains. They were perhaps the most aesthetic yet utilitarian gift. Lord Nabeshima continued to provide wedding gifts of porcelain for other himegimis' weddings in ensuing years.

Before her wedding, a new house was constructed in Edo by the Mito Tokugawa for Yae-himegimi to live with her husband. She was duly married at the age of ten, on 1698/6/13 and moved into the new house with Yoshizane, age thirteen.⁶¹ Her luxurious trousseau items were sent to their mansion on three consecutive days, including the daimyo's gifts, as well as items specially prepared for her in the bakufu workshop, decorated with the paired Tokugawa and Mito crests in gold lacquer. They included a set of dolls' festival paraphernalia, a complete miniature duplicate of her trousseau furniture and accoutrements, in addition to the dolls.⁶²

With the idea of forced gift-giving, Tsunayoshi was definitely in part emulating his father Iemitsu, who initiated a “formula-giving” of money. However, the small number of wedding gifts presented to Chiyo-himegimi from daimyo in Iemitsu's time were nominally voluntary gifts. So it was Tsunayoshi who, for the first time, clearly commanded that wedding gifts be presented, creating a precedent of preparing a wedding trousseau for the

⁶¹ *Yae-himegimisama gokonrei tome* (Memo on the wedding of Yae-himegimi). MS, 1698/6/1-3. *Jikki*, 6:331, Genroku 11 (1698/6/13).

shogun's daughters by daimyo vassalage. Because every single donor and his gifts were listed in the official records, and the bakufu records noted “such and such daimyo did not present gifts,” the daimyo could not possibly evade their obligatory presents.⁶³

Tsunayoshi and Nobuko were extremely generous to Yae-himegimi. Tsunayoshi's first visit to the household of the Mito Tokugawa was an event to be remembered for his sumptuous gift-giving.⁶⁴ When Yae-himegimi and her husband moved some years later into yet another new house in the Koishikawa district of Edo, Tsunayoshi gave her 2000 ryô and more conventional gifts of food, kegs of wine, and money to every member of her household, including the butler, secretaries, doctors, and gifts of apparel, silver, and silk fabrics to ladies-in-waiting.⁶⁵

Tsunayoshi was a man of extremes and excess; extreme in his wrong deeds as well as in well-intentioned generous deeds. Likewise he was excessively benevolent to his adoptive daughters, particularly indulgent with his first adoptive daughter and generous to the family she married into. Her requests were usually met by both Tsunayoshi and the next shogun, Ienobu.

On 1708/2/1, Yae-himegimi gave birth to a baby girl, and on the seventh evening an

⁶² *Yae-himegimisama gokonrei tome* op.cit.

⁶³ e.g. *Matsu-himegimisama gonyûyo-ki*, at the end of a long list of presents (undated, unpagged) is a note, “The second son of Matsudaira Hizen-no-kami, fiefed 20,000 koku, Moriyama Izumi-no-kami Masanori, presented no gift this time. What was the reason?”

⁶⁴ *Jikki*, 6:417-419. Genroku 13 (1700/9/25).

⁶⁵ *Jikki*, 6:558. Hôei 1, 1704/12/15.

extravagant amount of gifts was sent by Tsunayoshi by an emissary.⁶⁶ Midai Nobuko visited the Mito mansion eleven days later and presented more gifts to the entire family, relatives, and the household staff.⁶⁷ These separate gifts from the shogun and midai were almost garishly ostentatious, and obligated the Mito family to return similarly grand gifts.

In 1709, Yae-himegimi, not quite twenty yet, became a widow and took a veil and the Buddhist name of Yôsen-in (養仙院). In her widowhood she visited the main Ôoku frequently with her little girl Miyo-hime. Other shoguns' daughters, except for Tsuru-himegimi, could not visit the Ôoku more than once a year, which was obligatory for the married shogun's daughters⁶⁸ and for no more than one day. One reason was certainly financial, because such a visit cost 2,000 ryô to the bakufu, and an equally large sum to the family the shogun's daughter had married into. But Yae-himegimi had been pampered by Tsunayoshi and Nobuko and she felt comfortable visiting the Ôoku. Nor was she afraid to express her wishes. Reluctant to live with the in-laws in her widowhood, she requested her own income and a house close to the Ôoku. She received 5000 ryô from the sixth shogun Ienobu but there was no appropriate house near the Ôoku,⁶⁹ so she was moved to the Mito house in Koishikawa.⁷⁰ and after expressing her wish to be free of the Mito support,

⁶⁶ *Jikki* 6: 686-687. Hôei 5, 1708/2/7.

⁶⁷ *Jikki* 6: 688. Hôei 5, 1708/2/18.

⁶⁸ Ichioka Masakazu, *Tokugawa Seiseiroku*, 1:70.

⁶⁹ *Jikki* 7:109. Hoei 7, 1710/7/5.

⁷⁰ "Eo jitsujô Seisai zakki" (Miscellany on Edo's realities by Seisai), in *Edo sôsho* (Edo library), vol. 8. Reprint, Edo sôsho kankôkai, eds.(Tokyo: Meicho Kankôkai, 1964), 170.

received 7,500 sacks of rice and 3,420 ryô yearly.⁷¹ This must have been a particularly unusual show of an independent spirit.

c. Kichi-himegimi, second adoptive daughter of Tsunayoshi

There was one adopted daughter who did not enjoy the daimyo's gift trousseau: Tsunayoshi's second adoptive daughter Kichi-himegimi (喜知姫君, 1697-1698), whose father, Tsunanari (綱誠), headed the Owari Branch of the Tokugawa family. She was born as the virile Tsunanari's thirty-third child and the fourteenth daughter. Prior to this adoption, as has been stated, Tsuru-himegimi had married the Kii Tokugawa's heir, and Yae-himegimi had married Mito Tokugawa's heir. Both marriages had been arranged with the efforts of Tsunayoshi's administrative assistant/adviser, Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (柳沢吉保). As the senior member of the *Gosanke*, the Owari Tokugawa had felt they should also reinforce their connection with the shogun, and sent word to Yanagisawa asking him to suggest the adoption of a newly born baby girl, Kichi-hime. Yanagisawa immediately spoke to Tsunayoshi, who was delighted and consented.⁷²

Tsunayoshi visited the Edo mansion of the Owari Tokugawa on 1698/3/18, his first and only visit to this family. It was a truly grandiose affair,⁷³ with every distinguished

⁷¹ *Jikki*, 7:138. Hoei 7, 1710/12/15.

⁷² Ikeda Kôen, *Ôoku no jochû*, 2:33. This informaton may not be historically authentic.

⁷³ Tsunayoshi enjoyed visiting his relatives and his favorite subjects' houses, at an enormous expense for both the bakufu and his hosts. To give a quantified example, his visit to the

member of the shogun's vassalage accompanying him or waiting for his arrival at the Owari mansion's gate. Tsunayoshi's older sister Chiyo-himegimi and her husband Mitsutomo, the retired head of the Owari Tokugawa, and the couple's son Tsunanari were waiting at the entrance foyer.

Once the shogun arrived and greetings had been exchanged in the reception room, Tsunayoshi went into the inner chambers (*oku*) and saw the host's new-born daughter Kichi-hime, and announced his intention to adopt her. Then the gifts were distributed in all directions, because it was Tsunayoshi's habit to give gifts to every single member of the host family, retainers and servants. This was anticipated and all members of the family had prepared return gifts. The gifts to and from all family members and vassalage were recorded meticulously.⁷⁴ Surprisingly the gifts exchanged on this occasion were even mentioned in outsiders' records such as *Gotôdaiki* of Toda Mosui,⁷⁵ samurai poet and scholar, who harshly criticized Tsunayoshi's extravagance and unwise governance. This evidence testifies to the fact that the rumors of the shogun's activities in detail somehow reached ordinary residents of Edo, and the public felt angry with the shogun's high-handed, spendthrift ways with a complete disregard for the realities outside his own charmed world.

Kichi-hime moved to Edo Castle a few weeks after Tsunayoshi's visit, but she fell ill

Maeda on 1702/4/26 totaled nine days of banquets with 30,000 meals at the cost of 298,000 ryô. Horiuchi Hideki, "Shiryô kara mita onari to chiikô shutsudo shiryô," p. 140.

⁷⁴ The contents can be examined in *Jikki*, 6: 323-324. Genroku 11, 1698/3/18.

⁷⁵ Toda Mosui, *Gotôdaiki*, pp.154-55.

three months later and died in three days.⁷⁶

d. Matsu-himegimi, third adoptive daughter of Tsunayoshi

On 1708/3/27, Tsunayoshi decided to adopt Kichi-himegimi's younger sister, Iso-hime (磯姫 1699-1720), and announced the change of her name to Matsu-himegimi (松姫君).⁷⁷

She was the thirty-seventh child and the seventeenth daughter of the Owari's Tokugawa

Tsunanari. The shogun further announced the little girl's engagement to Maeda Yoshinori

(前田吉徳), the son of Matsudaira Tsunanori (松平 [前田]綱紀).⁷⁸

The reason for this adoption was to strengthen the Tokugawa ties with the leading *Gosanke*.⁷⁹ Tsunayoshi, although a younger brother of the preceding shogun, had been a

⁷⁶ *Jikki*, 6:335. Genroku 11, 1698/7/4, 6, 7.

⁷⁷ *Jikki*, 6:692. Hoei 5, 1708/3/27.

⁷⁸ 1708/4/9; *Jikki*, 6:693. *Matsu-himegimisama goyôshi goengumi no tome*, MS, dated 3/27 and 4/8.

⁷⁹ However, Tsunayoshi's decision process was probably a little more complex for both Kichi-himegimi and Matsu-himegimi. From the days of Hidetada, the main house of Tokugawa developed an allergy toward Owari's Tokugawa Yoshinao, Ieyasu's ninth son. Yoshinao was arrogant and self-confident, and some of his words and behavior indicated his ambition to supplant the shogun. Everyone from the time of Hidetada seems to have felt some mistrust and dislike for the entire house of Owari Tokugawa. Earlier, there was a possibility of Tsunayoshi having thought of eliminating the Owari and replacing the Maeda as one of the *Gosanke*. This may not be historically authentic, but Toda Mosui in *Gotôdaiki* wrote about this plan as having been generated by Tsunayoshi's councilor, Hotta Masatoshi, who had resented the Owari because of his adoptive mother Kasuga-no-tsubone's dislike for them. Toda Mosui wrote that Hotta Masatoshi had advised Tsunayoshi to treat the Owari poorly so that they would become unhappy with the shogun, which could then be used as a reason to eliminate the Owari Tokugawa and substitute Maeda in its place. Toda used this theory to explain Hotta's assassination by his cousin Inaba Masayasu, who wished to stop the all-powerful councilor Hotta for the good of the country. The validity of this story is very questionable, but such rumors were probably whispered among hatamoto and leaked to the public. Toda Mosui, *Gotôdaiki*, pp. 30-31.

member of an auxiliary branch of Tokugawa in Tatebayashi before his accession. In a way he had less legitimate claim to the shogunate than the three collateral families designated by Ideas, and even greater illegitimacy than Tsunatoyo (綱豊, later Ienobu 家宣).⁸⁰ For this reason, he had married his daughter Tsuru-himegimi to the son of the Kii Tokugawa, married his adoptive daughter Yae-himegimi to the Mito Tokugawa heir, and he had adopted Kichi-himegimi to strengthen the relationship with the Owari Tokugawa. With Kichi-himegimi's premature death, he felt that the Owari link had to be replaced and reinforced by the adoption of another daughter of the Owari Tokugawa. By marrying Matsu-himegimi to Maeda Yoshinori, the heir to the wealthiest of all daimyo with its fief of 1,020,000 koku, he was achieving a consolidation with two major relatives to solidify Tokugawa's ruling position. The Maeda family was always a candidate for a matrimonial alignment for the Tokugawa.⁸¹

Tsunayoshi again ordered all the daimyo to present Matsu-himegimi with her wedding gifts. The difference was, however, "Whereas previously 30,000 koku castellans and *jijû* (fifth-rank chamberlains) and above were to present wedding gifts, this time, all

⁸⁰ Tsunatoyo was the son of Tsunashige, Shogun Tsunayoshi's older brother, head of the Kôfu Tokugawa domain who had died in 1678.

⁸¹ Maeda heads who married shoguns' daughters were Toshitsune (3rd head, m. Hidetada's daughter Nene-himegimi); Mitsutaka (4th head, m. Iemitsu's adopted daughter Ôhime); Yoshinori (5th head, m. Matsu-himegimi); Nariyasu (13th head, m. Ienari's daughter Yô-himegimi). The other heads all married Tokugawa relatives.

daimyo above 10,000 koku are required to present trousseau gifts without fail.”⁸²

Furthermore, from the Gosanke on down, all daimyo were requested to present specific items as instructed by the councilors. The trousseau furniture and paraphernalia they were to present were to be ordered from the workshop of Edo Castle or specific purveyors.

Detailed records were kept for the commands and items, and the daimyos' names and their official stipends. The dates of presentation were written in the upper margin of the list after the arrival of the gifts.

Tsunayoshi was quite shameless ordering gifts for his adoptive daughters, inconsiderate especially to the minor, indigent daimyo who were barely able to manage their household finances. However, at least the council had coordinated the articles requested of the daimyo, taking their stipends into consideration. More than 251 daimyo (including some hatamoto working close to Tsunayoshi) gave wedding gifts to Matsu-himegimi, instead of 163 and 170 at the time of Tsuru-himegimi and Yae-himegimi, because of the expanded category of obligatory gift-givers to the lowest level.

Konoe Motohiro wrote in his diary,

This himegimi is the younger sister of the present Owari councilor [Yoshimichi, son of Tsunanari]. Last winter *Taiju* [大樹, the shogun] made the marriage covenant.

All daimyo sent gifts while offering congratulations to the councilor, but internally

⁸² *Matsu-himegimi-sama goyôshi goengumi no tome* (Memo on the adoption and engagement of Matsu-himegimi), MS. 1708/6/9. This decree is not mentioned in *Tokugawa*

they were truly in poor straits. The suffering people of the world are all wondering why she had to be adopted; every time a child is adopted by the shogun, most extravagant preparations are made, further impoverishing the people.⁸³

The news of Matsu-himegimi's trousseau spread through the public in no time: the 251 names of daimyo (and few hatamoto) donors, their fiefs and gifts were published by Edo's rumor-mongers.⁸⁴ Matsu-himegimi was married on 1708/11/18 at age nine.

Unfortunately, she lost her adoptive father Tsunayoshi and adoptive mother Nobuko in less than three months as did Yae-himegimi. Matsu-himegimi lived with her husband until 1720/9/20, when she died at the age of twenty.

Appendix B: Trousseaux Presented by Daimyo to Shogun's Daughters

Tsuru-himegimi: Tsunayoshi's daughter, married to Tokugawa Tsunanori (Kii) on 1685/2/22.

Yae-himegimi: Tsunayoshi's adoptive daughter, married to Mito Tokugawa Yoshizane, 1698/6/13.

Matsu-himegimi: Tsunayoshi's adoptive daughter, married to Maeda Yoshinori, 1708/11/18.

Take-himegimi: Tsunayoshi's adoptive daughter, married to Shimazu Tsugutoyo on 1729/12/11 under the patronage of Shogun Yoshimune.

Tone-himegimi: Yoshimune's adoptive daughter, married to Date Munemura on 1735/11/28.

jikki (*Jikki*, 6:698, 1708/6/9).

⁸³ *Motohirokô-ki*, Hôei 5, 1708/11/28.

⁸⁴ *Genroku Hôei chinwa*, 1:218-23.

Gift Items	Tsuru-himegimi	Yae-himegimi	Matsu-himegimi	Take-himegimi	Tone-himegimi
Large Screen	32	40	35	13	13
Bedroom screen	2	2	1	1	1
Doublefold screen	8	2	7		
Tea ceremony screen	2				
Single-leaf screen	7	5	3		
Bookcabinet			1		20
Bookshelves	1		1	1	
Desk		1	2	1	2
Readingstand			1	1	2
Book stand				1	1
Inkstone case	3		1	4	1
Writingpaper Case	3			1	2
Poetry <i>tanzaku</i> box			1	1	
Poetry <i>shikishi</i> box			1		
Letter box (long)				7	6
Gift items	Tsuru-himegimi	Yae-himegimi	Matsu-himegimi	Take-himegimi	Tone-himegimi
Letter box (medium)				7	6
Gift list box (Long)			6	6	2
Gift list box (horizontal)				2	
<i>Seisuiki</i> (本 book)			1	1	
<i>Azuma kagami</i> (本)			1	1	
<i>Taiheiki</i> (本)			1		
<i>Ise monogatari</i> 本				1	
<i>Eiga monogatari</i> 本			1	1*	1
<i>Kokinshû</i> 本			2	3	1
<i>Genji monogatari</i> 本					1

<i>Sagoromo mono-Gatari</i> 本	1			1	
<i>Nijūichidaishū</i> 本			1	1	1
<i>Heike monogatari</i>				1	1
<i>Soga monogatari</i> 本			1	1*	
<i>Tsurezuregusa</i> 本			1	1	1
<i>Hyakunin isshu</i> 本			2	1	
Tea Ceremony Shelf Set (<i>Daisu</i>)	6	2	2	2	2 (silver)
Incense game case				1	
Incense box				2 sets	1
Incense fumigator				1 pair	
Incense trays			2 sets	2 sets	1 set
Incense shelves				1	
<i>Jyūni-tebako</i> (12 boxes for objects)					1
Brocade drapery				2	1
Mosquito net	5	4	1	2	4
Purple silk drapes		3			
Gift items	Tsuru-himegimi	Yae-himegimi	Matsu-himegimi	Take-himegimi	Tone-himegimi
Bamboo screen				10 lengths	5 sets
Red carpet		100	50	50	50
Traveling case	3	3	3 pairs	2	2 pairs
Shell game set			1 pair		
Perfume shelves				1	1
Perfume pillow					1 pair
Perfume cedar chest				1 pair	
Chinese chest				1 pair	2
Silk floss stretcher (<i>nurioko</i>)					1
Clothes storate chest	10	22	15	8	4
Clothes basket			1		2
Sash chest				1	
Food tray (large)	22	20	33	5	7
Food tray (small)				4	2
Wardrobe chest				1 pair	
Chinese brocade	30 rolls	30 rolls	20 rolls		

Chinese satin		20 rolls			10 rolls (red)
Golden brocade				5 rolls	5 rolls
<i>Donsu</i> brocade	60 rolls	160 rolls	79 rolls		
Red <i>rinzu</i> silk				15 rolls	15 rolls
<i>Rinzu</i> silk	120 rolls	410 rolls	100 rolls		
Large print <i>rinzu</i>			20 rolls		
Red crape			145 rolls	30 rolls	30 rolls
Light blue crape				25 rolls	20 rolls
Crape (<i>chirimen</i>)			160 rolls		
Silk gauze		220 rolls			
<i>Fukusa</i> fabric					20 <i>hiki</i> (double lengths)
Cotton wadding	3100 bales	2900 bales	1650 bales	1400 bales	1000 bales
Bleached cotton				80 <i>hiki</i>	80 <i>hiki</i>
<i>Habutae</i> silk			80 <i>hiki</i>	10-20 <i>hiki</i>	

Gift items	Tsuru-himegimi	Yae-himegimi	Matsu-himegimi	Take-himegimi	Tone-himegimi
White <i>habutae</i>				56 <i>hiki</i>	15 <i>hiki</i>
Brown <i>habutae</i>				5 <i>hiki</i>	25 <i>hiki</i>
Colored <i>habutae</i>			60 <i>hiki</i>		
Red <i>habutae</i>				19 <i>hiki</i>	35 <i>hiki</i>
Light blue <i>habutae</i>				70 <i>hiki</i>	70 <i>hiki</i>
Red and white <i>habutae</i>			30 <i>hiki</i>	65 (100) <i>hiki</i>	20 <i>hiki</i>
Large pattern <i>habutae</i>			30 <i>hiki</i>		20 <i>hiki</i>
Red & white <i>saya</i>	370 rolls	110 rolls	240 rolls	5 rolls	5 rolls
Brocade satin (<i>shuchin</i>)	20 rolls				
Red & white dragon <i>shuchin</i>			10 rolls		
Red satin (<i>shusu</i>)					10 rolls
Silk			120 <i>hiki</i>		
Colored silkyarn			200 <i>kin</i>		
<i>Jowari</i> box (?)			1		
Quilted futon (summer & winter)	20	20	10	10	10
Futon for <i>kotatsu</i>	15	10	11	2	2
Kimono rack			1 pair	2	2
Amulet rack				1	
Clothe storage Basket (large)				10	10
Armrest				1	
Mouthwash bowl & stand			1	3	3
Toilet set with towel rack	3	10	7	3	
Nail and hand wash				1 set	
Wash basin with handles				3	1
Toiletry pitcher					1

Gift Items	Tsuru-himegimi	Yae-himegimi	Matsu-himegimi	Take-himegimi	Tone-himegimi
Towel rack				3	2
Folding			2	1	

mirrorstand					
Mirror stand					3
Round mirror with A stande case				1	2
Long fall box					1
Traveling combbox					1
<i>Hibachi</i> warmer	1 with legs	1 with legs	3	1(iron)	5 (large)
Charcoal basket					1
Sword rack				1 pair	
Long sword	1				
Small knives & box				2 sets	3 sets
Tea cabinet				2	2
Cosmetic case					2
Large food carrier (always in pairs)				10 pairs	13 pairs
Medium-size Food carrier					8 pairs
Tea bentô box (set)				1 pair	1 load
Bentô box				1 set	
Stacked bentô set (<i>Jyûbako</i>)				2 sets	1 set
<i>Jyûbako</i> small				5 sets	4 sets
<i>Jyûbako</i> medium	30 sets	31 sets	20 sets	6 sets	6 sets
Large food box				2 sets	1 set
Decorative medicine cabinet				1	
Heavy food basket				2 pairs	2
Small food basket				3 pairs	2
Medium “ “				1 pair	
Large food basket				7 pairs	5 pairs
High edge caketray				10 sets	20 sets
Sake bottle (<i>tokuri</i>)				15	10
Gift items	Tsuru- himegimi	Yae- himegimi	Matsu- himegimi	Take- himegimi	Tone- himegimi
Lacquered bowl					40 sets
Porcelains					
Medium plate		50		50	50
Sashimi plate		100		50	50

Pickled fish dish				20(ck)	
Rice bowls					50
Large sake cup		100			
Medium “ “		100			
Boiled fish plate (Large)		100			
“ “ “ (med.)		100			
Boiled fish plate		100			
Serving tray stand (<i>kakeban</i>)					1
Silver sake warmer		10	10	5	1
Iron sake warmer				5	
Sake warmer			10	5	5
Silver bowl				6	16
Silver ewer		10	10	12	12
Pewter bowl		20	20		6
Silver perfume pot				1	
Silver ewer set		2	1		1
Silver sake cup				5	
Silver soup ladle				5	5
Silver roast pot With stand				1	
Silver <i>tsumezara</i> ?				10	10
Silver paperweight					5
Square serving tray				3	2
Small round tray				10	25
Large round tray				20	40
Cake tray				70	40
Round tray w/legs				20	
Gift items	Tsuru	Yae-himegimi	Matsu	Take	Tone-himegimi
Tea bowl stand					10
Sake kegs				2	2
Iron weight	50	100	40	30	30
<i>Sanbô</i>					10
Tobacco set					1
<i>Mizuhiki</i>				1 box	

<i>Ohaguro</i> pot					1
Sewing box					1
Letter holder					1
Lute					1
Chinese <i>koto</i>					1
Japanese <i>koto</i>					1
Backgammon set				1	1
<i>Go</i> set				1	1
Japanese chess set				1	1
Card game set				1	1
Buddhist backpack traveling chest				5	5
Trash bin					3
Tissue box			2	1	1
Vase with stand				1	2 pairs
Lamp (<i>bonbori</i>)				13	3
Candle stick			50	10	4
Candles	5000	4000	2200		
Iron (pess)					1 pair
Formal writing paper (small)	50 bundles		110 bundles		
Formal writing paper (medium)			50 bundles		
Gift Items	Tsuru- himegimi	Yae- himegimi	Matsu- himegimi	Take- himegimi	Tone- himegimi
Towel rack				3	2
Folding mirrorstand			2	1	

Mirror stand					3
Round mirror with A stande case				1	2
Long fall box					1
Traveling combbox					1
Hibachi warmer	1 with legs	1 with legs	3	1(iron)	5 (large)
Charcoal basket					1
Sword rack				1 pair	
Long sword	1				
Small knives & box				2 sets	3 sets
Tea cabinet				2	2
Cosmetic case					2
Large food carrier (always in pairs)				10 pairs	13 pairs
Medium-size Food carrier					8 pairs
Tea bentô box (set)				1 pair	1 load
Bentô box				1 set	
Stacked bentô set (Jyûbako)				2 sets	1 set
Jyûbako small				5 sets	4 sets

Jyûbako medium	30 sets	31 sets	20 sets	6 sets	6 sets
Large food box				2 sets	1 set
Decorative medicine cabinet				1	
Heavy food basket				2 pairs	2
Small food basket				3 pairs	2
Medium “ “				1 pair	
Large food basket				7 pairs	5 pairs
High edge caketray				10 sets	20 sets
Sake bottle (tokuri)				15	10
Gift items	Tsuru-himegimi	Yae-himegimi	Matsu-himegimi	Take-himegimi	Tone-himegimi
Lacquered bowl					40 sets
Porcelains					
Medium plate		50		50	50
Sashimi plate		100		50	50
Pickled fish dish				20(ck)	
Rice bowls					50

Large sake cup		100			
Medium “ “		100			
Boiled fish plate (Large)		100			
“ “ “ (med.)		100			
Boiled fish plate		100			
Serving tray stand (kakeban)					1
Silver sake warmer		10	10	5	1
Iron sake warmer				5	
Sake warmer			10	5	5
Silver bowl				6	16
Silver ewer		10	10	12	12
Pewter bowl		20	20		6
Silver perfume pot				1	
Silver ewer set		2	1		1
Silver sake cup				5	
Silver soup ladle				5	5

Silver roast pot With stand				1	
Silver tsumezara?				10	10
Silver paperweight					5
Square serving tray				3	2
Small round tray				10	25
Large round tray				20	40
Cake tray				70	40
Round tray w/legs				20	
Gift items	Tsuru	Yae-himegimi	Matsu	Take	Tone-himegimi
Tea bowl stand					10
Sake kegs				2	2
Iron weight	50	100	40	30	30
Sanbô					10
Tobacco set					1
Mizuhiki				1 box	
Ohaguro pot					1

Sewing box					1
Letter holder					1
Lute					1
Chinese koto					1
Japanese koto					1
Backgammon set				1	1
Go set				1	1
Japanese chess set				1	1
Card game set				1	1
Buddhist backpack traveling chest				5	5
Trash bin					3
Tissue box			2	1	1
Vase with stand				1	2 pairs
Lamp (bonbori)				13	3
Candle stick			50	10	4
Candles	5000	4000	2200		
Iron (pess)					1 pair

Formal writing paper (small)	50 bundles		110 bundles		
Formal writing paper (medium)			50 bundles		
Tissue paper			320 bundles		
Sugihara paper			120 bundles		
Mino paper (quality rice paper)		240 buncles			
Silver plate				1	
<i>Kisuzu</i> (?)					
Total number of Donors	163	170	251	277	256