



# O B O E G A K I

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### Annual Meeting

### Memorialized in Verse:

The Early Modern Japan Network will hold its annual meeting at the AAS conference in Washington D.C.

### Hideyoshi's Daigo Hanami of 1598

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University of Virginia

Date: April 7, 1995  
Time: 6:30 P.M. to 8:30 P.M.  
Place: Chevy Chase Room, Washington Hilton

In the spring of 1598 Hideyoshi, five months prior to his death, led a grand procession on a flower-viewing excursion to the Daigo temple in Kyoto that would turn out to be his final campaign on the cultural battlefield. Only weeks before, he had personally applied the final touches to this carefully orchestrated affair, which would be the closing spectacle of his career. It would also be the final stage call for a century that clearly realized the successful alliance of literary ideals with military exploits. The Daigo Hanami proved to be the last link in an impressive array of cultural events scattered over the latter half of Hideyoshi's career. Memorable among such events were the Kitano Daichakai, Emperor Go-Yōzei's visit to Jurakutei, a boating excursion for the Ming envoys, the Yoshino Hanami and a pilgrimage to Mt. Kōya.

The Daigo Hanami has often been viewed as the last crowning glory to Hideyoshi's magnificent career. But it is only too obvious that the failure of the Korean campaigns and the increasing apprehension over the future of Hideyoshi's young heir, Hideyori, were vivid markers pointing to the decline in Hideyoshi's

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weakening power. From the year before when Hideyoshi first visited Daigo to view the cherry blossoms with Ieyasu and Ishida Mitsunari, he had been impressed with their beauty and immediately decided that he would arrange an outing the following year for Hideyori, Kitanomandokoro (d. 1624), Yododono (1567-1615), and women in their service to take part in this spectacular view.<sup>1</sup> Oze Hoan wrote, in keeping with the season, that Hideyoshi hoped momentarily to forget about the world and disperse the lingering haze or *kasumi* that hovered in his mind.<sup>2</sup> The scholar Kuroita Katsumi so lyrically recapitulates Hideyoshi's dilemma, as only Japanese scholars of an earlier era can do, by comparing Hideyoshi to the fragrant cherry blossoms at their glorious peak reveling in a magnificent display of color and scent, yet, uneasily waiting for the approach of nightfall and the possibility of an evening storm that might scatter their delicate petals to the wind.<sup>3</sup>

*Bu* (武), the military arts, and *bun* (文), the literary arts, were both important to the warrior elite in the sixteenth century. In this paper I would like to focus my attention more on the primary role *bun* often played in the career of a warrior. It becomes apparent in the case of Hideyoshi that he actively included the literary arts in his political agenda and a clear investment in the poetic tradition marked many an event. Like an accomplished movie director he provided a visual menu at the Daigo Hanami that offered its audience a hasty but extensive rearrangement of the physical and natural surroundings, the careful design and costuming of the main participants in gorgeous robes, and culminating in the deliberate chronicling of the affair through the versification and listing of the poets. With scenery, actors

and script in place Hideyoshi led his grand entourage through the tunnel of cherry blossoms that lined the main avenue through the Daigo temple complex. Many of these flowers bloomed on trees gingerly carried from other regions of Japan and, with amazing calculation, transplanted just days before.

In a period where the delicate balancing act of *bu* with *bun* was crucial to a warrior's survival and where the two were considered as indispensable as the two wheels of a cart or the two wings of a bird,<sup>4</sup> the Daigo Hanami served Hideyoshi's grand design of creating a literary monument to himself. It was ironically the fragile written records of poetry gatherings that remained behind after the destruction of war had laid waste to the the more salient stone and clay edifices that loomed in the shape of castles and forts. Patronage of the literary arts was a highly visible means of raising high one's banner on the competitive cultural battleground. Cultural accomplishments became part of the colorful panoply of the warrior when it came to impressing other *daimyō* and retainers alike. Literary refinement and scholarly pursuits also symbolized the virtue of the able administrator. Large-scale and sometimes ostentatious *waka* gatherings, many sponsored by Hideyoshi, were important in bedazzling a country with the strained semblance of a peaceful, civilized and centralized state where in actuality there still lurked a potentially insurgent force. Hideyoshi was active in many of the sixteenth-century art forms of *renga* or linked verse, *chanoyu* and the *Nō* theater. Warriors were not only the organizing generals on the cultural battlefield. They were also its most enthusiastic participants and seemed to enjoy the social and political bonding at these gatherings. The poetry gathering along with other activities practiced in the communal setting of the *za* had been proven to serve as an emotional bond between lord and retainer and helped promote a spiritual harmony that softened the sharp competitive edge of the military sphere that in turn encompassed and defined all chances of survival. And, last of all, sponsoring a large cultural event not only brought visibility to Hideyoshi, but it provided a final opportunity to extend autocratic control over humanity, nature and physical surroundings as he pompously paraded a

<sup>1</sup>Kitanomandokoro (北の政所) was Hideyoshi's primary wife. Yododono (淀殿), mother of Hideyori and known by other names such as Yodogimi and Ochacha, was a privileged secondary wife of Hideyoshi and the eldest daughter of Asai Nagamasa and his wife Oichi no kata, who was a younger sister of Nobunaga.

<sup>2</sup>Kitajima Manji, "Daigo no hanami ni miru Toyotomi seiken no honsei," in *Rekishi hyōron*, No. 369, 1981-1, p.70.

<sup>3</sup>Kuroita Katsumi, "Hideyoshi to Daigo Sanbōin," in *Kyōshin bunshū*, Vol. 4 (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1940), p. 156

<sup>4</sup>Owada Testsuo, "Bun no michi, Bu no michi" in *Sengoku bushō* (Chūō Kōronsha, 1981), pp. 128-148.

young and vulnerable son along with a household of female attendants before his retainers.

The poetry of the Daigo Hanami remains today recorded in a box of *tanzaku*, or strips of paper for the writing of *waka* poetry, which Hideyoshi sent to Gien, the head priest of Sanbōin at Daigoji, shortly after the Hanami. The poems played a crucial role in Hideyoshi's grand plan. A brief description of the event might bring some of these poems into perspective. Hideyoshi began careful planning of the excursion from the year before in 1597 when he first had an opportunity to view the cherry blossoms at Daigo. Accompanied by Ieyasu and several other *daimyō* Hideyoshi hurriedly left Fushimi castle for nearby Daigoji where he was delighted with the beauty of the blossoms and yet horrified by the dilapidated state of the neglected buildings. Before Hideyoshi departed from Daigoji he had donated 1500 *koku* towards the reconstruction of the five-story pagoda. Gien accompanied Hideyoshi a week later in a flower viewing excursion to Yoshino and by the end of that year reconstruction had already begun at Sanbōin. With the end of the new year festivities of 1598 Hideyoshi unexpectedly returned to Daigo in the early part of the second month and announced to Gien plans to host a large "garden party" to be held only a few weeks hence. After personally inspecting every corner of the grounds he then ordered that all building repairs be completed by the middle of the next month.

Hideyoshi devoted much time and attention to staging this apparently spontaneous event. A week later he returned to Daigo to supervise the reconstruction of the garden. It is apparent from Gien's diary that Hideyoshi literally left no rock unturned and meticulously directed the gardeners in the placing of scenic boulders around the garden. One famous rock by the name of "Fujinami" or "waves of wisteria" which had originally been placed at his Jurakutei palace was transported from Fushimi Castle to Daigo. The garden at Sanbōin has mistakenly been credited in later years to the design of Kobori Enshū (1579-1647), but Gien clearly shows that Hideyoshi had a close hand in much of the architectural design. The cypress covered building built on an island in the middle of a pond with a bridge and two waterfalls were fashioned to Hideyoshi's specifications. Hideyoshi went to Daigo again towards the end of the month and continued to supervise the reconstruction of buildings and

gardens in the Daigo temple complex. He had men search in the areas around Yamato and Kawachi for lumber from old temples which could be used in the renovation. Hideyoshi's efforts were a combination of control over physical surroundings and over nature itself. In the span of only one month 700 cherry trees were transported from Ōshū and Kawachi and transplanted along a path to create a flower tunnel through which the guests would walk. Several tea houses, a stage and dressing room were erected around the grounds. Outsiders were strictly forbidden and security was extremely rigorous with numerous guard posts stationed along a fenced-off area which ran all the way from Fushimi to Daigo.

The Daigo Hanami was domestic in orientation, with the procession consisting largely of the female retinue which kept company with Kitanomandokoro and Yodogimi and consisted of wives, daughters, mothers and wet nurses from prominent warrior families. It had been planned as a family excursion but it extended far beyond the scope of an intimate family outing. Hideyoshi wished to show the blossoms to Kitanomandokoro, his young heir Hideyori and Yodogimi, and they were in turn the highlight of a major promenade that featured well over a thousand women appareled in a fabulous fashion show of robes and sashes that were changed no less than three times that day. Aware of the tremendous expense, Hideyoshi, just prior to the Hanami, ordered the *daimyō* Shimazu Yoshihisa to prepare three sets of robes and sashes for each of the women.<sup>5</sup> Yoshihisa was not only burdened with the cost of the robes but had to rush the artisans in Kyoto to finish in eight days time.

With his promotion to *naidaijin*, which was soon followed by the bestowal of the title of *kampaku* in 1585, Hideyoshi became interested in the orthodox style of *waka* poetry. In that same year he stopped at Wakanoura<sup>6</sup> with Ōmura Yūko<sup>7</sup> and

<sup>5</sup>In a letter from Shimazu Yoshihisa in the Kamigata area to his brother, Iehisa, he tells of not only the great financial burden but also the pressing time restraints of preparing the robes on time. See Kitajima Manji's article 'Daigo no hanami ni miru Toyotomi seiken no honsei,' pp. 70-77.

<sup>6</sup>Wakanoura is located in present-day Wakayama city. It is the site of Tamatsushima Shrine whose god along with those of the Sumiyoshi Shrine are the official guardians of poetry.

there, as an indication of his growing interest in *waka*, offered a poem as poets and pilgrims had done before him.<sup>8</sup> Yūko praised Hideyoshi and compared him to the ideal of the virtuous ruler who brings peace to his kingdom through a skillful management of words. This was wisely expressed by someone whose livelihood depended so closely on Hideyoshi's patronage. Although Hideyoshi continued to hold linked-verse gatherings, his attention shifted to the *waka* gathering and there was an increase in the number of these poetry meetings. A knowledge of linked verse was necessary for socializing in the courtier and warrior circles of the sixteenth century. However, it was the knowledge of the *waka* tradition that earned one respect as a gentleman-scholar and allowed a warrior to display proudly a familiarity and close association with the centuries-old literary canon. Similar to other inexperienced poets of high rank Hideyoshi often had his poetry "corrected" by Yūko or Hosokawa Yūsai. Despite the popularity of linked verse the reign of *waka* prevailed and Hideyoshi recognized the importance of associating himself with the most prestigious and honored literary art form.

Warriors were painfully aware of their need for credibility in the world of letters and they energetically pursued the way of *bun*. Although known as enthusiastic students and patrons of poetry, warriors could not afford to forget that the ultimate key to success was manifested in a calculated combination of *bu* and *bun*. Tutored by the nobility and a group of elite warriors and *renga* masters who had been trained in the court tradition, warriors faithfully accepted the given framework of the classical literature canon they were handed and hardly questioned the content. They inescapably became faithful porters in service of the orthodox court tradition of poetry. It is in part due to transcriptions commissioned by warriors such as Hideyoshi that texts of Heian and Kamakura literature survive. Warriors should be given some credit for preserving the classical canon and sheltering documents from becoming lost in the great shuffle of the times by amassing

<sup>7</sup> Ōmura Yūko (大村由子, 1536?-1596), linked-verse master and writer of war chronicles, was a close literary adviser and secretary to Hideyoshi.

<sup>8</sup> Inoue Muneo, *Chūsei kadanshi no kenkyū, Muromachi kōki*, Meiji shoin, 1987, p. 655.

great libraries and transferring those precious archival materials to provincial domains.

Hideyoshi and other warriors, for the most part, wrote poetry that complied with the traditional canon; however, on rare occasions the canon could be manipulated to suit their needs. Although linked verse continued to kindle a body of new poetic vocabulary it still depended greatly on the *waka* canon for its poetic language, and familiarity with the imperial poetic anthologies was imperative. Hideyoshi continued to hold linked-verse gatherings and on one occasion when both Hosokawa Yūsai and Satomura Jōha were present he composed a poem which referred to the cry of the firefly. Jōha, a famous master of linked verse and scholar, insisted that this insect made no sound. Yūsai swiftly defended Hideyoshi by citing two examples of the *naku hotaru* from the *Senzaishū*. Hideyoshi was immediately comforted and reassured that there existed a credible precedent for singing fireflies, but Jōha, familiar with the *Senzaishū*, remained puzzled until he could later confront Yūsai. Yūsai admitted to fabricating the poems there on the spot and impressed Jōha with his attempts to encourage Hideyoshi's interest in poetry. When Hideyoshi composed poetry even fireflies could be heard crying in the summer night.<sup>9</sup>

Three *waka* from the Daigo Hanami can be attributed to Hideyoshi but only one was actually written in his hand. In general, the warrior elite of the sixteenth century closely adhered to the classical canon for their poetic inspiration. Hosokawa Yūsai, a close adviser to Hideyoshi in poetry affairs, strongly identified with the Nijō school's orthodox style of poetry.<sup>10</sup> Far

<sup>9</sup> According to Hayashi Tatsuya in his article, "Hosokawa Yūsai Nōto 5: Shosei to bungaku no hazama," Part 1 *Bungakushi kenkyū* 5 (December, 1977), pp 72-74, the basis for this story comes from three collections; Yuasa Jōzan's *Jōzan kidan* (1736), Sorori Shinzaemon's *Sorori kyōka hanashi* (1672) and Yamashina Dōan's *Kaiki* (1727).

<sup>10</sup> In his teachings to Karasumaru Mitsuhiro, Hosokawa Yūsai states that *shōfūtei*, (正風体) or the correct style, is the most fundamental element of poetry. This can be found in Mitsuhiro's journal *Niteiki* (also known as *Jiteiki* in *Nihon kagaku taikai*, vol. 6) which covers the years 1598 to 1602, during which he met with Yūsai several times to receive the

from feeling restricted by the many rules of composition observed by the Nijō poets, Yūsai found that the canon actually gave him a greater sense of freedom.<sup>11</sup> Hideyoshi no doubt recognized Yūsai's teachings that warriors should avoid disrupting the conventions of orthodox *waka* by avoiding vocabulary or themes directly related to warrior ideals. His poetry for the Daigo Hanami deviates little from the prescribed conventions for cherry blossom viewing. The one poem known to be written by Hideyoshi in his own hand is the following:

Aratamete	改めて
Na wo kaete min	名をかえて見ん
Miyukiyama <sup>12</sup>	行幸山
Umoruru hana mo	埋もるる花も
Araware ni keru	現はれにけり

Change thy name anew  
Miyukiyama  
Blossoms once buried  
Now appear from  
beneath the snow

Commemorating Emperor Go-Yōzei's visit to his Jurakutei palace in 1588 Hideyoshi held a poetry gathering with the theme of "in celebration of the pine". It may have appeared as a glorified gathering to welcome the court but the poetic theme was most definitely in celebration of Hideyoshi himself whose linked-verse sobriquet was none other than *matsu* or pine tree.<sup>13</sup> Hideyoshi

teachings of the *Kokin denju*.

<sup>11</sup>Mark Morris also writes, "freedom within restrictions of the poetic code was no doubt one of the most pleasurable aspects of composing *waka* for the individual and was itself an important social function," in "Waka and Form, Waka and History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 46, 2 (December, 1986), p. 555.

<sup>12</sup>Miyukiyama (深雪山) is another name for Daigoji. It is also used in poetry for its visual reference to mountains under deep snow and the winter now left behind by the blooming cherries. Written with another set of characters (御幸山 or 行幸山) it can also refer to the excursion of someone of high rank.

<sup>13</sup>Hayashi Tatsuya, "Bunroku Keichō no koro," in *Kokunbungaku kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū* (June, 1987), pp.

had not only adopted the poetic practices and canon of the court but he went so far so to advance his ambitions by utilizing his pen name as a symbol of that tradition. By essentially embodying a poetic theme and thus becoming the primary locus of the literary gathering, Hideyoshi seized the opportunity to draw attention away from the emperor. All poems composed that day could only exist in response to the pine or Hideyoshi.

Two poems at the Daigo Hanami also reflect the way in which Hideyoshi's presence controlled the poetic theme. Among the usual references to cherry blossoms there is also direct mention of the pine and little pine, or the twin pines, obviously a poetic marker for Hideyoshi and Hideyori. The following poems, one attributed to Hideyoshi and the other to Mokujiiki Ōgo (1536-1608), a monk from Mt. Koya, use the *waka* tradition to celebrate the longevity of the pine and at the same time construct a testimonial tribute to Hideyoshi and his heir. Hideyoshi inserts the image of twin pines into his spring verse and it is clear that he viewed this excursion as a means to guarantee Hideyori's future.

Aioi no	相生の
Matsu ni hana saku	松に花咲く
Toki nareba	ときなれば
Miyuki no sakura	みゆきの桜
Chiyo ya henuramu	千代や経ぬらむ

When flowers bloom  
Among twin pines  
The cherry blossoms  
Covered by the snow  
Will last one thousand generations

And Mokujiiki Ōgo's poem is composed not so much in keeping with the spring season as in congratulating Hideyoshi and the little sapling pine, Hideyori.

Yorozuyo wo	万代を
Furu ya miyuki no	ふるや御幸の
Yamazakura	山桜
Matsu ni komatsu no	松に小松の
Iro wo soetsutsu	色を添えつつ

106-111. Also see Hosokawa Yūsai's poetic travel diary *Kyūshū michi no ki* in *Nikki kikōshū*, v. 96 (Yūhōdō bunko), pp. 149-168 where specific mention of Hideyoshi's pen name *matsu* is recorded.

Ten thousand generations pass  
 Mountain cherry blossoms  
 Bloom on this grand excursion  
 Accompanying the color  
 Of the young and old pine

By the sixteenth century there was meager interest in reviving the imperial anthology, which had clearly been one means of privileging the voice of its commissioner. After the last imperial anthology *Shinshokukokinshū* in 1439 there were some shogun among the Ashikaga who tried to excite interest in such a monumental project but it is no surprise that many such projects were left unfinished.<sup>14</sup> Clearly by Hideyoshi's day there was little hope of reinstating this ancient courtly literary practice among the warrior elite. Instead, Hideyoshi made use of the less demanding and more showy practice of ritual processions recorded by public poetry. Reminiscent of the inspiration behind the *kunimi* or land-viewing poems in the *Manyōshū*, Hideyoshi set out on an excursion to survey the land and celebrate the grandeur of nature, but this in turn became a ceremonial and poetic appeal for his family's future.

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<sup>14</sup>Yoshimasa attempted to order a new imperial anthology for the accession of Go-Tsuchimikado and Yoshihisa in 1473 actively tried to edit an anthology himself, but both projects ended in failure. See Itō Kei's discussion in *Chūsei wakashū, Muromachi-hen* in *Shin nihon koten bungaku taikei*, vol. 47 (Iwanami shoten, 1990).

## A Note on Advertising and the Arts in the Edo Period

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The names of actual merchants, their shops, and the merchandise sold in them play so prominent a role in Edo period art, fiction and drama as to suggest that these media might usefully be understood as more narrowly focused modalities of a single general domain -- advertising. I am using this word here in its broadest sense to denote any form of representation used for the purpose of stimulating desire. The central subject and driving force of the bourgeois-oriented arts during the period in question is, after all, the representation of desire in all of its multifarious aspects, be it for money, merchandise, social status, or sex. The primary role played by desire in representation is of course nothing new or unique in any mercantile-oriented society, and whatever nice distinctions might once have been sustained between elite "high art" and plebeian "vulgar advertising" in Western Europe and America was effectively blurred long ago, the two having come to the point today of being all but indistinguishable in the form of "infotainment" or "edutainment." And this was apparently no less true in the cultural milieu of Edo Japan.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Or, one may add, in Japan today. The prevalence of this phenomenon as early as the seventeenth century helps provide a context for such "postmodern" novels today as Tanaka Yasuo's *Nantonaku kurisutaru* (Somehow, Crystal), a work which reads more like a shopping catalog and list of material cultural icons than like fiction (Norma Feld, "Somehow, Crystal: The Postmodern as Atmosphere," in Masao Miyoshi and H. H. Harootunian, eds., *Postmodernism and Japan* [Duke Univ. Press, 1989], 169-188). The matter-of-fact usage of such practices as "product placement" in films, the explosion of museum-shop reproductions, the production of "three-opera-tenor" TV extravaganzas (exploited for public TV subscription drives), and the J. Peterman clothing catalog's novel use of short stories in place of the usual product descriptions are examples of similar practices employed in the U.S. and Japan