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Characteristics of Japanese Falconry in the Late 16th Century: The Traditionalization of Falcons Catching Cranes

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Abstract

This study examines the characteristics of Japanese falconry culture within the East Asian world of the late 16th century. In Japan, falconry has been practiced since ancient times, but it underwent great transformation in the 16th century. One noteworthy characteristic is the transmission and traditionalization of techniques for capturing cranes (*tsuru*) using falcons. The Toyotomi administration marked the breakthrough period, which greatly changed the relationship between people and nature.

I discuss the following four points in this study. First, Toyotomi Hideyoshi's interests shifted from tea ceremonies to falconry. Second, a system was developed for Hideyoshi to gather falcons from all over Japan, as well as northern goshawks from Korea. Third, when Hideyoshi began to practice falconry, crane-capturing falcons were desired, and the great falcon hunt from the eleventh to the twelfth month of 1591 caused significant human disturbance to the local ecosystems from Tōkai to Kinai and the neighboring provinces. Fourth, in order to help nature

recover, the Provincial Rifle Firing Edict was proclaimed and hawking ordinances were issued as a way to protect wildlife on Toyotomi hawking grounds.

Last, the aspects of the Toyotomi administration period of Japanese falconry have been ignored in the previous research. I would like to suggest that we need to rebuild our current image of the socio-cultural, political, and environmental impact of this culture.

要旨

本研究では、16世紀後半の東アジアにおける日本の鷹狩文化の特質を解明する。日本では古代以来、鷹狩が行われたが、16世紀に大きく変容する。すなわち、鶴取の鷹が珍重され、以後は鶴取が日本の鷹狩として伝統化していくことになる。その大きな画期となるのが豊臣政権期であり、これはひとと自然との関係を大きく変えていくことにもなった。

第1章では豊臣秀吉の嗜好が、はじめは茶の湯にあったことを示し、第2章では日本全国統一の過程で鷹を掌握するルートを確立し、朝鮮鷹をも入手するようになったことを位置づける。第3章では実際に秀吉が鷹狩を開始すると、鶴取の大鷹

が求められたこと、また秀吉が 1591 年 11 月から 12 月にかけて実施した大鷹狩は、東海から畿内にかけての地域の生態系に甚大なダメージを与えたことを明らかにする。これを前提に、第 4 章では、諸国鉄砲打払令が全国に発令され、豊臣家鷹場の回復および維持が図られた因果関係を解明する。

最後に、従来の研究ではほとんど検討されてこなかった鷹狩文化の諸相を解明した本研究の成果に基づき、今後は豊臣政権期における鷹狩文化の変容が、社会文化、政治、環境に与えた影響を踏まえ、歴史像を再構築する必要を提起したい。

Introduction

This study examines the characteristics of Japanese falconry culture within the East Asian world of the late 16th century. The prevailing view dates Japanese falconry back to the reign of Emperor Nintoku, with the techniques transmitted from Paekche on the Korean peninsula. The years of Emperor Nintoku's birth and death are unknown, although he is thought to have reigned during the first half of the 5th century. Subsequently, falconry was continuously practiced on the Japanese islands until the end of the Edo period in 1867.

One noteworthy characteristic of Japanese falconry culture throughout its long history is the transmission and traditionalization of techniques for capturing cranes (*tsuru*) using falcons.¹ Falcons do not normally pursue prey larger than themselves. Thus, in Japanese falconry, falcons were artificially trained to capture large birds like cranes, swans, and geese. In particular, northern goshawks that were capable of catching cranes were prized as

tsurutori-no-taka, and powerful warlords competed with each other over who possessed the most excellent falcon. It was during the rule of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), as Japanese sovereign (*tenkabito*), that the concept of falcons catching cranes (*tsurutori-no-taka*) came into being.

Previous research has clarified that Toyotomi Hideyoshi exercised full control² over the country's falcons as he ended the Sengoku period and unified the country. However, compared to other falcon enthusiasts, such as Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616, the 1st Shogun) and Date Masamune (1567–1636, lord of Yonezawa in Mutsu and later Sendai in Mutsu), who frequently hunted with falcons, Hideyoshi actually practiced falconry on relatively few occasions. As such, we might suspect that exercising control over falcons as Japan's sovereign and actually enjoying falconry were two discrete matters.

Additionally, it is well-known that Hideyoshi was absorbed not only in falconry, but in tea and Noh plays³ as well. However, previous studies have always discussed these separately, without considering how Hideyoshi's interests shifted over time. Roughly, his interests can be said to have shifted from tea ceremonies to falconry, and then to Noh plays. This was not simply a matter of his personal interests, but gave rise to a larger system or order that involved all of the feudal lords (*daimyō*). As such, the changing relative importance of these interests in Hideyoshi's mind had a significant impact on his policies. Hence, there is a need for us to determine how Hideyoshi's interests in falconry developed and progressed, and the impact this had on policies under the Toyotomi

government.

Furthermore, most of the studies ⁴ on falcons in the Toyotomi period have not, unfortunately, properly distinguished between types of falcons and their prey. Several types of birds were used in Japanese falconry, including the Eurasian sparrowhawk, peregrine falcon, northern goshawk, and mountain hawk-eagle, among others. The types used would also differ depending on the period and the social class of the hunter. Going from the medieval to the Edo (1603-1867) period, the mainstream drifted from the Eurasian sparrowhawk to the northern goshawk. Hence, it is necessary to ascertain the historical conditions that made this possible. This is important because the number of locations in which northern goshawks nested within Japan was limited, so that securing routes for acquiring these birds went hand in hand with expanding the national government's sphere of influence. Furthermore, the type of falcon also determined what kind of prey could be caught. Hence, changes in predator of choice influenced what prey was pursued in falconry, which also influenced the surrounding set of cultural activities. ⁵ In particular, it is necessary for us to elucidate the processes by which the crane replaced the green pheasant as the *falcon bird* (*taka no tori*), ⁶ and crane-catching falcons came to be so prized during the transition from the medieval to the Edo period, as well as to explicate the meaning of these changes. ⁷

Secondly, we must not neglect a discussion of the impact on the local natural environment of capturing falcons, considered apex predators, and of catching wildlife using them. Hideyoshi's celebration of the northern

goshawk falconry and the subsequent Provincial Rifle Firing edict constituted the largest human disturbance of the natural environment of the Japanese islands in the late 16th century. Certainly, no sustainable relationship between humans and nature could be maintained without recovery from that damage through limitations on or adjustments to human disturbances.

In line with the above focus, I will now turn to examining various aspects of falconry in the Toyotomi period. Here, I would like to recall a point discussed by Manabu Tsukamoto. ⁸ Exploring the "history of relations between humans and nature," Tsukamoto saw a great transition occurring during the period from the rule of the 5th shogun, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (r. 1680–1709), to that of the 8th shogun, Tokugawa Yoshimune (r. 1716–1745), when a series of relevant policies were implemented, including gun restrictions, the abolition and restoration of falconry, and wildlife protection measures. I argue that Tsukamoto is largely correct in what he writes. However, when it comes to the Toyotomi period, he simply discusses gun policy in the context of the sword hunt, but says nothing of policies in that period relating to guns, falconry, and wildlife protection. As such, this paper carries on the perspective of "history of relations between humans and nature" put forward by Tsukamoto, while also exploring the momentous changes of the Toyotomi period.

I. The Tea Ceremonies of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and the Falconry of Tokugawa Ieyasu

The Ōnin War was a civil war that started in 1467, and was fought in and around Kyoto

until 1477, when the battles shifted to the provinces. For over 100 years, private armies of samurai fought against each other in the struggle to control Japan. This conflict period is known as the Sengoku, or “Warring States.”

Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) made efforts to reunite Japan, but he was killed by Akechi Mitsuhide who was one of Nobunaga’s retainers at Honnōji Temple in Kyoto in the sixth month of 1582. This incident is known as the Honnōji Incident, and Hashiba Hideyoshi (later Toyotomi Hideyoshi) took over the position of Oda Nobunaga.

Hideyoshi became the chancellor (*Kanpaku*) to Emperor Ōgimachi in 1585 and successfully reunited Japan in 1590. He planned to build a great Japanese empire which included China. He invaded Korea twice, in 1592 and 1597, but failed to conquer it. The campaign was abandoned due to the death of Hideyoshi.

Before Hideyoshi came to power, he fought the Battle of Shizugatake in the fourth month of 1583, and faced the allied armies of Oda Nobukatsu and Tokugawa Ieyasu at the Battle of Komaki and Nagakute from the fourth month of 1584. About half a year before that battle began, on the 25th day of the tenth month, Hideyoshi wrote a letter to Ieyasu (Hide-833⁹) and gifted him with a rare female falcon chick (*dai*) from Hyūga. He also told him that another falcon would soon be arriving from Kyūshū, and that he would send that one to him as well. At this point, we might ask how Hideyoshi was able to acquire enough Hyūga falcons, prized since the medieval period, to give away the chicks as gifts.¹⁰

On the 11th day of the seventh month, 1585, Hideyoshi became *kanpaku*. Around this time, Hideyoshi received a large number of gifts.

These also included falcons, as evidenced in his letters and gifts to others, in turn.

First, on the 15th day of the sixth month, 1585, Hideyoshi sent a letter to Satake Yoshishige, lord of Ōta in Hitachi, thanking him for a gift of one sword and two northern goshawks. He was thankful for the goshawks in particular, writing, “They are all the more splendid, so I cherish them especially” (Hide-1458). On the 2nd day of the ninth month of the same year, Hideyoshi wrote a letter to Uesugi Kagekatsu, lord of Kasugayamain in Echigo, to convey his appreciation for a gift of one long sword, one horse, and one northern goshawk (Hide-1610). Subsequently, Kagekatsu repeatedly sent to Hideyoshi Eurasian sparrowhawk chicks (male and female), captured in the nest, from Manzan in East Japan. In a letter (*Nanbuke monjo*), dated the 12th day of the eighth month, presumably from 1586, Hideyoshi was sent “one *yamagaeri*, one *agake*, one long sword, and one black-spotted horse.” A *yamagaeri* is a falcon that has molted in the mountains and is in its second year, while an *agake* is an adult falcon captured using a net.

Thus, Hideyoshi was presented with northern goshawks and Eurasian sparrowhawks by the lords of East Japan. However, at this point, they were simply one type of gift among many. Moreover, no record has been found showing that Hideyoshi himself went hunting during this period. It is likely that he was completely engrossed in tea ceremonies.

For example, among “*Ofudekagami*”, the model letters collected by Tokugawa Hidetada (1579-1632), there apparently was a letter from Hideyoshi to Ieyasu that said, “I heard falconry is in fashion over there. Over

here, tea ceremonies are in fashion” (*Genna-Kan’ei shōsetu*^{1 1}). The veracity of this cannot be confirmed as we have no way of checking the original letter. However, a letter from Hideyoshi, dated the 19th day of the first month, also hints at a contrast between “Ieyasu’s falcons” and “Hideyoshi’s tea” (*Kuwabara Yōjirō shūshū monjo*). It is thought that this letter was written at some point in the eighth month of 1586 or 1587. In it, Hideyoshi admires and appreciates the falcon-caught crane sent to him by Ieyasu, but he also asks Ieyasu if he has lost interest in tea ceremonies. Not only does Hideyoshi show no signs of wanting the talented crane-capturing falcon in Ieyasu’s possession, but he seems more interested in knowing whether Ieyasu has no interest in tea ceremonies.

As Hideyoshi victoriously returned from the Kyūshū Campaign in 1587, he held a large tea assembly in Kitano, Kyoto on the 1st day of the tenth month. Hideyoshi’s passion for tea was at its peak during this time. However, one year after this big ceremony, Hideyoshi began participating in falconry and his interest had clearly shifted to falcons.^{1 2}

II. Hideyoshi’s Full Control over Falcons

In order for Hideyoshi to participate in falconry, it was essential that he obtain first-rate falcons. In this section, we will examine how his acquisition methods were developed.

1. The Gifting of Shikoku Falcons

When Hideyoshi gained control over Shikoku in 1585, he stationed his right-hand man Fukushima Masanori at Kokubuyama in

Iyo and instructed him to manage falcons as follows. In a red-seal letter to Masanori (*Matsui monjo*), he acknowledged the receipt of two Eurasian sparrowhawks and ordered, “Presenting all falcons caught in the territory, irrespective of type, were to be immediately presented to him, and prohibited their being sent elsewhere in the future”. He added that he would return unneeded birds, which could then be sold as appropriate.”

In a red-seal letter of a different date (*Matsui monjo*), he acknowledged the receipt of two more Eurasian sparrowhawks (red-spotted [*akafu*] and black-spotted [*kurofu*]) and ordered, “Presenting falcons such as these is a matter of course. I shall reward whomever presents rare falcons.” Moreover, he asked for the price of captured Eurasian sparrowhawks, and ordered that all birds, not only the excellent ones, should first be shown to him. He would pick the ones he liked, while the rest would be returned to the “persons catching falcons” (*takatori-kata*).

In this way, all captured falcons were presented first to Hideyoshi, and only those that he returned could be sold elsewhere. As such, it was not that the possession and general use of Iyo falcons for hunting was prohibited. However, the important thing was the creation of a system that ensured that all falcons were tentatively presented to Hideyoshi first.^{1 3}

We have no knowledge of any orders relating to Shikoku falcons other than those given to Fukushima Masanori. Hence, it is unclear what the situation was in areas other than Iyo.^{1 4} However, previous studies have nonetheless neglected the fact that Hideyoshi exercised full control over some falcons in Shikoku. Therefore, there is a need for us to

clarify how his control over falcons extended even to Shikoku.^{1 5}

2. The Creation of the Hyūga Falcon Chick Administrator

The 15th Muromachi shogun Ashikaga Yoshiaki (r. 1568–1573) praised Hyūga falcon chicks, saying, “Hyūga is unrivalled as a nest.” In the same way, chicks of northern goshawks from Hyūga were objects of fervent desire of all Sengoku-period warlords. Hideyoshi campaigned in Kyūshū from 1587 and defeated the Shimazu *daimyō* clan of Satsuma in the fifth month, after which he promptly set out to acquire Hyūga falcon chicks.^{1 6} According to the seventh article of a red-seal letter, dated the 28th day of the fifth month (Hide-2206), he found a Hyūga falcon chick and was able to create a Hyūga falcon nest in that year. However, he emphasized that it took a great amount of inquiring and searching to do so. Later, on the 10th day of the ninth month, he appointed Itō Suketaka of Hyūga Obi as nest keeper (*sumori*) of the Hyūga falcons (Hide-2301), and on the 25th day of the ninth month, he appointed Shimazu Yoshihiro as Hyūga falcon nest administrator (*takasu-bugyō*) [Hide-2318]. Moreover, it must have been necessary to regulate the routes for presenting falcon chicks among the many lords in Hyūga. On the 2nd day of the fourth month, 1588, Hideyoshi instructed Shimazu Yoshihiro to confiscate all nest falcons (*sudaka*), that is, chicks in falcon nests, regardless of in whose territory they were found. At the same time, he worked to control the presentation routes by also instructing Shimazu to meticulously collect written proof from those lords who said that they would personally present birds from

their territories. A red-seal letter dated the 20th day of the first month, 1589, ordered Shimazu Yoshihisa and two of his retainers, back in Satsuma from Kyoto, to supply wood for a giant Buddha and to diligently try to procure falcon chicks. They had surely realized during their sojourn in the capital, the letter stated, how much Hideyoshi prized falcons.

However, Hideyoshi’s quest for Hyūga falcon chicks was limited by the constraints of the local ecosystem. In the second month of 1593, as Hideyoshi was fighting at Nagoya in northern Kyushu, he dispatched a messenger to Satsuma to request the Shimazu clan caretaker (*rusui*) to handle the matter of the Hyūga falcon chicks (*Shimazu-ke monjo*). He finally received two *agake* Hyūga chicks at the end of the third month (*Nagayoshi-Shimazu-ke monjo*). Hideyoshi was delighted, writing “This is commendable as no birds could be acquired in recent years, so I shall treasure them more than anything.”

Moreover, it was not only in Hyūga that Hideyoshi had a man. He had placed one in Bungo as well to look for northern goshawk nests and capture the chicks when the time was right (possibly 1589, *Ōtomo-ke mojouroku*). There was a system in place so that all northern goshawk chicks found in Kyūshū were presented to Hideyoshi.

Even so, despite Hideyoshi’s establishment of a route for obtaining Kyūshū falcons, a stable supply required waiting for ecosystem recovery. Thus, while the creation of falcon chick administrators and nest keepers had the aim of capturing falcons, they probably also fulfilled the function of restraining human disturbance that had been caused by excessive capturing.

3. The Presentation of Crane-Catching Northern Goshawks

Hideyoshi took to falconry from 1588. It seems he hunted close to Kyoto on the 23rd day of the second month, but the number of days for which the hunt lasted, among other details, are unclear. Subsequently, he organized an extended falconry sojourn near Kyoto over fifteen days, from the 3rd to the 22nd day of the third month. He went out hunting again on the 29th day of the third month, accompanied by Tokugawa Ieyasu. However, this seems to have been a short, day-long hunt.

A letter from Hideyoshi to Oda Nobukatsu, dated the 20th day of the third month, 1588 (Hide-2449), expresses quite clearly Hideyoshi's position with regard to falconry at this time. He wrote as follows, "The other day I went hunting with a Eurasian sparrowhawk. I am wholly unfamiliar with falcons, so I would like an enthusiastic youngster. I would also like either Yasui Kyūzaburō or Sassa Yukimasa. Yukimasa served me in the past, and now he serves you by my order. But he cannot function as your assistant (*yoriki*) when doing falconry by himself, so I might as well have Yukimasa. I am old, so it is likely that I will eventually tire of falcons, at which time I will return Yukimasa."

In this way, Hideyoshi himself acknowledged that he had no knowledge about falcons and falconry, which supports the idea that he only started taking an interest in falconry around 1588.¹⁷ The 20th day of the third month came toward the end of the extended hunting sojourn outside Kyoto. Hence, he must have keenly felt the need for

an excellent falconer when actually going hunting.

Sassa Yukimasa became Hideyoshi's chief falconer,¹⁸ and even became active in politics in his later years, as a member of Hideyoshi's Council of Ten.¹⁹ It is clear that Hideyoshi picked chief falconers based on their ample knowledge about falcons. Another person appointed as chief falconer alongside Yukimasa was Honda (later Hotta) Kazutsugu.

On the 14th day of the fourth month, 1588, Hideyoshi saw the conclusion without incident of the official visit of Emperor Go-Yōzei to Hideyoshi's mansion, Jūraku Castle. He departed Kyoto on the 21st day of the fourth month and entered Osaka on the 25th, while pursuing falconry in the environs (*Tokitsunekyo ki*). It appears that he participated in falconry in the fifth month as well, as he presented the imperial court with a green pheasant caught during an excursion on the 4th day of the fifth month (*Oyudono no ue nikki*).

Thus, as Hideyoshi took up falconry in earnest, he not only made efforts to find excellent falconers, but also endeavored to acquire falcons with a talent for catching birds. Maeda Toshiie, lord of Kanazawa in Kaga, sent a letter, dated the 5th day of the fourth month, 1588, to Date Masamune, saying that it made sense to present Hideyoshi with falcons considering his elegant taste in them, but also that a great number of them were not needed. He added that he had told the same to others. He also instructed Masamune to present the best birds to Hideyoshi, and to have the falconer ensure that the tail feathers were not damaged even in the case of a *kidaka* (one-year-old falcon) or a *toya* (molted falcon).

In any case, Hideyoshi started ordering not only Masamune, but everyone to present him with talented falcons.

Masamune obliged and soon presented Hideyoshi with a falcon. Toshiie sent a letter of appreciation, dated the 4th day of the seventh month, saying that, "The lord *kanpaku* was especially delighted that you promptly presented a crane-catching falcon upon hearing his wish for the same." It is clear from this that Hideyoshi's intention was to collect "crane-catching falcons," requiring the presentation of excellent northern goshawks.

However, this was not the last request Masamune received from Hideyoshi. A letter, dated the 5th day of the tenth month, asked him to present any "outstanding crane-catching falcon" in his possession. Another letter, dated the 12th day of the twelfth month, expressed Hideyoshi's appreciation for the two female falcons (northern goshawks) he had been gifted, and instructed Masamune to come to the capital without delay whenever he acquired an outstanding crane-catching northern goshawk. In a letter dated the 28th day of the first month of the following year, Hideyoshi requested of Masamune a "red-eyed crane-catching falcon," saying that its prompt presentation would be to Masamune's benefit and that any delay would have dire consequences. The bird was finally delivered, and an official document with the following contents was issued by Hideyoshi on the 9th day of the sixth month. "Thus, a crane-catching red-eyed falcon was presented, a precious bird of the same worth as a long sword."²⁰

Another letter, dated the 11th day of the sixth month, was also sent by Tomita

Tomonobu, who mediated the delivery of the bird. In it, he stated that the long sword was a peerless blade especially prized by Hideyoshi (*Date-ke monjo*).

Thus, it can be seen that Hideyoshi started practicing falconry in 1588, at a time when it had become difficult to procure Hyūga falcon chicks. Moreover, he wanted to acquire northern goshawks from their home in East Japan, more specifically, crane-catching northern goshawks. In particular, he repeatedly ordered Date Masamune to present his excellent red-eyed northern goshawks himself. Coupled with Masamune's visit to the capital, this surely had the purpose of ceremonially enacting his allegiance. However, in the end, Masamune himself never came, and he pledged allegiance to Hideyoshi only following the Odawara campaign of 1590.

Furthermore, Hideyoshi began collecting rare birds other than northern goshawks after the fourth month of 1588. In a red-seal letter dated the 12th day of the intercalary fifth month, 1588 (Hide-2503), Hideyoshi ordered one of his aides to give Maeda Toshimasa (Maeda Toshiie's second son) a Eurasian sparrowhawk. In exchange for this he was to receive a "falcon for red crossbills" from Toshimasa. The red crossbill, also known as the common crossbill, is a finch from the family Fringillidae, characterized by curved mandibles crossed at the tips. This bird is slightly larger than a sparrow, the males colored dark red, the females green or yellow, and comes to Japan primarily as a winter bird. Hideyoshi, thus, also gathered rare falcons specializing in capturing red crossbills.

Moreover, falcons were also sent to Hideyoshi from *daimyō* in West Japan around

this time. According to a red-seal letter, dated the 14th day of the intercalary fifth month, Hideyoshi received a female falcon from Kobayakawa Takakage, lord of Mihara in Bingo. He found it interesting that the bird was a *Kidaka* (*Outaaka* in other pronunciation, one-year-old falcon) and expressed his delight over it, “prizing it like nothing else” (*Kobayakawa-ke monjo*). The term for female bird here (*dai*) is understood to mean a female northern goshawk, but the same term is known to have been used for peregrine falcons as well.²¹ If we consider that Takakage’s domain was in Bingo and that this was before the Korea campaign was underway, it is highly probable that the presented bird was a peregrine falcon rather than a northern goshawk.

4. Northern Goshawks from Korea (*Kōrai-taka*)

It was known that the Sō family of Tsushima gifted Korean northern goshawks to the Ōuchi and Ōtomo families, as well as to the chief warlords of the Sengoku period.²² As an extension of this, falcons were also presented to Hideyoshi. It is possible that these were falcons captured on Tsushima. However, it is more likely that they were northern goshawks obtained from Korea. A letter from Hideyoshi, dated the 28th day of the twelfth month, clearly speaks of “two *Kōrai-taka*,” which obviously refers to Korean northern goshawks (*Sō-ke monjo*).

Kōrai-taka were also delivered by *daimyō* who participated in the Korea campaign. A letter dated the 25th day of the ninth month, 1592 (*Kobayakawa-ke monjo*), was sent to Kobayakawa Takakage thanking him for “five

Kōrai-taka.” Other letters, dated the 28th day of the tenth month of the same year (held by the Mōri Museum, *Kikkawa-ke monjo*), were sent to express thanks to Mōri Terumoto for “three *Kōrai-taka*,” and to Kikkawa Hiroie for “one *Kōrai-taka*.” Kikkawa Hiroie sent Hideyoshi another “two *Kōrai-taka*” in 1594, in response to which a red-seal letter, dated the 4th day of the twelfth month, was issued (*Kikkawa-ke monjo*).

Entering the Edo period, not only were northern goshawks presented by the Korean Communication Embassies, but a relatively large number of them were imported every year via the Tsushima Sō family (*Mainichiki*). One reason for the start of this regular import of Korean northern goshawks into Japan was that Hideyoshi desired them, which is a point necessary to acknowledge in the history of falcon acquisition.

5. Falcons from Tsugaru and Matsumae

Studies by Seiichi Hasegawa have shown that *daimyō* and other lesser lords in East Japan used falcons to negotiate with the Toyotomi government.²³ According to a red-seal letter issued in 1589, a *kidaka* and a male *Aotaka* (adult Goshawk) sent by Tsugaru Tamenobu, lord of Tsugaru in Mutsu, were damaged in transit. In response to this, Hideyoshi reassured him that he had received the goodwill, nonetheless. Hideyoshi also conveyed that there was no need for many birds to be presented to him, considering the distance. However, in a red-seal letter dated the 10th day of the twelfth month, he ordered Tsugaru Tamenobu that the selling of falcon chicks was now prohibited in his domain and that falcon chicks may no longer be taken out

of their nests, as he had heard of falcons being damaged during this process (*Tsugaru-ke monjo*).

According to a red-seal letter from Hideyoshi, presumably from the 30th day of the tenth month, 1591 (*Tsugaru ittōshi*), the main relay stations along the Sea of Japan route were ordered to provide falcon feed and assist with meals, as Tsugaru Tamenobu would be bringing “falcons (*OTaka*)” to be presented to Hideyoshi.

In around 1592, Kakizaki Morihiro of Matsumae was prohibited from exporting falcon chicks to other domains (*Fukuyama hifu*). In 1593, while Hideyoshi was still staying at Nagoya in Northern Kyūshū for the First Korean Campaign, he wrote a red-seal letter, dated the 6th day of the first month, ordering the *daimyō* along the Sea of Japan coast to secure a route for transporting falcon chicks to Kyoto, and to ensure that the route was kept safe (*Matsumae-shi monjo*).

In this manner, a system was developed for Hideyoshi to gather falcons from all over Japan as well as abroad, including northern goshawks from East Japan, rare birds from various locations, Hyūga falcons, Korean northern goshawks, and falcons from Tsugaru and Matsue. This system was then inherited by the Tokugawa government. This section established that one aim of creating this system was to acquire outstanding northern goshawks for the sake of catching cranes.

III. Hideyoshi and Falconry

On the 17th day of the first month, 1587, a crane presented to the imperial court by Toyotomi Hideyoshi was prepared in the

garden of Seiryōden Hall. This is regarded as the start of the ritual of “crane cutting” (*tsuru-bōchō*), the preparation of cranes presented by the warrior government. It became customary to hold a crane cutting and dance performance annually on the 17th or 19th day of the first month.^{2 4}

However, as discussed above, it was not until the second month of 1588 that Hideyoshi started to actually pursue falconry. On the 18th day of the ninth month of the same year, he hunted at the Dōmyōji near his primary base of Osaka Castle. On the 5th day of the tenth month, he headed out to hunt in Settsu, not far from Osaka, and stayed in Ibaraki for a while. In a letter to his wife’s maidservant Iwa, he wrote that, “I am hunting with falcons every day.” He also stated that, of the five lines of quails he had caught, one was for his birthmother, one for his adopted daughter, Gō, and the other three for Iwa to enjoy (Hide-2625). If we take one line to consist of six birds, that makes a total of 30 birds. Further, if Hideyoshi was hunting quail, he probably used a Eurasian sparrowhawk for the purpose. Moreover, three green pheasants caught in the hunt were also sent to the imperial court in Kyoto on the 20th day of the twelfth month (*Oyudono no ue nikki*).

Toward the end of 1588, Hideyoshi dispatched his prized falcons to Owari and Mikawa for *torikai* (Hide-2640). *Torikai* refers to a training process for the falcons, where they are actually taken into the wild to catch birds. In a red-seal letter, dated the 13th day of the twelfth month, Hideyoshi ordered Hitotsuyanagi Naosue, lord of Karuimiishi in Owari, “I will make my prized falcons go to practice capturing geese and cranes, so you

should facilitate them if they are exercised well on the site.” We know that he was talking about northern goshawks since the intended prey was goose and crane. He also ordered Naosue to provide falconers with accommodation, provisions, and soybean for the horses. The plan was for the training to take place in Owari, as well as in Kira in Mikawa, and he also ordered the hiring of people to carry provisions and other necessary items. On the 21st day of the twelfth month, a red-seal letter from Hideyoshi was issued to acknowledge that Hitotsuyanagi Naosue had completed his task (Hide-2642).

On the 3rd day of the first month, 1589, Hideyoshi went falcon hunting near Osaka. On the 14th day of the first month, he visited the imperial palace for a New Year’s greeting as usual and presented one horse, one long sword, one crane, three swans, and one line of geese (*Oyudono no ue nikki*). In the eleventh month of the same year, Ieyasu was told that Hideyoshi intended to secretly go hunting in Kira, Mikawa (*Kōzankō jitsuroku*). We do not know what Hideyoshi did between the 23rd day of the eleventh month and the 13th day of the twelfth month, so it is unclear whether he actually went on the hunt. There is no record of Hideyoshi pursuing falconry in 1590, as that was the year of the Odawara campaign. However, it is likely that he did go on some small falcon hunts on the way to and back from Odawara.

The following year, on the 28th day of the second month, 1591, the renowned tea master Sen no Rikyū committed seppuku. There are various theories about why he did so, but it nonetheless happened in the same period that Hideyoshi’s taste shifted from tea to falcons.

The winter of that same year, Hideyoshi organized a falconry event on a scale rivaling the Kitano tea assembly, holding a grand ceremony to present birds to the imperial court.

As Hideyoshi departed Kyoto on the 3rd day of the eleventh month, 1591, he passed through Minoji and went hunting in Kira, Mikawa, after which he triumphantly returned to Kyoto about one-and-a-half months later, on the 16th day of the twelfth month. According to Ōmura Yūko’s *Taikō-sama gunk-no-uchi*, “There were birds numbering some 3,000, an immense number never before seen.” Hideyoshi was accompanied by 150 falconers and 48 falcons. There were lines to the right and left, with falcons followed by endless lines of dead birds. Hideyoshi traveled the three Japanese miles from Ōtsu to Kyoto in a palanquin, not surprisingly with a falcon by his side. The brilliant sight of gold and silver inlays is said to have been a display of magnificent opulence beyond description.

Once in Kyoto, he went around south of the imperial palace and entered Jūraku Palace from the west. In preparation for the emperor’s personal inspection, he prepared a seat atop a wooden stage on a mud wall. Apparently, the emperor was “unusually delighted.”

Moreover, according to the diary of the nobleman, Kajūji Haretoyo (*Haretoyo-kyō ki*), the first lines of cranes were innumerable, followed by the geese second, the ducks third, the pheasants fourth, and the quails fifth, followed by beasts like hares, foxes, wild boars, raccoon dogs, and wolves. As the falconers proceeded with the falcons, Hideyoshi appeared in his palanquin, brandishing a Eurasian sparrowhawk

imported by early European traders. This was followed by not only northern goshawks and peregrine falcons, but also other birds like shrikes, horned owls, doves, and other owls.

According to the *Toyotomi taikō ōtakano waji-ki*, the captured cranes included white cranes, white-naped cranes, and even crane chicks. The geese included various kinds, such as snow geese and capital geese. The pheasants and swans were “innumerable,” while the hares, raccoon dogs, foxes, deer, wild boars, and wolves “came in all varieties.” Of the falcons, the northern goshawk took center stage, followed by mountain hawk-eagles, white-spotted falcons, pure white-spotted falcons, yellow- and black-spotted falcons, *agake*, falcon chicks, *hashitaka* (Eurasian sparrowhawks), *yamagaeri* falcons, female and male peregrine falcons, and female and male Eurasian sparrowhawks. These were accompanied even by eagles not used for hunting, as well as white doves, stock doves, mountain doves, bull-headed shrikes, horned owls, and other owls for decoration. The number of birds “exceeded 37,000.”

Hideyoshi presented Emperor Go-Yōzei with two lines of two cranes (four in total), five lines of seven geese (35 in total), and 10 lines of other birds (100 in total). He also presented abdicated Emperor Ōgimachi with one line of cranes (two in total), three lines of geese (15 in total), and five lines of other birds (50 in total), and distributed several birds to the noblemen as well. Kajūji Haretoyo received two geese and three other birds, and his son received one goose and two other birds. As Haretoyo sat in attendance of Emperor Go-Yōzei and witnessed the whole

banquet, his testimony is quite reliable. He wrote that the cranes were innumerable, but we can sense that they were treated as exceptional birds from the fact that they were presented to the emperors only, while Haretoyo and the others received geese and lesser birds. Moreover, from the description of Hideyoshi’s favorite falcon as a Eurasian sparrowhawk imported by early European traders, we can infer that he had a personal preference for sparrowhawks.

At the same time, according to the diary of the priest Yoshida Kanemi at the Yoshida Shrine in Kyoto (*Kanemi-kyō ki*), there were more than 30,000 birds caught by falcons, including geese, ducks, herons, pheasants, and quails. The emperor was presented with 30 geese, two cranes, and 100 pheasants as “falcon birds,” as was the abdicated emperor.

Hideyoshi employed the following methods in order to catch so many birds. First, he sent a red-seal letter, dated the 1st day of the twelfth month, to Mizuno Tadashige, lord of Kanbe in Ise, saying that he had caught more than 2,000 geese, cranes, and ducks in a hunt, but that he wanted to take with him a total of more than 5,000 to the capital. As such, he issued a strict order to conduct an additional bird hunt (*oidoriryō*), involving peasants, to capture any birds possible and deliver them to Ōtsu by the 10th day (*Mizuno monjo*). On the 6th day of the twelfth month, he sent a red-seal letter to Oda Nobukane, lord of Tsu in Ise, stating that he had previously ordered an additional hunt as well, but that he was now going to enter the capital with 10,000 birds. Again, he issued a strict order to involve local peasants, and to catch geese, ducks, and herons by traps if needed, and

deliver them to Ōtsu by the 13th day. He also instructed that the birds be put in straw bags so as not to damage their tail feathers. Thus, the target had increased to 10,000 birds by the 6th day.

In this way, the birds were caught not only during Hideyoshi's actual hunting in Mino, Owari, and Mikawa, but were gathered from Ise as well. We can infer that the same was true for Ōmi, the location of Ōtsu where Hideyoshi stayed before entering the capital. The diary of the nobleman Konoe Sakihisa (*Sanmyakuin ki*) explains that various provinces were ordered 10 days in advance to prepare birds that were falcon prey in the range of 2000, 3,000, and 5,000 each, to be gathered in Ōtsu. He was astonished by the uncountable number of birds on the day in question, saying that "the lines of birds were unprecedented" and "nobody knew how many there were."

Moreover, the *daimyō* sent gifts to Hideyoshi's lodgings during the hunt to commemorate the falconry. Mōri Terumoto, lord of Hiroshima in Aki, sent a set of monk's clothing. In a letter of appreciation, dated the 8th day of the twelfth month (*Mōri-ke monjo*), Hideyoshi wrote, "This time, I shall bring more than 10,000 geese, cranes, birds, and other things to the capital." That was the target set two days prior, but he wrote it as if it were already reached.

Thus, we have an estimate ranging from 3,000 to 37,000, but the 2,000 claimed by Hideyoshi on the 1st day of the twelfth month was likely the actual number. It is not impossible that it had risen to 10,000 by the 8th day and then to 37,000 during the week leading up to the 16th day. However, if only

2,000 birds were caught in the one-and-a-half months since the 3rd day of the eleventh month, and then, more than ten times that number were caught in just two weeks, this implies overhunting across quite a wide area.

In any case, it seems certain that the human disturbances made by falconry and additional hunts caused severe damage to local ecosystems from Kinai to Tōkai, including Ōmi, Mino, Owari, Mikawa, and Ise.

IV. The Significance of the Provincial Rifle Firing Edict

The great falcon hunt hosted by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in the winter of 1591 caused great human disturbance to ecosystems from Tōkai to Kinai. Following this, in preparation for the Korea campaign, Hideyoshi departed Kyoto for Nagoya in Hizen on the 26th day of the third month, 1592. He returned to Kyoto in the seventh month, on account of his birthmother's critical condition. After her death, Hideyoshi left Osaka on the 1st day of the tenth month to return to Nagoya. He stayed there until the birth of his heir, his second son, Hideyori, in the eighth month of the following year, when he once again returned to Kyoto. As such, he did not participate in any falconry near Kyoto during this period. Hence, the issue of prey depletion was averted before it had time to manifest.

During his stay in Nagoya, Hideyoshi received a Hyūga falcon chick from the *kanpaku* Toyotomi Hidetsugu in Kyoto. He then went hunting near Nagoya, catching three cranes and one swan. He sent these to Hidetsugu, as well as a red-seal letter, dated the 21st day of the twelfth month, to

Tokuzen'in (Maeda Gen'i), with instructions for the birds to be prepared for culinary enjoyment at the imperial palace and also to be shared with the nobility (*Seikidō komonjo ei hyakushu*). On the 3rd day of the first month, 1593, the swans presented by Hideyoshi to the imperial court as “falcon birds” were all shared with the regent houses, the imperial princes, and the court nobles (*Tokiyoshi ki*). As such, it is unclear whether they were captured by Hideyoshi himself, but it does seem that he continued pursuing falconry in Nagoya.

Even so, Hideyoshi's personal interest was shifting from falconry to Noh theater. In a red-seal letter from Hideyoshi, dated the 18th day of the first month, 1593 (held by the Fukuoka City Museum), he states that he did not use “falcons” while in Nagoya. He also states that he was bored, which was why he had his *hanashi-shū* (Hideyoshi's aides) imitate a Kyōgen theater performance to alleviate the tedium. It might be that he refrained from falconry, which involved the taking of lives, while he was mourning his mother. However, he would later get the idea to perform Noh himself and then become absorbed in Noh plays.^{2 5}

On the 3rd day of the eighth month, 1594, Hideyoshi was informed of the birth of his son (Hideyori), upon which he left Nagoya to return to Osaka Castle. In the ninth month, he issued the Provincial Rifle Firing Edict. The edict instructed the provinces to shoot cranes, swans, geese, ducks, and other birds with rifles, and ordered hunters to present their birds. The aim was to gather prey birds in Kinai and its nearby provinces by firing rifles in other areas. The idea was that scaring off birds in distant provinces would make them congregate close

to Kinai. These red-seal letters were divided up and issued on the 11th and 18th days of the ninth month. For Bunroku 3 (1594), we know of letters that went out to Echigo (Uesugi Kagekatsu), Kantō (Sano Nobuyoshi), Chūgoku (Mōri Terumoto), Shikoku (Katō Yoshiaki), and Kyūshū (Kobayakawa Takakage, Nabeshima Katsushige, the caretaker of Katō Kiyomasa, and Shimazu Yoshihisa). The following is an example taken from the letter to Mōri Terumoto (held by the Mōri Museum).

Shoot cranes, swans, geese, ducks, and other birds with rifles across your lands or hunt them and deliver them [to Kyoto]. In order to hunt with falcons in the Five Central Provinces and the nearby provinces, the above needs to be ordered in provinces farther away so that the birds congregate closer by. Hence, you must make sure to issue these orders vigilantly.

A similar ordinance was promulgated on the 16th day of the ninth month in the following year. We know of 16 red-seal letters, also going out to Dewa (Nanbu and Akita) and Iga in Tōkaidō (Kishida). The text is almost the same as that of the previous year, and begins with the words “like last year.” Hence, we know that the same ordinance had applied in the previous year within the scope of Figure.3. The following is an example taken from the letter to the caretaker of Matsuura Shigenobu in Hirado (*Matsuura monjo*).

Like last year, shoot cranes, swans, geese, ducks, and other birds with rifles across Hizen or hunt them and transport them [to Kyoto]. By ordering this elsewhere, birds will congregate in the locations where we keep falcons. Hence, you must make sure

to issue these orders diligently.

The intention behind these ordinances can be interpreted as gathering birds at the Toyotomi hawking grounds in Kinai and its nearby provinces by firing rifles in provinces farther away.²⁶ However, Yūji Sone found it unnatural that birds would gather in Kinai and the surrounding provinces, and so, he put forward a new interpretation claiming that Hideyoshi wanted to gather birds on “*daimyō* hawking grounds relatively close by.” This suggests that there is still room for examination of the intent behind these ordinances.²⁷

However, there are known examples of Oda Nobunaga issuing similar ordinances to the lords in Mino.²⁸ For example, Nobunaga had prohibited the Ikeda retainers from shooting rifles on the hawking grounds on the 9th day of the twelfth month, 1574. However, since he needed prey, such as cranes, geese, and other birds for his falconry, he ordered the retainers to fire rifles on their land from winter to spring, not to kill any birds, but to scare them off (*Zōtei Oda Nobunaga monjo no kenkyū*, vol. 1). In this manner, he ordered the shooting of rifles in other territories to chase birds onto his own hawking grounds.

If we take into consideration the damage caused to the ecosystems in and around Kinai by the great falcon hunt in the winter of 1591, then, the idea of restoring them by firing rifles in provinces farther away and gathering birds on the Toyotomi hawking grounds in and around Kinai already had precedents set by Nobunaga. While we might doubt the effectiveness of such a nationwide project, it was likely a solution devised from a deep sense of crisis. Even so, the addition of such a

new human disturbance would not yield any immediate improvements and so a similar ordinance was issued in the ninth month of the following year as well.

Now, the contents of the Owari ordinance issued to Fukushima Masanori on the 6th day of the ninth month, 1595, differs from the others (*Ōtsubo monjo*).

Like last year, the shooting of cranes, swans, geese, ducks, and other birds with rifles across Owari, hunting with private falcons, as well as the use of hunt preparers (*tsunasashi*, *nawasashi*) is strictly prohibited and any violator will be punished.

Previous studies have treated the contents of this ordinance to be the same as the red-seal letters from the 16th day of the ninth month. However, a detailed examination clearly shows that it is saying the opposite. In other words, all kinds of bird hunting, including falconry, were prohibited in Owari, making this a hawking ground ordinance that ought to be called a Bird Protection Edict. Moreover, it was on the 15th day of the seventh month, 1595, that the *kanpaku*, Toyotomi Hidetsugu, was banished to Mount Kōya and killed himself. That the order issued to Fukushima Masanori, Hidetsugu's successor in Owari, was “like last year” suggests that Hidetsugu was issued a similar order in 1594.

Furthermore, another red-seal letter from Hideyoshi, dated the 15th day of the ninth month, 1595, was issued to Owari (*Shinsyu Sakai Iho*), explaining that bird hunting remained prohibited on hawking grounds across Owari, but also ordering the diligent presentation of birds caught by hunters using birdlime or nets in areas with muddy fields,

big ponds, big rivers, or over the sea. By making Owari “hawking grounds” for the Toyotomi and prohibiting bird hunting there, this served to protect the birds. That is, the birds gathered by rifle shooting in other provinces were protected in Owari and other Toyotomi hawking grounds, creating environments where birds could be hunted when required.

Furthermore, even if Hideyoshi himself stopped pursuing falconry, his falconers continued hunting, and the birds they caught were used as gifts. For example, a red-seal letter, dated the 20th day of the twelfth month, instructs the two chief falconers, Sassa Yukimasa and Yokoi Iori, to order the falconers to take “the falcons” crane hunting until the 20th day of the first month and have them come back by the 21st day (held by Tomita Sensuke, 2).

Hideyoshi died on the 18th day of the eighth month, 1598. His successor, Tokugawa Ieyasu, went falcon hunting for the first time in Ibaraki, Settsu in the twelfth month of 1599, accompanied by Hideyoshi’s chief falconers, Sassa Yukinari and Hotta Kazutsugu (*Gotōke kinenroku*). After this, Ieyasu presented a crane to the imperial court on the 8th day of the twelfth month (*Oyudono no ue nikki*). He subsequently continued to present cranes, although intermittently.²⁹ With the second Tokugawa shogun, Hidetada’s enthusiasm for falcons, the institutionalization of hawking grounds for crane-catching continued to advance.

Conclusion

As demonstrated in this study, the Toyotomi period was an important period of great change in the “history of relations between humans and nature.” The following three points are my main arguments.

First, as part of the process by which Toyotomi Hideyoshi unified Japan toward the end of the 16th century, he not only secured routes for gathering falcons from across Japan in Kyoto, but also facilitated the continuous import of Korean northern goshawks. That is, this was the start of a human disturbance that artificially and forcefully gathered falcons from the natural world inside and outside Japan (including migration) in Kyoto’s environs. The final destination of this falcon transportation switched from Kyoto to Edo under the Tokugawa government, and the system was abolished by the fifth shogun, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, and then restored by the eighth shogun, Tokugawa Yoshimune. However, its basic structure remained unaltered until the abolition of the hawking ground system in 1866. Future studies should acknowledge this falcon transportation, a long-term human disturbance, as an important environmental factor, and must further elucidate the impact humans had on the ecology and natural environments of falcons.

Second, from the 15th to the 16th century, Japan’s falconry culture prized falcons with special hunting techniques for catching cranes. Hence, these were collected by the sovereign, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and other powerful warlords. As the crane-catching falcons came to be recognized as the highest rank among falcons, the order of prey came to be

crystallized as crane, swan, goose, duck, and other birds, meaning that the green pheasants that had been representative of medieval bird hunting were moved to the miscellaneous category. That is, a great change was seen in terms of what birds were to be protected for hunting purposes and what birds could be overhunted. It is safe to say that this had a major artificial impact on the natural world. Moreover, while this development was strongly linked to Hideyoshi's personal preferences, his falconers continued hunting even after his interests shifted to Noh plays in 1593. This meant that the food culture of feasting on crane and the falconry culture of prizing crane-catching falcons had become traditionalized.³⁰

Third, resulting from Hideyoshi's increasing passion for falconry, the great falcon hunt from the eleventh to the twelfth month of 1591 caused significant human disturbance to the local ecosystems from Tōkai to Kinai and the neighboring provinces. In order to help nature recover, the Provincial Rifle Firing Edict was proclaimed and hawking ordinances were issued as a way to protect wildlife on Toyotomi hawking grounds. These nationwide policies signify a major turning point in Japanese history as an example of political power mobilized on a grand scale to change the relationship between humans and nature. That is, it had become necessary to rebuild the relationship between humans and nature, centering on cranes and falcons, and the hawking grounds (*Takaba*) established in domains across Japan fulfilled the role of sustainably maintaining that relationship. It goes without saying that the people living in those areas were subject to a range of

hawking ground regulations.

Supplement

This paper is based on a manuscript published as “*Toyotomi seiken-ki ni okeru taka to takagari no isō*” [Aspects of Falcons and Falconry in the Toyotomi Period], *Shoku-Hō-ki kenkyū* [Journal of Oda–Toyotomi Period Research], 20 (2018). In the current paper, I have revised the Introduction and Conclusion to include an environmental history perspective, and I am presenting it in English for the first time.

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註

¹ Note that the term “falcon,” as used in this paper, is a translation of the Japanese “taka, 鷹” which includes both falcons and hawks. As such, readers should keep in mind that “falcon” here signifies a broader range of birds of prey.

² The term *full control* (*shinji*) does not appear in the historical sources. However, it is used as a working concept to signify that Hideyoshi could freely control falcons and all matters relating to them.

³ Noh theatre is one of the oldest Japanese theatre traditions, originating in the 14th century. Noh plays are characterized by the expression of a single dominating emotion of the main character who wears a mask, which structures all of the music, gestures, dance and recitation in the play.

⁴ A representative work is by Takahiro Yamana, *Sengoku daimyō no taka to takagari no kenkyū* [Research on Sengoku-period *daimyō*'s falcons and

falconry] (Sanshūdō, 2006). Moreover, in art history, Yūji Mizuno's, "*Kanō Einō hitsu Hideyoshi takagari emaki shitae to Kajūji-ke*" [Sketch of the *Hideyoshi takagari emaki* by Kanō Einō and the Kajūji Family], *De Arte*, 33 (2017) is worthy of mention. I will refer to individual works when relevant to the discussion.

⁵ For example, in Mongolia where falconry is said to have originated, great golden eagles were used to hunt small animals like foxes and hares. However, the smaller Eurasian sparrowhawks used in Japan cannot capture such small animals. Hence, there was the difference that quails and other small birds were primarily caught in Japanese falconry instead.

⁶ According to the entry for birds and eggs (Mario Hirata) in *Tabemono Nihon-shi sōran* [Overview of Food in Japanese History] (Shinjinbutsu ōrai sha, 1994), the 14th-century *Tsurezuregusa* referred to "carp for fish, pheasant for fowl," while the mid-15th-century *Shijōryū hōchōsho* stated "bird refers to pheasant," and the contemporary *Ama no mokuzu* says, "Big birds are swans, geese, pheasants, and ducks, while others are not needed. Small birds are quails, cuckoos, and sandpipers, while others are not needed." Till the 16th century, pheasants were rated surprisingly high compared to other birds, so that bird equaled pheasant. However, in the 16th-century *Hōchō kikigaki*, the order listed was crane, pheasant, and goose, meaning that the crane had risen to the top. It remains for future research to verify when in the 16th century this change took place.

⁷ Katsuaki Nakazawa speculated that this change happened in the context of the switch from the *kandaka* system to the *kokudaka* system, which served to replace the pheasant with the crane and swan that are directly associated with rice farming. He identified this as a topic for further research ("*Chūsei no takagari ni kansuru kenkyū no dōkō to kadai*" [Trends and Challenges in Research on Medieval Falconry History in Japan], *Taka, takaba, kankyō kenkyū* [Journal of Hawks, Hawking Grounds, and Environmental Studies], 2 [2018]).

⁸ Manabu Tsukamoto, *Shōrui o meguru seiji: Genroku no fōkuroa* [The Politics of All Living Creatures: Genroku Folklore] (Heibonsha sensho, 1983).

⁹ For example, "Hide-833" refers to the document's reference number in *Toyotomi Hideyoshi monjoshū. voll-4* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2014-2018). The same applies to all cases below.

¹⁰ Subsequently, Konoe Sakihisa went to Kyūshū on Oda Nobunaga's request, found a way to acquire Hyūga falcon chicks, and presented a Hyūga falcon to Nobunaga, but a letter to Shimazu Yoshihisa reveals that it was no longer needed after Nobunaga's death at Honnōji Temple (Takahiro Yamana, "*Konoe*

Ryūzan to taka" [Konoe Ryūzan and Falcons]; Yamana, *Sengoku daimyō no taka to takagari no kenkyū*). As such, it is possible that Konoe Sakihisa decided to present the Hyūga falcon to Hideyoshi instead.

¹¹ Yūta Koshisaka, "*Naikaku bunko shozō Shōheizaka-bon Genna-Kan'ei shōsetsu*" [The *Genna-Kan'ei shōsetsu*, Shōheizaka Edition, held by the Cabinet Library], *Taka, takaba, kankyō kenkyū*, 2 (2018).

¹² The *Toyokagami* contains the passage "Early in the eleventh month, Hideyoshi went to Kira, Mikawa for falconry. He did not originally like such things, but he does so of late." That is, he had not always liked falconry. Moreover, Takahiro Yamana has already pointed out that Hideyoshi started showing a strong interest in falconry in 1588 (*Sengoku daimyō no taka to takagari no kenkyū*).

¹³ A great number of falcons were presented to the second shogun, Tokugawa Hidetada, but it is said that he personally inspected the birds and returned those unneeded (Yūta Koshisaka, "*Naikaku bunko shozō Shōheizaka-bon Genna-Kan'ei shōsetsu*"). This shows that he had inherited Hideyoshi's system of giving the sovereign control over all falcons.

¹⁴ In *Hōyō*, Kunaicho Shikibusyoku ed., (*The Falconry*, Imperial Household Agency Shikibu Job, p. 128), only 20 locations in Iyo are identified as famous for falcons in Shikoku during the middle of the Edo period, with no mention of Tosa, Awa, or Sanuki. Things change with time of course, but the identification of Iyo as a breeding area for falcons (Eurasian sparrowhawks) supports the idea that Hideyoshi was set on acquiring sparrowhawks from Iyo.

¹⁵ Seiichi Hasegawa has pointed out that "The monopolization of falconers and falcon chicks was implemented nationwide" (*Kinsei kokka to Tōhoku daimyō* [The Tōhoku Daimyō and the State of Edo] [Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1998], p. 18), but he also stopped at saying that, "Hideyoshi monopolized the falcons of Matsumae, Tsugaru, and Hyūga by having the Toyotomi government designate breeding areas and implement their transport" (p. 22), without mentioning Shikoku or the Korean falcons described below.

¹⁶ Tatsuo Akutagawa, "*Sengoku bushō to taka: Taikō Hideyoshi no Hyūga sudaka bugyō setti o megutte*" [Falcons and the Warlords of the Sengoku Period: Taikō Hideyoshi's Establishment of the Hyūga Falcon Chick Administrator], Toyoda Takeshi sensei koki kinenkai, ed., *Nihon chūsei no seiji to bunka* [Politics and Culture of Medieval Japan] (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1980).

¹⁷ Konoe Sakihisa completed a one-fascicle work on falcons known as the *Ryūzan-kō taka hyakushu* in

the fourth month of 1589, which is said to have been requested by Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu (Yamana, *Sengoku daimyō no taka to takagari no kenkyū*). It is historically significant that Hideyoshi's interest in falcons also generated a book on falcons that has been important for passing on traditional falconry practices.

¹⁸ The entry for the 13th day of the fifth month, 1591, in the *Tokiyoshi ki* mentions "*Takasho no Magosuke* (the falconer Magosuke)," a reference to Sassa Yukimasa (Magosuke is Yukimasa's other name) that shows that he was recognized as a falconer.

¹⁹ Seiichirō Miki, *Toyotomi seiken no hō to Chōsen shuppei* [The Law of the Toyotomi Government and the Korea Campaign], Chapter 7 (Seishi shuppan, 2012).

²⁰ According to Takahiro Yamana, Hideyoshi mixed up the *red-eyed falcon* and *red-eyed crane* (crested ibis). Takahiro points out that Masamune sent a crane-catching *red-eyed falcon* along with a captured *red-eyed crane* (*Chūsei takakai ni shunshū* [The Age of Medieval Falconry] [Yūhōsha, 2018]).

²¹ A letter from Uesugi Kenshin to Oda Nobunaga, dated the 29th day of the tenth month (held by Ryūzaburō Horie), mentions "four *Dai* (female) peregrine falcons" and expresses gratitude as these were the birds desired for catching ducks. Moreover, in the entry for the 11th day of the twelfth month in Ken'ichi Futaki and Michiko Sō, rev., *Kinoshita Nobutoshi Keisho nikki* (Diary of Kinoshita Nobutoshi in 1613) (Shinjinbutsu ōrai-sha, 1990), there is mention of a "*Shō* (male) peregrine falcon." We can infer from the usage of similar terms in Japanese that *Dai* might have referred to a female peregrine falcon.

²² Takeo Tanaka, "*Chōsen to taka*" [Korea and Falcons], *Taigai kankei to bunka kōryū* [Foreign Relations and Cultural Exchange] (Shibunkaku shuppan, 1982).

²³ See, for instance, Seiichi Hasegawa, *Kinsei kokka to Tōhoku daimyō* [The Tōhoku Daimyō and the State of Edo] (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1998); *Hirosaki-han* [Hirosaki Domain] (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2004).

²⁴ Shintarō Nishimura, *Kyūchū no shefu, tsuru o sabaku* [The Palace Chef Prepares a Crane] (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2012). However, going through the *Oyudono no ue no nikki*, there are no entries about crane cutting after 1591. The diary might not be complete, but the ceremony is mentioned off and on. Hence, there is a need to analyze the process by which crane cutting was established sometime before that point. As for its origin, it is shown that there are roots in Muromachi Shogun in the Muromachi period (Nakazawa

Katsuaki, "karu Ō no keifu" [The Genealogy of hunting kings], Nakazawa Katsuaki ed., "*Hito to doubutsu no Nihonshi*" [The history of Human and creatures, vol.2], (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2008).

²⁵ Fumio Amano, *Nō ni tsukareta kenryokusha: Hideyoshi nogaku aikō ki* [A Leader Obsessed with Noh Plays: A Record of Hideyoshi's Love for the Noh] (Kōdansha sensho métier, 1997).

²⁶ Tsukasa Saitō, "*Toyotomi seiken ni yoru taka shihai no ichidanmen*" [One Aspect of the Toyotomi Government's Falcon Control], *Chihōshi kenkyū* [Journal of Local History], 205 (1987).

²⁷ Yūji Sone, *Kinsei kokka no keisei to sensō taisei* [The Formation of the State and the War System during the Toyotomi period] (Azekura shobō, 2004), Chapter 3 (first published 1986).

²⁸ Akihiko Yamada, "*Shoku-Hō-ki nishi-Mino Takagi-shi no dōkō*: Takagi-ke monjo o chūshin to shite" [The Actions of the Takagi Clan in Western Mino during the Oda–Toyotomi Period: Centering on the *Takagi-ke Monjo*], Gifu-ken hakubutsukan chōsa kenkyū hōkoku [Bulletin of the Gifu Prefectural Museum], 37 (2016–2017).

²⁹ Mitsuo Nesaki, *Edo bakufu hōyō seido no kenkyū* [Research on the Falconry System of the Edo Bakufu] (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2008).

³⁰ The *Genna–Kan'ei shōsetsu* contains an anecdote in which a white falcon belonging to Oda Nobunaga corners a crane, but fails to capture it, despite which he prizes the falcon as "crane-catching." This is contrasted with Hidetada who boasts that his white falcon not only caught a crane the first time, but the second time too. For information about how crane-capturing falcons were prized into the late Edo period as well, refer to Chizuru Fukuda, "*Kinsei takaba to kankyō: Fukuoka-han o jirei ni*" [Hawking Grounds and the Environment during the Edo period: The Case of Fukuoka Domain], *Taka, takaba, kankyō kenkyū*, 1 (2017).

Figure.1 Map of Japan

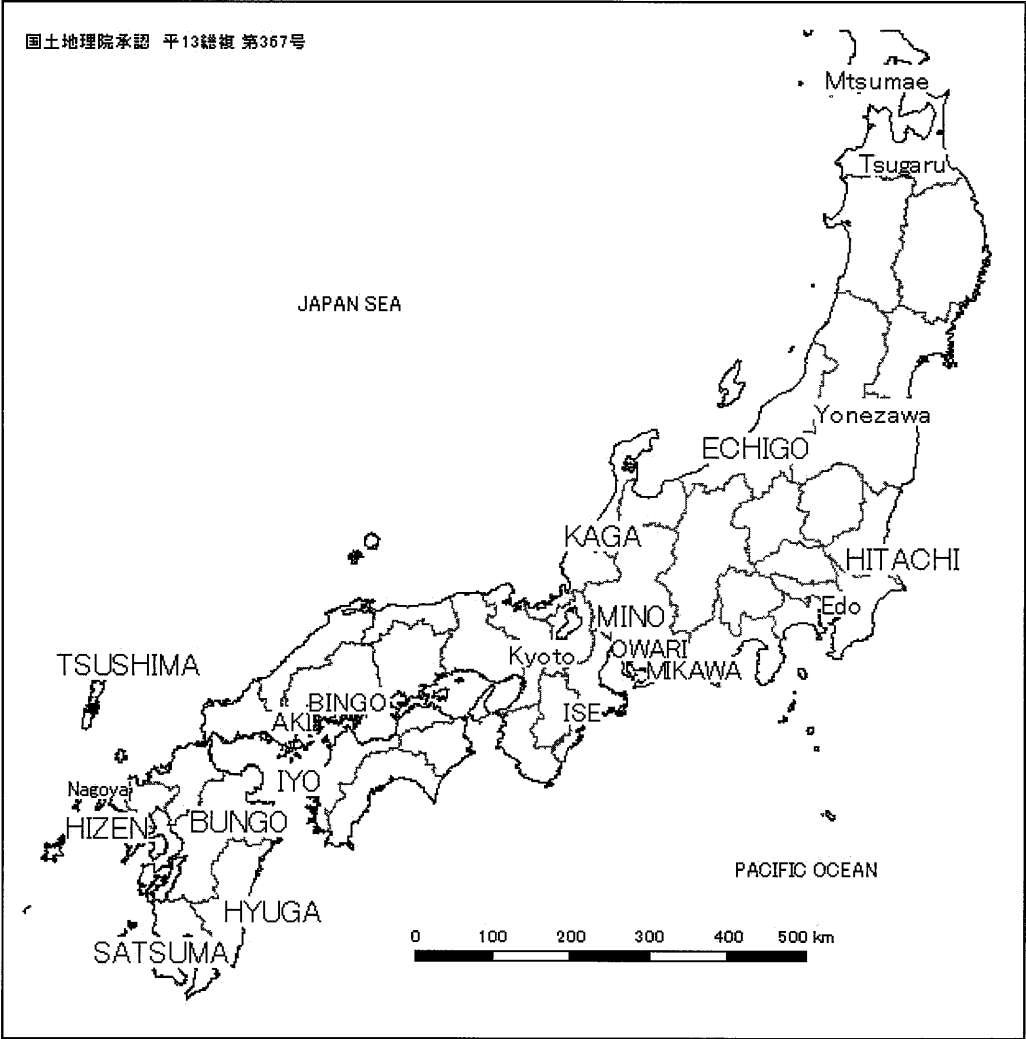


Figure.2 Map of Central Japan (*Kinai*)

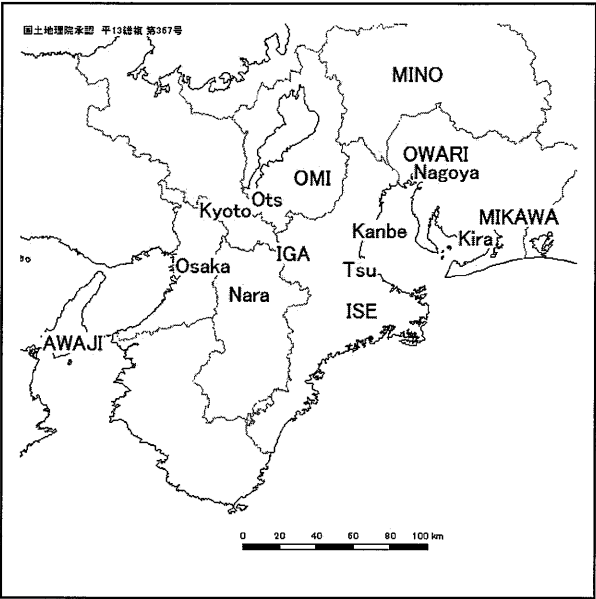


Figure.3 The Estimated Applicability of the PRFE

