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<https://doi.org/10.15017/4377873>

出版情報：鷹・鷹場・環境研究. 5, pp.83-93, 2021-03-20. 九州大学基幹教育院
バージョン：
権利関係：



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The Journal of Hawks, Hawking Grounds, and Environment Studies vol.5

MARCH 2021

鷹・鷹場・環境研究 vol.5

2021 年 3 月

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[要旨]

中世日本の鷹狩について概説した。1の「狩猟と王権」では、狩猟と殺生禁断はどちらも王が生命と奪の権限を掌握していることを示すものであったと考察。2の「鎌倉幕府と鷹狩」では、武士の職能でもあった狩猟が神事で重要な役割を担っていたこと、幕府が何度も発した鷹狩禁止令は、巻狩と鷹狩との差異を示していることを論じた。3の「都の鷹と「鷹の鳥」」では、14～15世紀に室町殿の鷹狩の形跡は少ないが、やがて鷹とその獲物「鷹の鳥」の贈答がよく行われるようになることを確認し、「鷹の鳥」が雉から鶴に変化することも指摘した。4の「流派の出現」では、著名な鷹狩流派の成り立ちについてさらに研究が必要であることを強調。5の「鷹と新たな天下」では、戦国期の室町殿が鷹狩の獲物を天皇に献上したことを確認し、信長・秀吉・家康もそれを踏襲したことで、新たな「天下」の一面は鷹狩で象徴されることになったと論じた。

[Abstract]

The emperor and Yoritomo hunted and banned hunting. Both showed that the kingship. Hunting was one of the samurai professions and played an important role in Shinto rituals. The falconry ban issued many times by the Kamakura bakufu shows that there was a difference between *makigari* hunting and falconry. There is little evidence that the Muromachi Shogun falconry, but there were falconry offerings and gifts. During the Sengoku era, falcons and their prey “*Taka no tori* (Falcon birds)” were frequently used. The pheasant was the most used and highly regarded “*Taka no tori*” in the Middle Ages, but it became a crane in the early modern period. It is necessary to study the origins of *Ryu-ha* (Falconry schools) such as the Seirai school, the Netsu school, and the Suwa school. During the Sengoku period, the Muromachi Shogun falconry and presented the emperor with prey. Oda Nobunaga and Hashiba Hideyoshi followed suit. Tokugawa Ieyasu inherited it, and the new aspect of “*Tenka* (political system)” was symbolized by falconry.

[Keywords:]

Falconry, Falconer, Hunting and Kingship, Prohibition of killing, Suwa Shrine, *Taka no tori*, *Ryu-ha*, *Tenka*

1 Hunting and Kingship

Emperor Shirakawa's falconry

In October 1076, Emperor Shirakawa (1053-1129) went falconry (*otaka shoyo*) at Oigawa (Sagano). As they approached Sagano the servants were not permitted to cross in front of the emperor's palanquin (*horen*) while the falconers displayed their falcons for the emperor. It was said that Shimotsukenu Atsutomo in particular brought a magnificent bird that delighted Shirakawa (Nijo Yoshimoto : *Sagano monogatari*, etc.). From the late 10th century, specific families gained succession to specific official positions: for example, the family line of regents (*sessho and kanpaku*), the Ozuki family, who handled *kanmu* (the transmission of records and documents from the Dajokan minister), and the *tsuwamono no ie* (warrior families) such as the Kawachi Genji and Ise Heishi. Many falconers, who were also court officials, came from the Shimotsukenu and Hata families. They were styled as *otakagai* (falconers) servants of the emperor, however, at the height of regency politics, they also attended the *daijin daikyo* (grand banquets hosted by the

ministers) of the regents' families, and when the rule of the retired emperors began, bowed to their authority.

In 1072, a *dajokanpu* (official document issued by the Dajokan or Grand Council of State) was issued that forbade the private ownership of falcons or falconry to anyone but the imperial *otakagai* (falconers serving the emperor). Emperor Go-Sanjo (1034-73), who had no matrilineal connections to the regents' families, sought to protect the falconers' interests and actively attempted to defend them. His successor, Emperor Shirakawa, likewise actively applied his authority. Falconry sponsored by the emperor's auspices, known as *nogyoko* (imperial travels in the field), had thrived until the early 10th century, but until Emperor Shirakawa revived, no emperor hosted it. There were also anecdotes of the restrictions placed by the emperor on falconry by anyone other than his falconers, which included restrictions on pleasure falconry by regents and chancellors. In addition, there is an anecdote that Emperor Shirakawa tried to pick up a rare falcon owned by a vassal (*Kokonchomonju* 20-685).

The actual situation of the prohibition of killing

However, in his last years, the retired Emperor Shirakawa forbade hunting and fishing. The *Hyakurensho*, a history book compiled in the 13th century, described the events of June 21st, 1126 as follows: “Other than for offerings to the gods, the fishing nets here and there have been long stilled, and the cormorants of Uji and Katsura (Kyoto) all disposed of; likewise the falcons and dogs. Taking life has been expressly forbidden these two or three years.” As prohibiting all hunting and fishing was unrealistic, most edicts that prohibited hunting and fishing in ancient and medieval times restricted the time, space, and methods; they often included notes that permitted hunting for the procurement of shrine offerings, as in Shirakawa’s edict above. Restrictions on the time and period involved a prohibition on hunting and fishing on specific days, such as national times of prayer, *hojo* (a ceremony associated with releasing living things), the *rokusainichi* (the six days each month dedicated to purity and self-governance), and the *higan-e* ceremonies in autumn and spring. Restrictions on space and area usually forbade killing within and around temples, within manors, or inside the capital, with the examples too numerous to list here. Restrictions on method prohibited *yakigari*, which was the setting of fire in the fields to drive out the birds and beasts for hunting. Shirakawa’s prohibition on hunting and fishing referred only to the methods, such as the “nets,” “cormorants,” and “falcons and dogs,” but did not extend to prohibitions on time or space. Some scholars concluded that this broad and thorough edict was a medieval royal prerogative. Emperor Shirakawa shift from enjoying falconry while on the throne to strictly forbidding the taking of life in his later years can’t be accounted for simply by his adoption of Buddhism.

Kingship and survival of life

The ancient prohibitions on hunting and fishing and the rules on release were intended to purify the body for worship (to practice asceticism) by giving up meat (indulgent food) in the hope of preventing calamities such as natural disasters and extreme weather, as well as ominous events and disease that could befall the regime. From the late 9th century, the Buddhist views on the taking of life and sin were adopted in noble society to avoid *kegare* or impurity. While Shirakawa’s prohibition on hunting and fishing was an extreme example of these types of views, they may also have been influenced by the Song (960-1279) emperors, who

abandoned hunting and made it known at home and abroad. After all, from the 12th century on the emperors no longer hunted, there was a strong taboo against eating venison among the nobles of the Imperial House; however, the value of falconry and its prey continued.

The hunting and fishing prohibition was seen as a religious declaration of the monarch’s territorial sovereignty to bless all flora and fauna; therefore, the royal prerogative related to hunting (capture) and the prohibition on killing (release) had the same religious significance, demonstrating that the king had the authority to both give life and take it away. Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147-99), who was carry out the Grand Hunting Competition at Mt.Fuji, prohibited hunting and fishing at the Great Release Ceremony (*hojo-e*) of Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine. Emperor Go-Toba (1180-1239) also issued a new order banning hunting when he was on the throne, but he hunted frequently after his retirement.

2 The Kamakura bakufu and falconry

Samurai professional skills and Shinto ritual

Hunting was also an important professional skill for samurai, not only hunting beasts with bows and arrows, but also falconry. The *Azuma Kagami*, which was a history of the Kamakura bakufu government compiled in the late 13th century, wrote that on March 12, 1206, the samurai Sakurai Goro of Shinano (Nagano) told the shogun about some superior falconry techniques and then demonstrated using a shrike to take three sparrows. He commented that it is easy to catch such a small bird, and that pheasants can also be caught. Samurai with such advanced falconry skills had Falcon’s nest in their territory.

Many of the shogunate’s vassals (*gokenin*) owned wild mountains and *karikura* (hunting grounds) in their territory and hunted there. Article 1 of the *Goseibai Shikimoku* (Law of the samurai, which was enacted in 1232) explains the importance of shrines and shows that the samurai also participated in the rituals of local shrines. Many samurai hunted wild birds and beasts for offering at shrine ceremonies. From ancient times, hunting and animal sacrifice have been carried out at Suwa Shrine in Shinano. In particular, many of the samurai who have territory in Shinano participated in the summer ritual in May (*Satsuki-e*) and the autumn ritual at the end of July (*Misayama*). The *Suwa Daimyōjin Ekotoba*

(*Record of Suwa Shrine*), which was completed in 1356, describes the hunting at the foot of Mt.Yatsugatake. Some of the *ohori* (the highest-ranking priest of Suwa Shrine), other priests, and *ujibito* (parishioners of Suwa Shrine) used falcons, while others used arrows to catch beasts.

Falconry ban issued by the Kamakura bakufu

The Kamakura bakufu also frequently banned hunting. However, most of the bans were banned for a limited time or period and included a proviso that allowed the hunting of shrine offerings. For example, in December 1245, hunting was banned only for a long time, but it says, “However, the offerings of the shrine that should be respected are not subject to the ban.” Hunting and fishing were not banned (*Azuma Kagami*, December 16). On February 30, 1261, *Kanto shinsei* (new law of the bakufu) also stipulated “Hunting and fishing bans for *rokusainichi* and *nikihigan* (Spring and Autumn *higan-e*)” and “In rivers and seas, mountains and fields Hunting is prohibited.” However, it is added that “the prohibition does not apply to the offerings of shrines that should be respected” (Kamakura bakufu Additional Law 347).

The Kamakura bakufu repeatedly banned falconry. Therefore, it may be interpreted that falconry was rarely carried out during the Kamakura period. However, the fact that the bakufu repeatedly banned it indicates that falconry was actually actively carried out. The Kamakura bakufu was trying to control falconry. *Azuma Kagami* description on September 29, 1195 states, “The general ordered the gokenins of each country to stop falconry, but falconry to catch shrine offerings is exempt.” a. The description on November 29, 1250 also states, “Since the time of Yoritomo, it is prohibited except for falconry to catch offerings at the shrine.” The description on December 7, 1213 states that “strict orders were repeatedly issued,” as seen in the December 16, 1245 falconry ban (additional law, new addition 160). Falconry continued despite being banned. Morimura, a priest of Kai Ichinomiya Shrine, complained that “some people do not deliver birds as offerings because of the ban on falconry.” In this way, the bakufu again notified those who did not offer offerings, saying, “Hunting for offerings is permitted,” allowing falconry for offerings at the shrine (*Azuma Kagami*, March 30, 1246).

The ban on falconry in the Kamakura bakufu became stricter. In 1266, the bakufu ordered : “Even to catch offerings,

do not hunt falconry unless it is within the territory of the shrine. Even within the territory of the shrine, the officials of the shrine. Otherwise, all hunting is banned ”(*Azuma Kagami*, March 28, 1266). Behind this strictness was the emphasis on the idea of avoiding life-taking and carnivorous eating in the central part of the bakufu in the 1250s. It is probable that it was the Saidaiji Temple’s Shingon Vinaya Buddhism that emphasized the precepts and clearly prohibited hunting and fishing, which influenced the ideas of the bakufu. Furthermore, in 1252, the Kamakura bakufu appointed Prince Munetaka (1242-74), the son of Emperor Go-Saga (1220-72), as a shogun. It is probable that this brought part of the customs of the imperial family to the bakufu. Hojo Shigetoki (1198-1261), a leader of the Kamakura bakufu as *rensho* (assistant to the *shikken*), wrote his family precepts from 1256 to 1261. This precepts, called “ *Gokurakuji-dono Mishosoku* (Messages of Hojo Shigetoki)” states that hunting such as falconry is a sin and should be avoided (Article 45). Samurai used to specialize in hunting, but in the 13th century some samurai considered it a sin and began to avoid it.

Makigari (hunt the beast) and falconry

When the Kamakura bakufu was first established, it engaged in large-scale hunting such as a large hunting competition (*makigari*) at the foot of Mt. Fuji. However, *makigari* (hunting the beasts such as deer) and falconry (hunting the birds) were considered to be different cultures. Yoritomo’s *makigari* and falconry were inherited by his successor, the second shogun, Minamoto no Yoriie (1182-1204, Yoritomo’s son). However, the third shogun, Minamoto no Sanetomo (1192-1219, Yoriie’s younger brother), and the subsequent shogun from the regent family did not practice such hunting themselves. Nevertheless, falconry was part of the political culture that symbolized authority. There was no order from the bakufu to ban *makigari*, but orders to ban falconry were repeatedly issued. Therefore, it is considered that the ban on falconry did not prohibit the capture of life, but was banned as a *kasa* (a luxury that is not suitable for status). Volume 5 of the *mana-bon* (Chinese character) edition of the *Soga Monogatari* (Tale of the Soga Brothers) includes a scene in which Yoritomo asks his vassals about the crime of hunting. First, Kajiwara Kagetoki stated that *makigari* for catching four-legged beasts is not a sin, and falconry for catching birds with a falcon is a sin. This was an illogical theory and was a prelude to the

subsequent explanation of falconry. Shigetada Hatakeyama spent a lot of time explaining the tradition and history of falconry (more than 1,000 characters in the oldest *mana-bon* edition of the *Soga Monogatari*) and concluded that “falconry should be preferred over *makigari*.” It was an ending story that everyone was impressed by Shigetada’s knowledge of falconry. From the latter half of the 13th century to the beginning of the 14th century, when the *Soga Monogatari* was completed, it is possible that the knowledge of falconry was more appreciated by samurai than *makigari*.

3 Falcons of the imperial capital and “*Taka no Tori* (Bird caught by falcon)”

14th century court aristocrats and falconry

Katano in Kawachi (Osaka), Kitano in Yamashiro (Kyoto), and Udano in Yamato (Nara), where the emperor used to hunt, were secured as *kin'ya* (a hunting ground to secure offerings) and maintained as a place for falconers to provide food to the palace. In the *Motonari Ason Takagariki* (Falconry Record) completed in the latter half of the 13th century, three falconers were assigned to Udano and Katano, and six of them took turns every day in search of *kugo* (the emperor’s meals). It is stated that he was hunting birds. It is also stated that 24 birds were dedicated to the palace a month because birds were not used as food in *rokusai nichi. kin'ya* and the falconer who was active there continued to maintain the relationship between the emperor and his court until the Sengoku era (Warring States period).

In the early 14th century, *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays by Kenko) included stories of Konoe Iehira and the falconer Shimotsukenu Takekatsu exchanging question about the method of tying a bird caught by a falcon to a tree branch (*toshiba*) (Chapter 66), as well as the story of Tsuchimikado Dainagon Minamoto Masafusa keeping a falcon (Chapter 128). At the same time, *Kasuga Gongen Genki'e* (Illustrated Miracles of the Kasuga Deity) depicts a young man holding a falcon in a wealthy aristocratic mansion (Scroll 5), and falconry was a symbol of authority in the aristocratic society at that time.

The *Kasuga Gongen Genki'e* was ordered and created by Saionji Kinpira (1264-1315). After the Jōkyū War (1221), the Saionji family took over the duties of the *Kanto moshitsugi*, a negotiator with the Kamakura bakufu, and gained power. The *Motonari Ason Takagariki* was recorded in

the *Zokugunshoruiju* (Series of late Edo periods) and *Tankaku Sosho* (Series compiled by Mizuno Tadanaka, Published 1847-53), and was thought to have been written by Jimyoin Motonari. However, it was actually the work of one of the Saionji families, probably Sanekane, and later became believed to be a book about the Jimyoin family’s falconry. The book says, “Since Saionji Kintsune (1171-1244) falconry, the dynasty’s falconry became popular again. Saneuji (1194-1269), the son of Kintsune, trained falcons especially well.” The *Sagan monogatari*, written by Nijo Yoshimoto in 1386, describes the dynasty’s falconry. According to the book, Saionji Kintsune and his descendants liked falconry, and Kinpira’s father, Sanekane (1249-1322), also liked falconry and its prey, saying, “I ate only the pheasant meat that the falcon caught.”

After the collapse of the dictatorship of *tokusou* (the dictatorship of Kamakura Hojo family), the new Kenmu Restoration era began with Emperor Go-Daigo (1288-1339) at the center. However, the foundation of traditional authority continued to wobble and turmoil was widespread. In August 1334, a graffiti on the Nijo riverside included in the *Kenmu Nenkan* (Kenmu chronology) recorded and satirized how confused the capital was. The graffiti says, “Some people have a falcon on their hands, but wings are broken and distorted, so they can’t catch birds.” Around this time, it shows that the upstart possessed a falcon to show his authority. The *Taiheiki* epic explained the luxury of Chigusa Tadaaki (?-1336), who was heavily used by Emperor Go-Daigo, “Tadaaki went to the Uchino (palace ruins) and Kitayama area with many horse-riding servants, sent out his dog, and spent the whole day falconry.” (*Taiheiki*, Volume 12).

Muromachi bakufu (Shogunate) and falcon

As the conflict during the Northern and Southern Dynasties (Nanboku-cho) continued, the authority of the *shugo* (military governor) increased. The conflict finally ended during the reign of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408), the third shogun of the Muromachi bakufu. Since Yoshimitsu did not practice hunting, there is little historical material on the relationship between the administration and hunting during this period. However, many of the daimyo appointed *shugo* practiced falconry. For example, the *Oto Monogatari*, which is a record of the Oto battle that broke out in Shinano in 1400, is that when Yoshimitsu’s reliable vassal Ogasawara Nagahide, who had been named *shugo* of Shinano, put a

falcon on his fist and went to Zenkoji. It says that it has entered. His falcon was praised as “a rare and excellent falcon in recent years and deserves the highest praise.”

Ashikaga Yoshimitsu was trained in court ceremonies, *waka* and *renga* poetry, and instrumental music by Nijo Yoshimoto. Yoshimoto not only wrote the text of falconry, but also practiced falconry (*Moromori ki*, January 3, 1363). He may have taught the samurai how to hunt falconry. *Sekiso Orai*, which is thought to have been written by Ichijo Kaneyoshi (1402-81) in the late 15th century, noted that “The families that have passed down and practiced falconry techniques for generations are Sono, Bomon, Yamamomo, and so on, as well as the Hata and Shimotsukenu.” Sono, Bomon, and Yamamomo were all actual noble families, while Hata and Shimotsukenu were guardian or falconer families. The falconry text *Mogyuhyo Orai*, which was written around the mid-16th century, noted that “Many nobles and samurai were divided into left and right to compete for the amount of falconry prey.” This was not a fiction written in an epistolary textbook, but an expression based on the actual falconry customs of the Muromachi bakufu, its daimyo, and the aristocrats of the time.

Nijo Yoshimoto wrote in the *Sagano monogatari* that “falcons are given as an offering from countries such as Bando (Eastern Japan) every year” and “falcons are given as a gift, just like horses.” In noble societies, falcons were frequently presented and gifted. The samurai also seem to have adopted this noble tradition, but there are few documents showing that falcons were presented to the Kamakura bakufu. However, there is no doubt that the falcon was given to the Muromachi bakufu. The sixth shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori, the eighth Yoshimasa, and his successors Yoshihisa, Yoshitane, Yoshizumi, Yoshiharu, Yoshiteru (1536-65), and Yoshiaki (1537-97) all received falcons.

Gifts during the Sengoku era

Gifts of falcons took place not only to and from the Muromachi bakufu but also between daimyo, often as evidence of good relations and alliances in the Sengoku era. For example, Uesugi Kenshin (1530-78) donated a female goshawk to Rokkaku Sadayori in Oni (shiga) in 1551 and a goshawk to Hosokawa Harumoto of Kyoto in 1552. At the request of the deputy officer, Ashikaga Yoshiteru, Yoshiteru, and Odachi Harumitsu, an aide to Yoshiteru, were given goshawks. In the same year, he gave a goshawk to Ashikaga

Yoshiharu and Asakura Norikage (1477-1555) of Echizen (Fukui), and another to the falcon-loving noble Konoe Sakihisa in 1559. In 1562, he received a “rare hawk” from Akita Sanesue in Dewa (Akita). In 1567, he sent a goshawk to Asakura Yoshikage and Ashikaga Yoshiaki, in 1569 he gave a goshawk to commemorate Oda Nobunaga’s entry into Kyoto, and in 1570 he sent a goshawk to Tokugawa Ieyasu. In 1571, he received a rare hawk and four falcons from Nobunaga.

There was an etiquette to the gifting and receiving of falcons’ prey (*Taka no tori*, falcon birds) as well as to the gifting and receiving of the falcons. For example, the *Kachuchikubanoki*, a text on ceremonial practice composed of “years of listening to old men’s stories” by a retainer of the *shugo* daimyo Toki family in 1511, described how to make a list that accompanies gifts of trivial food and drink and mentioned that falcon birds should be prioritized (written first) over any food. There were also specific practices beyond gift-giving on the cooking, serving, and eating of falcon birds.

Change from pheasant to crane

In the early modern period, the “*Taka no tori* (falcon birds)” given as gifts included cranes, swans, geese, and ducks. However, until the 16th century, “falcon birds” were generally pheasants, and since the Heian period, only pheasants have been served at official banquets. Both the 12th century *Ruiju zatsuyosho* (palace guide) and the 13th century *Chuji ruiki* (a book on kitchen customs) noted that the birds used for the banquet were pheasants. The *Tsurezuregusa* also noted that, “The most wonderful bird is the pheasant” (Chapter 118). The *Shijoryu Hochosho*, a cookbook dated February 1489 states that “falcon bird” means “only pheasant” and “bird” means “pheasant” in the ranking of delicious ingredients. The *Hoko kakugo no koto*, a guide for servants, also noted that “falcon birds are pheasants.” From ancient times to the 16th century, it was clear that the pheasant was in the best position among all the birds caught by falcon.

However, the *Kaei Sandaiki*, a record of the Muromachi bakufu ritual, said that in the New Year of 1421 and 1424, the swans prepared for the Muromachi Palace were cooked by the Ogusa school style kitchen knife technique. The *Sogo Ozoshi*, a book of ceremonies owned by Ise Sadayori before 1528, described how to write a menu to accompany a gift : swans, *kugui* swans, geese, ducks,

pheasants, cranes, starlings, blue herons, night herons, thrushes, snipe, and quail, and rabbits in the case of quadrupeds. All of these birds are prey to falcons, and the “quadruped beasts” are limited to rabbits, and it is clear that they were captured by falconry. However, the first one written was a swan. There were reports that the Koga Kubo (15th century Kanto Kubo) gifts were often swans, which meant that the samurai may have focused on swans as the main “falcon birds”.

4 Appearance of schools

Falconry family and school

Hoyo (Falconry, Yoshikawa Kobunkan), edited by the Imperial Household Agency’s Shikibu in 1931, details many “Falconry schools”. The origins of each school remain unclear, as its commentary relied primarily on books on Falconry, named after their school. Most Falconry books were written after the 16th century. However, pre-15th century falconry practices and techniques must have been discussed and written down in various contexts. For example, some Falconry books with “Saionji family” in the title refer to Suwa Shrine, and the “Utsunomiya school” Falconry book is similar to the Falconry book that seems to have been written and distributed in Kyoto. Contains text. Therefore, the content of these books was multi-layered and complex.

Hoyo described the Jimyoin and Saionji families as “the falconry family in the *Kinko* (medieval)”. As mentioned above, there is no doubt that the Saionji family liked falconry during the Kamakura period. As for the Jimyoin family, at the beginning of the 16th century, they collected falcon books from other families such as Saionji and began to teach the secrets of falcons in the same way as the waka poem *Kokindenju*. However, the Jimyoin family was not a “Falconry family” during the Kamakura period. Many Falconry books named after the Jimyoin family appeared in the early modern period, but these books were the result of the Jimyoin family’s promotion of the Falconry family since the 16th century. It was also in the early modern period that *Takagariki* of the Saionji family came to be believed to be the work of Jimyoin Motomori. Therefore, the Falconry method adopted and taught by the Jimyoin family as a family business was not directly related to practice (actual falconry).

Seirai school and Netsu school

The first falconry school *Hoyo* described was the Seirai school. Seirai is believed to be derived from the name Seirai that existed in the 11th century. Seirai was called “falconer” in *Sonpi bunmyak*, a genealogy edited in the 14th century. The following anecdotes are published in *Kojidan*, a collection of anecdotes edited in the early 13th century. The person who got the Shinano falcon said, “It’s a falcon captured in western Japan,” and gave it to Seirai to try out Seirai’s falconry technique. Seirai correctly speculated that the falcon came from Shinano (*Kojidan* 4-13, episode 316). In March 1206, Goro Sakurai of Shinano talked about the oral tradition of an excellent falconer in front of the shogun and showed his technique. After that, Hojo Yoshitoki told the shogun, “Seirai was a master of this technique.” (*Azuma Kagami* March 12th and 13th). Seirai was also known as an excellent falconer in the samurai society of the Kamakura period, but the origin of the Seirai school is not clear.

Hoyo states that the Netu school is “a school dedicated to the Shinshu (Shinano) Suwa Shrine,” based on the following text in the *Suwa Daimeijin Ekotoba*.

Netsu Shinpei Sadanao, whose originally the surname of *Shigeno*, received a message from gods in his mother’s womb, and according to the Suwa clan, he came to call him the surname of *Shin* (or *Jin*), and *ohori* (the highest priest of Suwa Shrine) Sadamitsu’s grace child. It became the name of *Shinpei*. As the lord of Suwa District, he served in the *Hogen* and *Heiji* battles. He was known not only for his martial arts, but also as a falconer unparalleled in eastern Japan.

However, since *Suwa Daimyoin Ekotoba* was written by the Suwa family in Kyoto, a samurai who serves the Muromachi bakufu, it may have been trying to connect Suwa family with the Falconry tradition of the Netsu family. The Netsu family was certainly a parishioner at Suwa Shrine and used the letters “*Shin*”. According to the *Hakuyoki* (White Falcon Chronicle) of 1327, Netsu Shinpei of Shinano provided a white falcon to the regent’s families. According to the description, Netsu Shinpei was a falconer unparalleled in eastern Japan. However, Falconry’s book, which includes the name Netsu in its title, says almost nothing about offerings to Suwa Shrine. Therefore, it is arguable whether the Netsu school originated from falconry to offer offerings to Suwa Shrine.

About the Suwa school

The most famous Falconry school is the Suwa school, whose technique was inherited by the falconers of the prewar Imperial Household Ministry (later the Imperial Household Agency). Suwa Shrine, one of the major shrines in eastern Japan, has been particularly respected by samurai and the Kamakura bakufu from the beginning because it is well known as a military god. Even if falconry was banned, falconry offerings at Suwa Shrine were usually excluded. For example, on August 19, 1212, the *shugo* and *Jito* were ordered to ban falconry, with the exception of falconry offerings at Suwa Daimyōjin in Shinano (*Azuma Kagami*). The Kamakura bakufu Law in the latter half of the Kamakura period strictly prohibited falconry by persons other than priests, even if it was falconry within the territory of the shrine, regarding falconry to procure offerings from the shrine. However, the person in charge of *Misayama* and *Satsuki-e* at Suwa Shrine is different from others, so it was stipulated that this ban does not apply to Shinano.

The *Suwa Mifurei no kosho*, which were compiled around the late 15th century by the Suwa Shrine secretary (the chief priest who supports *Ohori*) Moriya Mitsuzane or his son Tsuguzane, recorded the duties for the Suwa shrine's *Hana-e* (Buddha's Birthday), *Satsuki-e*, and *Misayama* ceremonies from 1446 through 1489. The book records the names, territories, and devoted amounts of those who served the event (lords of each region) and their agents during the 44 years. Among them was the dedication of more than 97 sacred falcons as offerings. As Suwa Shrine was closely linked with falconry, it is not difficult to believe that the families serving at its ceremonies had specific falcon offering practices and passed on specific falconry techniques. *Hoyo* refers to the Suwa school as "the techniques of offering falcons at Suwa Shrine in Shinshu." However, much remains unclear about where and when the Suwa school was established and the process of its formation.

The Kyoto Suwa family also passed on falconry techniques and left behind falconry books. The Suwa appeared on the title pages of falconry books as far back as the medieval era and the early modern copies were all from the Kyoto family, indicating that the Suwa school may have originated in Kyoto. As far as can be discerned, the oldest records of learning about Suwa school falconry were in the *Ise no Kami Kokoroegaki*, which is thought to have been written in 1581 by Uwai Kakuken (1545-89), a minister in the

Shimazu (daimyo of Satsuma and Osumi). Kakuken wrote that "falconry in my family must be according to the Suwa school." The Shimazu clan, which once held lands in Shinano, had a deep respect for the Suwa Shrine and established many Suwa (Minakata) branch shrines in Satsuma and Osumi (Kagoshima). Further research is needed to determine whether the Suwa school falconry techniques that Kakuken studied originated in Kyoto or at the Suwa branch shrines in Satsuma and Osumi.

5 Falcon and New Regimes "Tenka"

Muromachi Shogunate during the Sengoku era

Politics in 16th century Kyoto was unstable as even with the title of shogun, the Muromachi bakufu had little independent authority; however, Ashikaga Yoshiharu, Yoshiteru, and Yoshiaki were practicing falconry and gifting their prey as offerings to the emperor. Later, the Edo shoguns presented the birds (and particularly cranes) captured by their falcons to the emperor to be prepared in the eastern garden of the Seiryoden (later the Kogoshō) for the imperial table, a ceremony called *Tsuru no hocho* (Crane Knife), which is thought to have been derived from the Sengoku era Muromachi bakufu.

The shogun Yoshiharu offered a pheasant to Emperor Go-Nara in March 1535 (*Oyudono no ue nikki*, March 5) and in February, 1545, with Konoe Taneie, Daikakuji Gishun, Hosokawa Harumoto, and others, he went falconry in Yase and offered up the resulting pheasant (*Tokitsugukyo ki*, February 7). Yoshiteru also offered a falconry pheasant to Emperor Ogimachi in February 1565 (*ibid.*, February 22) from his falconry forays in the Kyoto suburbs. Yoshiaki, the last of the Muromachi shogun, offered a goose to the same emperor in obedience to Oda Nobunaga (1534-82) on September 25, 1568, on entering Kyoto. Nobunaga then presented a goose on October 21 and Yoshiaki a swan on October 25 (*Oyudono no ue nikki*, October 25). Thereafter, Yoshiaki continued to go falconry and to present the resulting prey as offerings to the emperor.

Hunting performed by Nobunaga

The frequent references to falcons in Ohta Gyuichi's *Shinchoki* (*Shinchokoki*, Biography of Oda Nobunaga) indicated that it was well known that he was fond of falcons, with other sources also indicating that Nobunaga frequently

went falconry. Gifts of falcons to and from daimyo were also given earlier than those given by Ashikaga Yoshiaki. In May 1569, Nobunaga received falcons from Uesugi Terutora (later Kenshin). In March 1571, he requested a falcon from Kenshin, which was gifted in the following September (*Uesugi-ke monjo*, etc.). In April 1572, Nobunaga received a falcon from Kobayakawa Takakage, and in 1570 he went falconry with Yoshiaki and others (*Tokitsugukyo ki*, March 5); however, after dismissing Yoshiaki from Kyoto in 1573, as his power expanded Nobunaga acquired new falcons and held frequent grand falconry events in Kyoto and surrounding areas.

It has also been revealed that Nobunaga went deer-hunting at Inabayama in Gifu. At the beginning of Scroll 5 of the *Sonkeikaku 15 volumes Shinchoki* (held in the Maeda Ikutokukai Sonkeikaku Bunko Library), it is stated that in 1572 Nobunaga held a deer hunt in Dachiboku, located north of Inabayama (Gifu Castle), with whom he and his vassals hunted and shot many deer and other beasts from the mountains and valleys with bows and arrows and guns. When a deer passed in front of Nobunaga, he shot it with his bow and was satisfied. It is recorded that they shot 78 beasts that day, which indicated that it was a very large hunt. As this story did not appear in the more commonly read Ikeda family edition of the *Shinchoki*, Nobunaga's deer-hunting remained unknown.

Apparently, he held a hunting competition in which his battle prowess was demonstrated against the animals instead; however, this does not appear to have taken place near Kyoto. While Nobunaga is often remembered as a destroyer of traditional authority, he was well acquainted with the Muromachi bakufu and appears to have understood Kyoto's traditional political culture related to the importance of falconry, the prey offerings, and the gifting of falcons. Therefore, it is possible that he was deer-hunting at his base in Gifu, but practicing falconry in and near Kyoto.

Hideyoshi's falconry

Hashiba (Toyotomi) Hideyoshi (1536-98), who was appointed kanpaku (chief advisor to the emperor) in 1585, became the dajo-daijin (Chancellor of the Realm) the following year, and in April 1588, requested that Emperor Go-Yozei visit him in Jurakudai Hall so that the daimyo could swear fealty to both of them. Hideyoshi cleverly made use of the traditional authority of the imperial court. He began

presenting the emperor with "*Taka no tori* (falcon birds)" in 1587 and had a crane prepared at the Seiryoden on January 17, 1588 (*Oyudono no ue nikki*).

It is clear from an entry in the *Matsudaira Ietada Diary* for March 30, 1588, that Hideyoshi began to like falcons: "The Kampaku has become fond of falcons." In April 1588, Hideyoshi demanded the Shimazu family for a falcon from the Hyuga (Miyazaki) nests and in May he offered *Taka no tori* (falcon birds) to the court. In October he went falconry in Settsu (Osaka) and in March 1589, he was presented with a "*Meaka no tsuru tori* (red-eyed crane falcon)" by Date Masamune. Hideyoshi seemed to follow Nobunaga's example when he tried to falcon in Kira, Mikawa in November. Around this time, Tsugaru also began offering falcons to Hideyoshi. In 1590, when Uesugi Kagekatsu and Otani Yoshitsugu ordered inspections on the land of Dewa (Yamagata and Akita), Hideyoshi ordered the falcon bird shop (the hut that breeds falcons) to be seized.

In November 1591, Hideyoshi held a spectacular falconry event (*Otakano*) in Mino, Owari, and Mikawa accompanied by daimyo, vassals, many falcons, and more than 150 falconers. When he returned to Kyoto, he showed the emperor a grand march (*Taiko-sama gunki no uchi* [*Record of Hideyoshi's Military Feats*], etc.). After that, Hideyoshi held a banquet for the aristocrats who served in the court, and presented a large number of geese, cranes, pheasants, etc. as "falcon birds" to the emperor and retired emperor. This *Otakano* was a big event that surpassed the famous "*Kitano no O cha no Yū*" event held by Hideyoshi.

Hideyoshi invaded South Korea in 1592, but before that, he had a falcon captured in South Korea carried to Hideyoshi (*Korai-taka*). Around this time, Hideyoshi had the northern daimyo prepare a route to safely carry the falcon from Ezo (Hokkaido). In 1594 and 1595 he ordered the daimyo of Kyushu, Dewa and Echigo (Niigata) to hunt birds in many letters. The purpose was to collect prey birds in the Kinki region.

For Hideyoshi, who had achieved the unprecedented feat of becoming a kanpaku chancellor from a samurai background, the offering of falcons and their prey represented the political connection between the "*Tenkabito* (ruler)" and the emperor. Early modern political structures were a hybrid of the power of the samurai, who had the actual authority, and the traditional order centered on the emperor. The offering of "*Taka no tsuru* (falcon crane)" and the Crane Knife ritual

symbolized this connection. Falconers symbolized one aspect of this new “*Tenka* (regime)” that had developed by exploiting traditional authority in Kyoto.

Tokugawa regime and falconry

It is clear that Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) preferred falconry earlier than Hideyoshi. In 1583, Hideyoshi presented Ieyasu with the female goshawk from Hyuga (Miyazaki). After that, Ieyasu repeatedly gave falcon gifts to the daimyo of eastern Japan. In April 1586, when forming an alliance with the Hojo clan, he sent a goshawk, and in 1588 and 1589, he received falcons from Date Masamune and Mogami Yoshimitsu. In 1590, after the fall of the Hojo clan, Ieyasu was transferred to Kanto, where the following year he formed a 150 team of falconers (*Matsudaira Ietada Diary*).

After Hideyoshi's death in 1598, Ieyasu went falconry in 1599 in Ibaraki, Settsu, and offered the crane he took to the emperor. In 1600, after his victory at the Battle of Sekigahara, he received two goshawks from Mogami Yoshimitsu and the following year received twelve falcons from Uesugi Kagekatsu. After being given the Sei-i taishogun title in 1603, in August 1604, Ieyasu ordered that arrangements be made in several regions, from Tsugaru to Echigo to Omi, for falconers to bring him Matsumae falcons, and also demanded a young goshawk from the Satake clan of Akita. In November, 1604, sixty or seventy of the shogun's goshawks died (for reasons unknown), which indicated that at that time, Ieyasu had a large number of falcons (*Tokugawa jikki*, etc.).

In 1605 Ieyasu stepped down from the Shogun position and passed it on to his son, Tokugawa Hidetada (1579-1632); however, even though Ieyasu moved to Sunpu (Shizuoka), he remained the power behind the throne. In 1607, Korean ambassadors brought Ieyasu fifty goshawks. Ieyasu continued to hunting. In 1611, he used a white falcon around Inage (Chiba) to bring down a white-necked crane, in 1612, he held a grand hunt in the Tokai area, and in 1613, he also went falconry in Kasai and Inage, taking down cranes, geese, and ducks.

Tokugawa Hidetada and Iemitsu (1604-51) also frequently went falconry and continued the ceremonial shogun tradition of presenting the emperor with a “*Taka no tsuru* (falcon crane)”. While Ieyasu, Hidetada, and Iemitsu prohibited falconry of the nobles and made the gifting of falcons and their prey a national ceremony, as the rulers of Kanto, they also practiced large-scale hunting competitions

and took down beasts themselves. This was to all appearances meant to be a boastful display of the military power that had created the regime. On the other hand, the falconry activities and the offering of the “*Taka no tsuru* (falcon crane)” are thought to symbolize one aspect of the Tokugawa Shogunate (Edo bakufu) and its *taisei* political system, which was entrusted with national rule by the emperor.

Acknowledgement

This paper is an English translation of Katsuaki Nakazawa's “Japanese Falconry in the Middle Ages” published in “A History of Japanese Falconry” (Bensei shupan, 2021) edited by Fukuda Chizuru and Takei Koichi. In its Japanese version, I posted some medieval paintings depicting falcons. They are:

Fig.1 Falconers in *Nogyoko kozu* (Old picture scroll of Imperial Falconry) (Copied in the early modern period, Imperial Household Agency Archives and Mausolea Department)

Fig.2 Falcon of the samurai mansion in *Ippen hijiri-e* (Picture scroll depicting holy priest Ippen) (1299, Shojokoji Temple)

Fig.3 Aristocratic youth with a falcon in *Kasuga Gongen Genki* (Picture scroll depicting the spiritual power of Kasuga Shrine) (1309, Imperial Household Agency San no maru Shozokan : Museum of the Imperial Collections)

Fig.4 Falcon hut and kitchen in *Kasuga Gongen Genki* (1309, Imperial Household Agency San no maru Shozokan : Museum of the Imperial Collections)

Fig.5 Falconry party in *Rakuchu Rakugai zu Byobu* (Screen depicting the scenery of Kyoto and its Surroundings) owned by the Uesugi family (16th century, Yonezawa City Uesugi Museum)

These images have been omitted in this paper. If you would like to see these images, please refer to the Japanese version. Finally, I would like to thank JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP16H01946 in order to a grant that made it possible to complete this study.

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