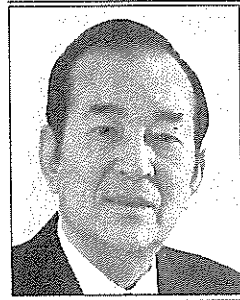


Opinion & Analysis

Shogun Ieyasu, Tokyo's visionary founder

The Emperor will step down on April 30, 2019, with the crown prince scheduled to ascend to the throne a day later, on May 1. It will be the first abdication by an emperor in about 200 years, or when Emperor Kokaku abdicated in the later part of the Edo period (1603-1867). As such, the 2020 Tokyo Olympic



INSIGHTS
into the
WORLD

By Masayuki Yamauchi

Games will be declared open by the new emperor. The festival of peace is certain to be the best opportunity for Japan to introduce to the rest of the world the new emperor as its new "symbol of the State and the unity of the people" as defined by the Constitution.

Incidentally, the year 2020 will be the 430th anniversary of Tokugawa Ieyasu's first triumphal entry into Edo, now Tokyo, in 1590. Up until then, the area had been an out-of-the-way, sparsely populated town. The Tokugawa shogunate founded by Ieyasu transformed Edo into a sprawling city with a population of 1 million in only about a century. In comparison, London had a population of about 460,000 at about the same time. Paris had a population of 550,000 in the early 19th century.

Ieyasu carried out a series of massive urban infrastructure development and civil engineering projects, including coastal reclamation and water supply and sewerage systems with a view to developing Edo as a huge center of both administration and consumption. In other words, the first shogun set the foundation of the metropolis of Tokyo.

Edo Castle became the Imperial Palace in 1868, serving as the residence of Emperor Meiji. Even four centuries after the first shogun implemented extensive renovation work, the site continues to give the Japanese population a sense of peace as the green heart of the Japanese capital. Ieyasu realized the "one-nation" integrity of the country through what can be called the bakuhau rule system in which the shogunate or bakufu vested the autonomous power in daimyo feudal lords to govern their domains — called han — but made them strictly subservient to the shogun.

The "century of shogun Ieyasu" was the period during which the legitimacy of bakufu rule was established without countering Imperial authority. Recalling such a period can

erally "annual tribute" — and actually a tax daimyo lords levied on farmers' rice harvests. Ieyasu kept the rate of nengu low for farmers in areas adjacent to Edo, a measure to make it affordable for them to have spare time to engage in home-based craftsmanship. I think Japan could not have laid the groundwork, though unwittingly, for eventually coping well with the arrival of the Industrial Revolution if Ieyasu had not exerted his leadership in this way.

A bit of luck is essential to be a real leader. When strongman Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-98) led two campaigns against Korea in 1592-98, Ieyasu and his troops did not take part in the invasion. As a result, Ieyasu escaped from being a warlord associated with a blood-soaked war of injustice. Such luck helped Japan get closer to normalizing relations with Korea and China when the Tokugawa shogunate came into being. For example, Korea sent official delegations to Japan while Chinese junks were sailing to and from Nagasaki for trade.

Ieyasu handed over the title of shogun to one of his sons in 1605 and moved to Sunpu Castle in Shizuoka. When King Sho Nei of the Ryukyu Kingdom (now Okinawa Prefecture), who was kept under arrest by the Satsuma or Kagoshima forces, visited Ieyasu at Sunpu in 1610, the former shogun courteously treated the Ryukyu ruler by giving an "osashimukai" welcome on the upper row of the reception hall in a manner befitting the monarch of a sovereign entity. This episode reflected Ieyasu's strategic way of thinking — he correctly understood the geopolitical dynamics of East Asia and regarded Ryukyu as a point of liaison with the Ming dynasty as in the case of Korea vis-a-vis the Chinese dynasty. His way of treating the Ryukyu king attests to the fact that he had really far-reaching foresight as a leader. In contrast, the Meiji government demoted King Sho Tai of the Ryukyu Kingdom to the rank of marquis, confining him in Tokyo until he died as the kingdom's last monarch.

Lesson for today

The Meiji government renamed Edo as Tokyo, as it had every reason to do. Edo was far superior to all other locations in the country in terms of both public safety and public hygiene.

But the greatest reason for the Meiji government to keep Edo intact as the country's capital was the ease the city gave the new leadership to formulate a long-range development plan. The new government sought to avoid fiscal waste by

Honjo" (Eight battle formations in defense of a castle keep). This popular image of Ieyasu distorts the fact that he was a leader deserving prominence in world history.

I would like to use the fox and hedgehog metaphor of ancient Greek poet Archilochus to illustrate the greatness of Ieyasu. The feudal leader was a generalist like the fox that knows many little things, but he was also a specialist like the hedgehog that knows one big thing.

Ieyasu had to go through hardship in his childhood. He was only 3 years old when his mother was divorced, while he lived as a hostage from 6 to 18 years old. Those childhood experiences helped foster in him the qualities indispensable for a warlord as well as a political leader to come up with well-thought, far-sighted strategic solutions and elaborate tactical ones. When he was patiently subservient to powerful warlords Oda Nobunaga (1534-82) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, he learned how to hide his sharpness and creativity like the hedgehog and ensure self-effacement like the fox.

Nonetheless, no matter how shrewdly such talents are concealed, capable people tend to invariably stand out like cream rising to the top. Ieyasu did so in the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, a decisive clash with the Toyotomi forces ahead of his launch of the Tokugawa shogunate. As a matter of course, his triumph led to his Imperial appointment as sei taishogun, which literally means a "great general having subdued the eastern barbarians."

Ieyasu is also known for his patience and decisiveness to turn ideals into reality, as symbolized by his declaration that he would be ready to commit hara-kiri in order to save all of those who were loyal to him. He made such a determination known when Hideyoshi requested that Ieyasu come to Kyoto after a battle in 1584 in the Komaki and Nagakute areas, now parts of Aichi Prefecture. His retainers tried to dissuade him from going to Kyoto as they suspected the request was a plot to kill him. Ieyasu is said to have told them that he would be willing to sacrifice himself if his death would be able to end the warfare and save numerous lives.

Such a philosophical view of life can be said to be one of the qualities supreme leaders must have regardless of age and location. Ieyasu had learned about waka poetry and noh plays, though he did not indulge in them.

During the 1614-15 Siege of Osaka, a series of battles between the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Toyotomi clan, Ieyasu was told of the existence of what locals described as "achi" reeds that had leaves rising from only one side of

the "Commentaries on the Gallic Wars." But the shogun was blessed with the ability to leave witty epigrams that are as convincing as those of Napoleon Bonaparte.

When Ieyasu began compiling the shogunate ordinance titled "Kinchu Narabini Kugechu Shohatto," or a set of regulations the emperor and Kyoto nobles had to abide by, he had the relevant staff copy many books treasured by the Imperial family and noble families. This project enabled a large number of such books to survive fires and be passed down the generations.

Like Muawiyah I, who established the Umayyad dynasty of the caliphate and said it was not good for a caliph or supreme leader to get too involved in a particular academic field, Ieyasu approached the academic world to the degree necessary as the head of government.

I assume Ieyasu knew Chinese philosopher and author Lao-tzu's teaching: "He who knows that enough is enough will always have enough." In "Honami Gyojoki," the family records of artist Honami Koetsu, who had close ties with the shogunate, Ieyasu was quoted as saying, "An appropriate approach to politics is like cleaning a square lacquered food box with a wooden pestle." He meant that as no square box could be cleaned perfectly with a pestle, the national political system could smoothly work when the government tolerated trivial matters.

Ieyasu is also said to have quoted the common saying, "A clear stream is avoided by fish." He remains unparalleled in history in terms of recruiting people with diverse talent — he gave weight to people's strengths while caring little about their weaknesses.

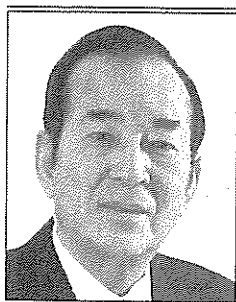
In fact, the shogun relied on a surprisingly diverse talent pool, including, among many others, wealthy merchants, gold chasers specializing in creating ceremonial, decorative gold items and samurai of the low class from outside the jikisan corps directly serving the Tokugawa government, as well as members of down-and-out noble and daimyo families. Ieyasu even employed foreigners as his aides — British navigator William Adams, also known as Miura Anjin, and Dutch citizen Jan Joosten van Lodensteijn — whose Japanese name Yayousu became the origin of the Yaezu area on the east side of Tokyo Station.

"Tokugawa Jikki," a collection of official records of the Tokugawa shogunate, preserves the following words of Ieyasu in Supplement Vol. 18: "[There are those who] do not fully know people's value because they do not know how wise they are. Just because they cannot fully utilize people with talent and expertise, they may choose to discuss national politics only with useless people instead, an approach that should be avoided."

As the year 2019 will mark the enthronement of the new emperor and the year 2020 will be the 430th anniversary of Ieyasu's entry into Edo, these years will be a good opportunity for Japanese society of today to look back at what Ieyasu and his era experienced. There is much we can learn.

2019, 2020 will
be a good opportunity
to look
back at what
Ieyasu's era
experienced

The Emperor will step down on April 30, 2019, with the crown prince scheduled to ascend to the throne a day later, on May 1. It will be the first abdication by an emperor in about 200 years, or when Emperor Kokaku abdicated in the later part of the Edo period (1603-1867). As such, the 2020 Tokyo Olympic



INSIGHTS
into the
WORLD

By Masayuki Yamauchi

Games will be declared open by the new emperor. The festival of peace is certain to be the best opportunity for Japan to introduce to the rest of the world the new emperor as its new "symbol of the State and the unity of the people" as defined by the Constitution.

Incidentally, the year 2020 will be the 430th anniversary of Tokugawa Ieyasu's first triumphal entry into Edo, now Tokyo, in 1590. Up until then, the area had been an out-of-the-way, sparsely populated town. The Tokugawa shogunate founded by Ieyasu transformed Edo into a sprawling city with a population of 1 million in only about a century. In comparison, London had a population of about 460,000 at about the same time. Paris had a population of 550,000 in the early 19th century.

Ieyasu carried out a series of massive urban infrastructure development and civil engineering projects, including coastal reclamation and water supply and sewerage systems with a view to developing Edo as a huge center of both administration and consumption. In other words, the first shogun set the foundation of the metropolis of Tokyo.

Edo Castle became the Imperial Palace in 1868, serving as the residence of Emperor Meiji. Even four centuries after the first shogun implemented extensive renovation work, the site continues to give the Japanese population a sense of peace as the green heart of the Japanese capital. Ieyasu realized the "one-nation" integrity of the country through what can be called the bakuhan rule system in which the shogunate or bakufu vested the autonomous power in daimyo feudal lords to govern their domains — called han — but made them strictly subservient to the shogun.

The "century of shogun Ieyasu" was the period during which the legitimacy of bakufu rule was established without countering Imperial authority. Recalling such a period can be very useful for Japanese people of today when they think of the relationship between their democratically elected government and the post-World War II role of the emperor as the symbol of the state and the unity of the people.

It is Ieyasu who unified the nation and instituted a national governance system that ensured national stabilization and kept the country free of war for 270 years. Advocating what can be described as "Pax Tokugawana" or "peace of Tokugawa," he brought to an end the chaos of the medieval age, such as a century-long period of disorder and feudal clan warfare triggered by the Onin no Ran or the civil war of Onin in 1467-77. He then encouraged the country's private sector to mature and promoted national homogenization.

At the time, Japan was an agrarian country, concentrating on rice cultivation, and farmers had to pay nengu — lit-

erally "annual tribute" — and actually a tax daimyo lords levied on farmers' rice harvests. Ieyasu kept the rate of nengu low for farmers in areas adjacent to Edo, a measure to make it affordable for them to have spare time to engage in home-based craftsmanship. I think Japan could not have laid the groundwork, though unwittingly, for eventually coping well with the arrival of the Industrial Revolution if Ieyasu had not exerted his leadership in this way.

A bit of luck is essential to be a real leader. When strongman Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-98) led two campaigns against Korea in 1592-98, Ieyasu and his troops did not take part in the invasion. As a result, Ieyasu escaped from being a warlord associated with a blood-soaked war of injustice. Such luck helped Japan get closer to normalizing relations with Korea and China when the Tokugawa shogunate came into being. For example, Korea sent official delegations to Japan while Chinese junks were sailing to and from Nagasaki for trade.

Ieyasu handed over the title of shogun to one of his sons in 1605 and moved to Sunpu Castle in Shizuoka. When King Sho Nei of the Ryukyu Kingdom (now Okinawa Prefecture), who was kept under arrest by the Satsuma or Kagoshima forces, visited Ieyasu at Sunpu in 1610, the former shogun courteously treated the Ryukyu ruler by giving an "osashimukai" welcome on the upper row of the reception hall in a manner befitting the monarch of a sovereign entity. This episode reflected Ieyasu's strategic way of thinking — he correctly understood the geopolitical dynamics of East Asia and regarded Ryukyu as a point of liaison with the Ming dynasty as in the case of Korea vis-a-vis the Chinese dynasty. His way of treating the Ryukyu king attests to the fact that he had really far-reaching foresight as a leader. In contrast, the Meiji government demoted King Sho Tai of the Ryukyu Kingdom to the rank of marquis, confining him in Tokyo until he died as the kingdom's last monarch.

Lesson for today

The Meiji government renamed Edo as Tokyo, as it had every reason to do. Edo was far superior to all other locations in the country in terms of both public safety and public hygiene.

But the greatest reason for the Meiji government to keep Edo intact as the country's capital was the ease the city gave the new leadership to formulate a long-range development plan. The new government sought to avoid fiscal waste by converting the Edo residences of provincial daimyo lords into new ministry and agency facilities. It also concentrated the country's administrative and judicial branches and corporate head offices in Tokyo to create new jobs for a large number of merchants, craftsmen and their families. Indeed, they had been prosperous thanks to the demand for goods and services from the massive presence in Edo of samurai, including those sent from provincial domains to accompany their lords, who were required to regularly reside in the capital for a certain period of time as proof of subservience to the shogunate.

As this year marks the 150th anniversary of the Meiji Restoration, we should remember how greatly Ieyasu contributed to today's well-being of Tokyo.

Ieyasu has been depicted as a "cunning, hoary-headed old man" in a joruri puppet drama titled "Hachijin Shugo no

Honjo" (Eight battle formations in defense of a castle keep). This popular image of Ieyasu distorts the fact that he was a leader deserving prominence in world history.

I would like to use the fox and hedgehog metaphor of ancient Greek poet Archilochus to illustrate the greatness of Ieyasu. The feudal leader was a generalist like the fox that knows many little things, but he was also a specialist like the hedgehog that knows one big thing.

Ieyasu had to go through hardship in his childhood. He was only 3 years old when his mother was divorced, while he lived as a hostage from 6 to 18 years old. Those childhood experiences helped foster in him the qualities indispensable for a warlord as well as a political leader to come up with well-thought, far-sighted strategic solutions and elaborate tactical ones. When he was patiently subservient to powerful warlords Oda Nobunaga (1534-82) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, he learned how to hide his sharpness and creativity like the hedgehog and ensure self-effacement like the fox.

Nonetheless, no matter how shrewdly such talents are concealed, capable people tend to invariably stand out like cream rising to the top. Ieyasu did so in the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, a decisive clash with the Toyotomi forces ahead of his launch of the Tokugawa shogunate. As a matter of course, his triumph led to his Imperial appointment as seii taishogun, which literally means a "great general having subdued the eastern barbarians."

Ieyasu is also known for his patience and decisiveness to turn ideals into reality, as symbolized by his declaration that he would be ready to commit hara-kiri in order to save all of those who were loyal to him. He made such a determination known when Hideyoshi requested that Ieyasu come to Kyoto after a battle in

1584 in the Komaki and Nagakute areas, now parts of Aichi Prefecture. His retainers tried to dissuade him from going to Kyoto as they suspected the request was a plot to kill him. Ieyasu is said to have told them that he would be willing to sacrifice himself if his death would be able to end the warfare and save numerous lives.

Such a philosophical view of life can be said to be one of the qualities supreme leaders must have regardless of age and location. Ieyasu had learned about waka poetry and noh plays, though he did not indulge in them.

During the 1614-15 Siege of Osaka, a series of battles between the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Toyotomi clan, Ieyasu was told of the existence of what locals described as "ashi" reeds that had leaves rising from only one side of each stalk. He said he wanted to see them. One of his grandchildren told him that what the locals called "ashi" was the "ogi" grass native to Northeast Asia. Then, Ieyasu asked the grandchild if he knew the noh play "Ashikari," written by noh playwright Zeami. The play includes the line, "Nanba no ashi wa Ise no hama ogi," literally meaning, "They call it ashi in Nanba (Osaka) and hama ogi (coastal ogi) in Ise." The line implies that the same thing has different names depending on where you live.

It was Ieyasu's casual advice to the grandchild to be aware of the importance of understanding that things, habits and customs were diversely and uniquely named, depending on locations. When compared with other major military commanders-turned-politicians in the world, Ieyasu was not as good a writer as Julius Caesar, who left us

the "Commentaries on the Gallic Wars." But the shogun was blessed with the ability to leave witty epigrams that are as convincing as those of Napoleon Bonaparte.

When Ieyasu began compiling the shogunate ordinance titled "Kinchu Narabini Kugechu Shohatto," or a set of regulations the emperor and Kyoto nobles had to abide by, he had the relevant staff copy many books treasured by the Imperial family and noble families. This project enabled a large number of such books to survive fires and be passed down the generations.

Like Muawiyah I, who established the Umayyad dynasty of the caliphate and said it was not good for a caliph or supreme leader to get too involved in a particular academic field, Ieyasu approached the academic world to the degree necessary as the head of government.

I assume Ieyasu knew Chinese philosopher and author Lao-tzu's teaching: "He who knows that enough is enough will always have enough." In "Honami Gyojoki," the family records of artist Honami Koetsu, who had close ties with the shogunate, Ieyasu was quoted as saying, "An appropriate approach to politics is like cleaning a square lacquered food box with a wooden pestle." He meant that as no square box could be cleaned perfectly with a pestle, the national political system could smoothly work when the government tolerated trivial matters.

Ieyasu is also said to have quoted the common saying, "A clear stream is avoided by fish." He remains unparalleled in history in terms of recruiting people with diverse talent — he gave weight to people's strengths while caring little about their weaknesses.

In fact, the shogun relied on a surprisingly diverse talent pool, including, among many others, wealthy merchants, gold chasers specializing in creating ceremonial, decorative gold items and samurai of the low class from outside the jikisan corps directly serving the Tokugawa government, as well as members of down-and-out noble and daimyo families. Ieyasu even employed foreigners as his aides — British navigator William Adams, also known as Miura Anjin, and Dutch citizen Jan Joosten van Lodensteyn — whose Japanese name Yayousu became the origin of the Yaesu area on the east side of Tokyo Station.

"Tokugawa Jikki," a collection of official records of the Tokugawa shogunate, preserves the following words of Ieyasu in Supplement Vol. 18: "[There are those who] do not fully know people's value because they do not know how wise they are. Just because they cannot fully utilize people with talent and expertise, they may choose to discuss national politics only with useless people instead, an approach that should be avoided."

As the year 2019 will mark the enthronement of the new emperor and the year 2020 will be the 430th anniversary of Ieyasu's entry into Edo, these years will be a good opportunity for Japanese society of today to look back at what Ieyasu and his era experienced. There is much we can learn.

Special to The Yomiuri Shimbun

Yamauchi is a professor at Meiji University and a professor emeritus at the University of Tokyo, where he previously headed the University of Tokyo Center for Middle Eastern Studies (UTCMES). He was a member of the government panel of experts tasked from October 2016 to April 2017 with discussing measures to reduce the Emperor's burden of official duties. In its January 2018 issue, monthly magazine Bungei Shunju began running Yamauchi's serial contributions titled "Shogun no Seiki" (The Century of the Shogun).