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JAPANESE CASTLES

MASTER'S THESIS ORIENTAL CIVILIZATIONS PROGRAM

Harold P. Stern January, 1948

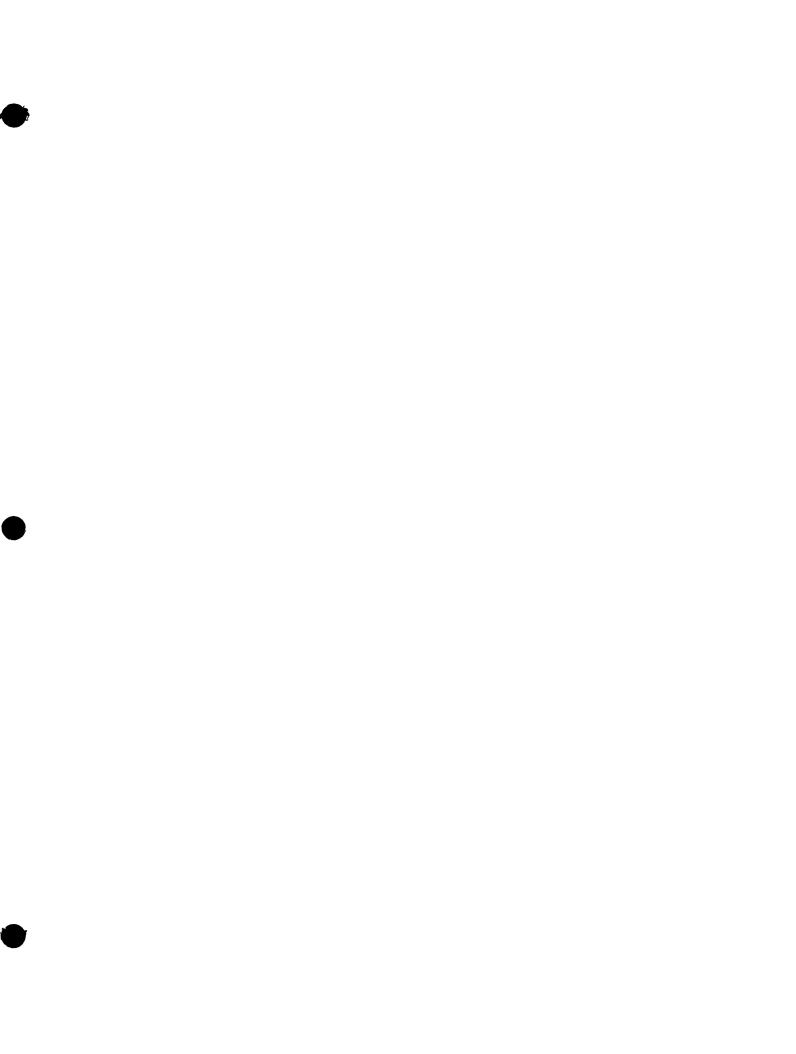


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INTRODUCTION

This paper is a general survey of the Japanese castle. it covers a very vast field and has been written in order to lay the groundwork for a much more detailed investigation of the castle, its structure, and the social and cultural influences exerted by it. Thus, this study is by no means to be construed as being a complete survey of the problem.

There is no question that the influence of the castle was great. What I try to do here is to establish a foundation and then present some of the basic cultural influences of the castle. In doing this I shall stress the Inland Sea area since it is the area in which the castle was most prominent throughout history. I do not mean to say that the castles of Kyoto, Nara, and Edo areas were not prominent, but save for the Azuchi castle of Oda Nobunaga they have protomypes in the castles of the Inland Sea region of Japan.

HISTORICAL SURVEY

When did the castle first appear in Japan, what was it like, and how has it changed with the passage of time? These are the obvious questions that one must face in discussing anything from a historical approach. It is also quite evident that the answers will depend on the definition we give to the word castle. For the purpose of this paper I shall consider as being a castle any major military fortification plus the dwelling of the Emperor and some of his chief nobles. In using this definition it is readily evident that the castle was present in Japan from the earliest period of Japanese social organization.

In presenting descriptions of these early castles I shall quote very freely. I have adopted these quotations since I have found they present the clearest and most interesting picture of early castle development. Brinkley, in speaking of the early form of castle, says, "The palace of the sovereign--called miya or odono--corresponds in appearance and construction with the shrines of the deities. It was built by erecting central pillars--criginally merely sunk in the ground but in later times having a stone foundation--from which rafters sloped to a corner post, similarly erected, the sides being clapboarded. Nails were used, but the heavy timbers were tied together with ropes made by twisting the

fibrous stems of climbing plants. A conspicuous feature was that the upper ends of the rafters projected across each other, and in the V-shaped receptacle thus formed, a ridge pole was laid with a number of short logs crossing it at right angles. This disposition of timbers was evidently devised to facilitate tying and to impart stability to the thatch, which was laid to a considerable thickness.

"It is not certain whether in the earliest time floors were fully boarded, or whether boarding was confined to a dais running round the sides, the rest of the interior being of beaten mud. Subsequently, however, the whole floor was boarded. Chimneys were not provided; charcoal being the principal fuel, its smoke did not incommode, and when firewood was employed, the fumes escaped through openings in the gable. For windows there were holes closed by shutters which, like the doors, swung upon hooks and staples. Fugs of skin or of rush matting sewed to spread on the boarded floor, and in rare cases silk cushions, were employed.

"The areas on which buildings stood were generally surrounded by palisades, and for a long time no other kind of
defense save these palings seems to have been devised. Indeed,
no mention of castles occurs until the 1st century B.C., when
the strange term 'Rice-Castle' (Ina-ki) is found; the reference being apparently to a palisade fortified with rice-bags,
or to a rice-granary used as a fortress. The palace of the
sovereign towered so high by comparison that it was termed

Asani-no-tada-sasu-miya (miya on which the morning sun shines direct), or Yūni-no-hiteru-miya (miya illumined by the evening sun), or some other figurative epithet, and to the Emperor himself was applied the title O-mikado (Great August Gate). The dwellings occupied by the nobility were similarly built though on a less pretentious scale, and those of the inferior classes appear to have been little better than huts, not a few of them being partially sunk in the ground, as is attested by the fact that the term 'enter' took the form of 'creep in' (hairu)."

Though there are no examples of this type of castle that survive today we can find replicas of them in the Shinto Grand Shrine of Ise. This is our first clear tie-up between religion and the castle. This relationship also existed in the early dwellings of the people. It is probably based on a belief that if the castle was built in the form of the shrine, the dwelling of the Gods, the Gods would look with favor on the inhabitants. In 1907 Matthew Garbutt made a survey of early Japanese castles and presented his findings to the Japan Society of London in a paper entitled "Military Works in Old Japan." I shall now quote an extensive portion of that paper which contains an extremely valuable amount of information on the old castle. This material is the only good available source of information on the structure for the period up to

Brinkley, Capt. F., "A History of the Japanese People" pp. 62 and 63.

the building of Azuchi save for the article on castles in "Nippon Kenchikushi" which suggests the infiltration of Korean and Chinese influences. A survey of maps of several Korean and Chinese towns in the various travel guides supports this point of view. Mr. Garbutt says, "The Kojiki supplies perhaps the earliest mention of a defensive work when it speaks of King Saho-biko 'making a rice-castle' to defend himself against attack by his brotner. Unfortunately, no hint is given in the Kojiki itself of the method in which this castle was constructed, the only information from which anything can be even vaguely inferred being a statement that the castle was burnt. The Nihongi states that the Emperor commanded Yatsunada the remote ancestor of the Kimi of Kodzuke to slay Saho-biko. Now Saho-biko withstood him with an army, and hastily piling up rice-stalks made thereof a castle which was so solid that it could not be breached. This is what was called a 'rice castle.' It is further stated that this castle did not surrender for a full month, after which it was burnt. The date given for this episode is about B.C. 25. There appears to be considerable dispute as to what kind of structure this was, and even its existence has been disputed, but rice-castles are several times mentioned in the Nihongi, and as late as the end of the 6th Century A.D. Possibly it was a construction similar to the 'bauge' still to be seen in some French cottages, which consists of clay or argillaceous earth, rammed into place and having embedded in it straw placed with its length at right angles to the wall face. These walls can be burnt

with tolerable ease, a point which adds to the plausibility of the suggestion.

"This mention of 'rice-castles' is practically the only reference to fortification in the Kojiki, but the Nihongi supplies considerably more material. In the semi-mythical period it makes mention of the 'high castle of Uda,' the stronghold of a certain Ukeshi the Elder, who had therein built 'a new palace, in the hall of which he had prepared engines' for the purpose of murdering the Emperor Jimmu at a banquet there. The Emperor was, however, warned of the trap, with the result that Ukeshi was, at the sword's point made to walk into his own engine, which testified to the skill of its inventor by crushing him to death. It is not known how this 'engine' was made, but it may have been a precursor of the 'Tsuri Tenjo' or hanging ceiling of later times, which could be dropped bodily upon a guest.

"The building of a castle by Jimmu himself in B.C. 662 is also mentioned, but still no details are given, and there seems to be little or no record of works of this kind in Japan until about the beginning of the 6th Century, A.D., although there are references to walled cities and great castles in Corea, with which the Japanese were evidently familiarized during their repeated attacks upon the mainland.

"In A.D. 514 we find castles and beacon towers being built upon the mainland as a defense against Japan, and a Japanese commander leaping his horse over a castle moat in

escaping after a disastrous defeat by the troops of the King of Silla in Corea.

"In the reign of the Emperor Kimmei (A.D. 544), the building of six fortresses, each to be garrisoned by 500 men, on the frontier between Silla and Ara was suggested, with the neighborly object of making it impossible for the Silla people to cultivate their rice-fields.

"Generally speaking, it would appear that between the attacks of China on the one hand and Japan on the other, Corea's intervals of peace were at this period brief, and the efforts of the various chieftans or petty kings to resist their stronger enemies must have resulted in giving to the Japanese a very good idea of military engineering as it was then practised in China and the lands under her more immediate influence.

"Nevertheless, the Japanese for tresses still remained very primitive. The following extract from the Nihongi, gives some idea of what they were in the year A.D. 644, in the reign of the Empress Kogyoku:--

'Winter, llth month. Iruka no Omi, son of Yemishi,
Soga no Oho-omi, built two houses on the Amagashi Hill. The
Ono-omi's was called the Upper Palace Gate; Iruka's house was
called the Valley Palace Gate. . Outside the houses palisades
were constructed, and an armoury was erected by the gate.
At each gate there was set a tank for water and several tens
of wooden hooks as a provision in case of fire. Stout

fellows were constantly employed to guard the houses with arms in their hands. It is further stated that the Oho-omi built a house on the East side of Mount Unebi, and dug a moat 'so as to make of it a castle. He erected an armoury and provided store of arrows.'

"In the next year an edict of the Emperor Kotoku ordered the erection of further military storehouses in these words:

'Moreover on waste pieces of ground let arsenals be erected, and let the swords and armour, with the bows and arrows of the provinces and districts be deposited together in them. In the case of the frontier provinces which border close on the Yemishi, let all weapons be mustered together, and let them remain in the hands of the original owners.'

"But twenty years later (in 665 A.D.) we hear for the first time of the building of 'shiro' or castles of a more advanced type, and, as in the case of the somewhat alloyed blessings of Western civilization, it appears to have been fear of foreign invasion that caused their adoption. Repeated disasters to the Japanese forces in Corea had compelled the abandonment of that country, and so vigorous was the action of the Chinese, that the Emperor Tenchi deemed it policy not only to abstain from further expeditions, but to devote his energies to organizing measures of defence in Japan itself.

"Now, in leaving Corea, the Japanese took with them considerable numbers of Coreans, both high officials and common people, who had deserved well of Japan, and who, consequently

might have received unpleasant treatment from their Chinese masters had they remained in Corea after the Japanese had To these common people it is recorded that residences and rice-lands were granted, and certain of the officials were employed to aid in the preparations for defence which were made in those parts of the country lying nearest to the mainland. Especially it is stated that certain of the Coreans were sent to build castles in the province of Nagato and in the 'land of Tsukushi' -- that is to say, the island of Kyushu; the latter works are later spoken of as 'deep moats and lofty battlements overlooking the sea. The building of the castle of Kanada on Tsushima, halfway between Kyushu and the mainland, is referred to at about the same time, and very possibly this too was designed by the same engineers. is but little doubt that these men were employed because of their superior knowledge of the Chinese methods of construction, and there would appear to be ground for saying that this period saw the introduction to Japan of a kind of castle a little more elaborate than the mere entrenched and palisaded camps of earlier days.

"That the Japanese at this period were acquainted with masonry fortifications may be safely asserted. The Nihongi speaks of the walled cities of Corea and of siege appliances in the form of 'cloud chariots,' or movable erections for overlooking the enemy's works, and 'battering engines,' which presumably would be of limited use except against

masonry. Nevertheless, the Japanese were slow in taking to the foreign methods, and a Chinese writer of the Tang dynasty expressly declares that the Japanese had no castles, but only palisades of timber, although the Chinese were then building castles of stone. The typical plan was like that of the Roman camp, a rectangle, the construction being a bank of earth obtained by excavating a moat, the latter forming the outer defence. Upon the top of the bank was a wattled fence or a line of palisades, the spaces between the palisades affording openings for the passage of arrows. Close boarding would appear to have followed, or to have been added to palisades as a better protection against the arrows of an attacking force. In the sides of the square were places gates having in some cases platforms for bowmen above them. may be that the rugged and easily defensible nature of much of their country, coupled with their admiration for personal prowess, led the Japanese to give less attention to castle building than was bestowed upon it by the Chinese. case we continue for some centuries longer to hear much of rapidly made field works and obstacles of different sorts, and little of deliberately planned and built fortresses. During the civil war which established Temmu Tenno on the throne, the army defending Okamoto 'removed the planks of the bridges on the roads and made of them breastworks, which they set up on the highways in the neighborhood of the capital, and so kept guard'(A.D. 672). The bridge at Seta

was an important one. General Chison defended it at the head of an advanced body of picked troops. He cut the bridge in the middle for a space of 30 feet, and over the gap he placed a long plank. If anyone attempted to cross over by this plank, it could be pulled away and he would fall. Now, there was a daring soldier named Waka-omi. He laid aside his long spear, and, donning double armour, suddenly rushed across the plank and cut the rope which was fastened to it. In spite of the arrows he entered their array. The troops were all thrown into confusion and dispersed in flight. General Chison drew his sword and cut down the fugitives, but he was unable to check the rout, and was himself slain.

"After this campaign, Temmu reorganized, amongst many other things, the military affairs of the kingdom, and one of his orders said that 'All such things as great and small horns, drums, fifes, flags, crossbows, and stone-throwing engines should not be kept in private houses; they should all be stored in the Government house of the district.' The crossbows referred to were the large crossbows needing several men for their management. Catapults were also in use.

"Another hundred years beings us to the end of the 8th Century, when the Emperor Kwammu founded 'Heian-Kyō,' the 'Citadel of Tranquility.' This city suggests in its plan the fortified camp, for it was laid out as a rectangle measuring about $3\frac{1}{4}$ by 3 miles, with all its streets, of which the chief

was 280 feet wide, arranged in straight lines at right angles to each other. The whole was surrounded by moats and palisades, walls being mentioned in the official history only in connection with the enclosure of the Imperial citadel, which measured 1,280 yards by 1,530 yards—or roughly three-quarters of a mile each way.

"But little change seems to have been made between this time and the beginning of the great struggle between the Minamoto and Taira clans early in the 12th Century.

*Positions defended by stockades are again and again taken and burned, field works-especially obstacles at difficult points of mountain roads--are constantly in use, earthworks are thrown up, castles are built, and rivers diverted to protect them; half Japan had a personal and varied experience of energetic warfare, and yet--although Chinese practice must have been all the time fairly well known--most writers assert that masonry was little if at all, used in the fortifications of the period. One theory already hinted at, which might perhaps explain such a curious fact, is the love which the Japanese seem to have had for a good fight in the open, in which brilliant skill at arms could be displayed; this, coupled with their impetuosity, may have made them impatient of the slow operations associated with the erection and reduction of regular and massively constructed fortresses.

"Another suggestion lies in the prevalence of earthquakes, which accounts for the general lightness of the superstructure in most Japanese buildings. It is very likely that this reason influenced the builders of castles as well as those

who erected palaces and temples. There is also the general tendency of the Japanese to make things generally as light as is consistent with sufficiency of strength. This is well exemplified in their armour, which is often so light that anyone used only to the European makes may well be excused for thinking it weak, but it is a good defence against the edge of that most formidable of blades, the 'katana', whose blows it stops gradually by offering a series of small pieces of metal and thick silk cords acting as spring buffers, instead of the anvil-like resistance of European harness.

"But with the works they had there were often very lively incidents, one of which may be here quoted, from the Nihon Guaishi. 'Taira no Kanetaka resided at the fort of Yamaki in Idzu. The Shogun Yoritomo designed to attack him, and sent a man to map out the nature of the ground and report He then instructed Tokimasa to make the attack. The fight was notly in progress when an officer named Kato Kagekado was ordered to go and assist in the assault. proceeded to Yamaki with his servant Susaki Saburo, and found the fort strong and nearly impregnable. Kagekado advanced, and by tying several mantlets together with bow-strings and throwing them across, bridged the ditches. He then jumped over the parapet and got inside. The defenders had a good marksman named Sekiya Hachiro, who shouted from the top of a tower 'I have but one arrow. Who will be a mark for it?' The faithful servant, Saburo, told a lie and said he was

Kagekado, was hit by the arrow and fell dead. Kagedkado adwarded, struck down the bowman and another man, and reached the bedroom, the door of which was open, showing a light inside. He put his helmet on the point of his sword and put it inside the door as if someone were peeping in. The ruse has lost its novelty since the year 1180, but in this case it may have been original. Anyhow, it was effective. Kanetaka was inside, and slashed furiously at the helmet. It was his last stroke. The victor carried the head in his hand to Yoritomo and presented it with the remark, 'This may be taken as an omen that my lord will give peace to the Emperor."

Thus, we come up to the period in which the castle as we know it today was built. The castle that Oda Nobunaga built at Azuchi in 1576, as well as that at the earlier Heian capital, in many ways resembles the wall painting found by Paul Pelliot in Cave 70 at Tun Huang. It is called "The Fight for the Buddha's Relics" and shows a portion of the fortified city or castle in the background. The walls appear to have somewhat the same slope the later Japanese castle walls had, and the corners are topped with watch towers. This painting dates from the T'ang dynasty and it clearly shows that the influence exerted by the Chinese type of fortification was great. In considering these later castles

Garbutt, Matthew, "Military Works in Old Japan"
"Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society of London"
Volume VIII, 1907-1908, pp. 46-52.

we must not forget the role played by the introduction of firearms into Japan during this period. Certainly the fact that walls would not withstand the force of western arms must have influenced Hidyoshi in the building of Osaka castle. There appears to be quite a controversy as to the extent of European influence in the building of castles. At the present time that controversy remains unsolved, but it is at once obvious that generally the Japanese structure was larger in size and greater emphasis was placed on aesthetic appeal. There are many interesting tales of the invluence of Western arms on Japanese military art but I do not believe they are vital enough to be included here. I

The castles that were built during the triumverate of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu were of a much stronger type than had ever been seen in Japan before. It shows a turn from offensive to a defensive strategy and also represents the centralization and unification of the country. These two phases, however, will be discussed later in the paper. It suffices to say that the Japanese did not till late in their history adopt a true castle type of structure, but that when they did adopt it they built masterpieces of fortification.

Boxer, Capt. C. R., "Jan Compagnie in Japan 1600-1817" See second chapter on military arts, pp. 23-42.

TYPICAL ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF THE TOKUGAWA CASTLE

There are three basic forms of castles that appear in the Tokugawa era. These forms are based mainly on terrain and can be designated as follows: the mountain castle, the castle of the plain, and the combined mountain and castle of the plain type. Needless to say, the first of these types, the mountain castle, relied on the natural obstacles of the terrain features. It required a position of prominence and not too much expenditure since the site in itself was the prime defensive feature. Japan had come to rely much more on defensive warfare. We know that in the Tokugawa period the mountain type of castle was frowned upon. The reason for this can be found in the above reliance on a system of defensive warfare plus the very important social changes that had occurred in Japan. To carry on a long program of defense one must have a very good source of supply and especially one that cannot be too easily cut. A castle in the mountains was far from the sources of supply at the coastal towns on the plains and thus could not be maintained in a long siege. The unification of Japan under the triumvirate of Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu also made it impractical to maintain the mountain castles. Towns had

begun to grow and not only the supplies but also the suppliers and large amounts of capital were centered in the
towns of the coastal plains. A third factor that led to
the decline of this type of fortification was the fact that
they were too dangerous to have around and thus the Shogunate
in order to remove this threat to his control of the country
ordered many of them destroyed.

The castle of the plain has a much more successful history. It was near the sources of supply and the suppliers, and around them grew up many of the joka-machi or castle towns. They, however, also had shortcomings since the presence of many of them would be deemed a threat to the political control of the Shogunate. Thus, many of them were likewise destroyed and only the principal ones were retained. second shortcoming arose upon the introduction of Western Before the introduction of the gun, mortar and cannon, the castle of the plain was not too difficult to defend. had a very strong wall with a series of moats and interior walls. It was placed on a flat open plain and thus was not subject to surprise attacks since from the wall any advancing force could be seen. However, with the growth of the town and introduction of Western arms its position became more untenable. The town to some extent cut down the view and the walls of earth were not strong enough to withstand the force of Western This leads us to the castle type that combined the arms. features of both these prior types.

The castle of the mountain and plain (combined feature type) arose upon the decline of the other types. This castle was placed usually in an advantageous site, that is, a bend in the river near some high spot of the terrain. They would also be built at a point where the problem of supply would be negative, such as along the coastal plains. This type of castle relied not only on its geographical location but also took into account structural features. Noticeable examples of these were the castles of Azuchi built by Oda Nobunaga, the Castle of Osaka built by Hideyoshi, and the Himeiji castle. These castles were strategically located and at the same time structurally strong. This type of castle we find becomes the popular or most common type and about all the castles in Japan that still exist follow this third pattern.

Just what was it that actually made this third type of castle strong is a question that well might be asked. We know that in this period the walls of the castle underwent a definite change. The use of rock facing on the dirt mound walls became popular and it greatly added to the strength of the castle. These rocks sometimes reached mammoth proportions and it is easy to see that they could withstand the techniques of war in Tokugawa times. Now let us proceed from the outside into some nameless Tokugawa castle. The first thing we would come upon would be a most and wall. In building a castle the area would usually be marked off into three zones of defense. The Honmaru (main or innermost court) would be the center and

final defensive position. It would be the nerve center of the castle and located in it would be the "tenshukaku" (tower keep). The Ni-ho-maru (the second court) would be our second line of It would also be marked off with wall and moat, and the San-no-maru (the third court) with its moat and wall would be our first line of defense. This first moat therefore that we have come upon would probably be filled with water. standard measurements are 65 feet wide and 20 feet deep and it would have from 6 to 10 feet of water in it. After crossing this moat over a bridge we would come to the wall and the main gate called the Ote mon. This bridge was often built so that it could very easily be destroyed from the interior. a retreat from the plain to within the San-no-maru the last man to cross the bridge and enter the gate could pull a pin and the whole bridge would collapse. The wall itself is about 20 feet high made of earth and faced with rocks of various sizes. In certain areas we find that the wall reached a height of 130 feet. The wall we find is 50 feet thick at its base and slopes upward at an angle of more than 45 degrees. The main gate, Otemon, is protected by huge wood doors studded with metal fittings. Upon entering we find to our surprise that instead of having entered the castle we are merely in a courtyard surrounded by another wall and with a gate placed at a 90 degree angle to the first gate we entered. Upon penetrating this we find ourselves within another area but faced with the problem of crossing a second moat and entering another gate

in an equally strong wall. This gate is also placed at an angle and not in direct line with the one we have just passed through. The enclosed area just within the first gate is termed the "Masugata", and it is possible that we may be faced with it as we enter each ring of defense. After penetrating the Ni-no-maru or second defense ring we come to a third moat, wall, bridge, and gate. This usually surrounds the highest terrain in the area. After we have passed on the bridge over the moat and through the gate we come to the nerve-center or the tower keep of the castle. It will be found to have a sturdy earth base also faced with rock and upon it will be built a tower of wood often faced with white plaster and divided by intersecting roofs into numerous stories. These tower keeps were used for the following reasons:

- *a. Observation of places within and without the castle grounds;
 - b. Commanding station to issue orders to within and without the castle:
 - c. Storing arms and provisions:
 - d. The last refuge in the event of the castle falling into the hands of the enemy;
 - e. The living quarters of the castle master in time of war;
 - f. As a symbol of the acme of the powers commanded by the lord of the castle;
 - g. As a central mark to which the people within the lord's castle and domain might turn with loyal minds."

¹⁰rui, Prof. N. and Toba, Prof. M. "Castles in Japan" p. 56

Now that we have the basic outline of the castle let us look at some of the other features. Placed upon the top of these walls there will be palisades and a row of trees to cut down the possibility of the enemy having any view of the inside of the castle. These palisades act therefore as a screen and are usually built of wood framework and have plastered walls. The whole structure is topped with a tile roof. The plastering appears to have been an attempt to cut down the possibility and prevalence of fire. At strategic points along these walls we will find towers placed. are built much like the "tenshukaku" but are on a much smaller These towers were termed "Yagura" (literally arrow storehouse) and were used to provide an advantageous spot for firing at the enemy, either by arrow, musket, rock, or just for pouring boiling water on him as he attempted to scale the walls. With the introduction of firearms these were placed in a position so that the crossfire would be effective and would reach every position of the wall. These were the basic features of the Tokugawa castle. 1

¹ For a detailed account see <u>Ibid</u>, pp. 38-59, and "Castles in Japan" by Kyoji Shirai appearing in "Travel in Japan," Vol. III, No. 1 (April, 1937), pp. 18-25.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES OF THE CASTLE

Since this paper is in the form of a general survey, it is not possible for me to list all the social and cultural influences exerted by the castle. What I shall try to do here is to present a few of the most prominent changes in the Japanese culture pattern that owe their origin to the development of the castle.

Prior to the time when castles became a common feature in the Japanese landscape the strategy adopted by Japan's military lords was one of offensive and open field warfare. Any permanent defensive structure was frowned upon. This attitude can best be summed up by a statement of Takeda Shingen, Lord of the Kai clan and noted tactician. He lived in the sixteenth century, and when asked why he never built a castle Shingen said, "What castle-owner has become a famous lord by confining himself in it? A vassal of a lord may need a strong castle which will stand a siege till his master comes to his rescue, but the lord of three large provinces requires no castle, for how can he keep all his troops in a castle, however large it may be? A lord must build a castle in the heart of everyone of his retainers.

which will be much stronger than any artificial one."1

As we already know this attitude changed to a great degree.

It is easy to see that the most notable development in Japanese life that has its origin in the castle development is the castle town. The growth of strong defensive positions and introduction of new modes of strategy made it necessary that sources of supply were close at hand. Of course, this was always true to some extent, but now it became essential and therefore the castle town arose. Over a period of time the life of Japan had grown to be on a large scale and the whole national economy and livelihood had been extended. This is especially true of the Momoyama period when trade and culture flourished. Thus, "as a result of the extension of the national life, the efficiency of ruling of their fiefs by Daimyo had to be made higher, Daimyo had to command a larger troop than ever, and yet had to make a disciplined movement by putting themselves at its head. Consequently, they were far from attaining this object by leaving samurai. their followers, in their respective localities. All the Daimyo concentrated their samurai at their sides which resulted in making the residential places of those Daimyo large towns. The castle-town life of the samurai dated from

See "The Memoirs of Takeda-Shingen and the Kai-No-Gunsitsu" by Sakai-Atsuharn Nippon Bunka Chuo Renmei Tokyo 1940, pp. 12-13.

the Momoyama period, as a result of which samurai commenced to form a social class by profession entirely separate from the agricultural, industrial, and commercial classes of Japanese society.

"Not only from this military necessity but also there was an economic reason for each Daimyo to carry out good government of his fief and thus prosper his own territory, otherwise it was next to impossible for him to pit himself against the invading power of the neighbouring rival lords, because the struggle for existence had become keen."

In this quotation we can see two features of Japanese life that in some way owed their development and existence to The first is the castle-town and the second is the castle. the establishment of the samurai as a definite class. Let us investigate the castle-town a little more thoroughly. The accumulation of this large number of people meant the growth of a city, and it will be found that even today many of the castle towns have remained cities of importance, such as Osaka, Wakayama, Hiroshima, Okayama, and Fukuoka. A glance at the list of castles in the Inland Sea region which follows indicates the importance of the castle as a factor in the urbanization of Japan. As time has passed there has been a tendency for more and more of the old castle towns to develop

See "The Role of Japanese Castles in Civilization," by Prof. Shin Orui appearing in the "Japan Magazine," (May, 1927), p. 329.

into cities of considerable size. Of course, reliance is no longer placed on the presence of the structure but on the commercial center that grew about it. The accumulation of a large population of a select social caste meant that they must be kept supplied and provisioned. Therefore, we have the presence of large numbers of merchants in the castle town. Thus, these towns relying on the castle became prominent commercial cities with a consumer class and merchant class. We find that in the Momoyama Period there is a decided growth in the importance and influence of the Chonin or merchant class. As the castle grew in importance so did the town, and as the town grew in importance the position of influence carried by the Chonin increased and reached its climax in the Tokugawa era. 1

We might very well wonder just what was the position of the merchant in the castle town. One of the reports says, "These merchants, Chonin, they were called in the early days, were there (in the castle town) not simply for the purpose of trading in merchandise. They were there to procure food and other supplies at the command of the lord of the castle. On occasion they were to become spies investigating the condition of other clans. They thus had considerable of a militaristic character. In return for such

Ibid., p. 329 and E. H. Norman, "Japan's Emergence as a Modern State", Chapter II.

service the lord treated these townsmen with kindness and rendered them every protection. Such so-called townsmen, therefore, were quite different from ordinary men of that class. They were marked by characteristics of their own feudal clan, and had an air quite distinctly their own."

The preferential position given this class for the first time in Japanese history can also be clearly seen in the fact that when Oda Nobunaga built his castle of Azuchi he invited them to the town and exempted them from taxes. The same fact can be noted when Toyotomi Hidetsugu established the Yawata castle and castle-town.²

We have seen that the castle led to the growth of castle-towns, recognition of the merchant class, and establishment of a definite social class of samurai. We have also seen how it led to the development of commerce and trade, but I believe all of these are overshadowed by the fact that the castle was the nerve center of the country. All eyes turned to it. This, of course, is to be interpreted in the sense of the political arrangement of Shogunate, and subservient Daimyo. The growth of the castle-town led to the creation of many new titles and political offices. It afforded the lord to gather his retainers about him and to

¹ See "Castles in Japan" by Kyoji Shirai, appearing in "Travel in Japan," Vol. III, No. 1 (April, 1937), pp. 18-25.

 $[\]frac{2}{10}$ The Role of Japanese Castles in Civilization," by Prof. Shin Orui in the "Japan Magazine" (May, 1927), p. 332.

watch their activities much closer. The number of spoils to be divided by the lord of the castle increased and at the same time his responsibility grew. The fiefs were divided into three classes, and castles were one of the determining factors in this division. The separation was as follows:

Kokushu (Kuni⇔mochi) - provincial barons (300,000 koku)

Joshu (shiro-mochi) - castle owning barons (100,000 and 300,000 koku)

Ryoshu (shiro-nashi) - castleless barons (10,000 to 100,000 koku)

As Japan was unified the presence of numerous fortifications of this sort was a constant threat to the Bakufu. Therefore, the Bakufu ordered many of the castles destroyed and soon laws controlled the building and even repair of new and old castles. Brinkley presents the "Laws of the Military Houses" on page 574 - 575 of his "History of the Japanese People." These rules were promulgated by Tokugawa Ieyasu and Hidetada and then presented to all the provincial lords. The sixth and seventh rules are as follows:

"(6) The residential castles in the domains may be repaired; but the matter must invariably be reported. Still more imperative is it that the planning of structural innovations of any kind must be absolutely avoided.

A castle with a parapet exceeding three thousand feet by ten is a bane to a domain. Crenelated walls and deep moats (of castles) are the causes of anarchy.

(7) If, in a neighbouring domain innovations are being

The whole country was run from the castle and what can be of more importance than that. It was the political, economic, social, and scientific center of Japanese life. In fact, one author deems its role so important that he has called the period after Momoyama Jidai the period of "castle-town civilization" The influence of the castle did not stop with political and economic considerations. In the arts they brought about the growth of new schools of painting and techniques of decoration. In poetry we find the castle appears time and time again. "The Manyoshu" and Hyakunin-Isshu" make many references to these structures. The growth of the castle promoted the development of the arts. my opinion that the castle also exerted its influence on Japanese religious development. I have come upon no definite relationship, but I believe a study of the development of militant Buddhist sects and castle site selection would show one existed and be of great value.

To summarize the influence exerted by the castle I must repeat, the Japanese castle played a part in the growth of castle towns, commercial centers, the accumulation of vast amounts of wealth, the semi-recognition and growth of the

^{1 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 333.

Chonin class, the establishment of a definite samurai class in the social strata, and in the general unification and centralization of the country which eventually led to the Meiji restoration. Its role in bringing about changes in the Japanese culture pattern cannot be minimized. 1

For further discussion of the castle-town see "The Cities of Japan: Notes on Distribution and Inherited Forms," by kobert B. Hall, pp. 183-194. The important role of the castle in the town and as an entity by itself can be seen in the Tokugawa legislation as regards it quoted in "A History of the Japanese People," by Capt. F. Brinkley, p. 574.

SOME CASTLES OF THE INLAND SEA REGION

This portion of the paper will be devoted to a listing of some of the castles of the Inland Sea area. The list is the complete list of those in the Inland Sea area. It is derived from a series of tables in the "Kokumin Hyakka Jiten". pages 37 to 41. I shall list the castle by its primary name, give its location, the date of its construction and destruction, and indicate whether any remains exist. There is some question as to the right reading for the characters in certain of the place names, and I shall indicate these in brackets. There are a few features to be noticed in this listing. The prominence of castles in Hyogoken. Osaka fu. and Fukuoka ken readily show the importance of these areas. comparing this list with the total listing it is readily noticeable that two large portions of castles were confined to the Inland Sea area. My original purpose in translating this list is to eventually make a complete and detailed listing of all castles in Japan and to make a map showing their relative location and type. The reader is referred to the accompanying maps.

CASTLES*

	NAME	LOCATION	D.B.	D.D.
1.	Akasaka •	Osaka pref., Minami-Kawachi gun, Akasaka muraKawachi	1331	
2.	Akizuki	Fukuoka pref., Asakura gun, Akizuki machiChikuzen		Start of Meiji
3.	Akō •	Hyōgo pref., Akō gun, Akō machiHarima	1615	Start of Me ij i
4.	Amagasaki•	Hyogo pref., Amagasaki citySettsu	1527	Start of Meiji
5•	Jimoriyama	Osaka pref., Kita-Kawachi gun, Shijo muraKawachi		
6.	Izush i	Hyogo pref., Izushi gun, Izushi machiTajima	1574	Start of Meiji
7.	Itami	Hyōgo pref., Itami city,Settsu		
8.	Ichinomiya	Tokushima pref., Myoto gun, Kami-Hachiman mura Awa		1675
9•	Ito•	Fukuoka pref., Itoshima gun, Ito muraChikuzen	756	Between 15 73 and 1592
10.	Ibaraki	Osaka pref., Mishima gun, Ibaraki machiSettsu		
11.	Imabari•	Ehime pref., Imabari cityIyo	1600	Start of Mei ji
12.	Iwakun i	Yamaguchi pref., Iwakuni citySuō	1600	Start of Meiji
13.	Iwaya	Fukuoka pref., Chikushi gun, Ono muraChikuzen	1570	
14.	Usuki	Oita pref., Kita-Amabe gun, Usuki machiBungo		

NAME	LOCATION	D.B.	D.D.
15. Uchiyama	Fukuoka pref., Chikushi gun, Mikasa muraChikuzen		
16. Umadake (Batake)	Fukuoka pref., Miyako gun, Hieda muraBuzen	942	1615
17. Uwajima •	Ehime pref., Uwajima city,Iyo		Start of Meiji
18. Ōkuma	Fukuoka pref., Kaho gun, Ōkuma machiChikuzen	Between 1573 and 1592	
19. Ōsaka •	Osaka pref., Osaka city Settsu	1532**	Start of Meiji but rebuilt
20. Ōno •	Fukuoka pref., Chikushi gun, Dazaifu machiChikuze	671 n	
21. Oka •	Oita pref., Naori gun, Takeda machiBungo	1185	Start of Mei ji
22. Okayama •	Okayama pref., Okayama city Bizen		Start of Meiji
23. Okurayama	Hiroshima pref., Yamagata gun, Shinjō muraAki	1586	
24. Oshio	Hyogo pref., Shikama gun, Okishio muraHarima	' 1580	
25. Katsuyama	Okayama pref., Maniwa gun, Katsuyama machiMimasaka	1764	Start of Meiji
26. Kawara	Fukuoka pref., Tagawa gun, Kawara machiBuzen	Between 729 and 767	Start of Meiji
27. Iwasake	Fukuoka pref., Tagawa gun, Soeda machiBuzen		
28. Kanabe	Hiroshima pref., Fukayasu gun, Michi-no-Ue mura Bingo	Between 1334 and 1336	
29. Kii	Fukuoka pref., Miyako gun, Kii muraBuzen		

NAME	LOCATION	D.D.						
30. Kitsuki	Oita pref., Hayami gun, Kitsuki machiBungo	Start of Meiji						
31. Kanayama	Hiroshima pref., Asa gun, Gion machiAki							
32. Kozanji	Hyogo pref., Higami gun, Kado-no-muraTamba	Hyogo pref., Higami gun, Kado-no-muraTamba						
33. Kamitsuki	Hyogo pref., Sayo gun, Nishi-no-sho muraHarima							
34. Chihaya•	Osaka pref., Minami Kawachi gun, Chihaya muraKawachi	1332	1390					
35. Tsuyama •	Okayama pref., Tsuyama city Mimasaka	Between 1441 and 1444	1875					
36. Tenjinyama	Hyogo pref., Innami gun, Shikata mura Harima							
37. Tokushima •	Tokushima pref., Tokushima cityAwa	1586	Start of Meiji					
38. Tokuyama	Yamaguchi pref., Tokuyama citySuo							
39. Tokiyama	Fukuoka pref., Tagawa gun, Magarikane muraBuzen	1339	1561					
40. Nakatsu•	Oita pref., Nakatsu cityBuzen	1587	Start of Meiji					
41. Najima	Fukuoka pref., Kasuya gun, Tatara muraChikuzen	1587	1601					
42. Nariha	Okayama pref., Kawakami gun, Nariha machiBichu		1657					
43. Kofu	Yamaguchi pref., Yamaguchi citySuo	1556	1615					
44. Koriyama	Hiroshima pref., Takada gun, Yoshida machiAki	1335	1590					
45. Kokura •	Fukuoka pref., Kokura city Buzen	1608	Start of Meiji					

	NAME	LOCATION	<u>D.B.</u>	D.D.
46.	Koshimizu •	Hyogo pref., Nishi-no-Miya citySettsu		
47.	Konosumiyama	Hyogo pref., Izushi gun, Kamiyoshi muraTajima	1574	
48.	Saeki	Oita pref., Saeki cityBungo	Start of Meiji	
49.	Saijō	Ehime pref., Saijo cityIyo		Start of Me iji
50.	Sakamoto	Hyogo pref., Shikama gun, Sosa muraHarima		
51.	Sasayama	Hyogo pref., Taki gun, Sasayama machiTamba	1610	Start of Meiji
52.	Sayo	Hyogo pref., Sayo gun, Hirafuku machiHarima		1627
53•	Shosui	Tokushima pref., Itano gun, Sumiyoshi muraAwa	Between 1368 and 1375	1541
54.	Shirahata	Hyogo pref., Ako gun, Akamatsu muraHarima		
55•	Shingu •	Wakayama pref., Shingu cityKii	Between 1573 and 1592	1873
56.	Sumoto	Hyogo pref., Sumoto city,Awaji	Between 1521 and 1528	Start of Meiji
57•	Seta	Ehime pref., Shuso gun, Kusukawa muraIyo		
58.	Takatsuki	Osaka pref., Takatsuki citySettsu		Start of Me iji
59•	Takanawa	Ehime pref., Onsen gun, Kō-no muraIyo		
60.	Takamatsu•	Kagawa pref., Takamatsu citySanuki	1590	Start of Meiji

	NAME	LOCATION	<u>D.B.</u>	D.D.
61.	Takamatsu •	Okayama pref., Kibi gun, Takamatsu machiBichu		
62.	Takaya	Osaka pref., Minami-Kawachi gun, Furuicki machi Kawachi	Between 1319 and 1339	
63.	Takayasu	Osaka pref., Naka-Kawachi gun, Naka-takayasu mura Kawachi		712
64.	Takayama	Hiroshima pref., Toyota gun, Takasaka muraAki		
65.	Tachibana	Fukuoka pref., Kasuya gun, Aoyagi muraChikuzen		1587
66.	Tatsuno	Hyogo pref., Ibo gun, Tatsuno machiHarima	1672	Start of Meiji
67.	Tanabe	Wakayama pref., Tanabe cityKii		Start of Meiji
68.	Niwase	Okayama pref., Kibi gun, Niwase machi Bichu (Now part of Tsukubo gun, Kibi machi)	1600	
69.	Hagi	Yamaguchi pref., Hagi city Nagato	1604	Start of Meiji
70.	Hiji	Oita Pref., Hayami gun, Hiji machiBungo	Between 1596 and 1615	
71.	Himeji•	Hyogo pref., Himeji city Harima	1580	Start of Meiji
72.	Meinohana	Fukuoka pref., Fukuoka city Chikuzen		
73.	Hiroshima •	Hiroshima pref., Hiroshima cityAki	1589	Start of Meiji
74.	Fukuoka •	Fukuoka pref., Fukuoka city Chikuzen	1601	Start of Meiji
75•	Fukushima	Fukuoka pref., Yame gun, Fukushima machiChikugo	1587	

	NAME	LOCATION	<u>D.B.</u>	D.D.					
76.	Fukuyama	Okayama pref., Tsukubo gun, Yamate muraBichu							
77•	Fukuyama•	Hiroshima pref., Fukuyama cityBingo							
78.	Fuchū	Yamaguchi pref., Shimonoseki cityNagato		Start of Meiji					
79•	Fuchū	Oita pref., Oita gun, (Tofu) muraBungo	1562	1593					
80.	Funai •	Oita pref., Oita cityBungo	1597	Start of Meiji					
81.	Matsuyama•	Ehime pref., Matsuyama cityIyo	Start of Meiji						
82.	Matsuyama•	Okayama pref., Jobo gun, Takahashi machiBichu							
83.	(Matera)	Fukuoka pref., Asa-Kura gun, Asa Kura muraChikuzen	Between 1615 and 1624						
84.	Marugame •	Kagawa pref., Marugame citySanuki	Start of Meiji						
85.	Mitsuishi	Okayama pref., Wake gun, Mitsuishi machiBizen							
86.	Miki	Hyogo pref., Mino gun, Miki machiHarima	1580						
87.	Mizuki •	Fukuoka pref., Chikushi gun, Mizuki muraChikuzen							
88.	Mihara ●	Hiroshima pref., Mihara cityBingo							
89.	Yakami	Hyogo pref., Taki gun, Yakami muraTamba	Between 1504 and 1521	1610					
90.	Yanagawa	Fukuoka pref., Yamato gun, Yanagawa machiChikugo	Start of Meiji						

	NAME	LOCATION	<u>D.B.</u>	D.D.
91.	Yabesan	Fukuoka pref., Yame gun, Yabe muraChikugo		
92.	Yamaguch i	Yamaguchi pref., Yamaguchi citySuo		Start of Meiji
93•	Yutsuki	Ehime pref., Onsen gun, Dogoyumo machiIyo	Between 1334 and 1336	Between 1573 and 1592
94.	Wakayama•	Wakayama pref., Wakayama cityKii	1525	Start of Meiji

^{*}This list taken from the "Kokumin Hyakka Jiten" has been corrected to fit present day political divisions in Japan by use of the recently published State Dept. Gazeteer, "Administrative Subdivisions of Japan."

[•] A red dot signifies that some remains of this castle are still visible.

^{**} This date is the date when the monks of the Hongwanji built a castle at Osaka. Hideyoshi built his castle on the same site in 1584.

ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF THE CASTLES

IN THE INLAND SEA REGION WITH REFERENCE NUMBER

TO THE MASTER CASTLE LIST

34567891123456789012345678901 2222222223333333333333333333333333333	Amagasaki (4) Chihaya (34) Fuchū (78) Fuchū (79) Fukuoka (74) Fukushima (75) Fukuyama (76) Fukuyama (77) Funai (80) Hagi (69) Hiji (70) Himeji (71) Hiroshima (74) Ibaraki (10) Ichinomiya (8) Imabari (11) Itami (7) Ito (9) Iwakuni (12) Iwasake (27) Iwaya (13) Izushi (6) Jimoriyama (5) Kamitsuki (33) Kanabe (28) Kanayama (31) Katsuyama (25) Kawara (26) Kii (29) Kitsuki (30) Kōfu (43) Kokura (45) Konosumiyama (47) Kōriyama (44) Koshimizu (46) Kōzanji (32) Marugame (84)	44 45 45 55 55 55 55 56 66 66 66 66 66 67 77 77 77 77 77 77 78 81 ***	Matsuyama (81) Matsuyama (82) Meinohana (72) Mihara (88) Miki (86) Miki (86) Mitsuishi (85) Mizuki (87) Najima (41) Nakatsu (40) Nariha (42) Niwase (68) Oka (21) Okayama (22) Okuma (18) Okurayama (23) Ono (20) Osaka (19) Osaka (19) Osaka (19) Saeki (48) Saijō (49) Saeki (48) Saijō (49) Sakamoto (50) Sasayama (51) Sayo (52) Seta (57) Shingu (55) Shirahata (54) Shirahata (54) Shosui (53) Sumoto (56) Tachibana (65) Takamatsu (60) Takamatsu (61) Takamatsu (61) Takanawa (59) Takatsuki (58) Takayama (64) Takayama (67) Tatsuno (66) Tenjinyama (39) Tokiyama (39)
41.	(Matera) (83)	82.	Tokushima (37)

84. Tsuyama (35) 85. Uchiyama (15) 86. Umadake (16) 87. Usuki (14)	90. Ya 91. Ya 92. Ya 93. Ya	akayama (94) abesan (91) akami (89) amaguchi (92) anagawa (90)
88. Uwajima (17)	94. Yı	utsuki (93)

LISTING OF CASTLES BY PREFECTURES

(The number to the right of the name is that used in the master index.)

Fukuoka Pref.

- 1. Akizuki (2)
- 2. Ito (9)
- 3. Iwaya (13)
- 4. Uchiyama (15)
- 5. Umadake (16)
 6. Okuma (18)
 7. Ono (20)

- 8. Kawara (26)
- Iwasake (27)
- 9. Iwasake 10. Kii (29)
- 11. Tokiyama (39)
- 12. Najima (41)
- 13. Kokura (45)
- 14. Tachibana (65)
- 15. Meinohana (72)
- 16. Fukuoka (74) 17. Fukushima (75) 18. (Matera) (83)
- 19. Mizuki (87)
- 20. Yanagawa (90)
- 21. Yabesan (91)

Hyogo Pref.

- 1. Ako (3)
- 2. Amagasaki (4)
- 3. Izushi (6)
- 4. Itami (7) 5. Oshio (24)
- 6. Kozanji (32)
- 7. Kamitsuki (33)
- 8. Tenjinyama (36) 9. Koshimizu (46)
- 10. Konosumiyama (47)
- 11. Sakamoto (50)
- 12. Sasayama (51)
- 13. Sayo (52)
- 14. Shirata (54)
- 15. Sumoto (56)

- 16. Tatsuno (66)
- 17. Himeji (71)
- 18. Miki (86)
- 19. Yakami (89)

Okayama Pref.

- 1. Okayama (22)
- 2. Katsuyama (25)
- 3. Tsuyama (35)
- 4. Nariha (42)
- 5. Takamatsu (61) 6. Niwase (68)
- 7. Fukuyama (76)
- 8. Matsuyama (82)
- 9. Mitsuishi (85)

Osaka Pref.

- 1. Akasaka (1)
- 2. Jimoriyama (5)
- 3. <u>I</u>baraki (10)
- 4. Ōsaka (19)
- 5. Chihaya (34)
- 6. Takatsuki (58)
- 7. Takaya (62)
- 8. Takayasu (63)

Oita Pref.

- 1. Usuki (14)
- 2. Kitsuki (30)
- 3. Nakatsu (40)
- 4. Saeki (48)
- 5. Hiji (70) 6. Fuchū (79)

Oita Pref.

- 7. Funai (80)
- 8. Oka (21)

Hiroshima Pref.

- 1. Okurayama (23) 2. Kanabe (28)
- 3. Kanayama (31)

- 4. Koriyama (44)
 5. Takayama (64)
 6. Hiroshima (73)
- 7. Fukuyama (77)
- 8. Mihara (88)

Ehime Pref.

- 1. Imabari (11)
- 2. Uwajima (17)
- 3. Saijo (49) 4. Seta (57)
- 5. Takanawa (59)
- 6. Matsuyama (81)
- 7. Yutsuki (93)

Yamaguchi Pref.

- 1. Iwakuni (12)
- 2. Tokuyama (38)
- 3. Kofu (43) 4. Hagi (69)

- 5. Fuchu (78) 6. Yamaguchi (92)

Wakayama Pref.

- 1. Shingu (55)
- 2. Tanabe (67)
- 3. Wakayama (94)

Tokushima Pref.

- 1. Ichinomiya (8)
- 2. Tokushima (37)
- 3. Shosui (53)

Kagawa Pref.

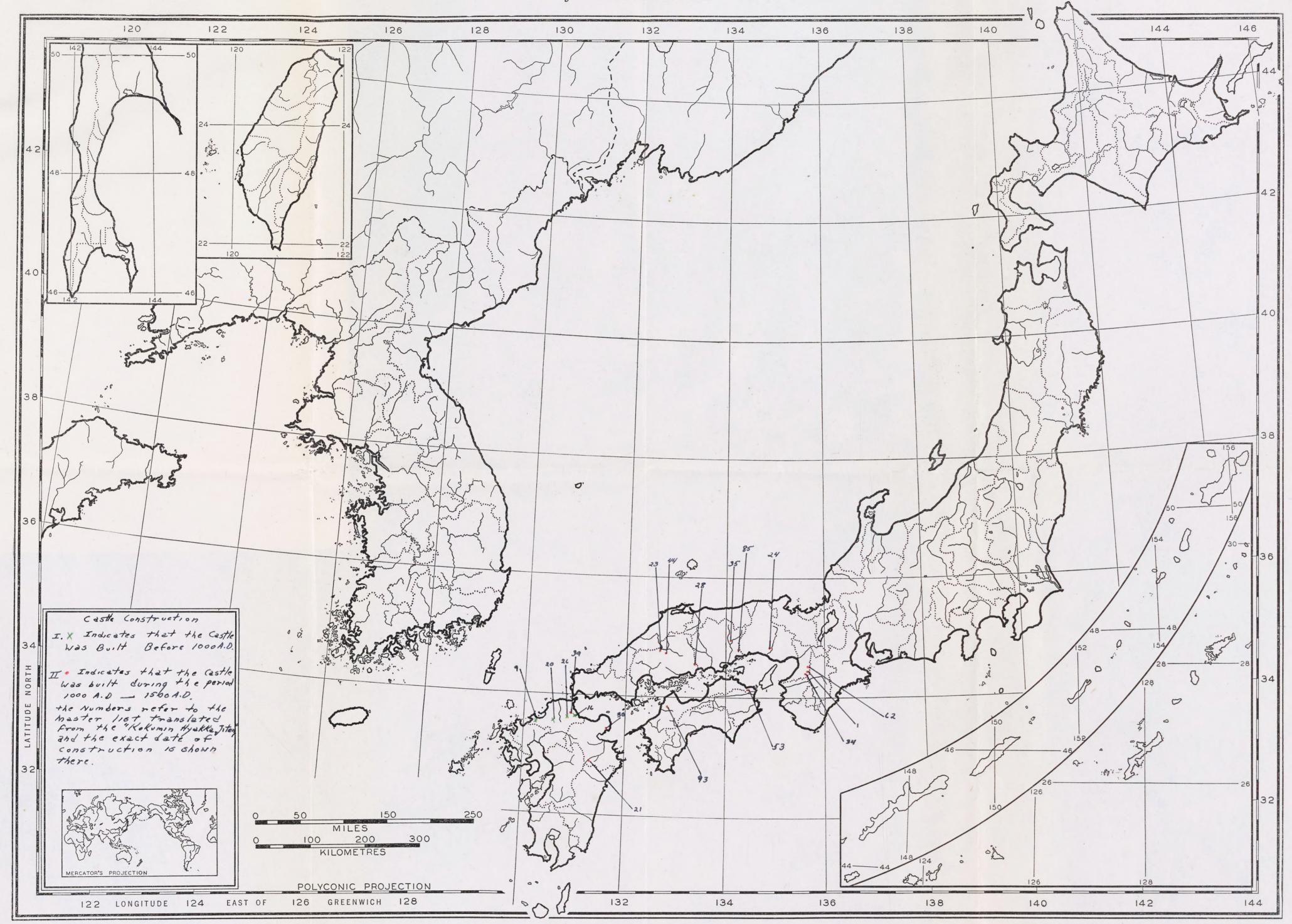
- 1. Takamatsu (60)
- 2. Marugame (84)

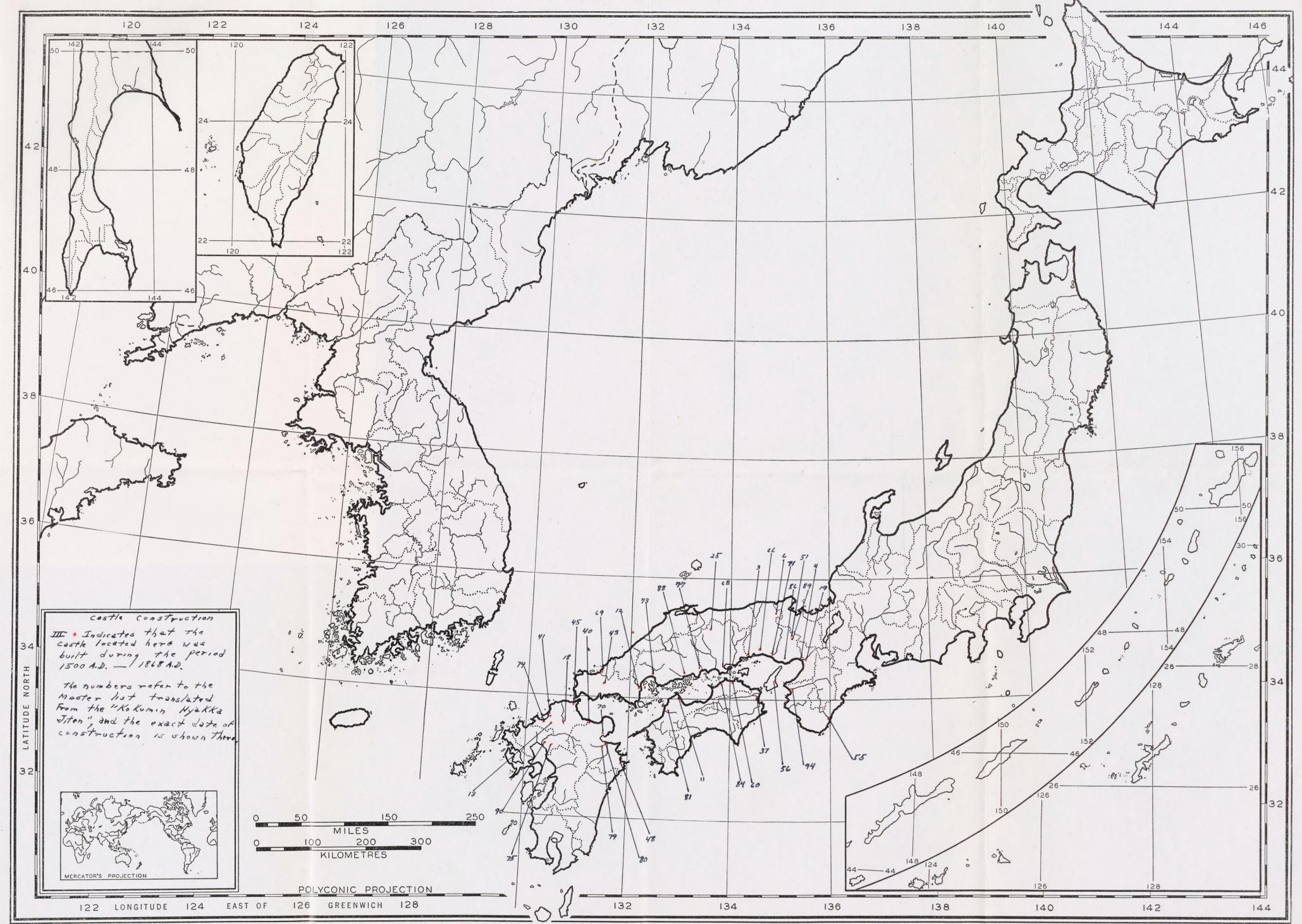
LISTING OF CASTLES BY KUNI

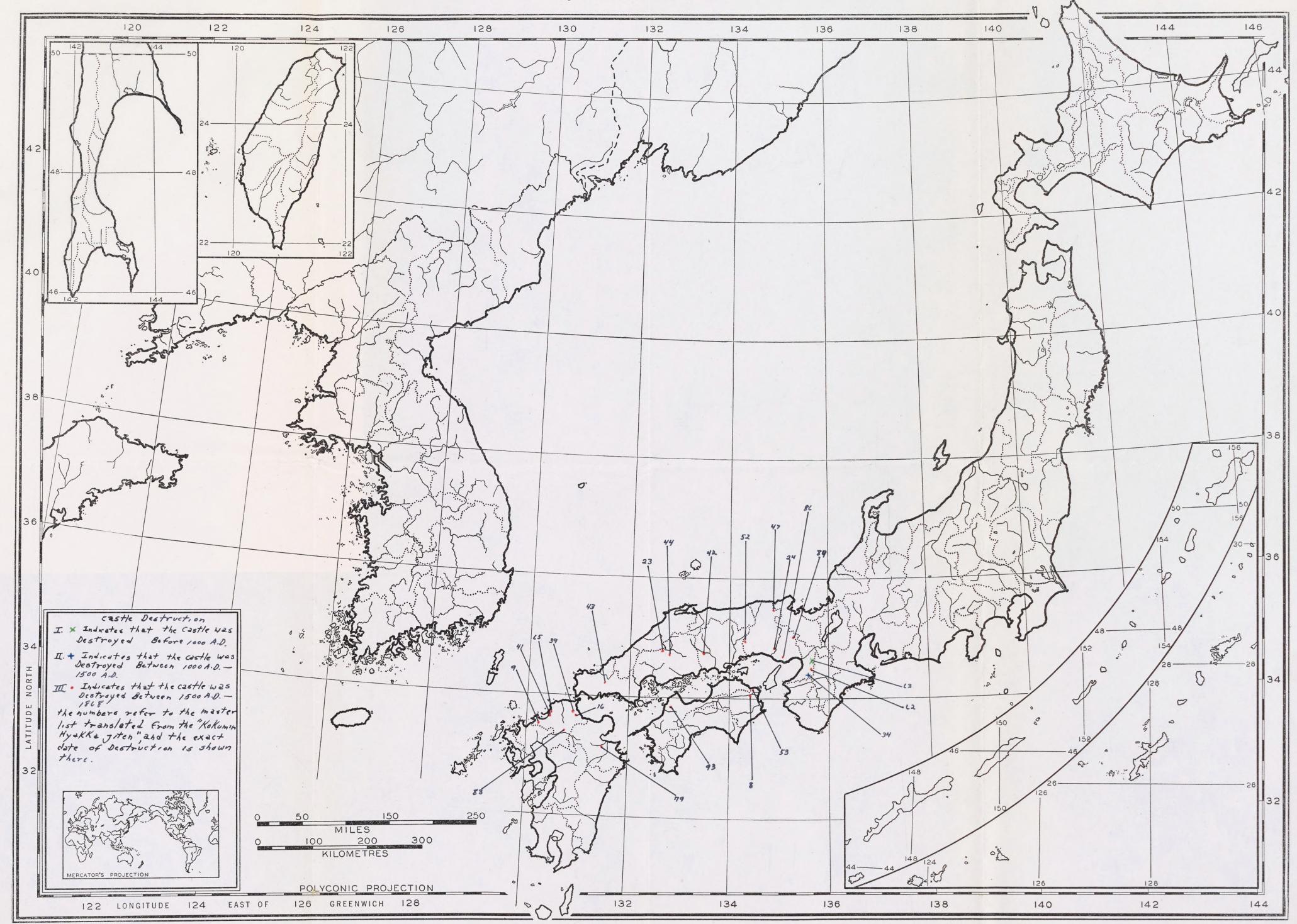
(The numbers refer to the master list.)

1.	Kawachi .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	1, 5, 34, 62, and 63
2.	Chikuzen.	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	2, 9, 13, 15, 18, 20, 41, 65, 72, 74, 83, and 87
3.	Harima	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	3, 24, 33, 36, 50, 52, 54, 66, 71, and 86
4.	Settsu	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	4, 7, 10, 19, 46, and 58
5•	Tajima	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	6 and 47
6.	Awaji	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	56
7.	Awa	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	8, 37, and 53
8.	Iyo	•	•		•	•	•	•	•	11, 17, 49, 57, 59, 81, and 93
9.	Suo	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	12, 38, 43, and 92
10.	Bungo	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	14, 21, 30, 48, 70, 79, and 80
11.	Buzen	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	16, 26, 27, 29, 39, 40, and 45
12.	Bizen	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	22, and 85
13.	Aki	•	•		•	•	•	•	•	23, 31, 44, 64, and 73
14.	Mimasaka.	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	25, and 35
15.	Bingo	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	28, 77, and 88
16.	Tamba	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	32, 51, and 89
17.	Bichū	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	42, 61, 68, 76, and 82
18.	Kii	•	•	۰.	•	•	•		•	55, 67, and 94
	Sanuki									
	Nagato									
										90, 91, and 75











CASTLES IN OSAKA FU

We shall now investigate a few of the castles in what is today Osaka Fu (city prefecture). The Castles of Akasaka and Chihaya were built much earlier than the Osaka Castle we know and have since long disappeared. In this section I shall once again turn to the technique of quotation in order to give the reader a clearer picture of the castles and their history. In investigating Osaka Castle I often came across conflicts of dates and events. Only a thorough investigation of the documentary material will clear up and settle these conflicts.

Akasaka Castle

"An idea of the works used and of the method of attack and defense in the 14th Century may be gathered from the account of the operations conducted by Kusunoki Masashige, Japan's 'Mirror of Stainless Loyalty,' in the war which ended in the downfall of the Hojo family in 1333.

"The Army of the Bakufu, or government of the Shogun, marched upon Akasaka, in the province of Kawachi. Masashige was ready. He had worked night and day at constructing upon the mountain-side a rectangular shiro (or castle) of only 650 feet square. Not having time to make a strong enclosure, he had put up thirty-three yaguras (or towers) consisting

practically of simple wooden boxes of several stages elevated upon posts and loopholed. These were connected by lines of palisades. He had also collected 500 samurai of whom 200 of the best archers were put in the shiro for its defence, the remaining 300 being posted upon a neighboring wooded hill.

"Upon reaching Akasaka, the Shogun's men, finding the castle was without ditches and of such light construction, endeavored to rush it at once, and by their disorderly attack laid themselves open to serious losses from the accurate archery of the defence. The generals withdrew their disorderly forces and prepared to encamp, with the view of making a more regular attack; when just as their men were laying aside their armour and removing their horses' harness, the forces posted on the hill delivered an attack and Masashige made a sortie, inflicting heavy loss and driving back the enemy some miles. Later on regular assaults had no better results than the first; the steep slopes below the improvised castle were in places covered with timbers suspended by cords, which the defenders cut when the timbers were covered with assailants; stones and tree trunks were hurled down; when a few pioneers with hooked poles, called 'bear's paws,' succeeded in getting close to the palisades, in the hope of pulling down a section of them to make a breach, they were saluted with buckets of boiling water and pitch, and all the time bowmen in the castle were active.

Chihaya

The Castle of Chihaya was built by Kusunoki Masashige. It was one cho (360 feet) above the level of the plain, and it had a circumference of only 2,000 feet. There was a very sharp slope to the northeast and southeast sides of the castle, and it was surrounded by high and rough mountains. One of these mountains was Kongozan, and at this mountain was placed a monastery. The hill upon which the castle was placed was very advantageously arranged, since it was separated by a deep valley from the other hills around it. In actual combat it was found that the castle was impregnable.²

<u>Osaka</u>

A story of Osaka castle becomes very involved since there is a tremendous amount of material on it. This castle was

¹See Garbutt, Matthew, "Military Works in Old Japan,"
"Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society of London,"
Vol. VIII, 1907-1908, pp. 54-55.

²<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 55-56.

immense and has a very interesting history. It is impossible to include here all the stories and so I shall list in the notes the numerous references in which these are available. \(^{\pm}\) These stories include surveys from the earliest castles up to the time of Osaka. At that period of history Naniwa was the name of the area and the history of the site goes back to the time of Jimmu. We also find that the Emperors Nintoku and Ojin and the Empress Suiko used Naniwa as the location of their palace and capital. The building of the castle of Osaka by Hideyoshi was thus just the climax of a long series of castles.

I have restricted myself to presenting here one of the

¹For detailed observations of Osaka Castle see the following:

A. "Castles in Japan" by Orui and Toba, pp. 21-26, 78 and 79.

B. "An Official Guide to Japan" (1933) pp. 296-297. C. "An Official Guide to Eastern Asia", "Vol. II,

South-Western Japan, pp. 164-166.
D. "Ancient Capitals and Palaces of Japan," by Ponsonby Fane in the "Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society of London, "pp. 139-145.

E. Garbutt, Matthew, "Military Works in Old Japan,"

pp. 61-63. "Japan: Its History, Arts, and Literature," by

Capt. F. Brinkley, Vol. II, pp. 69-75. "Japan Day by Day," Edward Sylvester Morse, pp. 102 and 196.

[&]quot;Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan," E. Papinot, pp. 493, 6, and 215.

[&]quot;A History of the Japanese People," by Capt. F. Brinkley, pp. 496, 527, 548, and 567.

J. See also references of Osaka Castle in "Japan: A

Short Cultural History, "by G. B. Sansom.

K. "Dai Nihon Kenchiku Shi," by Prof. Orui, Chapter IV,

"Kaku Juyoshiki ni okenu Daihyoteki Jitsurei." --(examples of various representative types) pp. 288-299.

earliest accounts of Osaka as seen by Western eyes. It contains some very valuable information and was recorded by Dr. Englebert Kaempfer in his diary as part of a travel record on one of his journeys to the court of the Emperor at Kyoto in the year 1691. Kaempfer says of the castle:

"On the East-side of the city or rather at its north east extremity lies the famous castle in a large plain. Going up to Miaco, we pass by it. It hath been built by the Emperor Taico. It is square about an hour's walking in circumference, and strongly fortified with round bastions, according to the military architecture of the country. After the castle of Fingo, it hath not its superior in extent, magnificence, and strength throughout the whole Empire. On the North-side it is defended by the river Jodogawa, which washes its walls, after it hath received two other rivers. And tho' the united stream was of itself of a very considerable breadth, yet for a still greater security they have thought it necessary to enlarge its bed still farther. On the East-side its walls are wash'd by the river Kasijwasigawa, before it falls into the great arm of the river Jodogawa. Beyond the river Kasijwasigawa, opposite to the castle, lies the great garden belonging to the same. The South and West end border upon the extremities of the city. The moles, or buttresses which support the outward wall, are of an uncommon bigness, and I believe at least seven fathoms thick. They are stone which at its upper end is planted with a row of firs, or cedars. I took notice that

there was a small narrow gate just in the middle of the two sides, with a small bridge leading to them. This is all we could observe of the situation and present state of this reknown'd castle.

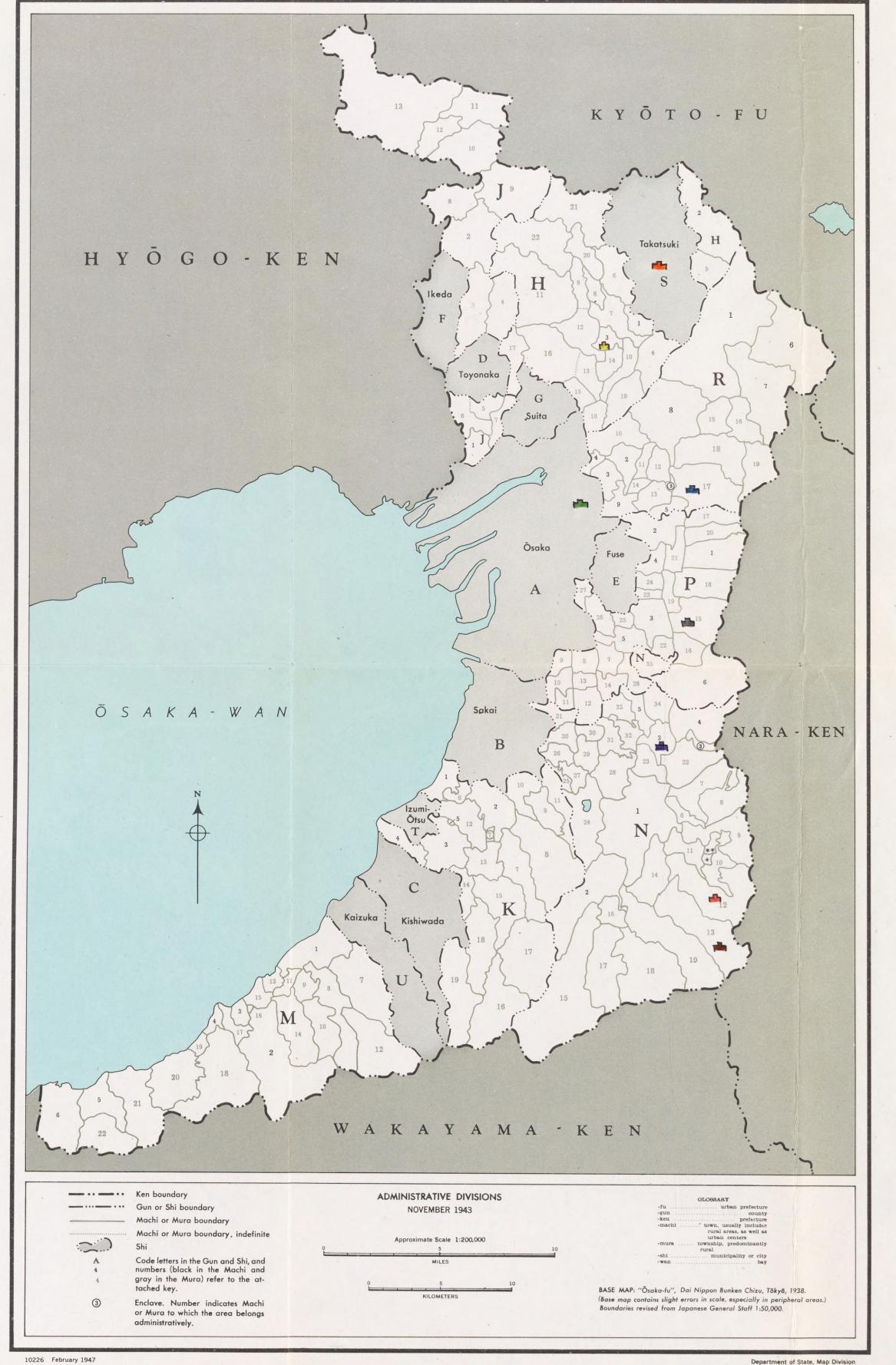
"As to further particulars, I had the following account given me by the natives. Coming in through the first wall, a second castle of the same architecture, but smaller, presents itself to your view, and having enter's this second you come to the third and middlemost, which according to the country fashion is adorn'd in the corners with beautiful towers several stories high, whose innermost roof is cover'd and adorn'd with two monstrous large fish, which instead of scales are cover'd with golden Ubangs finely polish'd which in a clear-shiny day reflect the rays so strongly, that they may be seen as far as Fiongo. This tower was burnt down about thirty years ago (to compute from 1691). In the gate which leads to the second castle there is a black polish'd stone wall'd in among the rest, which for its uncommon bigness, weight, and for having been brought over to Osacca by water, is by the natives esteem'd a wonder, being five fathoms long, four fathoms broad, and much of the same thickness, and consequently almost of a cubical figure. 'Twas the then Governor of Fiongo, who having been order'd by the Emperor Taiko, when he was about building this castle to furnish him with large stones caus'd six large barges to be join'd together, to transport this stone to Osacca from an Island Initzma, situated five miles on

this side Tomu, where it lay. The Emperor built this Castle for the security of his own person, and to execute this design, he laid hold of that favourable opportunity, when having declar'd war against the Coreans, he thereby found means to remove several of the most powerful of the princes and lords of the Empire, whom he was most apprehensive of, from his court and their dominions by sending them over upon that expedition. A strong garrison is constantly kept in this castle, as well for the defence of the Imperial treasures, and the revenues of the Western provinces, which are hoarded therein, as also to keep the said provinces in awe and submission, and to hinder the Western princes from attempting anything against the security of the Emperor and Empire. This castle and garrison are commanded by two of the Emperor's chief favourites. They enjoy their command by turns, each for the term of three years. When one of the Governors returns from Court to his government his predecessor must quit the castle forthwith, in order to give an account of his behaviour. And what is very remarkable, he is not permitted to see or to speak to his successor, but he must leave the necessary instructions for him in writing in his apartment in the castle. The Governors of the castle have nothing at all to do with the affairs relating to the City of Osacca, nor have they any business with the Governors thereof. However, they are superior to them in rank as may be concluded from the late Chief Justice of Miaco, who is one of the Chief and most considerable officers

of the crown, and in a manner the right arm of the Emperor, was raised to that eminent post from the government of the castle."

I included this complete observation of Kaempfer because I thought it gave a quite complete picture of the castle at a time when it still was of importance in the political, social, and economic life of Japan. The role of Osaka Castle in the political intrigue of Japan's history is a story of great length and interest.

JAPAN: ŌSAKA-FU



KEY TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF OSAKA-FU MAP NO. 26

```
N MINAMI-KAWACHI-GUN
A ŌSAKA-SHI
B SAKAI-SHI
                                                             1 Tondabayashi
2 Nagano
3 Furuichi
C KISHIWADA-SHI
D TOYONAKA-SHI
                                                              4 Kokubu
E FUSE-SHI
                                                              5 Fujiidera
F IKEDA-SHI
                                                           MURA
                                                            6 Ishikawa
7 Shinaga
8 Yamada
9 Shiraki
G SUITA-SHI
S TAKATSUKI-SHI
T IZUMI-ŌTSU-SHI
                                                             10 Kawachi
11 Naka
U KAIZUKA-SHI
                                                             12 Akasaka
13 Chihaya
14 Tōjō
15 Takō
 H MISHIMA-GUN
         MACHI
                                                             16 Mikaichi (Mikkaichi)
17 Kagata
            3 Ibaraki
                                                            18 Amami
19 Kawakami
         MURA
                                                            20 Minami-yashimo
21 Kita-yashimo
22 Komagatani
23 Nishiura
            6 Abuno
7 Mishima
                                                            24 Sayama
25 Ökusa
26 Hikinoshō
27 Noda
           10 Tamashima
11 Toyokawa
           12 Kasuga
13 Miyake
                                                            23 Hirao
29 Kuroyama
                                                            30 Tannan
31 Tampi (Tambi)
32 Hanyū
33 Takawashi
34 Domyōji
35 Shiki
            14 Tamakushi
            16 Yamada
17 Shinden
18 Ajū
           19 Torikai
20 Ishikawa
                                                            * Area belonging to N 10 and
N 11

** Area belonging to N 9 and
N 10
           21 Miyama
22 Kiyotani
  J TOYONO-GUN
                                                    P NAKA-KAWACHI-GUN
         MACHI
           1 Shōnai
                                                           MACHI
                                                             1 Hiraoka
2 Tatetsu
3 Yao
4 Tamagawa
5 Ryūge
6 Kashihara (Kashiwara)
         MURA
           2 Todoromi
3 Minoo
4 Kayano
            5 Naka-teshima
                                                            MURA
                                                              7 Nagayoshi
8 Uriwari
9 Yata
            8 Yoshikawa
            9 Higashi-nose
10 Togo
           11 Utagaki
12 Tajiri
13 Nishi-nose
                                                             10 Amami
11 Nunose
                                                             12 Matsubara
13 Miyake
  K SEMBOKU-GUN
                                                            13 Miyake
14 Ega
15 Takayasu
16 Minami-takayasu
17 Kusaka
18 Nawate
19 Minogō
20 Ōe
         MACHI
           1 Takashi
2 Fukuizumi
3 Izumi
4 Tadaoka
5 Yasaka
         MURA
                                                              22 Akekawa (Akegawa)
                                                             23 Nishigōri
24 Wakae
25 Kyūhōji
26 Kami
27 Tatsumi
28 Taishō
            6 Toroshi
           8 Niwatani
9 Nishi-tōki
10 Kuze
11 Higashi-tōki
12 Shinoda
                                                   R KITA-KAWACHI-GUN
            13 Kita-ikeda
            14 Kita-matsunoo
15 Minami-ikeda
16 Minami-yokoyama
                                                              1 Hirakata
2 Kadoma
3 Sangō
            17 Yokoyama
18 Minami-matsunoo
                                                             4 Moriguchi
5 Suminodō
6 Tsuda
7 Kōno (Katano)
            19 Yamataki
  M SENNAN-GUN
         MACHI
                                                              8 Neyagawa
9 Matsuda
           1 Sano
2 Shindachi
                                                           MURA
            3 Tarui
4 Ozaki
5 Fuke
                                                            10 Niwakubo
11 Ōwada
12 Shinomiya
            6 Tanakawa (Tanagawa)
                                                              13 Minamigō
         MURA
           7 Kumatori
8 Hineno
                                                              15 Mizumoto
                                                             18 Shijonawate
19 Tawara
          16 Narutaki
17 Onoshindachi
18 Higashi-totori
19 Nishi-totori
20 Shimoshō
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Code used for the Ken, Gun, and Shi is based on that used on A.M.S. 1:250,000 series and gazetteer.

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Castles IN Osaka - Fu*
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1. A Kasaka

2. 1 Jimoriyama

3. 1 Ibaraki

21 Tannowa 22 Kyōshi

4. m Osaka

5 th Chihaya

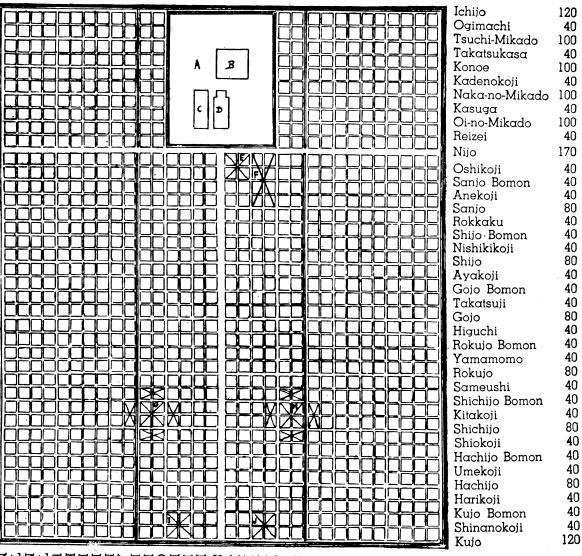
1. takatsuki

7. m takaya

8. m takayasu

* Approximate hocation: Shows Machi Murz, on Shi in Which castle is Located

The capital of Asuka. Imperial mausolea.



Higashi Kyogoku
Tominokoji
Madenokoji
Takakura
Higashi-no-Doin
Karasu Maru
Muromachi
Machijiri
Nishi-no-Doin
Aburakoji
Nishi Horikawa
Inokuma
Omiya Highway
Nishi Bojo
Shujaku Highway
Nishi Bojo
Shujaku Highway
Inokuma
Omiya Highway
Nishi Bojo
Shujaku Highway
Nishi Bojo
Mibu
Nishi Bojo
Shujaku Highway
Inokuma
Horikawa
Aburakoji
Nishi-no-Doin
Machijiri
Muromachi
Karasu Maru
Higashi-no-Doin
Takakura
Madenokoji
Tominokoji
Nishi Kyogoku

The Heian Capital (Heian no Miyako).

(A) Imperial City. (B) Palace. (C) Horaku-in. (D) Hasshō-in. (E) University.

(F) Shinsen-en park. (G) Right market. (H) Left market. (I) Saiji. (J) Toji. (Numbers indicate width of streets in feet.)

The Heian Capital

The Dai-Dairi or Imperial City with the Palace, the Hasshöin and Hōgakuin halls of ceremony, the eight departments of State and the various palace and government offices. Kōnin period (810-824).

1. Nuri-shitsu, lacquer room. 2. Ogimi-tsukasa, Princes' bureau. 3. Uneme-tsukasa, Court ladies. 4. Hyogo-ryo, arsenal. 5. Okura-sho, treasury office. 6. Okura, treasury. 7. Naga-dono. 8. Ritsubun-kura, tax storehouse. 9. Tonomo-ryo, palace furniture office. 10. O-tonoi, night watch. 11. Guard-house. 12. Cha-en, tea gardens. 13. Naikyo-bo, dancing school. 14. Ukonei-fu, right bodyguard. 15. Uhyoei-fu, right guards. 16. Butokuden, martial exercise hall. 17. Dzusho-ryo, library. 18. O-uta-dokoro, poetry bureau. 19. Kamon-ryo, palace cleaning bureau. 20. Kura-ryo, storehouse department. 21. Nui-ryo, dress-making department. 22. Nan-in. 23. Nashimoto, detached palace. 24. Sakonei-fu, left bodyguard. 25. Sahyoei-fu, left guards. 26. Toga-in and 27. Saiga-in, Palace of Crown Prince. 28. Takumi-ryo, board of works. 29. Miki-tsukasa, sake brewery. 30. Sama-ryo, left horse guard. 31. Uma-ryo, right horse guard. 32. Tengaku-ryo. music bureau. 33. Palace well. 34. Nakatsukasa-sho, intermediary department. 35. Jibu-sho, officials' department. 36. Sho-ryo, mausoleum bureau. 37. Gemba, foreign affairs. 38. Hanji, justiciary. 39. Gyobu-sho, justice department. 40. Danjo-dai, censors' bureau. 41. Hyobu-sho, war office. 42. Hōgaku-in. 43. Hassho-in. 44. Shingon-in, Buddhist chapel. 45. Ito-dokoro, weaving office. 46. Naizen-tsukasa, Imperial kitchens. 47. Unememachi, Court ladies. 48. Moku-ryo, building bureau. 49. Chuwa-in, hall of worship. 50. Dairi, palace. 51. Geki-dono, Imperial Edicts. 52. Nansho. 53. Ippon-gosho. 54. Kama-dokoro. 55. Naiju-dokoro, pages department. 56. Shiki-mizoshi, ministers' bureau. 57. Inyo-ryo, astrology department. 58. Jiju-kyoku, chamberlains. 59. Uchi-toneri, Imperial Attendants. 60. Kemmotsu, keeper of the keys. 61. Shurei. 62. Shuitsu. 63. Dajokan, privy council department. 64. Kageyu, accountants' bureau. 65. Mimbu-sho, home department. 69. Sai-in. 70. I-in, physicians' bureau. 71. Mondo, water-works bureau. 72. Daizen-shoku, culinary office. 73. Kunai-sho, Imperial household. 74. Oi-ryo, Impe

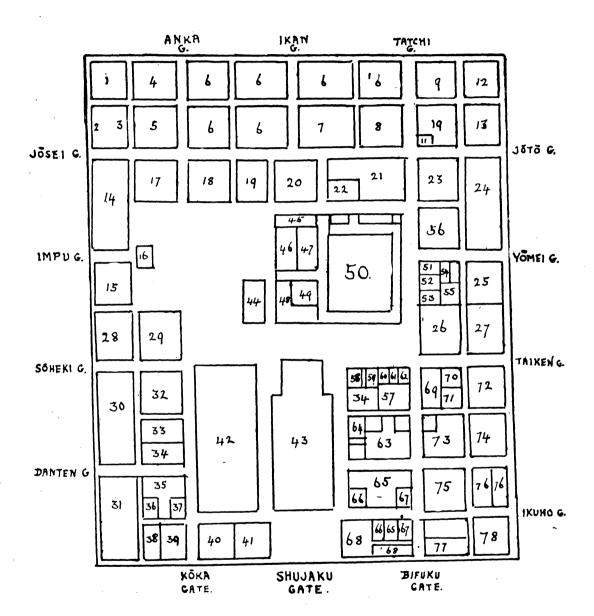
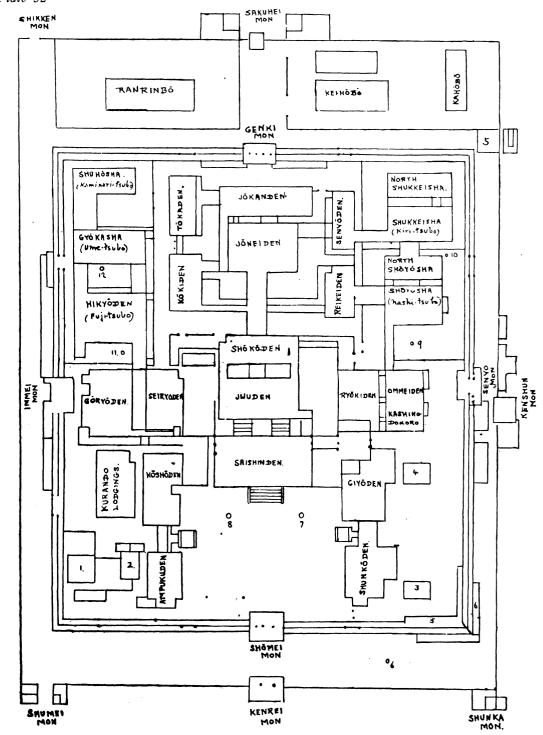


Plate 32



The Heian Capital

Imperial Palace. 1. Kurando lodgings. 2. Department of presents. 3. Vermilion utensil hall.

4. Imperial palanquin house. 5. Flushing hall. 6. Bamboos. 7. Cherry-tree. 8. Orange-tree.

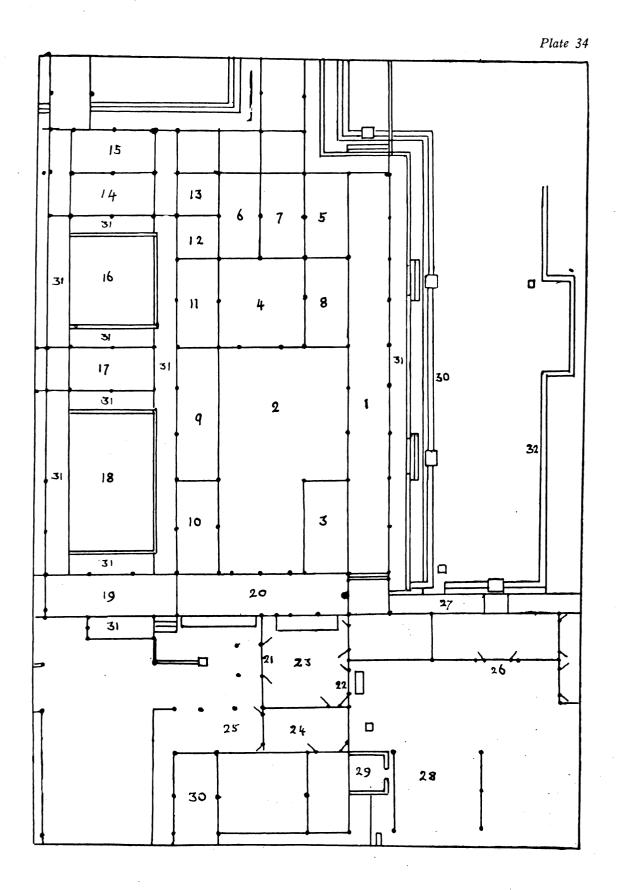
9. Pear-tree (nashi). 10. Paullownia (kiri). 11. Wistaria-tree (fuji). 12. Plum-tree (ume).

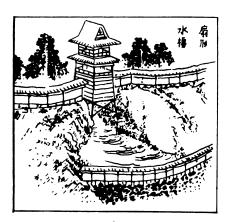
The Heian Capital

The Heian Capital

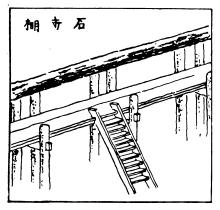
The plan of the Seiryoden of the palace. 1. Front veranda. 2. Seiryoden hall.

3. Earth floor. 4. Bed chamber (Yoru-no-otodo). 5. First consort's chamber (Kokiden-no-ue-no-tsubone). 6. Second consort's chamber (Fujitsubo-no-ue-no-tsubone). 7. Lespedeza chamber (Hagi-no-ma). 8. Ante-chamber. 9. Kitchen (Daibansho). 10. Devil chamber (Oni-no-ma). 11. Dining-room (Asa-garei-no-ma). 12. Lavatory. 13. Dressing-room (On-yudono-agari). 14. Bathroom (On-yudono). 15. North-west corridor. 16. Dining-room court. 17. Middle corridor. 18. Kitchen court. 19. South-west corridor. 20. Reception chamber. 21. Divine fairy gate (Shinsen-mon). 22. Nameless gate (Mumei-mon). 23. Vestibule. 24. Guard-room (Shita-zamurai). 25. Covered porch. 26. Gate of revered benevolence (Sujin-mon). 27. Covered bridge. 28. Archery ground. 29. Archery pavilion. 30. Stream. 31. Bamboo veranda (Sunoko). 30. Recorders (Kurando). 31. Night watch (Tonoi). 32. Ditch.









3.

1. TOWER ACROSS A STREAM.

(From Hokusai's "Mangwa,")

2. A DRAWBRIDGE.

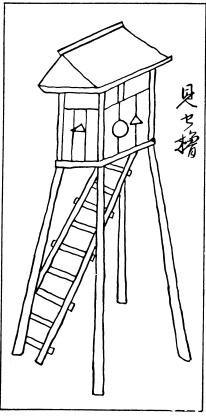
(From Hokusai's "Mangwa.")

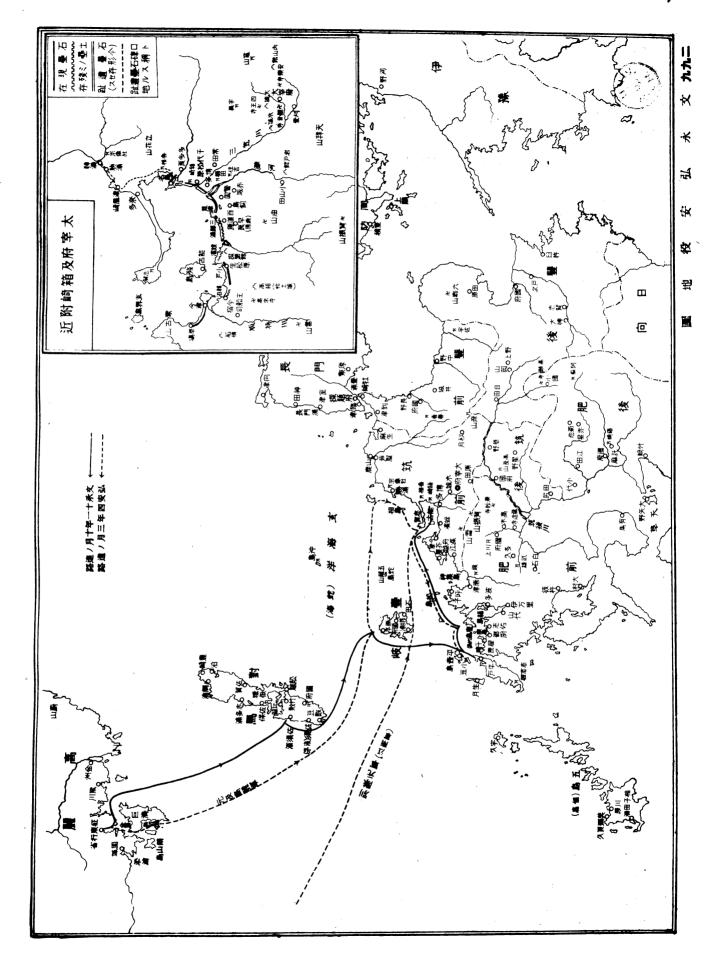
3. FRAMING FOR PARAPET OF A CASTLE, SHOWING THE ISHI-UCHI-TANA, OR STONE-THROWING SHELF.

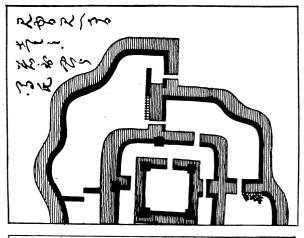
(From Hokusai's "Mangwa.")

4. MISE YAGURA, OR LOOK-OUT TOWER.

(From MS. "Gun-Po Dzu-i," by Ki Kawa Masayoshi, a.d. 1748.)







THE "WATER-TIGHT COMPARTMENT"
PLAN.

THE ENTRENCHED CAMP, SHOWING THE ARRANGE.

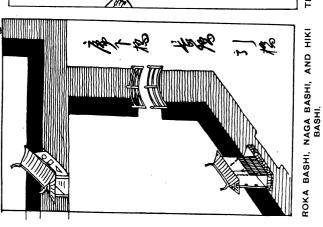
THE ENTRENCHED CAMP, SHOWING THE ARRANGE.

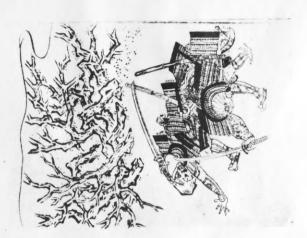
MENT OF "KAGARI" FOR NIGHT-WATCHING.

The kagari is a kind of iron basket hung to an iron post to hold torches.

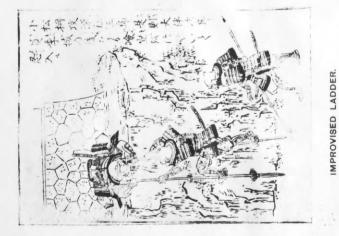
COVENED BRIDGE, LONG BRIDGE, AND DRAW-BRIDGE.

(These three drawings are from MS. "Gun-Po Dzu-i," by K1 Kawa Masayoshi, A.D. 1748.)









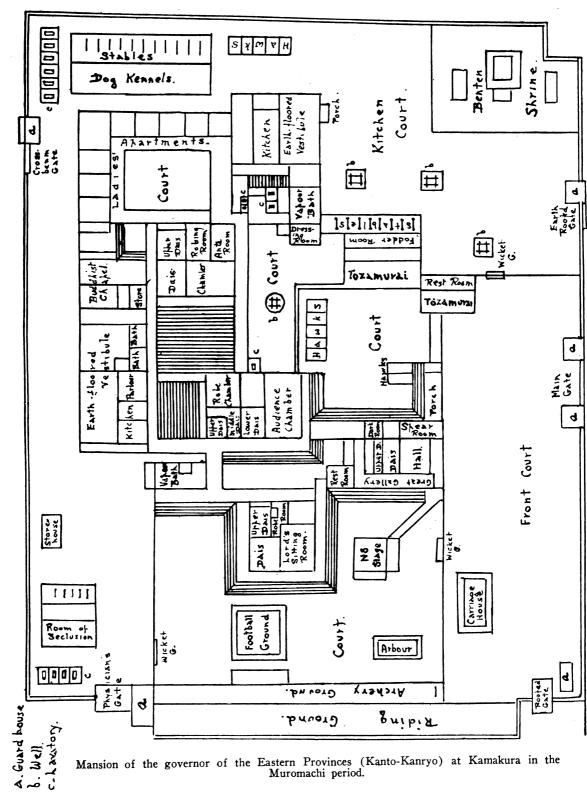
OBSTACLES.

(From a work on the Wars of Gempei, by KITAO MASAVOSHI, 1791. H. L. Joly Collection.)

(From the "Ehon Kame O Yama," by Nishikawa Sukenobu, H. L. Joly Collection.)

(From a work on the Wars of Gempei, by Kitao Masayoshi, 1791. H. L. Joly Collection.)

Plate 49



Mansion of the governor of the Eastern Provinces (Kanto-Kanryo) at Kamakura in the Muromachi period.

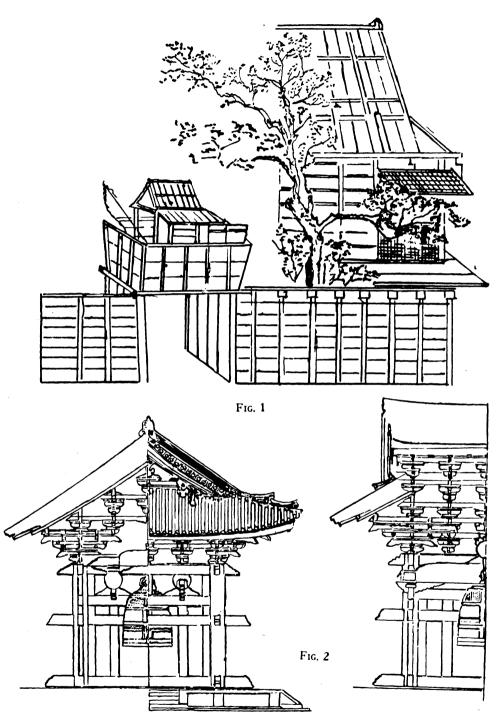


Fig. 1. Wall and gate with guard-house over it, in military residence of Kamakura period. Fig. 2. Bell-tower of the Tōdaiji, Vara, side view elevation and section, front view half-section.

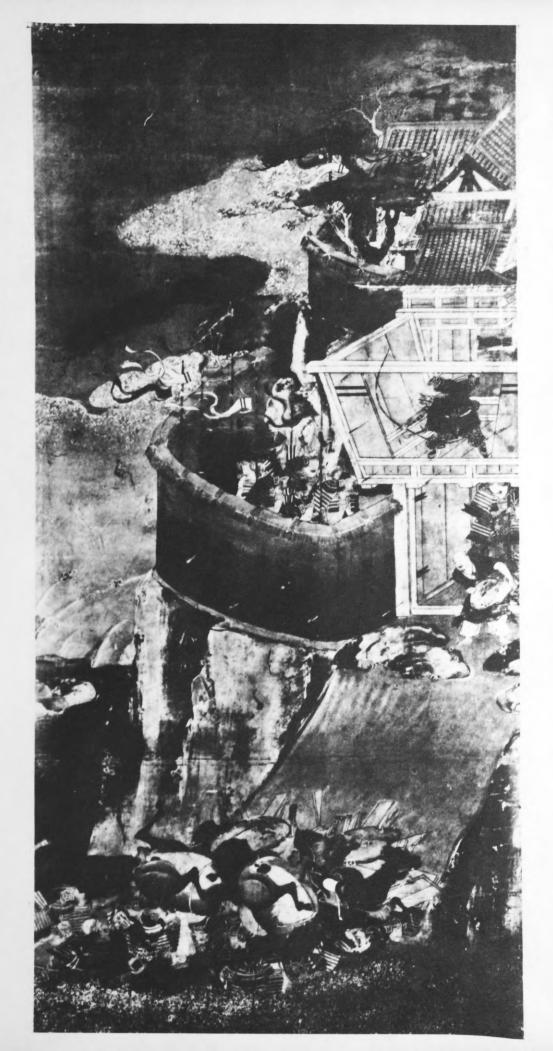
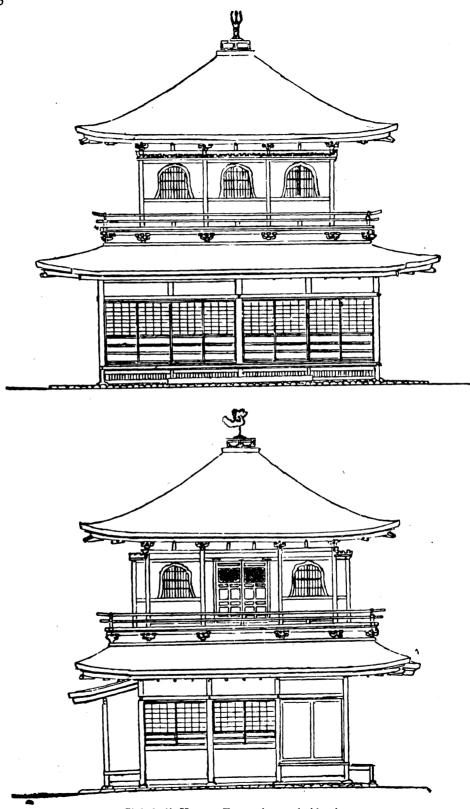
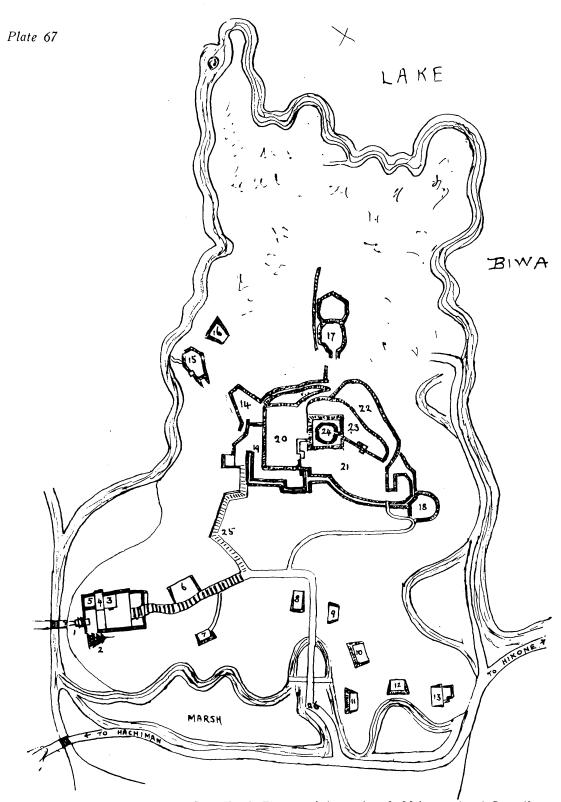


Plate 63

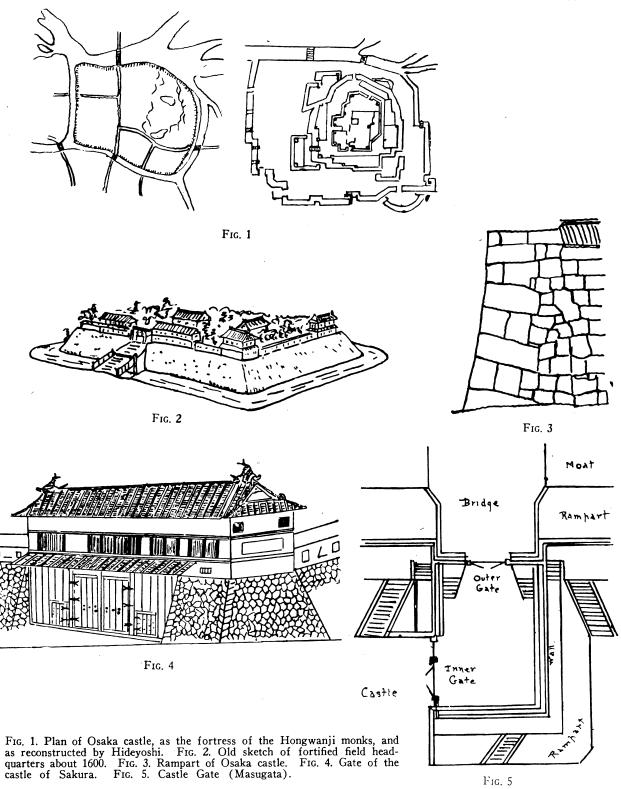


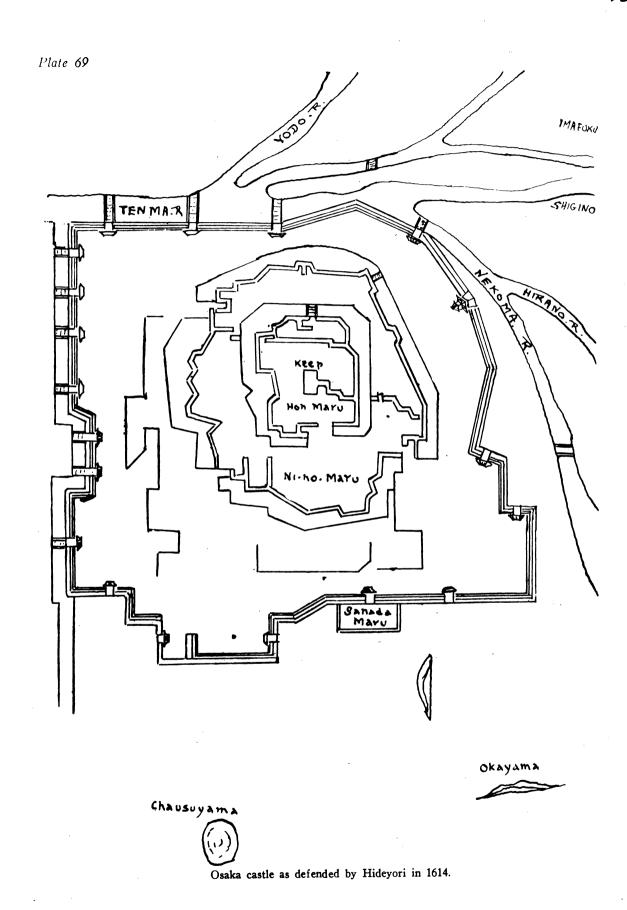
Ginkakuji, Kyoto. Front view and side view.

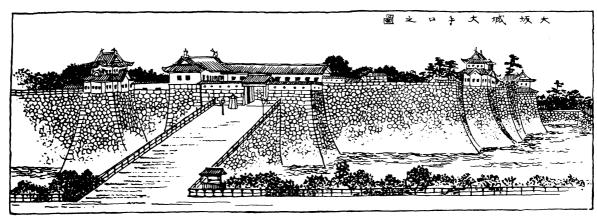


Azuchi castle. 1. Gate of Sōgenji. 2. Three-storied pagoda. 3. Main temple of Sōgenji. 4. Guest house. 5. Kitchen and refectory. 6. Oda Nobutada's mansion. 7. Takei Sekian's mansion. 8. Toyotomi Hideyoshi's mansion. 9. Tokugawa Ieyasu's mansion. 10. Muto Sukeemon's mansion. 11. Eto Kagaemon's mansion. 12. Chujo Shogen's mansion. 13. Tearooms. 14. Hasegawa mansion. 15. Oda Nobuzumi's mansion. 16. Ichibashi Shimosa's mansion. 17. Sugaya Kyuemon's mansion. 18. Hori Kyutaro's mansion. 19. Iron Gate. 20. Outer ward (Ni-no-maru). 21. Inner ward (Hon Maru). 22. Outer terrace. 23. Upper terrace of Hon Maru. 24. Keep (Tenshu). 25. Steps from Sōgenji. 26 Main approach from highway.

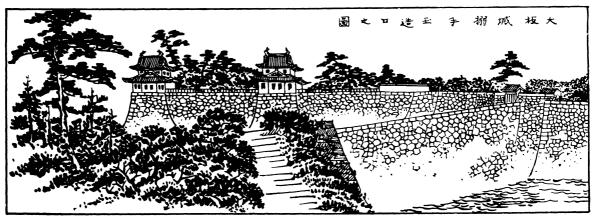








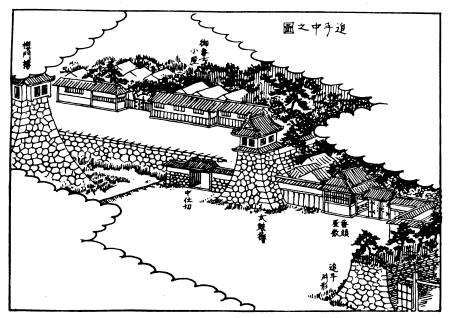
OSAKA CASTLE: (1) THE CHIEF GATE IN THE PRESENT OUTER WALL.



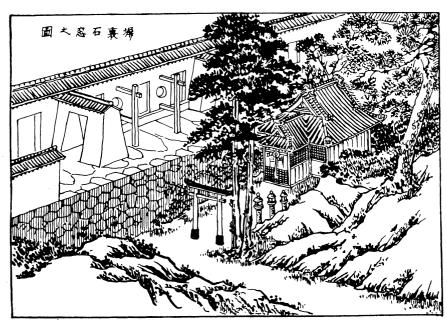
OSAKA CASTLE: (2) THE TAMATSUKURI GATE.



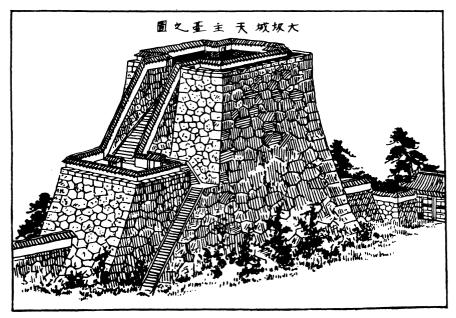
OSAKA CASTLE: (3) THE CHERRY GATE.



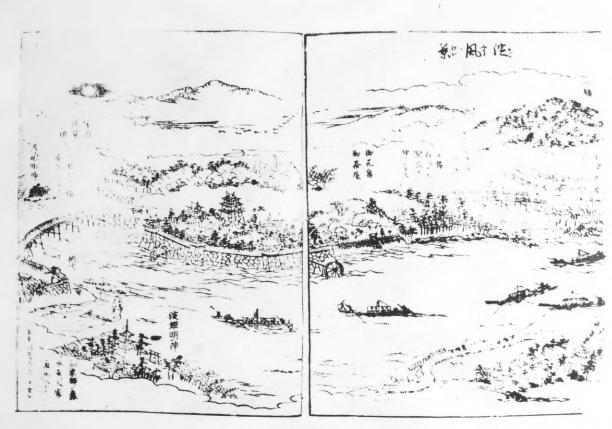
OSAKA CASTLE: (4) THE DRUM TOWER.



OSAKA CASTLE: (5) INTERIOR OF WALL, WITH SUPPORTS FOR STONE-THROWING SHELF, ETC.



OSAKA CASTLE: (6) BASE OF THE KEEP.

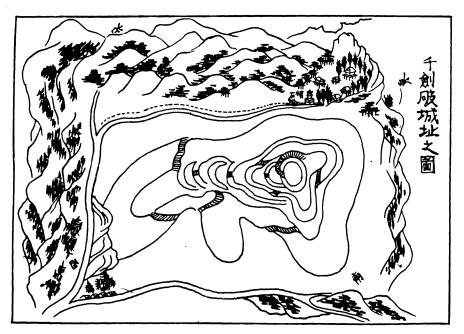


VIEW OF YODO.

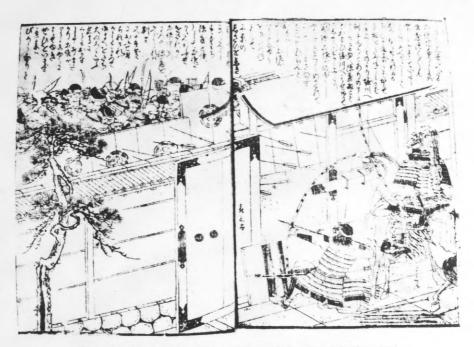
(From the "Gwahon Oshukubai," by Tachibana Morikuni, 1740. H. L. Joly Collection.)



THE TENSHU OF NAGOYA CASTLE.

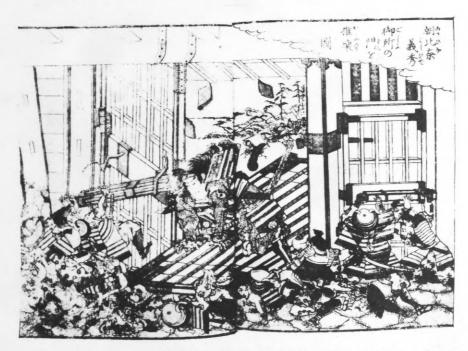


PLAN OF THE RUINS OF CHIHAYA CASTLE.



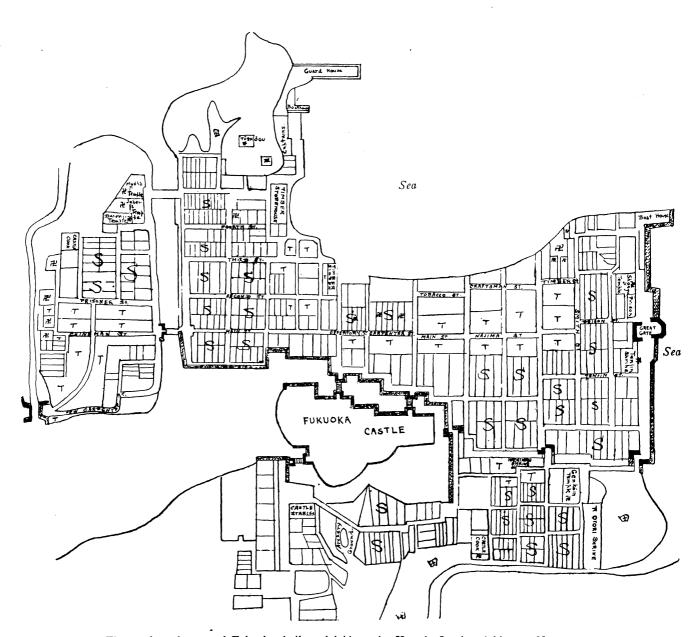
INTERIOR OF A GATE, AND SHIELDS USED AS A BREASTWORK.

(From the "Ehon Yoshitsune Ichidai Ji Ki," of Katsu Shunsho, 1787. H. L. Joly Collection.)

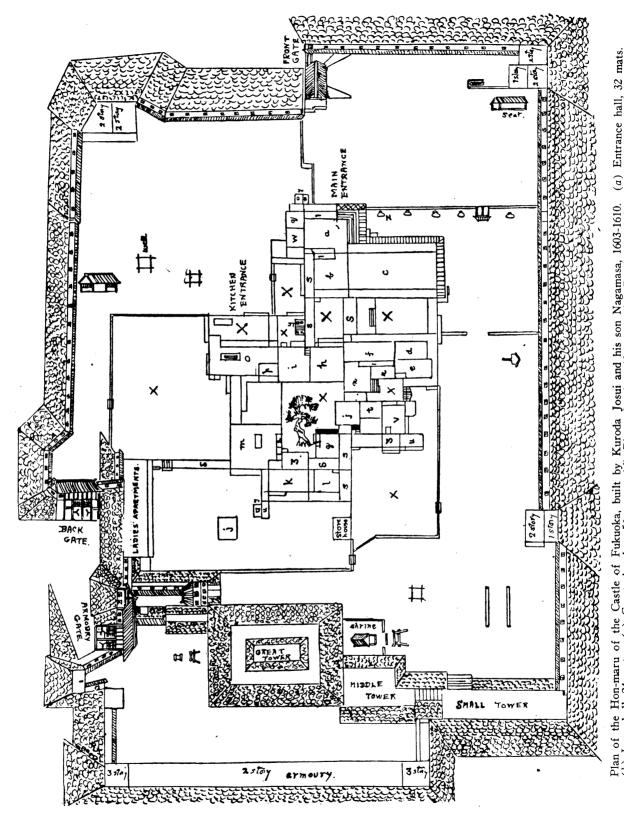


INTERIOR OF A GATE, SHOWING BOLTS, HINGES, AND FITTINGS.

(From the "Hoshi Tsuki Yo Kenkwai Roku," illustrated by Arisuke Teisal. H. L. Joly Collection.)



The castle and town of Fukuoka, built and laid out by Kuroda Josui and his son Nagamasa after 1600. (S) Samurai. (T) Townsmen. Fukuoka lies on the sea which is utilized to form the moats. The quarter of the traders lies in the centre on the main street with that of the artisans in the rear.



Bamboo chamber. (f) Long alcove chamber, (Chamber of the steward of the household. hearth. (n) Dark chamber. (o) Kitchen. (c) Great chamber, 56 mats. (d) Plum chamber, 10 mats. (hamber, 8 mats. (h) Chamber of the gentlemen-in-waiting. (k) Living-room. (l) Bed-chamber. (m) Chamber of t mats. (r) Small chamber. (s) (x) Courtyards. (y) Privy. Lantern room, 8 mats. Plan of the Hon-maru of the Castle of Full (b) Inner hall, 24 mats. (c) Great chamber 28 mats. (g) Palanquin chamber, 8 mats. (j) Waiting-room, 8 mats. (k) Living-room (p) Utensil pantry. (q) Lantern room, 8 matroom, 18 mats. (w) Guard-room. (i)

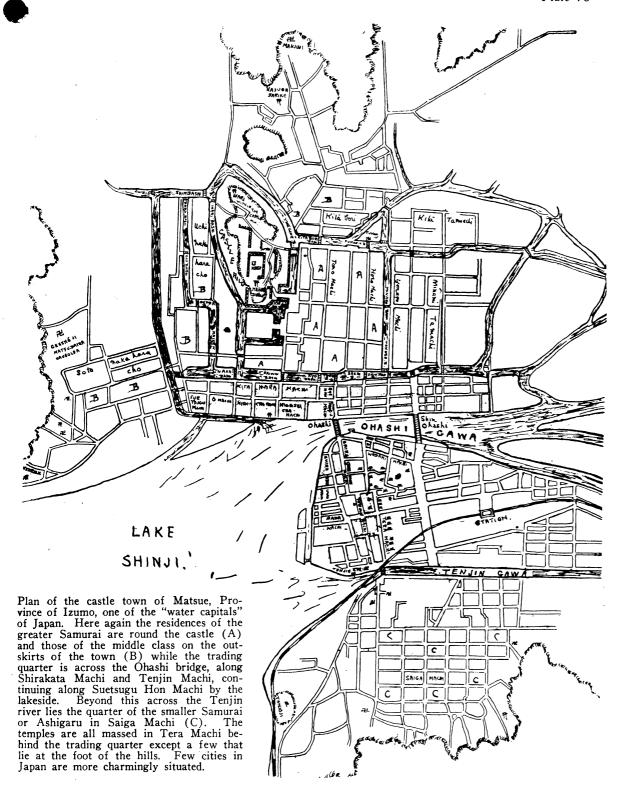
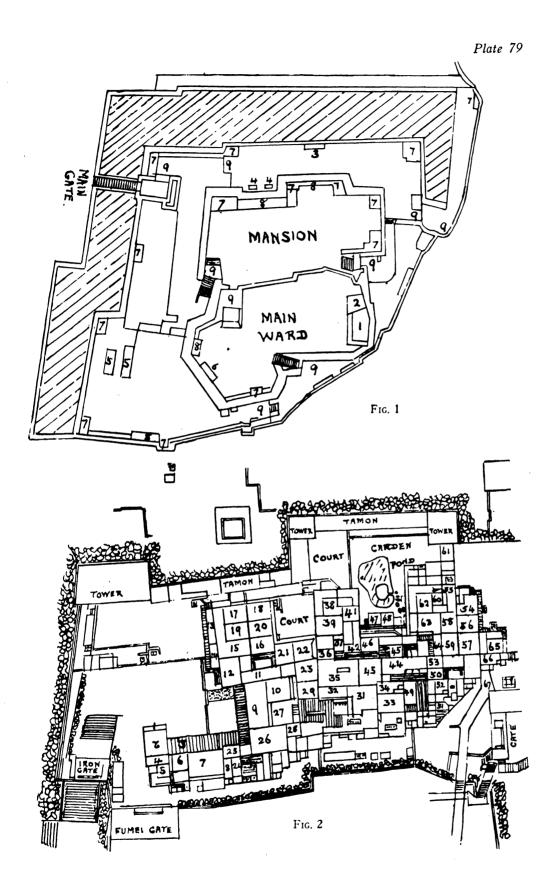
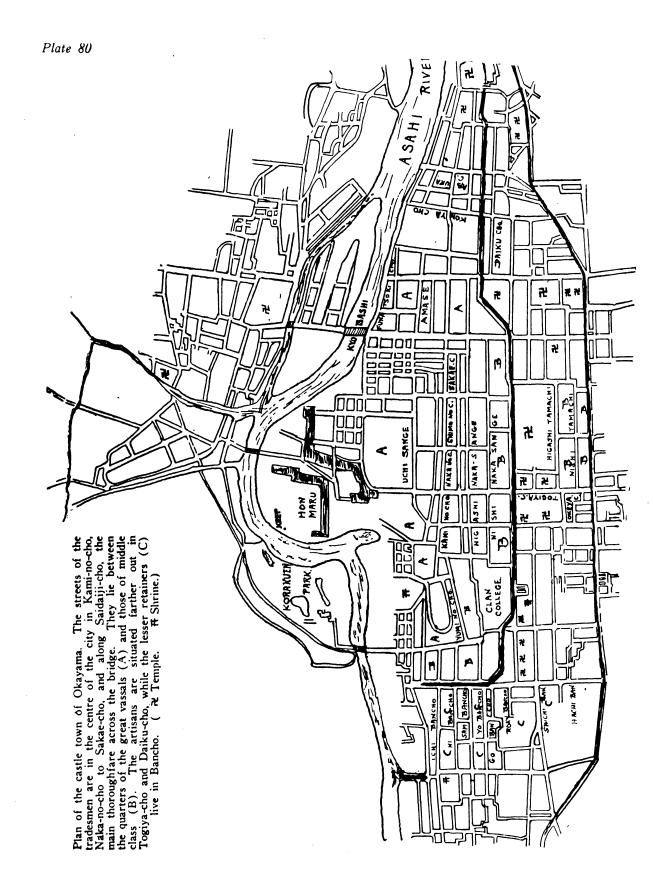
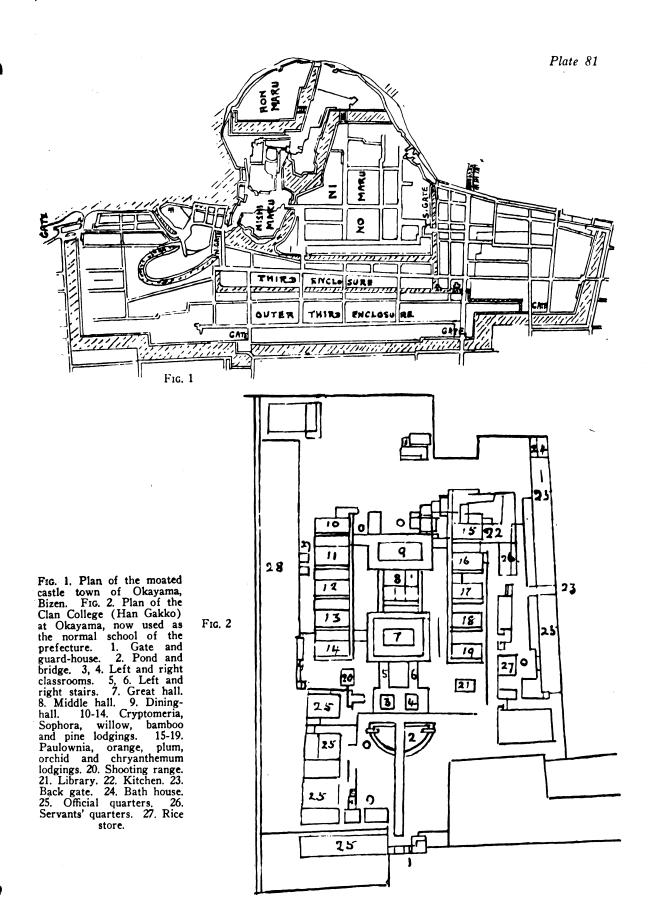


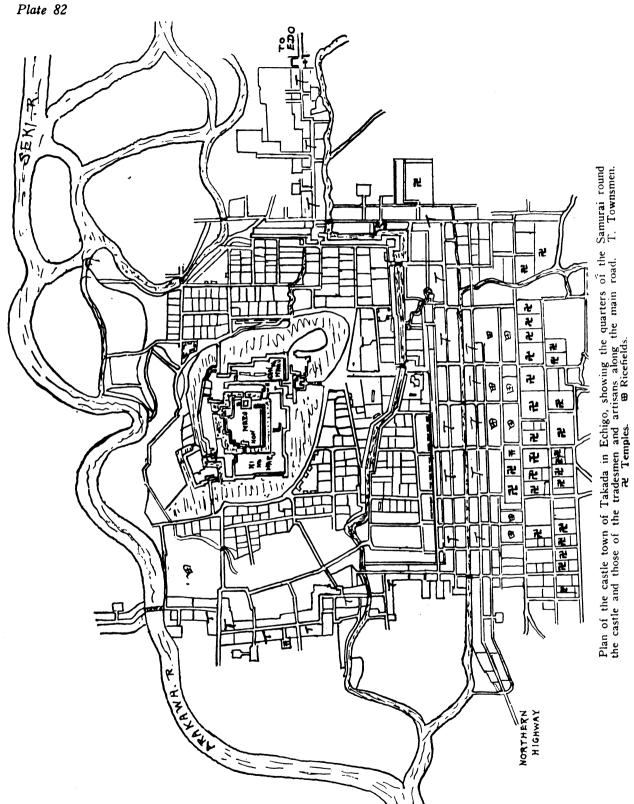
Fig. 1. Plan of the Hon Maru of Okayama castle. 1. Keep. 2. Salt storehouse. 3. Oil storehouse. 4. Treasuries. 5. Arsenals. 6. Rice storehouse. 7. Towers. 8. Tamon. 9. Gates. Fig. 2. The mansion of the Hon Maru of Okayama castle in the time of Ikeda Mitsumasa, 1632-1672. From Ikeda Mitsumasa Kō Den. 1. Entrance. 2. Entrance porch. 3. Corridor. 4. Guard-room. 5. Bodyguard room (6).* 6. Envoys' room (8). 7. Foot-soldiers' guard-room (30). 8. Common room (8). 9. Plum chamber (36). 10. Bamboo chamber (18). 11. Eaves chamber (23). 12. Fir chamber (20). 13. South inner corridor (10). 14. South inner corridor (6). 15. Deer chamber (31). 16. Ante-chamber (10). 17. Wistaria chamber (15). 18. Pine chamber, with Toko (12). 19. Plover chamber (15). 20. Perching bird chamber (15). 21. Panelled chamber (15). 22. Descending step chamber (18). 23. Papered chamber (15). 24. Back porch. 25. Guard-room (7). 26. Spear chamber (30). 27. Sheaved straw chamber, with Toko (16). 28. Seal-shaped chamber (8). 29. Small common room (12). 30. Board-floor kitchen. 31. Kitchen (22). 32. Kitchen (9). 33. Utensil pantry (11). 34. Liquor room (7). 35. Long hearth room (37). 36. Middle inner common room (7). 37. Deputy's room (6). 38. Middle chamber, upper (9). 39. Middle chamber, ante-chamber (17½). 40. Middle chamber, third chamber (10). 41. Resting chamber (10). 42. Corridor (11). 43. Footguard captains' common room (20). 44. Passage chamber (21). 45. Servery (6). 46. Bow chamber (22½). 47. Ceremonial tea-room (4½). 48. Ceremonial ante-chamber with three-mat Mizuya (6). 49. Secretary's room (10). 50. Bodyguard's common room (6). 51. Pages' room (5½). 52. Tea-room (4). 53. Clock chamber (6). 54. Cloud beckoning pavilion: south chamber (12). 56. Cloud beckoning pavilion: second chamber (12). 57. Cloud beckoning pavilion: third chamber (18). 58. Fan chamber (10). 59. Mirror chamber (12). 60. Dais chamber (14). 61. Corridor leading to Sukigata tower (14). 62. South parlour: third chamber (5). 65. New parlour (8). 66. New parlour: ante-chamber (7½

^{*} Figures refer to number of mats.









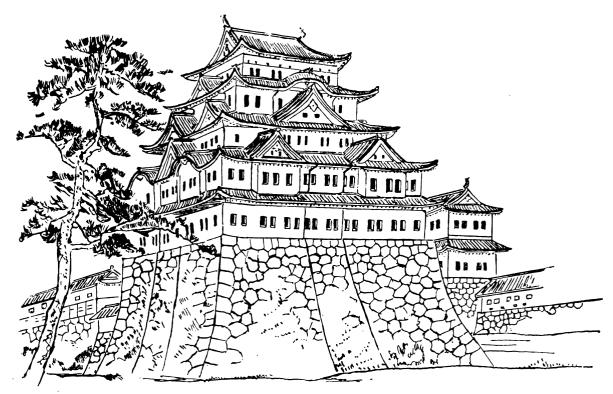


Fig. 1



Fig. 1. Keep of the castle of Nagoya. Fig. 2. Keep of Matsue; five stories, six floors; 1600.

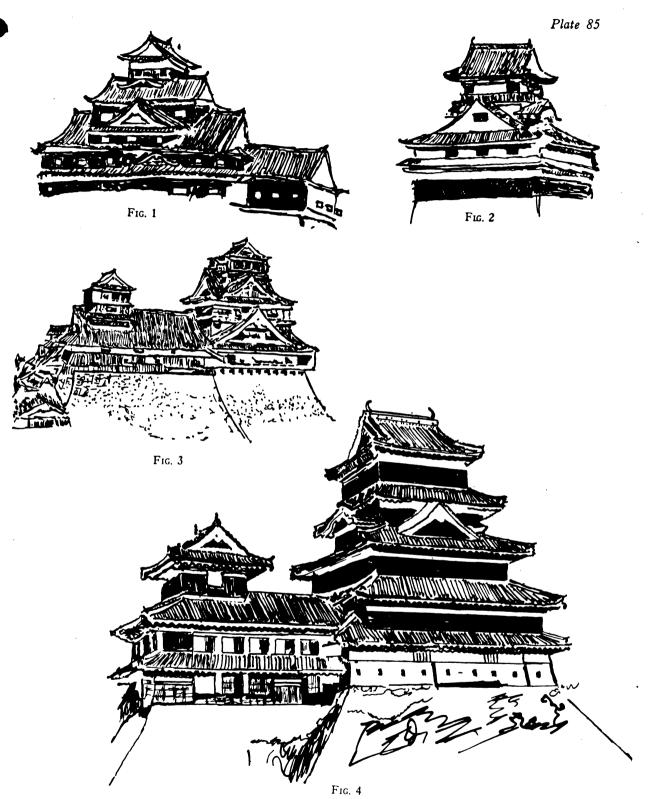
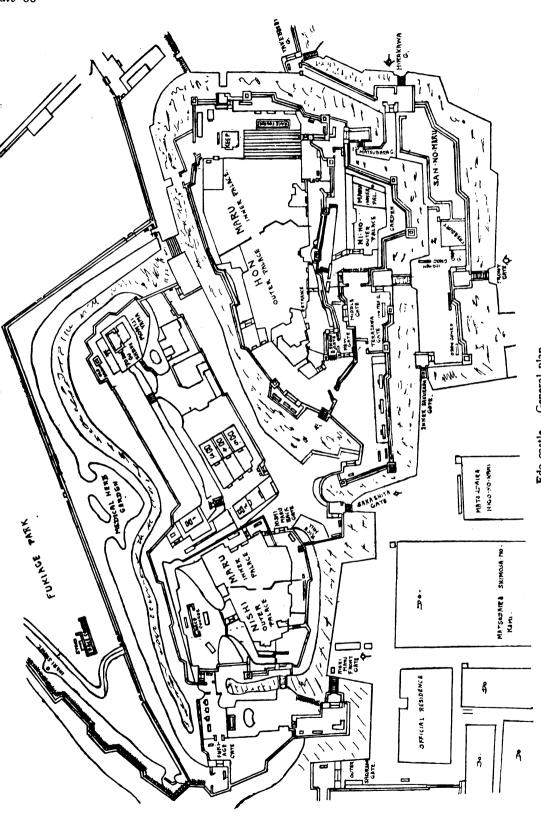
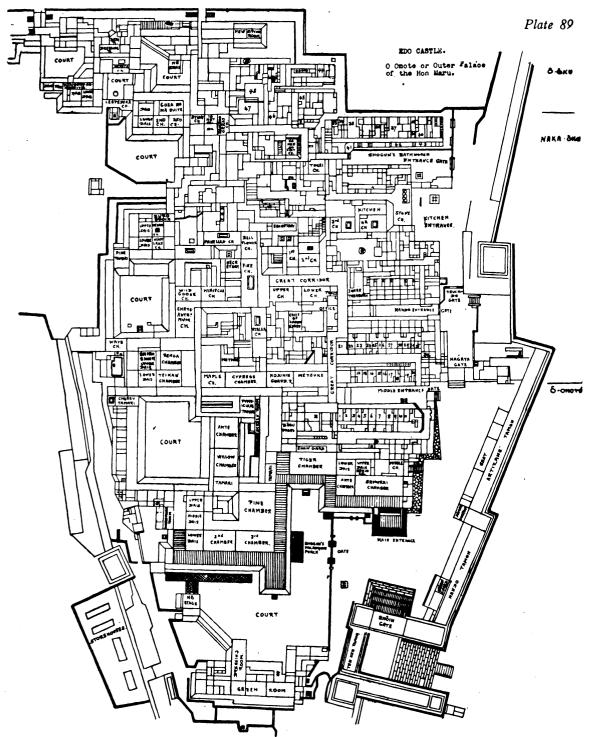
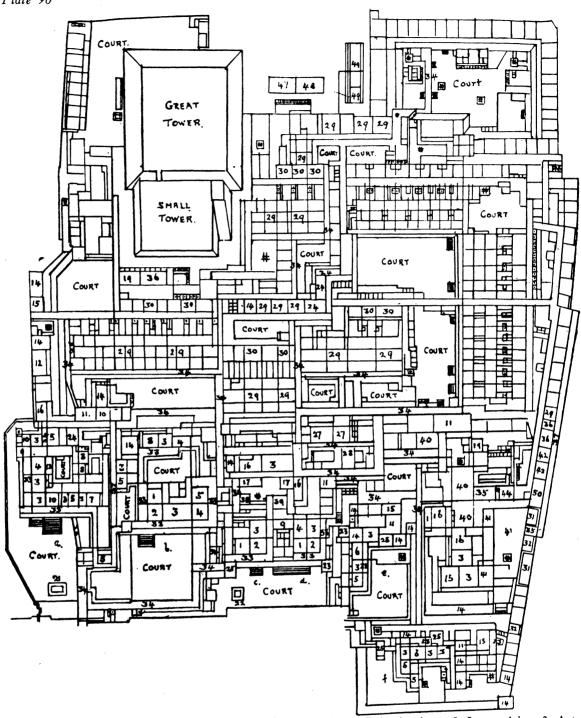


Fig. 1. Keep of Okayama castle; five stories, six floors; 1597. Fig. 2. Keep of Inuyama castle; four stories, five floors; 1600. Fig. 3. Keep of Kumamoto castle; double towers; 1596. Okayama castle keep is said to have been built on the model of that of Nobunaga at Azuchi and to resemble it exteriorly though its interior is quite as bare as the rest. Fig. 4. The keep of the castle of Matsumoto in Shinano; five stories, six floors; 1590.

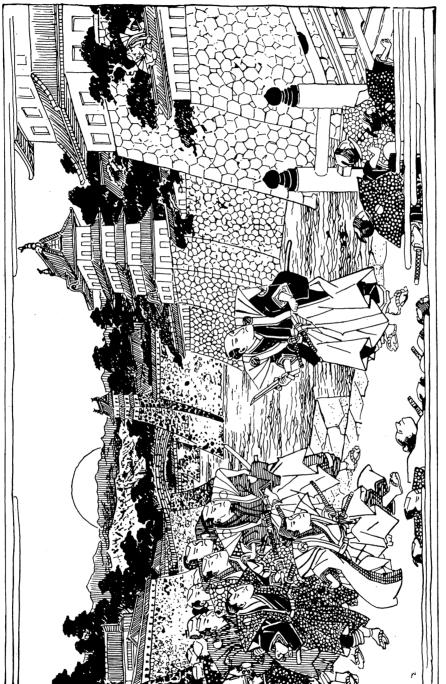




Edo castle. O Omote or Outer Palace of the Hon Maru. 1. Minor construction office. 2. Chief page. 3. Surgeon. 4. Secretary. 5. Pages of the interior. 6. Pages. 7. Minor ten men guard. 8. Present guard. 9. Shogun's private guard. 10. Commissioner for works. 11. Commissioner for timber. 12. Investigators. 13. Ten men guard control. 14. Chief of the Shōin guard. 15. Envoys. 16. Chief of Oban guard. 17. O Tsukai guard. 18. Secretary. 19. New guard. 20. Middle interior guard. 21. Soshaban chamberlains. 22. Temple and shrine commissioner. 23. Master of ceremonies. 24. City commissioner. 25. Captain of the new guard. 26. Metsuke. 27. Commissioner for works. 28. Commissioner for buildings. 29. Commissioner for minor repairs. 30. Captain of the corps of pages. 31. Finance commissioner. 32. Metsuke. 33. Bird room. 34. Garden's room. 35. Chief Bozu of the interior. 36. Overseer of small gear. 37. Bozu pages of the interior. 38. Ablution room. 39. Chiefs' room. 40. Store-room. 41. Conversation room. 42. Carpenters' room. 43. Cooks. 44. Six-mat room. 45. Bedclothes room. 46. Chamberlains' rest room. 47. Chamberlains' conversation room. 48. Two-story Nando.



Edo castle. O Oku or Inner Palace of the Hon Maru, plan 1. 1. Dais chamber. 2. Lower dais. 3. Ante-chamber. 4. Third chamber. 5. Sitting-room. 6. Living-room. 7. Bed chamber. 8. Dressing chamber. 9. Secretary's room. 10. Guest chamber. 11. Tea-room. 12. Kettle room. 13. Cake room. 14. Store-room. 15. Kitchen. 16. Pantry. 17. Scullery. 18. Oil room. 19. Messengers' room. 20. Lady councillors' room. 21. Cooling pavilion. 22. Earthquake refuge. 23. Bathroom. 24. Common room. 25. Tamari. 26. Liquor room. 27. Costumiers' room. 28. O Kiyo costumiers' room. 29. Upper Tsubone. 30. Lower Tsubone. 31. Seat. 32. Gate. 33. Irikawa. 34. Corridor. 35. Guard-room. 36. Maids' room. 37. Maids' corridor. 38. Lantern room. 39. Copper jar room. 40. Ladies' apartment. 41. Earth-floored space. 42. Charcoal store. 43. Iga guard common room. 44. Iga guard quarters. 45. Men's room. 46. Hireling's room. 47. Palanquin house. 48. Firewood store. 49. Tower guard quarters. 50. Present room. 51. Key-guard room. 52. Permit room.



VIEW ALONG A MOAT.

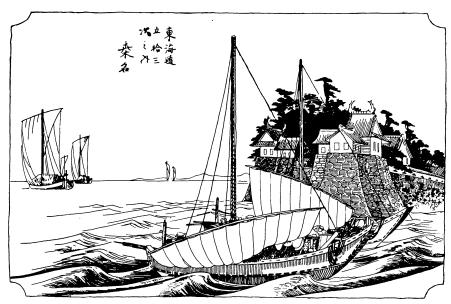
(After Keisai Veisen.)

The view is intended to show the Nijiu Bashi at Yedo, but the artist has taken considerable liberties in his rendering of the subject.



INUYAMA ON THE KISO-GAWA.

(Drawn from a print by YEISEN.)



KUWANA, ON THE TOKAIDO. (Drawn from a print by HIROSHIGE.)

PLATES AND COMMENTARY

Now that the basic history, type, and position of the castle in Japan has been set forth, I believe it would benefit the reader to see that which has been discussed. Naturally it is impossible for us all to go off to Japan and observe the castle sites, therefore I have gathered for your inspection a series of illustrations on Japanese castles. These have been collected from numerous sources such as the article by Matthew Garbutt from which I have so freely quoted, and A. L. Sadler's "A Short History of Japanese Architecture."

These illustrations are arranged in historical order to show the growing complexity of the structure. In doing this I have included some castles not within the zone of the Inland Sea. The reason for this is that my selection has been limited to some degree by the availability of material. The chosen examples, however, are all outstanding in history. I have been unable to find an illustration of pre-Asuka castle types, but I believe that Brinkley's description which I have included in Section I of this paper presents a clear enough picture of the earliest castle type. Now let us proceed to the pictorial history. I

For further illustrations see Kenji Toda "The Ryerson Collection of Japanese and Chinese Illustrated Books," the

1. (Plate 1)

"The Capital of Asuka -- Imperial Mausolea"
Sadler Plate 8

Just a glance at this plan shows the dominating role played by the castle as early as the seventh century. It is called here the Daikyoku Den in the plan of the Capital. The land divisions radiate from it, and the pattern is Chinese in origin. This plan made it the central feature of the area. Broad streets radiated from its gates. This street pattern permitted an unobstructed view of the city.

2. (Plates 2 - 5)

These deal with the Heian capital which continued the pattern laid down at Asuka though on a much more elaborate scale.

(Plate 2)

"The Heian Capital"

Sadler Plate 29

We immediately see that the plan is once again
Chinese in origin. The street pattern remains basically
the same as that at Asuka. Here we have a walled castle
(palace) within a walled Imperial city and that is further
enclosed in the wall of the capital proper. This is
actually similar to the later developed san-no-maru,
ni-no-maru, and hon-maru of Momoyama and Tokugawa days.
The idea very possibly was the same. It is quite amazing
when we realize the width of some of the streets shown
here. A street 280 feet wide is hard to comprehend even
in our vast scope of super-highway. Another interesting
feature is the division of the city within the outer
wall into right and left. To go with this, there developed
at this time a division of the military into right and left.

(Plates 3a and 3b)

"The Heian Capital -- The Dai Dairi"

Sadler Plate 31

We find the center of government enclosed within

these walls for within them were located the major offices of the court. It is of interest to note this was a definitely fortified zone. It was an armed camp as the following numbers in the legend 3a points out: 4, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 24, 25, 30, 31, and 41.

(Plate 4)

"The Heian Capital -- The Imperial Palace"
Sadler Plate 32

Once again we pass into a walled area with a gate defence pattern. Though primarily a dwelling, since it was a fortified and defended position we can call it a castle site.

(Plates 5a and 5b)

"The Heian Capital -- The Seiryoden"
Sadler Plate 34

Though basically a dwelling this structure shows the extent of the system of fortification. It was enclosed within its own compound, and we find as part of it a guard room (no. 24) and a night tower (no. 31). This once again points out that a fortified position was looked on with favor by the architects of Heian times.

3. (Plate 6)

Features of Fortification

Garbutt Plate I

This is a collection of fortified features of

Japanese castles, and though undated it is my belief that
they existed in possibly a modified form from Heian times.

It is interesting to note that the drawbridge (no. 2) is
of a type that is not too common in the Western form of
castle architecture. It is readily understandable how the
towers shown here were of great value in times of combat
and later developed into the tower keep of the hon-maru.

4. (Plate 7)

"A Map of the Mongol Invasions and the Dazaifu and Hakozaki Areas"

"Kokushi Daizukan" No. 299 Vol. II

The two maps shown here are of great interest. The large map deals with the course of the Mongol attempts to invade Japan, and we shall not discuss it save to point out that these attempts greatly stimulated the building of castles in the area of present day Fukuoka. The inset map is of the Dazaifu and Hakozaki areas of present day Fukuoka prefecture at the time of the Mongol attempts. It shows the fortifications in existence at that time. A solid black line indicates a stone fortification in the form of a stone wall and still in existence. The crenelated line indicates an earth wall of the same sort, portions of which remain. The parallel solid black lines indicate a stone fortification the form of which is unknown today.

The dotted black line indicates a stone fortification rumoured to have existed at that time. Also indicated on the inset are seven definite castle sites. as follows:

- 1. Uchiyama 2. Dajo
- 3. Mizuki
- 4. Iwato
- Ito
- (Toseki)
- 7. (Tandal)

Those names shown in brackets are not verified. These formed quite a concentration of force though it is generally held that even this could not have prevented a Mongol success had they not suffered the disaster at sea. This concentration of castles accents the prominence of the Dazaifu area in the geo-politics of the time.

5. (Plate 8)

Moat Fortifications

Garbutt Plate II

Though this illustration is from a book on military fortifications written in 1748, I have included it here because I believe it presents features that were not uncommon from this period on. The bridge types, entrenched camp, and compartment plan all indicate an advance in the Japanese understanding of military science.

6. (Plate 9)

The Gempei Wars

These are three book illustrations showing the methods of warfare in the Gempei Wars. Noticeable are the use of barriers.

7. (Plate 10)

"Mansion of the Governor of the Eastern Provinces at Kawakura in the Muromachi Period"

Sadler Plate 49

This structure is not a castle. It is included here to show that even the dwellings of the nobles during the Muromachi period were well fortified. At frequent intervals along the wall, guard houses were erected. This type of structure called for the presence of retainers.

8. (Plate 11)

A Gate Guard House

Sadler Plate 52 Fig. 1

Here we have a definite feature of defense. From all indications it was used in the castles of the Kamakura period. As the walls of the castle were strengthened the value of such tower guard houses also increased.

9. (Plate 12)

Battle Scene

"Kokka" no. 573 Plate VI Kano

I have selected this illustration to follow that of

no. 8 because it clearly shows the use of the guard house over the gate of a castle of the fourteenth century. It is a representation of a scene from the "Taiheiki" by a seventeenth century Kano artist, thus allowance for accuracy must be made. Below the guard tower wherein stands a warrior with bow and arrow we find another retainer picking up boulders and tossing them upon the mounted troops of the enemy as they try to mount the steep embankment. The horses have fallen in a mass at the bottom. To the left of the guard house over the gate we find a group of warriors eagerly observing the scene from behind a wall and ready to participate in the defence of the castle.

10. (Plate 13)

"Ginkakuji"

Sadler Plate 63

The Kinkakuji and Ginkakuji of the Ashikaga period are said to be the forerunners of the tower keep at Azuchi and later Tokugawa Castles. The form of the structure is somewhat similar, however, the tower keep was a much more formidable structure and symbol of military might whereas the Ginkakuji as portrayed here was a symbol of renunciation of force and the world.

11. (Plate 14)

"The Azuchi Castle Plan"

Sadler Plate 67

Azuchi is often termed the first of the castles as we know them. It is also quite common to find it called a Korean type of fortification since Japan's knowledge of arms at this period depended largely on Korea. Notably it marks the start of a new trend in strategy. This was in the form of reliance on defensive tactics instead of offensive. Actually as this illustration shows the castle consisted of numerous fortified positions. It was surrounded by the fortified mansions of Oda Nobunaga's chief supporters. It combined the utilization of natural features, the lake and high ground with the force of man made and defended walls and moats.

12. (Plate 15)

Features of Fortification

Sadler Plate 68

The major portion of this plate is self-explanatory. The comparison of Osaka under the Hongwanji monks and Hideyoshi is of interest. It points to the fact that both groups realized the great position afforded by this location and utilized the same natural features.

13. (Plates 16 - 19)

"Ōsaka Castle"

Plate 16 - Sadler Plate 69 Plate 17 - Garbutt Plate VIII Plate 18 - Garbutt Plate XI Plate 19 - Garbutt Plate X

These plates are also largely self-explanatory. They point to the real greatness of Osaka. It is of interest that only by trickery and voluntary destruction was the castle finally taken by Tokugawa Ieyasu from Toyotomi Hideyori.

14. (Plate 20)

"View of Yodo"

Garbutt Plate V

Noticeable is the use of water wheels to supply water for this castle. Water was vital as a fire defense measure. Most castles I have investigated had a good well system to prevent their capitulation through an exhausted water supply.

15. (Plate 21)

Nagoya and Chihaya

Garbutt Plate XI

The tower keep of Nagoya Castle is noted for its perfection and beauty. Since this paper deals primarily with the castles of the Inland Sea region, however, it is not discussed. There are many interesting and amusing

stories concerning the attempts to steal the gold dolphins on the edges of the top roof of the tower keep.

Chihaya was the mountain variety of castle as this plan clearly indicates. The steep slope of the approach to it made it a formidable fortification. From its hon-maru the defending lord had a commanding view of the surrounding valley and all approaches of attack. It is of interest to note the monastery on the mountain to the East. It appears to have been quite common to have a monastery in the vicinity of a castle structure.

16. (Plate 22)

Gate Features

Garbutt Plate VI

I have included these two illustrations of attacks upon gates to indicate the use of metal fittings and their utilization as semi-armor plate in strengthening the vital entrances into the castle. They aid us in understanding the Tokugawa and pre-Tokugawa methods of warfare.

17. (Plates 23 - 29)

"Castle Towns"

Sadler Plates 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, and 82

As we approach the Tokugawa period we find the growth

of castle towns. These illustrations are greatly self-explanatory. They show the growing complexity of the castle structure. This is especially notiveable in the plans of the hon-maru of Okayama Castle (26a and 26b). There is a common element in the plans of the towns. In all of them the Samurai class dwellings were set in a band surrounding the castle. This served as an extra security measure. There are definite areas allotted to the townsmen and tradesmen. At Okayama (Plate 27) these classes were enveloped between the higher Samurai and lesser retainers. It was a means of keeping them in protective custody. All the castles shown here took advantage of the natural waterways. A standardized plan for the castle town had developed.

18. (Plates 30 - 31)

"Castle Keeps"

Sadler Plates 84, 85

The keeps of the various castles differed and illustrated here are several of the variations in size and form. It is impossible not to notice that the basic form remained the same. Differences, however, did appear in the number of stories, decoration, and the type of material used.

19. (Plates 32 - 34)

"Edo Castle"

Sadler Plates 88 - 90

At Edo was built the most complex form of castle we find in Japan. It borrowed the basic features from other castles. Since it is outside of the Inland Sea region I have not included it in this study. The plates immediately show the change from the simpler structure of pre-Tokugawa times. Its history and development would make a very worthy structure.

20. (Plates 35 - 36)

Castle Prints

Garbutt Plate IV

These illustrations show the castle to be a definite part of the landscape of Japan. It was frequently used as subject material by the Ukiyoye artists of Japan.

CONCLUSION

It is impossible for me to really term this a conclusion for it is actually merely the start of a study. The castle has had a varied role in Japanese history. For a long period of time it remained in a dormant and rather primitive state. It, however, eventually blossomed forth into a very prominent feature of Japanese life. During the triumvirate of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu it was the center of political, social, cultural, and scientific life, and following this period it once again declined. It has left definite traces on Japanese society in the city and social structure. The horizon before us is vast.

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