Reading Urban Societies of Japan's Early Modernity in Ego-documents

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This paper considers residences and lives of samurai in urban societies, with a focus on Edo, the greatest city in early modern Japan, based on ego-documents written by some samurai from outside Edo who were resident in the city to fulfill their responsibilities in the system of "alternate attendance" (sankin kōtai). More specifically, this paper considers: (1) diaries written by samurai from the Hachinohe feudal domain (Hachinohe han) serving in Edo over a period of 10 years in total, and (2) a personal guidebook aimed at those samurai from Kanazawa serving in Edo. This research has clarified the existence of some districts that stand in relation to such samurai, Edo's environment, security issues, and other facts about the city. These issues are not evident in the images of Edo prepared and spread by common citizens resident in the city. Traditionally, images of the urban society of Edo have been dependent on commoners who lived there. This paper should relativize such traditional, commoner-centered images.

1 Introduction

The term "ego-documents" (personal history documents) refers to texts written with the first-person singular as the subject. They include diaries, letters, autobiographies, memoirs, and so on.

The oldest known ego-document of Japan is a fragment of a diary written by a scribe (an official copying sutras brought in from China) on a calendar in 746. Then, from around the end of the 9th century and later, some diaries of Emperors and nobles remain. Still later, some Buddhist and Shinto priests as well as scholars wrote diaries, which remain to this day. During the Edo period (1603 to 1867), Japan experienced no war with a foreign country and only few civil wars. In the Edo period, Japan enjoyed a long peace, in strong contrast to the age of civil wars that preceded it. In this period, some samurai began ego-documents. Furthermore, from the late 18th century onward, private schools (not publicly-run) called *terakoya* emerged here and there in Japan. Many people from

different classes learned to read and write at such schools. As a result, most powerful farmers and merchants also began to write ego-documents.[1] Today, we have an immense variety of ego-documents from the Edo period all over Japan. Probably, the archipelago was one of the places in the world with the most ego-documents written by the non-ruling class prior to modernity.

Some Dutch historians are believed to have begun deliberate studies of ego-documents. Such studies have mainly developed in Europe, against the background of methodological arguments over historical studies.[2] Though the author of this paper, specializing in the early modern history of Japan, is incapable of summarizing such trends in European historical studies, two fundamentals common to ego-document studies are the perspective of society seen from the eyes of an unknown individual, and consideration as to what was inside such an individual. The specific developments of these studies are quite diverse, depending on trends in historiography within each country. In Japan, mainly historians of Western modern and contemporary history are studying ego-documents and interacting with oral history, whose methodology depicts history from the voices of nameless people. Elsewhere in Asia, historians in Taiwan have pursued studies of life history and social history, focused on diaries, of its years under colonial rule.[3]

This author first came into direct contact with European studies of ego-documents when he had the opportunity to make a presentation at a symposium entitled "Les Usages des Écrits du For Privé en Afrique, Amérique, Asie, Europe (The Uses of First Person Writings)" (2012) held by the study group of a French scholar, Professor François-Joseph Ruggiu, "European Past from the First-person Perspective: Documents for a New History." In Western Europe, the act of "writing about oneself" has been explained in terms of the discovery and establishment of the modern self. The excellent work of Daniel Roche, a French historian,[4] and recent research results of Japan's study group on Western history, which discussed the relationship between ego-writing and citizenship,[5] seem to move in similar directions. Though this is quite a natural question in Europe, in fact the actual factors enabling ego-document writing include more than just the establishment of the mod-

1 Kazuma Saiki, "Edo jidai no nikki [Diaries in the Edo period]," *Kokiroku no kenkyū [A study of the archives]* Vol. 1, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1989, pp. 91-129.

2 Takahiko Hasegawa, "Ego-documents: Recent Historiography in Europe and America," *Rekishi hyoron [Historical Journal]* 777, 2015. The first use of ego-documents was made by a Dutch historian, Jacob Presser, in his 1965 work recording in detail experiences of some Jews transferred into a concentration camp in the Netherlands under Nazi rule. For a history of studies of ego-documents, see this work.

3 In 2012, the Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, and the Department of History, National Cheng Kung University, jointly held "Academic Symposium of Diaries and Social and Life History Studies." Also, the National Museum of Taiwan History is publishing collections of ego-documents, in addition to newspaper articles, in its studies of Taiwan's years under colonial rule, "with an emphasis on the mass population and their social lives." See Japanese pages of the Museum's website.

4 Daniel Roche, *Journal de ma vie*, translated by Akira Kiyasu, Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 2006.

5 Shigeru Makihara, ed., *Kojin no katari ga hiraku rekishi [Individual Narrations Disclose History]*, Kyoto: Minerva Shobō, 2014.

ern European self. This is obvious in the summarized history of Japan's ego-documents mentioned earlier. In the symposium presentation above, this author presented an ego-document written by a merchant who lived in a commercial community on a riverside close to Edo (current Tokyo) and ran a branch store inside Edo. He was an urban resident of the 19th century. The author then claimed that one factor of the spread of ego-documents in Japan was the establishment of "*ie*" (family) and said that Japan's ego-documents back then were written to be a record of knowledge to enable a family to last. This was the most significant characteristic of Japanese ego-documents.[6] Furthermore, the author thinks Japan's ego-documents from the Edo period have the following five major characteristics: 1) Such documents often contain private descriptions, in addition to public (business) issues. 2) Some of them contain topography and/or chronology. 3) Many of them were written by heads of a family. 4) The writer of such an ego-document was thus aware of himself as the head of his family and as a successor of an enduring family. 5) Some diaries, especially those by scholars, reveal the emergence of self-consciousness apart from the family, though these were small in number. The symposium made clear that ego-documents were written for a great diversity of purposes and took many different forms. For instance, in Islamic regions, many ego-documents were narrated as a record of dreams. The author thinks that now researchers of the world are able to share these perspectives with their European counterparts today.

Moreover, studying ego-documents is not an end but a means, and can encompass many different methods and purposes. Already, in studies of Japan's Edo period, some researchers have been using ego-documents in contexts different from those used in European studies. Specifically, ego-document studies have been focused on issues such as the daily lives and life cycles of ordinary people, what thoughts those people not specializing in thoughts ("Kinseijin") had[7], what kind of political information was available and recorded[8], and how independent women were becoming, as seen in 180 travel diaries

6 Reiji Iwabuchi, "Characteristics of Ego-documents in Edo Period Japan (1603-1867)," in *Les Usages des Écrits du For Privé Afrique, Amérique, Asie, Europe [The Uses of First Person Writings]*, edited by François-Joseph Ruggiu, Bruxelles: P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2013. As we consider ego-documents from the Edo period, one major premise is *ie*. Back in this period, ie referred to a family as an institutional group of people, a paternalistic organization of kin members. *Ie* was believed to be something lasting through generations of ancestors, beyond a family of a single generation. A family's business (*kagyō*) and properties (*kasan*) were something inherited from ancestors. The head of a family assumed the family's name (*kamei*) as the steward of his *ie*, conducting rituals of respect to the ancestors, while the other members of his family strove to perpetuate the family. One merchant's *ie* (Merchant *Dōzoku*), had some unique characteristics of business management. In addition to the family's kin members, it consisted of non-kin members chosen from the business's employees, called clerk apprentices, who were assigned branches and joined in that *ie*. (Takashi Nakano, *A Study of Merchant Dōzoku: Research on Federations of ie Units Having Noren and on Networks of ie Units*, Vol. 1, Vol. 2, Tokyo: Miraisha, 1978.) A kin member running a branch was called *bunke* (分家), while a non-kin doing so was known as *bekke* (別家).

7 E.g., see Fukaya, Katsumi, *Hachiemon, Heisuke, Hansuke*, Tokyo: Asahi-shinbunsha, 1978; Fukaya, *Kinseijin no kenkyū [A study of early modern people]*, Tokyo: Meicho kankōkai, 2003; Yasumaru, Yoshio, *Nihon no kindaika to minshū shisō [Modernization of Japan and popular thought]*, Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 1974.

8 E.g., see Iwata, Miyuki, *Bakumatsu no jōhō to shakai henkaku [Information and the transformation of society at the end of the Edo period]*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 2001.

written by well-educated female witers[9], among others.

This paper sets its focus in the greatest city of early modernity, Edo, and considers ego-documents written by resident samurai from outside the city. Special attention is paid to those samurai's behaviors and representations of the city. Commonly, images of the city of Edo are based on publications and literature from commoners, who were of different classes from samurai. Also, many studies of castle towns are focused on describing how their common people developed. The author also aspires to describe history from the viewpoints of the nameless commoners. When we consider Edo and other cities built around a castle, however, we cannot afford to ignore samurai.[10] The lands accommodating samurai's residences occupied some 70% of the whole area of Edo, with those samurai estimated to have accounted for almost half of the city's population. Many of such samurai resident in Edo were "*kinban bushi*," who were *hanshi* (subordinates of a *daimyo* or local feudal lord) of domains outside Edo. In the Edo period, the *daimyo* from all over Japan, some 250 in number, were obliged to stay in Edo, where the shogun was present, every other year, to prove their allegiance to the shogun (an obligation known as *sankin kōtai*). While staying in Edo, a *daimyo* was accompanied by many of his *hanshi*. This meant numerous *hanshi* from outside Edo were resident in the city. This paper, therefore, analyzes (1) diaries written by those *hanshi* and (2) personal guidebooks given to *kinban bushi* moving into Edo from their home domain.[11]

Thus, the paper should clarify behaviors of such samurai as well as the world they lived in, a world not evident in images of Edo described by commoners resident in the city. Thus, this paper is intended to relativize the traditional images of Edo. This is part of the author's research into samurai residences in Edo and representations of the city.[12]

2 Analysis of a Diary by *Kinban Bushi*

As we consider Edo's society, economy, and culture, the lives and behaviors of the *kinban bushi* are important. Many native residents of Edo (*Edokko*) ridiculed those *kinban bushi* in the city as uncultured people from the countryside who did not know much about how things were in the sophisticated city. Also, many in the present day have an image of such samurai as amusement-seekers with a lot of free time and not much to do, who saved

9 E.g., see Shiba, Keiko, *Kinsei onna tabi nikki [Travel diaries written by early modern women]*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1997.

10 Nobuyuki Yoshida, a researcher of the society of Edo's common people, points out that one characteristic of the space and society of a city built around a castle was that samurai, religious clerics, and citizens resided separately, while having some relationships with each other (Yoshida, Nobuyuki, *Kyodai jōkamachi Edo no bunsetsu kōzō [Paragraph Structure of Edo, a Metropolis around a Castle]*, Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha Ltd., 2000.

11 The analysis of (1) is based on Iwabuchi (2006), with that of (2) on Iwabuchi (2008).

12 Reiji Iwabuchi, ed., "Edo Kyoto Osaka no santo monogatari [The History of Three Megapolis in Japan: Edo, Kyoto, Osaka]," *Shinnhakken! Nihon no rekishi [New discovery! Japanese History]* 30, Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun Publications, 2014.

some money to stroll around the city. The fact is that such images are quite unrealistic. They do not reflect the realities of the Edo period. This author has analyzed diaries of a *kinban bushi* in Edo from the Shōnai domain, part of today's Yamagata Prefecture (Iwabuchi 2006).[13] This paper, however, focuses on the diaries of a father and his son, Tōyama Tamuro and Tōyama Shōshichi, senior *hanshi* (subordinates of a *daimyo*) of the Hachinohe domain, part of today's Aomori Prefecture. Below, we consider the diaries' descriptions of the two samurai's ten years in Edo.[14]

2.1 Outings

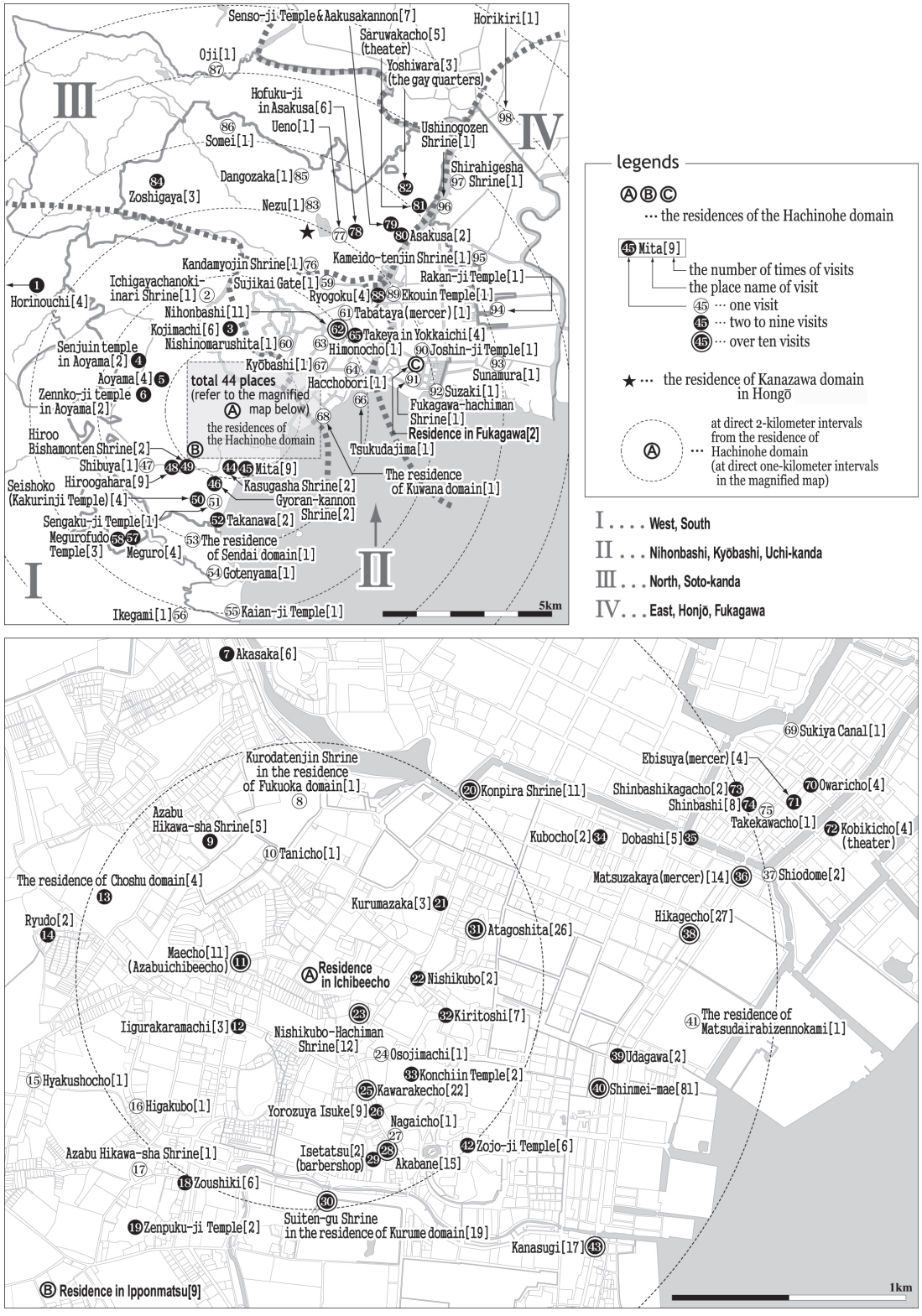
There were many restrictions on outings by *kinban bushi*, in terms of both the number of outing days and hours. Though "*sentōde*" or going to a bath house was excluded from such regulations, each *sentōde* had to be within 2 hours. Moreover, a kinban bushi was allowed to have only three full-outing (6 a.m. to 8 p.m.) days a month except during summer, when five such days were allowed. Moreover, those samurai had business hours when they had to perform their duties. Those restrictions and duties combined allowed the two *hanshi* from Hachinohe only one outing every four to five days on average. Over the decade of their service in Edo, the two had only 851 outings in all.

79% of the Toyamas' outing destinations lay in the western and southern parts of Edo (**Fig. 1-I**), followed by the central part (**Fig. 1-II**, *Nihonbashi, Uchi-kanda*, and Kyōbashi), which accounted for 10%. To this central part, the two occasionally went shopping. They seldom visited the northern (**Fig. 1-III**) or eastern (**Fig. 1-IV**, Honjō, Fukagawa) parts, which were distant from their residence. The most probable reason they seldom went out to distant places was because of the outing hours and frequency restrictions imposed on them. When they did go out to a distant location, they went sightseeing in Edo's suburbs, to worship at a temple or shrine, or to see a play at a theater, among other purposes (**Fig. 1-**㊽, ㊶). Also note that almost 90% of their outing destinations remained within a radius of 2 km from their residence for *hanshi* from Hachinohe. This neighborhood seems to have been the "living sphere" of the father and his son. This living space accommodated numerous facilities such as bath houses and barbers (**Fig. 1-**⑪, etc.), multiple stores to choose from depending on the quality of commodities wanted (from temporary outdoor stores (*roten*), **Fig. 1-**⑪, to used clothes stores, **Fig.1-**㊳, to major kimono shops, **Fig.1-**㊱), places of entertainment arts (*yose*, **Fig. 1-**㉘), shrines and temples to worship in, and many others. This must have considerably affected the outing behaviors of *kinban bushi*.

13 Reiji Iwabuchi. "Un guerrier dans la ville. Obligations de service et sorties d'un samouraï en poste à Edo au XIXe siècle," *Histoire urbaine* 29, 2010, pp. 27-66. The author of this paper hereby expresses his gratitude to Dr. Guillaume. Carre, who translated the paper.

14 All the documents, etc. from the Tōyamas are now kept by the Hachinohe City Public Library.

Figure 1 Places the *Kinban Bushi* from the Hachinohe Domain Visited



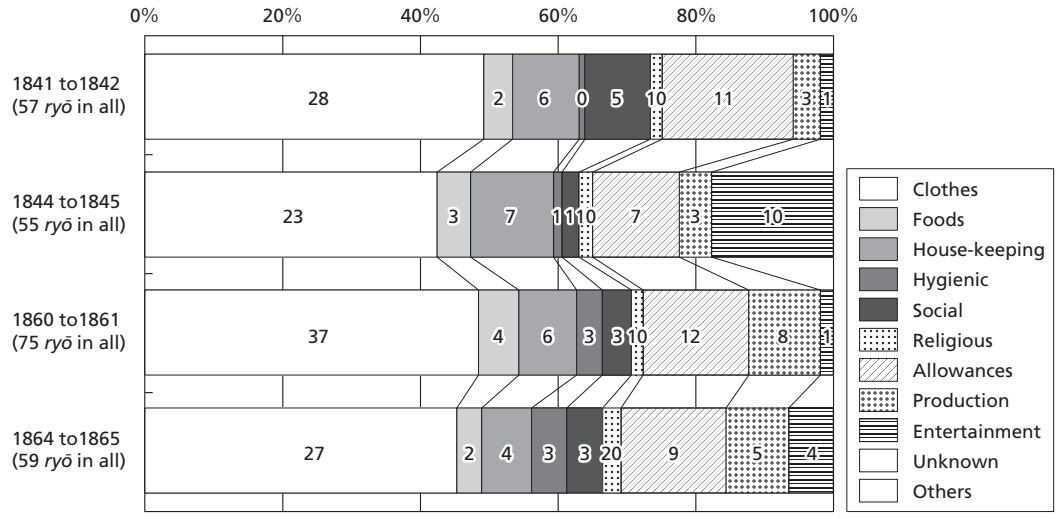
2.2 Shopping

Breaking down the purposes of their outings, hygienic ones accounted for 44%, with bath houses occupying 40% and barbers (*kamiyui*) 4%, followed by shopping (15%), worship (13%), entertainment arts (4%, including temporary theaters), sightseeing (4%), visits to friends, etc. (2%), and unknown (18%). Here, this author calls the readers' attention to shopping. Since a visit to a temple or shrine for worship was very often accompanied by some shopping, in reality shopping was a very frequent purpose of going out.

We see what they actually bought in their four expense records (*kozukaichō*) they kept while they were resident in Edo for ten years (**Fig. 2**). Since spending on food accounted for only 3 to 5% of total expenses, these expense records do not give us a whole picture of the livelihood of the Tōyamas. This author hopes to call the readers' attention to the large-spending items, clothing (45 to 50%) and entertainment (15 to 20%). These expenses reflected what they frequently spent their money on.

Actually, not all of those expenses were spent by the two Tōyamas. Probably, the two bought some items in Edo and sent them to their friends and kin back home, but even this does not fully explain the tremendous extent of their spending. The fact was that their family members and coworkers back in Hachinohe kept sending orders for specific items, via express messengers (*hikyaku*) and letters carried by third parties. In addition to all the things they bought for themselves, the Tōyamas went out shopping to meet those requests. Their diaries over the ten years of their service in Edo record some 1,600 cases of sending something to Hachinohe, some 60% of which went to their family members and relatives as well as coworkers of different family line classes or rice production levels (*kokudaka*).

Figure 2 Breakdown of Expenses Spent by the *Kinban Bushi* from Hachinohe Domain (In *ryō*)



Of those 1,600, approximately 1,500 cases have the specific items sent recorded in the diaries. The greatest category of such items was entertainment-related, which accounted for some 30% of all the items requested and sent. Of those entertainment items, almost 40% were things to contain small objects (bags and the like, or *fukuromono*), tobacco containers, paper containers (*santoku*), carry bags (*kinchaku*) and accessories (Japanese hairpins, *kanzashi*, combs, tobacco pipes, *kiseru*, etc.). Also, paper and stationery accounted for some 25%, and flowers, ornamental plants, and their seeds, which the Tōyamas used in their hobby, gardening, occupied 17%. Yet more items of entertainment included, among others, toys (battledores, Japanese chess pieces, dolls, etc.), kite paintings and other paintings, and books (guidebooks on daimyo families and their residences (*bukan*), penmanship books, topographies, and others).

Clothing occupied some 30% of the total spending. Around a third of this was spent on fabrics, with another third on finished clothes. The remaining third went to dyeing and other processing services and materials like thread, cotton, etc. The fabrics bought ranged from luxurious ones (crêpe fabric *chirimen* and others), to undyed cotton and other fabrics, to fragments of cloth for dress-making. Among the finished clothes bought, many were luxurious (linen kimono, *katabira*, ornamented belts, rain capes, men's split skirts, *hakama*), yet the Toyamas did send some used clothes and kimono slip (*juban*) collars, among others.

16% of the total was spent on housekeeping items, with around half on tableware and the remaining half on other instruments. While some items bought were expensive, such as sets of a meal table and bowls, the Toyamas also bought some daily-use items like meal bowls, teapots, charcoal braziers (*hibachi*), brooms, etc.

The hygienic items and food accounted for some 10% each of the total expenses. Among the hygienic items bought, hairdo instruments and oil, cosmetics, and towels (*tenugui*) accounted for around a quarter, respectively, of the spending in this category. Other hygienic items bought included medicines, toothpicks, razors, and others. Among the foods bought, tea, tangerines, and sugar each occupied around a quarter of the total food spending. The other food items included dried bonito and others.

One should note, as described above, that the items the Toyamas sent to Hachinohe included not just luxury or entertainment-related ones but some used and daily-use articles as well. Also notable is that they bought tangerines. Their homeland, Hachinohe, was a cold place unfit for cultivation of tangerines, which were eaten especially as part of the annual New Year celebrations. The custom of eating tangerines in the new year spread in their homeland thanks to the citrus bought in Edo and sent over to Hachinohe. Likewise, for many of the *kinban bushi* from feudal domains serving in Edo, things they bought in the metropolis were not necessarily luxuries but included necessities of life as well.

2.3 *Kinban Bushi and Edo*

Those *kinban bushi* did all their shopping following knowledge and information they had about stores and shops in Edo, as well as items and prices they carried. For instance, when Tōyama Tamuro first settled in Tokyo for service, his retired father gave him a list of items to buy. This list specified where to buy what, expected prices, and store locations. Those instructions covered some details as well. For instance, "tobacco stores" also carried undyed cotton fabrics. To buy luxury cloth, Tamuro should compare prices offered by several major distributors (*ōdana*) of Edo, and he found no considerable differences between the expected prices his father wrote and the actual prices he paid. Through their years of serving in Edo, those *kinban bushi* found some good stores and shops of their choice and learned how to buy wisely in Edo through their experiences. Though many native Edo citizens ridiculed those samurais as "country bumpkins," the fact was that those *kinban bushi* were no strangers to Edo and life there. Ego-documents written by some other *kinban bushi* contain criticisms of Edo's culture, famous sites, and renowned things.[15]

3 "Azuma no Hanamuke," a Private Guidebook Written for *Kinban Bushi* Heading for Edo

Now we'll consider an ego-document called "Azuma no hanamuke," written in 1805.[16] This material is a long letter written by someone who was born in Edo and then lived in many places in Japan for a friend who was a senior samurai chosen to serve in Edo as *kinban*. The letter contains instructions on how to live and serve in Edo. The author was a Confucian scholar named Kaiho Seiryō (1755-1817), who was experienced in life in Edo. He wrote the letter while he was in Kanazawa (Ishikawa Prefecture today). The recipient was a senior *hanshi* of Kanazawa domain named Tominaga Gonzō, a samurai in his 20s with no experience of living in Edo long-term. Seiryō, worried about the inexperienced samurai's well-being in the metropolis, wrote, "Dear Gonzō, with your limited experience, I assume you are having one problem after another serving in Edo, so far away from home (some 500 km between the two places)," and then went on to say, "Read

15 Reiji Iwabuchi, "Edo kinban bushi ga mita 'Edo': ibunka hyōshō no shiten kara ['Edo' Seen from Edo Duty Samurai (*Edo Kinban Bushi*): From Perspectives of the Representation of Other Cultures]," *Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku [Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History]* 140, 2008, pp. 59-96. Reiji Iwabuchi, "Takokumono ga mita Edo: Edo kinban bushi no Edo hyōshō [Edo as Seen by Foreigners: Representations of Edo by Edo Kinban Bushi]," *Sōgōshi Rekihaku [General Journal of History, Rekihaku]* 171, 2012.

16 Contained in Honjō Ejirō, *Kinsei shakai keizai sōsho [Library of Early Modern Societies and Economies]* Vol. 3, Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1926; Takimoto Seiichi, *Nihon keizai taiten [Major Works of Japanese Economy]* Vol. 27, Tokyo: Keimeisha, 1929; Kuranami Seiji, *Kaiho Seiryō zenshū [Collected Works of Kaiho Seiryō]*, Tokyo: Yachiyo Shuppan, 1976. The original manuscript is kept by Sonkeikaku bunko.

what I say here carefully, and I am certain you will come back to Kanazawa safely someday." Since he was a scholar, Seiryō must have been aware that this letter was to be a literary work of his, which would be read by readers other than Gonzō. Still, here we would like to treat this letter as a type of ego-document.[17]

Seiryō sees Edo from complicated viewpoints. Born in the metropolis, he was hired by a *daimyo* and then was trained in academic discipline from the age of 25 to 47 years in Kyoto, Osaka, Ise, Sunpu (in today's Shizuoka Prefecture), Kawagoe, and Echigosanjo (Niigata Prefecture). Then he went back to Edo, where he was hired by a *daimyo* again; however, he did not like Edo's culture and climate and resigned three years later. He moved to Kanazawa and then to Kyoto, where he spent twelve years until he died.[18] From those experiences, said Seiryō, he saw both Edo and other regions as a "foreigner born in Edo," who was neither a foreigner nor an Edoite. When he became such an Edo-born foreigner, according to Seiryō, he saw what Edo truly was for the first time. Unless one knows "differences in social customs, environment, societies, etc.," between Edo and other regions, "one will never understand Edo." said Seiryo. In short, one never understands one's own culture until one recognizes other cultures. Also, "Though a culture keeps changing, people living within that culture are incapable of seeing such 'changes,'" he said. Seiryō even went on to say that he took pride in himself as someone capable of speaking accurately about Edo.

Seiryō's works after he settled down in Kyoto contained some criticisms of Edo. He once went back to the metropolis after spending years outside it, yet found the city hard to fit into both mentally and physically, until he moved to settle down in Kansai. This experience seems to have meant a great deal to him. Still, as far as this particular letter is concerned, his intentions in writing were: (A) to let the recipient learn the trends of Edo, both the political and cultural center of Japan at the time, so that the recipient could help his homeland, Kanazawa domain, become a major power in both politics and economy, and (B) to instruct the recipient in knowledge of how to maintain good health in the environment of the metropolis. Here, in this paper, we see some specific instructions about (B). These descriptions seem to have been based on Seiryō's experiences of living in an apartment house (*nagaya*) in Yamanote (**Fig.1-I**, **III**) in Edo. In the metropolis, Tominaga was expected to settle down in Yamanote, in a district called Hongō (**Fig. 1★**). Moreover, being a Confucian scholar, Seiryō had a particularly Confucian understanding of yin-

17 Seiryō himself referred to this letter, in another work of his, as "a work elaborating on what I have written so far about Edo." This suggests that the author was aware that this letter was to be a literary work of his as well. Only two works written by him have been published so far. Most of his writings are transcriptions of his lectures at many different places in Japan or in the form of a letter addressed to a particular recipient. Thus, "Azuma no hanamuke" cannot have been just a private letter. It is more probable that Seiryō meant to communicate his thoughts in it, which he hoped were to be read by many readers by means of manuscripts.

18 Seiji Kuranami, *Kaiho Seiryō keizai shisō no kenkyū [A Study of Kaiho Seiryō's Economic Thoughts]*, Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 1990.

yang. Based on this understanding, he considered Edo as "yang," while the Hokkoku region (just to the west side of the center of the Japanese archipelago), of which Kanazawa was part, was regarded as "yin." Someone accustomed to yin had to take good care of his lifestyle, once he had moved into yang. These were assumptions behind this letter. Before reading on, readers are advised to keep these assumptions in mind.

3.1 Food and Water

The letter explains Edo's history and its geography and climate, focusing on where it was different from Kanazawa. For instance, Tokyo "has no mountains and little snow." Then, Seiryō describes Edo's sea and goes on to mention the taste of edible fish. From there, he begins to discuss food. "All the fish caught in the waters close to Edo are bland in taste. Though fish of Kanazawa are fatty, people there eat much of them, to survive the city's harsh summer and winter. Fishes' tastes suit the climate of the place they live in. Therefore, it is important, once you are in Edo, not to eat as you did in Kanazawa and accustom yourself to the food of the metropolis," says Seiryō. The letter also recommends going out for good digestion. Seiryō introduced to Tominaga some friends living in Hongō, who he thought would make nice friends to Tominaga in calligraphy. Also, he suggested that Tominaga should ask such friends to come over, to prevent depression.

Another health instruction was given about water, as something indispensable for health. Travelers visiting Edo for the first time often had diarrhea after drinking the city's water, which was something foreign to them. They should drink soft water, which should give them no problem. Edo had drinking water of poor quality. Though the water of Hongō, where Tominaga was to reside, was not of very poor quality, Seiryō advised him to filter the water he should drink for the first several months, describing in detail how to filter water. Seiryō also recommended Tominaga should use such water in cooking as well. Now, native Edoites (*Edokko*) were proud of the city's water supply system and many researchers today hold the system in high esteem. Seen from other regions, however, this supply water was of poor quality.

Seiryō's letter goes on to give advice on how to buy fish. First, he told Tominaga to avoid buying fish from a traveling seller (*furiuri*) in and around Hongō (**Fig. 1★**), since such fish was never fresh. Instead, Tominaga should ask his subordinate to go to the fish market of Nihonbashi (**Fig. 1-㊷**) and buy fresh fish. Also, since Edoites preferred thick slices of eel meat, Seiryō advised the young samurai not to broil eel on his own. Rather, it was wise to get eel broiled by an eel restaurant. Then Seiryō went on to show where such a restaurant was in the neighborhood of Tominaga's scheduled residence. This advice shows us how differently people cooked eel in different regions of Japan.

Then Seiryō's advice moved on to cover soy sauce, vinegar, and sake. Since these items had serious effects on one's health, Tominaga should never use cheap ones. Though a barrel of sake usually contained some 72 liters (4 *to* in the Japanese measuring system

of the time), some barrels contained 63 liters (3.5 *to*). Their prices varied greatly, from 1,000 *biki* a barrel to 300. Many of the cheap brands of sake were "*naoshizake*," which was sake already oxidized and then neutralized with lime.[19] In short, such sake was poisonous. Thus, Tominaga was to drink only the kind of sake whose 1.8 liter (1 *shō*) amounts cost 3 *momme* (11.25 g) of silver or so. The same caution regarding fish must be taken for soy sauce, since cheap brands were actually broth made by boiling an alga called *arame* (*Eisenia bicyclis*), though there were several dozens of soy sauce brands available in Edo. Then, said Seiryō, "Since most of your (Tominaga's) coworkers are single males, you might hear some absurdly wild opinions like, 'any soy sauce will do, as long as it is salty.' Unless you have the same physical temperament as Edoites, bad soy sauces are poisonous to you. Many Edoites are convinced that, if one buys and eats something cheap and dies from it, one is to blame. The fact is, however, that they do not know that prices are lower in the countryside. A good rule of thumb to follow is: If a soy sauce costs less than three times the common prices of Kanazawa, consider it as a poison."

3.2 Humidity and Houses

Seiryō said, "Kyoto is the only Japanese city with four regular seasons. Edo actually has three, since its spring is short and lasts only 10 days. Hokkoku has two, with its spring and fall being quite short. Each place has its own climate, and one had best live in the climate one is accustomed to. When one moves to a place whose climate is different from one's own, one must know that place's climate and prepare oneself accordingly." He went on to say, "Though Edo is dry, it basically stands on a level ground, which contains bad stagnant underground water. For this reason, people from a sloping land like Kashū (Kanazawa and its vicinity today), where there is no underground water, can become melancholic." This made house cleaning crucial, first of all. According to his letter, Tominaga should remove the sewage water from his house in Edo. Though the young samurai was to live in the house for just a year, he was to spare no effort in this drainage work. If his neighbors ignored this necessity, Tominaga was to work even harder on this. Since the samurai's subordinates tended to spare their efforts, he should explain how important this drainage work was to them. The expected place of residence, Hongō (**Fig. 1★**), was a rural part of Edo. It was a plateau surrounded by lower lands, which meant Hongō was naturally dry. As long as the residence had good drainage, therefore, there would be no humidity. Tominaga should frequently clean up the ground beneath the house as well, to facilitate ventilation. In case some soil gets very wet, it should be replaced by dry soil.

19 Reiji Iwabuchi and Takahiro Aoki, "Shiryō de sake wo ajiwau: seisan to shōhi kara [Tasting Sake with Documents: As Seen from Production and Consumption]," *Rekishi kenkyū no saizensen [Frontier of Historical Studies]* 13, The Department of Japanese History, Graduate University for Advanced Studies, National Museum of Japanese History, Japan.

Some ashes and chaff should be kept for some time in the soil to remove humidity. Occasionally, Tominaga was to take the *tatami* mats off the house floor and let them dry for 2 to 4 hours. Notably, based on the theory of yin-yang, Seiryō ascribed yang to Edo and yin to Hokkoku. While in Hokkoku people made a house's eaves low to keep it dark and keep the air inside the house, in Edo, a city of yang, people had the custom of opening up windows and doors. It was necessary, therefore, to let sewage water and humidity go, in Edo. He warned Tominaga, saying, "Following the customs of Hokkoku in Edo would go against the climate and culture of the metropolis. This should result in some sickness, without fail." In other words, one should follow the customs of the place one is in, to remain in good health.

3.3 Keeping the Mind in Good Health

Seiryō gave a harsh warning to Tominaga, saying, "Your life in Edo will be less busy than in Kanazawa. This means you can easily develop a habit of sleeping late. Yet this can ruin a good rhythm of your life and depress you."[20] Then, in advising the young samurai on how to keep the habit of getting up early, Seiryo said the best things to do were calligraphy and painting. Then, once Tominaga made many friends in the metropolis, they would ask him to make calligraphic works and paintings for them, to keep him busy. Thus, while it took some money to keep the body in good shape, keeping one's mind in good shape took wisdom and well-considered efforts. Also, based on his own experiences of living in an Edo residence of the Owari domain, Seiryo advised, "Take a bath frequently. Each resident should take turns to bathe, and then eat and drink together casually. Conversations there should refresh your mood."[21] Also, on a day like that, you can call in a painter from your neighborhood and ask him to make a painting. You and your coworkers can chip in some cash to pay the compensation. This should soothe your emotions very well, and you can get the painting. In addition, you can see how a painter makes a painting. Another good guest to invite can be a professional storyteller specializing in samurai warfare (known as *gundanshi*, such storytellers told stories of famous battles of the past and others)." Thus, Seiryō told Tominaga about his acquaintances and disciples living close to Hongō, where the young samurai was expected to live.

It has already been suggested above that, with the outing restrictions imposed on them, entertainment inside their residence played a major part in the lives of *kinban bushi*.[22] In this respect, descriptions of "calligraphy and paintings," which were good both

20 This is actually not just a tip for longevity, but based on Seiryō's theory of yin-yang, which cannot be described in this paper.

21 Note, however, that *kinban bushi* from many other domains enjoyed going out to a bath house outside their residence. It remains a research issue whether or not samurai of the residence of the Owari domain basically used the bath within the residence.

22 Iwabuchi (2006), among others.

as a hobby and for profit, and setting "dates of bathing" when a "neighborhood painter" or a "storyteller" was invited to a party are interesting. Thus, *kinban bushi* from domains outside Edo and their residences in the city provided good opportunities and places for cultural exchange. This is noteworthy.

3.4 Law and Order: "Villains" of Edo

In the law of Edo, a nighttime burglar (*yatō*), who entered someone else's house to steal something during the night, was to be sentenced to death. A burglar who stole in the daytime, however, was not held guilty, since the victim should have been more careful. Likewise, a pickpocket called *kinchakukiri*, who cut off the string of a wallet held by someone passing by and took it away, received only a light punishment of being tattooed, since the victim should have been more careful. Also, *kinban bushi* should carefully avoid quarrels outside their residence and troubles with *kinchakukiri*. There were organizations of such pickpockets, with their own respective regulations. Since they were clad in their own clothing, it should be easy to recognize a *kinchakukiri* when one saw him. According to Seiryō, there were some 10,000 *kinchakukiri* in Edo, especially in busy districts like Ryōgoku (**Fig. 1-㊽**), Asakusa (**Fig. 1-㊵**), Ueno (**Fig. 1-⑦**), Yushima, Shinmei-mae (**Fig. 1-㊵**), and others. Even if you catch such a pickpocket at the site of the crime, he/she would pass the stolen wallet (*kinchaku*) immediately to his/her coworker, so the victim could seldom get the money back. Rather, the criminal would find something to blame about the victim and blackmail him/her. Those pickpockets were thus real villains. Some *kinchakukiri* even traded the right to take a targeted wallet before they actually took it. Anyway, *kinchakukiri* victims would simply have to give up on their money, since claiming it back would only result in a quarrel or fight. In case, however, the victim lost something he/she must have back, such as an important document or a seal, the victim would consult a barber (*kamiyuidoko*), who knew how to contact those pickpockets and the victim could retrieve such stolen items. Advised Seiryō, "Whenever you carry some money or a tool with you, be sure to avoid walking down a busy street. That would result in a quarrel or fight."

Edo had numerous other kinds of criminals (*akutō*), including among others: those who deliberately set fire to a building and stole some valuables during the fire (*hitsuke*), large groups of criminals who rushed into a house and threatened the residents to take some objects (*oshikomi*), robbers who took others' possessions in the full light of day in the middle of busy districts like Nihonbashi (**Fig. 1-㊷**) and Ryōgoku (**Fig. 1-㊽**) (*arakasegi*), blackmailers who falsely claimed a victim had hit him/her (*yusuri*), and rip-off artists who fell down before someone's house and acted like a dying person to ask for some money (*taoremono*).

Those were things one should watch out for living in Edo, based probably on Seiryō's own experiences and knowledge. His descriptions of *kinchakukiri* are especially highly

detailed, covering where such pickpockets often appeared, their clothing styles, what to do with them, and so on. It is also quite interesting that the letter also elaborates on organizations of those pickpockets, their extensive network and relationships with barbers, and so on. Seiryō argued that Edo's legal punishment for *kinchakukiri* was too lenient. Mentions of this lenient punishment appear in Seiryō's other writings describing his legal thought, as an example of bad punishment. He was a proponent of "*kanpō genbatsu*," an opinion that claimed simpler law and tougher punishments should lessen crimes. His descriptions of flourishing *kinchakukiri* crimes were no exaggeration. Historians have confirmed some actual bans imposed on the criminal act.[23] Still, Seiryō probably intended to use pickpocketing of this kind as an example to support his *kanpō genbatsu* advocacy.

4 Conclusion

This paper considered two ego-documents related to *kinban bushi* in Edo. As a result, we saw some facts that contradict the widespread current image of the city. In summary, they are in the following two categories:

First, the actual behaviors of *kinban bushi* in Edo. Our analysis of diaries written by *kinban bushi* from the Hachinohe domain has disproved the currently common image of such samurai strolling around Edo with too much free time in search of entertainment. In addition to their work hours, those samurai had outing restrictions imposed on them. They were usually unable to go on distant outings. Most of their movements took place within a radius of 2 km of their residence. On longer outings, they often visited well-known tourist spots or places of worship in or around Edo, which might have seemed to be "things often done by visitors from the distant countryside." Still, such long outings were only a tiny part of the lives of those *kinban bushi*. The area within 2 km of their residence was, so to speak, mostly where such samurai lived. They had highly detailed information about shopping places, theaters, etc., within that area. Also, their relatives and friends back in their homelands counted on them for items they wanted from Edo. In short, we can safely claim that the city had some districts of *kinban bushi* in it. Needless to say, the growth of urban citizenry is an important issue of research. Still, throughout the Edo period, samurai never lost their weight in the economy and society of cities built around a castle.

Second, there are the images of Edo held by *kinban bushi*. They were able to behave in the ways they did in the city because they had enough knowledge about the city. A *kinban bushi's* diaries were kept by his family, as part of the accumulation of such information. Also, when such a samurai left his homeland for Edo, we can assume, his seniors

23 A decree of 1801 (*Ofuregaki Tenpō shūsei [Collection of Decrees of the Tenpō Period]* Vol. 2, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1941, Document No. 6509), and others.

and father orally communicated much information about the city to him. Yet such oral transmissions were hard to restore. This paper, in addition to "Edo Jiman" (Pride in Edo), which was a guidebook on life in Edo written for *kinban bushi* from the Tanabe domain, Kishū (Wakayama Prefecture today),[24] paid special attention to "Azuma no hanamuke." This was written by a Confucian scholar born in the city to help his young friend, who was a *kinban bushi* soon to serve in Edo to fulfill his duty in the system of *sankin kōtai*. Though this "Hanamuke" was not a document written by a *kinban bushi*, we can safely assume that these and other similar documents were shared by samurai before they moved into Edo to serve. Especially notable in those documents are those descriptions of the metropolis's poor-quality water, coarse seasonings and sake, humidity, poor security, etc. Those were part of life for long-term residents of Edo, while guidebooks and other literature published in the city would not mention them. Also, the places those samurai went to within their livelihood spheres were seldom mentioned in those publications of Edo, even if they were located in major, busy districts (**Fig. 1-**㊳, ㊵). Thus, an image of the city dependent solely on materials prepared by long-time residents there can very often be one-sided – showing the bright side of the metropolis alone. Also, many *kinban bushi*, through their contact with a different culture of Edo, acquired a better understanding of their own (homeland) cultures. Thus, a major city accommodated residents from many different origins, with a great diversity of kinds of awareness. This author has considered these issues as well, using ego-documents, in other papers.[25]

This paper has analyzed the society of the metropolis called Edo, using ego-documents written by residents from outside the city. The author believes that there is an abundance of analytical methods involving ego-documents. He is determined to undertake further research in such methods.

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24 About "Edo Jiman," see Iwabuchi (2008), as well as Iwabuchi (2015).
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