

**3 July 2022 Symposium. The Significance of Early-Modern Japanese Castle Complexes in World History**

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**Stability and Prosperity During the Edo Period and History of the Hikone Castle Complex**

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Good afternoon.

My name is Mori of Kyoto Women's University.

The Edo period (Tokugawa period) was a long-standing stable period that was established after years of conflicts. I would like to talk about the process that led to the creation of that period and the significance of the Hikone Castle Complex in that period.

**Introduction**

From the 17th century to the 19th century, the world was in a period when globalization led to social change; as a result, countries restructured their governing systems. In Japan as well, a unique governance system was established in the 17th century known as Tokugawa regime, which was not seen in any other country in the world. The Hikone Castle Complex is an outstanding example of the castle complex that functioned as a governing center in this period in question. This is the point based on which the Hikone Castle Complex is to be nominated for World Heritage List inscription.

**Characteristics of the proposed property area of the Hikone Castle Complex**

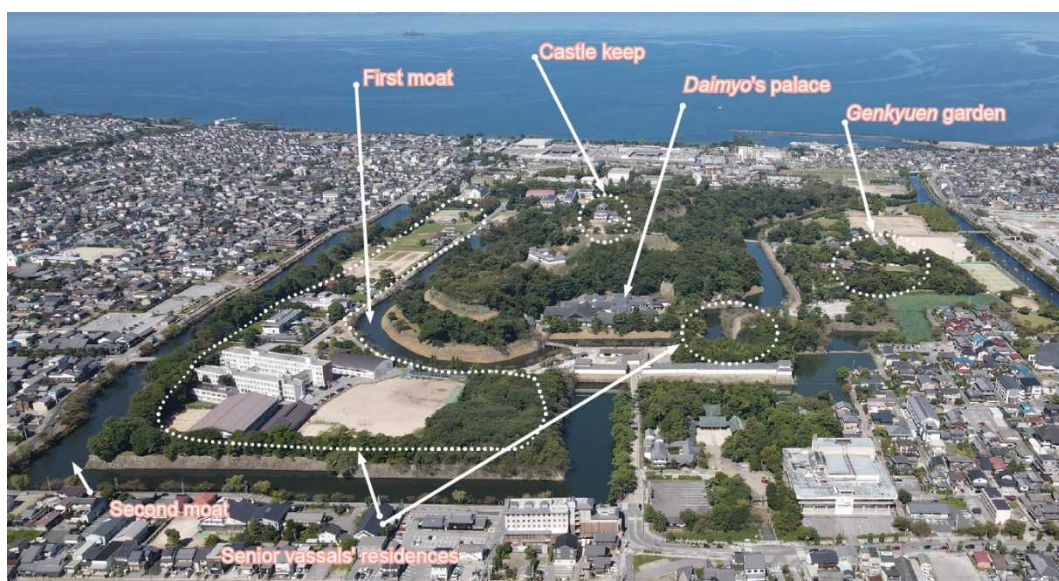
First, I explain about the property area of the Hikone Castle Complex to be nominated for inscription on the World Heritage List. The extent of the Hikone Castle Complex to be nominated is the area within the second moat. There are not many examples that still retain the castle complex completely up to the second moat. In the case of the Hikone Castle Complex, it has been preserved very well.

The important characteristics of this area are, first of all, the layout of the castle complex, which illustrates how governing functions were consolidated within this area, including the *daimyo* government's public facilities and senior vassals' residences.

Secondly, the symbolic appearance of the castle complex that has the castle keep at the top is also important. The first enclosure and the castle keep are at the center on the hill, and the *daimyo*'s palace (Omote goten) is at the base of the hill. There were other structures on the hill, such as turrets and ramparts. The area is surrounded by the moat with several gates, which had turrets and long ramparts.

From outside these gates, the buildings within the moated area are not visible. However, beyond the gates appears the castle keep as well as various turrets in the distance. In this manner, the castle complex was built with an emphasis on the way that it is visible from outside. This appearance of the castle complex is considered to be another important feature.

Because of the layout and appearance, the Hikone Castle Complex visually demonstrates the governance system of Tokugawa Japan. There are no similar examples of political centers in the world from the 17th century to the 19th century. Of all castle complexes in Japan, the Hikone Castle Complex is the only example in which the layout and appearance have been preserved in their entirety to the present.



**Photo 01** Panoramic view of the Hikone Castle Complex from the east



**Photo 02** Hikone Castle Complex, seen from the east

## **1. Governance system before Tokugawa Japan**

Now, let us look back in history to see how that governing system was created.

### **World from 16th century to early 17th century**

From the 16th century to the early 17th century, the world saw global-scale exchanges, linking Asian, European and American continents. As a result of active international exchange, new technologies and knowledge created a phenomenon that greatly shook the existing order of countries and regions. After 17th century, countries responded to this phenomenon by restructuring their existing governing systems. In this way, the period from 17th century to the 19th century corresponds to the period in which each country and each region formed and maintained its own social system, which became the premise of modern times leading to the present.

### **Japan from 16th century to early 17th century**

Japan was no exception, and from the 16th century to the beginning of the 17th century its social and political systems changed drastically.

First of all, in the 16th century, the power of the Muromachi shogunate had weakened, and civil conflicts broke out in many places throughout Japan, triggered by the rise of large and small feudal lords and armed religious groups. This is the so-called Warring States period. In this situation, powerful samurai clans started to make a move for unification of the country. In other words, the governing system of the Edo period was established through three rulers, Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu.

### **Oda Nobunaga**

In the first stage, Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) accumulated wealth from overseas trade and acquired a large quantity of guns, which increased his military power. On the strength of great economic and military power, he expanded his territory. On the other hand, he issued an order to stop armed conflicts, covering northeastern Japan, which was outside his territory. Recent research has revealed that this no conflict order, generally considered to be the achievement of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, had already begun during the time of Nobunaga.

### **Toyotomi Hideyoshi**

Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) followed suit concerning the no conflict order and also issued cease-fire orders to the western provinces, unifying the whole country. On the other hand, he achieved unified control of military forces by separating warriors and farmers. He then aimed to complete the centralized governing system based on military force. At the same time, however, Hideyoshi tried to

expand his territory to East Asia in vain. This failure caused a rift within the Toyotomi government, and the aspired centralized governing system based on military force did not come true at this point in time.

### **Tokugawa Ieyasu**

It was Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) who took over this work. He took power, winning the Battle of Sekigahara, which broke out after the death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. To reconcile the interests of the *daimyo* who supported Ieyasu in the battle, he aimed to establish a limitedly centralized governing system, or a new national government based on decentralized governance with cooperating *daimyo*, instead of a completely centralized governing system. This led to the establishment of the so-called Tokugawa regime. In 1603, he took the position of the shogun, and the Tokugawa shogunate started. However, at that time, the Toyotomi Family based in Osaka still had power comparable to the Tokugawa Family. There was a military tension between these two political powers.

The Tokugawa government stood guard over the western provinces that supported the former Toyotomi Family and promoted the construction of castles in western Japan under the direct order and supervision of the Tokugawa government: the Zeze Castle, Nijo Castle, Fukui Castle, and Kano Castle of Gifu, which were constructed before the shogunate opened, and the Hikone Castle, whose construction started in 1603, the same year as the establishment of the shogunate. After that, the Tamba-Kameyama Castle, Sasayama Castle, and Iga-Ueno Castle were built. These castles were constructed in a time of military tension.

### **End of domestic armed conflicts**

The military tension was resolved by the Sieges of the Osaka Castle, in which the Toyotomi Family was destroyed in 1615. The battle put an end to domestic armed conflicts. There were some small conflicts after this historical event, but generally speaking, this marked a major break in Japanese history.

Immediately after the Sieges of the Osaka Castle, the shogunate prohibited *daimyo*' having more than one castle in each domain and ordered them to demolish all other castles and forts. It appears that there were some loopholes or exceptional cases that this rule was somehow not followed, but even so, the number of castles drastically decreased from around 3,000 in the Oda-Toyotomi period to around 150.

The meaning of limiting the number of castles to one in each domain was primarily to reduce the military power of *daimyo* significantly. This rule was particularly enforced strictly in western provinces. As a result, this led to the deterrence and prohibition of regional conflicts between *daimyo*. In addition, before this order was issued, there had been a number of branch castles owned by *daimyo* in their territories as well as military bases where senior vassals were stationed. However, this order

resulted in the consolidation or abolishment of these castles and military bases and accelerated the concentration of vassals and people in the castle town.

## **2. Governing system of the Tokugawa regime**

Through these processes, a new governing system of the Tokugawa regime was established. What was it like? First, let me talk about the centralized, but still decentralized system.

### **Rule by law**

One is the control of the ruling classes by law. The shogunate enacted laws to control each of the four ruling classes, i.e., samurais, imperial court, Buddhist monks, and Shintoist priests. Moreover, rather than simply controlling them, the shogunate shared its governing philosophy with them. Based on these laws, each landlord was entrusted with the governance of the commoners who belonged to his territory. This is the decentralized aspect of the Tokugawa regime. Each *daimyo* government was allowed to rule its territory independently, but it was only as long as the laws established by the shogunate and the governing philosophy contained in them were followed.

### **The class system that was applied uniformly throughout the country**

Another important point is the enforcement of one class system throughout the country. First of all, the ruling class was in charge of local control and administration. In particular, the only samurais had military power and provided military service directly. The commoners were roughly divided into townspeople and farmers. They shouldered production and distribution and paid taxes. The representatives of townspeople and farmers were placed at the bottom of the administrative system. The townspeople and farmers were controlled not individually but as a town or a village. This was universally enforced throughout the country. And individual towns and villages were allowed to have a certain degree of autonomy.

As a result of adopting the governing system based on this class system, differences between regions reduced. By positioning all towns and villages universally at the bottom of the administration system, administrative regional differences disappeared. In the beginning of the 17th century, *daimyo* were often ordered to move from one domain to another. If this happened, not only the *daimyo* but also the samurais and ruling class moved together. They had to govern new people in a new domain. The administrative system without regional differences made it possible for them to start governing a new place without difficulty.

### **Exclusive power of the shogunate to mobilize military forces**

Another important point of the Tokugawa regime is the fact that only the shogunate had the power to mobilize military forces. *Daimyo* were prohibited from engaging in armed conflicts or using armed forces, and the shogunate grasped the exclusive power to mobilize military forces. The shogunate's exclusive control extended also to currency, weights and measures, roads, traffic, river traffic and transportation. These are the centralized aspect of the Tokugawa regime.

On the one hand, each *daimyo* government was able to govern its own territory independently. In other words, the Tokugawa regime can be said to have accommodated both centralized and decentralized governing systems in a well-balanced manner.

### **Changes in the governing system**

In the process of the development of the aforementioned governing system based on the shogunate and *daimyo* governments, there were changes in the way that decisions were made. In the beginning of the 17th century, the shogun and the *daimyo* presided almost exclusively. But it gradually shifted to a council system both in the shogunate and *daimyo* governments.

### **Council system in the shogunate**

With regard to the shogunate, the council system of senior councilors was established at the time of the third shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu (r. 1623-1651). In this council system, senior councilors directed and supervised officials in governing the country.

The senior councilors were selected from *daimyo* who had served the Tokugawa Family since early times. Their residences were placed in an enclosure within the Edo Castle. As I will explain later, this arrangement is similar to that of senior vassals' residences in the *daimyo*'s castle complexes.

### **Council system in *daimyo* governments**

In the early Edo period, the *daimyo* entrusted a specific senior vassal with plenary power of the *daimyo* government. During the reign of Tokugawa Iemitsu, it shifted to a council system in which several senior vassals participated in the decision-making process. This change, as Professor Miyake Masahiro of Kyoto University points out in his study, reflects the strong determination to ensure the uniform enforcement of the shogunate's law in all *daimyo* governments. When famine occurred in 1640-1643, each *daimyo* responded to overcome the famine in the beginning, but subsequently the shogunate began to provide assistance and instruction. In this process, the shogunate's law was uniformly applied to all *daimyo* governments, and each *daimyo* created a council system consisting of several senior vassals instead of entrusting a specific individual with too much power.

In other words, the stable governance of the territory became the duty of the *daimyo*, and it became necessary that the entire senior vassals should assume and share the responsibility of

governing the territory systematically, when the *daimyo* had to absent himself from the domain. In many *daimyo* governments, senior vassals' residences came to be placed in the second enclosure in this stage. At the same time, the order was issued to limit the number of castles to one in each domain. As a result, it became usual to place senior vassals in the second enclosure.

#### **Senior vassals as proxy for the *daimyo***

The council system by senior vassals is considered to be a political structure that was born, because senior vassals were gathered to live within the castle complex as a result of the order to limit the number of castles to one in each domain and also because the *daimyo* was obliged to stay away from its domain to serve the shogun in Edo (present-day Tokyo) periodically. In this political structure, senior vassals came to be recognized as the proxy of the *daimyo* both by the shogunate and the subjects of the *daimyo* domain.

#### **Significance of the council system**

The significance of the council system in the shogunate and *daimyo* governments is firstly the establishment of a political system that is not dependent on the capability of the shogun or *daimyo* alone. This realized stable political power and social order. In such a system, the presence of the shogun and *daimyo* transformed into the symbol of political power in the shogunate and *daimyo* governments, respectively. It further means that their presence represented authority rather than power. As a result, it became possible to prevent power from running out of control and to maintain a stable society until the middle of the 19th century, bringing about stability and prosperity in the Edo period.

### **3. Characteristics of castle complexes under the Tokugawa regime**

Next, I will look into the castle complexes of the Edo period from the perspectives of what kinds of characteristics castle complexes acquired, as the political system changed greatly.

#### **Engelbert Kaempfer's journal at the end of 17th century**

Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716), a European who came to Japan at the end of the 17th century, wrote:

“Castles are generally situated on the shore of large stretches of water or on hills or high ground. They cover a large area and consist of a triple fortress, one separated from the next by guards and, site permitting, one encircling the next. Each fortress has deep, clean moats, stone or earthen ramparts, and strong gates, but no large guns. The innermost fortress is called *honmaru*, which means “the true castle,” and is the residence of the territorial lord. Often the residence is resplendent with a white, four-cornered high tower with three or four upper sections, each surrounded with a

roof encircling the tower like a wreath. The second fortress is called *ni no maru*, which means “the second castle.” This is where the gentlemen-in-waiting, elders, and secretaries live; any spare space is sometimes used for rice paddies. The third or outermost fortress is called *soto kamae*, which means “outer protection,” or *san no maru*, which means “the third castle.” This contains settlements of soldiers and lower court employees, and is open to the public. These castles can be seen glistening from afar, valiant structures with their white walls, guard posts, gate houses with two or more stories, and the beautiful wreathed tower of the residence.”

(Kaempfer, Engelbert. *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed*. Trans. By Beatrice, M. Bodart-Bailey. University of Hawaii Press, 1999.)

### **Typical structure of Japanese castle complexes**

It was the candid perception of a foreigner who visited Japan about the Japanese castle complexes. In other words, it captures the typical structure of the Japanese castle complexes. “Gentlemen-in-waiting, elders, and secretaries” is construed to refer to senior vassals who were involved in political decision-making in the *daimyo* government or close aides to the *daimyo*. “The third castle” or the third enclosure was “open to the public”. This can be construed to mean that entry to the second enclosure was restricted. It is also worth mentioning that the view of the castle keep seen from outside impressed foreigners.

### **Perception of the subjects and people of the domain about the castle complex**

It is an important question how the castle was perceived by people. Arisawa Nagasada, a military scholar of the Kanazawa *daimyo* government wrote in 1661, “now, tens of thousands of minds look up at the sturdy castle with gratitude for peace and stability prevailing in the world.” This indicates that the dignified figure of the castle was associated with the peace and stability of the world. Probably, “tens of thousands of minds” referred not only the samurai class, but also the people of the domain.

## **4. Construction of the Hikone Castle Complex and the Tokugawa Shogunate**

So far, I introduced impressions by foreigners or people of other *daimyo* domains. Now, I talk about the Hikone Castle Complex—how it developed in history or what kind of position it held in society.

### **Construction under the direct order and supervision of the shogunate**

As I explained earlier, the Hikone Castle Complex was built under the direct order and supervision of the shogunate. At the beginning of the 17th century, it was in the midst of the military tension after the Battle of Sekigahara that Ii Naomasa (1561-1602) was charged with occupying the Sawayama Fort,



which had been the military base of the enemy general, Ishida Mitsunari. At this stage, it is believed that the Ii Family was stationed at the military base to guard against the Toyotomi Family and/or lords of the western provinces.

In 1603, Tokugawa Ieyasu decided to construct the Hikone Castle Complex and issued his order. As Ii Naomasa had already died at that time, it was not until the reign of his successor Ii Naotsugu (1590-1662) that the construction started, mobilizing the *daimyo* of the surrounding provinces. The castle keep was completed in 1606, but at this stage it was not yet a castle complex surrounded by the double moats, which was captured in the aforementioned depiction by Engelbert Kaempfer.

### **Characteristics of the castle construction in the 1604-1615 period**

It was characteristic of this period that there was only a single moat, surrounding the first enclosure, according to the *Ii Nempu* (chronological history of the Ii Family), which was written in the middle of the Edo period based on documents submitted by the Ii Family to the shogunate in response to inquiries. It records, “the moats, earth mounds, turrets, palace and other buildings were mostly built after the reign of Naotaka.” Ii Naotaka (1590-1659) took the position of *daimyo* after the Sieges of the Osaka Castle (1614-1615). His predecessor was Ii Naotsugu; it is written that “during the reign of Naotsugu, the castle had only a single enclosure.” Therefore, before 1615, there was only one castle enclosure with one moat, and the second moat did not exist yet.

Now I would like to draw your attention to the first enclosure. In front of the castle keep, there was a building, which was later called Onhiroma (literally, “the hall”). It was used as the residence of the *daimyo* during the early 17th century. Also, two senior vassals, Suzuki and Kimata, were stationed within the first enclosure. At this stage, the Ii Family still had to pay military attention to the western provinces, and the main gate was placed in the south to face toward Osaka.

Suzuki Iwami was from a family that served the Ii Family for generations. Kimata Tosa was assigned by Tokugawa Ieyasu to serve the Ii Family. At this stage, the castle had a structure within the first enclosure that housed the residences of these two senior vassals. Apparently, other senior vassals’ residences were placed outside the single moat. Based on an old document of the Edo period, which records the vassals’ residences, it is possible to know who had their residences where and when. According to this document, it is clear that senior vassals’ residences were there. All other castles and forts in the territory were destroyed in compliance with the order to limit the number of castles to one per domain.

Other vassals’ residences as well as townspeople’s residences probably had already existed in the surrounding areas of the castle before 1615. However, moats, stone walls, earth mounds, and castle gates were not yet constructed. Probably due to the lingering military tension of the time, a high importance was attached only to the structures for sending troops to the western provinces and protecting the first enclosure. Therefore, the full-fledged castle complex was still far from complete.



**Photo 03** Castle keep



**Photo 04** First moat, stone walls, and earth mounds

### **Continuation of construction by Ii Family after the Sieges of Osaka Castle**

Against such background, the further construction on the Hikone Castle Complex was carried out after the Sieges of the Osaka Castle. The construction was done by the Ii Family without supervision of the shogunate, resuming in July 1615, two months after the end of the Sieges of the Osaka Castle. Ii Naotaka, who succeeded as the head of the family, set out the specifications of the construction for his subjects and appointed five people responsible for the construction, led by Hayakawa Yasozaemon, who had been in charge of the castle layout. The construction of the full-fledged castle complex was thus started by the Ii Family on its own. In 1622, the *daimyo*'s palace (Omote-goten) was completed. It served dual purpose as an office and living quarters of the *daimyo*.

### **Characteristics of the castle complex construction after 1615**

It is characteristic of the castle complex construction during this period that the first and second enclosures were completed. The second enclosure was constructed with full stone walls, long ramparts, two-story gatehouses, and corner turrets. In other words, the construction of a very stately castle complex was carried out. Within the second enclosure, senior vassals' residences were placed, and after the late 17th century the *daimyo*'s secondary residence, gardens, and a domain school were added. Now, the whole Hikone Castle Complex became what exactly matches Kaempfer's description of the typical castle complex, which I mentioned earlier.

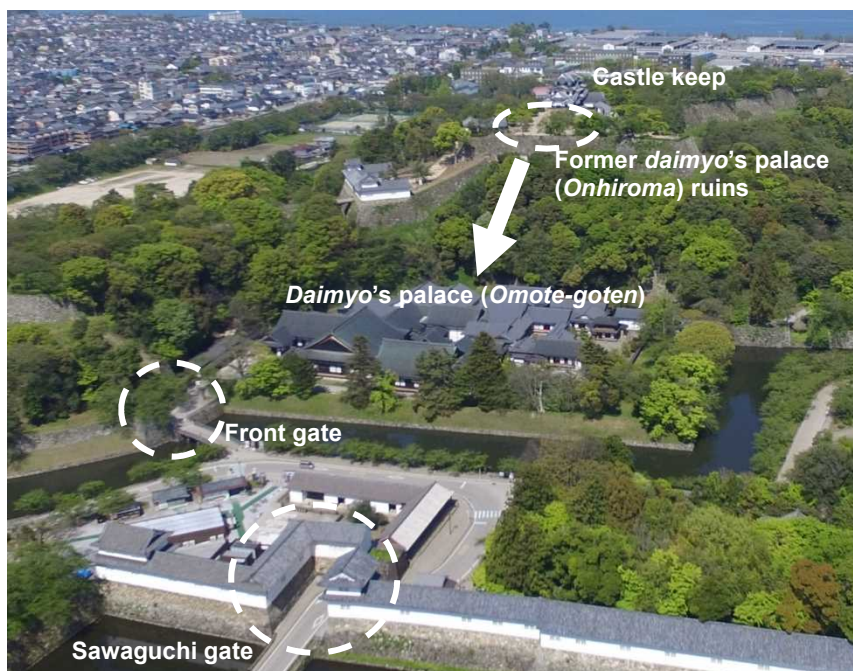


**Photo 05** Second moat and stone walls



**Photo 06** Second moat, stone walls, and ramparts

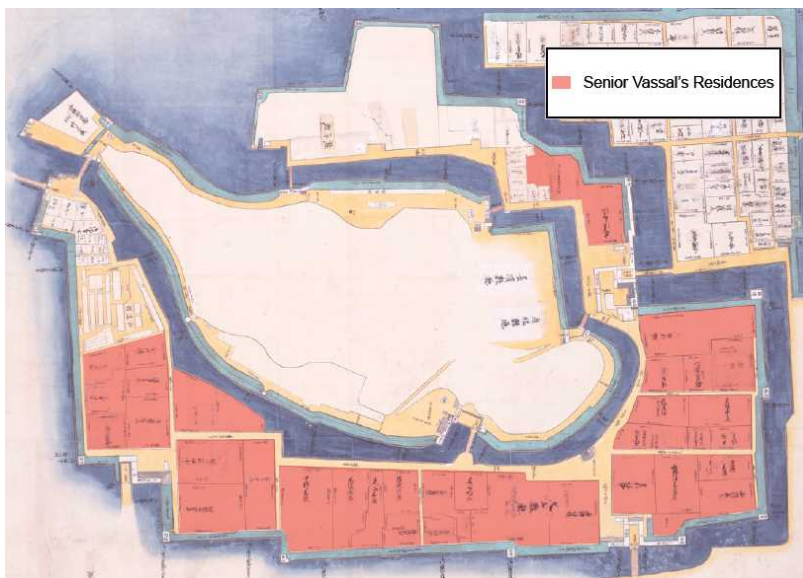
The second point is that the function of the *daimyo*'s palace was moved from the Onhiroma in front of the castle keep on the hill to the Omote-goten, which was newly constructed at the eastern foot of the hill. The *daimyo*'s palace (Omote-goten) served dual purpose as an office and living quarters of the *daimyo*. It was completed around 1622. In the eastern part of the castle complex leading to the Omote-goten were built the front gate, Sawaguchi gate, and turreted rampart. From then on, this side came to be used as the front side of the Hikone Castle Complex. The *daimyo* made it a rule to pass through this gate when he departed to and returned from Edo. On these occasions, strict rituals and splendid ceremonies were also performed on this side. The area in which the Omote-goten was constructed became the front of the castle complex for political and ceremonial purposes, replacing the former front that served military purposes.



**Photo 07** Relocation of the *daimyo*'s palace

Third, all the senior vassals' residences were concentrated into the second enclosure. Even the residences of the Kimata Family and the Suzuki Family, which had originally been located within the first enclosure, were moved to the second enclosure, together with other senior vassals' residences. The *daimyo*'s palace had a hall called Sasa-no-ma, where, it is recorded, that *daimyo* and senior vassals had discussion since early times (the time of Ii Naotaka). Around 30 senior vassals participated in the meetings at Sasa-no-ma. Although some *daimyo* domains had only 5 or 6 senior vassals, the Hikone domain had as many as 30 senior vassals. They had meetings in the hall. After the middle of the 17th century, highest-ranking councilors of the *daimyo* government were selected from among them. In other words, the highest position among the senior vassals was not a hereditary privilege of specific

families; from among the 30 senior vassals, councilors were selected based on their experience and ability to constitute a council system.



**Photo 08** Old drawing showing distribution of senior vassals' residences within the second enclosure (in the custody of the Hikone Castle Museum)



**Photo 09** Extant gate of the senior vassals' residence

The fourth characteristic point was the creation of a multilayered symbolic view consisting of the castle keep and other structures. According to the chronological history of the Ii Family, “when the castle was constructed, turrets on the hill were built intentionally smaller than those in the outer ring, to make them appear larger than they really were.” In addition, the former *daimyo*'s palace (Onhiroma) went out of use after the new *daimyo*'s palace was built in 1622, but the building was intentionally left without destruction, so that “the buildings in the castle complex would look overlapping one another, seen from the banks of the Serikawa River” (the chronological history of the Ii Family). In other words, the Ii Family did care about how the castle complex would look from surroundings, not only from nearby but also from a distance.

### **View of castle complex from the surroundings**

This area near the Serikawa River was in the southern part of the urban area, where people transporting goods passed without exception. This is why particular attention was paid to what the castle complex would look like from this area. I think it was during the time of Ii Naotaka, the second *daimyo* of the Hikone domain, that the layout of the buildings within the castle complex was designed in consideration of what the castle complex would look like from outside.

This old picture shows the Kyobashiguchi gate. The stately turreted rampart is approximately 70 to 80 m long from end to end. There is also a second-story turret. If you look closely, you can see pine trees on the stone wall. And this is the second moat. It is impossible to see what is inside the second moat, because it is hidden by turrets, ramparts, and pine trees like this. Indeed, the internal area beyond this boundary was a segregated space.



**Photo 10** Old photograph of the Kyobashiguchi gate taken before the demolition in the late 19th century  
(in the custody of the Hikone City Library)

## **Epilogue —The Position of the Ii Family in the Tokugawa regime**

### **The Ii Family after 1615**

Finally, I would like to think about the position of the Ii Family, who created the castle complex having the aforementioned characteristics under the Tokugawa regime. Even after 1615, the territory of the Ii Family expanded as a reward for its contribution at the Sieges of the Osaka Castle. The Ii Family ranked as high as a branch family of the shogun.

The Ii Family belonged to the *Tamarizume* group in the shogunate. In 1632, the shogun Tokugawa Hidetada on his deathbed summoned Ii Naotaka and Matsudaira Tadaaki (the *daimyo* of Yamato-

Koriyama) to his bedside and ordered them to engage in the shogunate's administration as the guardian of the third shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu.

Previous studies have considered that this role in the shogunate's administration as the guardian of the shogun would develop to the grand councilor position; however, recent studies have found that the Ii Family, the Matsudaira Family of Aizu, and the Matsudaira Family of Takamatsu established themselves as the three families of the *Tamarizume* group in the 1680s and consider that the aforementioned role in the shogunate as the guardian of the shogun developed to this group rather than the grand councilor position. In any case, both the grand councilor and the *Tamarizume* group were equally important positions in the shogunate, and the Ii Family ranked top even among the *Tamarizume* group.

With regard to the position of the grand councilor, half of the *daimyo* who became the grand councilor during the Edo period were from the Ii Family. Furthermore, what was unique about the Ii Family is that, while all of the others were all appointed as the grand councilor after serving as ordinary councilor for some time, the only Ii Family was appointed as the grand councilor without having to serve as ordinary councilor.

Yet another important thing is that the Ii Family played a special role in the coming-of-age ceremony for the heir to the shogun and crowned him. To crown the heir to the shogun in his coming-of-age ceremony signifies virtual parent-child relationship. It was only the Ii Family who was allowed to play a role of tying a virtual parent-child relationship with the person who will succeed to the shogun. This is considered to be an important position that the Ii Family held but no other *daimyo* did. The Ii Family played a very important role in other ceremonies of the shogunate. In other words, among many *daimyo*, the Ii Family was closest to the shogun, assisting and supporting him.

### **Initiation of the family tradition**

It was not surprising therefore that they asked themselves questions, such as how the Ii Family should deal with the shogunate matters and govern its own territory. Ii Naotaka left his teachings to Ii Naosumi (1625-1676), who would become the *daimyo* after his next successor: "it should be observed as the motto of the Ii Family to obey the shogun's order, which is needless to say, and also serve the shogunate without any doubt or fear, regardless of whatever difficult requests councilors might make." The point is that the Ii Family should provide absolute service to the shogunate. In other words, the Ii Family should set an example for all *daimyo*.

### **Transmission of the family tradition through generations**

Not only did Ii Naosumi observe these teachings, but also the subsequent *daimyo* of the Ii Family did the same. Ii Naoaki (1794-1850) wrote down these teachings in his own handwriting. The person who would become the new *daimyo* inherited and passed them on from generation to generation. They were

not limited to the *daimyo*, but also shared among the vassals, becoming the family tradition:

First and foremost, reason and law must be respected.

Next, duties must be fulfilled without doubt or hesitation. There are different types of vassals, such as hereditary vassals who have served the Ii Family through generations and those who newly joined; however, they were equally evaluated on merit. This also meant that councilors were never fixed. The Ii Family put an importance to the governing system in which senior vassals were able to show their abilities, depending on the specific situations.

Thirdly, the initiative of senior vassals. Senior vassals must work on their own initiative. When the *daimyo*'s behavior is dishonest, they must remonstrate against him. This was shared among the vassals of the Ii Family. Remonstrance against the *daimyo* was not a rare practice in any *daimyo* government. If the *daimyo*'s behavior was not good, it was not uncommon to have the *daimyo* resign.

Practicing these three teachings guaranteed good service to the shogunate, as well as good control over the vassals and stable governance within the territory. These were the prerequisites for the public service to the shogunate.

### **Castle complex as entrusted property**

There is one more thing that needs our attention. Ii Naotaka's note says that the castle complex is a property entrusted from the shogunate. When the shogunate issued permission to repair the Hikone Castle Complex in 1650, he gave senior vassals detailed instructions about the procedure of repair work and demanded that they should take stock of costs and benefits carefully and make sure that the solid repair work should be carried out, instead of makeshift repair, with a view to maintaining the strength and good appearance of the castle complex for a long time. He went further to say that they should keep in mind that the shogunate might order them to move to govern a different domain anytime and that, if that happened, they had to turn over the Hikone Castle Complex to a different *daimyo*, who would see how the Hikone Castle Complex has been taken care of. Therefore, he emphasized, it was important to maintain the castle complex very well, so that, even if the order to move to another domain should come, they could earn a good reputation as long as the maintenance of the castle complex is concerned.

They were aware of the possibility of being ordered by the shogunate to move to a different domain and recognized that the castle complex was something entrusted to them by the shogunate, the possession or occupation of which was only guaranteed by the authority of the shogunate. In addition, they were highly conscious about how the castle complex looked from the surroundings and what kind of visual impression the castle complex had on the people of their domain.

That's all I have to say. Thank you very much.