

RUSSIAN ASSOCIATION OF JAPANOLOGISTS
JAPAN FOUNDATION
INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

To World Oriental Congress
Moscow, 2004



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
JAPAN PHENOMENON:
VIEWS FROM EUROPE

Moscow
September 28-29, 2001

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The Conference is organized with financial assistance
from the Japan Foundation.

Editors:

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International Conference. JAPAN PHENOMENON: VIEWS FROM EUROPE

ISBN 5-86479-093-1

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TSUNAYOSHI, THE 5th SHOGUN OF THE TOKUGAWA DYNASTY: ON THE PERSONAL ROLE IN THE SYSTEM OF STATE REFORMS (RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH HISTORIOGRAPHY MATERIALS)

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The *Tsunayoshi* times was particularly reflected in one of the earliest for the Europeans source — the description of Japan by *Engelbert KAEMPFER* (a German doctor and historian, who visited Japan in 1691-92 to work in the Dutch settlement in Nagasaki). In 1727-28 the two-volume work, which includes also a lot of his travel memories, was published in Dutch, French, German and English editions [14, vol. 3, p. 135]. The recent 1999-year edition (which was possible because of *Beatrice BODART-BAILEY* efforts¹) proves the fact that significance of this work is still actual and that the information this book contains is not yet assimilated enough by the European and American authors.

The uniqueness of the picturesque figure of *TOKUGAWA Tsunayoshi* 徳川綱吉 was the reason of the fact that he was imprinted in the memory of descendants as a person who inevitably would attract attention of anyone concerned in the *Tokugawa* shoguns line. However, the attention to some specific aspects of his activity and his personality was so excessive that it caused the creation of his obviously odious image (but not more than that). And stereotypic estimation of shogun usually doesn't touch some not less important sides of his activity.

It's interesting also that a lot of materials that shed light on «little known» details of life and activity of *Tsunayoshi* are published and quite enough accessible². We mean here not Japanese editions, but comparatively easily apprehended materials in Russian and English. The fact that some of these editions became rarities being published relatively long time ago (end of the 19th — beginning of the 20th century) and the restricted number of copies to some extent could be considered as an obstacle. These are the works of V.Kostylev, A.Nikolaev, D.Pozdneyev, F.Brinkley (however all these works are accessible in the most of big libraries). The other editions even despite they are quite old couldn't be called real rarities — for instance, works of G.Sansom, which were published in 30-s of the 20th century, but has been republishing almost every year with a striking regularity by a publishing house «Tuttle». Unfortunately there is not so many relatively recently published, easily accessible works on these theme in English and Russian; among these books should be named an article of OISHI Shinzaburo in the collective work «Tokugawa Japan» published in 1990 (and republished in soft cover in 1991) [15]. All the more disappointing that the translation of such a recent article of the well-known Japanese historian is full of mistakes — misspelling in translation of first and last names of famous historical figures. Some names happened to be read in such way in English that neither first, nor last name resembles a real historical personage. Definitely there is no such negligence in Japanese works, so all the responsibility for that carelessness could be applied to translator and editor. An aforementioned case caused the necessity to refer to Japanese sources for more precise information, despite priority was given to Russian and English works.

This short review doesn't have a goal to give a comprehensive survey on the historiography of this question; a purpose could be to reconstruct some «half-forgotten» sides of *Tsunayoshi* life. It's just an attempt to try to revive and return to the world of orientalists a more solid and versatile image of the person who left a trace in a history not only because of his tyranny as a «dog shōgun», but also because of various political, economical and social reforms, which took place during his government.

General Characteristics of *Tsunayoshi* Government

Activity of *Tsunayoshi* (1646–1709) as a *shōgun* (ruled 1680–1709) was connected in many aspects with a character of formed epoch and with peculiarities of political and economical situation. For figuring out the range of problems even roughly it's necessary to define at least general specifics and trend of changes that happened in society of those times.

The problems outlined in the second part of 17th century and qualified as first signs of *bakufu* system crisis turned out³ to be connected at least with two important aspects. On the one hand, there was some increasing of complications of economical and social character (providing of a proper satisfactory distribution of food and material wealth on the background of growing demand in connection with growth of population and raising of living standards). On the other hand, there was aggravating of these complications because of contradictory figures of «rulers of country destinies» in this period. That was the time of 4th and 5th shōguns (*Ietsuna* 家綱 and *Tsunayoshi* 綱吉) who left to descendants controversial reminiscences. *Ietsuna* (ruled 1651–80), the elder son of the 3rd shōgun *Iemitsu*, had a very weak health, became a shōgun in 10 year age, but entirely relayed upon his retainers till his death⁴. It's considered that not only advisers, but also woman of the court influenced on him, what aggravated even more after the instruction of one of his elders *roju* *SAKAI Tadakiyo* 酒井 忠清, *Uta-no kami* 雅楽頭 (1624–81)⁵ not to admit to court women without permission of advisers. So having only imitation of power 4th shōgun perceived everything in the light of views of people close to him and happened to be practically unreceptive to what was going on in the country. He was naive enough to accept explanation of natural disasters or famine by «uselessness» of Emperor or by necessity for Emperor to abdicate in favor of heirs. To make the picture complete it should be mentioned an episode when *Ietsuna* supposedly made the only order in his life himself just «on a death-bed». He ordered to transfer a shōgun post to his younger brother *Tsunayoshi* in a moment when the possibility of an appointing of one of princes of Emperor family was discussed⁶. Precedents of this kind had been happening at previous times, for instance, during *Kamakura-bakufu* (1192–1333), when the four latest shōguns were from an Emperor family⁷. Meanwhile in the beginning shōgun *Ietsuna* gave magnificent hopes, which probably was proved in excellent scientific manuscripts⁸ written during his government.

But amount of disasters, which overtook Japan during *Ietsuna* times impresses imagination⁹.

The beginning of the *Tsunayoshi* 綱吉 government started on such a sufficiently hard background. The 5th shōgun became «famous» because of his superfluous love for animals (including dogs) and incomparably less attention to his citizens and «merited» a nickname «a lord of dogs» (*inu-kubo* 犬公方). Reforms of his times were caused not only by various reasons of economical character, but were directly connected with excessively personalized opinions of the ruler on various questions. In particular these views had not any connection to politics, but influenced on it a lot and sometimes very negatively. In the beginning period of his government, which usually is considered to define as rather beneficent and prosperous because shōgun showed himself a «deserved» ruler, *Tsunayoshi* followed in his activity advises of his mentor *HOTTA Masatoshi* 堀田 正俊¹⁰. Actually thanks to his help *Tsunayoshi* got opportu-

nity to take a *shogun* post. *HOTTA Masatoshi* was assassinated in 1684 as a result of a court plot¹¹ and all the power came to the hands of *YANAGISAWA Yoshiyasu* 柳沢 吉保¹². The rest part of *Tsunayoshi* government is usually called a period of «*sobayonin* politics 側用人政治»¹³ — the first sufficient and probably the most important post of *YANAGISAWA* who was in control of everything. So, two periods could be distinguished in the government of *Tsunayoshi*: before the death of noble *HOTTA Masatoshi* (*KUMAZAWA Banzan* sometimes named as an adherent and admirer of *HOTTA*) [4, vol. 1, 85] and after the beginning of seizing power by *YANAGISAWA Yoshiyasu*. Though the evaluation of the second period could be different if approach to the problem from the point of view of the evolution of forms of exercising of power.

On the Character of the First Period of Government (To 1684), Youth and Sources of Formation of Personality

Apparently mother of *Tsunayoshi* seriously influenced on formation of his personality, he was practically bent to her powerful will. Overwhelming majority of measures in the sphere of social politics was made according her advises. Encouraging of studying of Chinese classic, development of revering of Buddhism, adopting laws protecting animals — all these *Tsunayoshi* activity were inspired by her. [14, vol. 3, p. 130]

In the first period of his government *Tsunayoshi* showed an interest to sciences (particularly to Confucianism), what reflected both in creation and development of connected with these institutions, and disseminating the sciences through lectures, invitation of scientists. etc.

Theorist Inclinations

Tsunayoshi didn't have an interest and sufficient abilities for executing of practical tasks of governing, which would demand taking decision on financing and maintain an order in the country by legal and appropriate methods. He strove to display himself in a theoretic sphere and it should be noted that just during his government The Code for Warrior Houses was revised (*Buke shohatto* 武家諸法度) (1683); the article was added ordered to apply for officials in case of conflicts and complaints from peasants. During his times. in 1686, riotous idlers, «foppish riff-raff» *kabuki-mono* 歌舞伎者 who disturbed the quietness of the capital citizens were prosecuted [14, vol. 3, p. 132].

The most attention perhaps should be paid to the *shogun*'s efforts of on a strengthening of Confucianism positions. *Tsunayoshi* tried to instill Confucianism principles all over the country by the help of so called «notice boards», in which a requital to well behaved people was promised [14, vol. 3, p. 132]. The main ideological institution, a cornerstone, a support of *Edo-bakufu* — «Official Academy» *kangaku* 官学 of «*Chu Shi Learning*» (*shushigaku* 朱子学), which also was called *sogaku* 宋学 learning — was founded as early as in 1630 at the 3rd *shogun Iemitsu* times¹⁴. As for *Tsunayoshi* times, in 1690 the Academy was moved (despite it has happened within *Edo* limits) from *Ueno* 上野 to *Yushima* 湯島 (*Kanda* 神田 district). Since this time the Academy having a name «temple of Confucius» *Seido* 聖堂 became well known as *Yushima-seido* 湯島聖堂.

The *Shogun* both listened himself interpretations of Confucianism connoisseurs, and appealed to do the same the members of his court. As early as in the beginning of his government (1680) he called to *HAYASHI Nobuatsu* 林 信篤 (also known as *HAYASHI Hoko* 林 鳳岡, 1644–1732, grandson of *HAYASHI Razan*¹⁵), a head of Confucianism school, to read lectures three times a month on a Neo-Confucianism. A well-known Confucianism scholar *KINOSHITA Jun'an* 木下 順庵 (1621–98)¹⁶ was called in 1682 to be a tutor directly at the *shogun* court. There was a class of Chinese canon *Da Xue* 『大學』 for *daimyo* and officials

in 1682. Ardour, zeal and anxiety of *Tsunayoshi* to classic theories run into the fact that he in 1690 presented the same theme in his lecture to the audience of elders *roju* and officials of *bakufu*. Later he every month read a lecture on a Chinese «Four Canons» *Ssu Shu* 『四書』 for *daimyo*, *hatamoto*, ministers of Buddhism and *shinto*, not to mention guests from *Kyoto*. Just amount of lectures that *shogun Tsunayoshi* read himself impressed imagination. He read lectures from 1692 to 1700 six times a month and the total amount of lectures (according to favorite of *Tsunayoshi* — *YANAGISAWA Yoshiyasu*) was 244. [14, vol. 3, p. 132]

While visiting vassals, *shogun* strove to visit the lectures they and their vassals read. His favorite classic works were «The Great Learning» (*Da Xue* 『大學』) and «The Book of Filial Piety» (*Xiao Jing* 『孝經』). [14, vol. 3, p. 132]

For all that thirst of *Tsunayoshi* to classic studies it shouldn't be taken he was as a person obsessed by science. He also had an interest to literature, fine arts etc. He invited as mentors not only followers of Confucianism, but also «people of art», for instance, prominent poet *KITAMURA Kigin* 北村 季吟 (1624–1705)¹⁷ who was experienced in complications of Emperor's court and was a patron of many leading *Kyoto* artists, representatives of various schools. But there were also examples of *Tsunayoshi*'s bad attitude towards «people of art». *HANABUSA Itcho* 英 一蝶 (1652–1724) was exiled because he depicted *shogun* satirically [14, vol. 3, p. 132]. Other famous poets, artists, scientists were invited to *shogun*'s court and were often granted in *Tsunayoshi* times. *TOKUGAWA Mitsukuni*¹⁸ praised some of their publications.

A *Genroku* era was a period, which is usually considered as a turning point of a *Tokugawa* history. Generally the most part of *Tsunayoshi* government has been taking place in *Genroku* times (1688–1704). Exactly in that period there was definitely outlined a tendency which was quite new for Japan. Earlier, before the second half of the 17th century almost all the ways and habits in society were determined by representatives of a high strata. Neither merchants, nor handicraftsmen officially were recognized as people who could affect on society by means of art or literature. But in *Genroku* times a merchant became a more important figure. Practically all literature and art genres came out of the control of one-two distinguished refined artists and became accessible to more people. That gave a real chance for free and original development of art [10, pp. 600-601].

There were some other innovations connected with sciences during *Tsunayoshi* government. After a failure of solar eclipse observation in 1683 because of imperfection of calendar, the new one was introduced, firstly on the base of the calendar of Chinese *Ming* dynasty — *daito-reki* 大統曆, and in 1685 *jokyo-reki* 貞享曆. Importance of this event is getting clearer if mention that for the 822 years period (starting 861/2) in Japan was used *semmyo-reki* 宣明曆 calendar borrowed from Chinese *Tang* period. Desert of this invention belonged to astronomer *SHIBUKAWA Shunkai* (Harumi) 渋川 春海 (1639–1715)¹⁹ [for example: 10, pp. 599-600].

Politics of «Good Intentions» and «Encouraging of Virtue»

Tsunayoshi earnestly promoted deserving «men of ability» (who understand «needs of common people») to appoint them as «official representatives» *daikan* 代官. In case of revealing of «people's burdens», he appealed to carry out the «policy of economy» in expenses both of a treasury and feudal lords *daimyo*²⁰. However, despite of the smoothness of the described times, there were displayed some qualities characterizing *Tsunayoshi*'s personality at least as a strikingly extraordinary, ready to overcome and suppress any feudal lords' brake of discipline. In the very beginning of his rule in 1681 he confiscated *Takada* domain²¹ from *MATSUDAIRA* House as a respond for family discord (on domain inheriting by an adopted son). It is very important that such a harsh punishment (*kaieki* 改易) was applied not to a great

daimyo with an extremely high income of 260,000 *koku*²², but to one of the «related clans» *kamon* 家門 (a branch of TOKUGAWA House).

It seems that just after his appointment *Tsunayoshi* was full of good intentions trying to carry out some reorganization. These reforms were probably not so global but met demands of time. In 1682 he issued an order for his «official commissioners» (or administrators) *bugyo* 奉行 and «inspectors» *metsuke* 目付 on the necessity of taking some measures (besides usual legal practice) on raising of morality among the common people. The essence of the recommended measures was mainly thrift and sumptuary laws, expenses' regulations, but besides it there were a ban upon prostitution, hiring waitresses in teahouses and other similar practice. In 1683 he issued an order for official representative in *Nagasaki* (*Nagasaki-bugyo*) on limitations for import of luxury items and prescribed to fix price limits for gold embroidery and generally for rare and expensive textile. These prohibitions proved a failure and it is logically to suppose that they led only to a growth of smuggling [14, vol. 3. p. 133].

Tsunayoshi strove to encourage a virtue by all possible means. He issued an order for officials of all the country to search for men remarkable for their filial piety and women of noted chastity. According to his order that kind of people should be granted by money award or pensions. Scholars of *HAYASHI* House (the head of «*Chu Shi* Learning» school) were obliged to compile biographies of these rewarded persons. It should be considered that the years of *Tsunayoshi* government were one of the brightest pages of *bakufu* history [10, p. 598].

Despite *Tsunayoshi* politics was generally based on his good intentions, sometimes he run into extremes both in cruelty and sympathy (concern and sentimentality), and in a whole he should be apprehended as an emotionally unbalanced personality. Under the influence of his mother who made impression of a person seriously obsessed by religious mania, he spent a huge amount of money on erecting and multiplying the number of sacred buildings of Buddhist school *Shingon-shu* 真言宗 (to please her and her spiritual mentors). His own passion to study was growing year after year. He made his own efforts and forced other people to follow virtues of Confucianism and Buddhism sages. His most modest activities in this sphere were issuing of decrees on mercy to protect deserted children and fallen ill travelers [14, vol. 3. p. 133].

On the Character of the Second Period of Government (After 1684)

Generally, having mentioned a lot of bright sides of the *Tsunayoshi* administration, it is necessary to look at some dark sides of his politics (which were clearly revealed after the assassination of *HOTTA Masatoshi*) [10, p. 601]. In the second period of government the real power were concentrated in the hands of *YANAGISAWA Yoshiyasu*. Crucial and in many respects negative changes in the politics had happened in these times.

During *Tsunayoshi* rule the possessions of more than twenty *daimyo* and hundreds of lower rank direct vassals of *shogun* (*hatamoto*) were confiscated, their total income came to approximately 1 million 400,000 *koku*. The prehistory of that could be traced to afore-mentioned event of the confiscation of the domain *Takada* as early as in 1681. Having a goal to show the indisputable power, the *shogun* sought to shake the influence of *fudai* vassals who had the right to take some top positions in *bakufu*. Actually that activity of the *shogun* was a rough breaking even of the spirit that had been expressed in the posthumous behest of the *shogun*'s dynasty founder *Ieyasu*. The same kind of politics was obvious also towards the highest government structures. Some reorganization had a result in weakening of the authority of elders *roju* and concentration of all the power in the hands of «secretary of *shogun*» — *sobayonin*. (More information about this new position in government would be in the section devoted to reform of administrative and financial system).

As a matter of fact, this process is often called «a removal of *roju* elders». Actually this could be interpreted as a kind of debar of *roju* combined with concentration of all power in the hands of *sobayonin*. But this expression implied also some real actual removals in the government, including really serious changes in official procedures. Since *Ieyasu* times there was a tradition to have meetings of the *roju* elders council in a hall sojourning the room in which *shogun* was located. So he could hear every said word at discussions and constantly was well informed in all political affairs. This order was changed after the assassination of *HOTTA Masatoshi*. Meeting hall was moved to remote area and guards were quartered in the place where the elders council was located before. Some new positions were established to maintain connection between a *shogun* and *roju*. This innovation was formally presented as a sign of care for *shogun*'s safety, but the real result of it was an obvious limitation of the *shogun*'s sources of information, so he happened to be dependent on newly appointed officials. So it is possible to consider these measures as variations on the theme of «bad plans» of *SAKAI Tadakiyo*²³ who possibly intended to appropriate all the *shogun*'s power.

Decline of Warrior's Spirit

The *No* Theater considered to be an obsession of *Tsunayoshi* and his obvious achievement. Some skillful *No* actors were taken to work, they were treated as a hereditary vassals and the place near *Paulonia* Hall was given for them. Regardless of their origin, they were treated as representatives of a ruling «military» class. Refinement of their poses during performance became an example of meditation for *daimyo* at the *bakufu* court, perfect manners and ostentatious pretentiousness came in fashion instead of simplicity and unassuming behavior of the «military people». Popular in the *Edo* castle shows *furyu* 風流 brought to life a brilliant «*Genroku* dance». *Joruri* 浄瑠璃 became also popular. *Shamisen* 三味線 which till that time considered to be a «rough» folk musical instrument which never was approved by aristocratic circles, came into fashion among women from various strata of society (from highest to lowest). *Joruri* become to be considered more important than any other (domestic) education [10, pp. 605-606].

Such a peak of interest to emotional side of human nature definitely undermined the stoicism of the warrior's class and the moral of the society in a whole. Martial arts went out of fashion. A warrior strove to have not only luxuriously decorated sword, but a sword, which satisfied the fashion. The warrior were ready to sacrifice in a favor of elegance everything, even military skills, which were so often taken by a society as a «warrior spirit». Generally, the *Genroku* times imprinted on the memory of descendants as times of luxury and extravagance, when literature and arts (theater, plays, songs, verses, *joruri*, etc) were blossoming out, what was mentioned above. The ideals of that time presupposed to sacrifice even nobility and dignity in the name of elegance. A rapid advancement on a scale of ranks could be caused by the gracefulness of dance as well as by compassion on dogs (thanks for the weak points of the *shogun*). Many of the «warriors» were never trained to ride on horse and asked a permission to use a palanquin. Strict, severe and even brutal requirements of the past times were buried in oblivion. Everybody who could afford that luxury started to use outdoors palanquins (*machi-kago* 町駕籠 or *tsuji-kago* 辻駕籠). Definitely it would be incorrect to talk about a total oblivion of a «warrior spirit». The first attempt to fix the *bushido* ideas in written form was made by the famous Confucianism scholar *YAMAGA Soko* 山鹿素行 (1622-85)²⁴ just during described in this passage times (because of this fact he was commemorated in history as a first *bushido* theorist). It's quite appropriate to remind that he was a martial arts mentor in *Ako* 赤穂 domain, which became well-known in connection with a story of a true devotedness to the lord of 47 faithful vassals [10, pp. 607-608]. So against background of decay of military class influence, in some extent it is also possible to notice opposite tendencies.

A Favorite of Tsunayoshi

The fact that *Tsunayoshi* was always under influence of a favorite — *YANAGISAWA Yoshiyasu* 柳沢 吉保 doesn't proved by sufficient evidence. *Yoshiyasu* was a son of a low rank *bakufu* official. This gifted young man was taken to service just after *Tsunayoshi* came to power in 1680. *Yoshiyasu* took a low rank position at the shogun administration with an annual salary of 300 *koku*. *Yoshiyasu* was advanced on a scale of ranks and several years later was appointed a secretary *sobayonin* with a salary 10,000 *koku* according to G.Sansom [14, vol. 3, p. 133] (but his real salary was 12,000 *koku* [22]). *Yoshiyasu* become a close person to *Tsunayoshi* and his mother, he was often favored with meetings with them, taking higher posts and getting new honors and benefits [14, vol. 3, p. 133].

After *Yoshiyasu* was granted by lands in *Kawagoe* in 1694 his income came up to 100,000 *koku* according to F.Brinkley [10, p. 601] (but his real salary estimated as 72.030 *koku* [22]). Previously the first name of *YANAGISAWA* was *Yasuakira* 保明, after *Tsunayoshi* gave him character of his own name and started to name him *Yoshiyasu* 吉保, later in 1701 he even granted *YANAGISAWA* the last name *MATSUDAIRA*, and combined that with presenting of *Kai* estate with an income of 150,000 *koku*. The strategic significance of *Kai* make the importance of this gift more clear. This estate was always reserved only for members of *TOKUGAWA* family, and the fact of giving of this estate to a person from aside meant the adopting *YANAGISAWA* to close *TOKUGAWA* circle²⁵.

A giddy career and constantly growing income of *YANAGISAWA* shows how deeply the *shogun* had came under the influence of his favorite, who showed excellent skills using passions and peculiarities of intellectual side of *shogun* personality. As a result all the government control has entirely concentrated in his hands. After the assassination of *HOTTA Masatoshi* in 1684 the Supreme Elders *tairo* weren't appointed, and the Elder's Council *roju* was transformed just to some kind of echo of *Yoshiyasu* will. He bossed all the *bakufu* affairs practically alone [10, pp. 601-602].

Some unsubstantiated assertions present *Yoshiyasu* as a procurer who supplied pretty girls and young men, actors of *No* 能 theater for the *shogun* (that could be truth). As a companion *Yoshiyasu* was rather close to the *shogun*. But as *Yoshiyasu* couldn't determine the politics, the same *Tsunayoshi* wasn't ready to follow a will of his subordinate. Generosity and extravagance of *Tsunayoshi* towards *Yoshiyasu* was a part of his probable mental sickness and his retainer definitely wasn't just a simple flatterer. He naturally shared the literature taste of *Tsunayoshi*, his interest to classical education and even his religious «liking» [14, vol. 3, p. 133]. The friendship between the *shogun* and this reputed to be corrupted official had an origination just in common literature taste. *Tsunayoshi* read lectures on Chinese canon «The Doctrine of Mean» (*Zhong Yung*, in Japanese *Chuyo* 『中庸』), and *Yoshiyasu* — on *Lun Yu* (in Japanese *Rongo* 『論語』) of Confucius. After the academic studies they were watching together the play of *Sarugaku* 猿楽 or gave themselves up to «a harmless entertainment». The *shogun* is considered to be a woman-hater (a misogynist), but *Yoshiyasu* clearly understood that the person who previously had refused a company of woman, soon could be addicted to entertainment, and his groundless prejudices would be overcome. *Yoshiyasu* took the task of cultivating in the *shogun* a love to such a pastime and the character of their meetings (which before took place only for academic purposes) changed drastically [10, pp. 601-602].

«Dog's shogun» — did all shoguns have nicknames?

Common talk gave nicknames to a *shogun* only in extremely rare occasions. If the 8th «rice shogun» *Yoshimune* deserved such a name because of his efforts and achievements in the

struggle for rising of agriculture productivity. The character of this article impressed the imagination of his contemporaries with his unusual striving for deliverance of «God's creatures» (dogs preferably to other animals) from various dangers and burdens of life. The only son of *Tsunayoshi* has died in a childhood, nobody did give a birth to his another child. So he invited a Buddhist monk to pray for an heir. It sounds unusual that the zealous follower of Confucian doctrine resorted to the help of Buddhism in such an affair. But in this case it is also possible to recognize the influence of his favorite (*Yoshiyasu*) [10, p. 602].

The Buddhist monk of the *Shingon* sect, *Ryuko* 隆光²⁶ by name (1649–1724), said an assumption that *Tsunayoshi* had not male heir because he had taken somebody's life in his previous state of existence (incarnation), so he (or may be his mother) decided that he should devote himself to a business of protection of animals. So long as he was born in the year of a Dog, his mentors said that he should take care especially of these animals [10, p. 602]. Two big temples (*Gokoku-ji* 護国寺 and *Goji-in* 護持院) were erected in *Edo* according to proposals of *Ryuko*, and he was appointed a dean in the first temple [10, p. 602].

In the year 1687 the decrees on protection of living creatures (*Shorui awaremi-no rei* 生類憐の令), especially dogs, were announced one after another and that depressed people a lot. Definitely the packs of wild and hungry stray dogs filled the *shogun* city streets with filth and stink. That caused in population a strong intention to get rid of these beasts. It seems obviously excessive for any person in right mind to demand an obligatory study after causing any pain to a dog. Insisting on a respectful address to dogs using Japanese equivalent of «Mr./Mrs. Dog» title (*O-inu-sama*) also was an absurdity [14, vol. 3, p. 134].

In another decree it was forbidden to kill or mortify dogs in any way. That caused enormous increase of wild dogs packs, which seriously damaged crops. Later *bakufu* published an amendment regulating how to act in case of damage and devastation caused by dogs — dogs must to be driven away by making noise or even with a help of firing by blank shots. An oath should be taken that dogs would not be killed under any circumstances. If offered measures of scaring dogs away had no result, people were ought to address to legal authorities for further instructions. And that is more when a dog was killed due to the given sanctions, a dead body should be buried without detaching any part or fell. Violators of this decree were severely punished. There was ordered to keep a special register of dogs owned by people. A serious investigation took place if registered dog had disappeared and officials were strictly notified about impossibility of a dog substitution in a register. There was an order to feed strange dogs well, and authorities should be informed about violators of this duty [10, p. 602].

At first population did not apprehend the decrees seriously enough. But after beginning of banishment to *Hachijo-jima* 八丈島 Island for a dog's killing, after a public censure for not providing homeless dogs with food, after some Supreme Court officials were sentenced to imprisonment for not taking measures to prevent dog fighting — people had started to realize that the *shogun* was really inexorable and ruthless [10, p. 602].

Municipal authorities were helpless and incompetent to solve the problem. So later in 1695 it was decided to move the object of irritation out of cities. Some shelters were built in suburbs. It was said that during following two years at least 50,000 dogs were kept there, having allowance of rice and dried fish (all the expenses were put on taxpayers) [14, vol. 3, p. 134] A huge kennel was built in *Nakano* 中野 (suburb of *Edo*) as a shelter for homeless dogs. It occupied the territory of about 55 hectares (138 acres*0.4 hectare = 55,2 hectare) and was equipped to accommodate one thousand dogs. Specially appointed officials supervised this shelter. People were obliged to donate to special dog funds. There was an opinion that a dog's daily ration was equal to one and a half of a man's daily ration [10, p. 602].

Tsunayoshi was called «a dog's *shogun*» (*inu-kubo* 犬公方), but anyway a child was not born for him as a result of all his activity. But this failure did not reduce his belief in preju-

dices. Solemn temple ceremonies were organized very often by any case. Temples and monasteries were erected one after another, receiving countless gifts. The decrees protecting animals were zealously and consistently putting in life. Birds and even shellfish (mollusca) were included as protected creatures into decrees. But not only this decision caused a shortage of food for population: animals and birds damaged harvest of grain. According to some sources a peasant was exiled for a stone he threw to a pigeon. One person was executed for fishing using hook and line. The same fate overtook one man who wounded a dog; his head was displayed for a public observation at the place of execution. His neighbour who informed about this «crime» was awarded by 30 *ryo* in gold. You could find information about officials sentenced to exile for using a horse spur or bad fodder. Documents tell a curious story about these extremes in a legal sphere. *Daimyo TOKUGAWA* from *Mito* 水戸 known in history as *Komon Mitsukuni* 黄門光圀 (1628–1700) received evidence of atrocious cruelty connected with execution of animal protection decrees. He gathered a lot of people and organized a big hunt. They selected 20 big dogs among all the killed animals, these dogs were skinned and the fells were packed to sent to *YANAGISAWA* whom people considered to be a cause of the *shogun*'s frenzy²⁷. Messengers trusted to deliver the parcel were obliged to move as fast as possible and after reaching *Edo* to go to *YANAGISAWA* residence and to hand over the fells along with a written statement. This message said that the Lord of *Mito* discovered that these objects could be useful in a cold period of a year and wanted to share his experience by sending these fells for the *shogun* via *Yoshiyasu*. It is said the recipient of this sarcastic gift doubted if Lord of *Mito* was in a sound mind and sent a special messenger to *Mito* to clear out what was going on [10, pp. 602-603].

Despite obvious obsession of *Tsunayoshi* and troubles into which he drawn citizens of *Edo*, generally people did not suffer seriously because of his eccentric and extravagant style of ruling. Time to time he was tiresome poking his nose into other people affairs, but his main interest was rather connected with literature and art. He liked to organize *No* theater performances in his residence and to play leading roles himself. In the *end* of his government there was not a lot of interesting events worth to mention, probably because officials of his administration were executing their duties competently and unpretentiously (in unobtrusive manner). The only shocking political event was the aforementioned «loyal retainers» story of 47 *ronin*, which took a lot of forces of *bakufu* [14, vol. 3, p. 134]. See also: [10, pp. 606-607].

The Financial System: Changes and Tendencies

In the beginning of this paragraph it is appropriate in short to define the most significant event in this sphere. That was some kind of «reorganization» of monetary system in 1695. May by it is better to call it «coinage debasement» (spoiling)²⁸, a false manipulation with amount of precious metals in officially circulating coins, particularly gold and silver. *ARAI Hakuseki*, who was taking efforts to carry out a reform of a monetary system and decrease expenses later in 1709, wrote in his memories that «the reorganization» of 1695 has given to *bakufu* an income of 5 million *ryo* 両 in gold». So *Tsunayoshi* reform resulted in a real income and seemed not to affect badly on economy. The fact that «bad government» of *Tsunayoshi* could not cause damage to the country has obvious sufficient evidence — prosperity of both cities and villages in *Genroku* times (1688–1704). Substantial amount of money saved by the previous three generations of *shoguns* was not yet spent, trade was flourishing and there were funds, which could be used for developing of agriculture and other productive spheres [14, vol. 3, p. 134]. The economy still was on the rise, despite of the fact that this rising was slowing down and a financial situation of the government was not satisfactory [14, vol. 3, pp. 134-135]. The place of this

period in a history of financial evolution of *bakufu* and some details of a process connected to reorganization of a financial sphere would be described below.

On the Changes in the Financial Situation in the First Half of Edo Epoch

As a result of totally corrupted government system, constant construction of temples and abundance of expensive ceremonies, the *shogun Tsunayoshi* government found out itself in straitened circumstances. 1st *shogun Ieyasu* always observed modesty and economy as main principles of his life. He managed to avoid huge expenses which other *daimyo* were forced to have in connection with military campaign in Korea, because his part in this activity was not more than recruiting in *Hizen* 肥前 province. With unabated attention all his life he was saving up the Reserve Fund. As said, when *Ieyasu* abdicated the *shogun* position in favor of his son *Hidetada*, he left him the treasury of 150,000 gold coins *oban* 大判 (about one and a half million *ryo* in gold) and about 62 tons of silver (2 million Troy ounces *31,1 grams = 62.2 tons). Even after he has abdicated, when he was living in *Sumpu* 駿府, *Ieyasu* managed to save up 1 more million *ryo* in gold. The 2nd *shogun* also showed economy and thrift, despite he was forced to spend huge amounts of money to arrange his daughter's promotion to be the Emperor's consort, to repairs of the *Edo* castle, and to several visits to the Emperor's capital *Kyoto*. *Hidetada* is said to have distributed among all *daimyo* a sum of 4 million 217,400 *ryo* in gold and 182,000 *ryo* in silver. The 3rd *shogun Iemitsu* was generous and more wasteful. He often donated by 5,000 *kamme* in silver to *Kyoto* and *Edo* citizens, twice reconstructed the inner part of *Edo* castle, built a huge warship, received Korean envoys unusually pompous, had expenses of 400,000 *ryo* in connection with *Shimabara* uprising, donated 1 million *ryo* to construction and decoration of *Ieyasu* mausoleum at *Nikko* 日光. Despite all these facts, generally *Iemitsu* should be considered as an economical ruler [10, p. 603].

As for his successor, 4th *shogun Ietsuna*, he happened to be confronted with some pernicious disasters. After a big fire in *Edo* he donated 160,000 *ryo* to help victims, rebuilt the *Edo* castle, and twice reconstructed the Emperor's palace in *Kyoto*. In *Empo* 延宝 times (1673–81) the country many times suffered from a famine which caused the reduction of tax collection and necessity of taking serious measures in a sphere of social help. Under these circumstances there was offered to mint a gold coin reducing the gold content (coinage debasement), so called «spoiling of a coin», but this proposal failed having no official support. It should be mentioned that in 1659 the treasury was absolutely devastated and left gold coins were remelted down. Some amount of gold coins was minted from these bars. These coins were not produced for a regular circulation having a mark «use only in case of state emergency». It is stated that this reserve of metal estimated 160,000 *ryo*. The registers show that when the 5th *shogun* came to power there was 3 million 850,000 *ryo* in gold in the treasury. But this colossal amount of money could not be safe for a long time because of wastefulness of *Tsunayoshi* [10, p. 603-604].

«A Coinage Debasement» as a Specifics of Methods of Influence on Financial Sphere During Tsunayoshi Times

After the assassination of *HOTTA Masatoshi* in 1684 all the administrative power came to the hands of *YANAGISAWA Yoshiyasu* and soon his way of life became a model for people from various strata of society. Wrapping of the timber, which was transported from a forest to the city for a construction of *Edo* castle in wadded quilts, could be an example of absurd waste-

fulness. The treasury was so much emptied that the *shogun* should abandoned his plans to repair the *shogun*'s mausoleum in *Nikko* 日光 and to travel there for maximum 10 days after the treasury officials were unable to find the necessary funds. The asked sum estimated approximately 100,000 *ryo* — the fact sufficient enough to show how wasteful *Tsunayoshi* was in government affairs [10, p. 604].

The direct result of this incident was the meeting of the Council, which discussed the situation with the finances, and, on reflection, the proposal of the Head of Treasury *kanjo-bugyo* *OGIWARA Shigehide* 荻原 重秀 (1658–1713) was accepted. That was the idea of remelting, i.e. «debasement» of all the coins — gold, silver and copper. Previously circulated money was known as «coin of *Keicho* times» named so in commemoration of the *Keicho* years (1596–1615) when it was minted. This money was changed by «coin of *Genroku* times» (1688–1704), and that had natural consequences: raising of consumer goods prices and forging of counterfeit coins. Shortly after that the government imposed taxes on 27,000 *sake* brewers in *Kanto* region, but in 1703 it was necessary to look for new ruses to cover the damage from disastrous earthquake and fires destroyed the most part of *Edo* castle and *daimyo* residences. The government resorted to a new «coinage debasement» and this coin got the name «a coin of *Hoei* 宝永 times» [10, p. 604].

At approximately the same time feudal lords started to suffer from straitened circumstances so much, that they start to print paper currency in their domains. *Bakufu* verdict forbade to do this, but after this *daimyo* recalled about a possibility of imputing a levy loan from prosperous merchants of *Osaka*. Forgery was so widespread that from 1688 to 1715 at least 541 counterfeiters were crucified (just within territories directly controlled by *bakufu*). A true saying is ascribed to the feudal lord of *Satsuma* 薩摩 that the cruel fate fall on them just due to their low social status, rather than for the law violation. The real counterfeiters were «the power that be» *YANAGISAWA* and treasurer *OGIWARA* who were constantly engaged in uttering debased coins [10, p. 604].

It should be said that financial problems were redoubled by numerous natural disasters. The financial situation became a little bit better by the end of 1703, but an earthquake felled on *Edo*, it destroyed the most of the city and took many lives. In rural area many people lost their lives in heavy waves rushed into the coast along the *Tokaido* road. Few days later a fire broke out from the *Mito* residence in *Yotsuya* ward of *Edo* was spread all over the city and brought next destruction [14, vol. 3, p. 134-135]. The *Fuji* eruption followed the aforementioned disasters; it lasted several days and caused next earthquakes and fires. As a result in three provinces (*Musashi* 武蔵, *Sagami* 相模、相模 and *Suruga* 駿河) the main part of sojourning lands was buried under a three-meter layer of ashes. It took tree years and burden expenses to revive this previously cultivated land. 400,000 *ryo* in gold was spent only to remove the ashes. But later on happened another disaster in *Kyoto* — a fire devastated the main part of the city. The chain of natural calamities was continued in 1708 by a storm with heavy flows of water. which damaged all the harvest on a fertile *Kinai* plain. Since that times the condition of treasury started to change from bad to worst. So *OGIWARA Shigehide* used the coinage debasement once more. This time he «falsified» small copper coin, but there were complications with uttering it in circulation because of their heaviness and impurity of alloy. Finally financiers of *bakufu* were forced to use reserve treasury fund of gold left for extreme situations. No doubt that foreign trade was profitable enough to solve some financial problems, but it should be a question of separate research [10, pp. 604–605; 14, vol. 3, p. 135].

Other Innovations in Organization of Administrative and Financial System and Departing from the Principles of Appointing Based on a Social Origin (Changes in the Principles of Social Status Interpretation)

Putting in mind peculiar details of coming *Tsunayoshi* to power, it seems that this person did not bind himself to follow the political directions of the previous administration [15, p. 32]. A new position was introduced from the very beginning of his government — «an Elder on Fiscal Affairs» (*katte-gakari roju* 勝手掛 老中). In the strict sense of the word «*katte*» means «kitchen», in a figurative meaning it could name practically any financial affair. Usually there were four *roju* elders, they were in charge of political affairs of *bakufu*, making decisions and having discussions together. *Tsunayoshi* considered that governing of financial sphere, regulating of all financial matters should be based on long-term considerations. So an official should take upon himself the full responsibility for decision. Hence the *shogun* established a new position *katte-gakari roju* and made a person executed this duties responsible for all economic and financial matters. *HOTTA Masatoshi* who promoted *Tsunayoshi* appointment to a *shogun* position was obliged to execute this duty. But in 1684 *HOTTA* was killed in a castle by one of «Young Elders» *wakadoshiyori INABA Masayasu* 稲葉 正休 by name (1640–84). After that event these duties were given to the holder of a new position of «secretary» *sobayonin* 側用人 who soon became omnipotent. Generally, *sobayonin* was a kind of private retinue, retainer, valet, companion, private servant *sobashu* 側衆, who took care of private affairs of *shogun*. *Sobashu* had no rights to deal with political matters. *Sobayonin* was very close, side by side to the *shogun* and served as a kind of envoy delivering political decisions of *shogun* to elders *roju* and their reports to *shogun* [15].

After *HOTTA*'s death *MAKINO Narisada* 牧野 成貞 (1634–1712)²⁹, and later *YANAGISAWA Yoshiyasu* served as a *sobayonin* and managed *Tsunayoshi* affairs. As it was mentioned *YANAGISAWA*'s father was a low rank financial official served for *Tsunayoshi* in early times when the latest was *daimyo Tatebayashi* 館林 in *Kozuke* 上野 province. Due to his genealogy his ancestors did not suit for appointing to high positions, but his connections with the *shogun* gave the opportunity to achieve the impossible [15].

A custom when a person of an inappropriate origin (like *YANAGISAWA*, without an appropriate genealogical background) enjoyed absolute confidence of *shogun* called *sobayonin-seiji* 側用人政治, or «*sobayonin* politics», the government of «a secretary» of the *shogun*, «a state secretary». That demanded a power sufficient to be superior to Elders *roju* and Junior Elders *wakadoshiyori*, a power that allowed running and controlling absolutely all political affairs. This system of ruling continued to remain during short periods of government of 6th and 7th *shoguns*, *Ienobu* and *Ietsugu*, when *MANABE Akifusa* 間部 詮房 (1666–1720) and *ARAI Hakuseki* 新井 白石 (1657–1725) were these influential retainers. During 8th *shogun* *Yoshimune* government *ARIMA Ujinori* 有馬 氏倫 (1668–1735) and *KANO Hisamichi* 加納 久通 (1673–1748)³⁰ executed these duties. During 9th and 10th *shoguns* *Ieshige* and *Ieharu* times that were *OOKA Tadamitsu* 大岡 忠光 (1709–60) and *TANUMA Okisugu* 田沼 意次 (1719–88). If to touch on a subject of their origin, it should be noted that *MANABE* was a *No* Theater actor, *ARAI* — a Confucianism scholar, *ARIMA* and *KANO* — vassals of *Yoshimune* in the times he was *daimyo* in *Kishu* 紀州. *OOKA Tadamitsu* had his origin from a branch of «liege» vassals of *OOKA* House, and *TANUMA* was a son of a foot soldier *ashigaru* 足輕 from *Kishu* 紀州 [15]. For one post it was an unusual variety of social statuses (which were extremely important in the *Edo* epoch).

Treasury officials *kanjo-bugyo* 勘定奉行 who practically managed finance *bakufu* under the leadership of the Elders *roju*, Elders on Fiscal Affairs *katte-gakari roju* and «secretaries» of the *shogun* (*sobayonin*) were superintendents of finance *kanjo-bugyo*. Four officials from

direct vassals *hatamoto* were usually appointed to these positions with annual stipend of approximately 3,000 *koku*. There were 5,200 houses of *hatamoto*, but only 250 of them had stipends of 3,000 *koku* or more. So superintendents of finance were appointed from a relatively limited circle of people and the probability of getting this position by gifted able people was very limited. *Katte-gakari roju* were the chief superintendents of finance (Elders on Fiscal Affairs), so abilities to execute practical duties were not even expected from them. But they should be experienced in economics and calculations to understand peculiarities and details of their business. The lack of skilled people for this post was obvious and inevitable because only 5% *hatamoto* could take this position due to their origin [15].

Tsunayoshi had solved the problem by his statement that the determinant for an appointment to a post of superintendent of finance *kanjo-bugyo* should be skills, but not an origin (ability rather than pedigree). The 1st person who took the post according to this guideline happened to be *OGIWARA Shigehide*. Interacting with *YANAGISAWA*, he managed the *bakufu* finances during *Genroku* period. He was from the lowest ranks of 5,200 families *hatamoto* and had family stipend of 100 *koku*. *OGIWARA* was the first of three great *kanjo-bugyo* of *Tokugawa* epoch. His policy in the monetary sphere, especially reminting of coinage, considered to be the origin of modern Japanese monetary policy. The 2nd most prominent *kanjo-bugyo* was *KAN'Ō Haruhide* 神尾 春央 (1687–1753)³¹, who managed financial affairs of *bakufu* in the second part of *Yoshimune* government. The haughty phrase «Peasants are like sesame seeds — the more you press, the more oil you get» 「百姓と菜種は搾るほど油が出る」³² is attributed just to him. Thus he symbolized a figure of a *kanjo-bugyo* as a pitiless exploiter, despite in reality he was an extremely gifted financier who did a lot for strengthening *bakufu* financial system. The 3rd *kanjo-bugyo* who did a lot for reviving of *bakufu* finances was *MATSUMOTO Hidemochi* 松本 秀持 (1730–97)³³. He was an assistant of *TANUMA Okitsugu* 田沼 意次 (1719–88) and among the other important measures he did there was a survey of *Hokkaido*. *KAN'Ō* and *MATSUMOTO* descended from families of even lower social status than it was in *OGIWARA* case — from *gokenin* 御家人 families which were the lowest rank of «liege» vassals of the *shogun*.

It has passed about one hundred years between the foundation of *Edo-bakufu* and the apex of *Tsunayoshi* government. The economics had a phenomenal rate of growth and was at its zenith. Sufficient financial savings of *bakufu* were rather depleted and the regime was entering into the times when a deficit of budget started to be the main feature of the epoch. *Bakufu* could not any longer afford to spend easily money on any project, which seemed to be worthy. They should thoroughly weighed decisions and proportioned expenditure and income. So the choice of financial officials on a base of nobility of their origin could not be appropriate any more. It was necessary to make a wider search and recruit skillful men, so the *Tsunayoshi* policy of recruiting people for financial posts according to their abilities met an existing situation [15].

Bakufu from the beginning of the dynasty was recruiting «investigative officials» such as «senior investigators» *o-metsuke* 大目付 and «inspectors» *metsuke* 目付 who controlled maintaining an order. *Tsunayoshi* established an extra post of inspection related only to financial affairs — *kanjo-ginmiyaku* 勘定吟味役 (budget examination experts) corresponded to a modern board of audit. *OGIWARA Shigehide* started his career as a low rank official of a financial department, then became a finance inspector *kanjo-ginmiyaku*, then he was advanced and became a *kanjo-bugyo* [15].

For the most of administrative *bakufu* posts more than one official for one position were recruited. There was some kind of rotary system (so called «system of a monthly guards») *tsukiban-sei*. A striving for avoiding an excessive concentration of power in hands of one person could be named as one of the goals of this system. For example there were 4 *roju* Elders, 2 city

magistrates *machi-bugyo* (during some time — 3), 4 treasurers *kanjo-bugyo*. Unlike modern order of carrying on administrative affairs, judicial and administrative functions were not separated in *bakufu* administration. For instance, *kanjo-bugyo* should combine managing *bakufu* funds with handling legal disputes, collecting taxes, and managing of expenditures. Later in 8th *shogun Yoshimune* times separating all these matters into judicial and administrative increased the effectiveness of the State machinery. Two treasurers *kanjo-bugyo* who controlled before judicial affairs were trusted to carry on legal and judicial problems, and two treasurers *kanjo-bugyo* responsible before for financial affairs were obliged to execute financial (fiscal) cases [15].

Another fact of the same sort: even in the times when *Tokugawa-bakufu* was creating the system of status differences — administration appealed to a *shogun's* authority and as far as it was necessary tuned to the course of history by daringly recruiting talented people regardless to their social status. That was the main achievement what made *Tokugawa* system able to survive during 265 years in violent shifts of historical current — right up to transition from feudalism to capitalism. Later an attitude towards a practice of that kind (when preference is given to talented people regardless to their social status) in *bakufu* system has changed again during transition of a real political power from *TANUMA Okitsugu* to *MATSUDAIRA Sadanobu* (in the beginning of 11th *shogun Ienari* government in 1787). Conservative traditions prevailed again (in this case it was a reactionary influence) when the genealogy and origin again started to dominate in taking decisions on appointments. That hampered abilities of *bakufu* to cope with the rapidly changing current of history, and as a result favored speeding up an embarking on a path of decline and disintegration [15].

The End of *Tsunayoshi* Government

As it was mentioned above that was unlucky times, especially for eastern parts of the country — a great number of natural disasters in the first decade of 18th century has happened (including eruption of *Fuji* in 1707).

It is known that there wasn't noticeable decay of *Tsunayoshi* health during these times. His interest more to *No* Theater performances than to politics could not be considered as a sign of sickness. However in approximately 1698 when *YANAGISAWA* was conferred the same status as Supreme Elder *tairo*, an impression has formed that *Tsunayoshi* was tired of business and was gradually moving away from official life to devote himself to sciences and *No* Theater performances. According to some facts he indulged in revelry (but there is not a lot of evidence of this). It is more logical to suppose that during the last ten years of his life he was slowly passing away mentally and physically. He died in the age of 64, so it would be hard to insist that he has destroyed his body by dissipation [14, vol. 3, p. 137].

In this situation *Tsunayoshi* left state affairs and trusted executing of his duties to *YANAGISAWA*. In summer 1708 he resigned in favor of a new *shogun*, his nephew *Ienobu*, *daimyo Kofu*, whom *Mitsukuni* from *Mito* recommended. It was short time left for *Tsunayoshi* to live. He was sick when *Ienobu* held a New Year reception on his behalf and died few days later [14, vol. 3, p. 135].

Some historians of that time inform that *shogun* passion has brought him to promise to raise an income of *Yeshiyasu* up to 1 million *koku* and to appoint a *bakufu* heir a son of *Yoshiyasu* spouse born for *Tsunayoshi*. As a historical experience shows, such a display of recklessness is usually prevented in the eve of planned madness — a wife stabbed the *shogun* to death and immediately committed a suicide. It is more likely to consider that this legend is just an invention based mostly on a fact that *Tsunayoshi's* death happened too unexpectedly and in an extremely critical moment [10, p. 605].

Tsunayoshi died from smallpox in 1709 after he was sick for a short time. He had no sons and 5 years before his death his nephew *Ienobu* was announced an heir of the *shogun*. Born in 1662 *Ienobu* became the 6th *shogun* when he was in his 47th year. His first action was revocation of *Tsunayoshi* decrees protecting animals. It is said that *Ienobu* proposed the following explanation of this decision on the grave of rested *shogun*: «You wished to protect living creatures and strictly forbid killing any of them. You wanted your interdiction to be observed after your death. But hundreds of thousands human creatures suffered from your decree. And to revoke it is the only one way to return a peace to people» [10, p. 608] *Ienobu* proved his perspicacity by removing *YANAGISAWA Yoshiyasu*, a corrupted favorite of the previous *shogun*. He appointed reliable *MANABE Akifusa* 間部 詮房 (1666–1720) to a post of «secretary» *so-bayonin* and invested *ARAI Hakuseki* with a full confidence [10, p. 608].

The epoch of the «dog's shogun» was over...

Instead of Conclusion

Some authors say that *bakufu* at *Tsunayoshi* times became weak and incompetent, but this point of view is not true enough. The truth is that he was **not a military dictator like 3rd shogun Iemitsu**; despite in *Tsunayoshi* government feudal lords were forced to maintain an order by rather cruel and painful measures. **The fear his methods resulted with** is well perceived in the notes of his contemporaries. Any small mistake of vassal was punished in a very cruel way. Officials tried not to take a new appointment because they were afraid to make a mistake that could put an end to their career. There were organized an effective surveillance and shadowing of visitors of feudal lords *daimyo* and Elders *roju* residences. **The *Tsunayoshi* financial policy** was in general successful, despite the chain of natural disasters. He did not show hesitation strictly controlling prominent representatives of commercial circles of *Edo* and *Osaka*. He approved, supported (and probably initiated) a big construction in a coastal area and a substantial progress in transporting people and cargo. The relationship of *bakufu* and Emperor court improved in his times. He revived and provided funds for executing main court ceremonies and some other «ceremonial rites», which were forgotten for a century or more (including annual holiday in *Kamo-jinja* 賀茂神社 in *Kyoto* in a temple as old as the city³⁴ itself and historically connected with Emperor court) [14, vol. 3, pp. 137-138].

The main political achievement of *Tsunayoshi* was a strengthening of a central government authority. His activities in this direction are described by some historians in works devoted to reforms of *Tenna* and *Jokyo* periods [14, vol. 3, p. 138]. In a whole practically all the period of *Tsunayoshi* government was connected with carrying out of different reforms and reorganizations. Reforms of *Tenna*, *Jokyo* and *Genroku* periods (in a sum 1681–1704) — fall just on the times of *Tsunayoshi* government.

For all that unusualness of *Tsunayoshi* personality and numerous unwarranted and illogically cruel measures connected to his policy, a foundation for a further evolution of society was laid in his times. *Tsunayoshi* role in a history of the *Edo-bakufu* times Japan could be considered as controversial, the same as *Genroku* period in general. Some aspects in a character of government structures got new features. That signifies a fundamental change in development of the society and transition to a new stage — the second part of *Edo* epoch. In this stage **from one hand** a weakening and modification of some feudal systems took place, and **from another hand** a strengthening of commercial elements and structures, development of commodity and monetary spheres, an origin and formation of new relationship in society has happened. All this processes could become apparent only after complete collapse of *Edo-bakufu* regime and beginning of development of capitalism in Japan, which started approximately in the beginning of *Meiji* times. Probably it is appropriate to consider that *Tsunayoshi* reforms have laid a base

for following reorganizations of the epoch (and to some extent have provoked them), including «three great reforms of Edo epoch» (years of *Kyoho*, *Kansei* and *Tempo*). But the main attention should be paid to a social-economic essence of these processes, than to a political matter. The political motivations for the following reforms were quite different, meaning just deliverance from the burdens of the previous period and «returning to old times» of the beginning of dynasty.

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¹ Latest edition in English (with corrections of inaccuracies) was published by efforts of Beatrice BODART-BAILEY: [(13) *KAEMPFER Engelbert*. *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed* / Edited, translated and annotated by Beatrice BODART-BAILEY. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1999. Pages xiv, 545].

² The life of Tsunayoshi somehow reflected in various editions — either relatively recent or often republished [3, pp. 91-93; 2, vol. 1, pp. 438-439; 6, pp. 51-56; 14, vol. 3, pp. 130-138], and some rare editions [5, pp. 365-370; 7, part 1, pp. 120-122; 10, pp. 596-608]. Despite the last mentioned editions were published almost a century ago, the information they contain practically had no reflection in even recent publications.

³ In the «History of Japan» (in 2 volumes) the government of 1st-3rd shoguns (*Ieyasu* 家康, *Hiitada* 秀忠, *Iemitsu* 家光) defined as a time of a strengthening of a political system. [2, vol. 1, pp. 435-437]. the government of 4th - 7th shoguns (*Ietsuna* 家綱, *Tsunayoshi* 綱吉, *Ienobu* 家宣, *Ietsugu* 家継) is described as a period when first signs of crisis of *bakufu* system appeared [2, vol. 1, pp. 437-440]. The first reforms of *bakufu* are connected only with the time of 8th shogun *Yoshimune* [2, vol. 1, pp. 440-445]; the government of the next seven shoguns, from 9th to 15th (*Ieshige* 家重, *Ieharu* 家治, *Ienari* 家斉, *Ieyoshi* 家慶, *Iesada* 家定, *Iemochi* 家茂, *Yoshinobu* 慶喜) defined as a «period of system crisis» [2, vol. 1, pp. 445-454].

⁴ Details see, for example: [3, p.91; 2, vol. 1, pp.437-438].

⁵ SAKAI Tadakiyo 酒井 忠清 (1624-81) — from 1653 was a elder *roju* 老中, from 1666 — supreme elder *tairo* 大老.

⁶ See about this: A.Nikolaev: [4, vol. 1, p.84].

⁷ That was the fact *roju* SAKAI Tadakiyo referred to when he offered to follow the example of *Kamakura-bakufu* and look for *shogun* successor in the Emperor family. He received a severe reproof of *HOTTA Masatoshi* who took considerably lower position: «Can it really be the words of our Supreme elder? If our Supreme elder *tairo* deign to joke?» Further he said definitely that the question about a person who should inherit the *shogun* post does not exist at all. This honor should be given to *Tsunayoshi* and only to *Tsunayoshi*. For he is a legal son of late *shogun Iemitsu* and the only brother of present *shogun*. If to cite the F.Brinkley's interpretation of the fact it would be as follows: «If the minister [*tairo*] is not jesting, his proposition is inexplicable». Such a «bold utterance was received with profound silence, and after a few moments SAKAI Tadakiyo retired from the council chamber» [10, p. 596].

It shouldn't be forgotten that *Tadakiyo* had practically indisputable authority, «exercised almost complete sway» in *bakufu*, and the fact that he quietly gave up after the protest and exhortation of *HOTTA Masatoshi* is more than sufficient to acquit him and «repudiate the charges against him». (For instance, for striving to seize all the administrative power using a prince appointed to *shogun* position only as a puppet). The most probable explanation could be the following — one of the former *shogun Ietsuna*'s consorts was expecting a child and *tairo* desired to delay any decisions on family affairs till a birth of a child. It was supposed that it would be easier to arrange relieving of *shogun* post a person from the Emperor family than a person from a *shogun* house. Five children were born for 3rd *shogun Iemitsu*, the eldest *Ietsuna* inherited the post of *shogun* (4th *shogun*), three children died, the fifth son *Tsunayoshi* was born in 1646. In these times he was 34 years old [10, p. 597].

There exist another explanation of a complicate situation of *shogun* successor appointment. The following explanation of *OISHI Shinzaburo* [15, p. 32] is not a simple approach to the surface aspects of the problem connected to some personalities, but the presenting of the real state of political affairs. When a question of position inheritance was risen it was supposed to be a serious discussion inside the *bakufu* circle. Despite there were already times of 4th *shogun Ietsuna*, recently created (during 3rd *shogun Iemitsu*) status-based administrative system was functioning very efficiently. That was government leading by SAKAI Tadakiyo and other elders of *roju*. That was the noblest people from *fudai-daimyo* with the best genealogies of all the *shogun*'s vassals. It was supposed that they strove to strengthen this status-based administrative system and to concentrate all the power in the hands of *fudai-daimyo* by appointing to a *shogun* post a young prince from the Emperor family. *HOTTA Masatoshi*, who just a year before got an appointment to be one of the elder *roju* (in 1679), inflexibly insisted on a giving a right of inheritance to *Tsunayoshi* as he was a heir in a direct line of *Tokugawa* family. The elders couldn't manage to settle the controversy in their opinions, but *Tsunayoshi* had inherited a *shogun* post according to *Ietsuna* will. The verisimilitude of this story is questionable, but «in any case *Tsunayoshi* doesn't appear to have been bound very much by the political arrangements established during prior administrations» [15, p. 32].

⁸ See about this V.Kostylev: [5, p.359].

⁹ In 1653 — a fire in the Emperor palace, in 1654 — the palace of *shogun* collapsed, in 1657 in *Edo* was one of the most disastrous fires of *Edo-bakufu* times — «a fire of *Meireki* years» (dreadful fires were in *Edo* also in 1668, 1670), in 1659 there was a flood in *Edo*, in 1661 — dreadful fires and in 1662 — an earthquake in *Kyoto* (when a lot of people were perished and numerous palaces destroyed including wonderful castle of *shogun Nijo-jo*), floods (in *Nikko* in 1662, in *Osaka* in 1670, in *Kyoto* in 1674), in 1668-69 drought and famine (in 1669 in *Kyoto* during 100 days there was necessary to distribute rice to starving population at the expense of government), there was drought in *Kyoto* also in 1675 [5, pp. 360-361].

¹⁰ *HOTTA Masatoshi* 堀田 正俊 (1634-1684) took the post of «Supreme elder» *tairo* 大老 during *Tsunayoshi* times — this post wasn't permanent and was replaced only sporadically, when it was necessary. To a considerable extent the essence of *HOTTA Masatoshi* activity could be considered as a striving for taking care of people — attention

to prosperity of agriculture and striving for preventing of excessive taxation appeals to maintain moral principles in various strata of society. [4, vol.1, p. 85].

HOTTA Masatoshi was appointed to a post *tairo* after *SAKAI Tadakiyo* had resigned. Naturally the influence of *Masatoshi* on *Tsunayoshi* was great, because that was *Masatoshi* who helped him to take a *shogun* post. No doubt that he deserved to be named a one of most prominent state figures in Japanese history and his unique abilities served to progress and establishing high moral standards of administration (creating of merited government). As a result of his intense activity some facts of corruption were elicited, which took deep roots practically everywhere in all the state institutions. He managed to bring the spirit of diligence and honesty in executing of state duties.

¹¹ Details of this event see, for example: [10, pp. 598-599].

¹² *YANAGISAWA Yoshiyasu* 柳沢 吉保 (1658–1714). Details of his career would be described later in a section «Favorite of *Tsunayoshi*».

¹³ As a matter of fact the origin of the «secretary» *sobayonin* 側用人 post could be also traced back to the times of *Tsunayoshi*, who created this post to strengthen his power as a *shogun* [12, p. 1738]. The first appointment to this post is connected with a name of *MAKINO Narisada* 牧野成貞 (1634-1712) [20, p. 1068, left N 054].

¹⁴ *HAYASHI Razan* was entrusted to lead the institution (and later the leading of this academic institution was traditionally connected with his descendants). The Academy itself was located in *Ueno* district in *Edo*. Later (after *Tsunayoshi* times) reorganizations of this department were connected with *Kansei* reforms, when in parallel with this Academy an official state Academy *Shoheizaka Gakumonjo* 昌平坂学問所 was established (often was called just *Shoheiko* 昌平黉). It was a school for vassals of *shogun* — *hatamoto* and *gokenin*, as well as for Confucianism scholars. After *Meiji-ishin* it was in 1868 renamed using another hieroglyph (*Shoheiko* 昌平黉, last hieroglyph *ko* was changed to 昌平校), but later in 1870 closed at all. See, for example: [12, pp.1406-1407], and also [24, pp. 288-342].

¹⁵ [8, p.304] Ya.Radul-Zatulovsky while talking about flourishing of *Chu Shi* study in *Edo* times in the first place among all other *shoguns* mentioned *TOKUGAWA Ieyasu* (who promoted a Confucianism scholar *HAYASHI Razan* to spread *Chu Shi* Learning), and then 5th and 8th *shoguns* (*Tsunayoshi* and *Yohimune*) and others as leaders who were encouraging the Neo-Confucian Learning [The same source]. So, the role of *Tsunayoshi* at least in this aspect was obviously positive and prominent.

¹⁶ It's possible to consider that later (already in the next 6th *shogun* *Ienobu* times) the ideas of *KINOSHITA Jun'an* were recovered by the reformatory activity of his disciple *ARAI Hakuseki* [7, pt.1, p.121].

¹⁷ G.Sansom gave the year of his birth incorrectly as 1618 [14, vol.3, p.132].

¹⁸ See also: [10, p.600].

¹⁹ Known also as *YASUI Santetsu* 安井 算哲 (the same name has his father). More details about him see: [12, p.1361] About other moments connected with adopting of a new calendar and it's peculiarities see: [1, pp.118-119].

²⁰ [5, p.366].

²¹ Domain *Takada* is in *Echigo* 高田藩越後国 (nowadays in *Niigata* prefecture). Starting from the 6th son of *TOKUGAWA Ieyasu* — *MATSUDAIRA Tadateru* 松平 忠輝 who took in possession a newly built castle in 1614, and till the domains were abolished in 1871, the *Takada* domain has been existing for 257 years. With the exception of more than 4 years when the domain was confiscated and managed by *bakufu* because of disturbance in *Echigo* (which would be mentioned below), eight houses changed each other as owners of the domain. If that were not *kamon* from the *TOKUGAWA* House, those were *daimyo* from *fudai*.

In 1624-1681 (after a chain of redistribution of vassal's lands) it was owned by *Mitsunaga* 光長 from *MATSUDAIRA Echigo chujo* House 松平越後中將家 (*chujo* — military post next in order after *taisho* 大將). The income of domain was 260,000 *koku* (*Mitsunaga* was a son of *Tadanao* 忠直 (the elder brother of *Tadamasa* 忠昌). The elder *karo* 家老 — *OGURIMI Masaka* 小栗美 作 was entitled to execute a government of the domain. A success in various spheres was achieved – silver mines, governing a castle town, irrigation systems, and cultivation of new fields. After a family discord in 1679 *o-ie sodo* 御家騒動 (disturbance in *Echigo* — *Echigo-sodo* 越後騒動) which aroused in touch with the possible inheritance of lands by an adopted son (*yoshishi* 養嗣子), in 1681 *Mitsunaga* was inflicted *kaieki* 改易 (reducing to the military ranks combined with a confiscation of all lands, payments and estates. That was a more severe punishment than a «house arrest» *tikkyo* 蟄居, but more light punishment than a suicide *seppuku*). For 4 years and 5 months the lands passes to the hands of *bakufu* [16, vol. 9, pp. 41-42; 22].

G.Sansom interpreted the name of domain as *Takata*. One of disturbance perpetrators (a recalcitrant vassal of the domain) was ordered to commit *seppuku* [14, vol. 3, p. 131]. F.Brinkley (1841–1912) also gave information on aforesaid, though in a short form [10, p.597].

²² G.Sansom estimated an income of the domain 250,000 *koku* [14, vol.3, p.131]. But more reliable information is that income was 260,000 when the domain belonged to *Mitsunaga* [22; 16, vol.9, p.41].

²³ About him see footnotes 5, 7.

²⁴ More details about biography see, for example: [12, p. 1726].

²⁵ In reality if to talk about details of career and income of *YANAGISAWA Yoshiyasu* 柳沢 吉保 (1658–1714) — in former times a son of ordinary vassal of former *shogun* *Tsunayoshi* — were of this kind.

He started to serve to *Tsunayoshi* as early as in 1675 as «a Page» *kosho* 小姓. When *Tsunayoshi* became a *shogun* in 1680 *YANAGISAWA* became a *konando* 小納戸, and in 1685 — *Dewa-no kami* 出羽守. From 1688 he was appointed «a secretary» *sobayonin* 側用人 of the *shogun* and *daimyo* with income of more than 12,000 *koku*, in 1690 he

took a higher rank and 20,000 more *koku* of income, in 1694 become *daimyo*, an owner of a castle (*joshu* 城主) in *Kawagoe* 川越 in *Musashi* 武蔵国 land (now in *Saitama* 埼玉県 prefecture) with income of 72,030 *koku* in rice, he got a status equal to elder *roju* 老中格, in 1698 got a highest rank among *roju* — *Sakon e-nogon-no shosha* 左近衛権少将, from 1701 got an honorable right to use last name *MATSUDAIRA* 松平 (a primordial last name of *TOKUGAWA* house), in 1704 he was granted by lands in *Kai* 甲斐 more than 150,000 *koku*, a castle in *Kofu* 甲府, from 1706 (according some sources in 1698 [19, p. 982; 22] got a title equal to «a Supreme Elder» *tairo* 大老格 and became a chief of elders *roju* (*roju-kamiza* 老中上座), from 1709 after *Tsunayoshi* death he happened to go out of business [22]. See more: [16, vol. 14, pp. 86-87; 20, p. 1144 left N 108; p. 1590; 19, p. 982 left; 12, p. 1738; 17; 22].

It looks like there exist a version that the beginning of his promotion was connected with intimacy of relatively young *Tsunayoshi* and a spouse of *Yanagisawa*, despite *V.Kosylev* gave slightly incorrect spelling of name *Yana-zawa* when he mentioned this fact [5, p. 366].

²⁶ [10, p.602]

²⁷ Some other version (simplified variant) of this event is in: [11, p. 106].

²⁸ This is well known and usual for a history of world economy situation (it is connected with such terms as «coinage debasement» and «coinage») [9, p. 84]. Usually with this phenomena is connected so called Gresham's Law, which was formulated by English financier and statesman Sir Thomas Gresham (1519-79): «Bad money drives out good». According to this law a depreciation, devaluation and debasement of money happened when two types of payment with different real relative value (which is defined by market) circulate simultaneously and officially fixed value is also different. The money with higher real value are withdrawing from circulation and serve as a mean of accumulation of treasure. This situation could happened without depreciation or debasement of money when gold and silver coinage is presented in circulation and its officially fixed value does not match a relative market value of these metals [9, p. 210, 37].

²⁹ More details see, for example: [20, p. 1068 left, N 054].

³⁰ As for the politics of such a kind in the *Yoshimune* times, concerning the beginning of *Kyoho* period, sometimes the other term is used — «*goyo-toritsugi seiji*» 「御用取次政治」, i.e. «politics of go-between officials (government representatives)» [23, p. 75-124]. Sometimes they are called «shadow powerful figures» 陰の実力者御用取次 [21, p. 188].

³¹ More details see, for example: [16, vol. 3, p. 755; 22, 神尾若狭守増徴反対一揆]. In the English translation of the *OISHI Shinzaburo* article both first and last names are misspelled (not using Japanese characters at all). Person called *KAMIO Harunaka* is not mentioned in any serious publication. Though in Japanese language works of the same author the treasurer *KAN'Ō Haruhide* 神尾 春央 is mentioned rather often [18, p. 44], as well as in other reference editions (see above).

³² The phrase is also cited in Russian language editions (for example, Ya.B.Radul-Zatulovsky [8, p. 256]), though the author of it is not named.

³³ For details see: [16, vol. 3, p. 171c].

³⁴ Tradition connects construction of *Kamo-jinja* 賀茂神社 temples with 677 or 678 year. [12, p. 730], [17: かもみおやじんじや【賀茂御祖神社】…天武天皇六年、賀茂別雷神社とともに創建…].

³⁵ (In reality this edition represent materials on *Edo* period, which are not related directly to a legal system, but give an interesting material on everyday life, ways and habits and give a good description of the epoch. The original publication had appeared in the «*Choya Shimibun* 朝野新聞» newspaper from April of the 25th year of *Meiji* till July of the 26th year of the same era (1892-93) under the name of «Tokugawa seido», i.e. Tokugawa system. The materials of exclusive interest) [from the Introduction by *ISHII Ryosuke*].