

## The Prose, Poetry, and Correspondence of a Korean-born Samurai: A Translation of the Family Narrative of Wakita Kyūbei

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As a result of Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea (1592-1598), tens of thousands of Koreans were forcibly removed from their homeland and relocated throughout Japan. The majority, skilled artisans, continued their art, establishing regional ceramics industries across Japan. Others, adult elites such as Kang Hang, a scholar-official from Jeolla Province, were taken as prisoners of war, some of whom were eventually allowed to return to Korea. Another category of captives, few in number, were incorporated into daimyo houses as retainers. One of these few, Wakita Kyūbei, appears to have risen to the highest status of them all, in Kaga Domain. Fortunately, he left an account of his life to his posterity, preserved in copied manuscripts by his descendants, testifying the tragic circumstances from which his Korean heritage prepared him in some ways to construct a new Japanese identity and flourish.

A survey of surviving records from domains throughout Japan, conducted by Kanazawa University scholars led by Tsuruzono Yutaka<sup>1</sup> and built upon earlier work by Naitō Shunpō,<sup>2</sup> attempted to catalog Koreans residing in Japan in the early Edo period. From a survey of this research, corroborated by local historical records reviewed by the author of this article, it appears that the majority of Korean-born captives lived as artisans or merchants. By narrowing search criteria to Korean-born men who became samurai retainers and/or received a stipend, who were not primarily artisans or merchants, and who did not return to Korea, only twenty-six Korean-born captives appear to have been incorporated into Edo Japan's ruling status group. Some were noted to have stipends between 30 and 1,200 *koku*,<sup>3</sup> and served in various vocations: two as bird shooting instructors, two as Confucian scholars, three as medical doctors, one as a spy during the Korean invasion, and three as pages (personal guard) to their daimyo. There were even three who expressed their loyalty and commitment to samurai cultural values by performing *junshi* (suicide upon their master's death).

Among this very small group of former captives-turned-samurai scattered across domains in western Honshū, Kyūshū, and Shikoku, only one appears to have worked his way from nothing to hold several positions of significant responsibility and trust within the domain hierarchy: Wakita Kyūbei, whose stipend of 1,200 *koku* was far and above others' salaries. The second highest salary noted in historical records was that of an Edo

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<sup>1</sup> Tsuruzono Yutaka 鶴園裕, *Nihon kinsei shoki ni okeru torai chōsenjin no kenkyū—Kaga han wo chūshin ni* 日本近世初期における渡来朝鮮人の研究—加賀藩を中心に (Kanazawa: Kanazawa daigaku kyōyōbunai 金沢大学教養部内, 1991).

<sup>2</sup> Naitō Shunpō 内藤雋輔, *Bunroku Keichō yaku ni okeru hairyōnin no kenkyū* 文禄・慶長役における被擄人の研究 (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1976).

<sup>3</sup> One *koku*, approximately 180 liters of rice, was roughly one year's ration for one man; this measurement was used to calculate retainer salaries. Stephen Turnbull, *The Samurai Handbook* (London: Cassell & Co., 1998), 8; *Shinpan nihonshi jiten* 新版日本史辞典, (Tokyo: 角川書店 Kadokawa shoten, 1996), s.v. 石.

resident, medical doctor Ahn Kyung-wok, who received a small but respectable 300 *koku* stipend.<sup>4</sup>

Kim Yeocheol, or Kin Jotetsu in the Japanese pronunciation, was kidnapped at age seven (1592) during Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea by the daimyo of Okayama, Ukita Hideie. Hideie's wife sent him to be raised by her mother, Lady Matsu, wife of Maeda Toshiie, Daimyo of Kaga Domain. Jotetsu became a personal retainer of Toshinaga, Toshiie's heir. He was married to the daughter of a respected retainer, Wakita Taitō Shigesue, and adopted into the Wakita family. He was then called Wakita Naokata Kyūbei.

Over the years, Kyūbei served four successive daimyo: Toshinaga (r. 1599-1605), Toshitsune (r. 1605-1639), Mitsutaka (r. 1639-1645), and Tsunanori (r. 1645-1723). Despite early internal domain politics that prevented his promotion, Kyūbei eventually received a stipend totaling 1,200 *koku* annually. He then successively served as financial magistrate, Captain of the Personal Guard, judicial magistrate, and finally Kanazawa town magistrate. After a long, eventful life of seventy-five years, he passed away in 1660.

Wakita Kyūbei was not only known for his long official service, but also for his literary skills. He was considered the leading renga poet in Kaga, and was a licensed *Tale of Genji* and *Kokinshū* scholar. Kyūbei's pride in his Korean roots remained, however, as shown in his resumption of his Korean name when he took Buddhist tonsure in retirement.

Wakita Kyūbei's autobiography is written to his descendants as a reminder of the circumstances that brought him to Japan and how he integrated himself into Japan's early modern order. Of the many people taken against their will to Japan, his remarkable rise within the samurai ranks must have been unique. The structure of his narrative reflects his capacious intellectual pursuits; he preserved his poetry and supplemented his personal account with correspondence as proof of his claims. He was unapologetic of his Korean origins, proud of his integration and recognition in samurai society, and at the same time he expressed humility and gratitude for those who allowed an orphaned child to succeed in a foreign land.

At the conclusion of the document it states that it was written by Morita Shōkurō. What this most likely means is that Kyūbei's age prevented him from composing it himself, and that Morita was an individual close to him. An analysis of genealogical records of the Morita and Wakita families reveals that Kyūbei's second son married a Morita woman, as well as Kyūbei's brother-in-law. There were obviously close relations between these two families, and it would make sense for Kyūbei to seek help in his old age to complete his history to pass it on to his children.

This translation is based on Kasai Jun'ichi's transliteration and commentary of Kyūbei's narrative, comparing five extant manuscript copies.<sup>5</sup> The translator compared

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<sup>4</sup> Naitō, 139.

<sup>5</sup> Kasai Jun-ichi 笠井純一, "Kaden--Kin (Wakita) Jōtetsujiden 家伝一金 (脇田) 如鉄自伝," *Kanazawa daigaku kyōyōbu ronshū: jinbun kagaku hen* 金沢大学教養部論集: 人文科学篇 28-1 (1990), 165-188.

Kasai's transliteration with two of the manuscripts housed in Kanazawa City Library in order to control for errors.<sup>6</sup> For additional analysis of Wakita Kyūbei's life and writings, see the translator's other publications on the subject.<sup>7</sup>

### The Family Narrative of Jotetsu<sup>8</sup>

I was born in the Joseon royal capital.<sup>9</sup> My father's name was Kin Jishō<sup>10</sup>, a court official.<sup>11</sup> I have forgotten my mother's name and lineage. The name by which I was known in my youth was Jotetsu. I am able to record this because, following the customs of my birth country, I learned to write at a very early age.

In order to attack Joseon, Imperial Regent Hideyoshi assembled an army at Hizen Nagoya in the first year of the Bunmei Period (1592).<sup>12</sup> Ukita Hideie,<sup>13</sup> Lord of Bizen, was appointed commanding general over the warlords of Chūgoku<sup>14</sup> and Shikoku. [Hideie led the army] across the sea and landed near Busan. Joseon forces established various strategic positions which proved to be difficult to hold [against Hideie's army] because Joseon had not engaged in war for hundreds of years. [Joseon] was driven out of its positions, and even the royal capital surrendered. It was at this time that my father and his son fell in battle.<sup>15</sup> I was in my seventh year. I was captured by Lord Hideie himself.

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<sup>6</sup> Wakita Kyūbei 脇田九兵衛, "Wakita kadensho 脇田家伝書," Kaetsuno bunko 加越能文庫, Kanazawa shiritsu toshokan 金沢市立図書館, Kanazawa, Japan; Wakita Kyūbei, "Wakita Jōtetsu oboegaki 脇田如鉄覚書," Kaetsuno bunko, Kanazawa shiritsu toshokan, Kanazawa, Japan.

<sup>7</sup> David Nelson, "Wakita Kyūbei's Admonitions: A Town Magistrate's Perspective on Early Modern Warrior Rule," *Studies on Asia*, IV, vol 3. No. 2 (October 2013), 31-51; David Nelson, "The Autobiography of Wakita Kyūbei: Samurai Military Service and Recognition in Seventeenth-Century Japan," *Studies on Asia*, V, vol 1. No. 1 (Spring 2016), 50-71; David Nelson, "From Erstwhile Captive to Cultural Erudite: The Career of Korean-born Samurai, Wakita Kyūbei," in *The Power of the Dispersed: Global Travelers beyond Integration*, ed. Cornel Zwierlein (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

<sup>8</sup> 如鉄, Yeocheol in Korean.

<sup>9</sup> Hanseong, renamed Seoul.

<sup>10</sup> 金時省, Kim Siseong in Korean.

<sup>11</sup> *Hanlin xueshi* (Chinese), was a Tang era court title that enveloped various scholarly functions, such as composing royal decrees, royal lecturer, or royal historian. See 広辞苑 *Kojien*, sixth ed. (Tokyo: 岩波書店 Iwanami Shoten, 2008), s.v. 翰林学士. It is unlikely that Siseong held a court position; the Kim Family genealogy indicates that he had not yet passed the highest examinations that qualified Yangban for office before he was killed by Japanese invaders in 1592. Kwangsan kim ssi Taejonghoe 光山金氏史大宗會, *Kwangsan kim ssi sa* 光山金氏史, vol. 1 (Seoul: Kwangsan kim ssi sa palgan wiwŏnhoe 光山金氏史發刊委員會, 1991), 427.

<sup>12</sup> Hizen Nagoya is located in present day Saga Prefecture.

<sup>13</sup> Ukita Hideie, (1573-1655) daimyo of Bizen Province, served as one of the commanders during the Joseon invasions from 1592-1598. Ōnishi Yasumasa, 宇喜多秀家 *Ukita Hideie* (Tokyo: 戎光祥出版 Ebisu kōshō shuppan, 2017).

<sup>14</sup> Western Honshu, comprising the present-day prefectures of Okayama, Horoshima, Yamaguchi, Shimane, and Tottori.

<sup>15</sup> Kyūbei's memory appears to be faulty. In a seventeenth-century compilation of filial exemplars, Kim Siseong died with his brother while trying to save their mother from the Japanese invaders. *Tongguk sinsok samgang haengsil* 東國新續三綱行實, ed. Kungnip tosokwan 國立圖書館, vol. 1 (Seoul, 1958, 288).

Lord Hideyoshi ended that year at Hizen Nagoya, while the invasion army remained across the sea. At the end of that year I came to Bishū Okayama. Lord Hideie's wife<sup>16</sup> showed mercy upon this poor orphan boy and sent me to her Lady Mother (Hōshun'in,<sup>17</sup> wife of Lord [Maeda] Toshiie) the following year. At that time, I had entered into my eighth year.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, in her great mercy the Lady Mother allowed me to serve the [Maeda] heir, Lord Toshinaga.<sup>19</sup> Through the instruction I received from both Lady Mother and her Lord Son, I grew to manhood.

When Lord Toshinaga retired to Etchū Toyama,<sup>20</sup> I went with him to continue in his service. Young as I was, Lord Toshinaga rewarded me with lands of 100 *koku* in value. Soon afterward my fief was increased by 130 *koku* in value, and I was raised in rank to become one of Lord Toshinaga's personal retainers. I was given authority to act as Lord Toshinaga's agent throughout the Three Provinces<sup>21</sup> [of Kaga Domain], among high and low born, peasants, artisans or merchants. At this point, however, I had not taken on a family. Marrying the niece of Wakita Taitō [Shigesue,]<sup>22</sup> I adopted the Wakita family name. Because I had flourished so much as Lord Toshinaga's personal retainer, slanderers caused me to be put under house arrest for one year. If this had not happened, I would have received even more rewards, but this was my misfortune. After one year, Lady Hōshun'in spoke on my behalf and I was found blameless and restored as Toshinaga's personal retainer.

For many years, Lord Toshinaga was troubled with boils that often sapped his strength. He passed away on the twentieth day of the fifth month of the nineteenth year of the Keichō period (1614). High and low throughout the Three Provinces were filled with regret. I was beside myself with grief, [and penned this poem]:

“In all directions  
The sleeves of all soaked in tears  
In this the fifth month”

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<sup>16</sup> Gō (1574-1634), daughter of Maeda Toshiie (1538-1599), Daimyo of Kaga Doman, and his wife, Matsu (1547-1617). “Kanazawa han 金沢藩,” in *Hanshi daijiten* 藩史大事典, vol. 3, eds. Kimura Motoi 木村礎, et al (Tokyo: 雄山閣 Yūzankaku, 1989), 162.

<sup>17</sup> Hōshun'in was the posthumous name of Lady Matsu.

<sup>18</sup> In modern western terms of calculating age, he was seven years old at the time he was kidnapped.

<sup>19</sup> Maeda Toshinaga (1562-1614), oldest son and heir of Maeda Toshiie. “Kanazawa han,” 164.

<sup>20</sup> This is the modern city of Toyama, Toyama Prefecture. Toshinaga retired in 1605, making Kyūbei approximately twenty years old. “Kanazawa han,” 164.

<sup>21</sup> Kaga Domain was composed of the three imperial provinces of Kaga, Etchū, and Noto. “Kanazawa han,” 159.

<sup>22</sup> Wakita Taitō Shigesue (d. 1624) held a 1,500 *koku* stipend in 1605. During the Osaka Campaigns, Taitō served as Communications Officer. His close relationship with the Maeda family can be verified by his 1615 appointment as protector of Lord Toshitsune's third son, Maeda Toshiharu. “Keichō jūnen Toyama samurai chō 慶長十年富山侍帳,” 貴重資料ギャラリー Kichō shiryō gyararii, Ishikawa kenritsu toshokan, <https://www.library.pref.ishikawa.lg.jp/toshokan/dglib/samurai/doc/keityo10/keityo10.htm> (accessed May 24, 2019). *Kaga han shiryō* 加賀藩史料, vol. 2, ed. Heki Ken (Tokyo: Iwaguro Bunkichi 岩黒文吉, 1929), 246, 335, 438, 653, 924. *加能郷土辞彙 Kanō kyōdō jii*, ed. Heki Ken (Kanazawa: 北国新聞社 Hokkoku shimbunsha, 1973), 922.

Throughout his life, Lord Toshinaga generously gave various gifts [to his retainers]. I and other members of his Personal Guard, customarily given one gold piece for loyal service [annually], were bequeathed an additional 3 gold pieces, and personal attendants long in service to his heir, Lord Toshitsune, were gifted 20 silver pieces. There was no way to repay our deceased lord's generosity, and Lord Toshitsune's grace was not shallow.

In that same year, the surreptitious rebellion of Lord [Toyotomi] Hideyori<sup>23</sup> in Osaka exposed itself. The Two Shoguns, [Retired Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu<sup>24</sup> and his son, Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada<sup>25</sup>] mustered an army from the Kantō; Lord Toshitsune commanded the warriors of the Northern Provinces, leading an army of over 30,000 mounted warriors. Toshitsune and his forces departed Kanazawa in the tenth month, meeting the two shoguns at Ōtsu.<sup>26</sup> At that time, the samurai from Takaoka delayed; four of us arrived together in Ōtsu (Kitagawa Kyūbei,<sup>27</sup> Takada Den'eimon,<sup>28</sup> Nomura Kakunojō,<sup>29</sup> and myself). Because we immediately mustered and obediently responded, Lord Toshitsune thought to reward us all with gold and silver. It was a great honor at the time.

We arrived at the Shogunate encampment at Saga Shakadō<sup>30</sup> where the armies rested, then pushed on to Osaka. After many days of challenges thrown at each side, the difficulty of assaulting such an imposing castle was realized. The following spring, the two shoguns dismissed their armies to return to their home provinces.

This dismissal must have been part of a larger plan. Once more, Osaka rose up in rebellion, so the two shoguns assembled for war, as did all the men of the provinces. After sojourning in Kyoto for a time, the shogunal forces moved on to Osaka on the fifth day of the fifth month. On the sixth, the Osaka forces also took to the field, meeting the advance units of the attacking army in various locations. Unable to stop the shogunate forces, the Osaka defenders withdrew. On the seventh, Osaka Castle's outer defenses were assaulted; Retired Shogun Ieyasu led his forces to seize the Tennōji Gate;<sup>31</sup> Shogun

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<sup>23</sup> Toyotomi Hideyori (1593-1615), son of Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

<sup>24</sup> Ieyasu (1543-1616) was the first shogun of the Tokugawa Shogunate, from 1603-1605.

<sup>25</sup> Hidetada (1579-1632) was shogun from 1605-1623, after Ieyasu retired.

<sup>26</sup> Ōtsu is located to the east of Kyoto on the shore of Lake Biwa.

<sup>27</sup> Kitagawa Kyūbei served in the Osaka Campaigns, later serving as Communications Officer under Toshitsune. His sons inherited his stipend in 1644, indicating his death around that time. Thereafter, his oldest son took on the name of Kyūbei. See *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 246, 342, 353; *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 3, 48, 51; *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 231.

<sup>28</sup> Takada Den'eimon may be 高田吉兵衛 Takada Kichibei, listed as a retainer with a 100 *koku* stipend in 1616. "Genna samurai chō 元和侍の帳," *Kichō shiryō gyararii*, <https://www.library.pref.ishikawa.lg.jp/toshokan/dglib/samurai/doc/genna1/genna1.htm> (accessed April 22, 2019).

<sup>29</sup> Nomura Kakunojō was a Kaga retainer with 350 *koku* stipend in 1616. "Genna samurai chō."

<sup>30</sup> Saga Shakadō, also known as Seiryōji, is a Buddhist temple located on the western outskirts of Kyoto. *Seiryōji*, <http://seiryoji.or.jp/> (accessed May 24, 2019).

<sup>31</sup> Tennōji is the name of the district surrounding Shitenōji Temple, representing the southern entry to the castle town of Osaka. The temple was flanked on the left by one of the few elevated areas around Osaka, Chausuyama hill, held by the Osaka defenders. Stephen Turnbull, *Osaka 1615: The Last Battle of the Samurai* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2006), 73-81.

Hidetada led his forces, with Lord Toshitsune and his men in the vanguard, to take the Tamazukuri Gate.<sup>32</sup> Enemy forces on Chausuyama<sup>33</sup> hill redoubt fired arrows at Ieyasu's forces, then both sides engaged in battle. The [Maeda army in the] front ranks engaged the enemy at Okayama [near Osaka Castle] in battle in various places until the enemy fell back to the castle.

Their bannermen were routed, and even working together, the enemy forces were unable to hold even the Tamazukuri Gatehouse. The enemy retreated to the second bailey and the outer defenses fell [to our forces]. Our forces rode into Sanada Maru fortification.<sup>34</sup> Kazuramaki Hayato,<sup>35</sup> Hara Yosoemon,<sup>36</sup> Kawai Kazuma,<sup>37</sup> and I rode through the Tamazukuri Gatehouse side door. At that point, we saw on our left a group of compatriots at an intersection in the town, so we rode in that direction. As we drew near, we saw the banners of six or seven mounted warriors about 100 yards ahead, but we did not ride to join them. Ahead were over 100 foot soldiers bearing white banners stationed behind a crumbling earthworks, firing their guns at us. Other enemies lying in wait now came out to join the fray, as well as more of our allies. A large contingent of the enemy were driven off by us. It was at this point that Yano Shozaemon<sup>38</sup> was shot dead. In this manner I continued to press forward.

After driving them off, I looked around and there was neither friend nor foe within 200 to 300 yards. The enemy was defeated. Along the street, Furuya Shozaemon<sup>39</sup> and I remained to exchange words. At that time, Kazuramaki Hayato joined up with us on

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<sup>32</sup> Tamazukuri Gate was the fortified southeast entrance of Osaka Castle that passed between the southern and eastern moats.

<sup>33</sup> Chausuyama was a fortified outpost south of Osaka Castle and west of Tennōji, from which the outnumbered Osaka defenders attempted to stop the attackers. Turnbull, *Osaka 1615*, 73-81.

<sup>34</sup> Sanada Maru was a small fortification to the south of the main castle defenses, between Tennōji and Tamazukuri Gate. After the winter 1615 campaign, the Sanada Maru was torn down by Tokugawa workers. Turnbull, *Osaka 1615*, 44-48, 60-61.

<sup>35</sup> Kazuramaki Hayato (1575-1652) began serving Maeda Toshiie at twelve years old, and served the succeeding Maeda Lords through Tsunanori. By 1627, he held a 1,750 *koku* stipend. His career path paralleled that of Kyūbei in many ways. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 246, 322, 342, 353. Morita Heiji 森田平次, *Kanazawa kosekishi* 金澤古蹟志, vol. 6, ed. Hioki Ken 日置謙 (Kanazawa: 金澤文化協會 Kanazawa bunka kyōkai: 1933), 28. “寛永四年侍帳 Kan'ei yonnen samurai chō,” *Kichō shiryō gyarari*, <https://www.library.pref.ishikawa.lg.jp/toshokan/dglib/samurai/doc/kanei4/kanei4.htm> (accessed April 22, 2019).

<sup>36</sup> Hara Yosoemon served Maeda Toshiie, receiving a 200 *koku* stipend. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 690.

<sup>37</sup> By 1642, Kawai Kazuma had a 300 *koku* stipend. “Kan'ei jūkyūnen Komatsu samurai chō 寛永十九年小松侍帳,” *Kichō shiryō gyarari*, <https://www.library.pref.ishikawa.lg.jp/toshokan/dglib/samurai/doc/kanei19/kanei19.htm> (accessed April 22, 2019).

<sup>38</sup> Yano Shozaemon held a stipend of 650 *koku*. His name appears on a list of casualties for the seventh day of the fifth month. It is unclear why of all the casualties, Kyūbei chose to note Shozaemon. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 323, 326. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 865.

<sup>39</sup> Furuya Shozaemon Shigenao (d. 1646) entered Lord Toshinaga's service in 1595. He served in the Osaka Campaigns as a Communications Officer, earning battlefield honors during the campaign. His stipend eventually totaled 3,200 *koku*, and held several magistrate-level positions, including senior supervisor over the reconstruction of the Maeda's residence in Edo after a fire in 1632. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 342, 653, 692. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 733.

our left, wearing a black arrow hood bordered in gold. Next came Kajikawa Yazaemon,<sup>40</sup> in a *haori*<sup>41</sup> with a white background, wearing the banner of the Personal Guard. Shortly thereafter a few more compatriots rode up to join us. We engaged with the enemy in fierce combat. Wakita Taitō and Emori Kakuzaemon<sup>42</sup> also arrived on horseback, and we broke the enemies' resistance. Just as Tamazukuri Gatehouse fell to our hands, so did the Black Gate of the Second Bailey.<sup>43</sup> Later during the official inquiry into military exploits at Osaka Castle, Matsudaira Hōki<sup>44</sup> said that Kyūbei (myself) and Furuya were latecomers who remained near the gate. As Hōki accused us of even worse things, Yamazaki Kansai<sup>45</sup> on the other hand confirmed our account. However, if all the rewards are compared, it is certain that he carried a grudge against me. Our indignation at this went deep; however, our malice was vindicated shortly thereafter when Hōki took ill and died. Our grudge against Hōki never ran shallow.

During the official inquiry, we told our side of the story. We rode with Kazuramaki through the Tamazukuri Gatehouse, and I was involved in the second and third assaults. Kazuramaki was with me during the third assault. Knowing our whereabouts, Kansai verified that both of us did enter the field of battle on horseback, but he was unsure whether or not we rode to the intersection. Thereafter, there were no more false complaints from Kansai and others.

Until the time he passed away, whenever I was required to be in attendance before our lord or whenever our paths crossed due to some assignment, Mizuno Tadanaru<sup>46</sup> would ask, "Is there any sign of your reward?"

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<sup>40</sup> Kajikawa Yazaemon served in the Osaka Campaigns as a Communications Officer with a 700 *koku* stipend. He also appears to have served as a town magistrate, as his name is included in the 1631 promulgation of laws regarding fire prevention for Kanazawa. With the 1639 creation of Daishōji Domain, Yazaemon became a retainer under Toshitsune's son, Toshitsugu, with a stipend of 2,000 *koku*. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 325, 342, 653, 665. *Kanazawa kosekishi*, vol. 28, 9. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 175.

<sup>41</sup> Surcoat.

<sup>42</sup> Emori Kakuzaemon Akitaka (d. 1675) entered Toshinaga's service in 1603. During the Osaka Campaigns, he earned battlefield honors, raising his stipend to 2,000 *koku*, serving as mid-ranking commander, Inspector, and Squad Leader of the Mounted Guard. See *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 322, 342, 653. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 97.

<sup>43</sup> This likely refers to the inner gate of the Tamatsukuri entrance. Much of Osaka Castle was covered in black laquer, perhaps leading to Kyūbei's naming it a black gate. See Jennifer Mitchellhill, *Castles of the Samurai: Power and Beauty* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2003), 82.

<sup>44</sup> Matsudaira Hōki Yasusada (d. 1620) was the son of Mikawa general Matsudaira Yasumoto, half-brother of Tokugawa Ieyasu. Hōki rose quickly in the ranks of the Maeda house at the end of the sixteenth century. By 1600, he received a 3,000 *koku* stipend, increased to 5,000 *koku* when he became chief elder for Toshinaga in his retirement in Takaoka in 1605. Hōki was later appointed by Toshitsune as castellan of Kanazawa Castle, and during the Osaka Campaigns, Toshitsune appointed Hōki *musha bugyō*, or commander of the Maeda forces. After the campaigns, his stipend increased to 10,000 *koku*, and Toshitsune appointed him to his Council of Elders. *Kashin jinmei jiten* 家臣人名事典, ed. Kashin jinmei jiten hensaniinkai 家臣人名事典編纂委員会 (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu ōraisha 新人物往来社, 1988), 247. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 240, 246, 306. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 777.

<sup>45</sup> Yamazaki Kansai was in the thick of all of the Osaka Campaign battles. Multiple records note his performance as well as his role in acting as witness to battlefield valor for other Maeda retainers. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 218, 270, 278-283, 303-316, 320, 346.

<sup>46</sup> Mizuno Tadanaru Yoshinari first served Maeda Toshinaga. In 1612, he held a 3,100 *koku* stipend. He served as a general in the second in the Osaka Campaigns, and held the same title as Matsudaira Hōki

During the aforementioned inquiry, a careful consideration of the details based on oral reports verified that I participated in the first assault; of the three assaults, I played a significant role in the first. During the inquiry into the third assault, Kazuramaki testified that Furuya Shozaemon was just ahead of us, but that he and I suddenly caught up. I confirmed Kazuramaki's account that we were just behind. Taking all of the evidence into account, even Lord Toshitsune kindly recognized [the truth of our account]. Because of this, rewards were given based upon the above circumstances. I regret the lies and dishonesty of the initial investigation. [Lord Toshitsune's] decision following the investigation of rewards was based on events surrounding the third assault.

After the death of Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada [in 1632], the inquiry into Osaka battlefield honors was revisited. It was discovered that I had been overlooked during previous investigations. In addition to the 430 *koku* stipend I already received, I was awarded an additional 570 *koku* to make my stipend 1,000 *koku* and was promoted to Armory Musket Inspector (*o-teppō o-azukari o-tsukaban*). This new recognition resolved years of incomparable frustration and brought unprecedented honor to our house. In addition, my heir Heinojō<sup>47</sup> received 300 *koku*, my second son Saburōshirō<sup>48</sup> received 220 *koku* (Saburōshirō benefitted from considerable patronage from Lord Toshitsune, serving as his personal retainer, but regrettably Saburōshirō passed from this life at an early age), and my third son Shōhei<sup>49</sup> received 200 *koku* stipends and periodically was called upon to serve [the Maeda House].

At a later investigation with my testimony, Furuya Shozaemon, Kazuramaki Hayato, and Kajikawa Yazaemon were also rewarded for their participation in the Osaka Campaigns. From the first they were one step ahead of the majority who answered the call to arms, and were recognized as First Spears (*ichiban yari*).<sup>50</sup> Like [the polite hesitation when] cups of sake are distributed, other warriors held back until these three moved forward to engage the enemy. Past jealousies, arising in my youth when I moved to Takaoka as a newcomer, were perpetuated while Matsudaira Hōki had the Lord's ear. It was inevitable that at this inquiry not long after Hōki died, the Lord's ear was

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during the second campaign. It appears that Tadanaru was not of a like mind with Hōki in opposing Wakita Kyūbei's battlefield recognition despite holding the same rank on the battlefield, although at the time of the campaigns, Tadanaru only had a 3,000 *koku* stipend compared to Hōki's 5,000. In 1627, Tadanaru's stipend increased to 4,000 *koku*. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 245, 307, 365, 407, 653. “慶長之侍帳 Keichō no samurai chō,” *Kichō shiryō gyarai*,

<https://www.library.pref.ishikawa.lg.jp/toshokan/dglib/samurai/doc/keityo17/keityo17.htm> (accessed May 29, 2019). “Genna samurai chō.” “Kan'ei yonnen samurai chō.”

<sup>47</sup> Wakita Heinojō Naoyoshi (d. 1675) was Kyūbei's oldest son and heir. In his youth he was called Heinojō. After his father's death, he also went by Kyūbei, inheriting his father's stipend to receive a total of 1,500 *koku*. Naoyoshi studied under Neo-Confucian scholar Kinoshita Jun'an and was also known for his *renga* poetry. He was appointed Kanazawa Town Magistrate after his father retired. *Kashin jinmei jiten*, 256.

<sup>48</sup> No additional information is known about Saburōshirō. *Kashin jinmei jiten*, 256. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 668.

<sup>49</sup> Information on Wakita Shōhei is limited. In 1639, he served Lord Mitsutaka in a minor capacity as subordinate to the Lord's agent, Tsuda Uneme. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 788. *Kashin jinmei jiten*, 256.

<sup>50</sup> *Ichiban yari* was recognition for being the first to engage the enemy, at the forefront of the vanguard. *Kojien*, s.v. 一番槍.

gratefully held by another personal retainer, Shinohara Sōei.<sup>51</sup> This was truly humbling. It was all done according to Lord Toshitsune's wishes.

During the second inquiry Ban Hachiya<sup>52</sup> testified that he saw me at the battle at Okayama and that I was still present at the battle at the entrance to the town. Proof provided by the likes of Ban Hachiya could not be denied, and Lord Toshitsune accepted [my petition]. All rewards were handled in like manner.

When Lord Toshitsune retired to Komatsu, I was among the number to go with him. However, even though I had made all my preparations, Lord Mitsutaka would not grant his consent at first. Over time my position improved as the events at Osaka and other things stood me in good order, allowing my lord to look upon me with honor. I was granted the privilege of direct audience with Lord Mitsutaka.

In the fifth month of 1643 (Kan'ei 20), I was promoted to Captain of the Pages (*koshō gashira*),<sup>53</sup> carrying messages from Lord Mitsutaka to Kamio Tonomonosuke<sup>54</sup> in Edo as well as senior councilor Maeda Sadasato.<sup>55</sup> We had Lord Mitsutaka's opinion in

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<sup>51</sup> Sōei, likely Shinohara Nagatsugu, also known as Oribe (d. 1649), would have been in a position to influence Lord Toshitsune. He was probably a few years older than Wakita Kyūbei, but of the same generation, not quite old enough to see real combat before the close of the Sengoku Period. He entered service to Maeda Toshiie at age nine, then served Toshinaga and Toshitsune, proving himself during the Osaka Campaigns. Nagatsugu's older brother had earned a prominent position under the Maeda during those battles, giving Nagatsugu higher standing than the likes of Wakita Kyūbei of the same generation, and therefore greater opportunity for advancement without direct interference from older retainers. With a stipend of 6,000 *koku* by the 1630s, he served as counsellor to Toshitsune. Warriors seeking recognition for battlefield accomplishments at Osaka submitted their requests to him. *Kashin jinmei jiten*, 219-220. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 342, 405-407, 547-549, 792. *Kanazawa kosekishi*, vol. 7, 2. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 370.

<sup>52</sup> Ban Nagayuki Hachiya (d. 1655) was of Kyūbei's generation. He was the son of a direct vassal of Oda Nobunaga, and in 1599 at age eleven entered into the service of Lord Toshinaga, then at fourteen served Lord Toshitsune. He earned a reputation for skill with the spear, and by 1614 had a stipend of 4,500 *koku*. He was also denied rewards for his participation in the Osaka Campaigns even though he held the rank of lieutenant general (*chūshōshō*), because his witness, Shinohara Sōei's older brother, Kazutaka, reneged on his earlier promise to corroborate Hachiya's claims. *Kashin jinmei jiten*, 235. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 342, 653. *Kanazawa kosekishi*, vol. 28, 6-7. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 693.

<sup>53</sup> *Koshō* is typically translated using the medieval European term, "page," although it is a more complicated position. *Koshō* served in the presence of their lord, running errands but also acting as personal bodyguards. They were often chosen from the best families of the domain, but had to be skilled warriors. *Kojien*, s.v. 小姓.

<sup>54</sup> Tonomonosuke was a name passed on from father to son. Hidenao (d. 1626, also known as Tonomonosuke), inherited his father's stipend to hold 11,000 *koku*. Hidenao retired and took tonsure as a Buddhist monk shortly after the Osaka Campaigns and moved to Kyoto in 1619. The Kamio Tomonosuke mentioned in this text likely refers to Hidenao's son, for whom there is no mention in the historical record; however, with a stipend over 10,000 *koku*, he would have qualified to serve as a domain elder. *Kashin jinmei jiten*, 214. *Kanazawa kosekishi*, 47. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 96, 365. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 210.

<sup>55</sup> Maeda Sadasato (1617-1657) was the grandson of Maeda Toshiie by his sixth son Toshisada (1598-1620). During his career, he increased his inherited 4,500 *koku* stipend to 7,000 *koku*. After the retirement or death of longstanding senior retainers in the late 1640s, Sadasato became a senior counselor of the domain. In 1643, he had not yet attained the position with which Kyūbei refers to Sadasato in the text. *Kashin jinmei jiten*, 240-241. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 548. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 796.

our favor, and when Nakamura Sōemon<sup>56</sup> and I were made Captains of the Pages, our service to our lord continued. Lord Mitsutaka showed us his favor by bestowing upon us and additional 200 *koku* for the conveyance of Tonomonosuke's messages.

**[Transcript of Mitsutaka's appointment of Wakita and Nakamura as Captains of the Pages.]**

Among the Captains of the Pages, Tsuda Gen'eimon<sup>57</sup> and Matsudaira Uneme<sup>58</sup> have for many years served in this position, but due to illness must be relieved of duty. At this time, the two of you are promoted to Captains of the Pages. Since this is an issue of pressing concern, let it be so. Kamio Tomomonosuke will provide details [regarding your new duties].

Sincerely,

Mitsutaka, Lord of Bizen [seal]  
The nineteenth day of the fifth month [of Kan'ei 20 (1643)]  
[To:] Lord Wakita Kyūbei  
Lord Nakamura Sōemon

The above [transcribed] order was humbly received by me. I wrote of this appointment to Imaeda Minbu.<sup>59</sup> [The following is a copy of that letter.]

**Memorandum**

When Lord Toshitsune called me to his personal guard, I was suffering from blurred eyesight as well as muscles cramps that prevented

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<sup>56</sup> There is a 1640 record that lists a Nakamura Sebei as a page; it would follow that a captain would have been chosen from among the acting pages, so it is likely that this Sebei is Sōeimon. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 956-957, 960-961.

<sup>57</sup> Tsuda Gen'eimon (d. 1658) was also recognized for his service in the Osaka Campaigns. He also signed decrees regarding fire brigade organization in 1631 and retainer behavior in 1639, likely under the authority of his position of Captain of the Pages. By 1633, Gen'eimon received a 500 *koku* stipend. In 1670, a Tsuda Gen'eimon is listed as holding 3,000 *koku*; it is likely that this is a son carrying the same name, but shows that the Tsuda house grew in prominence. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 342, 665, 904. "Kanbun samurai chō 寛文侍帳," *Kichō shiryō gyarari*, <https://www.library.pref.ishikawa.lg.jp/toshokan/dglib/samurai/doc/kanbun/kanbun.htm> (accessed April 29, 2019). *Kanazawa kosekishi*, vol. 13, 48.

<sup>58</sup> Matsudaira Uneme had a 1,000 *koku* stipend in 1627. Uneme was the grandson of Matsudaira Hōki, although the only reference to this connection is later in this document. He also signed decrees regarding fire brigade organization in 1631 and retainer behavior in 1639, likely under the authority of his position of Captain of the Pages. "Kan'ei yonnen samurai chō." *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 665, 904.

<sup>59</sup> Imaeda Minbu Naotsune (1587-1651), also referred to later in this document as Yaheiji, held a stipend of 12,500 *koku*, and served as senior counsellor, much of his service in Edo for Lords Toshitsune, Mitsutaka, and Tsunanori. His son Chikayoshi received a stipend increase, so that the Imaeda became the highest paid retainers in Kaga Domain. *Kashin jinmei jiten*, 200; "Kan'ei yonnen samurai chō." *Kaga han shiryō*, 365, 591, 643-644, 677-680, 717-719, 762-763, 791. *Kanazawa kosekishi*, vol. 24, 10-11. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 63.

me from walking. Nishio Hayato<sup>60</sup> served as my proxy, and delivered my written oath of allegiance with an explanation for my absence, for which pardon was granted and I was given a position. Afterward, I was appointed to the Financial Office (*San'yōba*) and continue to serve the domain in that capacity.

Since Toshinaga's reign, I have served as a personal retainer with no ambition for public office. Particularly nowadays there is not a single bannerman, eyes dimmed with age, who is as much a nuisance and finds it as difficult to fulfill the public duties suited to younger men than me.

Before I was granted the opportunity to serve Lord Mitsutaka, I would have been forever grateful to serve. I have long desired and have been prepared to serve. Regarding Lord Toshitsune's review of the Osaka campaign in Kan'ei 4 (1631), I was finally among those who received an increased reward from the previous investigation. I was granted an extravagant reward and promoted to Infantry Unit Leader (*monogashira*). Through gracious divine provenance, the truth regarding my reputation was restored. I was truly thankful, but due to my blurred vision and muscle cramps, I turned down appointment as a member of Lord Mitsutaka's personal retinue, but then was appointed as a government official. I immediately submitted my acceptance. While I have been kept on for a long while, it is hard to judge Lord Toshitsune's favor toward me since I was such a nuisance. On top of that, for ceremonies such as New Year's oblations, etc., all the ranks of samurai quietly come forward, first the *hitomochi*,<sup>61</sup> then the musket unit leaders (*teppō gashira*), who of themselves precede all other unit leaders (*kumi gashira*). At such times, I hold pride in my heart, but I am humbled by a sense of unworthiness. While awaiting our Lord's return to the castle, it is hard to measure the remaining years of this transient life. With what remains of my life I submit this missive to you. If the contents of this missive were made public, it would sound like a complaint to our lord's ears. For this reason, I request that you keep this private, but I ask you to do what is appropriate for Lord Mitsutaka.

The sixth day of the sixth month [of Kan'ei 20 (1643)]  
Wakita Kyūbei

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<sup>60</sup> Nishio Hayato entered Maeda Toshiie's service before 1600 at the age of fourteen, and continued to serve Toshiie's successors until his death in 1658. He served under Toshitsune in the Osaka Campaigns, earning a stipend of 5,000 *koku*, and served in various positions such as finance magistrate. *Kashin jinmei jiten*, 234-235. *Kaga han shiryō*, 271, 281, 304, 382, 726-727, 783-791, 939. "Kan'ei yonnen samurai chō." *Kanazawa kosekishi*, vol. 29, 21-22..

<sup>61</sup> *Hitomochi* were retainers with stipends over 1000 *koku*, able to support their own personal retainers. They served as military commanders in time of war, and as mid-level bureaucrats, such as city magistrate, judicial magistrates, etc. Nakai Nobuhiko and James McClain, "Commercial Change and Urban Growth in Early Modern Japan," in *The Cambridge History of Japan: Vol. 4, Early Modern Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 532-533.

[To:] Lord Imaeda Minbu

### Minbu's Response:

Because I felt that your private letter and memorandum is important, I passed them onto our lord for him to read. Lord Mitsutaka affixed his seal to this postscript: "We should not limit ourselves by the shortcomings of the past." Regarding your appointment to Captain of the Pages, the *hitomochi* long considered your abilities and shortcomings relating to the office. Even though your recent memorandum unreasonably exaggerates [your shortcomings], solicited or not, no matter how inappropriate, it was viewed by Lord Mitsutaka. Contrary to your expectations, Lord Mitsutaka appeared to be pleasantly surprised upon reading your memorandum.

Later, when Itō Jiuemon<sup>62</sup> was enfeoffed, I visited the castle to offer my congratulations. At that time, a letter [from Imaeda Minbu] arrived. I share the letter in its entirety.

You were appointed Commander of the Personal Guard recently. While you have an impeccable reputation, it came to our lord's attention that the duties of personal retainer had become onerous as you grew older. Once Lord Toshitsune granted you permission to serve the province, your blurred vision and muscle cramps made it difficult to perform your various public duties. Did you think it would be so easy to request a release from service to Lord Toshitsune? You have endured your physical challenges thus far, it is only reasonable that you are capable of serving in this new position. While you may not have anticipated this opportunity, it is exceptional how your way of thinking aligns with our lord's will, although that is just my opinion.

As our Lord's letter indicates, you, as Captain of the Pages, are of lesser status than the two appointed Squad Leaders of the Mounted Guard (*umamawari kumigashira*), Tamanoi Tōzaemon<sup>63</sup> and Yamamori Kichibei.<sup>64</sup> In our lord's mind, this cannot be helped, just as heaven and earth differ. Before Lord Toshitsune went into retirement six years ago, Tsuda Gen'eimon became ill

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<sup>62</sup> The name of Itō Jiueimon does not appear in other documents.

<sup>63</sup> Tamanoi Tōzaemon Yorio (d. 1645) received recognition for participation in the Osaka Campaigns in 1639, receiving a stipend of 1,400 *koku*, and appointed Inspector, and Commander of Infantry. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 322. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 527.

<sup>64</sup> Yamamori Kichibei (d. 1663) appears in three records of the investigations of battlefield valor during the Osaka Campaigns. In 1616, he inherited a stipend of 850 *koku*. During his career, he was appointed Inspector, Commander of Infantry, Squad Leader of the Mounted Guard, Musket Unit Leader. In 1661, Tōzaemon was raised to the title of *Hatamoto* Magistrate, with a stipend of 2,550 *koku*. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 322, 342, 653. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 879.

while serving as Captain of the Pages. Matsudaira Uneme, because he was grandson of Matsudaira Hōki, was appointed Captain of the Pages, but he lacked qualification. I heard that whenever it was necessary to replace anyone, Lord Mitsutaka meets in private council with his father, Lord Toshitsune. Even though there are many *hitomochi* among [Maeda] House retainers, most lack benevolence (*jin*),<sup>65</sup> thus delaying [Gen'emon and Uneme's replacement]. I also heard that there are very few raised to Squad Leaders of the Mounted Guard or similar positions as well. Even Niwa Shikibu,<sup>66</sup> who was first raised to Captain of the Pages, joined [the Maeda forces] at Daishōji<sup>67</sup> and was rewarded for his service at the Battle of Okayama during the Osaka Campaign. Thereafter, notable retainers, such as Yasuhiko Zama,<sup>68</sup> Kazuramaki Hayato, Sugie Hyōsuke,<sup>69</sup> and Tsuda Gen'emon all received various rewards. More recently during Lord Toshitsune's reign, such benevolent virtue [as represented by these men of accomplishment] seems to have grown scarce among Squad Leaders of the Mounted Guard. However, beyond your various accomplishments, because of your commentaries and other official documents may be publicly read as is, you have gained allies. Since it was inappropriate to bring [poorly written documents]

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<sup>65</sup> *Jin* is one of the cardinal virtues of Confucianism, but it can also relate to Buddhist ideals, so that it was easily incorporated into medieval and early modern Japanese culture dominated by these two religious streams of thought. To quote Robert Bellah, "The virtue of *jin* (Chinese, *jen*, translated as benevolence, humanity, love, etc.) was often highly praised but it is not always clear what was implied. At one extreme it seems to have meant an almost Buddhist compassion for all creatures. At the other it is more like courtesy, decency, merely a generalized obligation to be considerate." Robert Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion: The Cultural Roots of Modern Japan* (New York: The Free Press, 1985), 94.

<sup>66</sup> Niwa Shikibu served as a regiment commander during the Osaka Campaigns, noted for his bravery at the Battle of Okayama. He was from Daishōji, which was separated from Kaga to form a new domain under Maeda Toshitsugu, and Shikibu entered his service at some time after this letter until 1653, when Toshitsugu reduced the number of his retainers and released several, including Shikibu, to return to serve Kaga Domain. *Ishikawa ken shi* 石川県史, vol. 2, (Kanazawa: Ishikawa Ken, 1939), 261. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 245, 334, 342, 345, 628, 653. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 3, 406. "Genna no samurai chō 元和之侍帳," *Kichō shiryō gyararii*, <https://www.library.pref.ishikawa.lg.jp/toshokan/dglib/samurai/doc/genna1/genna1.htm> (accessed May 2, 2019).

<sup>67</sup> Daishōji is located today in Kaga City, Ishikawa Prefecture.

<sup>68</sup> Yasuhiko Zamanosuke was part of Toshitsune's personal guard in 1614. In 1616, he had a 200 *koku* stipend. In 1629, his stipend was increased to 1,600 *koku*. Zamanosuke also married the younger sister of Yasumi Oki, who was once one of the highest ranking retainers in Kaga Domain, but was exiled for the rest of his life in 1633, which appears to be the time that his sister married Zamanosuke. "Genna no samurai chō." "Kan'ei yonnen samurai chō." *Kaga han shiryō*, 246, 788-791. *Kashin jinmei jiten*, 250.

<sup>69</sup> Sugie Hyōsuke (d. 1629) was listed as part of Toshitsune's personal guard in 1614, and was granted a stipend of 1,300 *koku*. In a 1642 list of retainers in Komatsu, what appears to be his son by the same name is recorded as having an 800 *koku* stipend. *Kaga han shiryō*, 246, 609. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 447. "Kan'ei jūkyūnen Komatsu samurai chō."

before Lord Mitsutaka, Wakita Shōhei and Nakamura Rokunojō<sup>70</sup> were called before us to counsel them. While we were not supposed to show favoritism, we urged them to look into rewriting their documents, to reconsider great exaggerations, which particularly afflicted Shōhei's writing. Three days ago when he addressed Lord Mitsutaka, you would not believe the difference [in Shohei's abilities]. When Lord Toshitsune awarded appointments, it was an expression of appreciation. This remains the case with Lord Mitsutaka; when appointments were made despite lack of qualifications or due to public opinion, the result was misfortune in all things. Even in the course of day to day operations of a small unit (*kumi*), it becomes difficult to carry out justice, undermining the Lord's private opinion [of the unqualified appointee], to the effect that the Lord comes to realize that [the appointee] should be replaced.

Lord Toshitsune and Lord Mitsutaka think that there are many among the ranks of the Pages who are competent. Normally in times of trouble, the Lord himself will take command. At that time he will first take with him his Pages and thereby should be victorious. For many years, our Lords conducted inquiries and reports to determine who among the many candidates should be the Captain of the Pages. Unfortunately, it became the Lord's view that the Captains of the Personal Guard were inferior to the Squad Leaders of the Mounted Guard. We did not assent to this from the beginning. This pattern should be reconsidered [by Lord Mitsutaka], but that would be like overcoming the differences of Heaven and Earth.

It would be hard to serve, wizened with age and blurred eyesight, as an Edo Attendant, so it was reasonable to turn down Lord Toshitsune's first request the previous year. However, if you are given an order that is considered part of your duties as a retainer [and then you decline], it is possible that some animosity [regarding your refusal] will be recorded. [Your son] Shōhei and I have exchanged draft letters on how to proceed, so we should be able to get Lord Mitsutaka to consider [your request]. I will hold on to the aforementioned letters. Please ask Shōhei for full details.

Very Truly Yours,

Sixth Month, Nineteenth Day [1643]  
Imaeda Minbu Naotsune

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<sup>70</sup> Nakamura Rokunojō had a stipend of 250 *koku* in 1642, and 500 *koku* in 1670. He does not seem to appear elsewhere in the historical record. "Kan'ei jūkyūnen Komatsu samurai chō." "Kanbun samurai chō." *Kanō kyōdō jūi*, 617.

To: Wakita Kyūbei

Despite my reservations and with all due respect, I accepted the office of Captain of the Pages.

In the ninth month of that same year, I was ordered to serve in Edo. The following year, Lord Tsunanori<sup>71</sup> turned three years old. It was the intention of Lord Mitsutaka for me to place the *shiraga*<sup>72</sup> on the young lord's head. On the twenty-first day of the first month of Shōhō 2 (1644), I went before Lord Mitsutaka, and in his *ni no ma*,<sup>73</sup> placed the *shiraga* on the young lord's head as part of the *kamioki* ceremony.<sup>74</sup> I received generous gifts; from Lord Tsunanori, a Yasumitsu<sup>75</sup> *wakizashi*;<sup>76</sup> from Lord Mitsutaka, gold, *kosode*,<sup>77</sup> and silver coins for my wife; from Lady Ōhime,<sup>78</sup> gold coins and *kosode* for my wife; as well as gifts from Tsukahara Jizaemon<sup>79</sup> and [Ōhime's] Lady-in Waiting.

At the time of the *Kamioki* celebration, [Lord Mitsutaka and I] composed linked verse:

“I humbly partake  
The first in one thousand years  
Frost-covered pine trees”

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<sup>71</sup> The original text used the name, Inuchiyo, a name often given to male children in the direct line of inheritance of the Maeda family. This particular reference is to the heir of Mitsutaka, who replaced him as the fifth Kaga Daimyo, Maeda Tsunanori (1643-1724). “Kanazawa han,” 164.

<sup>72</sup> This is a white wig made of raw silk thread, placed on the child's head during the *kamioki* ceremony. Melinda Papp, *Shichigosan: Change and Continuity of a Family Ritual in Contemporary Urban Japan* (New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 98-99.

<sup>73</sup> In the *shoin zukuri* architectural style, the *ni no ma* was a second room located behind the main room of the living quarters. *Japan Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Shoin-zukuri,” (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2002).

<sup>74</sup> *Kamioki* is literally translated as “putting up the hair.” Until the age of three, children's hair was cut close to the scalp in the belief that this would encourage thick, black hair. At three years old, the *kamioki* ceremony would mark the end of toddler life, and the *shiraga*, a wig mimicking white hair of old age, was placed on the child's head as a promise of long life. Melinda Papp, *Shichigosan*, 98-99.

<sup>75</sup> 康光. Yasumitsu may refer to three different swordsmiths: the most likely is Bishū Osafune Yasumitsu family, who produced swords from the late 1356-1521; Mino-jū Yasumitsu, who was active from 1455-1457; and Sōshū-jū Yasumitsu, who was active from 1570-1573. Markus Sesko, *Index of Japanese Swordsmiths, N-Z* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2012), 326.

<sup>76</sup> A *wakizashi* is the short sword worn by samurai with their katana, or long sword, denoting their status in society. *Japan Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Katana.”

<sup>77</sup> *Kosode* are silk robes, that were often worn over a kimono with *hakama* (trousers), some padded for winter wear. *Japan Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Kimono.”

<sup>78</sup> Ōhime was the daughter of Tokugawa Yorinobu, daimyo of Wakayama Domain, founder of the Kii branch of the Tokugawa clan. Ōhime was adopted by Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu (r. 1623-1651) and married to the Maeda heir, Mitsutaka, in order to strengthen familial ties between the two houses, begun with Lord Toshitsune's marriage to Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada's (r. 1605-1623) daughter, Tamahime. Nihonkai chiikishi kenkyūkai 日本海地域史研究会, *Nihonkai chiikishi kenkyū 日本海地域史研究*, vol. 6 (Tokyo: 文献出版 Bunken shuppan, 1984), 159-160.

<sup>79</sup> Tsukahara Jizaemon was a domain elder under Lord Toshitsune and likely continued under Lord Mitsutaka, as he was involved in the 1633 bridal travel party escorting Lord Mitsutaka and his new bride, Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu's adopted daughter, Ōhime, from Edo to Kanazawa. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 713, 716.

“I also perceive in spring  
The bending of the bamboo”

– Naokata

“Verily tranquil,  
A crane atop a boulder  
Amidst the small pond”

– Lord Mitsutaka

– Lord Mitsutaka

At the ceremony, I had the honor to converse with Shogun Iemitsu. I was asked about myself—my name, my family’s prosperity and success, as well as my military exploits during the Osaka Campaign, to the effect that Lord Mitsutaka heard my history directly from me. The Lady [Takako, Iemitsu’s wife,]<sup>80</sup> also heard our history from my wife. At the time, rumors of these events spread throughout the Edo residence as well as Kanazawa.

O how sorrowful! On the fifth day of the fourth month of that year [1645], Lord Mitsutaka passed away. Such circumstances are beyond description. Unable to contain my grief, I immediately composed a head verse for a solo 100-stanza renga poem (*hyakuin dokugin*).

“The scattered flowers  
As the days progress seem to  
Grow rank with mourning.”

– Naokata

Out of my grief I wrote a 100-stanza renga poem in ten sections to present it on the first anniversary of [Lord Mitsutaka’s] death.

“The flowers are as  
Patterns of graceful beauty  
The former year’s dream.”

“Flowers left behind  
By the wind cascade, painting  
The thatch on the eaves.”

“The scattered blossoms  
Come to conceal beneath them  
Dewdrops from my sleeves.”

“How can this be so?  
How so then, in the fourth month  
Of the Lesser cuckoo?”

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<sup>80</sup> Lady Takako (1622-1683), wife of Tokugawa Iemitsu.

“This, a tale of illusion  
Is revealed by the cuckoo.”

“Do not chase after  
The capital of the moon,  
Ferryboat captain.”

“Disinterested  
Shadow found in the middle  
Of the autumn moon.”

“The moon this morning  
In sympathetic accord  
With the mountain ridge.”

“Bitterness, perhaps,  
Of this world lightly clothed  
By a gentle snow.”

“The snow on Fuji  
Consumes the smoke arising  
From Musashino.”

– Naokata

After the death of Lord Mitsutaka, his son, Tsunanori, succeeded him in his youth.<sup>81</sup> It was necessary to reconsider the method of governance over the Three Provinces, as Lord Toshitsune had taken on himself the burden of all things, so it was necessary at this time to constantly delegate authority. I grew older and became more indebted to Lord Toshitsune for the commissions I received, which will be described in the following passages.

I was commissioned as a judicial magistrate, and later as Kanazawa Town Magistrate, rising higher in the ranks [during Lord Tsunanori’s reign], until it became difficult to serve and I submitted my resignation. While Lord Toshitsune released me from the position of judicial magistrate and some other duties, he kept me on as Captain of the Pages and Town Magistrate, in which I continue to serve to the present. At times, Lord Toshitsune brought me into his confidence, and had me compose drafts of decrees and other official documents.

During the Keian Period (1648-1652), when attending a tea ceremony at Komatsu Castle’s Yoshijima Garden, [I composed the following poem]:

A fine moonlit night  
O’er an island grove of trees  
This morning’s snowfall.

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<sup>81</sup> Mitsutaka died in 1645, just over two years after the birth of Tsunanori. “Kanazawa han,” 164.

—Naokata

After returning to Kanazawa, I received the following **missive from Komatsu**:

We received your letter. We look forward to our next meeting and remain in your debt. Because you are a renga master with a clear perception of the art of poetry, there are rumors that have arisen regarding your intentions toward Furu Sakon<sup>82</sup> and Samon.<sup>83</sup> There is a story about the two of them and how you unexpectedly gave them your calligraphy. It is said that this is indeed the bestowal of a blessing of an excellent example of the art of poetry. It will be satisfactory whether they continue in the recitation of opening verse or even Buddhist verse styles. This will remain confidential. I will consult with Tosa,<sup>84</sup> and pass on [your message].

Twentieth Day of the Tenth Month  
Tsu[da] Genban<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> This is likely Furuichi Sakon Taneshige, in that the author of this letter, or the scribe of the autobiography, dropped the second character in most family names in this letter, as seen by the senders' names: Tsu[da] and Kazura[maki]. Furuichi Sakon appears in the Kan'ei 19 (1642) list of retainers in Komatsu, with a 3,000 *koku* stipend. Furuichi Sakon is mentioned in a record regarding Lord Toshitsune's return from Edo to Komatsu in 1640, and was with Toshitsune in Edo during the funerary rites of Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu in 1652. Sakon continued in Toshitsune's service until Toshitsune died in 1658, after which Sakon performed *junshi*, or ritual suicide upon his master's death. "Kan'ei jūkyūnen Komatsu samurai chō." *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 953, 957. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 3, 237, 272-273, 309-310, 322, 326, 336, 525, 538, 535-557, 563-571. *Kanazawa kosekishi*, vol. 30, 59-60.

<sup>83</sup> Shinagawa Samon Masanao (d. 1658) was a personal retainer of Lord Toshitsune, eventually granted a stipend of 3,000 *koku* and played an important role in Toshitsune's household. It was said that Toshitsune's last words were a call to Samon for help. Samon, like Sakon, performed *junshi* after the death of Toshitsune in 1658. *Kashin jinmei jiten*, 218-219. "Kan'ei jūkyūnen Komatsu samurai chō." *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 3, 264, 313, 322, 337, 447, 519, 545, 562, 582, 587, 599, 622, 638, 642, 645-646, 650, 668-672, 678, 689, 741. *Kanazawa kosekishi*, vol. 30, 61-62.

<sup>84</sup> Tosa appears to refer to Nagahara Doshū Takaharu (Doshū means Tosa Province), and Takaharu's name appears shortly after this letter. Takaharu began serving Toshinaga in 1604, inheriting his father's 7,000 *koku* stipend, served as a commander in the Osaka Campaigns, and was placed in charge of Kaga's contingent of construction crews sent to work on Osaka Castle reconstruction in 1620. Takaharu moved to Komatsu when Toshitsune retired there in 1639 and was appointed domain elder over Toshitsune's lands in Komatsu. He retired in 1649, taking tonsure as a monk. Takaharu was renowned as a skilled renga poet. *Kashin jinmei jiten*, 194. "Genna no samurai chō." *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 334, 365, 608, 657, 795-796, 652-654. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 3, 296, 331, 445, 580. *Kanazawa kosekishi*, vol. 10, 33-34. *Kanō kyōdō jūi*, 615.

<sup>85</sup> Tsuda Genban Masatada (d. 1660) entered service to Toshitsune at fourteen years old. He participated in the Osaka Campaigns, after which he was awarded increases to his stipend and inherited his father's stipend for a total of 3,600 *koku*. Masatada went to Komatsu with Toshitsune in retirement to serve as Temple Registry Magistrate, but worked with Mitsutaka in Kaga Domain administration. After Mitsutaka's early demise, Toshitsune acted as regent for the young Tsunanori, and Masatada continued to help with domain administration, and was rewarded for his service with a stipend of 11,000 *koku*. *Kashin jinmei jiten*, 228-229. "Genna no samurai chō." Kan'ei yonnen samurai chō." "Kanbun samurai chō." *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 366, 788, 849, 954. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 3, 295, 319, 412-414, 444, 576, 608, 654, 672, 677, 680, 683, 685, 691, 722-723, 754, 764, 769, 775, 792, 806. *Kanazawa kosekishi*, vol. 7, 37-38. *Kanō kyōdō jūi*, 552.

Kazura[maki] Hayato  
Attention: Waki[ta] Kyūbei

**Here is another letter:**

Earlier [Nagahara] Takaharu<sup>86</sup> provided his third lesson:

“A fleeting downpour  
Amidst distant peaks, seeking  
After the village”

— Takaharu

“At Yoshijima Garden”

“Even the boulders  
Deep stirrings within the heart  
The snow-covered grounds”

—Akinobu<sup>87</sup>

When Ichikawa Chōzaemon<sup>88</sup> conducted the tea ceremony, conversation turned to Waki[ta] Kyūbei during the renga match. [Kyūbei’s talent] is extremely astonishing.

When Wakita Kyūbei conducts the tea ceremony, he is skilled at renga, and no one else compares to him. Furu[ichi] Sakon told Shinagawa Samon that there is no ordinary person is capable [of such skill]. One needs to hear Kyūbei’s opening stanza on Yoshijima Garden. My own attempt to write on this theme goes nowhere. After Sakon copied the opening stanza above, I thought it should be put on display so I suddenly [took the handwritten poem and] attached the poem to square mounting paper, telling Sakon that I did it in order to show the work to Kyūbei. In the art of poetry, a renga match can be for granting blessings. Nothing else really compares to this method of gaining understanding.

Twentieth day of the eleventh month  
Tsuda Genban  
To Imaeda [Minbu] Yaheiji

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<sup>86</sup> The aforementioned Tosa (see footnote 77).

<sup>87</sup> It is unclear who Akinobu was.

<sup>88</sup> Ichikawa Chōzaemon is listed with a 600 *koku* stipend in the 1605 list of retainers in Toyama, who served as a page for Toshinaga, like Wakita Kyūbei. In a 1615 as well as a 1627 list, he was still shown with a 600 *koku* stipend. Chōzaemon also participated in a 1654 memorial for Lord Toshinaga. There is also one reference to his participation in a tea ceremony at Yoshijima in 1658. “慶長十年富山侍帳 Keichō jūnen Toyama chō,” *Kichō shiryō gyararii*, <https://www.library.pref.ishikawa.lg.jp/toshokan/dglib/samurai/doc/keityo10/keityo10page6.htm> (accessed May 10, 2019). “Genna no samurai chō.” “Kan’ei yonnen samurai chō.” *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 3, 214, 738.

In the first month of Jōō 1 (1652), I made a New Year's visit to Komatsu [and received **the following letter**]:

New Year's greetings, I heard that you have come for a visit to this area. Due to the cold penetrating your bones, it is not necessary for you to make a formal visit. Now that you have come to this area, I am sure you think the same. I therefore instruct you to take time to improve your health. I am of course grateful for the renga match.

Very Truly Yours,

The thirteenth day of the first month  
Tsuda Genban  
To Wakita Kyūbei

When I was recovering from an illness [I received **the following letters**]:

I have sent fifteen caged skylarks to the two of you. Because both of you are sick and elderly, if you look upon the skylarks and realize their skill, your spirits will be sufficiently lifted, their singing will serve as administration to improve your feelings with your meals. Please keep me updated on your condition. I am truly grateful for the cordial renga match.

Very Truly Yours,

Takeda Ichizaburō<sup>89</sup>  
The fifteenth day of the sixth month  
To: Wakita Kyūbei  
Kurosaka Kichizaemon<sup>90</sup>

**[Next Letter:]**

I have read both of your letters sent by express courier. When you look upon the skylarks that were sent to you, I hope it will improve your

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<sup>89</sup> Takeda Ichizaburō Tadatane (d. 1658) was an attractive youth, so Toshitsune brought him into his service as a page with 300 *koku*. He proved useful, and by 1642 he held a stipend of 3,100 *koku*, ultimately raising his income to 3,530 *koku*. He followed Toshitsune into retirement at Komatsu. When Toshitsune died in 1658 of a cerebral hemorrhage at a banquet celebrating the beginning of winter, Ichizaburō was in Edo. Upon receiving the news of his lord's sudden death, he rushed back to Komatsu, paid his respects, then went immediately to the Nichiren Honseiji Temple and committed *junshi*. "Kan'ei jūkyūnen Komatsu samurai chō." *Kashin jinmei jiten*, 223-224. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 135, 441. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 3, 63, 121, 222, 236-237, 251, 371, 538, 555-557, 565, 569, 572, 576, 591, 601, 641-642, 664, 685, 692, 703-705, 734. *Kanazawa kosekishi*, 14-17. *Kanō kyōdō jūi*, 514.

<sup>90</sup> Kurosaka Kichizaemon (d. 1658) is listed in 1627 with a 700 *koku* stipend, which was increased to 1,500 *koku*. He served Lord Toshitsune as a page performing courier services, issuing orders as Toshitsune's agent. He also served as an Infantry Commander and Squad Leader of the Mounted Guard. In 1658, he and Wakita Kyūbei were recipients of skylarks from Lord Toshitsune due to their old age as a comfort. "Kan'ei yonnen samurai chō." *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 784, 837, 848. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 3, 636, 751. *Kanō kyōdō jūi*, 272.

spirits suffering from your chronic illness and that your health will improve exceedingly. I intentionally matched up the skylarks and sent them to you in eight pairs. In all sincerity and gratitude, I hope you like them. I also would like to say that it is not necessary for you to send a letter of thanks. It is the least I can do as an expression of my feelings for you. At one time, I had been sent a lot of skylarks and hawks from Etchū. It is hard to count how many express couriers I used to send thanks. In this instance it is absolutely, absolutely unnecessary. I really can't describe my concern for your well-being. I truly wish for a blessing upon you both. I am ever your servant.

Very Truly Yours,

Takeda Ichizaburō  
The nineteenth day of the sixth month  
To: Wakita Kyūbei  
Kurosaka Kichizaemon

During Meireki (1655-1658) [I received **this letter**]:

Regarding earlier business, I am concerned about the earnest youth who travel back and forth from Komatsu. It is a typical affectation of aging retainers to express good wishes for health and tranquility. It is gradually becoming colder, and with it the pronouncement of illness, so [you] sent a *kosode*. I am of course grateful. As thanks I will make offerings at a local shrine. It may not be efficacious, but I declare my intention and will reliably do so.

Very Truly Yours,

Tsuda Genban  
The seventh day of the ninth month  
To: Lord Wakita Kyūbei

At the end of Meireki 3 (1657), I was appointed to represent Lord Tsunanori in the public works projects for the Edo residence, for which I hold deep gratitude to Lord Toshitsune's kindness over the years which led to this appointment to oversee the first public works projects for Lord Tsunanori. Since my days were numbered, this was the last opportunity to provide service and I desired to be assigned an official position. Considering this a laudable request, Imaeda Minbu, at Lord Toshitsune's behest, wrote the **following private missive**:

From the first, your petition was well received. For my part I am very happy for you. Please be at ease, there is nothing more to do on your part.

On the twenty-first of last month, three of your letters were delivered by Mizuhara Seizaemon just after the end of night watch, and I have read them.

Next year, you will be introduced to Lord Kaga as Edo Residence Public Works Magistrate, the first in Lord Tsunanori's reign but without official position. On top of that, due to your advanced years it is unclear how long you will have the desire to serve. You will be employed as a household retainer and oversee public works, moving to Edo to be on duty in the residence there. You will receive an official letter with details regarding the specific priorities [for your new position]. Tomorrow morning, I will give you correspondence, including an official written response, as well as what I sent to Shinagawa Samon.

As I read over the content of the letter that evening, I consider the recommended priorities to be praiseworthy. This should accord with your desire [to serve], in that you are tasked with fulfilling half the responsibilities of the office.

There is distinguished service in never failing to complete all the Lord's arrangements. In order to accomplish this in your [new] position, you may request up to three others in Edo [to serve with you]. You are not allowed to call on someone [currently residing in Kaga Domain]. Seizaemon<sup>91</sup> is required to return [to Kanazawa] within two to three days. At that point, more detailed instructions will be sent to you. So that you don't become apprehensive regarding this situation, at least one day earlier request good fortune on all sides, and even if it is inconvenient to do so, study this letter. I earnestly request that you share these instructions with [your son] Heinojō.

You mentioned that you heard about a list of next year's prospective appointments that already includes one of the unit leaders of Kanazawa, Shinagawa Samon. Then just a short time later you say that no one else has said they heard such things. There is no need to be anxious at this stage.

As stated in the letter, an official notification has also been sent to Samon, so let your heart be at ease. I hope this letter finds you in good health and that you remain so. I wish you future success. Take care, the public works position is challenging, in that it is unbelievably difficult to continuously juggle everything.

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<sup>91</sup> Mizuhara Seizaemon appears in a 1605 list of Toyama retainers with a 300 *koku* stipend, and 750 *koku* in a 1672 Kaga Domain retainer list. He is noted as having been in service in Edo in 1642. During his career, he served as Customs Magistrate, Musket Unit Commander, and Squad Leader of the Mounted Guard. "Keichō jūnen Toyama samurai chō." "Kanbun samurai chō." *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 3, 47. *Kanō kyōdō jū*, 820.

Even though this time of year the cold is intense, one needs not worry since Lord Toshitsune is not suffering from illness or pain, and partakes of his meals regularly. Lord Tsunanori is doing well, and has become exceedingly benevolent. Recently he has also begun earnestly holding audience, and his engagements increase daily, taking great pains [to fulfill his duties as lord]. I finish composing this letter in the hour of the rooster. Detailed instructions will follow.

Very Truly Yours,

Imaeda Minbu  
The thirteenth day of the eleventh month  
To: Lord Wakita Kyūbei

**Shinagawa Samon's letter:**

I wish you a Happy New Year. I hope that nothing changes in the New Year, as both lords<sup>92</sup> are in good health. Anyway, I read your letter from the fourth of last month. Regarding your desire to serve in the public works position this year, Imaeda Minbu informed me of the details of the offer. It is only right to be grateful to be employed with half the duties. A kind order should be highly valued. Such courteous treatment entails a heavy obligation beyond an expression of gratitude. It is good to know that you are uninjured and strong. May you have long spring days and much happiness.

Very Truly Yours,

Shinagawa Samon  
The third day of the first month  
To: Lord Wakita Kyūbei

At dawn on the twelfth day of the tenth month of Manji 1 (1658), Lord Toshitsune passed from this world. There was nothing to be done. Because I had a close relationship with both Lord Toshitsune and Lord Tsunanori, it was useless to request permission to retire at that time, but now that young Lord Tsunanori is sixteen, and I am a senile seventy-five, I only await my remaining days to vanish like the dew.

At Kanazawa's Hōenji,<sup>93</sup> I performed charitable services for Bimyōin.<sup>94</sup> I presented and dedicated a 100-verse sequence reflecting my grief, placing them in front of [Toshitsune's] mortuary tablet.

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<sup>92</sup> Toshitsune and Tsunanori.

<sup>93</sup> Hōenji was established by Maeda Toshiie shortly after he became lord of Kanazawa in 1583. The temple became the Maeda family's temple, where most family members were posthumously enshrined. *Hōenji*, <http://www.gokokuzan-houenji.jp/> (accessed May 31, 2019).

<sup>94</sup> Toshitsune's posthumous name. "Kanazawa han," 164.

“Look upon my sleeves  
Floating world in northern  
Erratic showers”

—Naokata

On the tenth day of the twelfth month, while traveling with [Lord Toshitsune’s] ashes to inter them on Mt. Koya, [I composed the following]:

“O why in the end  
Must the way home through mountains  
Follow snow-strewn paths?”

—Naokata

It is difficult to contain tears of sorrow.

In the spring of Manji 2 (1659), valuable mementoes of Bimyōin, such as gold, silver, tea implements, etc., were bestowed as gifts on all of his Komatsu *hitomochi* commanders, personal retainers and magistrates. Kanazawa’s first families, the domain elders, were also given gold, silver, and tea implements. Captains and Squad Leaders of the Mounted Guard, including myself, were given five gold pieces. Musket unit leaders down to infantry unit leaders received between two to three gold pieces.

The preceding is an example of Lord Tsunanoris’ orders.

On the third day of the seventh month that year, Okumura Konban<sup>95</sup> and Tsuda Genban were sent to inform me that, out of gratitude for my long service to generations of Maeda lords and due to my age, Lord Tsunanori had granted me permission to retire to live out my days in comfort. My heir, Heinojō, was granted 1,000 *koku* while I was given a pension of 300 *koku*. My gratitude is overwhelming, in that the desire of many years was fulfilled. Thereafter, I became a Buddhist priest, assuming my old name Jotetsu once more. I entered into partial seclusion to use up my firewood<sup>96</sup> and wait for whatever may come.

Regarding the Wakita family business of scholarship, I learned Japanese ways and became devoted to the art of poetry.

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<sup>95</sup> Okumura Konban Yasuhiro Yutaka (1627-1687) became the head of one of the top 8 families of Kaga Domain at seventeen years old following the death of his father and grandfather. He entered service to Lord Mitsutaka with a stipend of 10,450 *koku*, increased to 12,450 *koku* in 1661. He became a domain elder in 1652, and a year before Yasuhiro’s death, he was promoted to *Ōdoshiyori*, or senior domain elder. Yasuhiro was also a Neo-Confucian scholar, composing two treatises. *Kashin jinmei jiten*, 211. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 3, 240, 309, 332, 408, 444-445, 449, 453, 465, 478, 501, 511-512, 538, 542, 553, 555, 580, 582, 715, 766-767, 769, 771, 775-776, 778, 780, 784, 795, 812, 817-818, 929, 935, 937, 939, 941, 945, 947, 951, 953, 965. *Kanō kyōdō jū*, 109.

<sup>96</sup> The firewood reference is from a passage in the Lotus Sutra regarding the death of the Buddha: 薪尽火滅. “That night the Buddha passed away, As a fire goes out when firewood is completely consumed.” *The Lotus Sutra: A Contemporary Translation of a Buddhist Classic*, trans. Gene Reeves (Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2008), 72.

### Regarding Transmission of Knowledge of *The Tale of Genji*:

[From the teachings of] Ikkadō, Jōa,<sup>97</sup> Joken<sup>98</sup>  
Furuta Oribe<sup>99</sup>

Lord Furuta Oribe gained some merit for his devotion to *Genji* from Lord Nishisanjō Sankōin.<sup>100</sup> However, he turned to the tradition of Joken and Ikkadō. While lecturing he would, according to his inclination, periodically include in his readings Lord Nishi's teachings and secret transmissions, and inform Joken of everything.

[Recipients of the aforementioned scholarly lineage of transmission:]  
Lady Hōshun'in<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Ikkadō and Jōa, written in the manuscript as separate individuals, is likely a reference to two individuals who were Jishū Buddhist priests associated with the Chōzenji Temple in modern day Shizuoka City. The first Ikkadō Jōa (1501-1562), was known for his renga poetry. For samples of his work in English, see Steven D. Carter, *Haiku Before Haiku: From the Renga Masters to Bashō* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 108-110. The second Ikkadō Jōa (1531-1619) was supposedly a cousin of Sengoku era warlord Takeda Shingen, although this has been refuted by other evidence indicating Jōa's father was "Lord Akamatsu," possible Lord of Kōzuki Castle in modern Hyōgō Prefecture. He was a Buddhist monk expert in Japanese literature and poetry. He moved to Kyoto where he studied with Renga master, Satomura Jōha (1525-1602), as well as literature and poetry specialists, the court noble family, Sanjōnishi (sometimes referred to as Nishisanjō), with whom he studied *The Tale of Genji*, *The Tale of Ise*, and the *Kokinwakashū*. Naitō Satoko 内藤佐登子, *Jōha Fujimi michi no ki no sekai 紹巴富士見道記の世界* (Tokyo: Zokugun shoruijū kanseikai 続群書類従完成会, 2002), 215-216.

<sup>98</sup> The most informative source regarding Joken is Kyūbei's autobiography, which is referenced by other sources. The *Kanazawa kosekishi* references Kyūbei but supplements it with information from an additional source. Yamada Joken had a residence in Ishibiki-chō, a neighborhood just southeast of Kenroku Park in Kanazawa. In 1613, the temple magistrate, Shigehara Dewa purchased Joken's residence in 1613 in order to construct a temple in the area. He also went by the name, Ikkadō, indicating his educational lineage. *Kanazawa kosekishi*, vol. 10, 32-33. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 873.

<sup>99</sup> Furuta Oribe Shigenari (1544-1615), was Sengoku period general who served both Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He was a tea master, a disciple of Sen no Rikyū. After Rikyū was executed, Oribe became the premier tea master. He was a cultural trendsetter in the tea ceremony and Japanese aesthetics for court nobles, Shogun Hidetada, daimyo, and leading merchants. During the Osaka Campaigns, it was discovered that Oribe's son was in secret communication with the Toyotomi defenders; following the victory at Osaka, Shogun Hidetada ordered Oribe to commit seppuku. One of Oribe's most prominent fellow daimyo/tea aficionados was Kyūbei's first lord, Maeda Toshinaga. Hideaki Furukawa, "The Tea Master Oribe," in *Turning Point: Oribe and the Arts of Sixteenth-century Japan* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 99-102. Ryōji Kuroda and Takeshi Murayama, *Classic Stoneware of Japan: Shino and Oribe* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 2002), 34-38.

<sup>100</sup> Nishisanjō Sankōin refers to Sanjōnishi San'eda, who belonged to the Northern branch of the Fujiwara courtier clan, who specialized in the study of Japanese literature and poetry and established their own secret transmissions on *The Tale of Genji*, *The Tale of Ise*, and the *Kokinwakashū*. During the Sengoku period, he interacted with several prominent daimyo, including Takeda Shingen and Oda Nobunaga. Maeda Tsunanori corresponded with the Sanjōnishi family from 1702 until 1720, reflecting a continued connection with the scholarship of the Sanjōnishi tradition. *Kojien*, s.v. 三条西. Donald Keene, *Seeds in the Heart: Volume 1, Japanese Literature from Earliest Times to the Late Sixteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 1141. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 353.

<sup>101</sup> The posthumous name of Lady Matsu, Maeda Toshiie's wife,

Naokata, Wakita Kyūbei

Joken, a private scholar from Satsuma Domain, was deeply and exclusively committed to the way of poetry since he had no official appointments. He did not need a residence, and due to his wandering from domain to domain, his familiarity with people was not shallow. One could just feel that he was a man of refined personality, free from avarice. One year, at the time Lady Hōshun'in resided in Edo, she enticed Joken [to come to Kaga]. Kaga's renga practitioners considered Joken's school of thought, and many joined. Fortunately [for me], I alone received the secret initiation manuals<sup>102</sup> [from Joken]. Thereafter, Joken remained in Kanazawa for a few years, receiving a stipend from Lord Toshitsune's wife (posthumously known as Tentokuin), and a female attendant, Chiku (posthumously known as Ganki),<sup>103</sup> was his *Genji* disciple.

**Regarding Transmission of Knowledge of *Kokinshū*:**<sup>104</sup>

[Line of transmission:]<sup>105</sup>

Sōjin (Sakai townsman Kawauchiya),<sup>106</sup> Sōryū (Shimadaya),<sup>107</sup> Jōshin (Daikoku Jōze)<sup>108</sup>

<sup>102</sup> The term used is *kirigami*, which originated with Zen transmission practices, in which monks “recorded manuals of instructions for the performance of secret initiations and rituals.” Ishikawa Rikizan, “Transmission of Kirigami (Secret Initiation Documents: A Sōtō Practice in Medieval Japan,” edited and translated by Kawahashi Seishū and Suguwara Shōei, in *The Koan: Texts and Contexts in Zen Buddhism*, edited by Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 234-235. Lewis Edwin Cook, “The Discipline of Poetry: Authority and Invention in the *Kokinshū*” (PhD Diss., Cornell University, 2000), 3-7.

<sup>103</sup> No other known record mentions this person.

<sup>104</sup> The *Kokinshū*, or *Kokinwakashū*, “Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times,” is a Heian Period collection of *waka* poetry, dating to the early 10<sup>th</sup> century. For an English translation, see Helen Craig McCullough, *Kokin Wakashū: The First Imperial Anthology of Japanese Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).

<sup>105</sup> The following list of names is in essence a “lineage” of the transmission of the secret tradition; the first line is the founder, then succeeding “generations” to Lady Hōshun'in, Kyūbei, and others in Kaga Domain.

<sup>106</sup> Kawauchiya Sōjin (b. 1483) was a poet from Sakai. He was a disciple of the leading literature and poetry master Shōhaku (1443-1527), from whom he received transmission of knowledge of the *Kokinwakashū*. After Shōhaku's death, Sōjin was the leading renga master of Sakai. “Sōjin 宗訊,” デジタル版 日本人名大辞典 *Dijitaru han Nihon jinmei jiten*, <https://kotobank.jp/word/%E5%AE%97%E8%A8%8A-1085781> (accessed May 17, 2019).

<sup>107</sup> Sōryū was also a disciple of Shōhaku, studying the *Kokinwakashū* as well as renga. The text states he was of the house of Shimadaya (嶋田屋), but other sources indicate that his house was Shimodaya (下田屋). “Sōryū 宗柳,” *Dijitaru han Nihon jinmei jiten*, <https://kotobank.jp/word/%E5%AE%97%E6%9F%B3-18478#E7.BE.8E.E8.A1.93.E4.BA.BA.E5.90.8D.E8.BE.9E.E5.85.B8> (accessed May 17, 2019).

<sup>108</sup> Daikoku Jōze (d. 1636) of Sakai was the chief mint for Toyotomi Hideyoshi and later for the Tokugawa. After the Tokugawa established hegemony, Jōze founded the mint in Edo's Ginza district, and later a second mint in Kyoto. Aside from being from Sakai, there is no record of his literary training or certification, nor the name of Jōshin, but being in Edo after 1600 meant that he may have interacted with the Maeda in their scholarly endeavors. Asao Naohiro, “The Sixteenth-century Unification,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan: Volume 4, Early Modern Japan*, eds. John W. Hall, et al (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 61. “Daikoku Jōze 大黒常是,” *Dijitaru han Nihon jinmei jiten*,

Ishino Izumi (Karasumaru and Sōjin Traditions),<sup>109</sup> Lady Hōshun'in

[Second line of transmission:]

Botanka<sup>110</sup>

Takarabe Shinzon (Resident of Satsuma),<sup>111</sup> Mugifuda Dōtetsu<sup>112</sup>

Takarabe Ikan,<sup>113</sup> Takarabe Sōsa,<sup>114</sup> Joken

Lady Hōshun'in

Naokata, Wakita Kyūbei, Yamada Jin'uemon<sup>115</sup>

Imaeda Minbu Naotomo

Okumura Konban Yutaka

### Regarding Transmission of Knowledge of *Shū*,<sup>116</sup> Written Lectures of Sōjin:

Sōjin's written lectures were given to Lady Hōshun'in by Ishino Izumi. Lady Hōshun'in, hearing that Joken's *Shū* tradition, whose founders, Sōjin and Shinzon, were considered first rate, urgently requested that Sōjin's written lectures be read aloud, as if for good luck.<sup>117</sup> Of course, she put her faith in this tradition all the more. Joken's young grandson, Yamada Jin'uemon, was just mastering the poem, "Naniwazu."<sup>118</sup> He was placed under my care and matured into his family's inheritance. When it was time to open up the box containing his family's will and testament, it was problematic as [Imaeda

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<https://kotobank.jp/word/%E5%A4%A7%E9%BB%92%E5%B8%B8%E6%98%AF-91124> (accessed May 17, 2019).

<sup>109</sup> Ishino Izumi Ujimitsu (d. 1607) was originally from Miki, Harima Province, prior to becoming a retainer of Maeda Toshiie in the early 1580s. He was known as a master of the bow and arrow. He earned recognition in several battles, earning a stipend of 7,700 *koku*. Izumi may have been a disciple of Karasumaru Mitsuhiro (1579-1638), a court aristocrat who received training in the *Kokinwakashū* from Hosokawa Yūsei (1534-1610). *Kanō kyōdō jūi*, 41. "Karasumaru Mitsuhiro 烏丸光広," *Nihon daihyakka zensho* 日本大百科全書,

<https://kotobank.jp/word/%E7%83%8F%E4%B8%B8%E5%85%89%E5%BA%83%28%E3%81%8B%E3%82%89%E3%81%99%E3%81%BE%E3%81%BF%E3%81%A4%E3%81%B2%E3%82%8D%29-1519313> (accessed May 17, 2019).

<sup>110</sup> Botanka (1443-1527) was also known as Shōhaku as well as Muan. He was the master of Sōjin, expert in the *Kokinwakashū*, *Tale of Genji*, *Tale of Ise*, and renga poetry. He belonged to the court noble family, the Nakano'in. Stephen Carter, *Haiku Before Haiku*, 73. "Shōhaku 肖柏," *Nihon daihyakka zensho*

<https://kotobank.jp/word/%E8%82%96%E6%9F%8F-79714#E6.97.A5.E6.9C.AC.E5.A4.A7.E7.99.BE.E7.A7.91.E5.85.A8.E6.9B.B8.28.E3.83.8B.E3.83.83.E3.83.9D.E3.83.8B.E3.82.AB.29> (accessed May 17, 2019).

<sup>111</sup> There is no discernable record of this individual.

<sup>112</sup> There is no discernable record of this individual.

<sup>113</sup> There is no discernable record of this individual.

<sup>114</sup> There is no discernable record of this individual.

<sup>115</sup> The only mention of Yamada Jin'eimon in Kaga records is that he received a stipend of 150 *koku* in 1661. See "Kanbun samurai chō."

<sup>116</sup> Another abbreviation referring to the *Kokinshū*.

<sup>117</sup> The original literal meaning is "like carving an amulet."

<sup>118</sup> This is a poem from the kana preface of the *Kokinshū* that was used as the first step in learning to write and understand *waka poetry* since the Heian period. *Kokin Wakashū: The First Imperial Anthology of Japanese Poetry*, trans. Helen Craig McCullough (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 3-4.

Minbu]<sup>119</sup> had become deeply attached to him. The box containing the works of Sōjin and Shinzon were placed in Lord Tsunanori's library.

Botanka's direct descendants undoubtedly know this. The Priest Shinzon was a poet. The following was recorded to be Muan's<sup>120</sup> preferred opening verse:

“With the bush warbler  
A faint aroma of plum  
On the wing-stirred breeze?”

The aforementioned Priest Joken was not one to reside in one place, but wandered about, going to Kyoto and thereafter to Edo where he finally passed away at the home of Gotō Saburō.<sup>121</sup> At the time he was seventy-five. In my pain, [I composed the following]:

“Hovering firefly  
Bright jewel ignoring my voice  
What destination?”

Here I will enumerate the various ways I served [the Maeda House] from my youth. During the reign of Toshinaga, as several letters personally written by Lord Toshinaga to Ōhashi Sanae<sup>122</sup> and myself show, I was appointed to serve as the lord's agent throughout the Three Provinces. During the reign of Lord Toshitsune, I held several appointments: Financial Collections Magistrate, Kanazawa Castle Defensive Works Magistrate, and the Lord's Household Treasurer with Aoki Sukenojō.<sup>123</sup> After the Osaka Campaigns, I also served as Inspector, with fifteen muskets and funds for my use. Thereafter I wanted to hold a position in the Edo Residence<sup>124</sup> public works office, I submitted a justification [to Lord Toshitsune], who granted me the office of Treasurer.

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<sup>119</sup> The text uses the name, Naotomo, which was an alternate name used by Minbu. *Kashin jinmei jiten*, 200.

<sup>120</sup> Muan was another name for Botanka.

<sup>121</sup> Despite a difference in one of the characters in the personal name, this was likely Gotō Shōzaburō Mitsutsugu (1571-1625), the founder of the Tokugawa's official gold mint located in Edo. He also assisted in the establishment of the silver mint (Ginza), which was overseen by Daikoku Koretsune Jōshin, previously mentioned, so increases the likelihood that this is whom Kyūbei referred. *Keizai zasshisha 經濟雜誌社, Nihon shakai jii 日本社會事彙*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Keizaizasshisha, 1908), 1089-1090.

<sup>122</sup> Ōhashi Sanae is listed as a retainer in Toyama holding a 200 *koku* stipend in 1605. In a record from 1610, Wakita Kyūbei is paired with Ōhashi Rokueimon to speak for Lord Toshinaga regarding construction issues in Nagoya (likely a shogunate-related service requirement). Sanae and Rokueimon were likely the same individual. “Keichō jūnen Toyama samurai chō.” *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 60-61.

<sup>123</sup> Aoki Sukenojō received 600 *koku* stipend in 1615, and was noted for his participation in the Osaka Campaigns. He also served as a Financial Magistrate. “Genna no samurai chō.” *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 312, 550, 834, 889-890.

<sup>124</sup> Sujikai is the term used, and appears to have been another name for the area where the Maeda's Edo residence was located, in present day Hongō, the University of Tokyo campus.

At the time of the investigation before the high officials of the Three Provinces, I was serving as Niikawa [District]<sup>125</sup> Finance Officer with Maeda Keirō.<sup>126</sup> With the conclusion of this investigation, Okumura Genzaemon,<sup>127</sup> Miyagi Uneme,<sup>128</sup> Aoki Sukenojō, and I were appointed as Financial Magistrates over the Three Provinces, to join Tsuda Gen'emon, Kikuchi Daigaku,<sup>129</sup> Aoyama Oribe,<sup>130</sup> Mori Kendayū,<sup>131</sup> and Nakamura Sōemon, who continued to serve as magistrates.

Kazuramaki Hayato, Okumura Genzaemon, Kikuchi Daigaku, and I served together as Judicial Magistrates.<sup>132</sup> During the reign of Lord Mitsutaka, Tsuda Gen'emon and Matsudaira Uneme stepped down as Captains of the Pages and Lord Mitsutaka chose Nakamura Sōemon and me as their replacements, then added Mori Kendayū and

<sup>125</sup> Niikawa District was part of Etchū Province, today in Toyama Prefecture. In 1639, after the time Kyūbei served there, most of Niikawa District was included in the newly formed Toyama Domain, given to Toshitsune's second son, Toshitsugu.

<sup>126</sup> Maeda Keirō's name appears once in the records, listed as one of the Communications Officers for the Osaka Campaigns. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 246.

<sup>127</sup> Okumura Genzaemon Nagamoto (d. 1652) held a 5,000 *koku* stipend in 1615, and a 4,980 *koku* stipend in 1627. He began serving Maeda Toshiie, and rose to prominence when he took command of the Daishōji forces after the commander, his brother Uneme, was killed in battle. He later participated in the Osaka Campaigns. He served as judicial magistrate alongside the individuals mentioned by Kyūbei. "Genna no samurai chō." "Kan'ei yonnen samurai chō." *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 107. *Kanazawa kosekishi*, vol. 3, 25-26. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 496-497, 526, 834, 889-890. *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 107.

<sup>128</sup> Miyagi Uneme Naganari is listed as a retainer from Toyama holding a 700 *koku* stipend in 1605. In 1615, his stipend increased to 1,300 *koku*, then to 2,300 *koku* by 1627. He served in the Osaka Campaigns as a Communications Officer. Keichō jūnen Toyama samurai chō." "Genna no samurai chō." "Kan'ei yonnen samurai chō." *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 826. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 537, 589, 653, 692, 716, 805, 824, 834, 889-890.

<sup>129</sup> Kikuchi Daigaku, also known as Naoyoshi or Jūrokurō, held several magistrate-level positions. It seems that the name Daigaku passed through seven generations, but it is likely that this Daigaku was the son of the first Daigaku (d. 1617), who held a 1,500 *koku* stipend in 1605 to 1612. "Keichō jūnen Toyama samurai chō." "Keichō 17-19 nen Keichō no samuraichō 慶長 17~19 年慶長之侍帳," *Kichō shiryō gyararii*,

<https://www.library.pref.ishikawa.lg.jp/toshokan/dglib/samurai/doc/keityo17/keityo17page12.htm> (accessed May 22, 2019); *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 139, 416, 604; *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 3, 28-29, 452, 555, 580, 603, 719, 765-766, 781; *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 227.

<sup>130</sup> Aoyama Oribe Munenaga (d. 1675) served Toshitsune in Edo, and only received a 500 *koku* stipend. However, he rose up in the ranks under Tsunanori to receive a 2,650 *koku* stipend by 1661, and the status of *hitomochi*. He also served Lord Mitsutaka, and was a participant in his funeral procession to Mt. Koya. He served Tsunanori in various capacities alongside Kyūbei in Kanazawa as well as Edo, although he appears to have been a contemporary of Kyūbei's younger son, Shōhei. "Kanbun samurai chō." *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 957; *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 3, 160-161, 246, 499-500, 538, 555, 580, 596, 760, 766, 772, 781; *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 29.

<sup>131</sup> Mori Kendayū Suketomo (d. 1669) held a 650 *koku* stipend in 1616. Kendayū participated in the Osaka Campaigns at age sixteen, holding the rank of captain and serving as a Communications Officer. His bravery on the battlefield was well known, and came to the attention of Lord Toshitsune, who raised his stipend to 1,300 *koku*. Later Kendayū served as Kanazawa Town Magistrate with Kyūbei. Thereafter, he served as Temples & Shrines Magistrate, Captain of the Pages. See "Genna no samurai chō." *Kanazawa kosekishi*, vol. 24, 20-21; *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 2, 246, 271, 281, 342, 653, 904; *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 3, 46, 136, 246, 543, 580; *Kanō kyōdō jii*, 853.

<sup>132</sup> This occurred in 1641. See *Kanazawa kosekishi*, vol. 3, 25-26.

Kitagawa Kyūbei as well. When Lord Toshitsune appointed Tominaga Kageyuzaemon<sup>133</sup> and me to the office of Kanazawa Town Magistrate, my request to step down as Judicial Magistrate was granted, but I continued on as Captain of the Pages. There were a handful of other service opportunities that cannot be recorded here. In my service to the various lords, I was never raised to the rank of *hitomochi*; however, there is no hiding the fact that I earned more admiration and respect than my peers and most of those of higher rank. My riches and honors are the will of heaven.

This account is for my descendants in the future. My concern is that these words be preserved through our lineage until the generation that will not know the setting of the moon.

Auspicious day<sup>134</sup> of the first month of Manji 3 [1660]

[Signed:] Wakita Kyūbei Naokata, The monk Jotetsu

To:

Wakita Heinojō

Wakita Shōhei

Scribe:

Morita Shōkurō Masanari<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Tominaga Kageyuzaemon Sukemori was a Maeda retainer, second generation of the same name. He inherited his father's 1,500 *koku* stipend and served the Maeda as Squad Leader of the Mounted Guard, Town Magistrate, and Temples & Shrines Magistrate, until his retirement in 1659. "Keichō 17-19 nen Keichō no samuraichō," *Kichō shiryō gyarari*, <https://www.library.pref.ishikawa.lg.jp/toshokan/dglib/samurai/doc/keityo17/keityo17.htm> (accessed May 22, 2019). "Kan'ei yonnen samurai chō." *Kanazawa kosekishi*, vol. 22, 2. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 3, 417-418. *Kanō kyōdō jū*, 599-600.

<sup>134</sup> The term used is *kisshin*, meaning lucky or auspicious day. According to the *rokuyō*, a six-day rotation of various degrees of luck, every fifth day is *taian*, which is likely what *kisshin* indicates. Ted Bestor, "Wholesale Sushi: Culture and Commodity in Tokyo's Tsukiki Market," in *Theorizing the City: The New Urban Anthropology Reader*, ed. Setha M. Low (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 230-231. Jōya Moku, *Japan and Things Japanese* (London: Kegan Paul, 2006), 370-371. A consideration of the *rokuyō* rotation for the first month of Manji 3, there are three days that are *taian*: the fifth day, the seventeenth, or the twenty-ninth day. These calculations were made using Paul Yachita Tsuchihachi, *Japanese Chronological Tables from 601 to 1872 A.D.* (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1952).

<sup>135</sup> Shōkurō was stationed in Edo in 1658, when Kyūbei informally served as public works magistrate, and participated in shogi (Japanese chess) with Edo masters and fellow retainers. Kasai Jun'ichi, "Kaden: Kim (Wakita) Jōtetsu jiden," 187. *Kaga han shiryō*, vol. 3, 685.