

The Structure of City Ward Administration in Early Modern Osaka: The Example of Official Lodgings

Chō (neighborhood unit or city ward) were the basic unit of early modern Japanese cities. These early modern *chō* were quite different from contemporary neighborhoods, despite often sharing the same name. *Chō* of the early modern period were corporate, self-governing status groups composed of *chōnin*. Though *chōnin* can be translated as “townsperson,” in the early modern period it was a legal title that referred to those individuals who owned property within a given *chō* neighborhood unit. Most *chō* were composed of residential units on both sides of a main street running through the neighborhood. This presentation focuses on the neighborhood of Doshōmachi sanchō-me in Osaka in order to explore the structure and administration of *chō* in the early modern period.

Doshōmachi sanchō-me is located in the northern part of the Senba district of Osaka. It runs east to west along Doshōmachi Avenue and lies in between four other *chō*, Doshōmachi ichichō-me and gochō-me. Of these *chō*, two of them – sanchō-me and ichichō-me – were home to a trade organization (*nakagai nakama*) that specialized in the purchase and sale of medicinal ingredients. This group purchased medicinal ingredients from wholesalers (*tonya*) or directly from cultivators, divided the material based on their quality, then sold these ingredients not just in Osaka but across Japan. In the Meiji era (1868-1912), most of the trade organizations transformed into pharmaceutical companies. As a result, one can still see many pharmaceutical companies around the Doshō-machi area today.

It is necessary to say a little about the physical and social make-up of the *chō*. As mentioned earlier, a *chō* was composed of residential units – both the buildings and the land – on both sides of a street that ran through the *chō*. Those who owned buildings within the *chō* were called “*iemochi*” (house-owner) and it is these *iemochi* who were legally considered “townspeople” (*chōnin*) and counted as official members of the *chō* group. Yet also in the *chō* lived tenants (*kashiya-nin*) who rented houses built by the *chōnin* landlord. Though these tenants lived in the *chō*, they were not considered townspeople because they owned no property in the *chō*. There were also several types of property owners: there were those that lived in the residence they owned (*itsuki-iemochi*), those who owned property in the *chō* but lived elsewhere in the city (*tachō-mochi*), those who lived outside of Osaka (*takoku-mochi*), and those who lived in the *chō* but in a residence other than the one they owned (*chōnai-mochi*). Between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in Doshōmachi sanchō-me, the members of the medicinal trade organization maintained a relatively high degree of permanent residence in the *chō* compared to other kinds of landlord *chōnin*.

Now we turn to *chō* administration. The *chōnin* (landholders) were responsible for the administration of a *chō*. The landholders selected from their number a representative called a *chō-toshiyori* (town elder) who formed the center of *chō* governance. Supporting the elder were two other landholders called *gatsugyōji*, who served for one month on a rotational basis. To administer the *chō*, all landholders who hold regular meetings (*yoriai*) and create their own law codes called *chō-shikimoku* to administer internal *chō* matters. Meetings among the landholders were usually held at a place called a *chō kaisho*, which was a space collectively owned by all the

landholders of a *chō*. Serving within the *chō kaisho* building was an individual hired by the landholders to assist in the management of a *chō* called a *chōdai*. The *chōdai* received a salary from the landholders of the *chō* and often maintained underlings such as night watchmen (*yabannin*).

From the early seventeenth-century onwards, the Tokugawa shogunate annually dispatched groups of samurai from Edo to Osaka to act as guards for Osaka Castle. These groups of samurai required lodgings after arriving in Osaka but before their year of guard duty began. Thus, various *chō* located near Osaka Castle in areas such as Uemachi and Senba were mandated by the shogunate to provide these samurai with lodgings. These lodgings were called *goyō-yado* (official lodgings). In the mid-eighteenth century, the landholders of Doshōmachi sanchō-me – which was responsible for providing *goyō yado* – decided on the order in which landholders were responsible for providing lodgings, the method of paying the costs, and the upper limit to the costs that the *chō* would pay.

There were two methods for providing *goyō yado* to incoming samurai. One was to lodge the officials in the residence of a landholder (*chōnin*); the other was to use the *kaisho* meeting place, though this was only permitted in cases when the landholder responsible for that year's duty did not live within the *chō*, or when his residence was too small. However, as many landholders resented having to provide their own residences to visiting samurai, it became increasingly common to lodge the samurai in the *chō kaisho*, regardless of whether or not the landholder in question lived in the *chō*. The *kaisho* of Doshōmaichi sanchō-me continued to be utilized as a lodging space well into the nineteenth century. This was due to both the onerous duty of providing *goyō yado* and the fact that many of the landholders of that *chō* administered their medicinal trade association activity within the *chō*.

In the nineteenth century, it became the case that a *chō's kaisho* meeting place was used to lodge visiting samurai, and that the individuals who actually managed this duty were the *chō-dai* (administrative assistant employed by the landholders) and his underlings. In other words, the landholding *chōnin*, who as landholders were legally required to lodge visiting samurai, provided the official lodgings in name only. In this way, by the nineteenth century, the *goyō yado* duty was administered by a compound system of landholders and *chōdai*. The former decided how to pay the expenses associated with *goyō yado* duty, while the latter actually paid it out. To be sure, this duty of *goyō yado* was particular to the *chō* of Senba and Uemachi districts. However, the kind of compound administration of this duty by *chō* landholders and the *chōdai* they hired was a universal characteristic of all *chō* in Osaka towards the end of the early modern period.

近世都市大坂における個別町の運営構造について —御用宿を素材に—

近世都市の基礎単位は「町」(ちょう)である。それは、現代の単なる住居表示とは異なり、町人の身分団体であった。その多くは道路を挟んだ両側の家屋敷によって構成される両側町であった。本報告では、大坂の道修町三丁目(どしょうまちさんちょうめ)を対象にして、こうした町の具体的なあり方と運営構造の特徴について論じる。

道修町三丁目は大坂の船場(せんば)地域の北部にあつて、東西に走る道修町通りを挟んで形成された両側町である。道修町一丁目～五丁目は、道修町通りを挟んで西から東へ

と連なる町々であった。このうち一丁目～三丁目には、薬種を問屋や産地から仕入れ、品質に応じて小分けし、各地に売り捌くことを生業としていた薬種中買仲間（1722年に成立）に所属する営業者が集住していた。彼らの多くは、明治以降に製薬会社に転換したため、現在も道修町周辺には製薬会社が多い。

町は、道路に面した「家屋敷」（町屋敷）と呼ばれる区画によって構成された。これは建物を含む敷地全体を指す。この家屋敷の所有者が家持＝町人であり、町という団体の正式な構成員であった。町内には、家持が家屋敷内に建てた借家（かしや）を賃貸し、居住する借家人もいた。なお、家屋敷所有者のうち、自ら所有する家屋敷に住む者は「居付家持」、他町に住む者は「他町持」、大坂以外に住む者は「他国持」、町内の別の場所に住む者は「町内持」と呼ばれた。18世紀後半から19世紀までの道修町三丁目では、薬種中買を中心とする居付家持は、他町持や他国持と比べ定住率が高かった。

町の運営を担う主体は家持たちであった。家持の中から選ばれた町年寄は町自治の中心であり、それを補佐したのは毎月二人の家持が交替で勤めた月行事（がつぎょうじ）である。町運営のため、家持たちは「寄合」と呼ばれる会議を行い、「町式目」と呼ばれる町内独自の法を作成した。多くの寄合が行われた町会所は町運営の拠点であり、町人が共同所有する会所屋敷と呼ばれる家屋敷に置かれることが多かった。町会所には、町に雇われ、有給で町運営の実務を担う町代がおり、夜番人などの下役人が置かれることも多かった。

ところで、17世紀以来、幕府の軍事支配の一環として、毎年、大坂城の警備に当たる武士集団が江戸から派遣された。一年交替のため、大坂城に近い上町・船場地域の町々は、毎年、武士に入城前の宿泊場所を提供する「御用宿」と呼ばれる役を幕府から課された。18世紀半ば、道修町三丁目の町人たちは、御用宿を勤める順番を決めたうえで、町が支出する費用の上限とその徴収方法も決めた。御用宿には、町人の自宅で勤める場合と町会所で勤める場合の二種類があったが、後者は、他町持・他国持や、自宅が狭く宿として提供できない居付家持に限られた。しかし、自宅の提供を嫌う家持が多く、町会所を用いることが常態化した。19世紀半ばになっても、町会所が主要な宿泊場所として用いられ続けた。こうした経過の背景には、御用宿の負担の大きさや、薬種中買を中心とする居付家持がそれを忌避した事実があったと考えられる。

19世紀に町会所で勤められた御用宿を実質的に担ったのは町代や下役人たちであった。つまり、御用宿の宿主とされた町人はあくまで名目的な存在であり、御用宿の実質的な担い手は町代たちだった。このように、近世後期の御用宿は、その基本的な方法や経費などを決める町人たちと、宿泊提供の実務を担う町代たちが複合的に担った。道修町三丁目に見られた御用宿は、上町・船場地域の町々に固有の負担であったが、ここに見出せる複合的な運営構造は、近世後期の大阪の町に普遍的な特徴であったと言えよう。