

Introduction

The Urban History of Osaka

Introduction

In this special issue, we examine the city of Osaka, an urban area with a long history. Focusing on a range of themes, this volume attempts to reconstruct the historical world of Osaka's "urban lower classes" (*toshi kasō*). The authors who have contributed articles have taken special care to explain the perspectives and methods that they have employed in support of their analyses. In addition, many consider the significance of the topics that they address in a comparative historical context.

During the early modern period, Osaka was a "mega-castle town" (*kyōdai jōkamachi*), which at its peak had a population of 400,000. It was second only to Edo, which had approximately one million inhabitants. In contrast to Edo, which was a center of political power, Osaka was a major economic center.¹ Although the two cities differed in character, both Edo and Osaka were subdivided into neighborhood-level administrative units known as *chō*, which functioned as the basic unit of community life for city residents. The dramatic advancement in research on the early modern city that took place in the 1980s involved an enhanced focus on the *chō* and its fundamental component, the townhouse (*machiyashiki*).² In this article, I will begin by tracing the development of historical research on early modern Japanese cities and describing the basic methods employed by Japanese urban historians. I will then introduce the range of perspectives from which the articles in this special issue examine Osaka's urban history. Lastly, I will briefly survey the history of the city itself. Such an analysis should help to indicate the place of each of the themes examined in this special issue in Osaka's broader historical development.

The traditional city and urban social structure

Until the 1950s, much of the historical research on pre-modern Japanese cities attempted to elucidate the place of the city in Japanese history according to the standard of Europe's autonomous "free cities." In addition, the analytical methods employed in many early studies were limited to data collection and classification. Urban historians who studied the early modern period began shifting their focus

in the 1960s. They attempted instead to illuminate the structural features of the Japanese feudal system, which, unlike the Europe's decentralized feudal system, was characterized by strong centralization. Much of the research on cities conducted during this period focused on the place of the city and its significance within the broader feudal system. While the research initiated in the 1960s produced some important results, it failed to sufficiently examine the internal structure of cities and reconstruct the world of the urban masses (Tsukada, 1997). That limitation was only overcome in the 1980s, when scholars of urban history once again shifted focus and began to examine the significance of the lives of the people who inhabited early modern cities. The work of Yoshida Nobuyuki, whose primary focus is the mega-castle town of Edo, led that shift. Focusing on the *chō* and its basic component, the townhouse, Yoshida emphasized the horizontal social bonds linking individual townhouse owners (*iemochi*) and elucidated the relationship between townhouse owners and their tenants (*tanagari*) (Yoshida, 1985 [1998]). In addition, he demonstrated the necessity of dividing urban tenants into two strata: front-street tenants (*omotedanagari*) and back-alley tenants (*uradanagari*) (Yoshida, 1992A [2000]). Furthermore, through an examination of the social bonds that the Echigoya Mitsui merchant house developed with members of the city's day laborer stratum, he elucidated the network of local relations linking large merchant houses with their servants (*hōkōnin*), hired employees, and tenants who rented the properties they managed (Yoshida, 1980 [1991]).³

During the 1990s, while continuing his work on the network of social relations that spread across early modern Edo, Yoshida began working to reconstruct Edo's "segmental structure" (*bunsetsu kōzō*) in its entirety. Accordingly, he attempted to elucidate the internal structure of the city's warrior estates, shrines and temple complexes, markets, and entertainment districts (Yoshida, 1998).

Although my own research focused initially on early modern status society, by examining the almsgiving relationships that developed between licensed beggars and townspeople, I was able to develop a methodology for understanding the whole of early modern society in terms

¹ After the Meiji Restoration, Edo came to be called Tokyo.

² The term *machiyashiki* refers both to a dwelling and the land on which it stood. In Osaka, townhouses were known as *ieyashiki*.

³ Both servants and hired employees who worked at large merchant shops, such as the Echigoya Mitsui merchant house, can be divided into two categories: those who worked in the shop front (*tanaomote*) and those who worked in the kitchen area (*daidokorokata*).

of the “composition and stratification” (*fukugō to jusō*) of various self-regulating status groups (Tsukada, 1985 [1987]). While Yoshida analyzed Edo’s licensed beggars in terms of their connection with the various functions performed by the *chō* and from the perspective of the Mitsui House as one of the various groups that maintained a client relationship with the House’s kitchen, I examined the relationship between beggars and townspeople from the perspective of the beggars themselves. While my assertions regarding the composition and stratification of social groups were influenced by Yoshida’s research, they also influenced his assertions regarding the segmental structure of cities. The interplay between our two sets of ideas served to deepen scholarly understanding of the social structure of early modern Japanese cities.

While elucidating Edo’s segmental urban structure, Yoshida simultaneously attempted to understand the place of the early modern city in relation to the contemporary city. In his research, he compared the character of the early modern city with that of the globalizing and increasingly homogenous contemporary city. Taking hints from the stages of urban developed outlined by Lewis Mumford in his book, *The Culture of Cities*, Yoshida developed the concept of “the traditional city” to define his research on early modern Edo’s urban social structure (Yoshida, 1992B). In contrast to the contemporary city, which originated in North America during the final quarter of the nineteenth century and covered the globe by the second half of the twentieth, Yoshida identifies “the traditional city” as one displaying unique features developed in the context of a specific historical culture. Furthermore, he defines the modern city as a transitional urban form, which emerged during the industrial revolution and was shaped by lingering vestiges of the traditional city, ultimately developing into contemporary cities.

Furthermore, Yoshida argues that during the pre-globalization stage the traditional city gave birth to a diverse range of urban models, which were cultivated in various regional contexts around the globe and were products of the unique historical worlds from which they emerged. According to Yoshida, in Japan, traditional cities can be divided into two basic types: capital cities, which were constructed during the classical period and influenced by Chinese models, and castle towns, which formed across the Japanese archipelago between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Moreover, Yoshida identifies the castle town as the primary urban model linking traditional Japanese cities with those of the contemporary era.

Taking up the problems raised by Professor Yoshida, I carried out research on early modern Osaka’s urban social history. Even in contemporary cities, which are characterized by an increasing homogeneity when people attempt to establish a basis of collective survival, I believe it is necessary to consider the features of the contemporary city that first took shape in the traditional city. This special issue was conceived with the above methods of urban historical analysis in mind. Of course each of the authors who contributed articles utilizes these differently, introducing unique perspectives and methodologies. For example, Daniel Botsman’s article analyzes the significance of the perspectives and methodologies mentioned above when they are deployed in a comparative historical context.

The historical development of urban Osaka

As I noted above, Yoshida Nobuyuki designated the Chinese-influenced capital city and the castle town as the two primary types of traditional Japanese cities. Notably, Japan’s ancient capital cities did not simply develop into contemporary cities. Rather, as Yoshida argues, they declined and in some cases ceased to exist. In contrast, the castle town, which combined the various urban forms that emerged during the medieval period, became the nucleus of the modern city. Professor Yoshida examined both types of traditional city by considering their relationship with the contemporary city. During the seventh and eight centuries, the Osaka region was host to one of Japan’s best-known ancient capitals, Naniwanomiya. However, during the ninth century, Naniwanomiya entered a period of rapid decline. It was eventually abandoned, and over time became buried underground. Naniwanomiya’s precise location was unknown until it was discovered during an excavation conducted after the Second World War. Therefore, the origin of the contemporary city of Osaka lies not with Naniwanomiya. Rather, it can be traced to the castle and surrounding castle town constructed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi during the late sixteenth century. In short, the Osaka area was “home” to both types of traditional Japanese city: the ancient Chinese-style capital and castle town. Therefore, it represents an ideal case where a comparative approach to the analysis of urban models can be applied (Tsukada, 2002).

Even after the decline of the ancient city of Naniwanomiya, it is not the case that all forms of urbanization disappeared from the Osaka region. For example, urbanized communities developed at Watanabe Bay around the mouth of the Ō River (Ōkawa) and in the vicinity of Shitennōji, a large-scale temple complex purportedly established by Prince Shōtoku. By the end of the medieval period, an urbanized Pure Land Buddhist community had formed in the immediate vicinity of Shitennōji Temple. Niki Hiroshi’s article analyzes that urbanized space, beginning with an examination of its formation in the classical period. In addition, it analyzes the mode of existence of the preponderance of poor people that gathered in that space during the medieval period.

Historian Itō Tsuyoshi’s research has examined Hideyoshi’s construction of the city of Osaka in the late sixteenth century (Itō, 1987). According to Itō, Hideyoshi’s original plan called for the construction of the city southward from Osaka Castle in order to connect it with the urbanized community that already existed in the vicinity of Shitennōji Temple and the large city of Sakai. After the construction of the castle’s outermost sections was completed in 1598, Hideyoshi’s original plan was expanded to include the Senba area, which was located to the west of Osaka Castle (Uchida, 1989). Originally, Hideyoshi called for the construction of the city on top of the elevated Uemachi Plateau. However, because the western side of the plateau was composed of damp marshland, Hideyoshi was forced to construct a canal to improve drainage. The earth that was removed from the ground in order to construct the canal was then used to expand the face of the plateau and increase the amount of land available for construction. The canal constructed by Hideyoshi came to play a vital role

in the city's transportation network. The actual work of construction was funded and executed by wealthy commoners (Itō, 1987). In addition, residents from the Fushimi and Hirano areas were relocated en masse to the newly urbanized areas constructed to the south and west of the castle.

By the mid-seventeenth century, early modern Osaka's "three districts" (*Sangō*) were almost completely formed (Refer to Map 1) (Uehata, 1999). In the process, nearby villages were integrated into the newly formed city and organized as *chō*. For example, the village of Mitsutera was incorporated into the city and came to be known as Mitsuterachō. As Itō has pointed out, the preexisting order of the villages that were integrated into the city significantly influenced the social and political order that took shape in those communities as they became classified as *chō*. However, as Uehata Hiroshi recently demonstrated, some of the villagers who became townspeople following the integration of their communities into the city continued to live as farmers and maintained clan-based bonds into the second half of the seventeenth century (Uehata, 1999). Despite Itō and Uehata's contributions, additional research on Osaka's formation is still necessary.

The segmental structure of urban Osaka

Scholars have long asserted that early modern Japan's castle towns were partitioned into status-based residential zones, including (1) warrior compounds where feudal lords and their retainers lived, (2) shrine and temple complexes which contained Buddhist and Shinto religious institutions, (3) commoner quarters where townspeople lived, and, on the periphery of those areas, (4) outcaste and beggar enclaves. However, if one closely examines the everyday lives of urban residents, the character of the social groups they formed, and the interrelationships between those groups, the insufficiency of the above description quickly becomes apparent.

While there is already a significant body of research on Edo, including the pioneering work of Yoshida Nobuyuki, scholars are now in the process of composing a similarly comprehensive body of research about Osaka's urban history. In the following section, I would like to briefly introduce the major early modern social groups that inhabited Osaka, including warriors, religious affiliates, townspeople, outcastes, and beggars.

The warrior status group

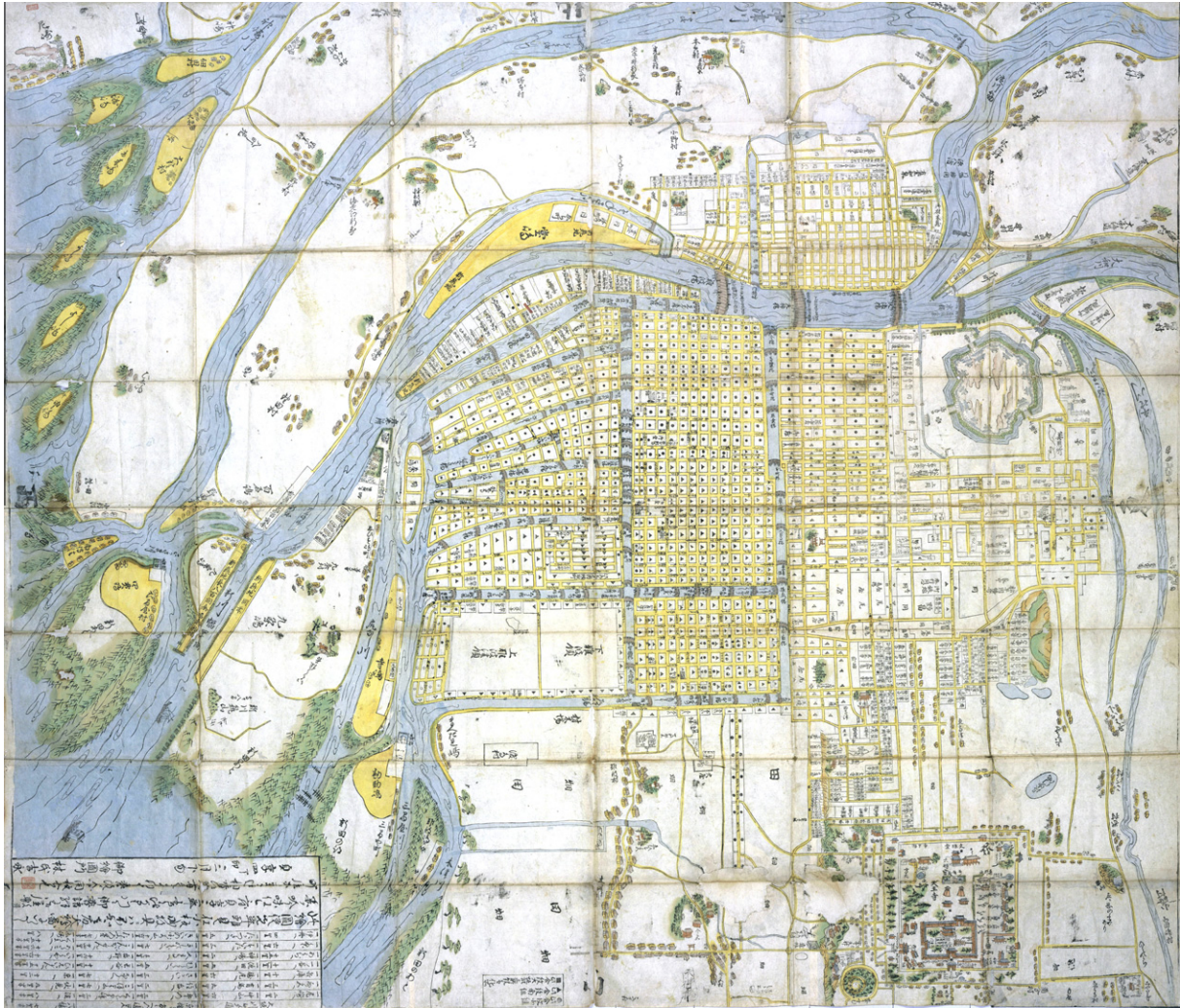
The Tokugawa shogunate, which was based in Edo, directly ruled the city of Osaka. Leading city officials, including the castellan and castle guards, were dispatched by the shogunate to supervise security and defense. In addition, the warrior authorities in Edo appointed city governors (*machibugyō*, also translated as "city magistrates") to oversee Osaka's civil administration and judicial affairs. All of these individuals were members of the warrior status group. The majority worked in official administrative institutions and lived in compounds immediately to the west and south of Osaka Castle. Early modern officials governed on the basis of two linked principles: bureaucracy and hierarchy. That fact becomes apparent when one examines the lists of officials (*yakuroku*) that

were compiled each year by the warrior government in Edo (Tsukada, 2002, Map 2). For example, in the list that was compiled in 1861, the names of Osaka's eastern city magistrate, Kawamura Ikki-no-kami, and western city magistrate, Kusumi Sado-no-kami, are listed together with the names of other city officials, including chief counselors, administrators, representatives, inspectors, and secretaries. Those functionaries were not local employees of the Osaka city magistrate's office. Rather, they traveled from Edo with each new magistrate selected to serve in Osaka. Furthermore, the position of city magistrate is distinct from that of the modern-day mayor, which is performed by a specific individual. In contrast, it was an official duty performed by small-scale warrior retainers directly subordinate to the Tokugawa house, including Kawamura, who received an annual rice stipend of 300 *tawara* (approx. 18,000 kg), and Kusumi, who received an annual stipend of 500 *koku* (approx. 75,000 kg). Although most of the retainers who were appointed to serve as city magistrate received annual stipends of approximately 1500 *koku* (approx. 225,000 kg), some received as much as 3000 *koku* (450,000 kg), while other received as little as 300 *tawara*. The reason that stipend amounts varied so widely stems directly from the fact that retainers with small domains and few vassals were at times appointed to serve as city magistrate. Lacking the economic resources to provide a sufficient number of functionaries to fulfill the duties required of the magistrate, such retainers had to hire officials upon arrival in Osaka. This in turn created the need for a permanent class of "hired functionaries," who bounced from one retainer to the next. Nonomura Jihei and Nonomura Ichinoshin, both of whom historian Miyachi Masato first researched, represent a classic example of this phenomenon (Miyachi, 1999).⁴ While working in Osaka, hired functionaries received both a stipend from the retainer they served and a salary from the city coffers. Moreover, the salary they received while their employer was serving as city magistrate was significantly higher than the salary they received when he was employed in other official positions.

The Osaka city magistrate directly governed two provinces: Settsu and Kawachi. In addition, during the eighteenth century, the magistrate came to control judicial affairs in two additional provinces, Izumi and Harima, and gained the authority to decide monetary disputes involving parties from Settsu, Kawachi, Izumi, or Harima provinces, as well as parties from provinces located further to the west. Therefore, it is essential to note the broad geographic scope of the city magistrate's administrative and judicial authority (Tsukada, 1996).

The lords of major western domains maintained large domainal depots (*kurayashiki*) in Osaka, which they used as a base from which to sell off the annual rice taxes (*nengumai*) that they collected from their subjects. Many depots were located in Osaka's Nakanoshima district. Recent research has revealed that domainal depots performed a diverse range of functions not limited to the sale of rice (Morishita 2001; Tsukada, 1996, 2006). First, in terms of commodity distribution, they handled the sale of a range of domainal goods in addition to rice; thus they played a key role in the administration of domainal monopolies

⁴ Nonomura Ichinoshin is listed in chart two as a chief counselor under the name Kawamura Ikki-no-kami.



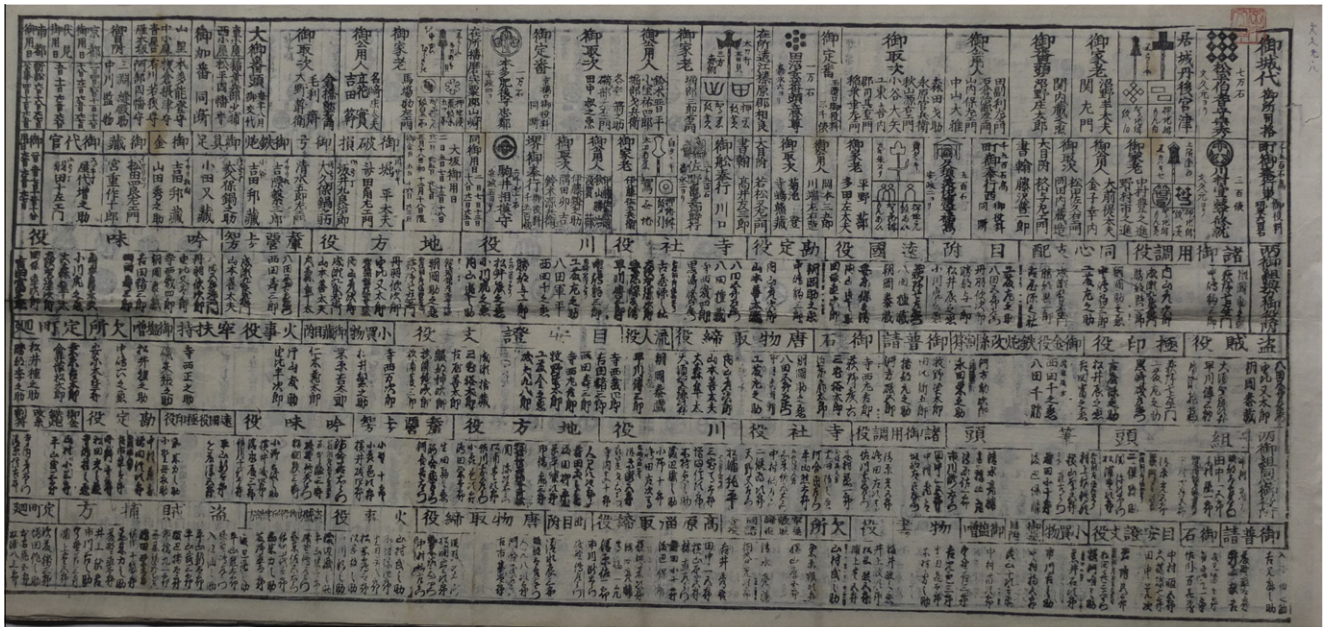
Map 1. Tsukada Takashi. *Kinseiosaka no toshishakai*, p. 3. “Shinsenzōhoosakaōezu (Jōkyō4)” This map is held by the Osaka Prefectural History Museum.

and dispensation of commodities subject to monopoly control. Second, they also played an important role in urban society. For example, by functioning as a conduit linking the city of Osaka with regional domains, domainal depots made it possible for the city magistrate to exercise his broad ranging administrative and judicial powers. However, at the same time, depots emerged as a focal point of many of the problems concerning thousands of domainal servants employed in the city each year. Third, it is also important to mention the spatial features of Osaka’s domainal depots. The city’s depots were similar to Edo’s warrior compounds in that they were enclosed spaces surrounded by walls and external tenement rows. However, they were much smaller in scale and included on-site storehouses and a small inlet for boats carrying rice and other goods. A range of actors, including officials from the city magistrate’s office, depot managers, storehouse administrators, clerks, financiers, and porters, maintained relationships with domainal depots. In addition, depot officials managed on-site rental housing, which they leased to private tenants. This in turn intimately linked the city’s domainal depots to Osaka’s urban lower classes.

Religious practitioners

Generally, the temples of early modern Japan’s castle towns can be divided into two types: neighborhood temples and large-scale temple complexes. In the case of early modern Osaka, only the Pure Land Buddhist sect was permitted to operate neighborhood temples inside the city (Itō, 1992). Although Osaka’s largest and best-known temple complex was Shitennōji Temple, similar types of religious complexes could also be found at Ikutama and Tenma Shrines (Yamasaki, 2012). The grounds of many large-scale shrines and temples also played host to a wide range of commercial establishments, including market stalls, teahouses, and performance tents. Kanda Yutsuki addresses this aspect in part in her article.

In addition, a wide array of religious mendicants, including Shugendō ascetics, beggar monks, Pure Land Buddhist itinerants, shamanic priests, and itinerant Shinto practitioners, lived in the city and gathered alms (Tsukada, 2007). Focusing on Osaka’s beggar monks, a group of Buddhist mendicants who were organized under the authority of Kyoto’s Kurama Temple, Yoshida Nobuyuki elucidates both



Map 2. Tsukada Takashi. *Kinseiosaka no toshishakai*, p. 5. “Bunkyūgannnenoyakuroku (Front/Back).” This map is held by the Osaka Prefectural History Museum.

their religious features and character as itinerant performers (Yoshida, 1999). While the various groups of religious mendicants residing in Osaka were organized under the authority of a specific temple or religious organization, the social conditions of each group were virtually the same and there was significant intermingling between these groups.

The commoner status group

On map one, the area that is covered with a chessboard-like grid is comprised almost entirely of the city's commoner districts, which were populated by persons of commoner status. In Osaka, there were approximately

620 neighborhood-level communal organizations known as *chō* and a wide variety of guild-like monopoly trade organizations known as *nakama*, which were formed by local merchants and artisans. The city's *chō* were grouped into three large districts (*sangō*): Kita district (250 *chō*), Minami district (261 *chō*), and Tenma district (109 *chō*) (Tsukada, 2002). In recent years, scholars have begun to elucidate the internal features of Osaka's *chō* (Tsukada, 2006). Early modern *chō* were self-governing organizations that were formed by landowners living on either side of a shared street and had their own internal rules and regulations. In addition to dwellings and shops, many local landowners also managed rental housing. Although rental housing can be divided into two distinct types—front-street dwellings

from which tenants could also operate street-front shops, and back-alley tenements which were located off the street and served only as dwellings—all tenants, regardless of the type of dwelling in which they lived, were largely prohibited from participating in the administration of the *chō*.

As for early modern Osaka's trade associations, new research is currently being conducted on a number of organizations, including the pharmaceutical brokers' guild, which handled the sale of imported medicines, and on the city's sake brewers' guild (Watanabe, 2006; Yahisa 2001 and 2003). In addition, scholars have completed detailed studies of the guilds formed by wholesalers and dealers who conducted business at Osaka's dried fish and produce markets (Hara 1996, 2000, 2001, 2007; Yagi 2004, 2007). In this special issue, Yagi Shigeru's article examines traders who engaged in the exchange of fruits and vegetables. Also, MorishitaTōru's article analyzes the role played by Osaka's stevedores and porters in the circulation and distribution of goods. Stevedores and porters played a key role in the transportation of the rice levies collected around Japan each year. In that sense they were of vital importance to the city's domainal depots.

As mentioned above, artisans also formed guilds. The construction of urban warrior estates, temple complexes, large-scale merchant houses, and back-alley tenements created a massive demand in large cities for skilled construction workers. Consequently, in the early modern period, the most common type of artisan was the carpenter. The carpenters of western Japan's Kinai region were organized under the authority of Kyoto-based carpenter boss, the Nakai House, and formed local trade associations. In this special issue, Tani Naoki's article examines the history of Osaka's carpenters, focusing particularly on their organizational structure. In addition, construction workers who performed a more general set of duties known as *tetsudai* (or *tobiin* Edo) also formed a guild-like organization that was organized under the authority of Shitennōji Temple. The history of Osaka's *tetsudai* is examined in detail in Taketani Yoshiyuki's article. Together with the servants employed by the city's samurai and merchant houses, stevedores and construction laborers formed part of a distinct social stratum, known as the *hiyōsō* (day laborer stratum), whose members survived by selling their labor power. The members of the *hiyōsō*, who lacked a permanent home of their own and sold their labor in exchange for a wage, and the members of the back-alley tenement stratum, who had a home and controlled a small amount of capital, represent the two main constituent elements of early modern Japan's urban lower class (Yoshida, 1984 [1998]).

While early modern Osaka's *chō* organizations and its guilds were complexly linked within urban society, I lack sufficient space here to discuss their relationships. Rather, I briefly mention one example that concerns both the early *chō* and the guilds (Nishimura, 2001): when a person rented a dwelling from a local landowner in one of Osaka's *chō*, it was necessary to provide a guarantor (*hoshōnin*). Accordingly, a stratum of merchants appeared who acted as guarantors in exchange for payment. In 1732, an association of 53 professional guarantors received official recognition from the city magistrate's office. At the same time, all brokers unaffiliated with that association were prohibited from acting as guarantors in exchange for money.

Thereafter, when an individual attempted to rent a dwelling from one of the city's landowners, they were required to hire one of those 53 officially recognized guarantors. As this example indicates, various types of status-based groups, including guilds and *chō* organizations, overlapped in a complex manner inside the city of Osaka. In addition, Osaka's guarantor association established temporary housing for persons who were seeking vacancies and had nowhere to stay in the city. An analysis of the type of individuals who stayed in the temporary dwellings operated by the guarantor association reveals the instability faced by many tenants who lived in the city's back-alley tenements. The vital role that the city's guarantors played in brokering rental housing for prospective tenants made it possible for them to earn a living (Tsukada, 2005). In that sense, they performed a function akin to that of the modern-day real estate agent.

The members of the city's guilds owned licenses, or *kabu*. Significantly, there were various types of licenses. First, there were licenses that were issued in large quantities on the assumption that their holders would lease them to third party business operators, which was the case for teahouses, restaurants, and bathhouse licenses (Tsukada, 1996). Such licenses were fundamentally different from a second type of license, namely those that were granted to the members of existing guilds in order to guarantee the monopoly rights of guild members over a specific trade. In many cases, the first type of license was issued in conjunction with the development of a newly-opened tract of land in an effort to encourage local prosperity and economic activity. In other cases, such licenses were issued to developers as a form of financial assistance. In the case of newly-opened land tracts, the authorities also gave developers and residents the right to stage performances and sumo wrestling bouts. Consequently, many newly-opened tracts of land also served as entertainment districts where licensed teahouses and performance tents were permitted to operate.

The outcaste (*Eta*) and beggar (*Hinin*) status groups

Socially stigmatized groups of outcastes and beggars were forced to live in residential enclaves located on the periphery of the early modern city. Persons of outcaste status lived in a community known as Watanabe Village, which was located just south of the city limits (Tsukada, 1994 [2006]). Under the direction of the city magistrate's office, members of Osaka's outcaste status group performed a range of official duties, including changing the leather facing on the drums at Osaka Castle, disposing of human corpses and animal carcasses, and administering punishments. Although Watanabe Village was officially classified as a village, it was internally divided into six *chō*. Moreover, the village's population included a large number of influential merchants who supervised the distribution of leather goods. Over time, the village itself emerged as Western Japan's key distribution center for cow and horse skins. During the first half of the 19th century, 70,000–100,000 cow and horse skins were sent to Watanabe Village each year. Furthermore, merchants in Watanabe Village handled the sale of horse and cowhides sent from Fukuoka Domain, and cowhides imported via Tsushima Domain from the Korean peninsula.

Members of the beggar, or *hinin*, status group first emerged as homeless panhandlers. However, their character underwent a major transformation over time. They formed a fraternal organization and obtained the right to live in four designated residential enclaves, or *kaito*, located along the city periphery (Tsukada, 2001). In the process, they secured a genealogy linking their history with that of Shitennōji Temple and Prince Shōtoku. The transformation that Osaka's beggars experienced was closely linked to the duties they performed under the direction of police officials from the city magistrate's office. Also, members of the city's beggar fraternity were hired to serve as watchmen in each of the city's *chō*. In exchange for working as watchmen in specific *chō*, they secured the exclusive right to collect alms in that *chō* (see Tsukada Takashi's article in this collection). Here again, we can see the intermingling of different status groups.

When attempting to elucidate the social structure of the early modern city, it is essential to work through this complex intermingling. When one focuses specifically on that intermingling, previously obscured marginal status groups and phenomena rise to the surface. Presently, the key task facing scholars of the early modern city is elucidating the network of relations linking the various groups that inhabited the city in its entirety.

Conclusion—Osaka's emergence as a modern city

During the process of national modernization initiated in the Meiji period, the traditional city of Osaka also underwent a period of rapid modernization (Saga, 2008). With the collapse of the Tokugawa shogunate, Osaka Castle and the surrounding warrior compounds were transformed into military facilities and armaments factories. In addition, government institutions and corporate buildings were constructed in place of the city's domainal depots. In contrast, Osaka's temple complexes and commoner districts continued to serve as spaces in which city residents spent their daily lives. Accordingly, the process of modernization moved forward far less abruptly in such areas.

In addition, urbanized "town villages" (*machimura*), such as Tennōji, Namba, and Kizu Villages, developed just outside the early modern city limits. Like the city's residential districts, such communities were internally divided into *chō*. On Osaka's periphery, the process of urbanization advanced in a form whereby industrial zones containing both large factory complexes and small-scale household workshops intermingled with residential zones. At the same time, the reclamation and development of lands on Osaka's early modern coast formed another focal point of urbanization during the early stages of the modern period. Large-scale urbanization along Osaka's periphery was also linked with several extensions of the city limits.

It goes without saying that we would be unable to sufficiently understand the structure that ensured the perpetuation of the modern city as well as its historical significance without first understanding the structure that ensured the perpetuation of the pre-modern city of Osaka. However, we lack the space in this special issue to examine modern Osaka's historical development in its entirety. For more on Osaka's "town villages," please refer to Saga Ashita's article, which also focuses on Osaka's urban lower classes.

In addition, John Porter's article analyzes the transformation of Osaka's impoverished Nagamachi district, an area in which specially licensed flophouses known as *kichin'yado* were heavily concentrated. Persons officially classified under the early modern population registration system as "unregistered" (*mushuku karaninbetsu*) were given express permission to seek shelter in Nagamachi's flophouses. In addition to the above analyses, which focus on the transformation of early modern Osaka's urban lower classes in the aftermath of the Meiji Restoration, Jeff Hanes' article examines the administrative policies pursued by city authorities towards the city's rapidly expanding lower classes during the modern industrialization process.

Unless we consider the process of urban historical development examined above and the experiences of the people who lived through it, it is unlikely that a solution will be found to the social problems confronting the contemporary city of Osaka. Even in the contemporary city, which is marked by a growing homogeneity, cultural traits first developed in the traditional city have proven difficult to erase because residents are forced to take them into account when attempting to construct a shared basis of survival.

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