

《研究ノート》

Mito Castle and Mitsukuni The Strong Fortification and the Philosophical Sense of the Second Lord

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水戸城と徳川光圀
—強固な近世城郭と水戸学の牙城—

西野 博道

キーワード

水戸城 (Mito Castle), 御三階櫓 (three-story keep tower), 城下町 (castle town), 徳川光圀 (Tokugawa Mitsukuni), 水戸学 (Philosophy of Mito)

Abstract

The grand design of Mito Castle is very interesting. It is a castle completed as an early-modern castle, making use of the characteristics of the former castle in the Middle Ages. Not flashy, but it was hands-on in a robust castle. In addition, the castle town of Mito surrounded by an outer moat aimed to protect not only the lives of vassals but also the lives of townspeople. This idea is similar to Europe's. On the other hand, the Mito Domain was an administrative government that emphasized learning, so that it poured the finances of the domain into education rather than making a splendid castle. The compilation project of the history book, *Dai-Nihonshi* became the catalyst of the Meiji Restoration, and the Japanese view of history was decided afterward. It can be said that such a samurai spirit of the Mito Domain was established by Tokugawa Mitsukuni, the second lord of Mito-Tokugawa *Gosanke*.

Introduction

Ryutsu-Keizai University is a university headquartered in Ryugasaki City, Ibaraki Prefecture. On a lush hill near the university, Ryugasaki the Second High School is located where we can notice the medieval Ryugasaki Castle ruins. In fact, we can see about 320 castles' ruins and sites all over Ibaraki Prefecture. Among them are Mito Castle ruins, about a fief of 280,000 rice yield, *goku* in Mito City, Tsuchiura Castle ruins, 95,000 *goku* (Tsuchiura City),

Kasama Castle ruins 80,000 *goku* (Kasama City), Koga Castle site, 80,000 *goku* (Koga City), Shimodate Castle site, 20,000 *goku* (Chikusei City), Yuki Castle ruins, 18,000 *goku* (Yuki City), Ushiku Castle ruins, later known as Ushiku Jinya, 15,000 *goku* (Ushiku City), and Tagaya Castle ruins, later Shimotsuma Jinya, 10,000 *goku* (Shimotsuma City). Others are Moriya Castle ruins (Moriya City), which later became the domain territory of Sekiyado Castle, Ota Castle site (Ota City), which was the home of the prestigious Satake clan as a medieval castle, Oda Castle (Tsukuba City), where "The

Orthodox Book of the Divine Emperor,” *Jinno-shotoki* was written by Kitabatake Chikafusa, Kugeta Castle ruins (Chikusei City), which was once called *Kami-date*, Isa Castle site (Chikusei City), which was once called *Naka-date*, and Sakasai Castle (Bando City), where the restoration of the castle buildings of the Warring States period is now progressing. The early-modern castles of Ibaraki Prefecture were basically made of earthworks and water moats. This is a typical feature of the castle in eastern Japan, and there were no keep towers nor stone walls. The number of the castles which had a three-story tower in Ibaraki Prefecture was only two: Mito Castle and Kogo Castle. A big three-story tower, in those days, was recognized as a substitute for the keep, and there was no castle with high stone walls and towering high buildings in Ibaraki Prefecture. Kasama Castle is the only castle with a small stone wall. This time, Mito Castle was taken up from among the many remaining castle ruins in the prefecture. The characteristics of the castle will be examined from the viewpoint of comparison with Western castles. At the same time, I would like to take up historical figures related to Mito Castle, especially the life of the second lord, Tokugawa Mitsukuni to get to know the essence of his talent and fascination as a human being.

Mito Castle and Castles in England

Mito Castle is protected by the Nakagawa River in the north and Lake Semba in the south, and it is a typical *renkaku-shiki* style castle, in which baileys are aligned. It was composed of a series of baileys from the east: the pre-first bailey, *De-maru*, the first bailey, *Hon-maru* (the main hall), the second bailey, *Nino-maru* (the palace), the third bailey,



Ote-mon Gate (rebuilt)

Sanno-maru (Kodo-kan), and the castle town including *samurai* residences, merchant and craftsman houses, and areas with temples and shrines, next to each other. It is a castle designed with the same basic structure as the motte-and-bailey-type castle, which became popular in England after the 11th century Norman Conquest. The castle consisted of two types: lined up with two parts, a motte and a bailey, or lined up with three parts, a bailey, a motte, and another bailey. Windsor Castle and Arundel Castle are castles where the latter form still exists. There was a mainstream that the castle in Japan and the castle in Britain were *renkaku-shiki* style castle at first, and became the concentric-style castle later. It is not clear whether there was an influence relationship between the two, but in England, the *renkaku* formula was the mainstream until the appearance of a concentric castle in the 13th century. Typical concentric castles in England include the Tower of London, Dover Castle, and Welsh Castles: Caerphilly and Harlech. Tokugawa Ieyasu is said to have preferred the concentric castle, *rinkaku-shiki* style castle, of Japan, and castles such as Edo Castle, Nagoya Castle, Sumpu Castle built by Ieyasu, and Tokugawa Osaka Castle built by

Hidetada, the son of Ieyasu were all concentric ones. The similarity between Japanese castles and English castles is that there are many castles built in the plains, not on the hills or mountains. Mito Castle followed the old-fashioned *renkaku-shiki* style castle to the last, but if you look at the structure of the final total layout, *so-gamae*, many *samurai* residences were concentrated not only on the west side of the main castle but also on the east side, and another temple area was also concentrated around *Bizen-bori* Moat on the east side of the main castle. After all, the main part of the castle seemed to be placed almost in the center of the castle town, and although it was incomplete, it reinforced the weakness of the *renkaku-shiki* style castle. The function of Mito Castle is the same as the concentric castle, or *rinkaku-shiki* style castle.

Considering that the appearance of *rinkaku-shiki* style castles in Japan was in the 16th century, it is thought that it might be transmitted to Japan in the 16th century, 300 years after the concentric castle appeared in England, because exchanges between Japan and Europe began in the 16th century. Actually, in 1564, matchlock guns were transmitted from Europe to Tanegashima in Kagoshima Prefecture, and European missionaries began Christian proselytism activities in castle towns and other areas with the permission of the lords. As with guns and Christianity, it is highly likely that various information about European castles was introduced to Japan. It is hard to think of it as a coincidence that the castle made by the Christian feudal lord in Japan had extremely original and state-of-the-art technology. It is expected that the future study of comparative verification of whether the structure of the castle would become concentric from aligned is a principle of universal progress for humanity,



Two-story corner tower (rebuilt)

spontaneously, regardless of the east and the west of the ocean.

In addition, Mito Castle was built on a steep hill (30 meters above sea level) with a difference in height, and its location is similar to the hill-fort built by Celtic Britons in England around 700-500 BC. In other words, hill castles such as Mito Castle can be interpreted as castles that fuse the hill-fort of ancient England with the motte-and-bailey castle that was introduced by William, Duke of Normandy, the Conqueror of England in the 11th century.

Motte-and-bailey castles, built throughout England in the Middle Ages, were similar to Japanese castles since they were initially made of wood, and they were changed into stone buildings in the 12th century. In Japan as well, castles changed from earthworks and wooden castles to stone walls and white plaster castles. In the case of Mito Castle, the stone wall was not used, and it became an early modern castle made of earthworks and white plaster. The reason for using white plaster walls was to overcome the fire attack. Traditionally, wooden Japanese castles were vulnerable to fire. Thus, it has been generally recognized that European castles are stone castles and Japanese castles are wooden castles with white plaster.

A Brief History of Mito Castle

In the Kamakura period (12th century), Baba Suketomo, who was appointed as the steward, *jito*, of the manor of the present Mito region, built the medieval castle named Baba Castle for the first time. In the early modern period, the castle became the home of the powerful feudal lord Satake Yoshinobu whose ancestors were the prestigious Genji clan. Yoshinobu moved the main castle from Ota Castle to Baba Castle, started to rebuild the old castle, and also changed its name to Mito Castle. However, the castle followed the medieval-style, and it had neither a stone wall nor a keep. In Japan, the castle with a keep built on a base surrounded by stone walls developed in western Japan, but castles in eastern Japan were mainly made of earthworks even in the early modern period. Mito Castle was one of them, just like stone castles in Latin countries, but wooden castles in Germanic countries in the ancient times of Europe.

When Yoshinobu was expanding Mito Castle, the Battle of Sekigahara occurred, and he sided with Ishida Mitsunari, whom he had a close friendship with. However, Mitsunari was defeated, and Yoshinobu's fortune was reduced



The main Gate of *Kodo-kan*

by more than half, and also, he was made to move to Dewa (Akita Prefecture). The Tokugawa government tended to protect prestigious feudal lords and excluded the upstart. There were many prestigious families who were not crushed like the Shimazu of Satsuma (Kagoshima Prefecture), who were on the enemy side in the Battle of Sekigahara. Tokugawa Shogun was reluctant to crush prestigious families even if the house disturbance was caused. On the other hand, despite the fact that they were Tokugawa Ieyasu's allies in the Battle of Sekigahara, the upstart feudal lords were often easily crushed, such as the Kato family of Kumamoto Castle, the Fukushima family of Hiroshima Castle, and the Horio family of Matsue Castle. In 1602, Takeda Nobuyoshi, the 5th son of Ieyasu, entered Mito Castle, but the following year he died of illness at the age of 21 years old. After Tokugawa Yorinobu, the 10th son of Ieyasu, became the lord of Mito Castle, Tokugawa Yorifusa, the 11th son of Ieyasu, became the lord of Mito Castle in 1609, and became the founder of the Mito Domain, one of the important three families of the Tokugawa Shogunate, *Gosanke*. The vassals of the Mito Tokugawa family were composed mainly of the old vassals of the Kai Takeda clan during their founding period, as well as the remains of the old Odawara Hojo clan and unemployed soldiers of the Satake family. Also, some of the vassals were local warriors originally rooted in the land around Mito.

Mito Castle and its castle town were almost completed during the Kan-ei period (1624-44) by Yorifusa, the first feudal lord of Mito-Tokugawa-*Gosanke*. The hill castle, which was protected by the Nakagawa River and Lake Semba as two huge outer moats, followed the simple but robust castle layout by the Satake. It is noteworthy that the castle town was also

protected by two huge empty ditches. That is, one of them was dug from present Mito Meteorological Observatory to Asaka Kakubei Residence Site, and the wide ditch was once called Kishu-Bori Moat. Another large ditch was dug from Bakuro-cho Mitsuke Site to Mukai-cho Mitsuke Site or Kanzaki-ji Temple. These two huge ditches defended the castle town twice against attacks from the west. If you take a bird's-eye view of the old map, it forms a triangle at three points: Mito Castle's *Hon-maru* area (eastern part), Mito Hachimangu Shrine (west north), and Kairakuen (south west) including Lake Semba, and the castle town is completely contained inside them. It is quite often said that in Japan only the lords, their families, and their vassals lived in a safe castle, and the common people lived outside the castle, whereas European castles protected their citizens within the city wall. Well, in China, the town itself was basically a castle surrounded by walls and moats. It is obvious if you check the fortified castle town of Mito, two huge ditches of the castle town running from north to south and the Nakagawa River & Lake Semba likened to outer moats, prevent foreign enemies from entering the castle town from all directions. The explanation that the *samurai* were in the castle and the common people were outside the castle is an absurd interpretation. The ultimate form of Japanese castle construction is a large and robust castle which completely envelops the castle town. Some of the most complete castles were Odawara Castle in Kanagawa Prefecture and Osaka Castle in Osaka Prefecture built during the Azuchi-Momoyama period. Huge earthen ramparts and deep & wide outer moats were made to completely surround the castle town, and the merchants and the craftsmen were safely defended. The idea is the same both in

Japan and the West.

Most of the buildings of Mito Castle were one-story buildings, and not only the walls of the buildings were painted with white plaster but also every bailey was surrounded by white plaster walls. The only high-rise building in the castle was a three-story tower in the second bailey, called *Go-san-gai-yagura* Tower. The tower was built with a keep in mind, and it became the symbol of the castle. Therefore, it may be called a three-story keep tower. It seems that the reason why the castle tower was not built in the first bailey was because the palace of the first feudal lord Tokugawa Yorifusa was located in the second bailey, and also because the scenery from the castle town was considered. Mito Castle was a castle with an emphasis on actual battle, and it was built only by the earthworks and the huge moats until the end. There is an image of a simple, huge, and strong fortress without any stone walls nor any splendid keeps towering over the sky anywhere in the castle.

The role of temples and shrines in Japanese castle towns was to have a hidden fort and an important military facility to defend the castle town. It was fragile from the attacks on the west side of the third bailey, *Sanno-maru* which was the land continued, and the west side of the



Yakui-mon Gate



Mito Hachimangu Shrine

castle was the biggest weak point. As we can see from the city map, the end of the west area is lined with temples and shrines. If I enumerate the main temples and shrines from the north: they are Atago Shrine built in 938, Keigan-ji Temple built in 1682, Gion-ji Temple built in the 17th century, Mito Hachiman-gu Shrine built in 1592, Kodai-ji Temple built in 1583, Mito Yakushi-ji Temple, Jinno-ji Temple in the 16th century, Betsurai-koutaijin Shrine in 729, Kamisaki-ji Temple in the 16th century, Myo-un-ji Temple and others. Interestingly, in



Bakuro-cho monument

England there are churches in the heart of the castle town, but in Japan, temples and shrines line the edge of the castle town where the cityscape is cut off. Moreover, the area is often the most dangerous place. In both Japan and England, religious buildings could become refuges for residents, or quickly turn into important military sites in the event of unforeseen circumstances, but the difference in position between them may be the difference in the influence of religious forces on politics in the country.

The three-story tower, which was a substitute for the keep of Mito Castle, was burned down in 1764 and then rebuilt. However, it was burned down again in the Pacific War (1941-45), and its appearance is now only possible to confirm in old photographs. There were no keep bases made of stone walls, and it was a three-story exterior without roof decorations, however, once people entered, they noticed that there was a five-floor interior, with the first layer of the building made of walls covered with square tiles jointed with raised plaster. It was a really simple building. It is said that it was originally thatched and later its roof was covered with copper plates. Currently, the buildings of *Kodo-kan* on the site of the third bailey, *Sanno-maru*, such as the main gate, the main office, and *Shizen-do*, registered as national important cultural properties, may be admitted to be valuable remains that leave the appearance of the old Mito Castle. *Kodo-kan*, the most famous educational institution for *samurai* children during the Edo period, was founded by Nariaki, the 9th lord of the Mito Domain in 1841, after relocating the residence of senior *samurai* in *Sanno-maru*. *Kodo* came from Confucian words, and it means that people should widen the way to the truth. By the end of the Edo Shogunate, all subjects of Confucianism, Military Studies,

Chinese Studies, Japanese Studies, Music, Astronomy, Geography, Mathematics, and Medicine were taught there, and it was really a comprehensive University. The 15th shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, also studied there, and after the Meiji era, it became Ibaraki teacher training school, and later integrated with the former Mito High School (1920-50) to become Ibaraki University.

Mito's Kairakuen Garden, which is one of "Japan's Three Famous Gardens" along with Okayama's Korakuen Garden and Kanazawa's Kenrokuen Garden, was founded in 1842 by Nariaki. He loved plum blossoms and had thousands of plum trees planted in the southwest of the castle town. It seems to have strategically played the role of a hidden fort that glared at the west side, which is the weak point of the castle. In addition, the fruit of the plum trees was also the food for the soldiers in the siege as pickled plums. It is clear from its location that the three-floor and two-story built house, *Kobun-tei*, in the garden, had the function of a watching tower. Around this time, Nariaki was making cannons and warships in Mito, arranging farmer soldiers, and building batteries and forts at Nakaminato, Tomobe, Onuma, and Sukegawa. He prepared for the infesting of foreign ships. At the end of the Edo Shogunate, at the time of political instability, the strengthening of the castle was again required. In such a context, Kairakuen Garden was created. In fact, other two famous gardens, Okayama's Korakuen Garden and Kanazawa's Kenrokuen Garden were also made to protect the weak point of the castle. On the other hand, the name Kairakuen came from *The Discourses of Mencius*, saying that ancient leaders enjoyed with the general public. Therefore, it was an open garden where ordinary people were allowed to enter to see the plum blossoms.



Kishu-bori Moat Site

In 1844, ambitious Nariaki was forced to stay at the middle residence, *Naka-yashiki*, of Komagome in Edo, and he had to hand over the Mito Tokugawa family to his son, Yoshiatsu (13 years old). Then, his powerful rival, Ii Naosuke ordered him to stay in Mito, so he followed his rival's order and stayed there. Nariaki suddenly died in Mito Castle on August 15, 1860, after the incident of Sakurada-mon Gate, *Sakuradamongai-no-hen* on March 3, 1860, when Naosuke was killed by Mito *samurai*. Therefore, there is a theory that Nariaki was murdered by the person related to Naosuke's vassals.

Mito Castle is an extremely plain and simple castle compared to the castles of the other *Gosanke*, Owari-Tokugawa and Kishu-Tokugawa. For example, Nagoya Castle, the Owari-Tokugawa family residence, which had a splendid five-story keep, had the purpose of intimidating the Toyotomi feudal lords living in western Japan. Nagoya Castle was the one built by the western feudal lords who were good at making huge castles. Kanto region or eastern Japan, where Mito Castle is located, is a region with many feudal lords who were relatives of the Tokugawa family, *Shinpan*, or many feudal lords in hereditary vassalage to the Tokugawa



Lake Semba

family, *Fudai*. Therefore, the political meaning to strengthen the castle was not serious, and a huge tower was not built in Mito Castle. Of course, the Mito-Tokugawa family didn't use the system of alternate attendance, *Sankin-kotai*, and the lord of Mito Castle basically lived in Edo. This is one of the reasons they didn't spend money on building a gorgeous castle. It is said that the money given by the shogunate to build a huge castle tower was not used. Instead, they just built a simple three-story tower and they spent a lot of money on living in Edo. It is quite possible that they could not afford it because of financial difficulties. Moreover, it is said that most of the budgets were invested in the great compilation project of "The History of Japan," *Dai Nihonshi*, according



Kobun-tei

to one theory.

Successive feudal lords spent time in the inner residence, Koishikawa *Kami-yashiki* of Edo, in the middle residence, Komagome *Naka-yashiki* of Edo, and the outer residence, Fukagawa *Shimo-yashiki* of Edo. The compilation project of the history book, which was started by Tokugawa Mitsukuni, the heir to the Mito Tokugawa family at the time. He was given the permission of his father, Yorifusa, and promoted the project by establishing a historical research institute in Komagome in 1657, and later established the next institute in Koishikawa in 1665. The institute was called "Shoko-kan" meaning "the house where they can clarify the past and think about the future." Korakuen Garden was founded by Yorifusa in Koishikawa *Kami-yashiki*, but the name of the garden was also decided by Mitsukuni when he heard the words of a Confucian scholar, "Leaders should be more worried about the world than the general public and enjoy themselves later than the people of the world."

Tokugawa Mitsukuni and The Philosophy of Mito

Tokugawa Mitsukuni, who is very familiar with Mito Komon's National Travels, *Mito Komon Mamyu-ki*, a fictional story, was born in Mito in 1628. He fell victim to a dispute between concubines and narrowly escaped being aborted, but he was not recognized as the child of the feudal lord Yorifusa, and was raised until the age of four in the residence of his father's vassal Miki Yukitsugu, who lived in *Sanno-maru* of Mito Castle. Due to his good motor nerves and intelligence, at the age of six, he became a child of Yorifusa officially, to meet Shogun Iemitsu at Edo Castle. When he was 34 years old, Mitsukuni became the second feudal

lord of Mito Domain (1661) Originally written as 光国, it changed into 光圀 when he was 56 years old.

When he was young, Mitsukuni liked *Kabuki*, learned *Shamisen*, spent time with prostitutes in Asakusa, and made his vassal's daughter pregnant to give birth to a child when he was 25. At the age of 27, he married Hiroko (21 years old) who was the granddaughter of Emperor Goyozei. When he lost his wife, Hiroko, at the age of 31, he did not get married again and continued to be single since then. Mitsukuni was particular about letting his elder brother's son take over the lord of Mito Domain. Mitsukuni emphasized the order of eldest child.

When his father Yorifusa died in Mito Castle, Mitsukuni quickly banned martyrdom not to let his father's vassals kill themselves according to his father's death.

In 1684, when Hotta Masatoshi, the central figure of the Edo government, was stabbed to death by Inaba Masayasu, one of the members of the government in Edo Castle, Mitsukuni (57 years old) took the opposite position to other members, and expressed his condolences to the Inaba family who had been branded as criminals. Mitsukuni is also well known for scolding soft government ministers such as Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu in Edo Castle. In 1694, Mitsukuni (67 years old) avenged his vassal, Fujii Tokuaki, in Edo. Mitsukuni allowed to set up brothels in the domain, for example, Itako or O-a-rai. It is said that the medicine for the abortion was also introduced by him and a medical guidebook was given for poor people who were not able to see the doctor.

Shortly after his retirement at the age of 63 in 1690, Mitsukuni was appointed as Gon-no-chunagon or *Ko-mon* in T'ang dynasty name. He gave the Mito Domain to his elder brother's son, Matsudaira Tsunaeda, not to his real son,



Statue of Mitsukuni

and started a retired life in Seizan-so Palace in Hitachi-Ota, the old home of the Satake family. In 1700, he died there at the age of 73.

Mitsukuni was called "Vice Shogun," and it seemed to be in a position where he could only make a statement to the 5th Shogun Tsunayoshi, but he was originally Ieyasu's grandson, and the fact was that the people around him could not easily be condemned for his unconventional remarks. However, it was certain that Mitsukuni was not influenced by common sense in the Edo period, and he mastered the essence of humanity. He stood firm for the things with his beliefs. He was a person who recognized the importance of learning in history, and he actually executed it properly.

The greatest attraction of Mitsukuni was that when Japan became peaceful, and the *samurai* searched for a place of active participation as warriors, then he awakened to scholarship, studied Confucianism like loyal Hoshina Masayuki, the lord of Aizu-Wakamatsu Castle, and aimed at the ideal feudal lord who should be respected by the general public. Mitsukuni put the fortune of the Mito Domain into a large

business that no one had worked on before; compiling the history book, instead of spending money to build a magnificent castle. Normally, great feudal lords or leaders would work hard to expand new rice fields, to develop the water supply and to support the industrial development just like Naoe Kanetsugu or Uesugi Yozan in the Yonezawa Domain. Like the feudal lords of the Keicho years who were just passionate about the castle construction project with the sacrifice of the people, or like the warlords during the Warring States period, who got honors at the risk of their lives, Mitsukuni was possessed by the compilation project of the history book. He didn't have any idea about building a splendid keep with high stone walls in Mito Castle. Hoshina Masayuki also stopped rebuilding the new keep of Edo Castle after the great fire of Meireki in 1657. Well-educated lords at the time thought that building a large castle was already outdated.

Mitsukuni protected historical and cultural properties, studied Confucianism, emphasized learning, and took the lead in making the history book that had not yet been written before. At the time of the founding of the Edo shogunate, feudal lords tried to rule their domains by building splendid castles, but Mitsukuni seriously thought about trying to dominate the country through scholarships. He risked his life to make history books, as if he were a Toyotomi feudal lord who was passionate about building great castles.

Receiving the gene of his grandfather, Ieyasu, who was said to have loved history, Mitsukuni favored scholars so that the finances of the Mito Domain would incline. At that time, it is said that almost all famous scholars in Japan gathered in the Shoko-kan of Koishikawa, *Kamiyashiki*, Edo, received economic support, and did the history research. The person in charge

of the compilation was Asaka Kakubei Tanpaku, and he was a model of "Kaku-san" in the fictional story of Mito Komon's National Travels.

The representative of the scholar dispatched to collect historical materials in the whole country of Japan was Sassa Sukesaburo, and he was a model of "Suke-san." Mitsukuni sent his men to Hokkaido to investigate Ezo's legend of Yoshitsune. After receiving a report from Matsuo Basho, who had walked along the *Okuno-Hosomichi*, Mitsukuni commissioned the Date family of the Sendai Domain to preserve the Tagano-ki Monument in Tohoku region, and he also built the tomb of Kusunoki Masashige in Minatogawa, Hyogo Prefecture. Masashige was a local warrior from Osaka who dedicated his life to Emperor Go-Daigo.

The compilation project of the history book succeeded after Mitsukuni's death, and the history bureau was moved to Mito Castle's *Nino-maru*. According to the philosophy of Mito, all Japanese history should be viewed from the standpoint of imperial history. The emperor was the lord of Japan, on the other hand, Tokugawa Shogun was just the king, or just the conqueror of Japan. Tokugawa was entrusted with the administration (shogunate), and the viewpoint of Mito philosophy was considered the catalyst of the Meiji Restoration. The compilation project, which continued after the shogunate's destruction, was completed in 1906 (402 volumes).

Ibaraki people are sometimes said to have a strong sense of justice. Therefore, at the end of the Edo period, the tragedy of the armed rebels, *Tengu-to* Party occurred, too. *Mitoppo* (logical, staunch and easily angered) is said to be the typical temperament of Mito people, and it was the qualities of the Mito *samurai*. After all, it can be said that it was a character of

Mitsukuni himself, to say in the extreme.

Epilogue

At present, Mito First Senior High School is in the *Hon-maru* Bailey. Mito Third Senior High School, Mito City Second Junior High School, and the Elementary School attached to Ibaraki University are located in the *Nino-maru* Bailey. In the *San-no-maru* Bailey, where the former clan school, *Kodo-kan* is located, Mito Second Senior High School and *San-no-maru* Elementary School are also located. There are a lot of schools in the Mito Castle ruins. The simple and robust appearance of Mito Castle and the only castle building, Yakumon Gate with the copper plate roof and the thick black pillars which was moved and preserved inside Mito First High School now, symbolizes the philosophy of Mito and the lifestyle of the Mito-Tokugawa family, which valued learning above all else. Its robustness is the character of the second great lord, Mito Mitsukuni. The Gothic Revival movement took place in England in the 19th century and many neo-Gothic buildings were built. Japan is now actively restoring castle buildings through the country, just like the restoration of medieval castles carried out in England before. It is very wonderful that full-scale restorations such as Ote-mon Gate in 2020, the plaster walls of *Nino-maru* Bailey, and the two-story corner tower, *Sumi-yagura* in the same *Nino-maru* Bailey in 2021 worked well. Mito Castle at old times is now surely reviving.

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