

On December 15, 1867 (Keiō 3), the *jinya* at Ogino-Yamanaka was attacked by a contingent of samurai from Satsuma *han* and burned to the ground in a single night. One of the leaders of the Satsuma unit, Yūki Shirō, is regarded as a precursor of the Popular Rights Movement of the Meiji period.

Karasuyama *han* in Shimotsuke, like Yamanaka *han*, was established by a branch family of the Ōkubo house of Odawara, but its history was different. The second-generation head of the Karasuyama Ōkubo house, Tadataka, was awarded a domain of 10,000 *koku* in the province of Ōmi and attained the status of daimyō. In 1725 (Kyōhō 10), his successor, Ōkubo Tsuneharu, was ordered to move from Ōmi to become the daimyō of Karasuyama, a domain valued at 20,000 *koku*. In 1728 (Kyōhō 13) he became a Senior Councilor (*rōjū*) in the shogunate, and his holdings were increased by 10,000 *koku* distributed among 41 villages in the four Sagami districts of Aikō, Kōza, Kamakura, and Ōsumi. The domain's castle was located at Karasuyama in Shimotsuke, but a *jinya* was established at the village of Atsugi (now Atsugi City) and an intendant (*daikan*) assigned to reside there permanently and administer the domainal holdings in Sagami. The head of a prominent local family was promoted to samurai rank and appointed to this post. The intendant administered the region with an iron hand. For example, in 1746 (Enkyō 3) the land tax for one of the villages in the domain holdings, the village of Tana, was assessed at 94 percent of the yield. The wealthy merchants of the domain were also coerced into making repeated "forced loans" (*goyōkin*) of a thousand *ryō* and more to the domainal government. After a visit to the region, the painter and scholar Watanabe Kazan wrote in his *Yūsō nikki* (Diary of a Journey to Sagami): "The government here is harsh. The people's hearts are filled with resentment."

The daimyō of Karasuyama *han*, which endured until the Meiji Restoration, were Ōkubo Tsuneharu (the founder of the domain), and his descendants Tadatane, Tadaaki, Tadayoshi, Tadashige, Tadayoshi, and Tadayori.

The enlargement of *hatamoto* fiefs

Direct retainers of the Tokugawa shoguns who had fiefs or sti-

pendents of less than 10,000 *koku* were divided into two main classes: those who had the right of personal audience with the shogun, called *hatamoto*; and those who did not, called *gokenin*. (However, both groups were sometimes referred to collectively as *gokenin*). In the *Gokenin bungen chō* (Roster of *Gokenin* Ranks) of 1705 (Hōei 2), a total of 22,544 retainers are listed, a figure which includes both retainers who had the right to shogunal audience and those who did not. The “80,000 knights” (*hatamoto hachi-man ki*) popularly believed to have been the shogunate’s military strength did indeed have these retainers as their core, but a number as high as 80,000 would have to include the total force which could be mustered when, according to shogunal regulations, these retainers brought their own vassals and followers into the field.

Among those retainers with the right of shogunal audience (*hatamoto*), 44 percent, or 2,335 individuals, possessed fiefs of their own. The land held by these *hatamoto* totaled more than 2,724,914 *koku*, an amount two and a half times as large as the holdings of the largest domain in the Tokugawa period, Kaga *han*. The “80,000 knights” at the command of the Tokugawa house were never actually mobilized, but they were acknowledged as the foundation of the shogunate’s military supremacy.

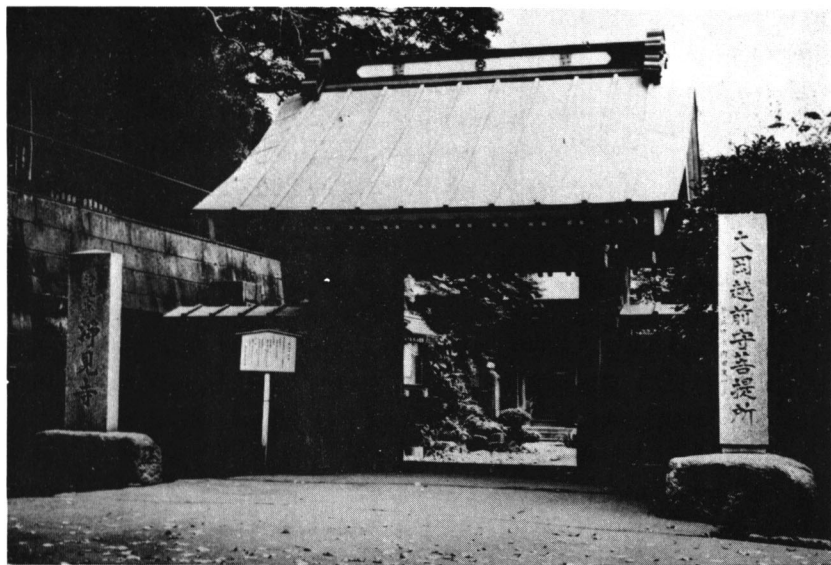
In the parceling out of feudal lands which took place immediately after Ieyasu assumed control of the Kantō region, the amount of land in Sagami and Musashi given over to *hatamoto* fiefs was second only to the land which fell under direct shogunal control. Moreover, various redistributions of land took place after 1592 (Bunroku 1), and the number of *hatamoto* fiefs in the Kanagawa region grew remarkably, especially with the new lands allotted to retainers for meritorious service in the battles of Sekigahara and Osaka Castle. These newly allocated *hatamoto* lands, along with the lands which made up the newly created *han* discussed above, were provided from areas which had previously been under direct shogunal control—such shogunal lands occupied more than half the total area of the provinces of Sagami and Musashi.

The following chart of the disposition of land in the village of Ōkami, Ōsumi district (now part of Hiratsuka City), which was assessed at about 1,314 *koku*, serves as an example of the way in which shogunal land was gradually given over in fief to retainers.

1591 (<i>Tenshō</i> 19)	1605 (<i>Keichō</i> 10)	1615 (<i>Genna</i> 1)
Nagami Katsusada (300 <i>koku</i>)	—————	Nagami fief (300 <i>koku</i>)
Izawa Masashige (300 <i>koku</i>)	—————	Izawa fief (300 <i>koku</i>)
Kibe Naokata (18 <i>koku</i>)	—————	Kibe fief (18 <i>koku</i>)
Shogunal land (696 <i>koku</i>)	— Sakakibara Tadasada (300 <i>koku</i>)	Sakakibara fief (300 <i>koku</i>)
	— Hattori Yasunobu (100 <i>koku</i>)	Hattori fief (100 <i>koku</i>)
	— Hayamizu Yoshinari (100 <i>koku</i>)	Hayamizu fief (100 <i>koku</i>)
	— Kakei Masatsugu (100 <i>koku</i>)	Kakei fief (100 <i>koku</i>)
	— Shogunal land (100 <i>koku</i>)	Oguri Nobushige (100 <i>koku</i>)

This conversion of shogunal lands into *hatamoto* fiefs probably represents rewards for service in the battles of Sekigahara and Osaka Castle, but even after peace was restored to the realm, new fiefs were given periodically to *hatamoto* who had previously only drawn stipends (a process called *jikata naoshi*), and the amount of land given in fief to *hatamoto* retainers continued to increase. The first such redistribution of land took place in 1633 (*Kan'ei* 10), when 200 *koku* was given to each *hatamoto* whose fief or stipend was under 1,000 *koku*. In Sagami this led to the creation of 72 new *hatamoto* fiefs, and 39 new fiefs in two of the three districts of Musashi which would later become a part of Kanagawa Prefecture (the district of Kuraki was not included in these figures). Allocation of *hatamoto* fiefs in this fashion led to a decrease in the amount of land directly controlled by the shogunate, but the shogunate continued the practice in order to ensure the economic security of its direct vassals and to firmly establish the military system which had these retainers as its foundation.

A second major redistribution of land to direct shogunal retainers took place in 1697 (*Genroku* 10), when lands in the eight Kantō provinces and the provinces of Izu, Tōtōmi, Mikawa, Ōmi, and Tamba



Jōkenji Temple, site of Ōoka Tadasuke's grave. (Chigasaki City)

were given in fief to 542 *hatamoto* who drew stipends of 500 *hyō* or more. Lands scattered throughout the Kanagawa region, except in the Ashikarakami and Ashikarashimo districts (which were part of the Odawara domain) and the district of Tsukui, were given in fief to a total of 71 retainers. In the district of Ōsumi, of a total of 115 villages, the number remaining under direct shogunal control fell to 25, including the post station at Hiratsuka and the villages of Suka and Banyū (all now part of Hiratsuka City), while an additional 17 villages came under the joint jurisdiction (*aikyū*) of the shogunate and various *hatamoto* retainers. Of a total of 300 feudal holdings in the district, 250 belonged to *hatamoto*, 42 to the shogunate, and 8 to Odawara *han*.

In the three districts of Musashi that were later incorporated in Kanagawa Prefecture, the greatest change in the pattern of land distribution came in the district of Kuraki. At the end of the 16th century, the main portion of land was under the direct control of the Tokugawa house, but the Genroku land redistribution awarded 32 different parcels of land to 14 *hatamoto* retainers. Added to earlier

hatamoto fiefs in the area, the total after the redistribution was 37 holdings distributed among 20 *hatamoto*, amounting to more than half the district.

Land redistributions on a smaller scale continued to be conducted in later years, and even in the district of Tsukui, which had been left untouched by earlier *jikata naoshi*, new *hatamoto* fiefs were created. An especially large number of these smaller redistributions took place in the Hōei era (1704–1710), during which 44 *hatamoto* were awarded new fiefs in the Kanagawa region, comprising 110 different holdings in 92 villages throughout the area.

The situation in the village of Hayashi in the district of Aikō (now part of Atsugi City) is a good example of the effects of these continuing land redistributions. Originally the village contained more than 690 *koku* of shogunal land, but in 1706 (Hōei 3), 189 *koku* were given in fief to Yanagisawa Nobutada, 54 *koku* to Kuru Masakiyo, and 149 *koku* to Hisamatsu Sadamochi, leaving only 197 *koku* of shogunal land in the village. Another example is Kurihara village in the Kōza district (now part of Zama City), assessed at 580 *koku*, all of which originally belonged to the shogunate. However, in 1707 (Hōei 4), 118 *koku* were given in fief to Ōta Sukemasa, in 1710 (Hōei 7) 118 *koku* were given to Masuda Yoshitomi, and in 1711 (Shōtoku 1), 290 *koku* were awarded to Yamada Yoshimoto. At the end of this process, there was no shogunal land remaining in the village.

The *hatamoto* who were the masters of these fiefs were called *jitō*. They conducted their own cadastral surveys (*jitō kenchi*) and promulgated their own legal codes within their fiefs (*jitō hō*). Though it is not clear that all *hatamoto* fief holders carried out such administrative measures, cadastral surveys were certainly conducted by those with fiefs of a thousand *koku* or more, and even *hatamoto* with small fiefs of only one or two hundred *koku* are known to have carried out surveys as well.

For instance, the Ōoka house (the family of the famous Ōoka Tadasuke, Lord of Echizen), which possessed a 2,700-*koku* fief divided among the two villages of Takada in the Kōza district (now Chigasaki City) and Tebiro in the Kamakura district (now Kamakura City) ordered their retainer Yoshikawa Buhei to conduct a cadastral survey of their holdings in 1678 (Empō 6). The results of the survey showed that in Takada, the actual productivity of the village was

over 255 *koku*, though it had been assessed at only 160 *koku* when it had been given to the Ōoka family in fief. In other words, the Ōoka holdings in Takada proved to consist of land 63 percent more productive than the amount at which the fief was officially assessed.

An example of a fief law code (*jitō hō*) is one which was promulgated in 1670 (Kambun 10) by *hatamoto* Tsuchiya Yukinao for a 1,000-*koku* fief created in 1632 (Kan'ei 9), and consisting of the following holdings: 150 *koku* in Nurumizu village, Aikō district (now Atsugi City); 200 *koku* in Numame village, Ōsumi district (Isehara City); 200 *koku* in Hirasawa village, Ōsumi district (Hadano City); and 450 *koku* in the province of Kazusa. This law code contained twenty-two separate articles. The first article ordered strict observance of the shogunate's laws. However, one of the articles permitted the buying and selling of land—activity that was forbidden under shogunal law. Here we can see an example of the degree of autonomy possessed by the *hatamoto*, though it must be remembered that what autonomy they did enjoy existed only within the larger framework of the *bakuhan* system.

In the Kanagawa region, it was common for a single village to be split up between two or three different *hatamoto* fiefs, and cases in which one village was divided into four or even five fiefs were not unusual. Though this trend became less pronounced in later years, a complicated pattern of divided holdings was characteristic of the region which would later become Kanagawa Prefecture.

3. Villagers and Townsmen Under the *Bakuhan* System

The village as corporate entity

Under the *bakuhan* system, villages were established as clearly defined units on the basis of the cadastral surveys (the process called *muragiri*), and each village was assigned responsibility for its share of the land tax and other duties and services owed to its feudal overlord. The part of these burdens to be borne by each individual peasant was decided within the village, with the village officials playing a central role in the process. This pattern of collective responsibility by the village as a whole vis-à-vis the overlord, and a division of individual responsibility within the village was known

as the *murauke* system. In its dealings with the outside world, the village operated as a unit, whether it be in demanding a decrease in the land tax in years with poor harvests or in disputes with other villages over boundaries, water rights, or rights to commons or fishing grounds. The early modern village was, in fact, a kind of corporate entity.

The corporate body of the village was divided into yet smaller units for the purpose of tax payment. In the Kanagawa region, these subdivisions took three different forms. The first of these can be seen in the village of Sawai in the Tsukui district: it was divided into two parts (*bun*), Genzaemon-*bun* and Rokurobei-*bun*. Official tax requests were sent to each of the two *bun*; in other words, each of these subdivisions was treated as a village. Therefore, there were quite a number of cases in which *bun* eventually split off from their original villages and were elevated to the status of villages in their own right.

The second form of subdivision was called a *kumi*, which was a smaller unit within either a village or a *bun*. In a document entitled *Shinpen Sagami fudōki kō* (The New Sagami Gazetteer), these units were also called *kona*. For example, the village of Shinomiya (Hiratsuka City) was divided into the seven *kona* of Torichō, Teranodai-machi, Minamichō, Nakaniwachō, Nishichō, Kaminogō, and Shimonogō. Although the suffix *machi* or *chō* usually denotes an urban area, these were not small towns, but merely sections of the village. In the village of Shimojima (Hiratsuka City), there were three *kona* named Kaminoniwa, Shimononiwa, and Yotsuya. The village of Horisaitō (Hadano City) was divided into six parts called *niwa*: Morido, Kuroki, Daidō, Kakehata, Hadagawa, and Numashiro. The word *niwa* was yet another term for *kona*, and the words *yatsu*, *kaito*, *kubo*, and even *mura* (a word which usually means village) were also used to denote these subdivisions of a village. In any case, all of these terms referred not to some natural geographical unit, but to the smallest and most basic unit of village social cohesion. For the villagers' daily life, they were the most important unit, serving as the basis for a wide range of cooperative activities—planting and harvesting, road repairs, maintenance of irrigation works, and marriages, funerals, and festivals. The *kumi* or *kona* were also utilized administratively as a unit for tax collection, and organized at an

even lower level into groups of five households (*goningumi*). These five household groups not only bore collective responsibility for the payment of taxes and the maintenance of public order; they also served to maintain the cohesiveness of kinship groups within the village (variously called *jirui*, *jiwake*, *jwakare*, *ichimaki*, *ittō*, *ichimyō*, and *hitomake*).

The third major form of organization below the village level was the *kō*. There were many different varieties of *kō*. A good number of them were organizations whose principal function was religious: *Kōshin-kō*, *Jishin-kō*, *Yama-no-kami-kō*, and *Nembutsu-kō* whose members were mostly elderly people; *Tenjin-kō* comprised mostly of children; and *Ise-kō* and *Ōyama-kō*, whose purpose was to give support to their members for religious pilgrimages. Other *kō* functioned primarily as economic cooperatives, such as *Mujin-kō* and *Tanomoshi-kō*. Still others were organizations based on age and sex, such as *wakamono-gumi* (young men's groups) and *musume-gumi* (young women's groups). *Kō* were also formed for cooperative labor on projects such as planting, road and bridge maintenance, the re-thatching of roofs, and the like, as well as to organize the sharing of resources such as commons land in the forests and hills and water for irrigation. In sum, the organizations called *kō* helped to meet both the spiritual and physical needs of the people, and operating as they did within the framework of the village as a whole, they served to increase the villagers' consciousness of themselves as members of the village community.

The opening of new lands and the creation of new villages

During the Edo period, new lands were opened to cultivation on a nationwide basis under the direction of the shogunate. At the beginning of the Edo period, the area of land under cultivation in Japan was approximately 2 million *chō* (1 *chō*=9,917 square meters); by 1873 (Meiji 6), this figure had jumped to nearly 4 million *chō*. The Kanagawa region was no exception to this nationwide trend. The opening of new lands did not simply mean the creation of new paddies and dry fields; of equal importance was the clearing of space for housing and the construction of new agricultural villages.

Early in the Edo period, the shogunate's chief intendant (*daikan-gashira*) for eastern Japan, Ina Tadatsugu and his son Tadaharu



Yoshida-shinden before land reclamation. (From *Yokohama Yoshida-shinden zue*)

actively promoted a policy of giving incentives and support to cultivators of new land, offering complete exemption from the land tax for a set number of years for newly opened lands, and loaning seeds and food to last until the land started producing crops to peasants who would undertake its cultivation.

Full-scale land development programs really got under way during the tenure of the eighth shogun, Yoshimune, as a part of the reforms of the Kyōhō era. In 1722 (Kyōhō 7), the start of these development programs was signaled by an official notice board posted at Edo's Nihombashi bridge, calling on the townspeople of Edo to work to open new land to cultivation.

In the Kanagawa region, the opening of new lands began in the early modern period. In 1606 (Keichō 6), Koizumi Yoshitsugu, who had been appointed intendant (*daikan*) for the shogunal lands at Inage and Kawasaki and who also served the shogunate as a commissioner of irrigation (*yōsui bugyō*), began work on an extensive irrigation project to bring water from the Tama River across considerable distances into the plains below. Even the women of the

region were mobilized to work on the project, and in 1616 (Keichō 16), the irrigation network, reaching both of the territories under Koizumi's administration, was completed. Thirty-seven villages in the Inage domain and 23 in the Kawasaki domain, totaling 2,000 *chō* of land, reaped the benefits of this project.

At about the same time, a number of new lands were created in the Sakawa River basin in the domain of Odawara: Kawahara-shinden, Sohi, two places named Shinya, Kamomiya-shinden, Edagō in Kamomiya village, Iizumi-shinden, Yanagi-shinden, Shimizu-shinden, and Anabe-shinden (the suffix *shinden* means "new field"). All of these new lands were opened by cultivators from neighboring villages.

Yoshida-shinden in the district of Tsuzuki in Musashi province (now Isezakichō, Naka Ward, Yokohama) was created as a cooperative venture by Yoshida Kambei, a lumber and stone merchant, and a number of his associates. Opening of the land began in 1656 (Meireki 2) and was completed in 1667 (Kambun 7). Preparing the land for cultivation entailed controlling the course of the Ooka River, building breakwaters on the area facing the bay, and constructing irrigation canals. The end result was farmland and a village assessed at 1,038 *koku*, quite large for a village built on newly reclaimed land.

Land development projects were also carried out in the Sagami Plateau. Being tableland, the new lands created here were not paddies but dry fields. In 1675 (Empō 3), an Edo merchant said to have originally come from the province of Kai (Yamanashi Prefecture) named Sagamiya Sukeuemon developed a set of new fields called the Kamiyabe-shinden in the Kōza district. Sukeuemon had intended to sell the land in plots at one *ryō* per *chō*, but the project angered the residents of the nearby village of Kamiyabe, who had used the land to provide fodder for their animals before it had been developed. As a form of opposition to Sukeuemon's project, the villagers undertook their own land reclamation project. The end result was that by the time of the cadastral survey conducted in 1684 (Jōkyō 1), both projects had produced new fields totaling 193 *chō* in area. However, about 90 percent of the new land remained unplanted grassland—which strongly suggests that the villagers of Kamiyabe continued to have a secure supply of animal fodder.



People harvesting rice. (From *Rōnō yawa*)
(Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo)

Those who did attempt to cultivate the land had major problems getting enough water for the crops. When the land was first opened, they had to go as far as the Sakai River, two kilometers away, to fetch water. The route they used is still called the Mizukumi-kaidō, or “Water-Fetching Road.”

The Ōnuma-shinden (Sagamihara City), also located on the Sagami Plateau, was opened in 1699 (Genroku 12) by the villages of Fuchinobe in the Kōza district (Sagamihara City) and Kiso in the Tama district (Machida City), after they received shogunal permission for its development. The cadastral survey of 1707 (Hōei 4) shows that the land belonging to both villages in the newly developed area amounted to over 173 *chō* of dry fields divided into 1,275 separate parcels, with a productivity of more than 375 *koku*. The new fields in this area were blessed by adequate rainfall, so problems with water for cultivation were comparatively minor, but it was not until 1734 (Kyōhō 19), thirty years after the cadastral survey, that people began residing there on a permanent basis. By 1738 (Gembun 3), there were 34 households living in the Ōnuma-shinden.

These new residents came from the three districts of Kōza, Tama, and Tsukui, but not a single one of them came from nearby Fuchinobe village, which had developed the area.

Two other *shinden* that were created about this time were Amaderahara-shinden in the Aikō district (Atsugi City), which is recorded in a cadastral survey of 1732 (Kyōhō 17), and Seyano-shinden in the Kamakura district, which was surveyed in 1734 (Kyōhō 19).

Of the new lands developed after the Kyōhō era (1716–1736), the Ikegami-shinden in the Tachibana district of Musashi is especially noteworthy. It was created by Ikegami Tarōzaemon Yukitoyo, the headman of the village of Daishigawara in the Tachibana district. The village fronted on Edo Bay, and Yukitoyo drained tidal lands along the shore to produce 15 *chō* of reclaimed land by 1759 (Hōreki 9). The shogunate had looked askance at the project, and gave permission for it only grudgingly, but Yukitoyo reduced the scale of his original plans, persevered through a number of setbacks, and after spending six years and 800 *ryō*, succeeded in embodying his skill and his dreams in the new fields of Ikegami-shinden.

Ambitious land development projects of this sort began to taper off after the Hōreki era (1751–1763). In later years, small-scale projects that would not draw too much time and labor from existing fields as well as reclamation of previously abandoned plots became the norm, because overenthusiastic work on opening new fields had often led to the neglect of the participants' main holdings and because disputes had frequently arisen between existing villages and newly created ones over such issues as water rights, pastureland, transport, and the like. Shogunal promotion of the opening of new lands proceeded by trial and error, as the *bakufu* tried to determine whether to give precedence to development projects undertaken collectively by whole villages or to projects carried out by individual developers.

In the Kanagawa region, one large-scale land development project was undertaken late in the Edo period in the area of Musashino. It consisted of two new *shinden* projects: the Fuchinobe-shinden, amounting to some 73 *chō* and completed in 1833 (Tempō 4); and the Seibei-shinden, totaling 142 *chō* and completed in 1856 (Ansei 3). Of course, small-scale projects and the redevelopment of abandoned lands also continued to be conducted in a number of areas.

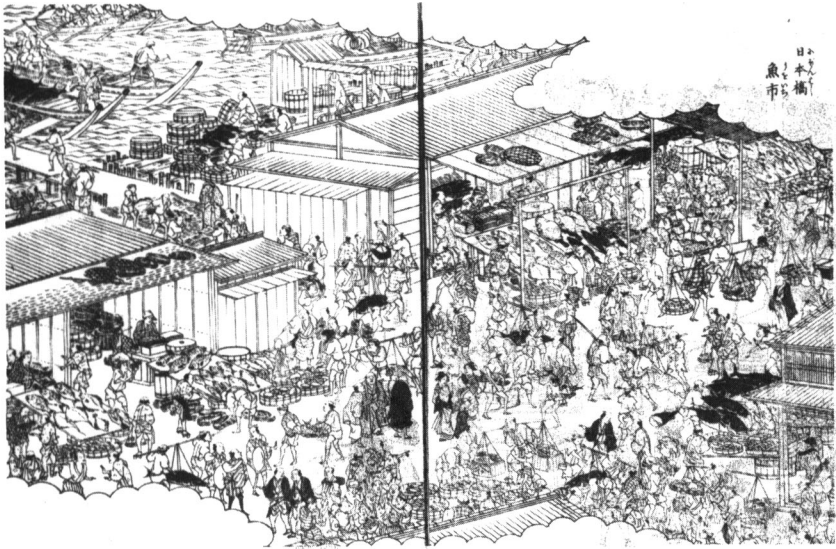
As a result of land development, the number of villages in the Kanagawa region increased from 823 in the Shōhō era (1644–1647) to 931 in the Genroku era (1688–1703). After development tapered off, there was little change, and as of the Tempō era (1830–1843), there were 929 villages in the region. The productivity of the land in terms of *koku* also increased, from 300,000 *koku* in the Shōhō era to 350,000 in the Genroku era and 385,000 in Tempō. By the first year of the Meiji era (1868), the Kanagawa region comprised 22 towns and 921 villages, with a productivity of more than 400,000 *koku*.

Towns, post stations, and markets

Local self-sufficiency was a basic economic principle of the early modern era, but even from the beginning of the Tokugawa period complete self-sufficiency was impossible. Feudal overlords took the tax rice that was the real heart of the economy and sold it in order to obtain currency. The sites for this exchange were the three great cities of Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo. Peasants were also required to meet a portion of their taxes in cash. They sold their labor or what little agricultural surplus they produced in order to obtain the money to make their tax payments and to provide themselves with commodities they could not produce themselves. For example, in 1672 (Kambun 12), the villagers of Kayanuma in the Ashigarakami district (now the town of Matsuda) began cutting firewood and selling it in Odawara, Ōiso, and Suka (Hiratsuka City), and the villagers of Sengokubara in the Ashigarashimo district (Hakone Township) began making wooden clogs for sale.

Peasants sold their goods at local market centers, at the post stations, and in the small towns of the region. All these places bustled with activity, and were different from the surrounding countryside, for they were more populous and their functions were non-agricultural, marking their residents off from the farming population. Their treatment by the feudal overlords differed from that of rural areas as well.

The towns, post stations, and markets of early modern Japan had their origins in the castle towns established by the daimyō of the Sengoku period, the transportation system they built up, and the trade and artisanal manufacture they patronized and protected within their domains. As noted above, the Hōjō family of Odawara



The Nihombashi fish market. (From *Edo meisho zue*, National Archives)

stood out among the Sengoku daimyō for their innovative policies in these areas. With the fall of Odawara Castle, the castle town of Odawara itself lost its status as the heart of the Kantō region, and for a time fell into decline. However, after the Ōkubō family took control of Odawara *han*, the town returned to its former prosperity. In 1686 (Jōkyō 3), it was divided for administrative purposes into a number of wards—Yamakaku, Sujikaibashi, Daikan, Shinjuku, etc.—which served as residential areas for as many as thirty-two varieties of tradesmen and merchants, including 249 artisans and 64 carpenters.

We have already discussed the post stations at length, but many of them also functioned as towns and markets. For example, by the Tempō era (1830–1843), as many as 106 houses and places of business lined both sides of the Yagurasawa-ōkan at Isehara, and periodic markets were held there every month on days ending in 3 (the 3rd, 13th, 23rd) and 8 (the 8th, 18th, 28th). Special markets were also held during the twelfth month (*shiwasu*) of the old calendar, and there was a bustle of activity as temporary market stalls were set up along the highway, vending a variety of gifts and goods for the New Year's holidays.



A teahouse in the village of Namamugi.

(From *Edo meisho zue*, National Archives)

At Atsugi, also located on the Yagurasawa-ōkan, a number of important roads converged, including those running to Hachiōji, the province of Kai, Tanzawa, Hiratsuka, and Fujisawa. The post station at Atsugi also fronted the banks of the Sagami River. By the Tempō era, Atsugi consisted of about 330 residences and shops, with a population about equally divided between farmers and merchants. Periodic markets took place every month on days ending in 2 and 7.

The Kanagawa region also contained a number of busy harbor towns such as Suka, Misaki, and Uruga. Uruga was the busiest of all, for in 1720 (Kyōhō 5) an inspection station for coastal shipping was established there, and cargo boats from all over Japan had to stop at Uruga before entering Edo. By the Tempō era, there were as many as 450 merchants' establishments in the town of Uruga, including 30 wholesalers of dried sardines.

Periodic markets convening six times each month (*rokusai ichi*) were also held in farming villages away from the towns; these markets dealt in daily necessities and agricultural produce. Markets of

this kind were held in many places, including Soya and Horisaitō (Hadano City), Shimosoya (Isehara City), Shimoogino in the Aikō district (Atsugi City), Tsukui Kenjō, Kubosawa and Harajuku in Shimokawajiri (Shiroyama Township), Zama in the Kōza district (Zama City), and Kawawa in the Tsuzuki district (Midori Ward, Yokohama). The market at Taima village in the Kōza district had prospered under the Hōjō of Odawara during the Sengoku period, but failed after the Edo period began. In 1700 (Genroku 13), the villagers petitioned for a revival of the market. They gained support from 17 other villages in the area, and a written petition was presented to the authorities. From this we can see how essential the markets were to the life of rural villages.

The culture of villagers and townspeople

The distinction between villagers (*murakata*) and townspeople (*machikata*) was basically one of economic function. In terms of their class and social status, both groups were commoners (*shomin*), and the culture of the villages and towns was a popular culture.

The culture of the Kamakura period flourished in the medieval political center at Kamakura, and at its heart were the shrines and temples of that city. This aristocratic culture remained remote from that of the common people of the period. With the beginning of the Edo period, many of the shrines and temples in Kamakura were confirmed in vermilion-seal documents (*shuinjō*) issued by the shogun as minor feudal landholders, which served to maintain their separation from the common people. However, these religious institutions were heirs of a venerable cultural tradition going back to the days of Minamoto Yoritomo, and as the standard of living of the commoners improved during the course of the Edo period, the shrines and temples came to be sites for pilgrimages and pleasure tours by the common people of Edo Japan.

In the early modern period, the province of Sagami contained as many as 1,950 Buddhist temples, representing a number of different Buddhist sects—the Sōtō, Rinzai, and Ōbaku schools of Zen; the Jōdo, Jōdo Shin, and Ji Pure Land sects; the Nichiren sect; the Kogi and Shingi sects of Shingon; and the Honzan and Tōzan branches of Shugendō. In the province of Sagami, the five major sects were the Sōtō school of Zen, which occupied twenty percent of the temples in

the province, and the Kogi Shingon, Rinzai, Jōdō, and Nichiren sects, each with over ten percent of the temples in Sagami.

Temples were not evenly distributed throughout the region; some villages had as many as five or more, others none. But on the average, a village would usually contain three temples; there was commonly one temple for each area comprising thirty households and land with a productivity of about 150 *koku*. The temples, supported by the *danka* system established by the shogunate (in which every household was required to be registered as parishioners of a particular temple), carried out the religious policies of the shogunate in the towns and villages, but their principal function was the performance of funerals. It was characteristic of the temples of the Edo period that they served as the place of burial for the commoner population.

Buddhist priests and monks played a major role in the education of the common people. Most commoners were educated at schools called *terakoya*, which were often affiliated with temples. In the Kanagawa region, the earliest *terakoya* was founded in 1679 (Empō 7) in the village of Akuwa in the Kamakura district (Seya Ward, Yokohama), and managed by Kobayashi Seibei, whose family had served for generations in the office of village headman. *Terakoya* began to be established in increasing numbers from the Bunka and Bunsei eras (1804–1829) onward, with a dramatic leap in the Ansei and Keiō periods (1854–1867) after the opening of the port of Yokohama to foreign trade in 1858. This trend of establishing new schools reached its peak after the beginning of the Meiji era in 1868. At that time, the number of schools which left some trace in the records reached a total of 514.

The fundamental curriculum offered by the *terakoya* was reading and writing, and 94 percent of them began and ended with this type of primary education. One of the most commonly used textbooks in the *terakoya* was a volume entitled *Rokuyu engi taii*. It was derived from a work by the K'ang-hsi emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty, the title of which, in Japanese, was *Rokuyu engi*. The eighth Tokugawa shogun, Yoshimune, impressed by the proliferation of *terakoya*, ordered the Confucian scholar Muro Kyūsō to produce a simplified version of this text in one of the Japanese phonetic syllabaries, and the result was the *Rokuyu engi taii*. This text encouraged its readers to follow the six virtues of honoring and obeying their fathers and mothers,