

## 日本の都市における社会構造と都市形態

—米 沢 市 の 事 例—

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ここに収録する英文の報告書は、1974年3月に、「都市史研究国際委員会」の委員長で、トゥルーズ大学のヴォルフ教授 (Philippe Wolff, Professeur à l'Université de Toulouse le Mirail, Président de la Commission Internationale pour l'Histoire de villes) の手許に提出せられたものである。以下その経緯について述べておこう。

「都市史研究国際委員会」とは、1955年、ローマにおいて開催せられた「第十回国際歴史学会議」(X<sup>e</sup> Congress Internationale des Sciences Historiques) においてなされた「国際的規模における都市史研究の促進」の提唱をうけて発足した委員会で、はじめ西欧諸国において結成された国内委員会から選出された委員をもって組織され、中欧・東欧諸国の委員を含んでいる。故オバン教授 (Professor Hermann Aubin), 故アンマン教授 (Professor Hektor Ammann) のあとをうけて、現在トゥルーズ大学のヴォルフ教授が委員長である。「都市史研究国際委員会」の共通の課題として、歴史地図の作成・刊行と都市史に関する文献目録の編纂・刊行とを掲げ、それぞれの国で作業が進められ、その成果が着々と発表せられている。<sup>(1)</sup>

「都市史研究国際委員会」は、毎年1回春にヨーロッパの歴史的都市において、(西欧の中世都市と東欧の中世都市と交替で) 開催され、共通の研究テーマについての討論、共通の企画の推進、各国の研究の進捗状況に関する情報の交換、歴史的都市の見学等が主要なプログラムとなっている。

他方我が国においては、西欧の中世都市の研究者が中心となって、1971年3月に

「比較都市史研究会」(Tokyo Study Group in Comparative Urban History) が発足し、研究活動を続けてきた。1973年4月、イタリアのフェラーラ(Ferrara)で開かれた「都市史研究国際委員会」の決定にもとづいて、西ドイツのボン大学のエンネン教授(Edith Ennen, Professor an der Universität Bonn)を通じて、非公式に「比較都市史研究会」に接触があり、国際的協力の要請がなされたのである。その具体的内容は次のようなものであった。即ち「国際委員会」は当時ふたつの企画を持っていた。第一は「国際版都市史研究の入門」(Guide internationale d'Histoire urbaine) ヨーロッパ編の刊行と、第二はサンフランシスコで開催が予定されている「第十四回国際歴史学会議」にむけての共通研究テーマの設定とその組織化であった。特に後者は「都市の歴史的発展における社会構造と都市形態」というテーマが設定され、その組織化は委員長のヴォルフ教授に委ねられたのである。その際、「国際歴史学会議」からの要請もあって、ヨーロッパ以外の諸地域についても働きかけて協力を要請することが議題にのぼったとのことである。「比較都市史研究会」としては、出来る限りの範囲ではあるが、この要請に答えるべきであるとの合意に達し、その旨をエンネン教授に回答したのである。やがて1973年10月に、オーストリアのウィルラッハ(Villach)において開かれた「オーストリア都市史研究会」(Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung)の庶で、ベルリン自由大学の客員講師として滞欧中で、この研究会に参加した東洋大学の小倉欣一氏に対し、ヴォルフ教授から正式に依頼がなされたのである。即ち、1975年8月サンフランシスコで開催される「第十四回国際歴史学会議」に際し、「都市の歴史的発展における社会構造と都市形態」と題する研究部会を開くこととし、その準備として、1974年4月スロベニアのスコフジャ・ロカ(Skofja Loka)で開催される予定の「都市史研究国際委員会」までに、各国から同テーマに関する報告を送るようにとの要請がなされ、主題に関する問題提起と報告において取り上げらるべき論点について記した要綱が手交されたのである。この要綱が「比較都市史研究会」の小倉氏を通じてこの正式の要請をうけて「比較都市史研究会」は、1973年11月の「月例研究会」を山形県米沢市において開き、米沢市の市立図書館に所蔵せられている上杉家文書、とりわけ古図を中心に閲覧し、市街地の現状を実地に踏査し、夜は白布温泉において、ヴォルフ教授の提示された論点について吟味し、その要請に対

し、いかに応答すべきか討議したのである。その結果、ヨーロッパの中世都市の研究者に共通の問題として理解を得るためには、出来る限り先方の問題の立て方に即して、しかも具体的な史実を提示することが最もよいとの判断の上に、城下町としての米沢市を研究対象に選び、我が国の研究成果を踏まえて、都市プランを作図し、報告書を作製することとした。なおその際我が国の都市の発達と類型についての概観を附することとし、報告書の作製と英訳については鶴川が担当することとした。

以上のような経過の上に作製された本報告書は、1974年3月ヴォルフ教授の手許に提出され、同年4月スコフィア・ロカの「都市史研究国際委員会」で披露され、オブザヴァとして招待をうけた小倉欣一氏からも、「比較都市史研究会」の活動について紹介がなされたのである。本報告書は、ヴォルフ教授の手によって、小倉氏の東京の起源に関する論考と併せて、1975年8月サンフランシスコで開催された「都市史研究国際委員会」の研究部会の基調報告の一部にまとめ上げられたのである。この基本報告は「都市の歴史的發展——十二世紀～十八世紀——における社会構造と都市形態」と題され、会議開催前に討議資料として予め配布された。なおその概要については千葉大学の高橋清徳氏による詳細な紹介がある。

1975年8月25日、サンフランシスコ市、フェアモント・ホテルのカルフォニア・ルームにおいて、「都市史研究国際委員会」の組織した研究部会が、ワルシワ大学のゲイストル教授(A. Gieysztor, Profesor, Uniwersytet Warszawski)の司会のもとに、ブリッセル市立文書館のマルテン女史(Dr Mina Martens)を書記に、ヴォルフ教授を報告者として開かれ、我が国からは、法政大学の船山榮一氏、「比較都市史研究会」の会員である九州大学の森本芳樹氏と鶴川どが参加し、討論に際して日本側の意見を述べる機会を得た。詳しくは稿を改めて紹介したい。

(1) 歴史地図の刊行については、イギリスが最も早く、ドイツがそれについている。*Historic Towns, Maps and Plans of Towns and Cities in the British Isles, with Historical Commentaries, from earliest Times to 1880*, Vol. I, General Editor, M. D. Lobel, London & Oxford: Lovell Johns-Cook, Hammond & Kell Organization, 1969. Heinz Stoob, *Deutscher Städteatlas*, Lieferung I, Dortmund: Willy Grösschen Verlag, Landkartgrosshandlung, 1973. 文献目録

の刊行については、フランスが最も早く、ドイツ、イギリスの順に刊行されている。*Bibliographie, d'histoire des villes de France, préparée par Ph. Dollinger, Ph. Wolff et S. Guenné*, Paris, 1967. E. Keyser, *Bibliographie zur Städtegeschichte Deutschland*, Köln-Wien, 1969. A. *Bibliography of British and Irish Municipal History*, by G. H. Martin and Sylvia McIntyre, Vol. I: General Works, Leicester: University Press, 1972.

- (2) 小倉欣一氏の論考は、やがて下記の雑誌に収録された。Kinichi Ogura, *Die Anfänge Tokios, ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Stadtgeschichte, Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, Band 84, 1974, SS. 97-99.
- (3) Philippe Wolff, *Structures sociales et morphologies urbaines dans le développement historique des villes (XII<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, XIV International Congress of Historical Sciences, San Francisco, August 22-29, 1975.
- (4) 高橋清徳「都市の〈社会構造〉と〈都市形態〉——都市史研究国際委員会・サンフランシスコ会議(1975・8)へのヴォルフ報告——」『法律論叢』(明治大学)第48巻第3号, 113-145頁所収。
- (5) 鶴川 馨「都市史の国際比較——第十四回国際歴史学会議(サンフランシスコ)に出席して」『比較都市史研究会会報』第2巻第1号(1976年1月1日)4-5頁。

〔附記〕

本研究計画に対して、野村学芸財団より研究助成金を、三島海雲記念財団より学術奨励金をそれぞれ与えられたことを記し、感謝するものである。

# SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND MORPHOLOGY OF JAPANESE TOWN : A CASE OF CITY OF YONEZAWA

by K. UGAWA

## PART I INTRODUCTORY : TYPES OF HISTORIC TOWNS IN JAPAN

OVER long history of towns in Japan, one can easily distinguish three types of towns, i. e. ancient cities, medieval towns, and modern cities.

Ancient cities were fundamental political towns. In ancient times whenever a new Emperor came to the throne or any incident happened, the royal palace was moved to another locale. After a very elaborate and complex central government was set up in 645 on the model of the administrative system of T'ang Empire (618-906), the capital tended to remain for long periods at the same place regardless of an Emperor's demise. In 710 the capital city was built at Nara in emulation of Ch'ang-an, the capital city of T'ang Empire. It was called Heijo-Kyo and flourished until 794, when Emperor Kanmu moved his imperial court to a more permanent capital called Heian-Kyo in Kyoto, where imperial court remained until 1868 (See Map I).

Both Heijo-Kyo and Heian-Kyo have the same grid town plan as Ch'ang-an (See Map II), just as North European towns built by the Romans had same town plan as Roman ones. The north central square section was allotted to imperial palace and administrative offices. Suzaku-Oji (Main Street) ran from the gate of the Palace down to the south gate of the City. There were four main streets running from the north to the south on either sides of main street and there were nine main avenues running from the east to the west. Each block marked out by streets and avenues were further subdivided by lanes into sixteen smaller sections. The size of Heijo-Kyo was 4.2 km (east to west) by 4.7 km (north to south), and that of Heian-Kyo was 4.7 km by 5.3 km.

The whole country was divided into 67 counties, and each of which was governed by a Prætor sent by the Emperor. Kokufu (local

administrative centre) was more or less built on the same pattern as the capital city, although not on so grand a scale.

Besides the capital city and local administrative centres, there were a few important cities, for not only the communication between the capital and the local centres but also between Japan and China played very important part in ancient times. For instance, a fairly large grid city plan was partly excavated at Dazai-fu in Kyushu (See Map I), where an imperial delegate resided in order to receive embassies, Buddhist monks, scholars, and artisans from China and Korea, and also to supervise the dispatching of their Japanese counterparts to the imperial Capital of the T'ang Empire.

In Japanese history the Middle Age began in 1192, when Minamoto Yoritomo received from Emperor the title of Sei-i Tai-shogun (Barbarian subduing great general) and set up at Kamakura, on the sea coast south west of modern Tokyo, a system of national administration known as the Baku-fu, which means literally 'military camp'.

The town of Kamakura was fundamentally a political town like the Koku-fu, not a medieval town in the specific meaning of the word. The Kamakura Baku-fu lasted about a hundred and fifty years. After a short period of the Restoration (1333-36), the period of the Ashikaga Shogunate began in 1338. However, the latter half of that period (i. e. after 1467) is known as the Sengoku-(Civil War) period. Despite the political confusion and social unrest, trade and commerce nonetheless made significant progress in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Along with this progress, the medieval town sprang up. There are five different types.

1. In the ancient towns, such as Kyoto and Nara, which were completely burnt down during the Civil War period, the townsfolk (Machi-shu) rebuilt their own towns, which by the middle of the sixteenth century were self-governing and possessed a culture of their own.

2. Religious towns began to be formed. Around the famous Shinto-Shrines and Buddhist-Temples, Monzen-Machi (town in front of main gate of religious house) grew, where subordinate craftsmen gathered and fairs and markets were held to trade produce brought from their domain estates.

There was a different type of religious town which is called Jinai-Machi (town within temple). During the thirteenth century three

Buddhist sects (Jôdo-Shinshû, Nichiren-shû and Zen) rose against established Buddhism. One of them had a very close connection with the growth of the medieval town. Jôdo-Shinshû was founded by Shin-ran (1173-1262) who was a reformer and a great preacher. His teaching was very simple and convincing. Salvation would come to anyone who had faith in Buddha irrespective of one's social status, whether one was in a religious order or not. Through the active preaching by Ren-nyo (1415-1488), the eighth successor of Shin-ran, this teaching was spread among the oppressed stratum of the social class in central Japan. As his followers increased and this sect emerged into a social movement which became involved in peasant's revolts, fierce persecution was started by the established Buddhism and also by magistrates, feudal lords or local magnates. When Ren-nyo built a large temple, his followers, peasants, craftsmen and merchants built inns, traders' houses and merchants' houses around the temple. The temple and the town were fortified by moats and mounds. As gradually an organization of believers was formed under the direction of a lay preacher, and as the temple was granted immunity from feudal lord, this organization shifted into a self-governing body of the town. Ren-nyo built Jinai-Machi at Yoshizaki (1473), at Yamashina (1480), and at Ishiyama (1496) (See Map I). His disciples built many more. However, Ishiyama was the most important and central one of this religious community.

3. As trade with China increased in the fifteenth century, so grew up new important harbour communities and port towns such as Sakai and Hakata (See Map I). The Town of Sakai was noted for the freedom and immunity which its citizens enjoyed and the Jesuits admired it for this in the sixteenth century. Sakai means literally 'boundary', because it was situated on the boundary of the counties of Izumi, Settsu and Kawachi, there merchants could live and flourished through trade with the Chinese, Koreans and later with west Europeans without any interference from feudal lords or County Magistrates. In the latter half of the fifteenth century, town was fortified by moats and was governed by thirty six rich merchants.

4. As the Ashikaga Shogunate's court in Kyoto lost its control over the whole country, and law and order in the Capital and in the Provinces as well declined during the latter half of the fifteenth century, people began to learn to protect themselves. Local magnates built moated houses, and gradually accumulated military power in

order to extend the territory under their rule. They built castles or forts on hilltops, around the foot of which the Lord's mansion or retainers' houses were built. Around the castle as a nucleus, there grew up the military or castle towns (Jōka-Machi).

5. Under the protection of the feudal lord, a market would be held locally. Market used to be held every five days. In some places it was called Rokusai-Ichi, which means 'market day held on six days in a month', i. e. on the 2nd, 7th, 12th, 17th, 22nd and 27th of the month. So numerous local market towns began to develop.

Oda Nobunaga (1534-82), a daimyo (feudal lord) started the process of unification and pacification of Japan under a single, powerful authority. When he was killed in a surprise attack near Kyoto by one of his retainers, this process was continued by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-98) his vassal, who accomplished it by 1590. Toyotomi's rule was, however, short lived and in 1603 the Tokugawa Shogunate began. This is taken as the beginning of the early modern age which ended with Meiji Restoration in 1868.

In the course of Nobunaga's struggle to unify the country, the towns of Sakai and Ishiyama opposed him. Fierce battles were fought between Nobunaga's mighty army and armed townsfolk of Ishiyama for over ten years. The fortified town of Ishiyama munitioned with muskets was never taken, but finally through the mediation of the Emperor, Ken-nyo (1543-92), the eleventh successor of Shin-ran surrendered to Nobunaga and moved out of the town in 1580. The town was destroyed completely, and later on the same site Hideyoshi built his magnificent castle of Osaka. Sakai surrendered to Nobunaga more easily in 1569, and came to be governed by a steward of Nobunaga. The town, however, declined very rapidly and was merged into the castle town of Osaka. The fate of these two towns symbolized the fate of medieval town. The independence and self government of town was uprooted, and medieval towns were only to survive under the strong control of feudal lord as a castle town. I shall discuss in detail the castle town of Yonezawa, which is most typical example of castle town during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the following section.

The modern city is characterized as an industrial town, but from the political point of view, city and town were both recognized as a unit of local government in 1888 when the Municipal Corpora-



tion Act issued. By this act citizens are allowed to elect mayor and town council.

The self government of towns was denied by Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and the Tokugawa Shogunate, so there are no city archives as such, and the documentation of town history is very poor. Therefore, it is very difficult to find adequate sources concerned with town history. Probably this is the main reason why historical reseach on medieval towns remains a neglected field. It is most painstaking and uncompensatory task for scholars to search scattered information on towns among a feudal lord's archives and other literary sources. However, there has been quite substantial research work done by historical geographers on castles and castle towns in the early modern age, and the results of recent field work of ancient and medieval archeologists is also encouraging.

日本の都市における社会構造と都市形態

## PART II CASTLE TOWN OF YONEZAWA

### I Brief History of Yonezawa

The modern city of Yonezawa (Pop. 60,000) is situated in the centre of Okitama basin in the south part of Yamagata Prefecture about 250 km north of Tokyo.

Yonezawa was the central town of the Okitama Hundred in the County of Dewa. In 1189 Minamoto Yoritomo, the Shogun, gave this hundred to the Nagai family who ruled the area as Shugo (County Magistrate) until 1380 when Date Munetô (1322-84), who was the eighth Lord of the Date Hundred in the County of Mutsu, conquered the area and destroyed the House of Nagai.

Date Harumune (1526-1585) moved his caput castle from the Date Hundred to Yonezawa in 1548 when he succeeded the fifteenth Lord of Date (See Map III). During his rule, he compelled his retainers and their families to live in mansions or houses built around his castle of Yonezawa, while they still retained their forts or manor houses in countryside. He also encouraged people (or *Mercatores*) and artisans to move from the Date Hundred and the surrounding countryside and to settle in Yonezawa. It seemed that there was no local merchant class as such but local magnates who ran farming or other industrial enterprises and began to dispose of specialized products such as silk cloth at fairs or sold to merchants visiting

from distant places. Harumune's policy of town making (Synoikismos) was a reflection of the expanded territory under his rule and also the concentration of military and jurisdictional power in his hand.

It is most safely assumed that in 1560's the Castle Town of Yonezawa was completed. No map of that date is unknown, however, a rough reconstruction of the town plan is shown on Map IV based on various sources and traditions such as a town history written in 1760's or family histories as well as the result of place-names studies. Around the castle and in the west and south sections of the town, houses for retainers were built, while the north and east sections were mainly occupied by the townsfolk, i. e. Ara-Machi, Tatsu-Machi, Oh-Machi, Minami-Machi, Higashi-Machi, and Yanagi-Machi. Ara-Machi means literally 'rice market street', and it was at the gate of Shirako Shrine and a yearly fair from the 1st of September to the 15th of October was held there in connection with feast of the shrine. Tatsu-Machi was also at the gate of Kodama Shrine and a fair was granted, although the exact place cannot be located on the map. However, it is assumed Ara-Machi and Tatsu-Machi were the oldest streets where the native people inhabited. Oh-Machi (Big Street) and Minami-Machi (South Street) were occupied by people, who following their lord, immigrated from Date Hundred. Gradually the town was expanded to east and Higashi-Machi (East Street) was opened, and also Yanagi-Machi (Willow Street) was constructed where only willow trees grew at marshy place along the River Matsu.

In 1584 Date Terumune (1544-85), the sixteenth Lord of Date, retired to the fort of Tateyama which was built 3 km to the west of Yonezawa. Three years later his son Masamune (1567-1636), the seventeenth Lord of Date, made his plan to enlarge the above mentioned fort and make it a castle town on the grand scale. An outer moat was dug half way between Tateyama and Yonezawa and on the bank of the moat pine trees were planted, the row of which was clearly drawn on the old map of later dates (See Map IV).

In 1589 Masamune invaded the Aizu Hundred and captured Kurokawa(Wakamatsu)Castle and established rule over the Ashina's territory. In January in 1590 Date's territory was expanded to its largest extent. However, in 1691 Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Kan-paku (Chief Minister in Emperor's Court), confiscated Masamune's domain

lands (Okitama, Date and Shinobu Hundreds) with his usurped territories on the ground of his violating Hideyoshi's legitimate rule over the Aizu Hundred, for the Ashina were Hideyoshi's vassals. Later Masamune was pardoned and given lands in the Sendai territories and so moved to Iwadeyama Castle in order to rule the Sendai territories. Not only his retainers but also quite substantial number of the Yonezawa townsfolk followed their lord and immigrated to Iwadeyama. In 1601 Masamune moved to Sendai and built castle town there. It is evident that street-names from the six towns of Yonezawa were given to this newly built town around the castle at Sendai, and inhabitants of these streets enjoyed a privileged status given to them by the Lord of Date, who followed from Yonezawa, or perhaps earlier from the Date Hundred.

As the results of the survey ordered by Hideyoshi, the Date's old domain land was valued at 300 thousand Koku, and it was given to Gamau Ujisato (1556-95), the new Lord of the Aizu territory. Under the Gamau's rule, the Castle Town of Yonezawa seemed to expand considerably. Two streets (Gomen-Cho and Kawada-Machi) and two lanes (Gen-etsu Koji and Yabu-Koji) were added. Unfortunately, it is not possible to locate these streets and lanes exactly on the map, but they were probably in the east part of Yonezawa. It is undoubted and recognizable evidence of Gamau's policy of encouraging merchants and craftsmen to come and settle in Yonezawa that the place-name of Gomen-Machi means literally 'exempted street'

It was recorded in the survey 1595 that there were 803 houses in Yonezawa town, of which 630 houses belonged to townsfolk who were taxed, 35 town bailiffs and petty constables who were exempted of tax, 138 artisans and craftsmen who were also exempted of tax. The whole population of this date was recorded as 6,027, of which 2,160 male population aged between 15 and 60 (who were on the Muster Roll), 1,141 boys and aged with monks and blindmen, together with 2,726 female population of all ages. Unfortunately no record for the numbers of households of knights and their followers.

After the death of Gamau Ujisato, his heir was transferred in 1598 from Kurokawa Castle to Utsunomiya Castle, a less strategically important Castle. Uesugi Kagekatsu (1555-95), was requested by Hideyoshi to move from Kasugayama Castle in the County of Echigo

to Kurokawa Castle in order to rule the Aizu territory. Territory under his rule included the Aizu districts (4 hundreds), the Shonai districts (3 hundreds), and the Isle of Sado (3 hundreds) with the Date's old domain lands (3 hundreds). His whole land was valued at 1,200 thousand Koku. Uesugi Kagekatsu, the second Lord of Uesugi gave the Date's old domain lands to Naoe (Yamashiro-no-Kami) Kanetsugu (1560-1616), his most trusted vassal (Subinfeudation was done).

On the 21st October 1600 a battle was fought at Sekigahara in central Japan between the great combinations of feudal lords, one under Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) (East or Yedo Party) and the other under Ishida Mitsunari (1560-1600), his chief rival fighting on behalf of Hedeyoshi's minor heir (West or Osaka Party), and ended in full victory for Ieyasu. There were a redistribution of fiefs, the losers suffered confiscation, great curtailment of their fiefs, the winners were rewarded with enfeoffment, increase of fiefs or transfer to richer fiefs. Although the Uesugi was not involved in the battle itself, it was on the side of the West Party and had threatened Ieyasu's army from behind. The Uesugi fought a local battle against Date Masamune's army who stood on the side of Ieyasu. After prolonged and ingenious negotiation with Ieyasu, the Uesugi managed to survive, although it suffered a great curtailment of its fief. Almost two thirds of its land was confiscated, the only land provided for the Uesugi was the Date's old domain lands, i. e. Tamaoki, Shinobu and Date Hundreds. Uesugi Katsukage moved from Kurokawa Castle to Yonezawa bringing his whole band of 6,005 knights in November 1601.

Upon the curtailment of fief, the Uesugi's policy was not to dismiss the retainers who had followed their Lord from Echigo, although recently employed retainers were to be sent away. Thus Uesugi Katsukage was faced with the urgent problem of not only how to keep a comparatively large number of retainers in his fief but also how to accommodate his retainers in Yonezawa Castle town.

As it was recorded that under Naoe's rule (in 1600), there lived 785 knights in Yonezawa out of his 855 knights, it was evidently clear that the castle town was unable to accommodate more than 1,000 knights. It must have been extremely congested state immediately after the transfer of fief. In 1608 a great expansion of castle town was undertaken under the direction of Naoe Kanetsugu who

was not only an excellent military leader and strategist but also an able civil engineer and a man of literary pursuits. His plan was to enlarge the castle itself to accommodate the lord's household and the most important vassals, and to build a new town outside the old in order to accommodate retainers of inferior status and townfolk. In Honmaru (inner bailey) Lord's living quarters were enlarged by carpenters from Echigo, while in Ni-no-maru (outer bailey) where formerly retainers had lived, now the administrative offices and important vassal's residences were built. Along the west outskirts of the town, a river (Hottate-Kawa : excavated river) was cut. Along the north, east and south outskirts, the old town moats were re-excavated. This area protected by river on the one side and moats on the other three was called San-no-maru (third bailey). The former inhabitants of this area were removed to the newly built town outside third bailey, and this area was allotted to vassals and knights. The north, east and south parts of the new town were given over to merchants, artisans and townfolk, while west part of the new town, being the fort of Tateyama, was mainly allotted to knights and retainers of inferior status. In spite of this expansion of the town, it could hardly accommodate all the retainers from Aizu or Echigo, so that quite a substantial number of the inferior class was encouraged to settle down in the waste land outside the town. They were allotted messuages along the streets and were ordered to assart land for cultivation adjoining to their messuages. They were allowed to keep their warrior's status, but they had to work to subsist on their assarted land as the peasants did. They were called Harakata-shu (Settlers on Waste Land). In this way the Uesugi solved the problem of accommodation for their retainers.

Another crisis came to the Uesugi in 1664 when Tsunakatsu (1638-1664), the fourth Lord of Uesugi died at Yedo unexpectedly at age of twenty seven without heir. It was shogun's policy to escheat the fief when Daimyo dies without heir. However, through the good offices and personal influence of Hoshina Masayuki (1611-72), father-in-law of the dead Lord, a petition was granted preserving the House of Uesugi by the adaption of Kira Saburo, two years old baby, the late daimyo's sister's son as legal heir on condition that the half of his fief was forfeited. Kira Saburo (1663-1704) was given name Tsunanori by Shogun and became the fifth Lord of Uesugi in 1675, and was granted the Tamaoki Hundred in fee. The Uesugi's land

had dwindled to 150,000 Koku, so that another compression was needed in fief and military organization. The Uesugi continued to hold its fief until 1868 when Mochinori (1844-1919), the fourteenth Lord surrendered his fief to Meiji Emperor after the collapse of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Later Mochinori was created an Earl in the new peerage by the Emperor.

The town of Yonezawa was incorporated in 1889, according to the Municipal Corporation Act of 1888.

## II Social Structure and Morphology of Yonezawa

The oldest map of the town of Yonezawa, which survives and now preserved at Yonezawa City Library, was probably drawn in 1658 (Ms. 235-1874). The second oldest map (Ms. 235-1875) was drawn in 1694. There are two fairly detailed maps drawn at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The one dated as 1725 (Ms. 235-1876), the other undated but probably of same date (Ms. 235-1873). The town plan of these two sets of map are more or less same, so that main framework of the town was established by the middle of the seventeenth century. The eighteenth century maps are not as accurate as modern surveyed maps, but they were very minutely drawn compared to the seventeenth century maps. They record not only all streets, lanes and main buildings, but also record the names of holders of messuages of Knight's class and the numbers of houses at every streets and lanes which belonged to townsmen. Based on the information of the maps and the Survey in 1725, I reconstructed the town plan of Yonezawa at the end of the seventeenth century on a modern map (See Map V). Considerable modern alteration of the town plan is observable, but on the whole, one can trace the main physical structure of the town and in some sections, it is possible to identify streets or even individual messuage. More so, should the Great Fire in 1927 not have consumed almost all the old buildings.

In early modern age there were four broad social classes, i. e. knights, peasants, artisans, and merchants in that order. Knight class was highly esteemed as the ruling class. As it was predominantly agricultural society, the peasant class was considered as foundation of the society and so was cherished. The artisan class was also esteemed on account of their useful hand-labour, but merchant class was despised because of their guilefulness or the unproductiveness

in their transactions. There were two more social classes, one above and one under these four broad classes. The one above was called Kuge (court noble) and composed of the courtiers of the Emperor in Kyoto, the other was the 'eta' caste or outcast class.

There were no court noble living in town of Yonezawa, apart from the Lord himself for the Uesugi had been given the rank and office of Lord Chamberlain in the Imperial Court by the Shogun. However, this office was purely honorary and did not require attendance in Kyoto.

The inhabitants of the town might be divided into two groups, i. e. the Knight class and townfolk (merchants and artisans). At the early stage of town development, townfolk had more or less engaged in agricultural activities even within the town, but this was not so in the seventeenth century. In the west part of the town some messuages belonged to peasants but they were negligible in number.

The numbers of messuages and inhabitants of the town are shown in the following table.

	Knight class		Townfolk	
	Messuages	Population	Messuages	Population
1595			803	6,027
1598-1601	785			
1680			2,041	11,336
1693		31,145*		12,078
1725	2,769 (1,444)**		2,406	

\* This figure includes Harakata-shu (Settlers on Waste Land), Population of peasants was recorded as 87,543, Buddhist monks and blindmen as 1,423, and others 488.

\*\* Messuages belonged to Harakakta-shu.

It is estimated that there were approximately twenty thousand belonging to the Knight class against ten thousand townfolk in the town of Yonezawa at the end of the seventeenth century.

As already mentioned, the Knight class and townfolk lived in separate sections in the town with a very few exceptions.

The Knight class may be divided into four sections, great vassal

(Ji-chu-gumi, or Jû-shin), middle vassal (Sande-gumi), lesser vassal (Fuchi-kata), and footmen (Ashigaru). The hierarchy was originated from military organization, but as peace prevailed it became static and persistent. It was also intricately connected with status or rank order, administrative offices and compensation system of their services.

Great vassal and middle vassal held Knight's fee for their service, while lesser vassal and footman were given a yearly stipend in rice for their service.

Great vassals were either Lord's relatives or most trusted and hereditary retainers. They once served as military leaders, and later served the Lord as councillors, stewards, constables or judges and other high administrative officers. They were given a mansion (Kami-Yashiki) adequate to their rank and position within the outer bailey or Monto-cho at east section of the third bailey. They were allotted another mansion (Shimo-Yashiki) somewhere in the town or suburb, in or around which their retainers (sub-tenants) were kept.

Middle vassals served as knights, and consisted of three bands, i. e. fifty knight band, (Gojû-ki-gumi), Bodyguard Band (Uma-mawari-gumi), and the Yo-ita band. They served later as secretaries, messengers, emissaries, bailiffs et cetera. They were allotted standard messuages in specific streets within the third bailey. The size of standard messuage was 6 Ken (10.9m) in width and 25 Ken (45.5m) in depth. Depth of the messuage was always 25 Ken, so that width facing the street corresponded to the rank or position of the holder. The members of 'fifty Knights band' were allotted their messuages at street called 'fifty Knights' street' between river Hottate and narrow moat in the west section of the third bailey (See Map V). Those of 'bodyguard band' were allotted the messuages at streets in the southern section of the third bailey called 'former horse merchants street' (Moto-Bakuro-cho), and those of Yoita band were at the north section of the third bailey. So Lord in the first bailey was guarded by great and middle vassals.

Lesser vassals served as bowmen in battle field, but in peaceful time served as falconers, reeves, keepers of the armour or the storehouse, the wardrobe, and officers in charge of the Lord's Kitchen or the keepers of Lord's Mausoleum et cetera. The footmen fought with muskets or spears in battlefield, but later they were engaged in any menial labour or even construction works. The social distinc-



tion between footmen and peasants was rather obscure and social mobility was observable between them. Lesser vassals and footmen were allotted their messuages mainly outside of the third bailey and in the western section of Yonezawa.

About Harakata-shu (Settlers on Wastes Land) I have already mentioned.

NUMBERS OF VASSALS MESSUAGES IN 1725

	Inside third bailey	Outside third bailey
East section	70	105
South section	262	146
West section	291	1,294
North section	269	332
Total	892	1,877
Grand total	2,769	

There were messuages allotted lesser vassals in the ourtskirks of the town, i. e. along the highways to North (Mogami Way), East (Fukushima Way), and South (Aizu Way).

An Extent of 1672 recorded the messuages which belonged to townfolk. The purpose of this survey was to fix the basis of taxation, or financial measurement by the unit of standard size of message, i. e. 6 Ken in width and 25 Ken in depth. The most typical or standard size of townfolk messuages seems either 3 Ken (5.46m) or 5 Ken (9.09m) in width. However, town officers and richer merchants used to hold considerably bigger message. For instance, town bailiff (Kendan) of Oh-Machi held a message of 42 Ken (76.36m) in width.

Streets for the townfolk were divided into two categories, the one 'Roku-cho, (Six Streets), the other 'Waki-Machi' (Side Streets). The former meant old streets or streets for merchants, the latter recent streets for artisans and craftsmen.

The Six Steets were Ara-Machi, Tatsu-Machi, Oh-Machi, Yanagi-Machi, Higashi-Machi, and Minami-Machi. These streets had old names of six streets under the Gamau's rule, but were located from

the north to the south along the outer moat under the Uesugi's rule. The privileges of fairs at Ara-Machi and Tatsu-Machi seemed to have withdrawn, and the head street changed from Ara-Machi to Oh-Machi when the Uesugi built new town. So the Fair was granted to Oh-Machi to be held from January till the middle of February. It seemed that transactions were done not at merchants' houses but during market days during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Between 1615 and 1624 'Go-sai-ichi' (five market days in a month) was granted to six streets. The market was held at Ara-Machi on the 1st, 6th, 16th, 21st and 26th, at Higashi-Machi on the 2nd, 7th, 12th, 17th, 22nd, at Yanagi-Machi on the 3rd, 10th, 13th, 20th, 23rd, at Tatsu-Machi on the 4th, 11th, 15th, 27th, 29th, at Oh-Machi on the 5th, 9th, 19th, 25th, 29th, at Minami-Machi on the 8th, 14th, 18th, 24th and 29th, so that townsfolk were able to take advantage of visiting a market almost every day at various section of the town except on last day of the month. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, market declined and transactions were done in the merchants' shops. In every street one malter and six brewers were allowed. In each street there was appointed one town bailiff and five or seven stewards and a petty constable by the Lord. The town bailiff had a privileged status (patriciate) something similar to knight class, for they were descendants of knight class.

'Side Streets' consisted of thirteen streets, i. e. Teppô-Machi (Gunsmith's Street), Kaji-Machi (Blacksmith's Street), Do-ya-Machi (Coppersmith), Shin-Okeya-Machi (New Cooper's Street), Ji-Bansho-Machi (Local Carpenter's Street), Kon-ya-Machi (Dyer's Street), Bakuro-Machi (Horse Merchant's Street), Naga-Machi (Long Street), Fukuro-Machi (Cul de sac), Kita-Machi (North Street), Gomen-Machi (Exempted Street), Higashi-Tera-Machi (East Temples Street), Ima-Machi (New or Present street). These streets were situated outside of six Streets and occupied mainly artisans and craftsmen.

In Blacksmith's Street, foreign blacksmiths and local blacksmiths lived. On the continuation of Blacksmith's Street there ran Gunsmith's Street, where gunsmiths lived. Blacksmiths and gunsmiths were most important artisans for the Lord in equipping his army with muskets and guns. So the Lord employed the master of gunsmiths with fee and stipend and granted him knight's status. However, in peace the Lord stopped giving them special protection, so they began to make mainly agricultural implements and tools such as ploughs

and sickles. The Lord gave them a monopoly to sell these implements and tools to peasants excluding outside competitors from the neighbouring country or towns. Coppersmiths were also patronized by the Lord, as they produced utensils for religious use, and later manufactured domestic utensils like pots and pans. In 'Local Carpenter's Street' there lived native carpenters as distinct from carpenters who had followed the Lord from Echigo and who later lived in 'Echigo Carpenter's Street'.

These craftsmen's street had also a town bailiff. For instance in Gunsmith's street, the master gunsmith was appointed as town bailiff, and in Carpenter's Street the master carpenter was appointed as town bailiff. These master craftsmen were given a privileged status, which was usually fee, stipend and Knight's status. However, gradually they lost their privileged position.

Lastly I have to refer to religious buildings. These were two Shinto shrines in the town. One is Shirako Shrine in north corner of the third bailey and the other at south-west side of River Hottate (See Map V).

Buddhist temples were built on the outskirts of the town along North Temples Street, East Temples Street and South Temples Street, and along the River Hottate. It was for purely strategical reasons that temples were built on the outskirts of the town. It was considered that comparatively large temple buildings could easily accomodate soldiers and the big grave stones in their graveyards could be easily used as defensive barricades against an invading enemy. Out of numerous temples, the most important temples were as follows; Hô-on-ji in the castle, Gokuraku-ji in the east, Hosen-ji at north west, Rinsen-ji at south corner. Hô-on-ji was built mainly for the soul of the first Lord of Uesugi. Uesugi Kenshin (1530-78), the first Lord of Uesugi died at Kasugayama Castle in Echigo. His body in full armour was buried in a vase. When the second Lord moved from Echigo to Aizu, he dug out this sealed vase, and brought it with him to Kurokawa Castle, from there later brought the vase to Yonezawa. It was buried at the south-east corner of the outer bailey and Uesugi Kenshin was regarded as the patron saint of the castle. Hô-on-ji temple was moved here from Echigo following the Lord's body. While ladies of the Lords and great vassals were buried in graveyards of these temples, the body of the Lord were either

cremated or buried at the Lord's Mausoleum at north west part of town outside third bailey (See Map V). After the last Lord surrendered castle to Emperor in 1868, Kenshin's vase was again dug up and moved to the Uesugi's Mausoleum with Hô-on-ji.

At the north east corner of the town (See Map V), an area was preserved for beggars and outcast class with their own temple.

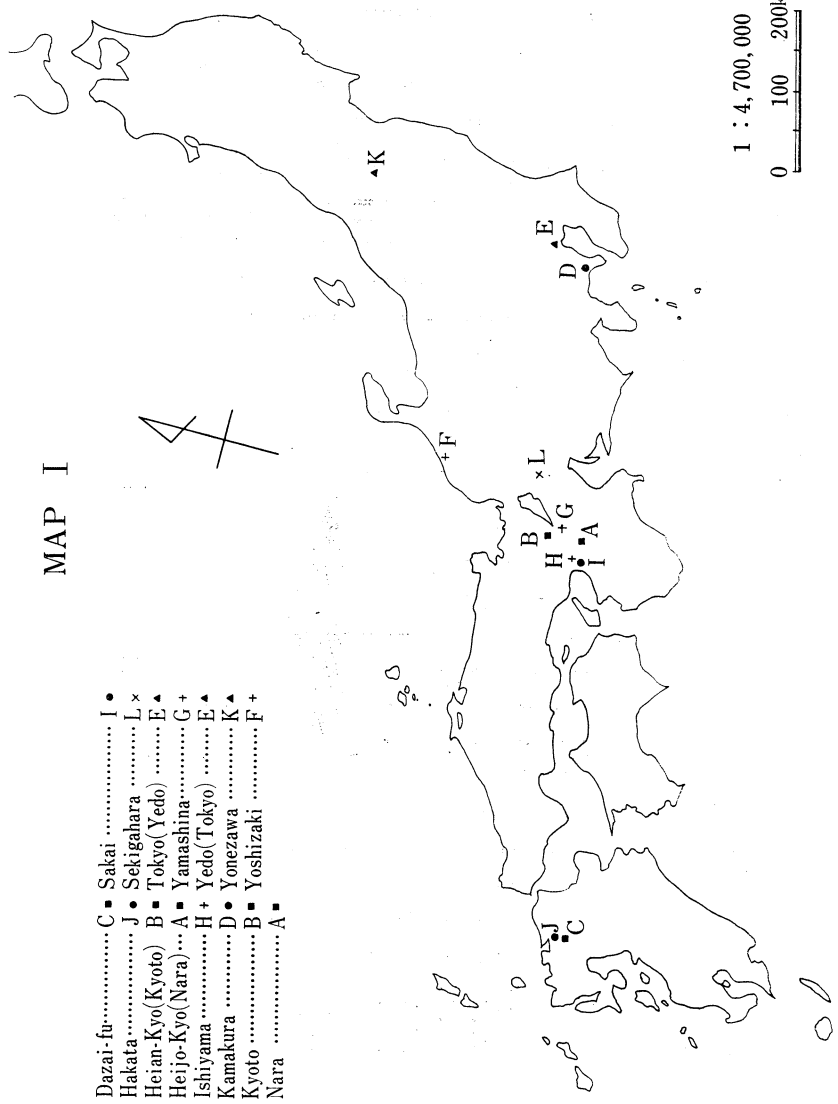
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MAP I

- Dazai-fu..... C ■ Sakai ..... I ●
- Hakata..... J ● Sekigahara ..... L ×
- Heian-Kyo(Kyoto) B ■ Tokyo(Yedo) ..... E ▲
- Heijo-Kyo(Nara) ... A ■ Yamashina..... G +
- Ishiyama ..... H + Yedo(Tokyo) ..... E ▲
- Kamakura ..... D ● Yonezawa ..... K ▲
- Kyoto ..... B ■ Yoshizaki ..... F +
- Nara ..... A ■

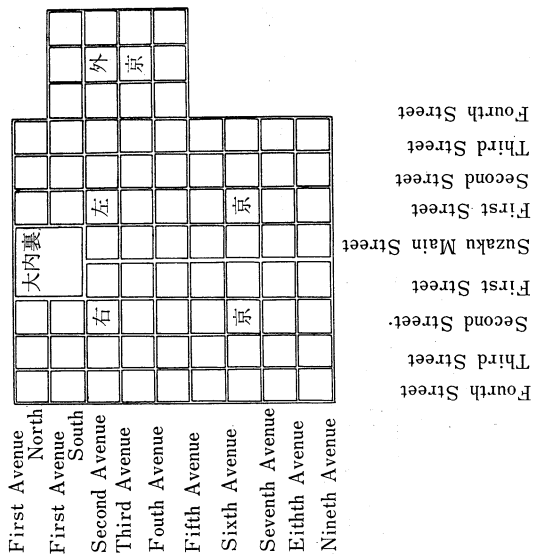


1 : 4,700,000  
 0 100 200km

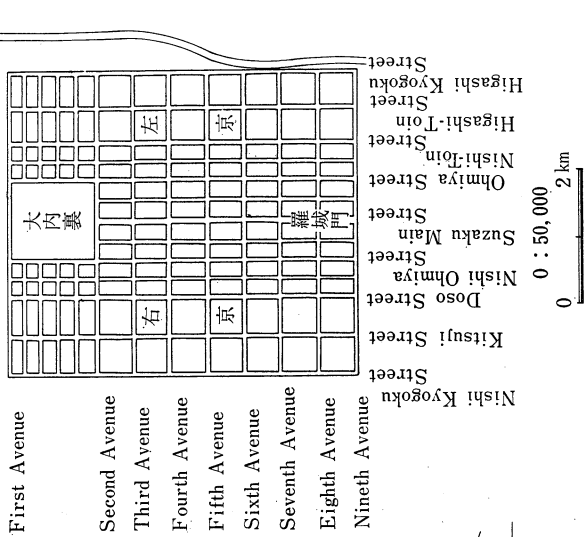
日本の都市における社会構造と都市形態

MAP II

HEIJO-KYO  
(Nara)

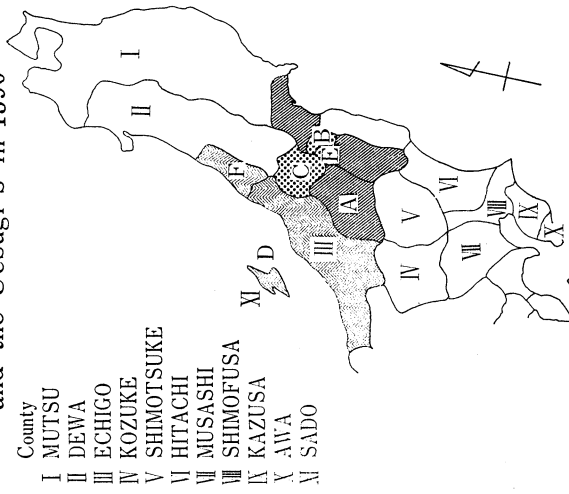


HEIAN-KYO  
(Kyoto)



MAP III A

The Lands under the Date's  
and the Uesugi's in 1590



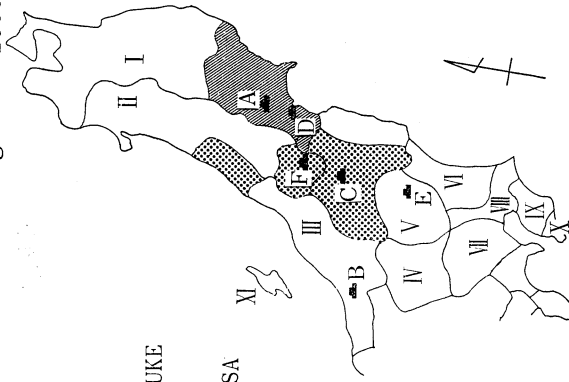
- County
- I MUTSU
  - II DEWA
  - III ECHIGO
  - IV KOZUKE
  - V SHIMOTSUKE
  - VI HITACHI
  - VII MUSASHI
  - VIII SHIMOFUSA
  - IX KAZUSA
  - X AWA
  - XI SADO

- Aizu Territories ... A
- Date, Hundred of ... B
- Oitama, Hundred of ... C
- Sade, Isle of ..... D
- Shinobu, Hundred of ... E
- Shonai District ..... F

- The Date's Domain Land
- The Date's Usurpated Land
- The Uesugi's Land

MAP III B

The Lands under the Date's  
and the Uesugi's in 1600









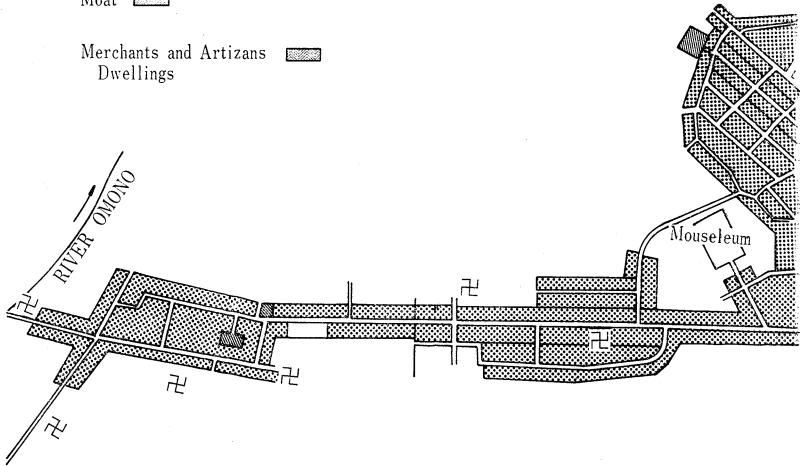
- County
- I MUTSU
  - II DEWA
  - III ECHIGO
  - IV KOZUKE
  - V SHIMOTSUKE
  - VI HITACHI
  - VII MUSASHI
  - VIII SHIMOFUSA
  - IX KAZUSA
  - X AWA
  - XI SADO

- Iwadeyama castle..... A
- Kasugayama castle... B
- Kurokawa castle..... C
- Sendai (Aoba) castle D
- Utsunomiya castle..... E
- Yonezawa castle..... F

- The Date's Land
- The Uesugi's Land

## MAP V TOWN OF YONEZAWA

- |   |   |                 |   |
|---|---|-----------------|---|
| Great Vassals Mansion                           |  | Shinto Shrine   |  |
| Middle, lesser Vassals' and Footmen's Messuages |  | Buddhist Temple |  |
| Moat  |  |                 |   |
| Merchants and Artizans Dwellings                |  |                 |   |



## Streets in the Third Bailey

- A Monto-cho (Gate East Street)
- B Gojū-ki-cho (Fifty Knights' Street)
- C Moto-Bakuro-cho (Former Horse Merchant Street)

## Six Streets

- D Ara-Machi (Rice Market Street)
- E Tatsu-Machi
- F Oh-Machi (Big Street)
- G Yanagi-Machi (Willow Street)
- H Higashi-Machi (East Street)
- I Minami-Machi (South Street)

## Side Streets

- J Bakuro-Cho (Horse Merchant Street)
- K Doya-Machi (Coppersmith Street)

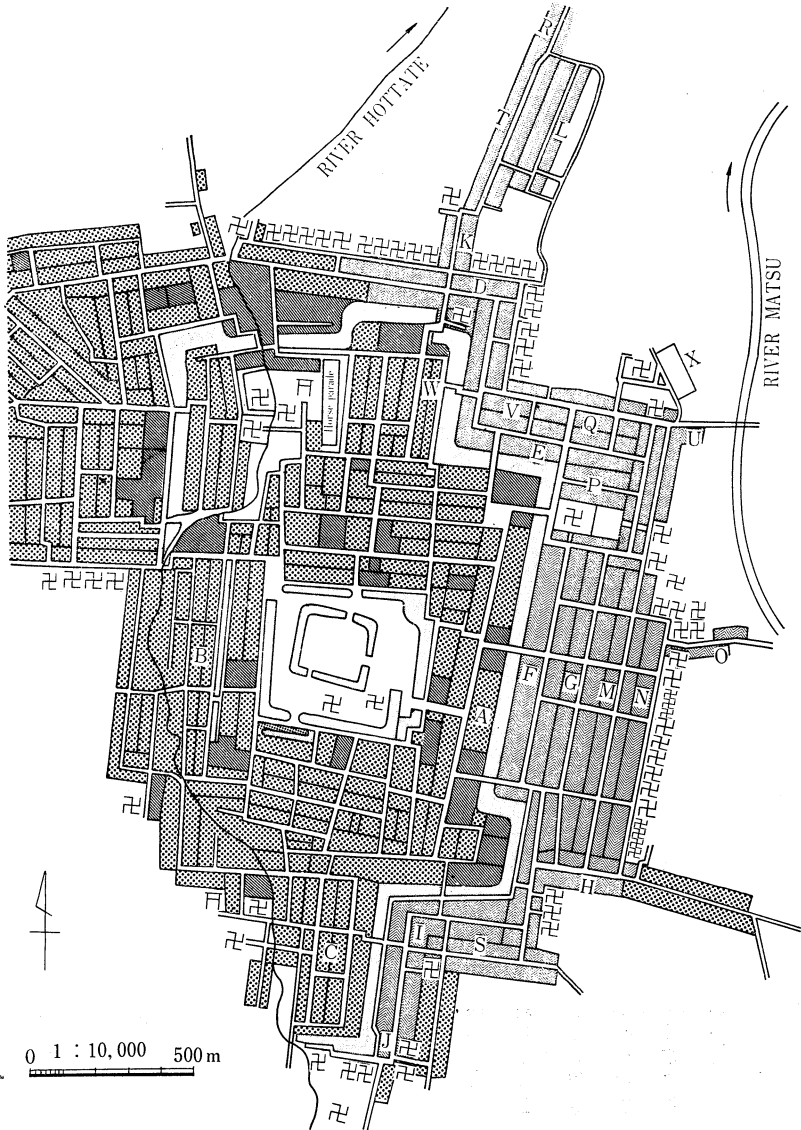
## L Fukuro-Machi (Cul de sac)

- M Gomen-Machi (Exempted Street)
- N Highshi Tera Machi (East Temple Street)
- O Ima-Machi (New Street)
- P Ji-Bansho-Machi (Local Carpenter's Street)
- Q Kaji-Machi (Blacksmith's Street)
- R Kata-Machi (North Street)
- S Konya-Machi (Dyer's Street)
- T Naga-Machi (Long Street)
- U Shin-Okeya-Machi (New Cooper's Street)
- V Teppo-Machi (Gunsmith's Street)

## Other Streets

- W Echigo Carpenter's Street
- X Eta Machi (Outcaste Street)





日本の都市における社会構造と都市形態

MAP IV Castle Town of Yonezawa under the Date's rule

