

Nobunaga's Kanō Free-Market Decrees: A Reconsideration

Hiroshi NIKI*

Keywords: free-market decree, medieval Japan, early modern Japan, Oda Nobunaga, geospatial analytical methodology

Explanatory Note

Medieval Japan (late 12th through late 16th century) witnessed the development of diverse urban morphologies including political cities (which functioned as bases for consolidating and projecting central and regional political authority), religious cities (which developed around religious facilities such as temples and shrines), port towns, transit hubs, and market towns. The number and scale of cities reached their apex between the late 15th and mid-16th centuries along with improvements in productivity and a thriving economy. A particular development among these features of the medieval period that warrants attention is the evolution of religious cities that were centered on temples and therefore entitled to tax exemptions and privileged to carry out free trade. These privileges were collectively referred to as “*raku*,” and cities that were defined by this feature were referred to as “*rakuichi*,” or “free markets.”

Whereas medieval Japan in general was a society in which daimyo (feudal lords) ruled their respective lands, by the Sengoku period (1467-1573), daimyo began to consolidate such lands on a regional scale. Daimyo built castle towns around their castles that served as their bases of power from which they aimed to strengthen their economic and commercial dominance. They sought to attract commerce by designating the markets constructed within their castle towns as free markets and issued ordinances called free-market ordinances, whose origins date back to the abovementioned privileges given at religious cities.

Based on the attributes of religious cities in the medieval period, this paper will resolve lingering issues concerning the nature of the free-market decree of 1567 that was promulgated in the city of Kanō in the province of Mino (present-day Kanda district of Gifu City) by Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), who forged the foundations for the unification of Japan after a century of warfare, during the period when he was expanding his territory.

In his observations of the free-market decree of 1567, Kojima Michihiro notes that the Kanō Market had been merely a part of the Gifu castle town under the control of Nobunaga, and that Nobunaga turned the Kanō Market into a free market by granting it new privileges. Kojima emphasizes the leadership and authority of the daimyo in facilitating the development of castle towns, and his interpretations have been widely accepted among scholars of the Sengoku period. This paper challenges Kojima's assertions based on those of Katsuma Shizuo, who argues that the Kanō Market was inherently a free market prior to the 1567 decree, and that it developed as such under its administration by Jōsenbō (also called Entokuji) Temple of the True Pure Land sect since the medieval period.

In other words, Nobunaga's free-market decree of 1567 was nothing more than a confirmation of already existing conditions. The purpose of this paper is not to seek the underlining reasons for the development of Sengoku period castle towns in the new urban morphologies facilitated by daimyo, but rather, to emphasize the development of medieval religious cities as a key precondition that laid the foundations for such development. This paper effectively questions whether urban prosperity in the early modern period (17th-19th centuries) should be seen as a result of the establishment of new cities, or whether it was part of the continuous development of cities from the medieval period.

By resolving issues concerning the nature of the regional market, this paper seeks to alter the image of Sengoku period castle towns and posit a new image concerning the trajectory of castle town development from the medieval period to the modern period.

Furthermore, this paper can be expected to contribute to development of research relying on the active utilization of historical materials that have not been used thus far in research. Recent research concerning urban studies of medieval Japan has relied not only on historical documents, but also taken advantage of and benefited from visual sources, cartographic sources, and archaeological discoveries that can be framed within a rich variety of scholarly methods to reconstruct urban spaces. Likewise, this paper will also take advantage of visual and geospatial analytical methodologies, in addition to textual analysis of 16th and 17th century documents, to reconstruct Kanō and its historical surroundings in the late 16th century and clarify the

* Litt.D. Professor, Department of Japanese History, Graduate School of Literature and Human Sciences, Osaka City University
3-3-138 Sugimoto, Sumiyoshi-ku, Osaka-shi, 558-8585 Japan
niki@lit.osaka-cu.ac.jp

nature of the city. That said, readers are encouraged to use this paper as a point of reference concerning the latest methodologies in the historical study of urban Japan.

This paper was published in the academic journal *Nihonshi kenkyū*, published by the Japan Historical Society, a Kyoto-based society that boasts 3,000 members and is host to the world's largest academic conference for scholars specializing in Japanese history. The Japan Historical Society also publishes a monthly journal. All submissions are rigorously peer reviewed, and the essays that are published in the journal have been recognized as exhibiting the highest quality of scholarship within the field of Japanese historical research. URL of the Japan Historical Society: www.nihonshiken.jp

In 1567, Oda Nobunaga issued a free-market decree to Jōsenbō, a temple located in Kanō village, in Mino province (today's Kanda district of Gifu City).¹ This decree, taking the form of a *seisatsu* or itemized list for public posting, ranks in significance with one issued to his own castle town of Azuchi.

Historian Katsumata Shizuo's groundbreaking 1977 interpretation of this decree prompted a substantial revision of conventional theories and significantly altered the existing scholarly understanding of free-market decrees.² Later, in a 1984 article in the journal *Nihonshi kenkyū*, Kojima Michihiro substantially and logically identified the flaws in Katsumata's argument, and then proposed a new theory of free-market decrees.³ In subsequent years, a debate has ensued over free-market decrees, with most scholars accepting Kojima's views.⁴

In recent years, however, Kojima's theory has been criticized as the result of improved understanding of the actual structure of the Gifu castle town, upon which Kojima's premises rested.⁵ (Note that before Oda Nobunaga took over the area in 1567, this castle town was called Inokuchi and the castle itself was called Inabayama castle. Thereafter both were called Gifu.) As our previous understanding of Nobunaga's Gifu castle town⁶ has changed, moreover, I too have examined Kojima's points in detail and described the problems therein.⁷ In this article I would like to reconsider the significance of the famous free-market decree by reconstructing to the extent possible the historical space in which a series of Kanō free-market decrees was issued. This will include the lists for posting addressed to "free markets."

I. Kojima Michihiro's Theory and Its Problematic Aspects

A definitive summary of the earlier historiography on the Kanō free market decrees can be found in Kojima's work, and so will not be repeated here.⁸ Since I have comprehensively reviewed Kojima's theory in a recent work, for the purposes of this article I will limit myself to a discussion of the following aspects of Kojima's theory.

Kojima focuses on the dual nature of the Sengoku period (1467-1573) castle town. On the one hand, he argues,

1. In the creation of this paper I have received considerable guidance and support from Kakema Riko (Gifu City Museum of History), Tsuchiyama Kimihito (Gifu City Museum of History), Miyake Tadami (Ena City Office), Uchibori Nobuo (Gifu City Board of Education) beginning with information concerning how to locate the various historical sources used in this research. I would like to express my gratitude to them here. It goes without saying that I assume responsibility for the content of this paper.
2. Katsumata Shizuo, "Rakuichiba to rakuichirei" *Sengokuhō seiritsushiron* (University of Tokyo Press 1979), first published 1977., "Kanō no rakuichiba," *Gifu-shi shi* [*Gifu Municipal History*] (Tsushi-hen genshi/kodai/chūsei, 1980)., "Rakuichiba — 'seiiki' no uchi to soto," Katsumata Shizuo and Amino Yoshihiko, eds., "Rakuichi to kakekomidera," *Shūkan asahi hyakka Nihon no rekishi*, no. 28 (Asahi Shimbunsha, 1986).
3. Kojima Michihiro, "Sengokuki jōkamachi no kōzō," *Sengoku/shokuhōki no toshi to chiiki* (Seishi Shuppan, 2005, first published in "*Nihon shikenkyū*" no. 257, 1984)., "Gifu Entokuji shōzō no rakuichirei seisatsu ni tsuite" (first published in 1991)., "Rakuichirei to seirei" (first published in 1995)., "Chūsei no seisatsu," (first published in 1996). All the above articles were republished in the author's collected works. Related articles include: Kojima, "Sengokuki jōkamachi kara shokuhōki no jōkamachi e," *Nenpō toshi kenkyū 1* (1993). Kojima and Senda Yoshihiro, "Shiro to toshi" *Iwanami kōza Nihon tsūshi 10* (1994).
4. Relevant research published in recent years that I am aware of includes: Kumada Ryo, *Rakuichirakuza no tanjō* (Iwanami Shuppan Service Center, 2002) and An'nō Masayuki, "Kanō Rakuichirei," *Hirosaki Daigaku Kyōiku Gakubu kiyō*, no. 94 (2005), but these do not directly relate to the arguments treated in this paper.
5. Uchibori Nobuo, "Mino ni okeru shugosho/sengoku jōkamachi no tenkai," in Uchibori Nobuo, Suzuki Masaki, Niki Hiroshi, Miyake Tadami (eds.), *Shugosho to sengoku jōkamachi* (Kōshi Shoin, 2006).
6. Niki Hiroshi, Matsuo Nobuhiro, eds., *Nobunaga no jōkamachi* (Kōshi Shoin, 2008).
7. Niki review of Kojima Michihiro, *Sengoku/shokuhōki no toshi to chiiki*, in *Shigaku zasshi* no. 118-1 (2009). Hereafter, the author's "separate article" or "separate paper" on Kojima refers to this review.
8. Kojima, 1984.

there was the core of the castle town, a residential area of warrior vassals and directly affiliated merchants and craftsmen, a space reflecting hierarchical rule by the daimyo's house. On the other hand, on the periphery were public-realm free markets, unconstrained by hierarchical relations and daimyo rule. These peripheral free markets were without a doubt one part of the castle town, and independent local merchants were expected to ply their trade there. Kojima contends that in Nobunaga's castle town of Azuchi, near Kyoto, this duality was overcome and a unified town emerged, leading in turn to the type of castle towns found in Toyotomi Hideyoshi's era and in the following Tokugawa (Edo) period (1603-1868).⁹

This is an excellent theory and I have no fundamental objection to the idea of a shift from a dual to a unitary community. But I do have reservations about his definition of the character of those urban spaces. This partly overlaps with another article of mine, but here I would like to re-assess Kojima's spatial reconstruction and highlight the problems therein.

In explaining the structure of Gifu castle town, Kojima cites, with no qualification, the *Nakashima Ryōikibun*, a chronicle of 1675.¹⁰ He interprets the residents of the central area of Gifu castle town—e.g., the town's main streets of Hyakumagari and Nanamagari—as directly subordinate merchants and craftsmen because they were all residents who had been relocated onto daimyo land. In all of Kojima's writings on the castle town, this is the only evidence he cites to substantiate his broader claim that the townspeople of the central area of castle towns were directly subordinate to the lord. As I have pointed out in a separate work, among other things the “residents on daimyo castle land” were not all direct subordinates to the daimyo. That is to say, as I understand it, in no castle town is there evidence that the central area was a space hierarchically controlled by the daimyo's house or that the residents therein were limited to directly subordinate merchants and craftsmen. Kojima is stipulating this on the theoretical supposition that markets in peripheral areas were free markets.

Accordingly, the purpose of this paper will be to attain an understanding of the free market of Kanō, defined by Kojima as a peripheral market of Gifu castle town.

Document 3: Oda Nobunaga's Decree¹¹

Established: Free Market [*rakuichi*]

1. For persons moving into this market there shall be no obstruction to their passage within this domain. There shall be no levies involving debts, interest on debts in cash or rice, on unpaid rent and various taxes, and this shall include erasure of such debt in ledgers; even those here through hereditary succession shall cause no opposition to newcomers.
2. There shall be no aggressive sales, violence, fighting, or verbal quarreling.
3. Those attempting wrongful use of the market [such as causing debt through moneylending] are forbidden to interfere and there shall be no inappropriate acquisition of lodging [by warriors].

By this command, persons violating these three items shall be quickly and severely punished.

Oda Nobunaga [official signature]

10th month of 10th year of Eiroku [1567]

9. Kojima, 1984, and Kojima, “Shokuhōki no toshi hō to toshi kizō” in *Sengoku/shokuhōki no toshi to chiiki* (forecited, first publication 1985). However, while Kojima states in the notes of this essay, “the majority of townspeople even in a castle town were not ruled in lord-vassal terms” (p.117), among other issues that have been mentioned in recent years, he adds the theory that Owaki Dennai, a horse-mounted samurai retainer of Oda Nobunaga, was hired to become the “market leader” of Misono market, a presumed free market (p.176). I have mentioned this inconsistency in a separate article.

10. Regarding regional geographies concerning Gifu such as *Nakashima Ryōikibun*, refer to Naganuma Takeshi, “Kinsei chishi shiryō no shōkai” Shugosho Shinpojiamu at Gifu Kenkyūkai Sewaninhen/Dai-Jūni Tōkai Kōkōgaku Fōramu Gifu Taikai, *Shugosho/sengoku jōkamachi wo kangaeru* Dai-ichi Bunssetsu Shinpojiamu Shiryōshū, 2004.

11. Decree in *okitegaki* form, from Entokuji document collection, no. 3 in Kojima's table (sited below). For consistency, the chronologically ordered numbers of the documents used in this table have been adopted in this article.

According to Katsumata Shizuo, in medieval times (late 12th through late 16th centuries) there was a free market at this location, and document 3 was issued simply as Nobunaga's confirmation of this market. Furthermore, Katsumata states that this document's inclusion in the Entokuji document collection suggests that the market was held in that temple's precinct. In the Sengoku period, Entokuji, a temple of the True Pure Land sect, had not yet attained the status of a full-fledged temple but was at the time still a subtemple called Jōsenbō. In this study, therefore, I will refer to it as Jōsenbō.

Kojima is critical of several aspects of Katsumata's explanation. First, citing the *Gifu Shiryaku*, a chronicle of 1747, he focuses on the Misono market (the early modern name for what had been Kanō market in the medieval period), in one of Gifu's three outer districts, beyond the town walls. Kojima says that the markets of these three districts each enshrined an *enoki* tree as their market deity. He further claims that the Saitō warrior family, who preceded Nobunaga as rulers of the area, established these markets under the castle's control. Furthermore, based on the fact that Misono was part of Upper Kanō, Kojima says it is clear that Misono market was the free market to which Nobunaga's itemized decree was addressed. (Note that Upper and Lower Kanō, despite being called *mura* or villages, were broad areas, as shown on the map.)

I take issue with this critique of Katsumata by Kojima. Especially dubious is his claim that the three markets' similar character was attributable to the fact that they were all founded by the Saitō family. Kojima further claims that later Nobunaga granted a decree to Misono only, and thus that the other two were not yet, during Nobunaga's age, markets.¹² Kojima does not make clear what this conclusion is based on. His contention that the free market of Nobunaga's decree was Misono market is based only on the fact that Misono was included in Upper Kanō in early modern times. Separate proof is required to confirm that this was the case. Kojima's analysis is not sufficient for a spatial reconstruction of the Kanō area during Sengoku times.

Kojima's second criticism of Katsumata pertains to the location on which Jōsenbō was built. Even if it was at the spot designated in temple tradition, or in the spot assumed by Katsumata, or in its current spot, all three are far removed from Misono market. If the market was held in the temple precinct, then the temple should be located at the market site but this is not true of any of the three suggested spots. Therefore Kojima contends straightforwardly that the free market in Nobunaga's decree was not in the precinct of Jōsenbō. For either Kojima or Katsumata, however, it is important to remember that their understanding of *jinaimachi*, or towns within temple precincts, was based on thinking of the 1980s and before. That is to say, such towns had been perceived as entities over which a temple exerted a strong centripetal influence, with houses built only inside the precinct that was then bounded by an earthen embankment or moat. More recent research, however, has revealed that this picture of *jinaimachi* is not accurate for the central Kinai area (the Kyoto/Nara/Osaka area), and that even outside Kinai there could be many different variations on what constituted temple precinct space.¹³ But even if this free market was not located in the temple precinct, it is possible that it was on land over which Jōsenbō exerted some control. In other words, one cannot say as Kojima does, based simply on the distance from Misono market, that the free market Kanō was unrelated to Jōsenbō in the Sengoku period.

What then is the basis for the view of most scholars, beginning with Katsumata, that the free market Kanō, to which the series of decrees was addressed, was under the jurisdiction of Jōsenbō? It is simply that these decrees of items for posting are currently in the Entokuji document collection. In contrast, Kojima assumes that Jōsenbō and the free market were unrelated during the Sengoku period. Kojima explains this apparent contradiction by saying that although the early modern period (the Edo period) these decrees came into the possession of Entokuji (formerly

12. Kojima, 1991.

13. Niki, "Jinaichō to jōkamachi—sengoku jidai no toshi no hatten" in Arimitsu Yūgaku, ed., *Nihon no jidaishi 12 Sengoku no chiiki kokka*, (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003). Regarding the Nō temple precinct, although it was in a later era, Rokusai market was opened at Tomita Seitokuji Temple (in Tomita, Bisai City, Aichi Prefecture). See "Hashiba Hideyoshi okitegaki" (Edict of Toyotomi Hideyoshi), 6th month of the 12th year of Tenshō (1584) in the *Seitokuji Documents, Aichiken-shi* (Aichi Prefectural History), shiryōhen Vol. 12. Also, in the case of Enjōji-Senpukuji Temple (in Kasamatsu-chō, Hashiba-gun, Gifu Prefecture), there is a declaration stating "Enjōji Market is determined to be in the temple precinct" in *Senpukuji Documents* "Ikeda Terumasa hanmotsu" dated 18th day of the 10th month of the 14th year of Tenshō (1586) in *Gifūken shi* (Gifu Prefectural History) Kodai/Chūsei, Vol.1. At that time, it appears from this that markets located near temple precincts were legally stipulated to be part of the temple precinct. From this, we can appreciate how spatially varied temple precincts were.

Jōsenbō), this does not mean that the circumstances described on them held in the earlier medieval or Sengoku periods.

Kojima contends that when one organizes the 16th-century documents addressed to Kanō and its environs, one realizes that the recipients listed are the market, the temple, and the village. From this he deduces that the three were independent of one another.¹⁴ Included in the Entokuji document collection as presently constituted are documents addressed to each of these three separate entities. Documents addressed to the village (category C on Kojima's table) came into Jōsenbō's possession, and copies of them can be found in the Tanahashi family document collection. From this Kojima deduces that these were originally documents held by the village, but at some point were passed to Jōsenbō. Kojima surmises similarly about documents pertaining to the market (category A on Kojima's table), and concludes that, beginning with those addressed to the free market, there was originally a collection of documents belonging to the village that was later moved to Jōsenbō.¹⁵

Kojima's supposition about the moving of documents is quite plausible. There are many cases of documents being entrusted to a nearby temple or shrine as a way of preserving them in a safe place. But there is absolutely no tradition of such a practice at Jōsenbō, and in only a single case is an original document (document 18) and a copy (document 19) held in both the Entokuji collection and the Tanahashi family collection (see Table 1). These two facts suggest that Kojima's theory is not necessarily sound. Instead, before concluding that the documents were moved to

Table 1. List of documents related to Kanō (in chronological order)

Document number	Year	Month and day	Sender (family name first name)	Address	Shape	Owner	Source
1	(1567)	Sep. 10	Oda Nobunaga	(Upper Kanō)	Copy	Tanahashi family	P★
2	1567	Sep.	Oda Nobunaga	Upper Kanō	Original (on the board)	Entokuji Temple	P, M-a
3	1567	Oct.	Oda Nobunaga	Free Market	Original (on the board)	Entokuji Temple	P, M-a
4	1568	Sep.	Oda Nobunaga	Kanō	Original (on the board)	Entokuji Temple	P, M-a
5	1583	Intercalary Jan. 28	unknown	Upper Kanō-jinai	Original	Entokuji Temple	P, M-b★
6	1583	Intercalary Jan.	Oda Nobunaga	(Kanō-chō)	Original	Tanahashi family	P, M-b
7	1583	Jun.	Ikeda Motosuke	Kanō	Original (on the board)	Entokuji Temple	P, M-b
8	1584	Jul.	Ikeda Terumasa	Kanō	Original (on the board)	Entokuji Temple	P
9	(1583-1584)	Nov.	(Hashiba) Toyotomi Hideyoshi	Kanō-mura	Copy	Tanahashi family	P, M-b
10	1590	Sep. 7	Ito Hidemori and others	Kyūbei Tanahashi	Copy	Tanahashi family	P, M-b
11	1590	Sep. 7	Kurita Hikoichi	Upper Kanō-mura Shōya Hyakushō-chu	Copy	Tanahashi family	P, M-b
12	1593	Dec. 21	Takigawa Masunari	Saemonnosuke Kodukuri	Original	Tanahashi family	P
13	(1599)	Intercalary Mar. 10	Oda Hidenobu	Masunari Takigawa	Original	Tanahashi family	P
14	(1599)	Intercalary Mar. 15	Takigawa Masunari	Kurouemon Tanahashi	Copy	Tanahashi family	P
15	unknown	Aug.	Kodzukurī Tomomasa	Jinai-Jōsenbō Kyōhōshi	Original	Entokuji Temple	P
16	unknown	Nov. 18	Takigawa Masunari and others	Sakino Daikanshū and others	Copy	Tanahashi family	P
17	1600	Aug.	Oda Hidenobu	Kanō-Jinai	Original (on the board)	Entokuji Temple	P, M-b
18	1600	Aug.	Ikeda Terumasa	Kanō-mura	Original	Entokuji Temple	P, M-b
19	1600	Aug.	Ikeda Terumasa	Kanō-mura	Copy	Tanahashi family	P
20	1600	Aug. 24	Sawai Masanaga and others	Kanō-mura Jōsenbō	Original	Entokuji Temple	P
21	1600	Sep. 9	Ishida Mitsunari and others	Kanō-mura	Original	Entokuji Temple	P, M-b

Notes: P: Gifuken shi Kodai/Chūsei [Gifu Prefectural History; Ancient and Medieval], Vol.1, 1969.

M-a: Gifushi shi Kodai/Chūsei [Gifu Municipal History; Ancient and Medieval], 1976.

M-b: Gifushi shi Kinsei [Gifu Municipal History; Early Modern], Vol.1, 1976.

★: Names of documents/texts from the original sources have been revised by the author.

Years and addresses in parentheses have been estimated based on available information.

14. Table 1 in Kojima, 1984.

15. Although the details are discussed in Section 3 of this paper, it is the author's opinion that in the Sengoku period, the Tanahashi family was more akin to a local overlord than a village headman. It is also questionable whether documents transmitted to the Tanahashi family can be regarded as addressed to the village or not.

Jōsenbō, one should investigate, as per proper treatment of sources, the provenance and possible prior movement of the documents. One cannot simply accept that the Entokuji document collection of today is identical to that held by the temple at some point in the past, and likewise for the Tanahashi family collection. One must acknowledge certain contradictions before theorizing about document transmission and preservation. In Kojima's case, specifically, he is using the theory that documents changed hands in order to bolster his main argument that the free market and the town within Jōsenbō were mutually independent.

Kojima's third criticism of Katsumata concerns the addressees of the above documents. As stated above, Kojima posits that documents were addressed to the three separate entities of the market, the temple, and the village. He concludes that since matters concerning the market were not mentioned in documents addressed to the temple, the latter had no authority over the market. I disagree with this point. Documents such as 18 and 21 are addressed to the village, but can be considered in fact to have been given to its overlord, Jōsenbō. In medieval documents there are many cases in which the addressee and the entity actually receiving the document were different; thus it is necessary to scrutinize closely how documents actually functioned. From the addressees alone—that is, the categories in Kojima's table—one cannot determine the parties to whom the documents were actually delivered or to whom they were subsequently transmitted. In this article, then, I will not use Kojima's categories but instead will reconsider all the pertinent documents after organizing them in their original chronological order (see my table below).

As an aside, Kojima's theory introduced above, that markets peripheral to castle towns were free, has only been proven in the cases of Ishiyama in Ōmi province and Kanō in Mino province. I have written separately about my doubts concerning Ishiyama as a free market.¹⁶ Now, bearing Kojima's ideas in mind, let us proceed to examine the case of Kanō.

II. The Historical Environment of Kanō

First I will examine the geographic and historical conditions of Kanō and environs.¹⁷ According to Uchibori Nobuo, the areas surrounding present-day Entokuji and the early modern town of Misono were located on a stable alluvial fan, making it topographically distinct from the areas around the castle towns of Gifu and early modern Kanō. Judging from archeological evidence, since antiquity the vicinity of Misono is believed to have been the political and cultural center of Atsumi county (present-day Gifu City).¹⁸

By the early Sengoku period religious structures were sited on this high plain, including Kogane Shrine, Taihōji Temple, Zuiryūji Temple, and Jōsenbō. From a 1564 inscription on a bell of Jōsenbō, we know that this vicinity was referred to as Kanō.¹⁹ We can assume that the site constituted a typical medieval religious space, with temple precincts and structures sprinkled about both singly and in compounds. Markets established in this area fulfilled a trade function for the many temples and shrines in the area.

Medieval Kanō village was part of Hirata estate. A reference to “Kawate Kanō-gō,” appears in a document of 1191.²⁰ Kawate is the ancient name for the area in present-day Gifu City around Shōhōji, and it is believed that Kanō village once extended that far. In the Muromachi period (which preceded and overlapped with the Sengoku period), the Toki family of warriors, which held the office of military provincial governor, began to encroach on the Kawate area, so that by the first half of the 15th century their family temple, Shōhōji, had been established there, as was their administrative headquarters by mid-century. At about this time Kanō castle was built as the headquarters

16. Niki, “Ōmi Ishidera rakuichirei no saikentō” in Senda Yoshihiro, Yata Toshifumi, eds., *Toshi to jōkan no chūsei—gakuyūgō kenkyū no kokoromi* (Kōshi Shobō, 2010).

17. Please refer to the map in the fifth section of this article. A detailed narrative of political developments can be found in *Gifu-shi shi* (Tsūshihen/Kinsei Vol. 1, 1981). For details on medieval Kanō castle and early modern Kanō castle and the surrounding castle town, see *Okudaira Nobumasa to Kanōjō* (Gifu-shi Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 2004).

18. Uchibori, “Mino ni okeru shugoshō/sengoku jōkamachi no hatten” (forecited).

19. On the inscription on the temple bell contributed by Oda Nobunaga, see (*Kyū*) *Gifu-shi shi*, 1928, p. 472.

20. *Shimada monjo* in the Chōkōdōryō Mokuroku dated 10th month of 1659.

of the deputy military governor, an office held by the Saitō family. The remains of a Sengoku period castle have been unearthed from beneath the more recent early modern Kanō castle, indicating that both occupied the same site.

After the Toki military governor moved his headquarters to the Fukumitsu area north of the Nagara River at the beginning of the 16th century, the Sengoku period castle apparently ceased functioning. However, a small community had emerged to the north of Kanō castle by this period, and it remained, if with a changed character, even after the castle fell into disuse.

It is no easy task to describe the 16th century circumstances of Kanō castle and its surroundings based on contemporary sources. I will draw some inferences about the early modern Kanō castle town and environs based on genealogical and other records about the cultivators of the area.²¹ The early modern Kanō castle town developed alongside the Nakasendō highway, which ran east to west to the north of the castle, and the Gifu highway that extended north from the Nakasendō highway. The main communities consisted of the first through fifth blocks of the main town along the Nakasendō highway, and also Shinmachi and Hiroe-chō on the northern bank of the Hiroe (Shimizu) River. Shinmachi and Hiroe-chō lay within the main area of Upper Kanō, while the castle and most of the castle town lay within Lower Kanō village.

In 1600 the Tanahashi family brothers Zen'uemon and Kyūbe'e gave assistance as guides to Tokugawa Ieyasu in his decisive military campaign at Sekigahara. In appreciation of their service, Ieyasu gave the brothers the position of *chōbari* (construction engineer) in the building of the new Kanō castle, an indirect indication that the Tanahashi's authority already extended to that area. Later, Zen'uemon changed his name to Furuta and was designated castle *donjon* guard for the castle town, and Kyūbe'e became the headman of Upper Kanō.²² This is particularly significant as an indication of the Tanahashi's rise since the battle of Sekigahara in 1600. As described in the following section, the Tanahashi are believed to have been vassals of the Oda warrior family when the Oda controlled Gifu castle, and then to have quickly switched allegiances to the Tokugawa after the fall of Gifu castle.

A total of nine local families presided as official leaders of Kanō castle town: Miyake, Miyata, Mori, Shinoda, three Matsunami houses, and two Kumata houses. The Miyake, Matsunami, and Miyata in turn held the status of town elders of Kanō. The Kumata family, as Gifu wholesaler, held rights as agent in the transport of mercantile goods. It is said, furthermore, that Tokugawa Ieyasu called upon Fuwa (later Miyata) Gorō'uemon, Matsunami Tō'uemon, Miyake Matazaemon, Nakajima Ichuemon who was the priest of Kutsui Tenmangū Shrine, and Kumata Suke'uemon to assist in the construction of the new Gifu castle.

Later, in the early modern period, the Kumata family lived in Hiroe-chō, which was located on the southern edge of the territory of Upper Kanō and in the northern section of the castle town. They acted as wholesaler for Shinmachi, a section of Kanō castle town, for transactions with Gifu castle town. From the time of the Toki-Saitō regime, the Kumata family were specially-privileged merchants who oversaw the transport of various goods, and also controlled the market in the vicinity of Hiroe-chō and Shinmachi. There is also a tradition that the family was appointed head of the Upper Kanō administrative office; thus it is possible that they also served as local government officials presiding over the Kanō area. According to Kumata family history, Shinmachi and Hiroe-chō were among the central districts of the Kanō area. Overall, the merchant-government official narrative of the family is plausible, for it is generally recognized that there were fixed settlements where privileged merchants lived in the latter half of the 16th century.²³

21. In *Kanō-chō shi* (Ōta Narikazu, ed., 1954), *Gifu-shi shi* (tsūshi-hen/kinsei Vol.1, 1981), *Gifu-shi shi* (shiryō-hen/kinsei, Vol. 1, 1976).

22. "Kami-Kanōmura meisaiki" (Gifuken Toshokan Shozō).

23. For the historical beginnings of the Kumata family refer to the "Niwaguchi sen ikkensho" in the *Kumata monjo*, vol. 2, dated 7th month of 1867, see also vol. 19 "Kanō shukuyakunin yuisho oboegaki," date unspecified, *Gifu-shi shi shiryō-hen/ Kinsei vol.1* and *Kanō mandokoro monjo* transmitted to the house of Kumata, in *Kanō shi*, forecited, photos included (current location unknown). According to these sources, the ancestors of the Kumata family moved to Hiroe at the order of Saitō Tominaga in 1445. This is the period when the office of the provincial governor was relocated to the Kawate/Kanō area and medieval Kanō castle was built. In 1543, Shinmachi and south, central, and north Hiroe-chō were established. Additionally, in 1564, Tominaga apparently levied an annual tax on merchants handling dried fish, birds, and medicine, and also set up a monopoly for local commerce, declaring that those from outside of Shinmachi could not engage in buying or selling. Also, it is known that in 1567, local government officials of Kami-Kanō were appointed. Further, these commercial privileges and the rank of the officials were secured by Nobunaga Hidenobu and Tokugawa Ieyasu, and sustained up to the early 17th century. In the *Kanō mandokoro monjo*, (see *Kanō-machi shi*) there is a decree by Oda Nobunaga to Minami-Kanō commanding farmers to return. Other than its date of

The Miyake family for its part hailed from the village of Kutsui, and over the generations held the so-called “Castle Land-Division Memorandum.”²⁴ This village is said to be where in early modern times the Kanō castle and vassals’ residences were located (thought to be in the present-day vicinity of Kanō-Kutsui-chō), and so it is indeed likely that the Miyake held the local land-division ledger. Also, one neighborhood of the early modern castle town was named for Miyake Matazaemon. The Kutsui Tenmangū Shrine is said to have been moved to its present location at the time the early modern castle was built. Currently, the Kanō Tenmangū Shrine is regarded as the deity of the castle town; it may have been located there even before the castle town existed, and was the central shrine of the region.

The Matsunami family had its origins in Mizuno, near present-day Kanō-Mizuno-chō in Gifu City, and in the early modern period served as proprietors of an officially appointed inn for warrior and aristocratic travelers. The Fuwa family is said to have come from Gōdo (also in Gifu City today), some distance from Kanō castle.

We can do no more than surmise from fragmentary sources, but it would appear from these family stories that in the late 16th century there were settlements throughout the area of Kanō castle, including Kutsui and Mizumura in addition to Hiroe-chō and Shinmachi. Later, the east-west Nakasendō highway and the road to Gifu intersected in this area. It was also near the confluence of the Hiroe and Arata rivers. These geographical attributes made it an area suitable for a market. It saw steady development as a space for trade, unlike the northern plateau area of Kanō where Jōsenbō was located. In the early modern period it gradually developed ties to the castle town.

There have been almost no archeological excavations of the area of the early modern Kanō castle town, but in the area some artifacts from the mid-16th century have been discovered.²⁵ These indicate that human settlement continued around the site of medieval Kanō castle, even after it fell into ruin.

From about the 1530s, when Saitō Dōsan, a daimyo in Mino province, took over Inabayama castle, the character of both the castle and Inokuchi castle town at its base began to change.²⁶ In 1567, Oda Nobunaga captured Inabayama castle, which was thenceforth known as Gifu castle.²⁷ In 1575 he moved to Azuchi near Kyoto and Nobutada, his son and heir, became lord of Gifu castle. After Nobunaga died in 1582, another of his sons, Oda Nobutaka (also known as Kanbe Nobutaka), became lord of Gifu castle. Near the end of the year, in response to an attack by Toyotomi (then Hashiba) Hideyoshi, he sued for peace. In the following year he again took up arms but was defeated and committed suicide.

With the demise of the Oda family, Ikeda Tsuneoki entered Mino province and established Ōgaki castle as his stronghold. He then set up his son Motosuke as lord of Gifu castle. In 1584, however, both father and son were killed in the Battle of Nagakute fighting on the side of the Toyotomi forces. In early 1585, Ikeda Terumasa, son of Tsuneoki, having succeeded his father as lord of Mino, moved from Ōgaki to Gifu. In 1590, as part of Hideyoshi’s reassignment of domains, he moved to Yoshida in Mikawa province.

In 1591, Toyotomi Hidekatsu, Hideyoshi’s adopted son, became lord of Gifu castle but in the next year was succeeded by Oda Nobutada’s son Hidenobu, who held the position for eight years. In 1600 Gifu castle, allied with the Toyotomi forces, came under attack and fell to the forces of Tokugawa Ieyasu three weeks before the great Battle of Sekigahara.

In 1601 (or 1602, according to some scholars), the construction of early modern Kanō castle began on the site of the earlier castle. The center of the castle town was located in Lower Kanō and a portion of Upper Kanō. In 1601, Okudaira Nobumasa, a vassal of Ieyasu and the new lord of Mino province, took over the castle.

With the building of Kanō castle, Gifu castle fell into ruin, as did the houses of the vassal band. Unlike the usual

1568, it is almost identical to the corresponding decree to Kita-Kanō (document 2), so we cannot dismiss the possibility that it is inauthentic. However, if it is accepted as genuine, then it stands as proof that there was a place called Minami-Kanō near Kano castle.

24. *Kanō-machi shi*, pp. 138-147.

25. From a lecture by Uchibori Nobuo.

26. Before Inokuchi was established as a castle town by the Saitō family, it was a river port situated at the gate of a temples. Uchibori Nobuo, “Inokuchi/Gifu jōkamachi,” *Nobunaga no Jōkamachi* (forecited).

27. There is a theory that Nobunaga captured Inabayama castle in 1564, but it is not widely accepted. For a recent study on this theory, see Yoshida Yoshiharu, “Nobunaga ni yoru Mino kōryaku jiki no saikentō,” *Chihōshi kenkyū*, no. 313 (2005).

pattern, however, the town of Gifu continued more or less as before. The place name of Misono, however, does not appear in any sources until 1616 when it is mentioned as the site where the gate to Kashimori Shrine was located.²⁸

III. Jōsenbō and the Tanahashi Family

Based on late 16th century sources, this section will consider the character of Jōsenbō and the Tanahashi family, taking the themes of the previous section and positing analytical premises for the next section.²⁹ As mentioned above, in 1600 the Battle of Sekigahara took place near Gifu, with the western army of the Toyotomi forces arrayed against the eastern army of Tokugawa Ieyasu. The latter were triumphant in this major turning point in Japanese history, with a shift of power to the east and the founding of a new shogunate in a new capital, Edo. The subsequent two and a half centuries are known as the Tokugawa or Edo period, Japan's early modern period.

In the run-up to the Battle of Sekigahara, there were skirmishes at Gifu castle. Jōsenbō received various decrees around the time of these skirmishes, and these documents (in the form of *kinsei* or prohibition decrees) survive in the Entokuji document collection. The following analysis of the Tanahashi family and Jōsenbō is based on these sources.

Document 17: Prohibitions of Oda Hidenobu

(Entokuji Document Collection)

Established:

For Kanō Temple Precinct

- I. Anyone forcefully seizing or committing violence
- II. Setting up encampments or committing arson
- III. Cutting down trees, allowing the establishment of various new taxes on houses

Violators of the above items, and their families and fellow inhabitants shall be quickly and severely punished.

Oda Hidenobu [official signature]

8th month, 5th year of Keichō [1600]

This document constitutes an assurance by Oda Hidenobu, lord of Gifu castle and the western armies, of the safety of the market area within the boundaries of Jōsenbō. However, another assurance of safety, document 18, was offered by Ikeda Terumasa of the eastern armies.

Document 18: Signed Declaration [*hanmotsu*] of Ikeda Terumasa

(Entokuji Document Collection)

Violence by my troops shall be strictly dealt with, regardless of the numbers involved, by this decree, offenders shall be punished.

[Ikeda Terumasa] Sanzaemon [official signature]

8th month, 5th year of Keichō (1600)

To: Village of Kano [note: not written as Kanō]

As the defeated former lord of Gifu castle, Ikeda Terumasa was not unaware of local conditions. When Teru-

28. In *Gifu-shi shi* (forecited), in the primary source “Mino no kuni muradaka ryōchi kaichō” from 1616, the name “Misono Village, Atsumi County” appears, but it is spelled with a character slightly different from the one used in the Misono market discussed in this paper. However, it has been pointed out that this is probably a mistaken entry for another village, and that being the case, then this would be the first mention of the place name Misono. Also, in the *Murase monjo* 21, “Shimura shoji oboe (shō),” from the 4th month of 1722 in the “Ima no Ichirōbe’e” section, it is written that a person named Yasue Denzaemon (Shinbe’e) sold his wares at a tea shop in Misono town and Misono market (*Misono-chō* and *Misono-ichi*, both written phonetically). This text appears to have been written in the late 16th century, but the date cannot be verified. In the end, there is no solid textual evidence proving that there was a market or town named Misono in the 16th century.

29. For basic historical facts, see *Gifu-shi shi*, 1976.

masa gave the above declaration to Jōsenbō, because of its importance apparently a copy was made (document 19) and given to the Tanahashi family. Then, on the ninth day of the ninth month, Jōsenbō received a prohibition decree addressed to Kanō village from Ishida Mitsunari and Shimazu Yoshihiro of the western armies (document 21).

It is unclear whether these documents were requested by Jōsenbō or were imposed from above. In any case, they reveal that Jōsenbō was being placed in a position where it had to avoid military conflicts and vouchsafe for the security not only of Kanō temple precincts but also for Kanō village. In other words, Jōsenbō had a certain degree of authority over Kanō village.

Next, let us consider the situation of the Tanahashi family.

Document 10: Copy of a Declaration [*hanmotsu*] Signed by Itō Hidemori and Takenaka Gensuke (Tanahashi Family Document Collection)

For farmers of Upper Kanō: it is against the law to neglect the fields in the district and instead to grow crops in other places. If we hear of anyone going out to tend barley currently under cultivation elsewhere, they will be punished as soon as it is discovered.

7th day of the 9th month of the 18th year of Tenshō [1590]

Take [Takenaka] Gensuke [unclear] [imprint of official signature]

I [Itō] Kaga no Kami Hidemori [imprint of official signature]

To: Lord Tanahashi Kyūbe'e

Document 11: Copy of a Declaration [*hanmotsu*] Signed by Kurita Hikoichi and Two Others (Tanahashi Family Document Collection)

As before:

For farmers of Upper Kanō: it is against the law to neglect the fields of this district and instead to grow crops in other areas. If we hear of anyone going out to tend barley currently under cultivation elsewhere, these actions shall be punished as soon as discovered.

7th day of the 9th month [18th year of Tenshō [1590]

Mishina Jinjirō

Mi [imprint of official signature]

Yamada Kyūbe'e [imprint of official signature]

Kurita Hikoichi [imprint of official signature]

To: the Headman and All Farmers of Upper Kanō Village

Farmers of Upper Kanō were not cultivating plots of its land but were using outside land instead; documents 10 and 11 prohibit this practice. Itō Hidemori and Takenaka Gensuke, mentioned in document 10, were vassals of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Although the identity of Kurita Hikoichi and others in document 11 is not clear, we can assume they were lieutenants of Itō Hidemori. Document 10 may be read as a more formal version of document 11, which lacks a date.

From this we can deduce that Tanahashi Kyūbe'e, the addressee of document 10, was of higher status than the headman of Upper Kanō, the addressee of document 11.

Document 12: Letter [*shojō*] from Takigawa Masunari (Tanahashi Family Document Collection)

(excerpt of inscription on wrapping)

(inscription on back edge)

To: the Honorable Mokuzen Saemon

From: Taki Shūzen [Masanari]

Report, as previously:

Regarding the matter of the mountain village of Iwato, there are frequent reports; as before there are instructions; de-

pending on the situation there, one is to be reassured [or] to meet with parties, and one must make a decision.

It is strictly as declared.

21st day of the 12th month, 2nd year of Bunroku [1593]

[unclear, thought to be Masanari] [official signature]

Document 9: Copy of a Hashiba [later Toyotomi] Hideyoshi Declaration [*hanmotsu*]

(Tanahashi Family Document Collection)

The parameters of the mountain village are: to the corner in the east, to the mountain ridge in the north, to the large moat in the west, it is so stated. Continuing as before, the annual land tax shall be waived.

Echizen no Kami

11th month of [ten plus unclear number] year of Tenshō [1582-1592]

The Lord's Seal [Chikuzen no kami]

To: Kanō Village³⁰

Document 12 is from Takizawa Shūzen Ekisei, a senior vassal of Oda Hidenobu. Iwato was a village adjacent to and on the east side of Upper Kanō. Presumably a conflict had broken out over access to and use of the mountain. Although information on the exact location referred to in document 9 is scant, Iwato apparently belonged to Upper Kanō, and we can infer from document 12 that it was located on the southern slope of Mt. Kinkazan where Gifu castle was situated.³¹ That is, in document 9 the western perimeter of the mountain is delineated as “the large moat,” a reference to the southern embankment of Gifu castle town.

With this in mind, let us proceed to the next two documents.

Document 13: Oda Hidenobu Declaration [*hanmotsu*]

(Tanahashi Family Document Collection)

A messenger has reported what was seen, and while there was originally no irregularity, this morning here [Ishida Mitsunari] went forth to Sawayama; there is the matter of patrol of the mountain and also there was word about the town. It is to be conveyed strongly [to vassals], and if there are intentions regarding the above matters, again they too must be told this.

Oda Hidenobu [official signature]

10th day of the intercalary 3rd month, 4th year of Keicho [1599]

To: Takigawa Shūzenken

Document 14: Copy of a letter from Takigawa Masanari

(Tanahashi Family Document Collection)

inscription on wrapping:

4th year of Keichō [1599]

accompanying letter from Takigawa Shūzen

As before, by signature you are to patrol the outer mountain and bolster the entrances to the town; without delay you shall go forth.

It is strictly so stated.

Taki Shūzen [unclear name, probably Masunari] [imprint of official signature]

4th year of Keicho [1599], 15th day of the intercalary 3rd month

30. “Chikuzen no kami” was used as a title for Toyotomi Hideyoshi in documents until the spring of 1585, so this document can be dated to either 1583 or 1584. See Miki Keiichirō, ed., *Toyotomi Hideyoshi monjo mokuroku* (Nagoya University, School of Letters, 1989). It is highly probably that this document dates from when the military conflict between Hideyoshi and Ieyasu began in the Mino area, which was in the 11th month of 1584.

31. The mid-17th century dispute between Upper Kanō and Zuiryūji over territorial rights to the mountain area behind Zuiryūji (the southern slope of Mt. Kinkazan/Inaba) also serves as proof of this. “Zuiryūji/Kami-Kanōmura sanron saikyōjō” dated 22nd day of the 2nd month of 1652 in *Zuiryūji monjo* from *Gifu-shi shi*.

To: Lord Tanahashi Kurōemon

These sources reveal how in 1599 Ishida Mitsunari fled to Sawayama castle in Ōmi under Tokugawa Ieyasu's protection, having been nearly toppled in Osaka by Fukushima Masanori. The tensions arising from this political turbulence in Ōmi reverberated in Mino, the neighboring province to the east.

In document 13, Oda Hidenobu, apparently in the capital at the time, ordered the local Takigawa Masunari to bolster defenses at the entrance to the castle town and on Mt. Kinka where Gifu castle was located. In response to this, in document 14 Masunari orders Tanahashi Kurō'uemon to patrol the town entrances as well as Mt. Kinka, a reference to Gifu castle. He was likely being ordered to patrol the embankment along the southern side of the castle and the southern side of Gifu castle town.³² From this we can infer that the Tanahashi family at this point held jurisdiction over Upper Kanō and had a very distinct warrior character. Judging by the fact that they were recipients of such an order, we can also assume that the Tanahashi were now one rank above village headman as a local authority, and may have been a vassal of the Oda.

These sources reveal the character of Jōsenbō and the Tanahashi in the 1590s—namely, they continued as before to be closely linked to the Oda, even during Hideyoshi's regime.

In light of this analysis, let us now reconsider the free-market decrees.

IV. Kanō Market, Kanō Town, and Sources on Free Markets

Document 1: Copy of a Letter from Oda Nobunaga

(Tanahashi Family Document Collection)

For Kita Kanō, cutting down trees and violence or fighting of any kind are strictly forbidden, and miscellaneous prior rules shall remain valid upon application.

It is strictly so stated.

Oda Nobunaga [imprint of official signature]

10th day of the 9th month, 10th year of Eiroku [1567]

In document 1, Oda Nobunaga guarantees the peace of Kita Kanō. The expression, “in various matters, we shall order solely as previously,” is particularly notable. This document recognizes the authority of the lord already in control, and officially orders that he remain in control of Kita Kanō. Although this document is a copy and no addressee is included, it is safe to treat it as issued to the Tanahashi family.³³

Document 2: Oda Nobunaga Martial Decree

(Entokuji Document Collection)

To: Kita-Kanō

The farmers, etc. of this district must return; moreover, marauders who cut down trees and randomly clear crops will

32. Referring to the southern slope of Mt. Inaba, which is on the north side of Upper Kanō and Zuiryūji, as “the outside periphery of the mountain” can be confirmed in “Oda Nobunaga kinsei” dated 7th month of 1582 *Zuiryūji Monjo, Gifu-shi shi*.

33. The *Tanahashi-ke monjo* or *Tanahashi Family Documents* (in *Gifu-shi shi*) are a collection of documents passed down in the Tanahashi family, which governed Upper Kanō (as the headman) in the early modern period. Taking a conservative view, the only transmitted documents are the ten listed on the front cover. Although the *Gifu-shi shi* edition of sources is inscribed as “stored at Gifu castle,” some of it is currently held at the Gifu City Museum of History. According to Okuno Takahiro, *Sōtei Oda Nobunaga monjo no kenkyū-jōkan* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1988), at that time, Nobunaga issued declarations (*hanmotsu/kakioroshi*) to distribute land among the leading warriors of Owari province. However, others such as samurai of Kōga used Japanese hierarchy-based formal expressions such as “bestow upon” and “most humbly” when addressing samurai who were not at that point under their authority, so the existence of such honorific expressions here is not a discrepancy of any kind. In his table, Kojima judges document 2 as from 1568, but he does not in his own table, but he does not give any evidence for this assertion. While documents 1 and 2 (dated 1567) use similar language, 1 and 4 use completely different language. Thus, 1 and 2 can be seen as a set dating from the time of Nobunaga's 1567 invasion.

be strictly punished.

Thus it is decreed.

Oda Nobunaga [official signature]

9th month of the 10th year of Eiroku [1567]

From document 2 it can be inferred that “farmers, etc.” of Kita Kanō village had fled when Oda Nobunaga attacked Inabayama castle. Since the Entokuji document collection contains the original version of his decree, in the form of an itemized list for public posting, we can conclude that Jōsenbō as overlord of Kita Kanō received the decree from Nobunaga. Even though the order was addressed to Kita Kanō, it was common for such documents to be issued to the overlord of the area.

Although Kojima’s table categorizes documents 1 and 2 as among those addressed to “villages,” in fact these documents were issued to the Tanahashi family and to Jōsenbō, respectively, the two authorities in Kita Kanō at that time.

The following source confirms that Jōsenbō constituted a temple precinct space:

Document 5: Declaration [*hanmotsu*]

(Entokuji Document Collection)

Within this temple precinct new taxes shall be null and no disturbances will be tolerated.

28th day of the intercalary 1st month of the 11th year of Tenshō [1583]

[official signature]

To: Kita-Kanō Temple Precinct

Although the issuer of the document is unknown, it was likely a military commander under Oda Nobutaka.³⁴ Document 17 (above) of 1600 is a list of prohibitions addressed to “Kanō Temple Precinct.” However, the actual situation referred to in the two sources is the same, since we know that the temple precinct of Jōsenbō was maintained throughout the Oda and Toyotomi regimes in the late 16th century.

Document 3 (listed above) is a decree for posting addressed to a well-known free market. It is commonly thought that such lists of prohibitions were issued in response to requests and claims from temples, shrines, and towns,³⁵ but Kojima states that in this case there were unique circumstances such that the commonly accepted theory does not hold. Specifically, according to Kojima, the physical condition of the decree suggests that it was posted outdoors, meaning, he says, that there were either no inhabitants or no institutions there to receive the decree. He asserts, therefore, that the decree was issued unilaterally by Oda Nobunaga. Additionally, he disagrees with the interpretation that the phrases “miscellaneous taxes on residences” (document 4) and “miscellaneous taxes on residences in the town proper” (document 7) presuppose the existence of houses of townspeople. Instead, Kojima believes that document 3 stipulates only miscellaneous taxes because there were no residences there at that time.

In fact, the decree was indeed posted outdoors. But this should not be taken as evidence that there were no residents or institutions there to receive it. One cannot discount the possibility that there were residents or institutions already established there that received the decree from Nobunaga and then posted it outside themselves. Also, while “miscellaneous taxes” indicates general urban taxes as opposed to the more specific “miscellaneous taxes on residences” and “miscellaneous taxes on residents in the town proper,” it is unreasonable to interpret document 3 to mean that there were no residences in the town at that point. The third article of document 3 proscribes “unreason-

34. This source is entrusted to the Gifu City Museum of History, where the author examined it. *Gifu-shi shi, shiryō hen, kodai/chūsei 1* (1969) identifies this as a declaration by Oda Sanbōshi (previously known as Oda Hidenobu), but the official signature differs from his generally recognized signature. Moreover, a declaration by Hidenobu at this time and in this region would be an anomaly. Conversely, he did issue an edict in this month (document 6).

35. Minegishi Sumio, *Chūsei saigai/senran no shakaishi*, (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2001).

able acquisition of lodging,” which is an indication that residences already existed in the town.

Giving examples other than Kanō, Kojima asserts that it is possible to determine the existence of residents based on whether such decrees for public posting exist or not.³⁶ (I have already detailed the flaws in this theory in a separate article.) Kojima fixates on the lack of an institution to receive such decrees for three reasons: to negate Katsumata’s theory that document 3 was a confirmation of an existing free market, to prove that it was issued solely at Nobunaga’s behest, and to emphasize that Jōsenbō was not involved in the matter. While there is no doubt that document 3 was posted outdoors for a time, given its damaged condition, it is impossible to draw any conclusions beyond that. In fact, the more likely explanation is the commonly held one: that the decree was issued in response to a request for security by a local institution, in this case Jōsenbō.

Document 4: Oda Nobunaga Edict [*okitegaki*]

(Entokuji Document Collection)

Established, for Kanō:

1. For persons coming into this market, there shall be no obstructions to them passing through this domain. There shall be nullification of levies involving debts whether in cash or rice, high interest, annual land tax, and miscellaneous taxes on residences. There shall be no violation of these rules, even by those with hereditary claims.
2. All buying and selling shall be done in a free market without guilds.
3. There shall be no forceful sales, violence, fighting, verbal quarreling or entry by prohibited persons, and acquisition of lodging [by warriors] is also not allowed.

By this order, persons violating these laws shall be punished.

Oda Nobunaga [official signature]

9th month of the 11th year of Eiroku [1568]

Document 4 is addressed to Kanō and in its first article refers to “this market,” indicating that the market was Kanō market.³⁷ Kojima, however, contends that document 4 is addressed to Kanō rather than to a “free market” because the town was only coming into being at that time. Kojima further claims that in simply addressing the decree to the place name “Kanō” instead of to the “town of Kanō,” Nobunaga was making clear his right to grant special privileges in an overt display of authority.³⁸ However, as I have pointed out elsewhere, if one considers Nobunaga’s decrees to other cities, such an interpretation is not tenable.³⁹

I propose the following interpretation of document 4, which differs from that of Kojima. Essentially, documents 3 and 4 are nearly identical. Document 4 was issued only a year after document 3, which is addressed to a “free market” generally, without specifying any particular market. Therefore, we can presume that after document 3 was issued, Jōsenbō requested a second decree addressed specifically to Kanō. Thus document 4 was issued.

Having already analyzed documents 4 and 5, Kojima then moves on to an analysis of documents 7 and 8, but between these is document 6.

36. Kojima, 1991.

37. As mentioned before, the name of the city or town of Misono (as a market or town) does not appear until the first half of the 17th century. It is therefore a mistake to refer to this 16th century marketplace as “Misono market.”

38. Kojima, 1991.

39. For a detailed account, please see the aforementioned separate article. I will, however, outline the main thrust of the argument here. With regard to the itemized decrees issued by Nobunaga to Kanō and Ōmi-Kanegamori, Kojima asserts that they indicate Nobunaga’s unilateral approach to regulating communities. Kojima conjectures that while the decree to Kanegamori addressed it as “Kanegamori-*chō*,” indicating that it was an established community at this point, Kanō was addressed in document 4 only as “Kanō” even though it too is assumed to have been an established communal town. Conversely, Ōmi-Moriyama was a previously existing communal town, but despite that, it received a decree addressing it only as “Moriyama,” not “Moriyama-*chō*.” However, since the Oda regime did not have a uniform standard for addressing places (specifically, whether to use the place name only, or to include “*chō*”), Kojima’s attempt to derive a special meaning from the inclusion or omission of the term *chō* is unsound.

Document 6: Edict of Oda Nobutaka

(Tanahashi Family Document Collection)

Established:

1. For Kanō town, as before, miscellaneous taxes, taxes on households, or taxes on the employment of servants are not allowed.
2. For this town, district and local debts are null.
3. Residents must return to the town by the 2nd of next month.

By this command individuals and their families in violation hereof shall be strictly punished.

Oda Nobutaka [official signature]

1st month of the 11th year of Tenshō [1583]

Kojima places document 6⁴⁰ in category A in his table, but he does not provide an analysis of its content.

Document 6 indicates that the inhabitants of the town of Kanō fled and scattered when Toyotomi (then Hashiba) Hideyoshi's forces attacked Oda Nobutaka in Gifu. The first article indicates the existence of a town called Kanō (Kanō-chō), and guarantees its existing special rights ("as before"). Additionally, since it orders the residents who had fled to return, there is no doubt that the town of Kanō existed prior to the issuance of this decree.

The special rights guaranteed to Kanō town included exemption from levies such as miscellaneous taxes (*shoyaku*), household taxes (*mon narabi yaku*), and taxes on employing servants. It also waived monetary debts or other legally contracted obligations to third-party creditors, such as debts related to land in the town or in the larger area. These are completely different from the special rights acquired by Kanō market in documents 3, 4, 7, and 8. It is conceivable that at the point of issuance of documents 3 and 4 (1567-68), Kanō market had developed into Kanō town over the course of a decade or two, but if so, then why were the rights specified in documents 3 and 4 never re-issued so that they would properly apply to the town of Kanō? Conversely, why did they thereafter have to acquire decrees giving Kanō market the special privileges stated in documents 7 and 8?

Since document 6 is included in the Tanahashi family collection and documents 3, 4, 7, and 8 are in the Entokuji collection, Kanō town and Kanō market should be considered separate legal entities. The existence of the documents in these two separate collections, furthermore, confirms that Kanō town was under the jurisdiction of the Tanahashi family while the Kanō market was under Jōsenbō's authority.⁴¹

Document 7: Edict of Ikeda Motosuke

(Entokuji Document Collection)

Edict [*okite*]

To Kanō

1. For persons coming into this market, there shall be no obstructions throughout the province; taxes on town residences and other miscellaneous taxes are not permitted.
2. All trade shall occur on a free-market, guild-free basis.
3. Forceful sales, violence, fighting, verbal quarreling, entry by prohibited persons, encampment [by warriors], and arson are prohibited.

Any persons who violate the above items shall be prosecuted.

Accordingly, is it so ordered.

Ikeda Motonosuke [official signature]

6th month of the 11th year of Tenshō [1583]

40. This is currently stored at the Gifu City Museum of History. After examination, the author can state definitely that it is either an original or a faithful copy thereof.

41. Kojima's theory assumes that documents such as No.3, 4, 7 and 8, a group of documents related to the market were moved to Jōsenbō/Entokuji sometime in the early modern period. However, if that were the case, it would be necessary to provide an explanation why document 6 was left out of this group.

Document 8: Edict of Ikeda Motosuke

(Entokuji Document Collection)

Edict [for] Kanō

1. For persons coming into this market, there shall be no obstructions throughout the province; taxes on town residences and other miscellaneous taxes are not permitted.
2. All trade shall occur on a free-market, guild-free basis.
3. Forceful sales, violence, fighting, verbal quarreling, entry by prohibited persons, encampment [by warriors], and arson are prohibited.

The above items are strictly prohibited. If there are any violators, they shall be strictly punished. The situation shall be thus.

Ikeda Motonosuke

Sanzaemon no jō [official signature]

7th month of the 11th year of Tenshō [1583]

Documents 7 and 8 clearly continue the precedents set in documents 3 and 4. In particular, the first article in both 7 and 8, “for fellows moving into this market,” uses terminology that is quite dated for a decree of the 1580s, suggested that it is being repeated from the earlier documents 3 and 4.

Other than Kanō, no market or town received four different free market decrees.⁴² While Kanō was issued multiple decrees in the form of prohibition lists for public posting, moreover, according to Kojima’s own analysis of the physical condition of the documents, only document 3 was actually posted outdoors for a time, whereas the other three (documents 4, 7, and 8) bear no signs of having been posted outdoors before being stored away.⁴³ When we consider in addition to this the identical language of the decrees, it would seem that the later ones were issued in response to persistent requests from the recipients.

Kojima reasons, however, that documents 4, 7, and 8 were not posted outdoors because they simply confirmed the special rights already laid out in document 3. He contends that documents 4, 7, and 8 are in substance the same as paper documents, but because the earlier public pronouncement (*okitegaki*, document 3) on which they were based was issued in the form of an announcement for posting, documents 4, 7, and 8 simply repeat that format.⁴⁴ This issue, however, remains unresolved and requires further consideration.

Specifically, the free-market decree issued in 1567 had special significance for Kanō market. The basic issue here is not about the free-market decree of 1567 itself but rather the character of Kanō market and the surrounding environment from 1568 through 1592.⁴⁵

The language and style of decrees abolishing guilds and establishing free markets, particularly the expression “for fellows moving into this market,” appear to be emphasizing, for the benefit of newcomers to Kanō market, that it was a free market, free also of guilds, and had been so from the time of Oda Nobunaga. Since the later decrees did not add anything to this, only the original one (document 3) was posted for an extended period of time.

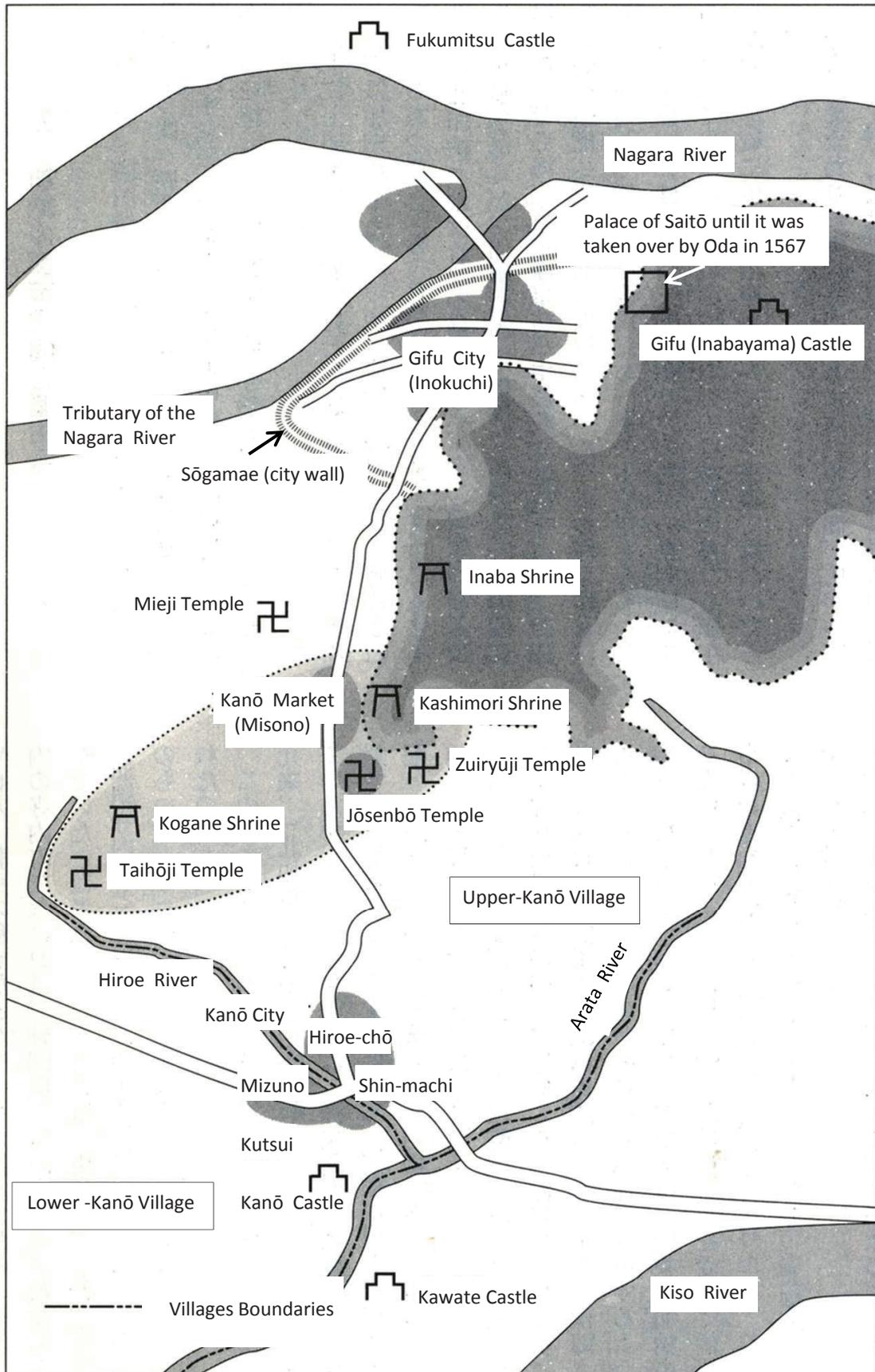
Emphasizing the continuity of Kanō market as a free market, free also of guilds, was a calculated move to differentiate it from other nearby commercial spaces. The next section will comprehensively reconstruct the space of Kanō market and its surroundings.

42. If we were to go by Kojima’s argument, the only place besides Kanō to receive multiple free-market decrees was Ōmi-Kanegamori. Beyond that, it can be confirmed that Sagami-Ogino and Harima-Ōgo each received more than one free-market decree in the form of lists of items for public posting. See list of such free-market decrees in Kojima, 1995.

43. Kojima, 1991.

44. Kojima, 1991.

45. According to Kojima’s theory, from the time Nobunaga established Azuchi castle in Ōmi until the beginning of the 17th century, castle towns became unitary entities and all markets were standardized as “free” (*raku*), not just those, as before, in peripheral areas (see Kojima, 1984). Kojima states that Misono market (Kanō market) was part of Gifu castle town. If that were the case, then from the end of 1592, Misono market should have become part of Gifu castle town, making subsequent affirmation of its “free” status would have been unnecessary. On this point Kojima’s theory is contradictory, and we can see that Misono market (Kanō market) was *not* part of Gifu castle town.



Note: Kanō City has three main blocks: Hiroe-chō in its north, Shin-machi in the west, and Mizuno in the east.

Figure 1. Reconstructed map of Gifu (Inokuchi) and Kanō in the late 16th century

V. The Urban Space of Kanō and the Free-Market Decrees

In this section I will reconstruct the space in and around Kanō market, a free market, and clarify the meaning and significance of the Kanō free-market decrees (Figure 1). This examination will focus on the period from about 1550, before Oda Nobunaga's takeover of Gifu, to about 1601, after the Battle of Sekigahara, and when early modern Kanō castle and castle town were built. The pre-17th century areas of Upper and Lower Kanō had been called, in the medieval period, Kanō-gō and, in the late medieval period, Kanō-mura, both terms that can be translated as village but usually indicated a broader geographical area than a single discrete settlement.

The area known as Kita Kanō (north Kanō), an alluvial plain in the northern part of the area, centered on Kanō-gō, where temples and shrines were located, including Kogane Shrine, Taijōji Temple, and Zuiryōji Temple. During the Sengoku period, the True Pure Land sect of Buddhism assumed a central position of dominance in the community, with farmers organized in its temple, Jōsenbō. The Tanahashi family also wielded a degree of authority as a local overlord, separate from Jōsenbō. Although it is impossible to decipher clearly the differences between Jōsenbō and the Tanahashi family as local authorities, it was certainly not uncommon in the Sengoku period to have multiple overlords with overlapping spheres of influence.

The space in and directly around Jōsenbō was known as the temple precinct. It would have presumably included various storehouses and monks' quarters along with the houses of merchants, craftsmen, and farmers. Outside of Japan's central capital area, however, it is difficult to imagine permanent shops in a temple precinct in the Sengoku period. In sources, the precinct was called Kita Kanō precinct or Kanō precinct. Considering that Jōsenbō was the only temple in Kanō (whether Kanō-gō or Kanō-mura), it was presumably usually called Kanō precinct.

Kanō market was separate from the temple precinct. Originally, Kanō market functioned as a commercial hub for all of the Kita Kanō area. But in the latter half of the 16th century, as Jōsenbō established its authority over the Kanō area (including either Kanō-gō or Kanō-mura), Kanō market too fell under its authority and, like Kanō precinct, took on the character of a temple market.

When Oda Nobunaga attacked Gifu in 1567, many farmers fled. As part of the process of recovery, Nobunaga guaranteed the peace of the area, quickly recognizing the prior authority of Jōsenbō and the Tanahashi clans there, and enlisting their aid in resettling the farmers who had fled (see documents 1 and 2). Furthermore, Jōsenbō worked to gain Nobunaga's protection of the former Kanō market. In response, Nobunaga issued a decree for posting to Jōsenbō to encourage the rejuvenation of the market. This was document 3, a list for posting addressed to "free market," and was likely posted outdoors by Jōsenbō.

It is unlikely that this decree was simply a confirmation of an existing free market, as Katsumata Shizuo contends. As Kojima argues, free markets were newly established markets that emerged during the process of reconstruction after a battle, at which time their basic character as free markets was established. Free markets were sanctioned as such by a customary law as a temporary measure until the market could fully establish itself. In the case of Kanō market, when Jōsenbō requested a confirmation of its status, Nobunaga responded, addressing his decree to "free market" as a way of encouraging market revival.⁴⁶

In the following year, 1568, Jōsenbō received a prohibition decree (document 3), this time addressed to "Kanō." It is likely that Jōsenbō had requested a new decree, since it was unclear to which market document 3 had referred.

Later, in 1583 and 1584, Jōsenbō received two prohibition decrees, documents 7 and 8, respectively, addressed to "Kanō market" from the Ikeda warrior family who had taken over Gifu castle from the Oda. Jōsenbō must have received the new decrees upon presenting Nobunaga's previous ones. However, it is assumed that instead of posting the new decrees, Nobunaga's original one (document 3) was left in place, assuming its effectiveness for clearly labeling the market a free market.

Kanō market focused on the free market label in an attempt to differentiate itself from other commercial centers in the area. That is to say, Kanō market would have been able to draw more people by displaying its unique,

46. It is possible that, as the new ruler, Nobunaga sought to exceed the intentions of Jōsenbō by designating it as a free market and invite not only former marketplace residents, but also new people to become residents in order to promote the market's prosperity. However, to properly understand this point, a thoroughgoing analysis of free-market decrees is necessary. I hope to explore this point in the future.

sustained guild-free/free-market status. Gifu town and Kanō town referred to in document 6 were the only such commercial centers in the area.

Where then, was Kanō town located? It was probably located north of the medieval Kanō castle site; it would later become the central district of the early modern castle town of Kanō. As mentioned in some detail in the second section of this article, until the commencement of construction of early modern Kanō castle in 1601, there would have been continuous development of markets in the area stretching from the southern edge of Upper Kanō through Lower Kanō. Also indicating that this was the location of the town of Kanō is the received tradition that the prominent residents of these communities cooperated in building early modern Kanō castle and castle town.⁴⁷

From the fact that Kanō market was solely under Jōsenbō's control of Kita Kanō we can infer that Kanō market became the early modern Misono market. But why did its name change from Kanō market in the 16th century to Misono market in the 17th century? To avoid confusion with the burgeoning early modern castle town of Kanō, the name of Misono replaced that of Kanō for the market.⁴⁸

Through the above spatial reconstruction, we gain a consistent understanding of the relevant historical sources. In this light, it is not necessary to think, as Kojima Michihiro does, that in the early modern period market and village documents were transferred into the Entokuji document collection—e.g., into the hands of the former Jōsenbō.

Conclusion

In this article I have attempted to recreate the spatial world of the free market by re-interpreting documents related to the Kanō market. While some areas remain rather speculative, as a re-creation overall it has a rather high degree of probability. With this in mind I will now consider Kojima Michihiro's theory of the Sengoku castle town in reference to the relationship between the castle town of Inokuchi and the free market.

According to my analysis, Kanō market (*not* Misono market) was issued a decree by Nobunaga in 1567 in which it was addressed as a free market. It was located in the vicinity of early modern Misono-chō in Gifu, although it clearly existed separately from the castle town. Kanō market was the central market for the entire Kanō area, and in the Sengoku period was under Jōsenbō's control. While the use of the term "free market" in the initial decree may have reflected Nobunaga's overall policy, it is likely that this market itself remained as before under the control of Jōsenbō which even requested such decrees and posted them in the market.

Thus we can position the Kanō market on the periphery of Inokuchi, a space under the hierarchical control of the Saitō, and later to become Nobunaga's Gifu castle town. It was not designated a free market to distinguish it from that area. Rather it had a tradition of being an independent market, and on that basis was designated a free market.

Kojima's theory that markets in the vicinity of castle towns were free markets is based on his interpretation of specific historical sources—namely, and only, those of Ishidera in Ōmi province and Kanō in Mino. As previously mentioned I have critiqued Kojima's interpretation of Ishidera sources in another article.⁴⁹ If Kojima's argument re-

47. Although this is solely based on the fact that document 6 was transmitted to the Tanahashi family, which had stronger authority over Upper Kanō according to early modern sources, considering how it has been suggested that, up until about the 1560s, the market of Hiroe (*machi*)/Shin-machi was more developed than that of Kutsui (*mura*)/Mizuno (*mura*), it can be speculated that Kanō-chō was centered around Hiroe-chō and Shinmachi on the northern banks of Hiroe River (in the area of Upper-Kanō).

48. It is potentially possible to compare Kanō-chō as it appears in document 6 with early modern Misono-chō and environs. Recent research has introduced examples of markets that were set up near intersections in towns where residences of lay people (literally, "householders," as compared to monks/clergy who did not live in ordinary houses) lined the streets (see Fujiwara Yoshiaki, "Chūsei no ichiba" and Amino Yoshihiko, Ishii Susumu, Inagaki Yasuhiko, Nagahara Kenji, "Shōen no kōzō" *Kōza Nihon shōen shisan* Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003). In such cases, since it is theoretically possible for the marketplace and the town to fall under the authority of different overlords, one cannot completely deny the possibility that Kanō market (under the control of Jōsenbō) and Kanō-chō (under the authority of the Tanahashi family) were located adjacent to early modern Misono-chō. However, it is my judgment that even if the feudal lords of the market and town differ in this way, it would be difficult to conceive of them each separately being issued their own free-market decrees.

49. The following is an abbreviated version of the main argument of the author's "Reconsidering the Free-Market Decrees of Ishidera in Ōmi Province" (sited above as: Niki, "Ōmi-Ishidera rakuichiryō no saikentō"). Kojima interprets Ishidera Shin-ichi, which was established as a free market, to be a newly constructed "new town," corresponding to the Higashi-Oiso settlement, which was distant from the Ishidera settlement. However, looking at other cases of this kind, since *shin-ichi* means "new market" (not "new town"), we can say that the settlement at Ishidera was in fact a newly established market, and not a peripheral market distant from the central castle town.

garding Kanō is also untenable, then we must re-examine his theory that castle towns had a dual structure including free markets on the one hand and hierarchical dominance by the daimyo house on the other.

This article has also re-evaluated Katsumata Shizuo's theory regarding Kanō, but a comprehensive resolution of the issues is not possible without carefully re-considering the basic interpretation of free markets by scholars like Katsumata and Amino Yoshihiko. In the future I hope to build on this topic by offering a re-thinking of the very nature of the free market itself.

Editor's Note

This paper was translated by Dr. Suzanne Gay (Oberlin College, USA) under the supervision of Steven Evans (Editorial Board). For the convenience of English readers, the translated article was fully reviewed and necessary information about proper names, historical events, and Japanese titles was added.