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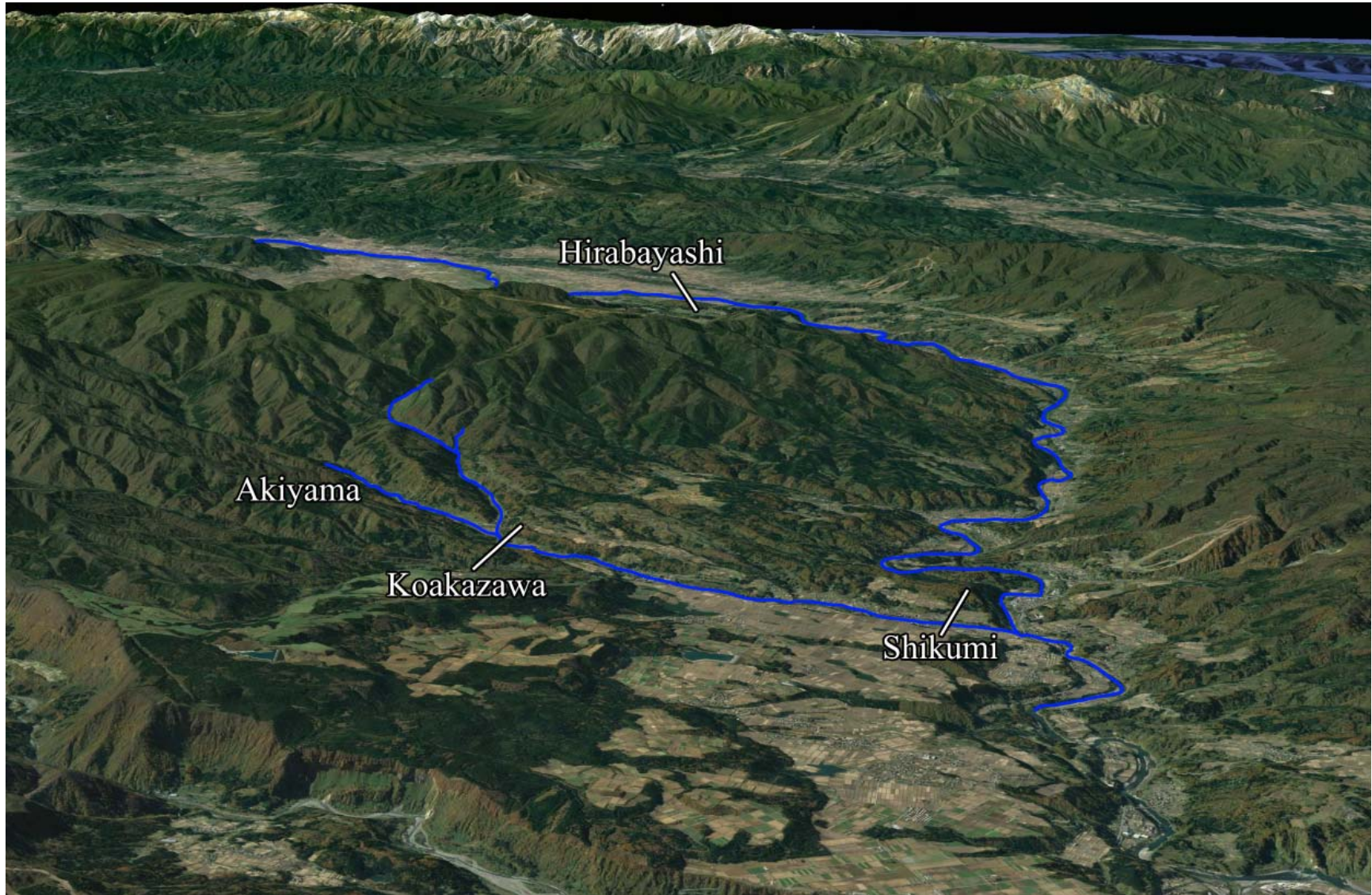
Note: This writing sample, the third chapter from my dissertation, explores how environmental and material factors influenced the social configurations and local identity of medieval (ca. 13th-15th C.) warriors living in two disparate regions of Japan. This chapter highlights how documentary analysis, the bedrock of historical inquiry into premodern Japan, can be integrated with environmental studies, mapping systems, and ground-level local investigation to enhance our understanding of the premodern world.

CHAPTER III: KIN GROUPS AND ENVIRONMENTS

In the roughly eight-hundred-year interim since the Ichikawa and the Nejime took control of their locales, numerous polities have risen and fallen, and the relationship between humans and nature has transformed. Over the past several centuries, mankind has come to exploit the environment with increasing efficiency and modify it in ever more dramatic forms. As any present-day visitor to the Tokyo megalopolis (or much of the wider Tōkaidō corridor, which stretches the lateral length of and connects the largest cities in southern and central Honshu) is undoubtedly aware, the most populated parts of Japan's present landscape are almost entirely the product of human development, and have been continually shaped and reshaped throughout human history. Japan is often viewed by casual visitors, who rarely range far past the boundaries of the Tokyo or Kyoto metropolitan areas, as a mechanized, concrete symbol of modernism.

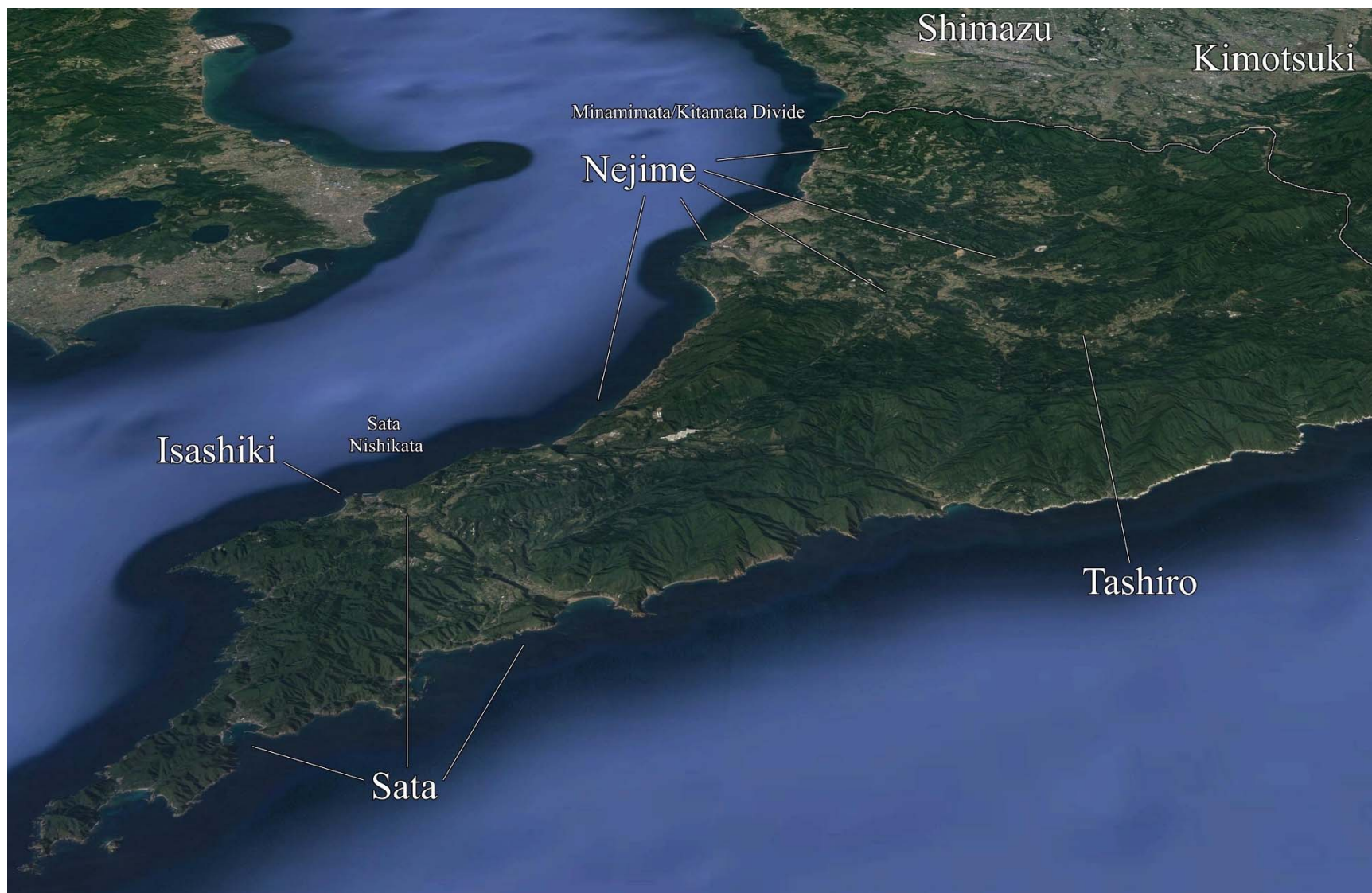
However, in many parts of the country, even the most recent periods of advanced, industrialized human development have left fewer marks. The past millennium has been but a blip on the radar of geological time, and in areas of minor development, many of the natural features of the premodern world are left largely intact. They remain viable sources for inquiry into the distant past, and hold valuable detail for historical study. I would include the hinterlands of the Nejime and Takai regions among the long list of places that have not changed all that much in the past thousand years, at least from the perspective of the earth itself.

Map 1: Rotated geographical map of modern Shimo-Takai-gun (premodern Shikumi), Shinano Province (northeast to southwest perspective).¹



¹ Google Earth, Image Landsat / Copernicus, Sata SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO, Data Japan Hydrographic Association.

Map 2: Rotated geographical map of Nejime-in, Ōsumi Province (south to north perspective).²



² Google Earth, Image Landsat / Copernicus, Sata SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO. Image © 2016 TerraMetrics.

If one looks past the highways and tunnels that bore through these two areas, they are not otherwise particularly developed. Both sit dozens of miles from large towns or cities. When one examines them up close, it is still possible to imagine what life would have been like there in premodern times. This chapter compares the local environmental features of northern Shinano (present-day Nagano prefecture) and southern Ōsumi (present-day Kagoshima prefecture) provinces. The primary goal is to examine what effects and influences the environment had on the human inhabitants of these two locales in the medieval period, both generally and in the specific terms of the Nakano/Ichikawa of Takai-*gun* and Nejime of Nejime-*in*.³ Here, I will compare these two areas in a detailed overview that integrates primary sources from the medieval period, local historical and archaeological analyses, climate studies, and conclusions from direct local investigation.⁴

Medieval warrior documents rarely provide much in the way of environmental detail. Centrally appointed land surveyors (sent by provincial *shugo* governors on behalf of the shogunate) sought to standardize their records of the landscape in the context of the rice tax system, and their reports are confined to that narrow context. Local warriors inherited that agricultural focus as *jitō* land stewards (the shogunate's local representatives), and their numerous records usually describe little beyond acreages, the names of cultivated land under their jurisdiction, and the total size and locations of their individual fields and residences. In some cases, a rough listing of borders might accompany the naming of specific fields, but their descriptive value is limited because they most often utilize minor place names that have fallen out of use over time. Thus, although surviving medieval documents have their value in determining the general locations of the territorial interests of warriors, their contextual limitations and narrow focus necessitate creative strategies for

³ Because the focus of this chapter is on the environment rather than directly on these families, I will abbreviate my references to the Nakano/Ichikawa conglomerate into the shorthand of “Ichikawa” throughout.

⁴ Field work in Nagano was carried by the author out between 2012 and 2015 over the course of a half-dozen short visits. Field work in Kagoshima was conducted over several weeks in 2015. This work included both local archival research and direct investigation of areas listed in Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa records.

understanding the broader influence of the landscape on medieval warrior society.⁵

This chapter is divided into four types of analysis. In the first section, I detail the climatic, topographical, and geographical features of northern Shinano and southern Ōsumi. Second, I analyze the size and shape of the Ichikawa and Nejime estates as described in medieval documents including surveying records. Third, I detail types of resources, including the availability of food, both in terms of officially calculated agricultural outputs and uncalculated, “wild” food resources, as well as the locally specific non-food resources warriors might have used to further enrich themselves and solidify their positions. Fourth, I use a close reading of minor place names and surveys by modern scholars and historical associations to map each kin group onto their respective territories, and seek out structural corollaries between physical space and concepts of relatedness. I conclude by explaining the perceptible influence and agency that the environment had over human relations, identity, and kinship in the Nakano/Ichikawa and Nejime, both individually and in comparison.

The Climate and Topography of Takai-*gun* and Nejime-*in*

Climatic variation is perhaps the most obvious difference between regions in Japan. This variation is determined by a combination multiple factors, including predominant weather patterns, latitude, elevation, and proximity to major topographical features such as mountain ranges and coastlines. The Nejime and Takai regions are extreme in their climatic disparity, owing to differences in these contributing factors. The topographical and geographical features of these two localities are particularly distinct when viewed comparatively and combine with latitudinal difference to produce highly differentiated climatic conditions.

In terms of its basic physical shape, Japan is a latitudinally diverse, narrow chain of islands that runs from southwest to northeast. The Ichikawa territory in Takai sits in the north-central portion

⁵ The combination of enviro and socio-historical analysis has seen some development in Japan; see Yada Toshifumi, “Chūsei no shizen to ningen,” which examines natural disasters, health and population, environmental boundaries, time and conceptions of historical periodization as confluences of humanity and the environment. On pp. 300-301, Yada lists natural disasters from 1065-1711 including earthquakes, fires, outbreaks of disease, famines, etc.

of the main island of Honshu on the 37th northern parallel, while Nejime is on the 31st parallel on the island of Kyushu's southern tip, and includes the southernmost point of the four main islands. The two regions are roughly 600 miles or 960 kilometers apart in linear distance. Map #3 demonstrates the relative locations of these two small corners of Japan.

Between these two regions, geological differences are less pronounced than climatic or topographic ones. All of Japan is made up of a set of contiguous volcanoes that jut out of the ocean, forming a rocky archipelago with little flatland, especially outside the Kantō and Kinai plains. In both the Nejime and Takai regions, this results in a rocky landscape dotted with *yama*, or “mountains” which range in size and severity from small hills to dramatic peaks.

The Features of Takai-gun

The Ichikawa home of Shikumi-*yama*, on the northern end of the Takai region, is a small, round-topped peak that sits along the sprawling convergence of multiple intersecting mountain ranges, collectively known today as the *Nihon Arupusu*, or Japan Alps. Extreme tectonic activity forced these jutting mountains sharply upward, after which water erosion cut deep river valleys that have served as the routes of transport through the mountains throughout human history.⁶ Conrad Totman describes Nagano as an area with a “profoundly complicated geology...where [tectonic] plates collided with particular harshness.”⁷ The alpine region is difficult to navigate, and large areas often went overlooked in premodern land surveys due to their inaccessibility. As Nagano expert Kären Wigen notes, the most remote regions of Nagano's “Alps” remained “essentially uncharted” until the Meiji Period (1868-1912).⁸

⁶ Transit routes are often analyzed in terms of the movement of tax goods. See Ōishi Naomasa, “Chiiki-sei to kōtsū,” pp. 129-137, Fujiwara Yoshiaki, “Chūsei toshi to kōtsū taikai,” especially pp. 110-112 on transit routes in the Kamakura period, and Satō Yasuhiro, “Shōen-sei to tohi kōtsū,” pp. 108-127 on transit and the *shōen*.

⁷ Conrad Totman, *A History of Japan*, p. 13.

⁸ For more on the alps, see Kären Wigen's “Discovering the Japanese Alps: Meiji Mountaineering and the Quest for Geographical Enlightenment,” p. 7.



Map 3: Nejime-in and Takai-gun in archipelagic context.⁹

The Ichikawa lived on the northern end of the Chikuma-*gawa* 千曲川 (or Shinano-*gawa* 信濃川, as it is known outside Nagano) river valley on the northeasterly downslope of Shinano's maze of overlapping mountain ranges. The confluence of the Shikumi and Chikuma rivers, a low-point carved by the rivers themselves, is only 240 meters above sea level. The Ichikawa lived just above this confluence, at about 360 meters above sea level near the low peak of Shikumi-*yama*.¹⁰ Situated just south of the Echigo plain, a wide basin formed by flooding on the Chikuma river, Shikumi-*yama* rises sharply out of the conjoined Chikuma and Shikumi riverbeds, but slopes off at its midpoint hosting a small band of fairly flat, habitable land. The top of Shikumi-*yama* includes a large swath of arable land that accounted for the largest contiguous set of fields in the former Ichikawa territory – still harvested as terraced rice paddy today.

⁹ Map created by the author using base data from D-Maps.com, used with permission.

¹⁰ Elevation data for these areas recorded by the author over several trips between 2012 and 2015.

Further south, a much more severe mountainous hinterland rises sharply, and the highest mountains in Takai are just under 1800 meters at their peak.¹¹ Shikumi rests at the northeastern end of Japan's Fossa Magna Rift, a fault group that creates a lowland trench cutting across the width of Honshu through the Alps, allowing for overland travel from the Sea of Japan to the Pacific Ocean through several parts of Nagano.¹² Though Shikumi was only a minor transport artery overshadowed by a larger support highway to the west (that connected the Hokurikudō and Tōsandō), the Chikuma river valley serves as the northernmost access point to the Fossa Magna, and is thus the fastest route from central or northern Echigo to the southern side of Honshu. By the 1350s and 1360s, Shikumi evolved into a barrier checkpoint, or *sekisho* (normally 関所, written 關所 in this case), and is mentioned as such in one record, though its formal function as a checkpoint between Shinano and Echigo provinces is not otherwise directly documented.¹³

Beyond the small chunk of cropland on and around Shikumi-*yama*, where the Ichikawa constructed a residence and fort, most of the rest of the Nakano/Ichikawa territory was more topographically difficult to develop for farming, owing to the sharpness and steepness of the southern mountains. The consistent irrigation needed for rice farming can be difficult to sustain at higher elevations, and from the basic topography of the region, we can surmise that the overwhelming majority of the land under Ichikawa control was not suitable for structured agriculture of any kind

¹¹ In addition to the relatively squat peak of Shikumi that they called home, the Ichikawa also controlled the mountain land and river valley extending south a dozen miles toward the modern ski-resort town of Nozawa Onsen, which features a range of much larger peaks that reach roughly 1700 meters tall (which are still not terribly tall in the comparison to Nagano's largest alpine ridges). There is some additional flatland in the Nozawa region, which the Ichikawa developed or took over (it is unclear if the land was cleared or farmed prior to Ichikawa efforts) near the end of the Kamakura period. The bulk of Ichikawa activity was confined to their home region on the Shinano-Echigo provincial border, and to the southern floodplain regions of the Chikuma river valley, which serves as the most direct, easily passable route to the Kantō plain from the Sea of Japan. The Ichikawa territory forms a natural gateway along the Shinano/Chikuma river, at the southernmost inhabitable region before passing through the mountains.

¹² Ihara Kesao has pointed out the utility of the Fossa Magna as one of only two regions in the archipelago that make for easy crossing from the Japan Sea to the Pacific Ocean. See Ihara Kesao, "Takai chihō no chūsei-shi (1)," p. 43.

¹³ Ryakuō 3 (1340).8 *Ichikawa Tomofusa gunchūjō* (SNS, 5, pp. 433-434). The specific phrasing is (*Shinshū to Esshū sakai Shikumi-guchi sekisho* 信州与越州堺志久見口關所).

and was particularly inhospitable for wet rice paddies.



Image 1: Rice fields near the peak of Shikumi-yama and the marker for the ruins of the former Ichikawa residence, facing northeast across the Shikumi River valley. (Photo by the author, 7/12/2015).¹⁴

In the section that runs through the Shikumi region, the Chikuma river is fast-flowing, with narrow banks and no floodplain. The river does not freeze in winter, but smaller tributary streams that provide water for agriculture are useless in the colder months, when conditions are unsuitable even for hearty crops like winter wheat and beans. When the thaw arrives, water rushes out quickly, carrying away nutrients with it. As Conrad Totman points out, in mountainous regions, spring runoff is less useful for irrigation than rainwater due to the sudden movement of water that begins bound in snow and ice.¹⁵ In Takai, meltwater fills the Chikuma river as it flows quickly northward into the

¹⁴ This site is now known as the ruins of the Uchiike-yakata (内池館), formerly known as the Ichikawa-yakata (市河館), and also called the Shikumitate-ato (志久見館跡), the site of the Ichikawa home fortress and early medieval residence atop Shikumi-yama. See the *Nihon rekishi chimei taikai* entry for Shikumitate-ato (志久見館跡). Later in the medieval period, the Ichikawa built yet another fort in the heart of modern Nozawa-Onsen. On that, different “Ichikawa-kan,” called “Ichikawa-shi-jōkan no ato” (市河氏城館跡) today, see Ueno Shō, “Nozawa no kyūchimei ni yoru Ichikawa-shi jōkan no kenkyū,” which employs an eclectic combination of archeological data, historical evidence, a local knowledge of the area to describe the history and nature of the later-built Ichikawa fort. On the medieval residence and fort, see Ishizawa Saburō, “Ichikawa-shi to Shikumi-gō,” pp. 45-47.

¹⁵ Totman, Conrad. *A History of Japan*, p. 17.

bountiful Echigo floodplain (fed by the nutrients carried off the mountains), then out to the Sea of Japan over a short period of spring melting.



Image 2: Morimiyano-hara record snow marker (Photo by the author, 7/11/2015).

In addition to its rugged topography, a predominant weather pattern called the *yamase* effect, which causes cooling and highly variable temperatures year-round, is another key factor that limits rice-farming in northern Shinano, and has a significant negative effect on crop yields.¹⁶ Rice paddies suffer from both cold weather effects and temperature fluctuations to a greater degree than dry fields.¹⁷ In the modern period, plant-breeding methods have been used to develop rice strains that survive better in colder weather, which have been a boon to rice production in Japan's northern regions.¹⁸

Weather patterns generated in combination with cooling from the *yamase* effect force large

¹⁶ See Shimada Teruhisa, Sawada Masahiro, and Iwasaki Toshiki, "Indices of Cool Summer Climate in Northern Japan: Yamase Indices." This article covers the cooling effect in the waters off Hokkaido and northern Honshu.

¹⁷ Totman, Conrad. *A History of Japan*, p. 18. Here, Totman discusses the *yamase* effect on the continental seaward side of the northern alps.

¹⁸ Shimono Hiroyuki et al., "Genotypic Variation in Rice Cold Tolerance Responses during Reproductive Growth as a Function of Water Temperature during Vegetative Growth," p. 291. Here, the authors explain that the development of these new strains of rice, in recent decades, has had a major impact on how well rice can be grown in Japan's northern regions, which are now known for rice production.

amounts of cold air into Shikumi in winter months, resulting in a long and extreme winter season. A large amount of snowfall is generated when cloud cover reaches the alpine range and dumps its moisture, resulting in some of the heaviest snowfalls and deepest accumulations in Japan.¹⁹

Morimiyanohara (森宮野原), a modern village (and the host of the only train stop in the area) just across the Chikuma river from Shikumi, boasts the record for the deepest snow accumulation ever recorded in Japan at 7.85 meters in February of 1945. Accumulation remains until mid-spring, resulting in a shorter season for agriculture that further restricts crop yields.



Image 3: The Shikumi river just upstream from the confluence with the Chikuma river. Nagano prefecture sits on the right, while Niigata sits on the left. (Photo by the author, 3/10/2013).

The susceptibility of rice to temperature fluctuation is a likely reason for the high ratio of dry fields mentioned in Ichikawa inheritance documents, though rice paddies were always listed first due

¹⁹ For demonstration of this effect, and on the relationship between snow and climate, see Ishizaka Masaaki, “Nihon no fuyu no kikō to sekisetsu no chikyūsei.” Although it may be somewhat outdated in terms of climate science, see also Fukuda Kiyoshi’s article “Nihon no ōyuki,” p. 75 for an excellent map of heavy snowfall in Japan that records altitude and snowfall data, and places the Ichikawa territory on the Nagano/Niigata border as the area of heaviest consistent snowfall in the country.

to their political significance.²⁰ Though the Ichikawa did manage rice fields, based on the harsh climatic reality of their location, these fields were probably not particularly productive, especially compared to the more bountiful harvests of the plains and warmer, wider river valleys to the south in the Kantō and Kinai (also known as the “southern littoral” region).²¹

The Features of Nejime-in

The most obvious difference in the topography of the southern Nejime-in region relative to Takai-gun is that Nejime-in is sea-bound, while Takai-gun is landlocked. The western half of the Ōsumi peninsula is mountainous, hosting a series of peaks that link to a small but densely jungled northern range that divides southern Nejime-in (called Minamimata 南俣, where the Nejime lived) from the northern half (called Kitamata 北俣).

Access to both fresh and saltwater is uneven across the Nejime section of the peninsula due to distinct topographic features on its eastern and western halves. Because of the shape of the peninsula, freshwater is most easily harnessed for irrigation in the westerly basin, where rivers and streams flowing from the eastern mountains and hills carve out a wide floodplain that makes for easy adaptation into rice paddies and irrigated upland.²² The western half of the peninsula also enjoys easier and more consistent access to the sea, through a combination of long rocky and sandy beaches scattered along the coastline on the inlet of Kagoshima Bay.

The only major port on the peninsula is located on the western coast, territory that the Nejime controlled for 400 years. Modern inhabitants of former Nejime township (which combined with Sata township to form Minami-Ōsumi-chō 南大隅町 in 2005) continue to exploit the availability of water

²⁰ For example, see the three bequests of Ichikawa Morifusa, which I examine in detail in Chapter IV. Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885-27887; SNS, 5, pp. 20-24).

²¹ This is the term used by Conrad Totman to describe the fertile plains of Honshu. See Conrad Totman, *Japan: An Environmental History*, Conrad Totman, *A History of Japan*, and Conrad Totman, *Green Archipelago: Forestry in Preindustrial Japan*.

²² This floodplain is the only one in the southern Nejime region, and was a prized territory that facilitated the expansion of the Nejime as a broad social network.

and the abundant river plain for rice fields and citrus groves, as well as a thriving commercial fishing industry. The long and narrow Kagoshima Bay provides calm waters and safe ports, used locally for fishing and trade in the medieval period. Modern factory fish-farming companies run countless operations both in the bay and along the coast using large, cylindrical net-cage structures.



Image 4: Beachfront on the southwestern end of Ōsumi peninsula, below the Nejime harbor near Isashiki.
(Photo by the author, 4/2/2015).

Nejime-in is a hospitable place for both human inhabitants and agricultural development. At the center of a subtropical peninsula that forms the northern terminus of the Ryukyu islands, the Nejime region and the waters that surround it are buffeted by a steady south-north ocean effect called the *Kuroshio* current (黒潮) or “Kuroshio Large Meander,” that carries warm air and water as well as frequent tropical storms and typhoons to the region.²³ The Kuroshio flows northward, passing over and around the Ōsumi Peninsula, which splits the current.²⁴ Most of the energy of the current flows northeastward on the Pacific side, carrying warm air and water up the coast toward the middle on Honshu and Shikoku, where it breaks off into the North Pacific around the 35th parallel.²⁵ Some of the current also breaks off into the “Kuroshio branch current” or “Tsushima warm current” which

²³ See Xufeng Zheng et al., “Synchronicity of Kuroshio Current and Climate System Variability since the Last Glacial Maximum.” On typhoon activity in southern Kyushu, see Nakamura Kazuo, *Nihon no kikō, Nihon no shizen* vol.5, pp. 89-92.

²⁴ Katoh Osamu et al., “Process of the Tsushima Current Formation Revealed by ADCP Measurements in Summer.”

²⁵ Kazuyo Murazaki, et al., “Influence of the Kuroshio Large Meander on the Climate around Japan Based on a Regional Climate Model,” p. 161 on the description of the current,

warms the southern region of the Japan sea and the waters around Korea (where it branches several more times).²⁶

The effect on the Nejime region, where the current makes landfall and splits, is that temperatures are warm and rainfall is heavy even in the hottest months, and there is an intense summer-fall typhoon and spring-summer monsoon season. There is usually no winter freeze, meaning irrigation is readily available year-round for rice paddies. In the area today, there is no agriculturally unproductive season. The oceanic movement of the Kuroshio current assures that the waters flowing around the Ōsumi peninsula bring ample oceanic biomass (in the form of floating seaweed and other plant life) to the area that sustains robust fish and cetacean populations and constantly restocks the waters surrounding the Nejime estate with sea life.²⁷ Along with aquatic plant mass, warm water and northward flowing movement in the Kuroshio current also brings a high density of appendicularian (planktonic) biomass in addition to free floating populations of other small organisms and plants, all of which contribute to a beneficial environment for fish and dolphin/whale populations. This is particularly helpful to these populations (and the humans who eat them) in the winter season.²⁸

It is fair to assume that people in southern Kyushu (and in most coastal communities in Japan) had a permanent source of calories that could be readily drawn from the water. Yet despite their access to aquatic abundance, the Nejime record from the medieval period is almost wholly agricultural in nature, owing to its placement as a set of legal texts conforming to the medieval system of rice taxation. There are examples of aquatic taxation on *shōen* land, but Nejime records

²⁶ Kazuo Fujine, et al., “Paleotemperature Response to Monsoon Activity in the Japan Sea During the Last 160 kyr,” p. 352 on the splitting of the Kuroshio current where it contacts southern Kyushu. The Japan Sea branch of the current is referred to as the KBCWK or Kuroshio Branch Current West of Kyushu.

²⁷ Uehara Shinji et al., “The Abundance of Juvenile Yellowtail (*Seriola Quinqueradiata*) Near the Kuroshio: The Roles of Drifting Seaweed and Regional Hydrography.”

²⁸ Hidaka Kiyotaka, “Species Composition and Horizontal Distribution of the Appendicularian Community in Waters Adjacent to the Kuroshio in Winter-early Spring.”

make almost no mention of oceanic resources.²⁹ Thus, we have little specific evidence of Nejime activity or authority regarding fishing. It is unlikely that they made no use of the biological abundance in the waters that surrounded them. The particularly high aquatic bio-abundance in the region would have made surviving poor harvests or total crop failures comparatively likely (and we know such failures did at least occasionally occur, as recorded in a Nejime document from 1338).³⁰ Further, and of importance to this study, unregulated access to the ocean likely allowed access both to external income for both Nejime main line and sub-lineage members, and to a wide tract of militarily-significant coastline.

Medieval Surveys and Potential Agricultural Output

This section maps the estates and administrative domains of the Ichikawa and Nejime as they are described in documents. My effort to categorize and map the Nejime and Ichikawa properties draws from scholars working in Nagano and Kagoshima: Kozono Kimio,³¹ Hinokuma Masamori,³² and the local Nejime historical society³³ in Kagoshima, and Ihara Kesao,³⁴ Yamagishi Keiichiro,³⁵

²⁹ On the taxation of fish and other ocean-based resources on *shōen*, see Hotate Michihisa, “Chūsei zenki no gyogyō to shōen-sei,” pp. 159-184, and Haruta Naoki, “Suimenryō no chūseiteki tenkai,” pp. 185-209 in Kimura Shigemitsu and Ihara Kesao, eds., *Tenbō Nihon rekishi* vol. 8: *Shōen-kōryō-sei*, as well as the introductory note by Kimura, which introduces these two essays through the lens of Amino Yoshihiko’s work on non-agricultural modes of production in medieval Japan.

³⁰ Kenmu 5 (1338).4.8 *Uba Tarō Haha jinshin shichiken* (KKSI vol. 1, #745). In this document, a female commoner exchanges her son as collateral for a loan from the Nejime Ikehata sub-lineage, citing a crop failure and/or famine as the reason for the loan. I will return to this document in Chapter V.

³¹ Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*. See especially pp. 1-114 for Kozono’s analysis of the Nejime “*sōryōsei*.”

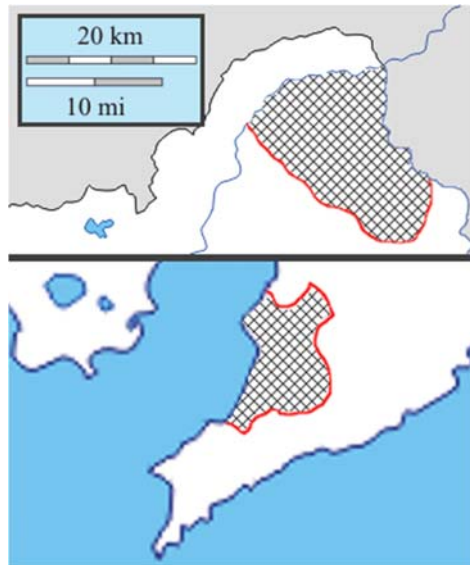
³² Hinokuma Masamori, “Ōsumi no kuni ni okeru Kenkyū zudenchō taisei no seiritsu katei,” and Hinokuma Masamori, “Ōsumi no kuni ni okeru Kenkyū zudenchō taisei no seiritsu katei: Nejime-in no jirei o chūshin ni.”

³³ *Nejime kyōdo-shi*. See pp. 135, 137, 139, 143, 152-153, 159, 165, 217 of the upper volume for multiple detailed maps of the area.

³⁴ See the bibliography for a full list of Ihara’s works on the region. For the purposes of this map, I have referenced his recent study of the Takanashi, a neighbor and rival of the Nakano and Ichikawa. The maps in this volume are mostly concerned with the region just south of the Ichikawa holdings, and are most useful in considering the southerly border, which is less clearly defined than the provincial boundary to the north. See Ihara Kesao, *Takai chihō no chūsei-shi*.

³⁵ Yamagishi Keiichiro, “Kita Shinano ni okeru kokujin no dōkō: Ichikawa-shi no shoryō o chūshin ni shite,” p. 94 for a detailed map of Ichikawa holdings.

the Nagano Prefectural Museum of History,³⁶ and the various authors of the regional *Takai* history journal in Nagano.³⁷



Map 4: The relative sizes (to scale) of the Ichikawa territory in Shikumi, Takai-gun (top) and the Nejime territory in Minamimata, Nejime-in (bottom).³⁸

Map #4 illustrates the relative size of the Ichikawa and Nejime territories of Minamimata and Shikumi based on the voluminous research of these scholars and institutions, in combination with my own efforts to discern territorial boundaries through direct investigation and documentary analysis. These outlines provide a comparative view of these two districts in the thirteenth century, when the general shapes and sizes of these two estates were largely static. Each group had offices of administrative authority (*jitō-shiki*, among others) in a larger area that surrounded these core landholdings. At various points in their history, each group also held small external chunks of property outside of these two regions and built up new lands within and adjacent to them. Most of their expansion occurred in the mid-fourteenth century or later, and these two territories and the

³⁶ In 2011, the Nagano Prefectural Museum of History held a special exhibit on the *Ichikawa Monjo*. A publication commemorating the exhibit, entitled “Surviving upheaval: 400 years of the Ichikawa warrior family of Shinano” or *Gekidō o ikinuku ~ Shinano bushi Ichikawa-shi no 400 nen*, which includes a map of Ichikawa territory on page 2.

³⁷ *Takai* #28, (Takai chihō-shi kenkyūkai, 1974.4). This was a special volume of the journal dedicated to the study of the Ichikawa family, and includes a map of their territory. The Nagano Prefectural Museum of history has a full archive of this journal, which is difficult to locate in full elsewhere.

³⁸ Map created by the author using base data from D-Maps.com, used with permission.

offices attached to them were the core property of the Ichikawa and the Nejime until the early modern period. Looking at the maps, we can observe that original core territory of the Ichikawa (on top) was larger in sheer acreage than that of the Nejime (bottom). Yet although the Nejime territory was the smaller of the two, official surveys estimated a much larger acreage of land under cultivation in the southern region, owing to the climatic and topographical features of the two areas, but also to the way that land was surveyed.

Throughout the medieval period, central estate holders dispatched professional surveyors (called *zushi* 図師) to the provinces to conduct local surveys of cropland and assure that their assessment of taxes was sufficient (and that locals were not concealing taxable farmlands).³⁹ The fledgling Kamakura warrior government carried out a country-wide cadastral survey known as the *Kenkyū zuden* (建久図田) in the 1190s to record the agricultural scope of each of its local *jitō*-managed lands, but records for most provinces including Shinano have been lost, making it impossible to compare contemporaneous surveys from Shinano and Ōsumi.⁴⁰ The combined survey report for Satsuma (薩摩), Ōsumi, and Hyūga (日向) Provinces from 1197 is still extant.⁴¹ We can compare the 1197 report to a 1309 survey of Shikumi rice paddies conducted by the provincial *shugo* governor of Shinano (who taxed the area directly) to estimate the differences in agricultural acreage

³⁹ On *zushi* (図師) surveyors and medieval surveying in general, see the short report by Kimata Keizō, “Zushi no kenkyū,” and Muraishi Masayuki, “Chūsei no zushi ni tsuite,” which is based on surveys of Ichikawa land. Surveys in Shikumi continued until particularly late, and the 1373 (Ōan 6) survey of Takai-gun is the last carried out by *kokuga* authorities. See also ‘Kamakura ibun’ ni miru chūsei no kotoba jiten, pp. 192-193 on *zushi*. Surveyors were sent by estate proprietors, and held *zushi-shiki* (図師職) of their own.

⁴⁰ The survey for these provinces are remarkably complete, especially given the fragmented nature of the rest of the *Kenkyū zudenchō* (建久図田帳).

⁴¹ Gomi Yoshio, “Ōsumi no kuni Kenkyū zudenchō shōko.” This article reproduces the *Kenkyū zudenchō* survey in its entirety as well as a detailed breakdown of its contents. The document begins on p. 42, and the listings for the Nejime region of Minamimata appear on p. 45. William Wayne Farris also includes a breakdown of the contents of this survey on page 16-17 of *Japan’s Medieval Population: Famine, Fertility, and Warfare in a Transformative Age*. Minamimata under the Nejime (misabeled “Nine”), is listed at 40 *chō*, the total of both Nejime and Sata properties, which is also subdivided in the original document.

and focus in these two regions.⁴² This allows a rough comparison of the size of the recorded fields under cultivation that were either taxed or owned by the Nejime and Ichikawa in the Kamakura period.

In the 1197 report, which should generally be expected to show less development than a later one in this period, the Nejime core territory of Kōrimoto was assessed at a productive total of 30 *chō* of rice fields.⁴³ The 30 *chō* figure for the Nejime-controlled portion of Minamimata was reiterated in a lengthy list of all registered wet fields in Minamimata from 1308, just a year before the survey of Ichikawa lands.⁴⁴ The Ichikawa home of Shikumi was recorded as containing only 2.234 *chō* of paddy (along with four *zaike* residences) in the 1309 survey, less than ten percent of the amount recorded in the Nejime holdings over a century earlier.⁴⁵ The disparity between these two similarly sized regions, the smaller of which had a much greater amount of recorded paddy, leads to several important questions. Why could the smaller of the two regions host so much more farmland? Was the disparity in recorded tallies a reflection of inaccurate counts or actual difference in agricultural production?

Three major factors contribute to this difference in recorded farmland, and will help answer these questions. First, although both areas are rocky, resting on volcanic ground, and neither is ideal for agriculture (little of Japan is), Nejime-*in* was a decidedly more hospitable region for crops due to the climatic and geographical differences between these two regions, listed earlier in this chapter; in

⁴² See Enkyō 2 (1309).4 *Shinano kokushi chōsen* (KI, 31:23678) for the confirmation of a property transfer by the Shinano governor, which was paired with a listing of their properties by type and acreage, found in Enkyō 2 (1309).4 *Shinano Shikumi-gō kenta zaike mokuroku* (KI, 31:23677). See also Yumoto Gun'ichi, "Nakano-Ichikawa-shi no rekishi." Yumoto discusses the form and features of the Ichikawa estate in Takai/Shikumi in detail.

⁴³ Gomi Yoshio, "Ōsumi no kuni Kenkyū zudenchō shōko." One *chō* was equal to approximately 9,917 square meters in the medieval period.

⁴⁴ Tokuji 3 (1308) *Nejime Minamimata suiden nayose-chō* (KCSI vol. 1, #384). A document from the Chinzei Tandai Hōjō Masaaki from a year later details surveying procedures in Tokutomi, the core Nejime estate. See Enkyō 2 (1309).10.22 *Chinzei gechijō* (KCSI vol. 1, #37).

⁴⁵ Enkyō 2 (1309).4 *Shinano Shikumi-gō kenta zaike mokuroku* (KI, 31:23677). The land listed in Shikumi was divided into *kuden* (公田 – 9 *tan*), *kuzaike* (公在家 – 4 residences), and *kanryōden* (勘料田 – 1 *chō* 3 *tan* 340 *bu*). On the 1309 survey, see Muraishi Masayuki, "Chūsei no zushi ni tsuite," which draws connections between the bequests of Ichikawa Morifusa and the surveys that occurred a dozen years before he wrote them on p. 54.

particular, it was much more suitable to wet-paddies, which would rarely freeze in the warm winters of southern Kyushu.⁴⁶ Kagoshima prefecture (which encapsulates all of premodern Ōsumi, Satsuma, and Hyūga provinces) ranges in climate from temperate (*ontai* 温帯) to subtropical (*onettai* 亜熱帯), with Nejime resting in the southernmost region in the heart of the subtropical zone.⁴⁷

Second, due to these climatic differences, the type of agriculture that was best-suited to each area was different. In the Ichikawa case, fields transmitted in inheritance records were often dry *hatake* fields rather than wet paddies. *Hatake* are prominent in eastern warrior records, especially those of *jitō* who regularly developed extensive *hatake* due to the ease of slash-and-burn clearance, which required minimal labor compared to the production of diked and terraced paddies, particularly on uneven terrain.⁴⁸ A lightly or even moderately sloped dry field is easy to utilize, while paddies must be level.

An emphasis on dry upland, which was used for farming more robust crops including vegetables, tubers, grains, fruit, tea, ramie (*karamushi* 苧 for tough, hemp-like cloth), knotweed (*ai* 藍 for indigo dye), madder (*akane* 茜 for red dye), and mulberry (*kuwa* 桑 for silk production), was environmentally necessary in the northern alps, where paddies were often impractical or impossible to maintain. A cultural and political preference for rice (and probably a culinary one) led the Ichikawa to maintain their minor wet agriculture efforts where possible despite these inhospitable climatic conditions. But the Ichikawa record provides evidence that rice was only one of several forms of produce that the Ichikawa relied on. It is difficult to estimate the exact ratio of one type of field to the other, because the Ichikawa tended to pass down large chunks of named land in their bequests without detailing the specifics of the fields contained within. In this case, the relatively

⁴⁶ On the climate and geological composition of modern Kagoshima prefecture, see Haraguchi Izumi et al., eds., *Kagoshima ken no rekishi*, pp. 3, 4, 8, 12.

⁴⁷ Haraguchi Izumi et al., eds., *Kagoshima ken no rekishi*, p. 4.

⁴⁸ See Kanno Masamichi, “Chūsei ni okeru hatachi shihai no tenkai to tōgoku bushi,” especially pp. 197 on “*jitō hatake*” (*jitō mikata hatake* 地頭御方畠).

unified succession and inheritance practices of the Ichikawa (along with streamlined documentary processes) limit our ability to estimate how they used the land. By the mid-fourteenth century, Ichikawa heirs were usually granted control of Shikumi or large portions thereof unilaterally, and mentions of individual plots disappear from their records entirely.

Third, official tallies focused largely or exclusively on rice paddies and often ignored other agriculturally productive lands. Upland produce was recorded and taxed differently than rice, if at all, and was largely off the radar of official surveyors. Despite numerous mentions of *hatake* fields in Ichikawa inheritance documents, surviving records make no mention of what was grown on them by the Ichikawa or the commoners who lived in their jurisdiction. Finally, as Takai historian Yumoto Gun'ichi has noted, the Nakano/Ichikawa held special political prerogatives that limited the rights of *shugo* deputies to enter the region, including to conduct surveys on their land, called *shugo shi funyū no ken* (守護使不入権, similar to those for *shōen* described in Chapter I), or the right of non-entry by the deputies (*shi* 使) of the *shugo*.⁴⁹ This prerogative, which the group held from at least 1225 onward, prevented the *shugo* of Shinano or his agents from entering Nakano/Ichikawa territory unless they were in active pursuit of major criminals who were accused of murder, uprising, or other capital crimes.⁵⁰

Yumoto believes that this right likely limited the scope of the official surveys of Nakano and Ichikawa land, and that the 2.2 *chō* tally of rice fields itself may be inaccurate, as the right of non-entry would have made conspiring with local farmers to avoid taxation and hide fields fairly easy.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Yumoto Gun'ichi, "Nakano-Ichikawa-shi no rekishi." See especially page 5 on the nature of Nakano/Ichikawa *jitō* rights and the concept of *shugo* non-entry or *shugoshi funyū no ken* (守護使不入の権). The right was conferred directly by Hōjō Yoshitoki. See Karoku 1 (1225).9.16 *Hōjō Yoshitoki kakikudashi* (KI, 5:3406).

⁵⁰ Karoku 1 (1225).9.16 *Hōjō Yoshitoki kakikudashi* (KI, 5:3406)

⁵¹ Yumoto Gun'ichi, "Nakano-Ichikawa-shi no rekishi," pp. 5-6. This is an important statement, as it indicates collusion between locals working the land and those theoretically "managing" them on behalf of their political superiors. Yumoto's characterization of possible collusion between warriors and those theoretically beneath them forces a reevaluation of class dynamics, at least between the highest echelons of the capital elite and locals, whose positions were more variable than a rigid division of multilayered warrior managers and commoners otherwise

Further, because the *shugo* could not enter the area to resolve minor judicial disputes pertaining to tax issues or other problems with the local populace, Nakano and Ichikawa enjoyed a high degree of local control.⁵² Yumoto also notes that there are few examples of the employment of the right of *shugo* non-entry for *jitō*, and that the 1225 record in the Ichikawa collection is among the earliest surviving records of such a prerogative.⁵³ The transmission of immunity from entrance by *shugo* deputies reiterates the direct connection between the Nakano and the Hōjō established during the Genpei and Jōkyū wars and mirrors the rights of *shōen*, each of which are outlined in Chapter I.

The comparison of surveyed paddy in Takai and Nejime highlights that official tallies only provide a partial view of the productive capacity of a given area, and are potentially slanted by the political circumstances of each locale, the types of produce grown, and the level of official knowledge of a local area. Climatic and topographical features led to significant differences in local agricultural practices, and although crops of all kinds could be taxed (in the language of rice production), non-rice produce in Shikumi and Nejime was largely ignored in these surveys.

Individualized political connections resulted in different degrees of penetration by central officials who sought to record and catalog productive capacity. But why did the Nakano and Ichikawa enjoy a special prerogative of non-entry, while the Nejime were subject to frequent and extensive surveys by the *shugo* of Ōsumi?⁵⁴ This is largely answered by their political and military ties, yet as Yumoto notes, non-entry was a rare privilege and not one held by all Kamakura *gokenin* who had demonstrated military loyalty in earlier conflicts. Were there other parts of their local character that helped maintain the special connection between the Nakano and Hōjō Yoshitoki, who

evokes. This is of particular importance, as class dynamics became less defined over time, especially after the fall of the Kamakura polity and the rise of large military bands that blurred the lines between “commoners” and “warriors.”

⁵² Yumoto Gun'ichi, “Nakano-Ichikawa-shi no rekishi,” pp. 5-6.

⁵³ Yumoto Gun'ichi, “Nakano-Ichikawa-shi no rekishi,” pp. 5-6.

⁵⁴ Surveys in Nejime were frequent enough that Nejime inheritance records often include special provisions related to provisioning ceremonial goods for official visits. For example, see Nejime Kiyotsuna's wills from 1275, which include provisions for ceremonial “black rice” as well as multiple other tax provisions. See Kenji 1 (1275).12.22 *Takebe Kiyotsuna yuzurijō-an* (KKSI vol. 1, #708).

granted them special rights and immunity from interference by current and future *shugo*? To answer this question, we must examine several additional local resources, particular to each region, that shaped the connection of the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Nejime to their environments.

Differences in Resource Access and Types of Resources at the Local Level

Even when carefully considering the materials and types of goods that might not have fit into official tabulations of agricultural productivity, it is easy to think of local resources only in terms of food sources (agricultural and non-agricultural), which are key to survival and carry inherent significance for people everywhere. The entirety of the medieval tax economy, which formed the foundation of the political and economic systems, was built around the language of food (rice) production, which sat at the core of central concerns regarding the regulation and tabulation of provincial landscapes. In terms of non-agricultural food sources, the Nejime had access to oceanic resources while the Ichikawa were landlocked and relied on terrestrial materials, including whatever could be pulled from local rivers.

However, the conversation in resource differences up to this point has still essentially revolved around the production of caloric resources. There were many other natural resources to exploit aside from food resources, which we must also consider when looking at the role of the environment in shaping our two warrior groups.

Ritual Goods: Falcons on Shikumi-yama

The records of the Nakano/Ichikawa contain a compelling story of specialty resource use centering around some of their natural co-residents: the birds of prey that roost in the trees and hunt in the river valleys around Shikumi mountain. The most unique element of mountain use by the Nakano and Ichikawa was the capture and domestication of these birds, an exotic commodity used for hunting (*takagari* 鷹狩り) and donated in religious tributes to the Suwa Shrine.⁵⁵ The same

⁵⁵ Kōno Minoru, “Shikumi-yama no sutaka,” pp. 29-33.

topographical features that made Shikumi a difficult place for people to survive and grow crops forms an excellent habitat for birds of prey, and local warriors adapted to take advantage of this specialized natural resource.

Japanese falconry dates to the classical period, when “falcons” (鷹 *taka*) were used for the sport-hunting of small game birds and rabbits.⁵⁶ Falconry is recorded in the *Kojiki*, Japan’s earliest extant text, and can even be found in clay *Haniwa* figures from Gunma prefecture from around the sixth century depicting figures in hunting garb with falcons resting on their forearms.⁵⁷ Falconry was popular throughout the medieval and early modern periods as a leisure sport for Shoguns, daimyo, and imperial elites, who maintained private hunting grounds specifically for elaborate retreats using dogs and falcons to track prey in the backcountry.⁵⁸ The 1299 *Ippen shōnin eden* scroll painting (一遍上人絵伝, also known as the *Ippen hijiri-e* 一遍聖絵) depicts a warrior residence, or *yashiki* (屋敷), with a falcon tied to a horizontal pole in the residential courtyard, while the 1309 *Kasuga gongen genki-e* (春日権現験記絵) depicts a falcon in an open-air room within a residential home, again resting on a pole.⁵⁹ Falcons are often pictured alongside dogs, also used in the hunts.⁶⁰ Falcons

⁵⁶ Morgan Pitelka recently released a chapter on falconry, with a focus on the early modern period, in which he translates *taka* as “raptors.” I use the term “falcon” in reference to the sport and ritual of “falconry,” although as I will describe shortly, the birds were likely a type of goshawk. See Morgan Pitelka, *Spectacular Accumulation: Material Culture, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and Samurai Sociability*.

⁵⁷ Everett W. Jameson, *The Hawking of Japan: The History and Development of Japanese Falconry*, p. 1.

⁵⁸ Most studies of falconry in Japanese history focus on the Tokugawa period. On shogunal falcon hunts, see Nesaki Mitsuo, *Shōgun no takagari*.

⁵⁹ See Hattori Hideo, *Bushi to shōen shihai*, p. 19 for images from the *Ippen shōnin eden* (upper image) and *Kasuga gongen genki-e* (lower image), as well as pp. 15-17 on falconry bans, and pp. 17-21 on hunting with falcons as well as rearing practices. Hattori notes that *takasu* (鷹栖) or “falcon nest” is a common place name across Japan, and even appears in *Nejime-in!* The name, *Takasu-jō* (鷹栖城) appears in early Nanbokuchō military records as a battle site, such as Kannō 2 (1351).8 *Nejime Kiyonari gunchūjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #75), The *Nejime* gained at least temporary control of the fort, which is listed in Kannō 2 (1351).8.7 *Hatakeyama Tadaaki kanjō* (KKSI vol. 1, #76). Alongside a series of other areas. Battle in the area continued for decades, including a major conflict recorded in Kōryaku 2 (1389).10.2 *Takasu-jō-mae gassen teoi chūmon* (KKSI vol. 1, #134). No direct evidence of falconry (in *Takasu* or otherwise) is conveyed in the *Nejime monjo*.

⁶⁰ An entire book is dedicated to the history of the Edo period through dogs and falcons. See Nesaki Mitsuo, *Inu to taka no Edo jidai*, including pp. 31-36 on early modern falconry bans beginning in 1693, as well as restrictions on falcon taming and falconry grounds. The book contains excellent illustrations of early modern falconry, including depictions of breeds (p. 13), the act of climbing trees to catch falcons using woven baskets (p. 27), and portable boxes for moving the birds (30), among others.

retained an almost magnetic attraction for elite warriors throughout the medieval period, and are featured in later artwork such as the sixteenth century *Matsutaka-zu* (松鷹図 – “hawks and pines”). Hunting with the birds required large amounts of planning, manpower, and strategy, which appealed to warriors, who could emulate the practice of warfare even in times of peace against prey that could not fight back.

However, in the early medieval period, the Kamakura government repeatedly banned falconry because it violated Buddhist prohibitions against killing animals.⁶¹ Yet falconry seems to have been quite popular among wealthy warriors; as Morgan Pitelka notes, “...the prohibition seems to indicate not the monopoly of falconry by the shogunate but rather its widespread practice among samurai.”⁶² However, even during the course of repeated bans by the Kamakura judiciary, there were also two exceptions to the rule: the Imperial court and the Suwa grand shrine (located south of the Nakano/Ichikawa holdings in Shinano, near the center of the province) were allowed to continue using the birds throughout the Kamakura period.⁶³

A record in the *Azuma Kagami* from 1212 confirms both the early ban by Kamakura, which prevented the *shugo* and *jitō* in all provinces from hunting with falcons (*shokoku shugo jitō ni rei shite, takagari o kinzu* 諸國守護地頭二令シテ、鷹狩ヲ禁ズ), and also lists an exception for the use of sacred birds to hunt ritual prey (*on-nietaka* 御贅鷹) taken for the god *Suwa Daimyōjin* (諏方大明神).⁶⁴ The law effectively allowed hunts by the Hōjō in the area to continue, and the Nakano (and their Ichikawa heirs) to keep providing the birds, while warriors elsewhere were nominally

⁶¹ See Ishii Susumu, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō*, vol. 1, pp. 142-143 for an additional law from Kangen 3 (1245).12.16. that reiterates a ban on falconry for those in Kamakura and the provinces, with the exception of shrines, also found in Kangen 3 (1245).12.16 *Kantō migyōsho* (KI, 9: 6594), and reissued in Kōchō 1 (1261).2.20 *Kantō shinsei kotogaki* (KI, 12: 8628) and Bun’ei 3 (1267).3.28 *Kantō migyōsho* (KI, 13: 9516).

⁶² Pitelka, Morgan. *Spectacular Accumulation: Material Culture, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and Samurai Sociability*, p. 99.

⁶³ Noriko Otsuka, “Falconry: Tradition and Acculturation,” p. 200. It seems that all shrines with falcons could continue to use the birds, at least in the 1245 version of the code.

⁶⁴ See the *Azuma Kagami* entry from Kenryaku 2 (1212).8.12, also found in *SNS*, 3, pp. 526-527. See also Nagano-ken, eds. *Nagano ken-shi*, vol. 2, *chūsei* 1, pp. 180-183, which further outlines the practice and related records, including *takagari* bans, and confirms that the ritual hunts occurred yearly in the fifth month.

restricted from the practice.⁶⁵ The spiritual significance of *taka* as hunting birds was later formalized in a “Falcon Sutra” that reifies the practice of falcon-keeping at Suwa as well as the sacred status of the mountains where they roost.⁶⁶ Images of falcons adorn the ceiling joists of the outbuildings of the main hall of the Suwa shrine, and a painting of a falcon, donated as an offering to the gods, sits outside the main prayer hall at the upper shrine. Medieval records provide no description of the birds or their breed, though goshawks were the most common, and were the “falcon” of choice from the classical to the early medieval period.⁶⁷



Image 5: Goshawk painting at the upper (southern) Suwa Shrine. (Photo by the author, 12/26/2013).⁶⁸

⁶⁵ In addition to the law itself (above), see also Ihara Kesao, “Kamakura-ki no Suwa jinja kankei shiryō ni miru shintō to butsudō,” pp. 158 on the law itself, 159 on the exception for Suwa, and 170 on falconers (*takajō* 鷹匠).

⁶⁶ Itō Tomio, *Shinano chūsei tochi seido kenkyū*, p. 53. The extant copy of the “falcon sutra” or *Taka gyōben giron* (鷹經弁疑論) survives as a set of three scrolls recorded in 1503 by the courtier and monk Jimyōin Motoharu (持明院基春, 1453-1535). See the *Kokushi daijiten* for additional details on Motoharu.

⁶⁷ See Noriko Otsuka, “Falconry: Tradition and Acculturation.”

⁶⁸ This painting is likely of a goshawk, based on the pattern of its markings and its white color. As E.W. Jameson notes “...light-colored individuals, prized for their unusual appearance, were often painted.” *Japanese Hawking*, p. 5. White Goshawks were also imported from Korea and China as prized goods. For another mention of the special value of light-colored goshawks, see Noriko Otsuka, “Falconry: Tradition and Acculturation,” p. 200.

The Nakano and their Ichikawa successors were primary suppliers of falcons to the Suwa shrine, which held tax rights in their territory of Takai alongside the Hōjō, its managers. Itō Tomio, a founding scholar in the local history of Shinano, notes that falcons were a highly revered, spiritually significant product of the Takai region dating back to ancient times, and reiterates that they were provided to secure dedications to the gods of hunting at Suwa in ritual hunts.⁶⁹ Specific records from the Nakano/Ichikawa are limited, but inheritance documents from the early 1300s indicate that the Ichikawa made regular, probably yearly pilgrimage trips to Suwa, attended by most or all of the *ichizoku*.⁷⁰ Ichikawa Morifusa instructed his children specifically not to quarrel with one another on these pilgrimages in his series of bequests from 1321.⁷¹ The relationship to Suwa (and the Hōjō) was an enduring one that carried ritual, political, and financial weight for the Nakano and Ichikawa. At war, the Ichikawa remained nominally linked to the shrine as indicated in a single report of arrival for military service (*chakutōjō* 着到状) from 1335, in which Ichikawa *sōryō* Sukefusa and his youngest brother Tsunesuke signed the document together as *kami* (神), in devotion to the native Suwa gods.⁷²

Kōno Minoru has written on the history of falconry in northern Shinano province, and notes that Takai-gun is historically well-known for its birds, which were captured as chicks, taken from

⁶⁹ Itō Tomio, *Shinano chūsei tochi seido kenkyū*, p. 53. According to Itō, Minamoto no Yoritomo, founder of the Kamakura government, had a penchant for falconry, and held hunts using falcons at Suwa.

⁷⁰ See Miyasaka Mitsuaki, “Suwa jinja kamiyashiro no mikari to ōntō (2 and 3),” as well as Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885; SNS, 5, pp.23-24).

⁷¹ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27885-27887; SNS, 5, pp. 20-24).

⁷² Kenmu 2 (1335).3 *Ichikawa Sukefusa-nado chakutōjō* (NBI-Ka, 1:221; SNS, 5, p. 260). See the signature line, which includes *kami Tsunesuke* (神経助) and *kami Sukefusa* (神助房) who sealed the document on the back. This was an at least somewhat common practice in the early fourteenth century to signify ties to the shrine. See Gōdō Noriaki, “Suwa-shi to ‘Kamisha’ ‘Shimosha,’” p. 16, which lists several such records and analyzes documents for significant signals of allegiance to the shrine. The use of “kami” as a family name, as is the case in these Ichikawa records, symbolizes “service” to the shrine (*Shinano bushi ni kaserareta Suwa jinja yaku* 信濃武士に課せられた諏訪社神役).

their nests before they could fly and raised domestically into adulthood.⁷³ Between 1446 and 1489, out of a total of twenty-seven falcons donated to the Suwa shrine, twelve came from Takai-gun, triple that of any other administrative locale. The Ichikawa records include some of the earliest written mentions of the domestication of falcons, from 1229, when a lawsuit broke out between the Nakano and their neighbors after an incident in which a neighboring rival (from the Kijima) sent servants to steal four falcon chicks from Shikumi-yama.⁷⁴ This resulted in a border dispute over the mountain, apparently based solely on the presence of these highly-valued nests.⁷⁵ In one of his articles, Kōno makes an important point based on this case; that the land in dispute was a mountain, not an agricultural property, and that the wild produce from that mountain was significant enough to prompt a major lawsuit overseen by the Kantō court, which served to determine who had rights over the otherwise untamed wilderness in the area.⁷⁶ Land of this type was usually beyond the reach of Kamakura (which focused on agricultural land), but the presence of the luxury birds in the mountain peaks increased the visibility and significance of this area in central eyes.⁷⁷

Falcon nests or rookeries became a highly protected and specially designated form of mountain wilderness land in the Tokugawa period (1603-1868). Shikumi was protected as such in 1613, and the records of the Ichikawa and their neighbors form some of the earliest concrete evidence of the economic centrality of falcon-raising in the region.⁷⁸ The neighboring Kijima rivals

⁷³ Kōno Minoru, “Shikumi-yama no sutaka.” On white falcons as prized birds, see Itō Tomio, *Shinano chūsei tochi seido kenkyū*, p. 53, which includes reference to a “white falcon diary” (白鷹記 *Hakuōki*) that documents the donation of special white falcons to the court from Shinano local Nezu Kamihira (禰津神平) in 1327.

⁷⁴ Two records survive of the court’s approach to the case. The first, from the *shugo*’s deputy, appears in Kangi 1 (1229).11.28 *Saemon shōi Kanemune shōjo* (KI, 6: 3904), the second, from Hōjō Shigetoki himself, appears in Kangi 1 (1229).12.13 *Hōjō Shigetoki migyōsho* (KI, 6: 3908). See also Itō Tomio, *Shinano chūsei tochi seido kenkyū*, pp. 54-55, for an additional description of these events.

⁷⁵ For more on the dispute, see Itō Tomio, *Shinano chūsei tochi seido kenkyū*, pp. 53-57.

⁷⁶ Kōno Minoru, “Shikumi-yama no sutaka,” p. 30.

⁷⁷ Mountain land was often a highly permeable, communal form of property shared between family members. Ichikawa inheritance documents outline mountain use in greater detail than is typical in warrior records, but undeveloped land was still shared freely between siblings. The Nejime exhibit similar traits, where the smaller mountains in Nejime-in were a shared hunting territory.

⁷⁸ Kōno Minoru, “Shikumi-yama no sutaka,” p. 31.

of the Nakano, accused of stealing young birds from their nests, claimed that their falcons were not stolen from Shikumi mountain but taken legally from a separate rookery on their own land.⁷⁹ This suit, along with the network of falcon donations recorded by the Suwa shrine, indicates that the collecting and domestication of falcons was an economically, socially, and spiritually significant practice common to the region. Knowledge of the locations of falcon roosts was a specially protected form of information, and the Ashikaga court sent orders to refrain from sharing information about the locations of nests in the late medieval and early modern periods.⁸⁰

The profession of falcon-keeping was longstanding. Early protections of the Shikumi nests were formalized in the sixteenth century; an Ichikawa descendant signed an order in 1581 banning all hunting from the second through fourth months of the year as an ecologically protective measure during the period in which falcons breed and hatch their young.⁸¹ In the same year, the Takeda, one of the most powerful daimyo houses and at that point the nominal lords of the Ichikawa, sent a request for an early tax payment in the form of falcons from the Ichikawa head.⁸² In their request, they refer to Shikumi as “falcon mountain,” which is still a common term for the peak and others that host birds of prey in the area.⁸³

The Takeda request demonstrates that for over 300 years the Nakano and Ichikawa paid at least some of their taxes, first to the Hōjō through the Suwa shrine and then to their Takeda daimyo lords, in the form of non-agricultural produce, and that their official position in the region depended

⁷⁹ Which they refer to as the mountain estate of Kemi Gorō (*Kemi Gorō no shoryō yama* 毛見五郎の所領山). Kangi 1 (1229).11.28 *Saemon shōi Kanemune shōjo* (KI, 6: 3904)

⁸⁰ Kōno Minoru, “Shikumi-yama no sutaka,” p. 30.

⁸¹ Such practices were common, especially near the time of annual ritual hunts. Hattori Hideo notes that the Suwa hunts took place in the fifth month, though this information is likely from the Tokugawa period. see Hattori Hideo, *Bushi to shōen shihai*, p. 20.

⁸² Kōno Minoru, “Shikumi-yama no sutaka,” pp. 30-32. By 1581, the Takeda were in decline, following the death of Takeda Shingen in 1573 and the failure of his son Katsuyori’s forces at Nagashino in 1575.

⁸³ The nickname for the mountain is either *suyama* or *sutakayama* (巢山 or 巢鷹山), found in both Kōno’s report and used by locals in Sakaemura (at the mountain’s base) and the surrounding area today. The name is common to falcon-rich mountains. See Hattori Hideo, *Bushi to shōen shihai*, p. 17, and Ueno Shō, “Nozawa no kyūchimei ni yoru Ichikawa-shi jōkan no kenkyū,” p. 62 for another reference to “*sutakayama*.”

at least partially on their capacity as the managers of falcon collection and domestication activities including the protection of the Shikumi rookery itself. The supplementation of the normally-taxed rice crop through this special professional capacity helped entrench Nakano and Ichikawa as specialists in their harsh region, and was part of what cemented their hold on the remote area despite centuries of political upheaval and a difficult position in the political and military landscape.

The Kamakura polity, administered by the Hōjō as its line of successive regents, depended on the local managers of Shikumi to provide the falcons needed for their ritual hunts at Suwa. It is likely that the special connection that the Nakano developed with the Suwa Shrine and the Hōjō, who granted them immunity from interference by the deputies of the *shugo* (who were successive Hōjō relatives themselves and the direct superiors of the Nakano and Ichikawa, as described in Chapter I), benefitted them in ways that normal farmland could not.

Professional Specialization: The Port of Nejime Harbor

Compared to the detailed example of local exploitation of avian wildlife from the *Ichikawa Monjo*, we have very little to go in in terms of access to and control of individual specialty goods by the Nejime.⁸⁴ For example, there is no documentary evidence from residents of Nejime-*in* regarding fishing or the hunting of whales and dolphins, although both were traditional and essential foodstuffs in Kyushu dating back to prehistory.⁸⁵ Kyushu historian Kozono Kimio notes that today the regional

⁸⁴ Only one minor example survives: in the late fourteenth century, in a letter from father to son, a retired Nejime head requested monkey leather from his son. The Nejime region is prime habitat for Japanese Macaques (which live across the archipelago, and famously bathe in hot springs near the former Ichikawa homeland in Nagano). Yet because monkeys are only mentioned a single time, and only anecdotally, in the Nejime collection of over eight hundred records, I cannot draw any conclusions about their significance or value to the kin group. Beyond these examples, there is no evidence of any locally particular goods of value or significance to the group, though there were probably many that went undocumented. See Ōei 2 (1395) *Anraku Kiyotsuna shojō* (KKSI vol. 1, #309). We can infer that Anraku Kiyotsuna is a name adopted late in life by Nejime Kiyohira based on the timing of the record and its opening lines, in which he comments on his name change through consultation with an oracle or *shintaku* (神託). The reference back to Kiyotsuna, a key figure in Nejime History, is also evidence of the identity of Anraku as a former Nejime head, who must have been Kiyohira in 1395. This letter is one of three, all dated 1395 with no months or days listed, found in documents #309-311 in the *Kagoshima ken shiryō Iewake*, volume 1.

⁸⁵ See Kara Hoover and Mark Hudson, “Resilience in Prehistoric Persistent Hunter Gatherers in Northwest Kyushu, Japan as Assessed by Population Health and Archaeological Evidence,” p. 29.

economy of the Ōsumi peninsula is half-agricultural and half-fishing, and always has been.⁸⁶ This is a fact we should not forget when examining agriculturally slanted documents from Nejime officials.

There is limited documentation of a professional capacity that the Nejime developed through their connection to the ocean, which we can explore in some detail. I would like to examine one case, when the disruption of fishing and fish transport by a small neighboring group caused problems for the Nejime that were significant enough to warrant legal action. A series of records based on that enduring case reveals that the Nejime must have had significant interests and rights regarding oceanic activity around their land, which included trade, naval activity, and policing the coastline.

In 1305, the *shugo* of Ōsumi province, Hōjō Tokinao, and the *Chinzei Tandai*, the Kyushu legal officer that represented the Kamakura polity through a local headquarters in Hakata (established in 1293 following the Mongol invasions of 1274 and 1281), settled a dispute that began under the tenure of Nejime head Kiyochika.⁸⁷ The case dealt with problems with a local from the Isashiki (伊佐敷) known by the Buddhist name Jōi (浄意). The Isashiki controlled the village of Isashiki-*mura* as minor independent landholders on the southern end of the Ōsumi peninsula. They were likely distant relatives of the Nejime or the Sata, and used the Takebe (建部) courtly choronym common to the area and all three groups.⁸⁸ Map #2 at the opening of this chapter outlines the position of the Isashiki.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, p. 3.

⁸⁷ Kagen 3 (1305).12.3 *Ōsumi no kuni shugo Hōjō Tokinao kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #36), Enkyō 2 (1309).10.22 *Chinzei Tandai gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #37), and Enkyō 2 (1309).12.22 *Chinzei Tandai gechijō* (KKSI vol. 1, #38). Ishii Susumu defines the *Chinzei Tandai* as "a powerful political organ in Hakata that administered defense measures against external attack and executed judicial decisions for the entire Kyushu region." See Ishii Susumu, "The decline of the Kamakura Bakufu," p. 160.

⁸⁸ On the Isashiki and Sata connection, see Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*, pp. 34-35 and 130-134.

⁸⁹ As an aside, in terms of its history, Isashiki-*mura* is best known today as the site of a Tokugawa-period specialty medicine garden (*yakuen* 薬園), now called *Sata kyū yakuen*, which produced a variety of exotic medicinals and tropical fruits, many of which were nonnative imports from China and Southeast Asia. Multiple markers for the garden, as well as a commemorative arboreal orchard-park designated as a historical landmark survive today in the heart of Sata township. See the *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei* entry for *Sata kyū yakuen* (佐多旧薬園). No medieval records of these medicinal and exotic specialties survive, but the Tokugawa-era Sata/Isashiki gardens were known

The Isashiki developed financial difficulties related to taxes (*nengu* 年貢) and the costs associated with service duties (*kuji* 公事) levied on their estate, a common problem for smaller landholders in the Kamakura period.⁹⁰ Due to their sandwiched position between the Nejime and the Sata, they had nowhere but the ocean to expand into to bolster their income and repay debts to central proprietors. The lawsuit from the Nejime came about after the Isashiki began to cause trouble in the waters around the peninsula. This was a problem that Nejime Kiyoharu had to address as administrative head (*gunji* 郡司) in the Nejime region (which included the Isashiki and Sata territories).⁹¹ In the lawsuit, Kiyoharu reiterated claims dating back to his father Kiyochika's tenure that the Isashiki had caused disruption of the sea lane (referred to in the document as *kairo* 海路), where they violently confiscated fish from local fisherman, attacking them along the well-traveled ocean routes around Nejime-in.⁹²

After Kiyoharu filed his initial suit, the Isashiki ignored several summonses from the *shugo* governor of Ōsumi. The *shugo* sent deputies to the region to hear the Isashiki side of the story.⁹³ One of these deputies successfully recorded a brief testimony from Isashiki Jōi, who stated simply that there was no tangible evidence of their wrongdoing, and that he could not be prosecuted on hearsay alone. The *shugo*, Hōjō Tokinao, stated that because Nejime-gun was surrounded by the ocean on the east, south, and west (an indication that these waters fell under the jurisdiction of the Nejime *gunji*),

for lychee, longan, rose apple, bitter orange, macadamia, rubber fig trees (*ōbagomu no ki* オオバゴムノキ), guava/strawberry guava (*banjirō* ばんじろう), alocasia odora / night-scented lily (*kuwazuimo* くわずいも, used in treating the common cold), northern yellow boxwood or pouteria obovata (*akatetsu* アカテツ, used for wood and charcoal, for lacquerware production using leaf-gum, and in tide-protection forestry), all of which were exotic to Japan in the premodern and early modern periods.

⁹⁰ On the topic of financial trouble for small landholding samurai in the mid-to-late Kamakura period, see Ethan Segal, "Awash with Coins" and *Coins, Trade, and the State*. I will explore the failure of the Isashiki in detail in Chapter IV.

⁹¹ The genesis of the Nejime *gunji* post is explained in Chapter I.

⁹² Kagen 3 (1305).12.3 *Ōsumi no kuni shugo Hōjō Tokinao kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #36). Nejime documents have surprisingly few mentions of water traffic, boating, fishing, and control of the seas, though a few hints do appear here and there to suggest that they had significant aquatic interests. For a maritime focus on medieval Japan, see Amino Yoshihiko, *Nihon shakai saikō: umi kara mita rettō bunka*.

⁹³ Kagen 3 (1305).12.3 *Ōsumi no kuni shugo Hōjō Tokinao kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #36).

that while fishermen operating in the southeastern sea could be subject to special levies, the Isashiki held no rights to collect them or to take any fish caught in the area. The *shugo* then ordered the Isashiki to cease their violence and incursions into the rights of the Nejime.⁹⁴

The Ōsumi *shugo* backed Nejime Kiyoharu as the only legitimate agent to handle special levies on fishing or other oceanic activity (probably including trade) in the region, in support of his position as the administrator of all of Nejime-in. Though not explicitly stated, this decision also effectively rejected the idea that local landholders could impose their own local levies on those using the routes through (or in the water next to) their land, especially in regards to produce or other goods that fell outside the purview of standardized, agriculturally-based tax collection. The efforts of the Isashiki to seek alternative sources of income through piracy are a sign of their desperation as minor stakeholders whose lands were not sufficient to survive on. The story of the Isashiki is not unique, as the harsh economic reality of the late Kamakura period squeezed small-scale landowners out in favor of larger, richer groups like the Nejime. One of the primary ways in which the Nejime grew their portfolio of lands was through the cash-based purchase of property from smaller landlords like the Isashiki who needed money to pay down their debts and back-taxes.⁹⁵

Seven years later, in 1312, the Isashiki were implicated in another lawsuit brought by their southern Sata neighbors over mounting tax debts and stood accused of slandering the Sata in their efforts to shirk payment.⁹⁶ Conflict with both the Sata and the Nejime illustrates the difficult position that the Isashiki found themselves in in the early 1300s. The Isashiki gradually sold most of their land, initially in three parcels to Nejime Kiyomasa (founder of the later Sumino sub-lineage) in 1303

⁹⁴ Kagen 3 (1305).12.3 *Ōsumi no kuni shugo Hōjō Tokinao kakikudashi* (KKSI vol. 1, #36). The term Tokinao used to describe special taxes on fishing resources is *shoij* or *shojibutsu* (所持物).

⁹⁵ We will examine this process in detail in Chapters IV and V.

⁹⁶ Shōwa 1 (1312).12.27 *Chinzei Tandai saikyojō-an* (KKSI vol.1, #560). The *Chinzei* court did not elect to rule on the accusation of slander (*akkō* 悪口) by the Sata, and simply commanded that they follow the *kuji* tax ordinances laid out by the Sata *sōryō* Chikaharu (親治).

and 1305.⁹⁷ Some Isashiki land also passed from the Sata to the Nejime leader in 1324, as well as to another figure known only as Hama no Hikojirō-*dono* in 1342.⁹⁸ The Isashiki remained in the service of the Ōsumi *shugo* in the 1320s, but sold off nearly all their land by the end of the Kamakura period.⁹⁹ They lingered in the area to hound residents of the Nishimoto (later Sumino) Nejime sub-lineage estate in 1333 as bandits, stealing crops from the holdings they sold off thirty years earlier.¹⁰⁰ The Nejime and its sub-lineages gradually absorbed the lands of the Isashiki, following their inability to maintain their holdings in the face of mounting tax debt, and the Nejime and its sub-lineages continued to buy up chunks of land to the south, mostly from the Sata, throughout the early fourteenth century. The authority of the Nejime over the waters that surrounded the peninsula suppressed the Isashiki, and ensured predominance over the smaller group.

Although we know very little about how directly involved members of the Nejime were in actual fishing activity or in the management thereof, the value of their access to aquatic resources (as well as their possession of designated hunting grounds and mountains) should not be discounted when considering their economic situation. Records of trade in the early medieval period are sparse, and the primary Kyushu port of Hakata in the north dominated trade with the mainland, serving as the mandated port of entry for all of Japan. Nejime harbor was primarily a domestic port until the Sengoku period, when trade with the southern Ryūkyū Islands grew and Nejime became a southern trading center, according to Hinokuma Masamori (though no early Nejime records reference this

⁹⁷ Kengen 2 (1303).4.18 *Takebe Chikaakira, Shami Shiyau (Jōi) renshō kokyakujō, onajiku Takebe Kiyomasa uragaki* (KKSI vol. 1, #760), Kagen 3 (1305).3.18 *Shami Shiyau (Jōi), Takebe Chikaakira kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #485), Kagen 3 (1305).7.11 *Takebe Chikaakira, Shami Shiyau (Jōi) renshō kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #762). The Sumino (previously known as Nishimoto) sub-lineage gained the greatest portion of the Isashiki estate through these purchases.

⁹⁸ Genkō 4 (1324).1.26 *Takebe Chikaatsu kokyakujō* (KSSI vol. 1, #552), and Ryakuō 5 (1342).5.12 *Takebe Chikafusa kokyakujō* (KKSI vol. 1, #550).

⁹⁹ Genkō 4 (1324).4.18 *Ōsumi shugo kari-fu (狩夫) shihai-jō* (KI #28727). Here, the Isashiki were asked to provide 5 attendants for a hunt by the *shugo* (The Nejime were asked for 20, the Sata for a total of 15, and the Tashiro for 10, making the Isashiki the smallest local shareholder on the peninsula).

¹⁰⁰ Genkō (元弘) 3 (1333).12.22 *Shami nanigashi kakikudashi* (KSSI vol. 1, #491). Here the Isashiki conflicted openly with Nishimoto Kiyomasa (who purchased their land in 1303 and 1305), engaging in violence and stealing in his fields (刈田狼藉し).

activity).¹⁰¹ It is clear from their dispute with the Isashiki that the normal operation of the Nejime port and the waters around it for fishing and transport purposes was an issue of Nejime sovereignty and authority.¹⁰²

The early medieval Nejime were apparently not regularly involved in intercontinental or long-distance trade (at least not documented trade), but they were active on the islands immediately south of Ōsumi including Tanegashima (種子島) and Yakushima (屋久島), which were considered a part of Kyushu as early as the ninth century (thus falling into the tax base and administrative districting of the court in Heian), and which the Nejime and its Ikehata sub-lineage partly controlled from at least the mid-fourteenth century onward.¹⁰³ Though it is not a concrete, material resource, it is useful to consider access to transit across the local island-scape as a material prerogative derived from the environment, especially because it often translated into material and financial wealth. For the Nejime, the surrounding seascape meant less competition from powerful neighbors, more leverage over weaker ones, and provided easy access to aquatic resources and sea-based transportation routes as sources of unsupervised income generation.

The Ichikawa, through their control of falcon production on and around Shikumi mountain, and the Nejime, through dominance over the waters around their peninsula, developed professional interests that exceed the raw acreage of crop lands recorded in the bulk of their inheritance records and correspondence with central authorities. These two sets of peripheral documents (on mastery over fish and fowl) are marginal records within the full context of the *Ichikawa Monjo* and *Nejime*

¹⁰¹ Hinokuma Masamori believes that much of the official interest from the provincial government and the Hachiman shrine in Nejime-in was due to its position as a potential site for trade with both the Ryukyu kingdom and China. See Hinokuma Masamori “Heian kōki kara Kamakura-ki ni okeru Ōsumi no kuni Shō-Hachimangū no Nejime-in shihai.”

¹⁰² For more on the Nejime port or harbor, which saw foreign visitors (both welcome and unwelcome) in the sixteenth century, see Nejime Ken’ichi, *Tōsei runesansu no kaichō: nanban to Nejime-shi no rekishiteki seikai o motomete*, pp. 86-87.

¹⁰³ *Nejime kyōdo-shi*, vol. 2. See the *nenpyō* (年表) chronology at the end of the volume. See also Haraguchi Izumi et al., eds., *Kagoshima ken no rekishi*, pp. 91 and 93, which list Tanegashima as a part of the Shimazu-shō integrated into that estate between 1135 and 1141.

Monjo, which record mostly official correspondence regarding the status of taxable fields. Yet they also reveal significant professional elements of each group that were not directly controlled by the *shugo* or Kamakura, but which were clearly vital to their success at the local level. Though document-producing proprietors viewed both groups first-and-foremost as tax collectors and keepers of provincial peace, the Ichikawa and Nejime clearly held a variety of professional interests that exceeded these roles. The Ichikawa were falcon-tamers, protectors of ritual, and independent managers of the northern border reaches of Shinano. The Nejime were port managers with some authority over fishing and the maintenance of peace in Kagoshima bay and administrators of a small but growing island network at the edge of Japan.

Mapping Kin Structure onto Geographical Space

In the case of the Ichikawa, in every case of the transmission of the *jitō-shiki* that granted administrative rights in Shikumi and Nakano and the internal position of headship or *sōryō* (sometimes categorized as a *sōryō-shiki*), possession of the ancestral home and fields in Shikumi-gō were included. In the Nejime, with each transfer of both *gunji* and *jitō-shiki* dual-administrative posts over the southern half of Nejime-in (which included Minamimata, Sata 佐多, and Tashiro 田代), an extensive core of property in Kōrimoto, including lands in surrounding villages (Mitsumatsu 光松, Mochimatsu 用松, and others), accompanied the offices. The core residence shifted over time, but the most longstanding site of habitation was a lowland residence and later fortification called Tomita (富田), where the graves of the Nejime from the medieval period remain (in the ruins of the former Katsuōji temple 勝雄寺跡). Today's gravestones are a mix of surviving medieval material and newer reconstructions, located at a temple on the far side of Tomita.

Kōrimoto is bordered on the north by a set of barrier mountains (later the host of a fortress and second residence at Kunimi 国見). Though their total elevation is low, these mountains rise sharply into tall plateaus that provided excellent borders and barriers with the north. Collateral

holdings to the south (in Yamamoto, Isashiki, Heta, and later parts of Sata) served as a border zone between the Nejime and their only direct neighbors.



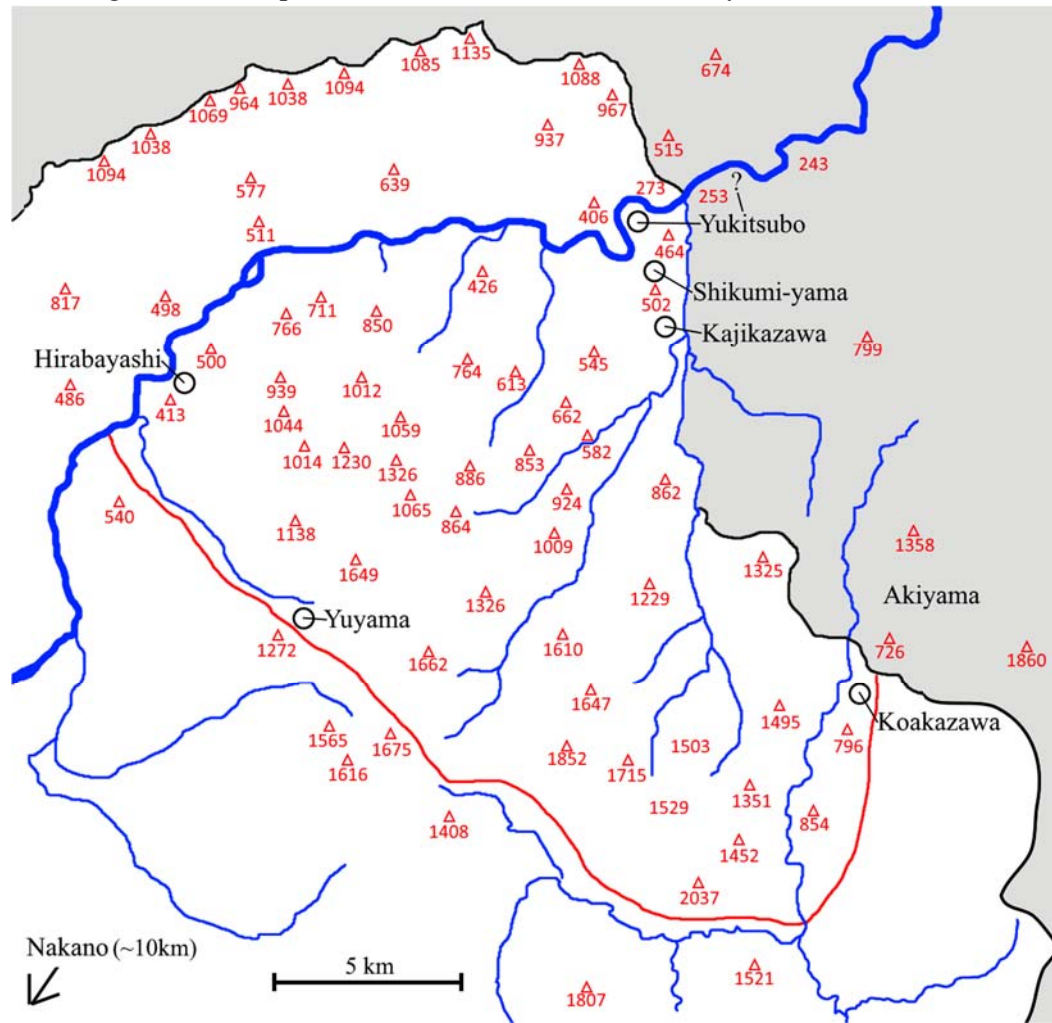
Image 6: The Nejime gravesite at Katsuōji, on the far side of their primary residence at Tomita (Photo by the author, 4/2/2015).



Image 7: The Kunimi plateau (upper) and modern retaining wall (lower) (Photo by the author, 4/1/2015).

While the Nejime never developed a formalized position of headship (like the *sōryō* of the Ichikawa), possession of the group's key offices and properties in Kōrimoto were always the symbolic property of the administrative leader of the kin group, which while diffuse, all fell under the limited administrative prerogatives of the *gunji* and *jitō* (alongside all other landholders in the

region, including the Sata, the Isashiki, and the Tashiro), and served as a basic definition of headship, expressed through economic, political, and administrative authority.



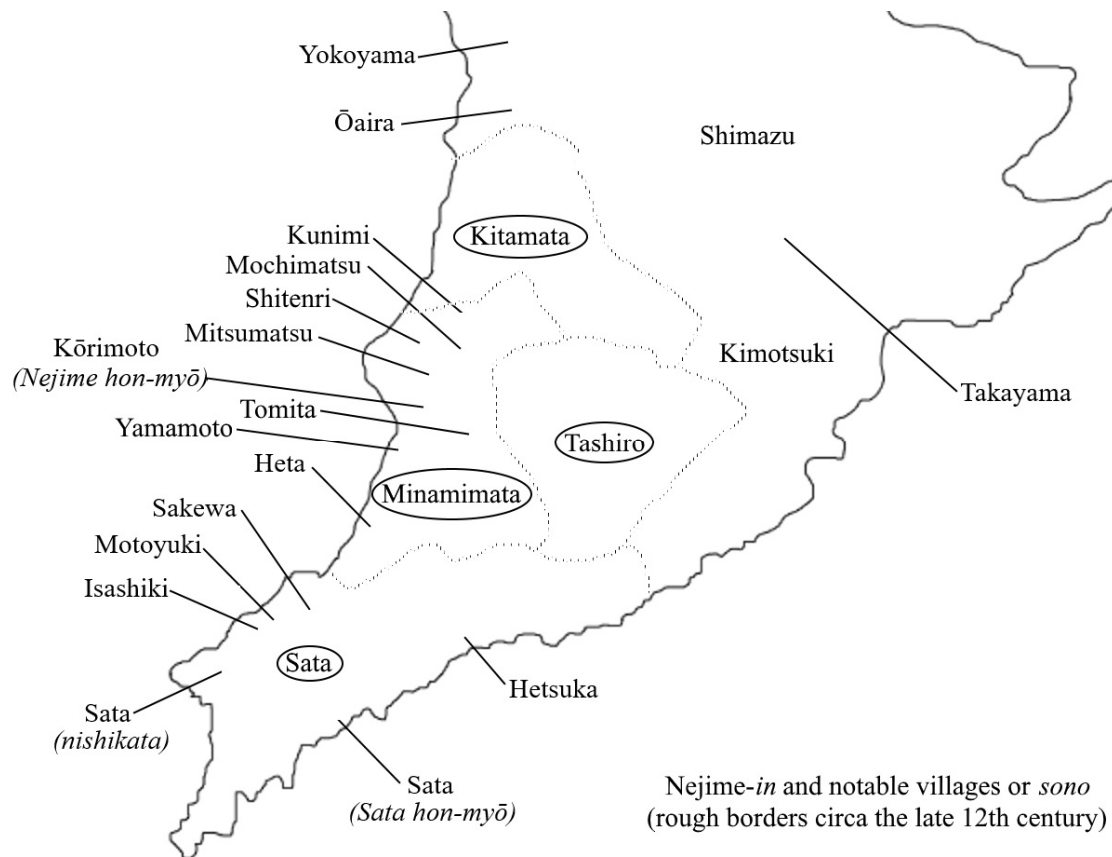
Map 5: Nakano/Ichikawa-inhabited regions of Shikumi-gō and surrounding elevation figures.¹⁰⁴

Headship positions are visible as uniform packages of rights and property in every main-line property transfer (which took the form of *yuzurijō* 譲状 and *okibumi* 置文, and sometimes also survive through lawsuit records even when bequests do not) in the *Ichikawa Monjo* and *Nejime Monjo* collections. Transfers of core lands and offices were definitive of who the main heir was, though their roles were different in each kin group.¹⁰⁵ Additionally, the recipients of these positions

¹⁰⁴ Made with elevations data from Google Earth in consultation with materials from the Nagano Prefectural Museum of history, the Takai historical society, and NASA LP DAAC / USGS topographical data.

¹⁰⁵ See Chapters IV through VI on the topic of headship and comparisons of these two approaches to inheritance, leadership, and group composition.

and lands inherited the body of related records, which were often, but not always, directly listed in inheritances.¹⁰⁶ The most formulaic element of medieval bequests was the transmission of the primary lands, documents, and offices, which were packaged together in the *Nejime* and the *Nakano/Ichikawa*.



Map 6: *Nejime-in* including *Nejime* inhabited regions and neighboring group territories.¹⁰⁷

The positions of these two cores of property are mapped in Maps #5 and 6. In the *Ichikawa* case (Map #5), topography is particularly vital to understanding the basic layout of the region, and elevation data from surrounding and central peaks is included on the map. There were fewer habitable areas in *Takai* than in *Nejime*, and aside from the grant of a residence and taxable land on the *Shikumi* river in *Yukitsubo* to a daughter who may have married into a neighboring group, the

¹⁰⁶ Though other terms were also frequently used, the most common word for this compiled set of documents was *tetsugi*, which both the *Kantō* and its clients understood to mean the set of most vital constituent records that proved successive and authenticated possession of lands and titles.

¹⁰⁷ Map developed by the author in consultation with the geographical data from the *Nejime-kyōdo-shi* and Kozono Kimio, *Minami Kyūshū no chūsei shakai*.

Ichikawa seem to have inhabited only four core areas.¹⁰⁸ These were the lowest points in the district, and the least topographically resistant to human development.

While it is difficult to get a sense of topographical space from a flat map, elevation data demonstrates that outside the marked locations of Shikumi (and surrounding land), Hirabayashi (平林), Koakazawa (小赤沢), and Yuyama (湯山), little of Takai-gun was habitable or suitable for clearance and farming. The bordering Akiyama (秋山, also written 明山 and あけやま, now *Akiyama-gō* 秋山郷 and likely named for the red leaves that cover the mountains in fall) was an abstract, borderless zone with few or no permanent inhabitants that Ichikawa heirs could all freely utilize. Wood is listed as a communal resource to be taken from the Akiyama mountain hinterland in one will.¹⁰⁹ The Shikumi region was too remote for major centrally-driven logging activity in the medieval period, which did not become a major industry in the area until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹¹⁰



Image 8: The Akiyama border hinterlands, photographed from the south bank of the Shikumi River across the Shikumi river valley. (Photo by the author, 3/10/2013).

¹⁰⁸ The daughter was called the “Ōita daughter” for the name of the Ōita, with whom she may have had affinal ties and descent bonds through a son. See Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27887; SNS, 5, p. 22). The exact size of the residence and lands are unknown, but may have included land across Shikumi river. there must have been productive fields there because the bequest outlines taxation guidelines for the property.

¹⁰⁹ Genkō 1 (1321).10.24 *Morifusa yuzurijō* (KI, 36: 27886; SNS, 5, pp.20-22).

¹¹⁰ Conrad Totman, *Green Archipelago*. See especially “Map #2” in the frontmatter.

The Ichikawa *sōryō* controlled farming rights on Shikumi, though one matriarch, Senkō, left instructions for at least one generation to allow the shared use of dry fields by their kin.¹¹¹ The Ichikawa employed a southern *yashiki* residence with attached fields in Nakano (on the bottom left edge of the map), inherited from their predecessors, as a detached retirement home and key farming base, though possession of the separate estate is impossible to trace past the mid-fourteenth century.¹¹² The far bank of the Chikuma River, on the north and west, fell under the administrative authority of the Shikumi *jitō*, though the Nakano and Ichikawa do not appear to have settled there or owned lands of their own on the far bank, which was likely in flux in terms of military control from 1333 onward.¹¹³

For the southerly Nejime, topography also determined the basic areas of concentrated human habitation, but was less significant than political and social geography. The bulk of the lands that the group owned sat along or just inland from the western coastline, where runoff from the mountainous eastern half of the peninsula carves numerous small pockets of patchwork floodplain and larger flat basins which made for the best farming in the territory. The core holdings of Kōrimoto sit around and just inland from the small Nejime port, which undoubtedly served as a hub of activity (though that activity is largely invisible in the medieval record). The position of the administrative head was geographically central; control of Kōrimoto meant both control of the best farmland and the best water access in all of southern Nejime, and was always in the hands of the line of *gunji* and *jitō* officers. These two overlapping administrative positions became synonymous, and then dropped from the group vocabulary entirely, as central authorities faltered and group headship came to

¹¹¹ Karyaku 4 (1329).6.23 *Ama Senkō yuzurijō* (*KI*, 39:30641; SNS, 5, pp. 86-88).

¹¹² I will detail the status of this territory alongside the military record of the Ichikawa in Chapter IV. The level of actual control of the Ichikawa over detached estates and the far side of the Chikuma river are major topics in Gōdō Noriaki, “‘Ichikawa monjo’ no kenkyū: Shōgen yuzurijō oyobi Morifusa yuzurijō ni kakawaru ni san no mondai.”

¹¹³ Yumoto Gun’ichi, “Nakano-Ichikawa-shi no rekishi.” Documents do not provide enough detail to confirm specific areas of control during the fourteenth century, but Yumoto believes the far bank likely passed in and out of Ichikawa control, which aligns with the general currents of military action in the region.

encompass the direct, autonomous administration of the peninsula by the late fourteenth century under the command of the *Nejime-dono*.¹¹⁴



Image 9: Part of the former core Nejime holdings in the Kōrimoto area, with surrounding mountains.
(Photo by the author, 4/4/2015).

In both the Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa cases, collaterals and cognates were responsible for the management and growth of peripheral properties outside these core residences and seats of power under control of their respective heads. For the Nakano/Ichikawa, these locations were selected from a combination of pure environmental necessity and strategic or economic significance. We know little of the exact locations of neighbors and rivals of the Nakano and Ichikawa, who, while numerous, shifted significantly over time.¹¹⁵ Because much of their homeland and the surrounding region was still wild and unsettled, the Nakano/Ichikawa had to clear new land through the direct application of considerable human labor, and the areas where this was possible were few.

In the Nejime case, where oceanic surroundings limited the movement of their neighbors across the landscape and in terms of the regions they might inhabit, a slowly shifting balance of

¹¹⁴ The need to specify these posts evaporated as central control diminished or disappeared from southern Kyushu. I will explore the significance of the ambiguous “title” of *Nejime-dono* in Chapters V and VI.

¹¹⁵ Ihara Kesao goes into detail on much of the activity in the region. See his book *Takai chihō no chūseishi*, as well as the five-part article series by the same name in the *Sudaka* journal that preceded it, all listed in the bibliography.

power is visible between the *ichizoku* and neighboring groups, whose pre-cleared and cultivated lands made for attractive potential acquisitions. The bulk of the inheritances or new properties of the Nejime sublines were in villages or individual estates on the border of the Sata and Nejime areas, as the Nejime slowly encroached on their neighbors, large and small, to expand their land base.¹¹⁶ Through manipulation of the legal system, direct land purchase, and quasi-inheritances (a complex topic covered in Chapter IV), the Nejime collaterals slowly carved out new holdings that were contiguous with their core properties. Later, the Nejime expanded into the southern islands and detached territories to the north, both in Hakata and near the Ōsumi provincial office, though the success of these detached expansions varied.

In both the Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa, mapping known collateral holdings alongside the properties of the main line in rough strokes reveals a clear pattern of residence. Collateral kin served as a buffer between the main line's property and potential or active rivals, and helped to tame the wilderness where such activities were still possible (as by the thirteenth century, most of the land available for easy agricultural adaptation had already been tamed).¹¹⁷ This is a heretofore unknown element of *ichizoku* structure, and one that certainly calls for further research and more comparative examples.

Conclusion

While kinship was not environmentally determined, spatial and environmental constraints were a major factor in social expansions, contractions, and shifting roles within warrior *ichizoku*. The underlying element of the predominant argument for a shift from divided to unified inheritance is

¹¹⁶ This process occurred over roughly a century, and is detailed in Chapters IV and V. Some lands were purchased directly, others won in lawsuits, still more gained through inheritance and fictionalized kinship ties used to skirt laws and inheritance stipulations or prohibitions against direct sales. Still more lands were earned through military service, as property confiscated and redistributed as spoils of war.

¹¹⁷ See Conrad Totman, *Green Archipelago and Japan: An Environmental History* on the broad context of human development and land clearance, particularly in relation to lumber usage. An occasional paper titled "The Origins of Japan's Modern Forests: The Case of Akita" also preceded the book.

related to limited access to habitable and arable land for a growing medieval population.¹¹⁸ The point visible in the Nakano/Ichikawa and the Nejime cases is that access to land and resources was a highly variable condition. Some groups could creatively exploit their surroundings (natural and/or human) to maintain the capacity for land division and group expansion for longer and in greater degrees than others, whose environment determined a maximum capacity for elite status and ownership at the local level, and may have forced some degree of unification. In this chapter, I have presented evidence for the value of a more detailed view of warrior groups in their particular environments – a view that both reinforces and complicates the prevailing theory of social change in medieval Japan and of major inheritance shifts as they occurred on an individual basis.

In the case of the Nejime and Nakano/Ichikawa, an admittedly limited sample, geography and topography had an undeniable impact on the shape and size of each group. As I will demonstrate in the following chapters, in which the inheritance practices, social roles, and kinship designs take center stage, the environment was always a powerful agent in the history of these two groups. The shape of their relationships reflected the environment. The Nakano/Ichikawa formed around a powerful singular leader who administered the territory directly and controlled, in large degree, the destinies of their kin. The Nejime, unbounded by their proximity to the sea and surrounded by weaker neighbors to the south and east, built outward, filling the ever-expanding outer reaches of their domain with collateral groups.

¹¹⁸ See William Wayne Farris, *Japan's Medieval Population: Famine, Fertility, and Warfare in a Transformative Age*. Though the issue of population is contentious, Farris believes that the population in 1150 was between 5.5-6.3 million, and by 1600 had reached 15-17 million, with the greatest growth occurring between 1280-1600 and the 1450 population estimated at 9.6-10.5 million. See page 5 for a basic outline of his ideas, followed thereafter by a series of other estimates by previous scholars, all of whom see a boom of various periodization and size occurring in the early medieval period. A main reason for the boom seems to have been the suppression or development of immunity to pathogens and diseases, as well as an increase in land availability, dietary quality, and caloric intake. See page 11 for a further summation of these shifts.