著者 | 奈良教育大学紀要　人文・社会科学
---|---
タイトル | "THE SETTLEMENT OF JAPAN (Part one of two)"
年 | 1971-10-30
巻 | 20
号 | 1
範囲 | 69-89
URL | http://hdl.handle.net/10105/2882
Origin, Distribution and Role of the Kaito Phenomenon in the Settlement of Japan*  
(Part one of two)  

George H. Kakiuchi  
Department of Geography, University of Washington  

Ichiro Kikuchi  
Department of Geography, Nara University of Education  

Early interest in the kaito phenomenon in Japan developed as a result of efforts of some scholars, namely geographers and historians, to explain the origin and form of the compact, rectangular, moat-surrounded kaito settlements in the Yamato (Nara) basin (Fig. 1). However, later studies have revealed the term kaito has been applied to many other and varied settlement phenomena. It is thought that they somehow developed over time from a common origin, essentially a plot of land set apart for reclamation.1 Evidently, the origin of the kaito was related to the opening up of new lands for cultivation and settlement.  

The most common Chinese characters used for the term kaito have been translated as “inside the fence,” but very few remnants of ancient “fences” or even documentary evidence remain today to indicate there were enclosures, in the strict sense, of any kind. The best which can be said for it is that the plot of land was differentiated from other types of land units, and perhaps was marked off in some way.  

Studies on the kaito phenomenon are far from adequate and much more research must be done on their areal extent, morphological framework, and on their socio-economic characteristics and significance. While further information can be obtained from historical records and documents, field work must be carried out in the near future future for the kaito phenomena are largely relics of the past and are fast disappearing. The continuing amalgamation of smaller administrative units into larger ones has caused and is causing the kaito place names to disappear, especially as the kaito as place names are invariably associated with the smallest of the settlement units.  

Past Studies on the Kaito  

Studies on the kaito phenomenon evidently began with a pamphlet written by Ogawa Takuji entitled Kinki chihô no tochi to jûmin (The People and Land of the Kinki Region) in 1914. It was in this pamphlet the name kaito was first
applied to the small moat-surrounded settlements in the Nara basin. Subsequently several articles were published, which revealed the kaito existed not only as hamlets but also in many other forms and in other areas. For example, Moriguchi Seiichi in 1916 pointed out that in the eastern part of Arita-gun in Wakayama prefecture, the kaito was the name of settlement units smaller than an 6aza (大字) but did not necessarily coincide with the next recognized lower unit, the koaza (小字). In some cases they were even smaller than the koaza. In other instances they referred to a single house as yagō (家号) (house name), such as Chaya-kaito (茶屋隠内) and Ō-gaito (大垣内).

In 1917, Yanagida Kunio did a study on the three former provinces of Echizen (present Fukui prefecture), Noto and Kaga (both are in Ishikawa prefecture). This study revealed that in Kaga the small buraku (部落) established as branch settlements from older settlements, were sometimes called kaito. Near Tsuruga in Echizen, the communally-owned

---

Figure 1

Source: Tōchi to Ningen, Volume 1
forests were referred to as kaito-yama (墟内山) (kaito “mountain”). In addition, the term kaito appeared as part of names for very small units of land. In 1918, Nakayama Taro introduced the idea that the kaito originated in some way related not only to the opening up of new lands for cultivation, but that the persons who established the kaito received special privileges. This notion was based on information from his studies of records written during the Middle Ages (1192-1600), such as the Koya-san monjo and the Iwashimizu-monjo.

After 1918, for some reason, research on the kaito came to a temporary halt, and it was not until 1926 before other studies appeared. In that year Ogawa Takuji discussed the moat-surrounded kaito settlements of the Nara basin as part of his study on the classification of Japanese village types. In the following year, Fujita Motoharu, writing on the history of houses in Japan, stated that during Ancient period (6th century to 1192), the site of a residence or mansion was called kaito. Four years later (1931), Makino Shinnosuke tried to relate the rectangular shape of the moat-surrounded settlements of the Kinai (畿内) area to the jōri (条理) system of land division, which divided the land into rectangular plots oriented to the cardinal points of the compass. He too believed the kaito came into existence in some way related to the reclamation of new lands for agricultural purposes. In the same year Robert B. Hall came out with his study on the rural settlement forms in Japan, in which a section was devoted to the kaito settlements of the Nara basin. The following year Muramatsu Shigeki stated that in the Manyōshū (万葉集), written in the 8th century, the original kaito referred only to a unit of land set apart by some kind of boundary markers, and the kaito as a settlement form evolved much later during the Middle Ages.

After a period of time when attention was focused on the kaito settlements of the Nara basin, Masuda Tadao once again brought the study into a broader context. He wrote that although kaito place names and terms are most numerous in the Kinki district, many were found to be found in the Kanto, Chugoku, and Shikoku districts (Fig. 1). One of the things he brought out was that although the general distribution of kaito place names coincided with the distribution of the jōri system (Fig. 2), there are many located along the foot of mountains and in the mountain valleys where the system had not been put into effect. In 1936, Yonekura Jirō came to similar conclusions. After the publication of a book, Yamato no kaito (大和の墟内), by Nomura Denshi in 1937, studies on the kaito again stagnated. His main theme was that moats surrounding the settlements were principally built for defense of the communities. This explanation contrasted with those which claimed the moats came into existence as by-products of community efforts to raise the site of the settlements by taking dirt from the immediate environs of the settlements or with those which claimed the moats were dug for drainage and irrigation. There is some logic to all these explanations for indeed the Middle Ages was a period of civil strife, and many of the moat-surrounded kaito settlements are found in the lowest-lying areas of the Nara basin (Fig. 3) where, although the land was low-lying and wet at times,
the area was also susceptible to droughts during the summer months.

With the end of World War II, studies on the kaito continued once again. Yanagida Kunio, a specialist on Japanese folklore, was to provide much of the encouragement and leadership. Many articles appeared in the Minkan denshō (Folklore) and Nihon minzoku-gaku (Folklore of Japan). Another who did much work on the kaito is Naoye Hiroji. Other significant general studies have been done by Isshi Shigeki and Chiba Tokuji.

The studies relating to the kaito phenomenon began essentially with the study of it as a type of settlement in the Nara basin, but it has become clear that the name is applied to various phenomena which are found distributed over much of Japan. Actually it seems the various kaito phenomena remain as relics of the past, with perhaps the various relics...
representing certain stages in the evolutionary path from a simple plot of land to the settlement form.

In the study of the distribution of the kaito, one of the complicating factors is that apparently there are many different readings and different characters used for the term kaito, depending upon the region or dialect. Although the most common term is kaito, a few of the other more common regional terms are kakuchi, kaichi, köchi, kaitsu, ke'to, and kaido.24 Other less common ones are kakiuchi, kakeuchi, and kakinai.25 Although the most common characters used for kaito are 塚内, others which have been used for the aforementioned readings are 堂戸, 部戸, 貝戸, 竹戸, 関戸, 塚宮, 塚分, and 塚外. One of the necessary tasks for the future will be to clearly ascertain if all of these terms are related to the same phenomenon.

The Various Types and Distribution of the Kaito

Statistical figures for establishing the extent and density of the kaito phenomena in Japan are, at the present, hard to find. One study, however, found 200 place names on maps of 1:50,000 scale.26 Local records of cities, towns and villages have revealed more kaito names for small areal units as the aza (字) and even the koaza. Also kaito and related terms have been discovered as names of privately owned paddy fields, dry-field croplands, waste-lands (genya) (原野) and mountain forests (sanrin) (山林), which do not appear on official records. In some instances they are found as names of individual houses (yago), residential grounds (yashiki-chi) (屋敷地) or even parts of the residential grounds. Finally, the term even refers to certain small socio-economic groupings.27 Thus it can readily be seen that the kaito phenomenon is not an easy one to unravel.

However, the present distribution of the kaito seems to generally coincide with and are most numerous in areas settled and developed comparatively early in Japanese history. The highest density is found in the present Kinki district, especially in the old provinces.
of Yamato (大和) (Nara prefecture), Kii (紀伊) (Wakayama and adjoining parts of Mie prefecture), Kawachi (河内) (Osaka prefecture), and Settsu (押津) (parts of Osaka and Hyogo prefectures). Outside of the Kinki district they are also relatively numerous in the former provinces of Musashi (武蔵) (Tokyo, Saitama and a part of Kanagawa prefectures) in the Kanto district; Echigo (越後) (Niigata prefecture) in the Hokuriku district; and in the former provinces of Owari (尾張) (Aichi prefecture) and Ise (伊勢) (Mie prefecture) in the Chubu district. In these areas three or four to twenty or thirty kaito place names can be found in each gun. The outlying areas, such as northeastern Honshu, southwestern Shikoku, and southern Kyushu, which were settled relatively late or are located away from the central districts of Japan, have very few or no kaito names. In Hokkaido, which was effectively settled only since the Meiji Restoration (1868), the term is totally absent.

Kinki District

As previously mentioned, kaito names are most numerous in the Kinki district, and within this district they are to be found in the greatest number and variety in Nara and Wakayama prefectures. All evidence seems to indicate the kaito found its origin in Nara prefecture and expanded outwards to other parts of the nation.

Until relatively recent times, the term kaito was commonly associated with small settlement units of about 40 to 50 houses and in some cases as few as 10 houses. It is equivalent to the oaza or koaza of today. However, historical records indicate many of the existing kaito settlements had once been divided into still smaller settlement units. Thus the consensus of opinion is that the kaito, as a settlement unit, was indeed originally very small.

There are many small kaito settlements in the Nara basin and vicinity which can still be identified. A few have retained their moats but most of them have been filled in. Ōaza Ideno (井戸野) of Heiwa-mura (平和村) in Soekami-gun (添上郡) is comprised of four separate kaito buraku: Kita-kaito (北垣内), Uchi-kaito (内垣内), Naka-kaito (中垣内), and Chaya-kaito (茶屋垣内). Similarly Ōaza Tomondo (伴堂) (Fig. 4) of Miyake-mura (三宅村) in Shiki-gun (篠城郡) is divided into five separate units:
Minami-kaito (南堰内), Naka-kaito (中堰内), Tsujiai-kaito (辻合堰内), Kita-kaito (北堰内), and Anyōji (安養寺). Although the forms of these settlement are relics of the past and have little meaning today, the communities associated with the kaito settlement still function as basic socio-economic units of mutual aid. In this respect, these kaito units are similar to the small communities in other areas called kumi (組) or tsubo (坪). In the attempts at classification of the kaito phenomena, the type which refers to settlements or communities has been called buraku-kaito (部落堰内).

However, many other kinds of kaito are found in Nara prefecture. One of these is a type which is similar to the aforementioned but is composed of only a very few houses. Such examples were found in Oaza Wakatsuki of Heiwa-mura in Ōe-ku. Here the oaza is composed of four kaito: Shōya-kaito (庄屋堰内) (five households), Minami-kaito (南堰内) (two households), Ō-gaito (two households), and Shima-kaito (島堰内) (six house-holds). This type can be classified as rinpo-kaito (隣保堰内) (neighborhood kaito).

Still another type is the kojin-kaito (個人堰内) (private kaito), which is a small areal unit composed of the dwellings of a single household, its cultivated lands and usually some forestland or wasteland. Such cases have been found in the records dealing with the history of Uchi-gun (宇智郡) where many kaito place names are preceded by peoples’ names. Fourteen such place names were found in Oaza Oka (岡) of Uchi-mura (宇智村), such as Yasuke-kaito (弥助堰内), Yoichi-kaito (与一堰内), and Sawayuemon-kaito (沢右衛門堰内). There is very little doubt that these were kojin-kaito. Other kojin-kaito had names of occupations as prefixes. It is thought these lands received special privileges, such as exemption from taxation.

Some kaito are hard to classify, such as the kaito-yama (kaito “mountain”). This term is apparently used in two ways — one refers to slightly elevated places within a settlement and the other refers to communally owned forestlands of a buraku. Another type which is hard to classify is the case where a single house has a kaito name. For convenience sake this might be called yagō-kaito (horse-name kaito). Examples have been found in Aza Hiratani (平谷) of Totsukawa-mura (十津川村) in Yoshino-gun (吉野郡), located in the mountainous southern part of Nara prefecture. The settlement is divided into two parts, with the main part located on the west and was formerly called Kaito-mura. In the center of this buraku is a house which is still called Naka-kaito. The settlement on the east also had a house called Naka-kaito at the center. Again in Oaza Tani-kaito (谷堰内), a settlement of some 20 households, the house which occupies the highest point on the hill is called Kami-kaito (上堰内). In many cases these houses belong to the earliest settler’s household and are located in the central or some strategic location in the settlement. Also in Totsukawa, the dry-field cropland in front of the farmer’s house in called kaito-no-hata (堰内の畑) (dry-field cropland of the kaito) and is valued highly. This is probably the same as the national phenomenon where the farmers highly value the paddy fields in front of their houses, calling them maeda (前田) (front paddy field) or kadota (門田) (gate paddy field).

As mentioned, Wakayama prefecture is another area where the kaito phenomenon is
somewhat common and many different types are found. An example of the buraku-kaito is Aza Kuri-kaito (栗処內) of Yo-mura (四村) in Higashi Muro-gun (東牟娄郡). The settlement is comprised of about forty households and has remained about the same size and character since early Meiji period (1868-1911). The aza was originally a mura called Kuri-kaito.37

However, compared to Nara prefecture, there are less buraku-kaito and more rinpo-kaito and kojin-kaito in Wakayama. In Nishi Muro-gun (西牟娄郡), there is an area between Tomisato-mura (富里村) and Chikano-mura (近野村), which is isolated by a river in the front, forest-covered mountains in the back, and ridges at the sides. Within this isolated area are found areal units which include paddy fields, dry-field croplands, forestlands, and dwellings. Generally, the individual units are called kaito. In certain units, the kaito includes more than one house [rinpo- or dozoku-kaito (閭族內)], but in most cases only one house is present (kojin-kaito).38 In the local records of Hyaku-kaito (百両内) of Ningimura (仁義村) in Kaiso-gun (海草郡), appearing in the Kii zoku-fudoki (紀伊続風土記), a description of the mura tells how each householder established his house and plots of land for cultivation by terracing the slopes. From the description, it is evident the kaito included both residential and cultivated lands. Oftentimes, the name of the original cultivator was attached as a prefix.39 These units, perhaps, may be very close to the original form of the kojin-kaito. Many such kaito are found in the isolated valleys of the Kumano (熊野) mountain areas in Wakayama prefecture.

Buraku-kaito are also found in Mie prefecture located in the eastern part of the Kinki district. In Kōchi-mura (河内村) of Anō-gun (安濃郡); there are nine such buraku scattered along a river within a distance of about five miles. These are Umegabata (梅ヶ畑) (sixteen households), Takaranami (宝並) (twenty-nine households), Tsuetate (枝立) (ten households), Shimo-kaito (下内) (twenty-four households), Ochiai (落合) (twelve households), Kitabata (北畑) (thirteen households), Minami-kaito (南内) (sixteen households), Rokuroya (六呂屋) (nineteen households), and Oboegano (覚根野) (ten households). Each of these former kaito settlements still retain their communal activities, such as New Year and shrine festivals.40 In the Ichishi-gun (一志) area, the basic socio-economic units at the koaza level commonly compose a kaito, and people are referred to as belonging to this or that kaito.41

Shiga prefecture, too, evidently has many different forms and usages of kaito. In the Kosai (湖西) area, there exist not only kaito buraku place names, and kojin-kaito, but the term is widely used as a common noun. For example, the term is commonly used to refer to a branch house (bunke) as kaito-suji (垣内筋) (kaito “line”), a paddy field near a house as a kaito-da (垣内田) (kaito paddy field), or it may be used to refer to a narrow path passing through a paddy nursery bed as kaito-michi (垣内道) (kaito path).42 In Kidomura (木戸村) of Shiga-gun (滋賀郡), there is a “fire” festival (hi-matsuri) (火祭) held three or four times a year by the Atago (愛宕) and Akiba (秋葉) shrines, and the festivals are locally called kaito-nori (垣内縁り). This term probably implies the festivals are held to honor certain Shinto deities of the kaito buraku.43 As a counterpart to the kaito-da of
the Kosai area, in the area of southern Takashima-gun (高島郡) the dry-field croplands are often called *kaito-batake* (垣内地). In general the *kaito* names and usages are more numerous along the foothills than in the level areas.

Many types of *kaito* are also found in the western areas of the Kinki district. In Sennan-gun (泉南郡), located in the southern part of Osaka prefecture, the small mutual-aid units within a *buraku* are sometimes called *kaito*. For example, in Ōaza Sobara (大原) of former Nishi Katsuragi-mura (西葛城村), the ōaza is divided into seven such *Kaito* units. Of the seven, four have people's names attached to them, such as Genzaemon-*kaito* (源左衛門) and Shōbei-*kaito* (庄兵衛). Thus it is presumed these originated as *kojin-kaito*. In addition, one of them, Nakanoya-*kaito* (中ノ谷), the Shinto deity of the pioneer household (*kusawake no ie*) (草分の家) is prayed to as the deity of the community. Also in the same area, there are *kaito* paddy fields and forestlands associated with the *kaito* settlement.

Although in many of the larger urban places the *kaito* phenomena are fast disappearing, traces can still be found. In Suita (住田) city, located northwest of Osaka, the former Nishi Oku-machi (西奥町) is divided into three *kaito*, and at times of disaster or distress, members of the old *kaito* community still aid each other. Also traces are found on the plains of south Kawachi, where there are many places referred to as *kaito land* (*kaito-chi*) (垣内地) within and on the outskirts of certain *buraku*. It is believed they were formerly *yashiki* and once had dwellings on them. In the area of Izumi Ikeda (和泉池田), it is said the open spaces within the *yashiki* are sometimes called *kaito*. These can be looked upon as remnants of former *kojin-kaito*.

Moving northwards into mountainous Toyono-gun (豊能郡), the term used is *kaichi* and refers to certain paddy fields and dry-field croplands near the houses of the farmers. Such cases have been identified in Tenshu (天主) of Nishi Nose-mura (西能勢村). Then, too, in the same area, units composed of croplands, forestlands and the *yashiki* are also called *kaichi*. In adjacent mountainous Tanba (丹波) and Tango (丹後) regions of northern Kyoto prefecture, the same term is generally applied to communal groups at the *koaza* level, and such activities as road repair, shrine services, and certain agricultural works are performed cooperatively. Examples of these have been found in Shitsumi-mura (賀美村) in Funai-gun (船井郡) and Kawai-mura (川合村) in Amada-gun (天田郡) and in Toyosatomura (豊里村) of Ikaruga-gun (伊鹿郡). Another type of *kaito*, similar to the *buraku- and rinpo-kaito*, found in Funai-gun might be called *dōzoku-kaito* (consanguinal), as it comprised of a number of households related to each other. Koaza Kakiuchi of Hinokiyama-mura (桧山村) is such a *kaito* and is said to have been established by the descendents of the Genji (源氏) family. The use of the term *kaichi* continues westwards into areas of Hyogo prefecture, the westernmost part of the Kinki district. For example Aza Tobori (砥堀) of Tobori (砥堀) in Himeji (姫路) city is composed of about 65 households and is divided into the three *kaichi* of Kami-, Naka-, and Shimo-kaichi. Here each *kaichi* selects three households by lottery every year, and these three are called *kaimoto*. The three
in turn select one household which will be responsible for the Saino-kami (Saino deity) festival. The same general situation applies to the four kaichi in Aza Sozaka (豊田町) of Toyotomi-mura (豊田村) in Kanzaki-gun (神崎郡) located just to the north of Himeji city, where each group selects a leader to be responsible for the festivals of the Shinji (新井) Shrine. Such local groupings are also observed further to the northeast in Hikami-gun (氷上郡), such as in Todaira (25 households) which is divided today into three kaichi and still maintains some of the old socio-economic functions.

Examples of dozoku-kaito have also been found in Hyogo prefecture. For instance, in Shimo-Ushio (下牛窪) of Seka-mura (続いて村) in Kanzaki-gun, there is an aza called Kitakaito which is made up of the Moriguchi family. Again in Ikawatani (伊川谷) of Kobe city, the cultivated lands and the dwellings belonging to the eight households of the Shibuya (渋谷) family are collectively referred to as the Shibuya-gaichi. These are kaito buraku which very likely came into existence when branch families (bunke) were established from the head house (honke) (本家).

Other forms appear in the northern half of Hyogo prefecture. The privately owned dry-field croplands around the yashiki are called kaichi in Oku Yatsushiro (奥八代) of Naka-gawa-mura (中川村) in Asago-gun (朝来郡) and the local people say "that kaichi is small or that kaichi is large". Similar situations are also found in Yabu- (八幡) and Taki-gun (多紀郡). In addition, the dry-field plots within the yashiki proper may be called kaichi.

**Chubu District**

The kaito phenomenon seems to have been relatively widespread in the Chubu district (Fig. 1), and various types have been identified. One study found about 500 aza names with kaito or kaitsu attached to them in Aichi prefecture. In terms of distribution, they were most numerous in isolated mountain areas such as in the gun of Higashi-kamo (東加茂), Minami-Shidara (南隠裏), and Kita-Shidara (北隠裏). In contrast, they were the least numerous in the coastal areas such as in the seaside gun of Hazu (播州), Atsumi (大洗), and Hekikai (豊海). The report dealt mainly with place names, so that the actual conditions could not be ascertained, but it might be surmised that such place names as Tōzakaito (東左田), Heishichi-kaito (平七里田), Dengorō-kaito (伝五郎田), and Jūrō-kaito (十郎田) originated as kojin-kaito, whereas such names as Konya-kaito (染屋田), Kajiya-kaito (鎌倉田), Sakaya-kaito (酒屋田), and Bō-kaito (坊塚) originated in association with persons having special skills or occupations (konya is a dyer, kajiya is a blacksmith, sakaya is a rice-wine brewer, and bō is a Buddhist priest). These names attached to the term kaito according to occupations seem to be quite common in areas where the kaito phenomenon is to be found. In addition there were such place names as Kaito-da (関戸田) and Kaido-da (た or だ means paddy fields).

One of the more well-known areas for the existence of a variety of kaito names and
usages outside the Kinki district is Mikkabi-cho (三ケ日町) (on the northwest side of Lake Hamana) of Inasa-gun (伊那郡) in Shizuoka prefecture. Here the kōjin-kaito composed of dry-field croplands, yashiki, mountain forests and wastelands are called kaito, kaido, or kaititsu. There are also koaza place names such as Kaito-da or Kaitsu-da, which have no dwellings on them. Then, too, in the area around Lake Hamana, the term kaido or kaido-guchi is used to refer to the garden in front of the residence. An example of the yagō-kaito is found in Iwaiji (岩井寺) of Kami Uchida-mura (上内田村) in Ogasa-gun, (小笠郡) where the old house of the Morishita (森下) family is named Oku-kaito. In Misakubo-cho (水窪町) of Shūchi-gun (周智郡) (northern mountainous part of western Shizuoka prefecture), the ordinary dry-field cropland is called kaito, and many of them probably originated as kōjin-kaito as people’s names are attached.

In Moribe (森部), Namori-mura (名森村) of Anpachi-gun (安八郡) in Gifu prefecture, located in the western part of the Nobi plain, the seven kumi (組) of Moribe are called kaito by the older people. Similarly, although each of the nine ōaza of Maki-mura (牧村) form a kumi, the smaller socio-economic units (five or six households) within each ōaza are called kaito. The people of the mountainous region in western Gifu prefecture call the families with the same name kaito, such as in Azu Sumita (住塚) of Yōrō-gun (養老郡). Four kaito place names were discovered in Aza Kakenowaki (欠ノ割) of Tara-mura (多良村) in the same gun, and the size of each of these units ranged from five tan (反) (1 tan = 0.245 acre) to ten tan of cultivated land but had no dwellings. These cases indicate the kaito, both in respect to unit areas of land and to socio-economic groupings, indeed are very small. Many kaito place names for very small unit areas are distributed also along the Hida (飛騨) mountains. However, in Tokuyama-mura (丹波村) in Ibi-gun (揖斐郡), the area within one ri (里) (2.4 miles) radius of a village is referred to as kaito and the area "beyond that as okuyama (奧山) ("deep mountain"). Then, too, there are instances where a group of paddy fields using irrigation water from the same source or outlet is called hito-kaito.

Studies on the kaito in Nagano prefecture have shown that all of the more common types are to be found. Apart from the more common ones, in some areas the cultivated plots adjacent to the yashiki are referred to as keido-bata. In Shimadachi-mura (神田町) of Higashi Chikuma-gun (東筑摩郡) a case has been discovered where the graveyard in a corner of the yashiki is called kaito. Occasionally, as on the river terraces between Ueda (上田) city and Chisagata-gun (小鹿谷郡), groupings of dry-field croplands are called kaito. Reports also indicate the existence of yagō-kaito in Yotoku (四徳) of Minakata-mura (南向村) in Kami Ina-gun (上伊那郡). In the Lake Suwa (諏訪) area, where the kaito is relatively numerous, examples of kaito associated with certain shrines are found. Such an example is the Miya-kaito (宮前内) belonging to the Chigazu (千歳) Shrine. Although the survey of kaito phenomenon in Yamanashi prefecture is far from extensive, there is evidence that they exist, especially in the mountainous areas. A study was made of Narada (奈良田) and Shimo Yushima (下湯島) of Nishiyama-mura (西山村) and Ara-
Origin, Distribution and Role of the Kaito Phenomenon in the Settlement of Japan (Kakiuchi, Kikuchi)

In Minami Koma-gun, Misato-mura, the term kaito or kyōto is applied to some of the dry-field croplands. The terms are not applied to the kirikae-batake or to groupings of paddy fields. Although examples of yago have been found, such as Shimo-gaito in Shimo Yushima, as yet no evidence has been found where parts of the yashiki are called kaito.

Originally it is said the people of Narada and Yushima derived their livelihood mainly from working in the forests of the surrounding mountains, but today agriculture has become more important and its foundation is the kaito units. Some of these have proper names and are about the size of koaza. In general, however, the term is used as a common noun and applied to dry-field croplands, and in this respect it is similar to the situation in Misakubo of Shizuoka and along the foothills of the Akagi mountains.

Hokuriku District

One of the things noticeable as the distance from the Nara basin increases is that the terms equivalent to kaito undergo significant changes. In some cases the pronunciation is closer to what is believed to be the original readings—kakitsu or kakiuchi. This change is observable for the Hokuriku District (Fig. 1).

However, for Fukui prefecture, still relatively close to the Nara basin, the most common term used is kaichi and refers to certain small socio-economic groupings, the buraku, and plots of dry-field croplands. In respect to the socio-economic groupings, generally a single kaichi is made up of persons related to each other, or in other words, dozoku-kaito. The term kaitsu is also used and refers to ordinary dry-field croplands.

Terms equivalent to kaito do differ somewhat in Ishikawa prefecture, but evidence clearly indicates they are closely related. For instance, Aza Shoshihara of Shio-machi in Hakui-gun is made up of about 80 households and is separated into five separate units. Each is called kakinai (the common characters used for kaito could be read kakinai) and forms a mutual-aid group. In Aza Hara of the same machi, the term kakunai is used to mean the same phenomenon, whereas in Kashima-gun the koaza forms a kakuchi. But the usage of the terms is varied, even in such a small region as the Noto peninsula. In the more remote parts of the peninsula, kakuchi is used to mean a small buraku, but it is also used for units composed of mountainlands, paddy fields, and dry-field croplands. Many, again, have people's names attached to them. A note of interest is that in certain instances, the term myō is used instead of kakuchi to mean the same phenomenon, so apparently the two are used interchangeably. It is also reported in Ishikawa prefecture that kakuchi is used as a common noun for settlements established from an older village, or branch settlement, although it may not be applied to the older settlement itself.

In the isolated mountainous regions of Toyama prefecture, the term kakinai is commonly used and has the same general meaning as in Ishikawa prefecture, especially in the
areas close to Noto peninsula. Both in Ishikawa and Toyama prefectures the kaito branch settlements are very small and below the level of the mura.

Kakuchi is applied to large yashiki or in some cases to parts of the yashiki in the general area extending from Akita to Yamagata prefectures and in the Iwafune area of Niigata prefecture. For example, the back gate or backyard is called kakuchi in Hachiman-mura (八幡村) of Iwafune-gun. Perhaps related to this, the bunke established at the back of the honke is referred to as kakuchi. Also place names with kagechi and house names with kaguchi attached to them are known to exist in some relatively remote regions of Yamagata prefecture.

Kanto District

Kaito as place names are distributed over the whole of Musashi (武蔵) and Sagami (相模) areas in the Kanto district, but, as yet, not much is known of their character. Commonly the term is found as place names for small units of land. Also many of the place names with endings such as gayatsu or gayato are thought to be related to the kaito due to their similarity in form and use.

In Tsukui-gun (津井郡) of Kanagawa prefecture, kaito is used for the small buraku, and it is also used as place names for the kojin-kaito. Gêto and gaito appear as part of yagô, such as in Chigira-mura (千倉村) where eight old houses are either called kami-gêto or shimo-gêto (the characters used for gêto are the same as those commonly used for kaito).

Although very few studies on the kaito have appeared for Saitama prefecture, it is known that in Kurao-mura (倉尾村) of Chichibu-gun (秩父郡), the buraku is generally called kochi. However, several types of kaito have been found in Gunma prefecture. They are, again, more numerous in the mountainous areas, especially along the foothills of the previously mentioned Akagi mountains. Buraku-kaito are found, but many more are koaza place names and are located on the terraces and tablelands. For example, in Hagamura (芳賀村) of Seta-gun (勢多郡), at the foot of Akagi mountain, paddy fields surrounded by hills or streams are called kaito, and in contrast, the slightly elevated mulberry plots surrounded by paddy fields are called kaito in Miyagô-mura (宮郷村) of Sawa-gun (佐波郡). Then there are cases where an incompletely cleared land in the mountains with no cultivated land or dwelling is so called. Although the most common term used in Gunma prefecture is kaito or kaido, others such as kêto or gêto are also found. In the 15th century, records indicate the term used was kakiuchi or kakinai, which, as mentioned earlier, is closer to the standard reading for the characters used for kaito. In general the kaito of Gunma prefecture refers to small units of land. The phenomenon seem to be lacking in Chiba prefecture, but future studies may prove otherwise.

Tohoku District
As stated previously, the kaito phenomena become less common as the distance increases from the Kinki district. More research will be necessary, but the consensus seems to be that although the kaito are known in the southern areas of Tohoku, they are few in the more northern parts. The most common term used is kakuchi, and it ordinarily refers to the back part of the yashiki. It is thought that once in the past, the term was applied to the whole of the yashiki (the residence, attached buildings and grounds). This notion is reinforced by the fact that in Shiriuchi (足内), near the city of Hachinoe (八戸) in Aomori prefecture, the whole of the yashiki is still called kakuchi. In Miyagi prefecture, kakinouchi and kaichi are place names and are found mainly in the foothills. Similarly in Aomori prefecture, certain koaza names have been discovered with kakuchi attached to them, and it is reported there are kakuchi-yama (kakuchi mountain [forest]).

Chugoku District

Turning now to the southwestern end of Honshu, kaito place names and terms seem to be distributed throughout the Chugoku district (Fig. 1). However, they do not seem to be especially conspicuous on the Inland Sea side, and no report is available on Okayama prefecture.

Kaito mutual-aid association in one of the more common types found in the Chugoku district. An oaza named Naka-kaito of Aoya-mura (粟屋村) in mountainous Takata-gun (高田郡) (Hiroshima prefecture) contains 28 households and is divided into three small mutual-aid associations. (In one of these, Kami Association, the oldest house of the group has the yago of Kami Naka-gaichi). Historical evidences show these associations have existed a long time. For example, the records for Suō-Ōshima (周防大島) written in the Tempo (天保) period (1830–43), have the term kaichi, and it referred to a group of farm households organized for mutual aid. The main purpose of the group was evidently to help each other in conducting funerals.

The kakeuchi found in parts of Yamaguchi prefecture also refers to very small socio-economic organizations within the hierarchy of the buraku structure. The kakeuchi is comprised of about half the members of a ko, which is similar to the kumi found elsewhere. The members are said to be very closely associated with each other and may make decisions on very personal family matters. The term kawachi is used also, but it is largely used for the designation of certain areal units, such as for a yashiki-chi or for a grouping of three houses adjoining each other.

As mentioned previously, apparently the kaito phenomena are more prevalent on the Japan Sea side of the Chugoku district. There is an oza in Midahara (見田原) of Otsutachi-mura (乙立村) in Hinokawa-gun (磐田郡) (Shimane prefecture), which is divided into the three kaito of Kaichi, Ushiro-kaichi (後婦内), and Soto-kaichi (外婦内). Within the buraku of Kaichi, there are two houses with the yago of Kaichi and Nishi-kaichi (西婦内).
There are also many yagō-kaito in other other nearby settlements. In Yatsuka-gun, kakinouchi is used for dōzoku-kaito settlements. Another variation of the term kaito is gachi. It too refers to the smallest of settlement units. For example, Ōza Takimoto of Nichihara-machi in Kanoashi-gun is split into the three gachi of Kami-, Naka-, and Shimo-gachi. Furthermore, Kami-gachi is split into still smaller units of Ide-gachi and Kobayashi-gachi. The formation of these two seems to have different origins, because the former is comprised of a group which draws irrigation water from the same source, whereas the latter is centered around the old family of Kobayashi.

**Shikoku District**

At the present time, information on the kaito of the Shikoku district is very sparse. However, a few koaza names have been identified in Kochi prefecture. The names appearing in Kami-gun (香美郡) are Kakiuchi, Kakigauchi, and Kakinouchi. Often these are no more than names of paddy fields and dry-field croplands of about 2.4 acres. In certain cases, for still unknown reasons, the name has been applied to some Tokushu-buraku ("special" buraku). Similar cases have been found in Yamaguchi prefecture. In Tosa-gun, the term gachi appears again, such as Ō-gachi (大内), Ike-gachi (池内), and Oya-gachi (御河内) of Kagami-mura (鏡村), and refers to small buraku. It is to be noted, although the characters used for gachi differs today, records show that during the Tenshō period (1573-91), they were the same as the most common characters used today for kaito (垣内). Also, in Kochi prefecture there are many shrines named Kawachi Jinja (内神社). Most of them are local community shrines for the buraku, and they seem to have no single or special deity (kami) common to all. The locations of these shrines coincide with the general distribution of kaito place names. The assumption is that each the Kawachi shrines house the kami for the particular kaito community. The location of these shrines may provide clues to the original distribution of the kaito settlements.

**Kyushu District**

Just as the kaito phenomenon faded out in the Tohoku district, in Kyushu terms and place names which could be related to the kaito are found only in the northern areas such as Nagasaki and Fukuoka prefectures. In the western part of Nagasaki prefecture, there are some villages surrounded by some kind of enclosures and are called kakinouchi or kakiuchi. Again, it might be noted how close the terms are to the original or the common reading of the characters for the kaito. In Minami-kawachi of former Kayase-mura in Omura-shi there are six very old households surrounded by a high stone wall. Within the enclosure are also cultivated fields and a cemetery. The
households are all related to each other and are descendants of the Yamaguchi family, who were the first settlers. The same kind of phenomenon is seen in Yukinoura of Nishi Sonoki-gun and on Kuga Island of the Gotō archipelago of Nagasaki prefecture.

There are no reports of kaito words or their reasonable facsimile from the southern half of Kyushu. Instead, such terms as kado, kadouchi, and kakura are found and are very similar to the kaito in meaning.

From the foregoing discussion it has become clear that the term kaito is applied to many, but perhaps related, phenomena. However, generally they can be classified into the following eight types:

1. Local association of some kind (chiiki ketsugo).
2. Communally owned mountain forestland of a buraku (kyōyū sanrin).
3. Consanguinal group (dōzoku shūdan).
4. Estate (yashiki) or a portion of the residential grounds (yashiki-chi).
5. Plot of cultivated land.
6. Name of a house (yagō).
7. Plot of wasteland (genya).
8. Place or settlement (chiiki-mei), usually at the aza level.

It is presumed that initially the kaito could not have been as diverse in their character and type. Thus one of the basic problems is to find out how and in what way they became differentiated.

(to be continued)

Footnotes

* Deep appreciation is extended to Professor Naoye Hiroji of Tokyo Kyoiku University for his generous help and advice in researching for this paper.
3 A gun (郡) is similar to the county in the United States, but today in has no official administrative status. All place names in this paper are standardized according to the listing in the Gun-shi-chō-son-mei binran (Manual of County, City, Town and Village Names) of 1948, published by the chiri chōsa-jo (Geographical Survey Institute) of Tokyo.
4 The aza is the areal unit below the mura level. Below the aza is the koaza. Both of these had official administrative status during the Meiji period, but today neither are official entities. However, they still have considerable cultural significance and economic importance in that such things as irrigation facilities and property classification are organized along these units.
5 Moriguchi Seiichi, "Kaito no kigen ni tsuite no utagai (Kaito's origin and its representation)"
A buraku refers to a small grouping of households below the ôaza level and has no official status. It has been defined as a hamlet but has more of a connotation of a small community.

6 A buraku refers to a small grouping of households below the ôaza level and has no official status. It has been defined as a hamlet but has more of a connotation of a small community.

7 The Köya-san monjo (高野山文書) (794-1603) were records kept by the numerous Buddhist temples on Köya mountain in the present prefecture of Wakayama. These records have been collected together and published by the Institute for Compiling Historical Records (Shiryô Hensanjo) of Tokyo University as part of the Dai Nihon komonjo (大日本古文書) (Ancient Manuscripts of Greater Japan). The Iwashimizu-monjo (石清水文書) were records kept by the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine located to the south of Kyoto about the same time. Nakayama Tarô (中山太郎), "Kaito-kô (垣内考) (Some Thoughts on the Kaito)," Rekishi chiri (歴史地理) (Historical Geography), XXXII, No. 1 (July 1918), pp. 14-24.


10 The jori (条理) system was a cultural import which was introduced into Japan from China before or during the 7th century A. D. Watanabe Hisao (渡辺久雄), "Jori Land Division System, abstract, Chirigaku hyoron (地理学論議) (Geographical Review), XXXIV (Dec. 1961), pp. 18-19.


13 Muramatsu Shigeki (村松繁樹), "Kaito-shiki sonraku ni tsuite (垣内式村落について) (On the Kaito-style Settlements)," Chiri kyoiku (地理教育) (Geographical Education), XVI, No. 6 (Sept. 1932).

14 Masuda Tadao (増田忠雄), "Kaito no chimei-teki kōsatsu (垣内地名的考察) (Study of the Kaito from the Viewpoint of Place Names)" Chiri kyoiku, XVIII, No. 6 (Sept. 1933), pp. 27-33.

15 Yonekura Jirô (米倉二郎), "Chûsei sonraku no yōsô (中世村落の様相) (An Aspect of the Settlements of the Middle Ages)" Chiri ronso (地理論叢) (Collection of Treatises on Geography), VIII (1936).

16 Nomura Denshi (野村登輝), Yamato no kaito (大和の垣内) (Kaito of Yamato) (Tanbaichi (丹波市), Nara prefecture: Tenri jihôsha-ban, 1943), pp. 121-62.

17 Yanagida Kunio (山田国雄), "Kaito no hanashi (垣内の話) (Story of the Kaito)," Minkan denshô (民間伝承) (Folklore), XII, Nos. 8 and 9 (combined volume) (August and
18 Naoye, op. cit., I.
23 Masuda, op. cit.
24 Naoye, op. cit., p. 6.
25 Nakayama, op. cit., pp. 11-12.
26 Chiba, op. cit., p. 34.
28 Naoye, op. cit., p. 7; Masuda, op. cit., p. 28.
29 Makino, op. cit., No. 1, pp. 180-202. Most of the moats have disappeared today, and the few remaining ones are usually used as irrigation ponds or for drainage, if used at all.
31 Naoye, op. cit., p. 7.
32 Watanabe Sumio (渡辺澄夫), Kinai shōen no kiso kazo (紀内荘園の基礎構造) (Fundamental Structure of the Kinai Shōen) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1956), pp. 53-80.
33 Nomura, op. cit., pp. 21-22; Yanagida, op. cit., pp. 3-4.
34 Nomura, ibid., pp. 54-55.
36 Chiba, op. cit., p. 31.
41 Ibid.
Origin, Distribution and Role of the Kaito Phenomenon in the Settlement of Japan (Kakiuchi, Kikuchi)

46 Yanagida Kunio, Sanson seikatsu no kenkyū (山村生活の研究) (Studies on the Life in Mountain Villages) (Tokyo: Minkan no denshō no kai, 1937), p. 78.
47 Miyamoto, op. cit., p. 25.
48 Ibid., p. 26; Chiba, op. cit., p. 34.
49 Naoye, “Kaito no kenkyu” op. cit., p. 12.
50 Ibid.
54 Ibid.
55 Nishitani, op. cit., p. 28.
56 Naoye “Kaito no kenkyū,” op. cit., p. 13. Kuramitsu Setsuji (倉光篤), Mikawa no kaito to kaito (三河のカイトとカイツ) (Kaito and Kaitsu of Mikawa), Report Materials (unpublished), Minzoku-gaku kenkyū-sho zō (民俗学研究所収) (Collection of the Institute for Folklore Research). It is also known as the Yanagida Kunio Collection (Library) (柳田國男文庫). The Institute and the Collection are located at Seijo University in Setagaya-ku, Tokyo. A great deal of unpublished reports on kaito phenomenon from throughout Japan is in this Yanagida Kunio Collection.
57 Naoye, op. cit., p. 13.
58 Ibid., p. 9.
59 Chiba, op. cit., p. 32.
64 Yotoku no minzoku (四国民俗) (Folklore of Yotoku) (Tokyo: Tokyo Kyoiku Daigaku minzoku kenkyū-kai, 1957), pp. 2-17, 45-50.
65 Naoye, “Kaito no kenkyū” op. cit., p. 10.
67 A kirikae batake in akin to fire-field agriculture (milpa) in that it is associated with cultivation on slopes in predominantly mountainous and isolated areas. Initially the trees and other vegetation are cut and the newly cleared area is burned off. The plot is then planted to crops for a few years, and as the soil becomes depleted, it is allowed to revert back to forests or grasslands. Sometimes the farmers plant trees after the crops as part of a rotation
system. Some years later the trees are once again cut and crops are put in. The main difference with fire-field agriculture as practiced in the Tropics and elsewhere is that in Japan the land belongs to a farmer, and he plans its use on a permanent basis.

68 Segawa Kiyoko (瀬川清子), Kaison techo (海村手帳) (Notebook on Seaside Villages) (Tokyo: Minkan denshō no kai, 1937), pp. 25, 27, 41, 44, 76.
69 Hashiura Yasuo (橋浦泰雄), Sanson techo (山村手帳) (Notebook on Mountain Villages) (Tokyo: Minkan denshō no kai, 1936), pp. 19, 48, 79.
73 Umehara, op. cit., pp. 31-33.
74 Chiba, op. cit., p. 31.
75 Ibid., p. 32.
76 Naoye, “Kaito no kenkyū,” op. cit., p. 11.
77 Minzoku tanbō (民俗探訪) (Folklore Study) (Tokyo: Kokugakuin Daigaku minzoku kenkyū-kai, 1952), pp. 18-20.
79 Gomi Norio (小見野一), “Chūsei jōshū no kaito (中世上州の垣内) (Kaito of Jōshū during the Middle Ages),” Hida-bito (飛騨の子) (People of Hida), XI, 6 (June 1943), pp. 32-33.
81 Naoye, “Kaito no kenkyū,” op. cit., p. 11.
82 Chiba, “Kaito ni tsuite,” op. cit., p. 31.
84 Ibid.
90 Naoye, “Kaito no kenkyū,” op. cit., p. 14. The term tokushu-buraku has been applied to settlements occupied by people who had been considered outcasts of Japanese society before the Meiji Restoration in 1868. These people, generally referred to as Eta, had to work in occupations which were disliked, such as the slaughtering of animals, handling of the hides, working with leather, etc. Some have speculated these occupations and people came to be differentiated at the time Buddhism, which frowned upon the killing of animals,
was brought into Japan in the 7th century, A.D. Today all citizens are equal under the Constitution but people living in and from the *tokushu-buraku* still face social and economic discrimination.

91 Takiishi Tori (高石登里), “Tosa no kaichi (土佐のかいち) (Kaichi of Tosa),” *Tosa shidan* (土佐史談), No. 85 (1955), pp. 6-8.


(1971年5月25日受理)