

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 垣内, 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 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 chihō no tochi to jūmin* (近畿地方の土地と住民) (The People and Land of the Kinki Region) in 1914. It was in this pamphlet the name *kaito* was first

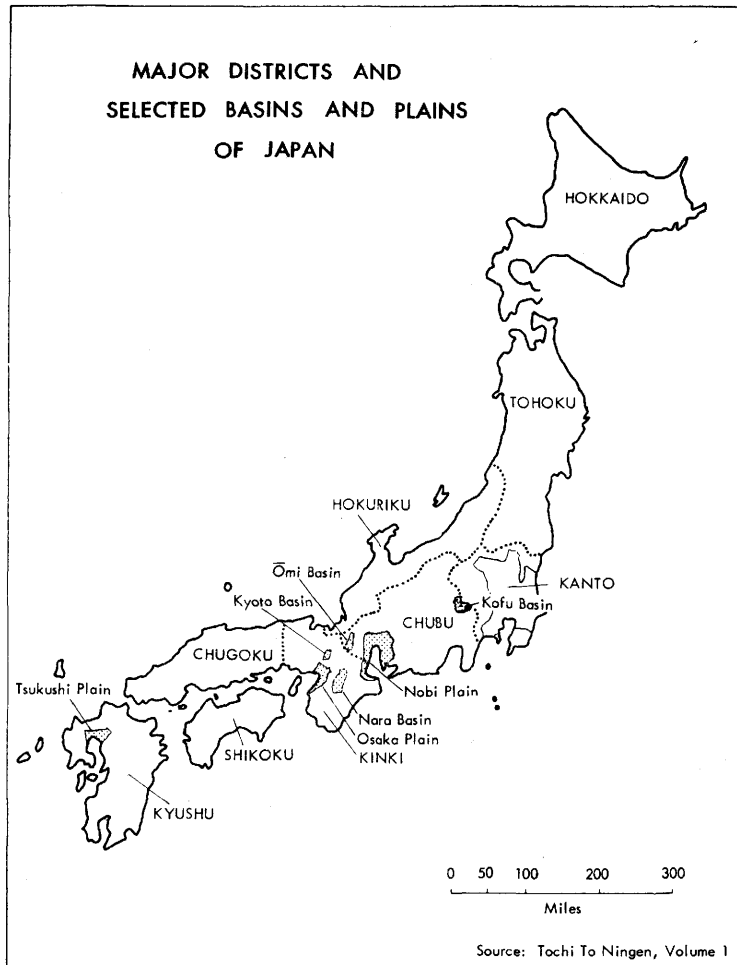


Figure 1

applied to the small moat-surrounded settlements in the Nara basin.² 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-gun³ in Wakayama prefecture, the *kaito* was the name of settlement units smaller than an *ōaza* (大字) but did not necessarily coincide with the next recognized lower unit, the *koaza* (小字).⁴ 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* (茶屋垣内) and Ō-*gaito* (大垣内).⁵

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)⁶ established as branch settlements from older settlements, were sometimes called *kaito*. Near Tsuruga in Echizen, the communally-owned

forests were referred to as *kaito-yama* (垣内山) (*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 *Kōya-san monjo* and the *Iwashimizu-monjo*.⁷

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.⁸ 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*.⁹ 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.¹⁰ He too believed the *kaito* came into existence in some way related to the reclamation of new lands for agricultural purposes.¹¹ 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.¹² 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.¹³

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.¹⁴ In 1936, Yonekura Jirō came to similar conclusions.¹⁵ After the publication of a book, *Yamato no kaito* (大和の垣内), 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.¹⁶ 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,

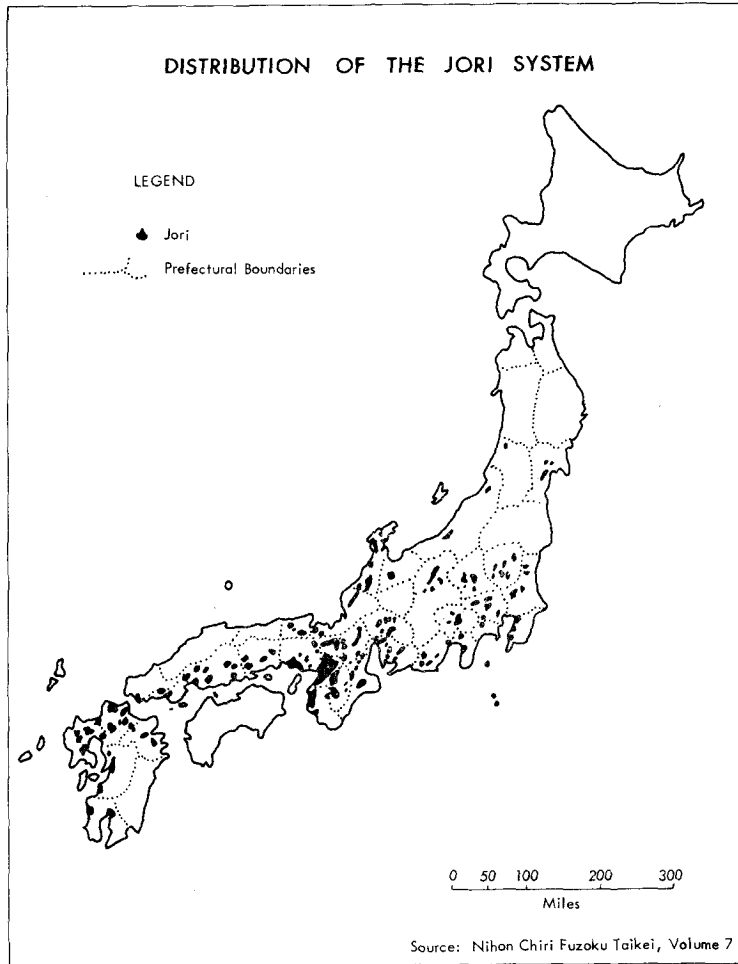


Figure 2

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,¹⁷ was to provide much of the encouragement and leadership. Many articles appeared in the *Minkan denshō* (民間伝承) (Folklore) and *Nihon minzoku-gaku* (日本民俗学) (Folklore of Japan). Another who did much work on the *kaito* is Naoye Hiroji.¹⁸ Other significant general studies have been done by Isshi Shigeki¹⁹ and Chiba Tokuji.²⁰

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.

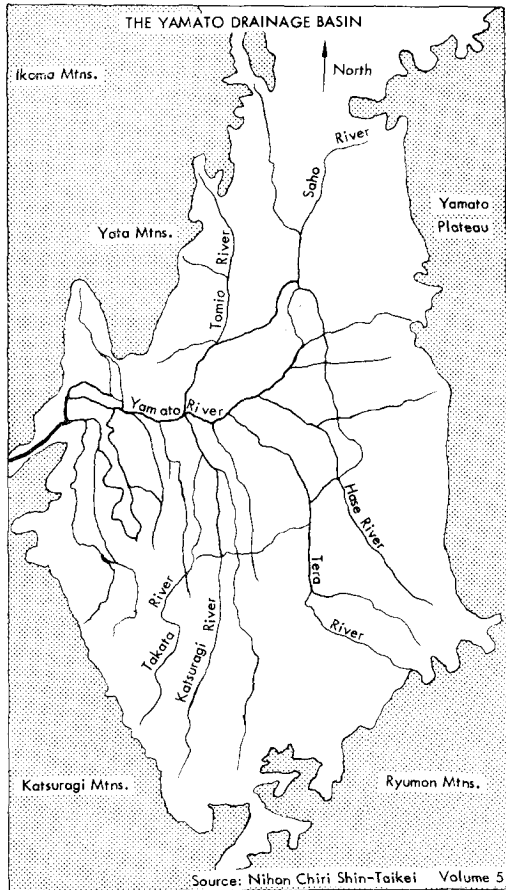


Figure 3

place names on maps of 1:50,000 scale.²³ 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.²⁴ 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

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*, *kōchi*, *kaitsu*, *ke'eto*, and *kaido*.²¹ Other less common ones are *kakiuchi*, *kakeuchi*, and *kakinai*.²² Although the most common characters used for *kaito* are 垣内, others which have been used for the aforementioned readings are 皆戸, 貝戸, 海戸, 戒度, 開土, 垣富, 垣分, and 垣外. 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

of Yamato (大和) (Nara prefecture), Kii (紀伊) (Wakayama and adjoining parts of Mie prefecture), Kawachi (河内) (Osaka prefecture), and Settsu (摂津) (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*.²⁵ 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.²⁶

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.²⁷ 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 *ōaza* 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 Idono* (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).²⁸ Similarly *Ōaza Tomondo* (伴堂) (Fig. 4) of *Miyake-mura* (三宅村) in *Shiki-gun* (磯城郡) is divided into five separate units:

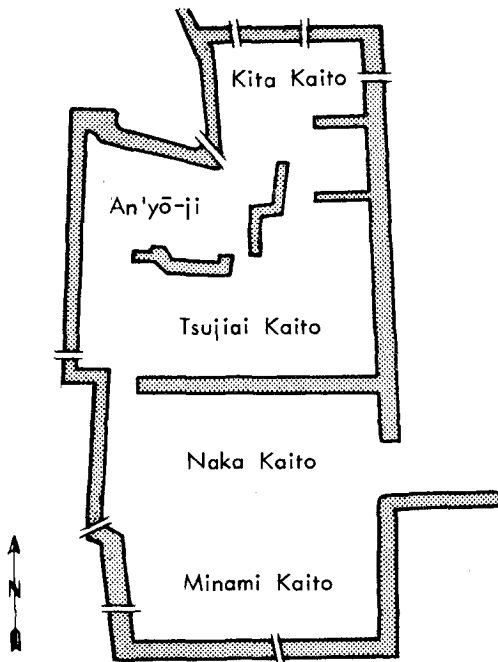


Figure 4 Tomondo-buraku

Minami-kaito (南垣内), Naka-kaito (中垣内), Tsujiai-kaito (辻合垣内), Kita-kaito (北垣内), and Anyōji (安養寺).²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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* (部落垣内).³¹

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 Ōaza Wakatsuki (若槻) of Heiwa-mura in Soekami-gun. Here the *ōaza* is composed of four *kaito*: Shōya-kaito (庄屋垣内) (five households), Minami-kaito (南垣内) (two households), Ō-gaito (two households), and Shima-kaito (島垣内) (six households). This type can be classified as *rinpo-kaito* (隣保垣内) (neighborhood *kaito*).³²

Still another type is the *kojin-kaito* (個人垣内) (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 Ōaza Oka (岡) of Uchi-mura (宇智村), such as Yasuke-kaito (弥助垣内), Yoichi-kaito (与一垣内), and Sawayuemon-kaito (沢右衛門垣内). 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.³³

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*.³⁴ 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* (house-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 Ōaza Tani-kaito (谷垣内), a settlement of some 20 households, the house which occupies the highest point on the hill is called Kami-kaito (上垣内).³⁵ 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 is called *kaito-no-hata* (垣内の畑) (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).³⁶

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(栗垣内)of Yo-mura(四村) in Higashi Muro-gun(東牟婁郡). 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(西牟婁郡), 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 *dōzoku-kaito* (同族垣内)], but in most cases only one house is present (*kojin-kaito*).³⁸ In the local records of Hyaku-kaito(百垣内) of Ningimura(仁義村) in Kaisō-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(杖立)(ten households), Shimo-kaito(下垣内) (twenty-four households), Ochiai(落合) (twelve households), Kitabata(北畑) (thirteen households), Minami-kaito(南垣内) (sixteen households), Rokuroya(六呂屋) (nineteen households), and Oboegano(覚ヶ野) (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 Kido-mura(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* (垣内禱り). 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* (垣内畑).⁴⁴ 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 Senan-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 (蕎原) 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.⁴⁵ Also in the same area, there are *kaito* paddy fields and forestlands associated with the *kaito* settlement.⁴⁶

Although in many of the larger urban places the *kaito* phenomena are fast disappearing, traces can still be found. In Suita (吹田) 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.⁴⁷ 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*.⁴⁸ 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*.⁴⁹ 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 (質美村) in Funai-gun (船井郡) and Kawai-mura (川合村) in Amada-gun (天田郡) and in Toyosato-mura (豊里村) of Ikaruga-gun (何鹿郡). 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.⁵⁰ The use of the term *kaichi* continues westwards into areas of Hyogo prefecture, the westernmost part of the Kinki district. For example Aza Tōbori (砥堀) of Tōbori (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 (曾坂) of Toyotomi-mura (豊富村) 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 (新次) Shrine.⁵¹ 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.⁵²

Examples of *dōzoku-kaito* have also been found in Hyogo prefecture. For instance, in Shimo-Ushio (下牛尾) of Seka-mura (瀬加村) in Kanzaki-gun, there is an *aza* called Kita-kaito which is made up of the Moriguchi (森口) family.⁵³ Again in Ikawatani (伊川谷) of Kobe (神戸) 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*) (分家) were established from the head house (*honke*) (本家).⁵⁴

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 Nakagawa-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- (養父) and Taki-gun (多紀郡).⁵⁵ 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 *kaito* 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 (南設楽), and Kita-Shidara (北設楽). In contrast, they were the least numerous in the coastal areas such as in the seaside *gun* of Hazu (幡豆), Atsumi (渥美), and Hekikai (碧海). 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 Tōza-kaito (藤左垣内), Heishichi-kaito (平七垣内), Dengorō-kaito (伝五郎垣内), and Jūrō-kaito (十郎垣内) originated as *kojin-kaito*, whereas such names as Konya-kaito (紺屋垣内), Kajiya-kaito (鍛冶屋垣内), Sakaya-kaito (酒屋垣内), and Bō-kaito (坊垣内) 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 (開戸田) and Kaido-da (*ta* or *da* means paddy fields).⁵⁶

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 (三ヶ日町) (on the northwest side of Lake Hamana) of Inasa-gun (引佐郡) in Shizuoka prefecture. Here the *kojin-kaito* composed of dry-field croplands, *yashiki*, mountain forests and wastelands are called *kaito*, *kaido*, or *kaitsu*. 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.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ 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 *kojin-kaito* as people's names are attached.⁵⁹

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 Aza Sumika (住鹿) of Yōrō-gun (養老郡). Four *kaito* place names were discovered in Aza Kakenowaki (欠ノ脇) 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.⁶⁰ 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 (徳山村) 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* (奥山) ("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*.⁶¹

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 (島立村) 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*.⁶² Occasionally, as on the river terraces between Ueda (上田) city and Chiisagata-gun (小県郡), groupings of dry-field croplands are called *kaito*.⁶³ 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).⁶⁴ 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 (宮垣内) belonging to the Chigazu (千鹿頭) Shrine.⁶⁵

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-

kura (新倉) of Misato-mura (三里村) in Minami Koma-gun (南巨摩郡), and in these places the *kaito* or *kyāto* is applied to some of the dry-field croplands.⁶⁶ The terms, are not applied to the *kirikae-batake*⁶⁷ (切替畑) or to groupings of paddy fields. Although examples of *yagō* 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 (赤城) 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, *dōzoku-kaito*.⁶⁸ The term *kaito* is also used and refers to ordinary dry-field croplands.⁶⁹

Terms equivalent to *kaito* do differ somewhat in Ishikawa prefecture, but evidence clearly indicates they are closely related. For instance, Aza Shoshihara (所司原) of Shio-machi (志雄町) in Hakui-gun (羽咋郡) 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 (原) of the same *machi*, the term *kakunai* is used to mean the same phenomenon, whereas in Kashima-gun (鹿島郡) 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* (名) is used instead of *kakuchi* to mean the same phenomenon, so apparently the two are used interchangeably.⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹

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,⁷² Both in Ishikawa and Toyama prefectures the *kaito* branch settlements are very small and below the level of the *mura*.⁷³

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 (岩船) 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.⁷⁴

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*. *Gēto* and *gaito* appear as part of *yagō*, such as in Chigira-mura (千木良村) where eight old houses are either called *kami-gēto* or *shimo-gēto* (the characters used for *gēto* are the same as those commonly used for *kaito*).⁷⁶

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*.⁷⁷ 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 Miyagō-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.⁷⁸ Although the most common term used in Gunma prefecture is *kaito* or *kaido*, others such as *kēto* or *gēto* 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*.⁷⁹ 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*.⁸⁰ It is thought that once in the past, the term was applied to the whole of the *yashiki* (the residence, attached buildings and grounds).⁸¹ This notion is reinforced by the fact that in Shiriuchi (尻内), 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.⁸² 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]).⁸³

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 *ōaza* 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 *yagō* of Kami Naka-gaichi)⁸⁴ 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.⁸⁵

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.⁸⁶

As mentioned previously, apparently the *kaito* phenomena are more prevalent on the Japan Sea side of the Chugoku district. There is an *aza* in Midahara (見田原) of Otsutachi-mura (乙立村) in Hinokawa-gun (蕨川郡) (Shimane prefecture), which is divided into the three *kaito* of Kaichi, Ushiro-kaichi (後垣内), and Soto-kaichi (外垣内). Within the *buraku* of Kaichi, there are two houses with the *yagō* of Kaichi and Nishi-kaichi (西垣内).

There are also many *yagō-kaito* in other nearby settlements.⁸⁷ In Yatsuka-gun (八束郡), *kakinouchi* is used for *dōzoku-kaito* settlements.⁸⁸ Another variation of the term *kaito* is *gāchi*. It too refers to the smallest of settlement units. For example, Ōaza Takimoto (滝元) of Nichihara-machi (日原町) in Kanoashi-gun (鹿足郡) is split into the three *gāchi* of Kami-, Naka-, and Shimo-gāchi. Furthermore, Kami-gāchi is split into still smaller units of Ide-gāchi (井手ガ-チ) and Kobayashi-gāchi (小林ガ-チ). 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.⁸⁹

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) (Kōchi prefecture) 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*).⁹⁰ Similar cases have been found in Yamaguchi prefecture. In Tosa-gun (土佐郡), the term *gāchi* appears again, such as Ō-gāchi (大河内), Ike-gāchi (池河内), and Oya-gāchi (親河内) of Kagami-mura (鏡村), and refers to small *buraku*. It is to be noted, although the characters used for *gāchi* 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 (河内神社). 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.⁹¹

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 (南川内) of former Kayase-mura (萱瀬村) in Omura-shi (大村市) 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 (山口) family, who were the first settlers. The same kind of phenomenon is seen in Yukinoura (雪ノ浦) of Nishi Sonoki-gun (西彼杵郡) and on Kuga (久賀) Island of the Gotō (五島) archipelago of Nagasaki prefecture.⁹²

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.⁹³

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:⁹⁴

1. Local association of some kind (*chiiki ketsugō*) (地域結合).
2. Communally owned mountain forestland of a *buraku* (*kyōyū sanrin*) (共有山林).
3. Consanguinal group (*dōzoku shūdan*) (同族集団).
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 (直江広治) of Tokyo Kyoiku University for his generous help and advice in researching for this paper.

1 Wakamori Tarō (和歌森太郎), "Kaito (垣内) (*Kaito*)," *Sekai dai-hyakkā jiten* (世界大百科事典) (Great Encyclopedia of the World) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1959), V, pp. 29-30.

2 A good description of the moat-surrounded settlements of the Nara basin is found in an article by Robert B. Hall. Robert B. Hall, "Some Rural Settlement Forms in Japan," *Geographical Review*, XXI (January 1931), pp. 96-101.

3 A *gun* (郡) is similar to the county in the United States, but today it 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* (郡市町村名便覧) (Manual of County, City, Town and Village Names) of 1948, published by the *chiri chōsa-jo* (Geographical Survey Institute) of Tokyo.

4 The *ōaza* is the areal unit below the *mura* (村) level. Below the *ōaza* 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. The *mura* (township) is the lowest nationally official unit and is often translated as village.

5 Moriguchi Seiichi (森口清一), "Kaito no kigen ni tsuite no utagai (垣内の起源に就いての疑)

- (Some Doubts on the Origin of the Kaito)," *Kyōdo Kenkyū* (郷土研究) (Folklore Studies), IV, No. 3 (June 1916), pp. 61-62. Naoye Hiroji, "Kaito no kenkyū (垣内の研究) (Studies on the Kaito)," *Tokyo Kyoiku Daigaku bungaku-bu kiyō* (東京教育大学部紀要) (Bulletin of the Department of Literature, Tokyo University of Education) (Tokyo: Tokyo Kyoiku Daigaku, 1958), I, p. 1.
- 6 A *buraku* refers to a small grouping of households below the *ōaza* 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 *Kōya-san monjo* (高野山文書) (794-1603) were records kept by the numerous Buddhist temples on Kōya mountain in the present prefecture of Wakayama. These records have been collected together and published by the Institute for Compiling Historical Records (Shiryō 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 Tarō (中山太郎), "Kaito-kō (垣内考) (Some Thoughts on the Kaito)," *Rekishi chiri* (歴史地理) (Historical Geography), XXXII, No. 1 (July 1918), pp. 14-24.
 - 8 Ogawa Takuji (小川琢治), "Jinbun chirigaku-jō yori mitaru Nihon no shūraku (人文地理学上よりみたる日本の集落) (Japanese settlements seen from the Standpoint of Human Geography)," *Chikyū* (地球) (The Earth), V (April 1926), pp. 1-26.
 - 9 Fujita Motoharu (藤田元春), *Nihon minka-shi* (日本民家史) (History of Japanese Houses) (Tokyo: Tokyo shoin, 1927), II, pp. 347-372; IV, pp. 481-92.
 - 10 The *jōri* (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), "Jōri Land Division System, abstract, *Chirigaku hyōron* (地理学評論) (Geographical Review), XXXIV (Dec. 1961), pp. 18-19.
 - 11 Makino Shinnosuke (牧野信之助), "Sankyo narabi-ni kangō-buraku ni tsuite (散居並に環濠集落について) (On the Forms of the Dispersed and Moat-surrounded Settlements)," *Rekishi to chiri* (歴史と地理) (History and Geography), LXXII, No. 1, pp. 180-202; No. 2, pp. 278; No. 3, pp. 398-400.
 - 12 Robert B. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.
 - 13 Muramatsu Shigeki (村松繁樹), "Kaito-shiki sonraku ni tsuite (垣内式村落に就いて) (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 (垣内の地名的考察) (Study of the Kaito from the Viewpoint of Place Names)" *Chiri kyoiku*, XVIII, No. 6 (Sept. 1933), pp. 27-33.
 - 15 Yonekura Jirō (米倉二郎), "Chūsei sonraku no yōsō (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 (野村伝四), *Yamato no kaito* (大和の垣内) (*Kaito of Yamato*) (Tanbaichi (丹波市), Nara prefecture: Tenri jihōsha-ban, 1943), pp. 121-62.
 - 17 Yanagida Kunio (柳田国男), "Kaito no hanashi (垣内の話) (Story of the Kaito)," *Minkan denshō* (民間伝承) (Folklore), XII, Nos. 8 and 9 (combined volume) (August and

- September 1948), pp. 1-7.
- 18 Naoye, *op. cit.*, I.
- 19 Isshi Shigeki (一志茂樹), "Kaito-kō (かいと考) (Some Thoughts on the Kaito)," *Shinano* (信濃) (Shinano), III, No. 1 (1951), pp. 57-74.
- 20 Chiba Tokuji (千葉徳爾), "Kaito ni tsuite (垣内について) (On the Kaito)," *Uchida Kanichi sensei kanreki kinen ronbunshū* (内田寛一先生還暦記念論文集) (Collection of Papers in Commemoration of the 60th Birthday of Professor Uchida Kanichi)(Tokyo: Teikoku shoin, 1952), II, pp. 29-36.
- 21 Wakamori, "Kaito," *op. cit.*, p. 29.
- 22 Naoye, *op. cit.*, p. 6; Nakayama, *op. cit.* pp. 12-13.
- 23 Masuda, *op. cit.*
- 24 Naoye, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
- 25 Nakayama, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.
- 26 Chiba, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
- 27 Yanagida, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.
- 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.
- 30 Miyamoto Tsuneichi (宮本常一), "Kaito shiryō (垣内資料) (Kaito Materials)," *Minkan denshō*, (October 1950), XIV, No. 10, p. 24.
- 31 Naoye, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
- 32 Watanabe Sumio (渡辺澄夫), *Kinai shōen no kiso kōzo* (畿内荘園の基礎構造) (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.
- 35 Naoye Hiroji, "Totsukawa no kaito (十津川の垣内) (Kaito of Totsukawa)," *Minkan denshō*, XIII, No. 11 (Nov. 1949), pp. 37-38.
- 36 Chiba, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- 37 Niida Kōko (仁井田好古) (ed.), *Kii zoku-fudoki* (紀伊続風土記) (Topographical Description, Supplement to Kii) Kyoto: Teikoku chihō gyōsei gakkai shuppan-bu, 1910, Collection 3, Vol. 77, p. 31.
- 38 Naoye Hiroji, "Kumano no kaito (熊野の垣内) (Kaito of Kumano)," *Minkan denshō*, XIII, No. 10 (Oct. 1949), pp. 8-9, 11.
- 39 *Kii zoku fudoki*, *op. cit.*, Collection 1, Vol. 24, p. 535; Chiba, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
- 40 Naoye, "Kaito no kenkyū," *op. cit.*, p. 8.
- 41 *Ibid.*
- 42 Adachi Tōei (足立東衛), "Ōmi Takashima-gun ni okeru kaito kenkyū (近江高島郡に於ける垣内研究) (Studies on the Kaito in Ōmi Takashima-gun)," *Nihon minzoku-gaku* (日本民俗学) (Ethnology of Japan), I. No. 3 (January 1954), pp. 118-122; Adachi Tōei, *Kaito no chimeiteki kōsatsu* (Study of Kaito from the Viewpoint of Place Names) (Kyoto: Nihon chimeigaku kenkyū-jo (日本地名学研究所), 1957), pp. 28-31.
- 43 *Sōgō Nihon minzoku-goi* (綜合日本民俗語彙) (Comprehensive Japanese Folklore Glossary) (Tokyo: Heibon-sha, 1955), I, pp. 315-316.

- 44 Naoye, "Kaito no kenkyū," *op. cit.*, p. 9.
- 45 Orido Kenzō (織戸健造), "Kaito-jin (垣内神) (*Kaito* Deities)," *Minkan denshō*, XIV, No. 10 (Oct. 1950), p. 29.
- 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 kenkyū" *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- 50 *Ibid.*
- 51 Nishitani Katsuya (西谷勝也), "Kaichi (カイチ) (*Kaichi*)," *Minkan denshō*, XIV, No. 10 (Oct. 1950), p. 27.
- 52 Taoka Shūitsu (田岡秀逸). "Hyogo no kaaito (兵庫のカイト) (*Kaito* of Hyogo)," *Minkan denshō*, XIV, No. 10 (Oct. 1950), p. 24. 53 Naoye, "Kaito no kenkyū," *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- 54 *Ibid.*
- 55 Nishitani, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
- 56 Naoye "Kaito no kenkyū," *op. cit.*, p. 13. Kuramitsu Setsujin (倉光設人), *Mikawa no kaito to kaito* (三河のカイトとカイツ) (*Kaito* and *Kaito* of Mikawa), Report Materials (unpublished), Minzoku-gaku kenkyū-sho zō (民俗学研究所蔵)(Collection of the Institute for Folklore Research). It is also known as the Yanagida Kunio Collection (Library) (柳田国男文庫). 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.
- 60 Chiba, Tokuji, "Seino no kaito monjo (西濃のカイト聞書)(A Report on the *Kaito* of Seino)," *Minkan denshō*, XIV, No. 10 (Oct. 1950), pp. 22-23.
- 61 "Kaito (*Kaito*)," *Nihon shakai minzoku jiten* (日本社会民俗事典) (Dictionary of the Folklore of Japan) (Tokyo: Seibundō shinkō-sha, 1952), I, pp. 141-142; Hayashi Ranichi (林魁一), "Kaito sonota (垣内その他) (*Kaito* and Other Things)," *Minkan denshō*, XIV, No. 1 (Jan. 1950), p. 28.
- 62 Isshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-65, 68.
- 63 Naoye, "Kaito no kenkyū," *op. cit.*, p. 10.
- 64 Yotoku no minzoku (四徳の民俗) (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.
- 66 Takeda Akira (竹田旦), "Minami-koma no kaito (南巨摩のカイト) (*Kaito* of Minami-koma)," *Minkan denshō*, XII, Nos. 8 and 9 (Sept. 1948), pp. 8-9.
- 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 techō* (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 techō* (山村手帳) (Notebook on Mountain Villages) (Tokyo: Minkan denhō no kai, 1936), pp. 19, 48, 79.
- 70 Wakamori Taro, "Oku-Noto ni okeru minzoku chōsa-jō no mondai-ten (奥能登における民俗調査上の問題点) (Problems Arising from Folklore Survey of Oku-Noto)," *Jinrui kagaku* (人類科学) (Ethnological Science) (Tokyo: Nakayama shoten, 1954), VI, p. 119.
- 71 Chiba, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Umehara Takaaki (梅原隆章), "Hokuriku no kaito ni tsuite (北陸の垣内について)(On the *Kaito* of Hokuriku)," *Minkan denshō*, XVI, No. 1 (Jan. 1952), pp. 31-33.
- 72 Nagaoka Hiroo (長岡博男), "Kakinai (かきない) (*Kakinai*)," *Minkau denshō*, XVIII, No. 4 (April 1954), p. 4.
- 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.
- 78 Yanagida, "Kaito no hanashi," *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3; Maruyama Kiyoyasu (丸山清康), *Jōmō no minzoku* (上毛の民俗) (Folklore of Jōmō) (Maebashi: Kankō-dō, 1948), pp. 40-43.
- 79 Gomi Norio (五味典夫), "Chūsei jōshū no kaito (中世上州の垣内) (*Kaito* of Jōshū during the Middle Ages)," *Hida-bito* (ひだびと) (People of Hida), XI, 6 (June 1943), pp. 32-33.
- 80 Yanagida, "Kaito no hanashi," *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.
- 81 Naoye, "Kaito no kenkyū," *op. cit.*, p. 11.
- 82 Chiba, "Kaito ni tsuite," *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- 83 Naoye, "Kaito no kenkyū," *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- 84 *Ibid.*
- 85 Miyamoto, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
- 86 Itō Sakuichi (伊藤作一), "Kaito shiryō (垣内資料) (Materials on the *Kaito*)," *"Minkan denshō"*, XIII, No. 8(August 1949),pp. 24-26; Chiba, "Kaito ni tsuite," *op. cit.*, p. 33.
- 87 Naoye "Kaito no kenkyū," *op. cit.*, p.13.
- 88 Chiba, "Kaito ni tsuite," *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- 89 Iwata Gihei (岩田儀平), "Gāchi ni tsuite (ガーチに就いて) (On the *Gāchi*)," *Shimane minzoku tsūshin dai sango* (島根民俗通信第3号) (Shimane Folklore, Report No. 3) (Izumo: Shimane minzoku tsūshin-bu, 1948), p. 7.
- 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 Tōri (滝石登鯉), "Tosa no kaichi (土佐のかいち) (*Kaichi* of Tosa)," *Tosa shidan* (土佐史談), No. 85 (1955), pp. 6-8.

92 Chiba, "Kaito ni tsuite" *op. cit.*, p. 31. 93 Naoye Hiroji, "Kaito-kō (垣内考)(Some Thoughts on the *Kaito*)," *Minkan denshō*, XIV No. 10 (Oct. 1950), pp. 21-22.

94 Naoye, "Kaito no kenkyū" *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15; Chiba, "Kaito ni tsuite," *op. cit.*, p. 30.

(1971年5月25日受理)