

**Chapter 3: Premodern Japan**  
**- The Azuchi-Momoyama and Edo Periods**

第3章

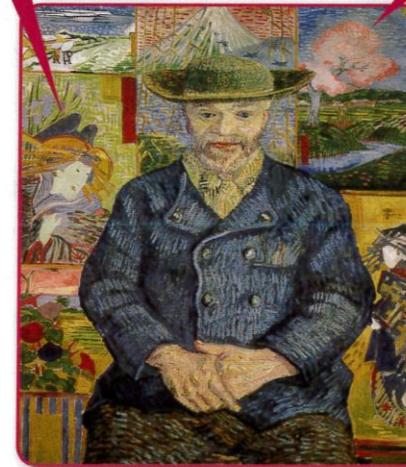
近世の日本

あづちももやま えど  
安土桃山・江戸時代

三浦屋の高尾  
歌川豊国 (1769~1825) 画



五十三次名所図会 石薬師  
歌川広重 (1797~1858) 画



タンギー爺さん ゴッホ (1853~90) 筆



雲龍打掛の花魁 渓斎英泉 (1790~1848) 画

江戸時代の浮世絵だね。  
「タンギー爺さん」は、  
少し後の時代に  
フランスで描かれた絵だ。

裕樹君



あら、うしろに  
日本の浮世絵みたいなのが  
見えるわ!  
どういことかしら?

道代さん



## Section 1 – From warring states to national unification

### Topic 31 – The warring states daimyo

What were the distinguishing characteristics of the new style of government instituted by the warring states daimyo?

#### The emergence of the daimyo

The protector-daimyo lost their positions of strength during and after the Onin War. Gekokujo became widespread as more and more of the powerful retainers and village samurai toppled the protector-daimyo through force of arms and installed themselves as masters of their provinces. These new feudal lords are called the **warring states daimyo**.<sup>1</sup>

\*1=The major daimyo families included the Hojo clan of Sagami Province (modern-day Kanagawa Prefecture), the Asakura clan of Echizen Province (modern-day Fukui Prefecture), the Imagawa clan, whose power extended from Suruga Province (modern-day Shizuoka Prefecture) to Mikawa Province (modern-day eastern Aichi Prefecture), the Uesugi clan of Echigo Province (modern-day Niigata Prefecture), the Takeda clan of Kai Province (modern-day Yamanashi Prefecture), and the Mori clan, which was based in Aki Province (modern-day Hiroshima Prefecture) and extended its influence across southern Japan, including Shikoku and Kyushu.

Japan's farming villages had already been forming their own governing bodies called *so* and asserting their autonomy since the time of the War of the Northern and Southern Courts, which had loosened the grip of the shogunate and the protectors over rural communities. Some of these *so* had been organizing *ikki* to achieve common ends. Under the leadership of local samurai, they often succeeded in making their demands heard.

Nonetheless, the *so* soon came to desire stronger leaders who could mediate territorial disputes or protect them from outside enemies. This power vacuum was filled through the appearance of the warring states daimyo.

These daimyo had the samurai within their domains pledge allegiance to them, amassed large numbers of powerful retainers, and prepared for war with the other daimyo. Rebellion against one's lord was not always thought of as inherently dishonorable, and indeed, it was often praised as a wise decision. They came to their positions from diverse backgrounds. Takeda Shingen of

## 第1節 戦国時代から天下統一へ



主な戦国大名 (16世紀ごろ)

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### 戦国大名

戦国大名は新しい型の統治者として、どのような特徴をもっていたのだろうか。

1 おもな戦国大名には、相模(神奈川県)の北条氏、越前(福井県)の朝倉氏、駿河(静岡県)から三河(愛知県東部)を支配した今川氏、越後(新潟県)の上杉氏、甲斐(山梨県)の武田氏、安芸(広島県)をはじめ中国地方一帯から九州、四国にまで勢力をおよぼした毛利氏などがある。

### 戦国大名の出現

応仁の乱のころから守護大名の力がおとろえ、下剋上の風潮に乗って、実力のある家臣や地侍は、みずからの力で守護大名を倒し、一国を支配するようになった。こうした新しい型の領主を戦国大名という。

すでに、南北朝の動乱のころから、農村社会では、権威のおとろえた幕府や守護の支配をはなれ、農民の自治組織(惣)によって運営される自立的な村(惣村)が形成された。いくつかの惣村が共通の利益のために一揆を結んだり、地元の武士(国人)を中心に結束して、自分たちの主張を通すこともしばしばあった。

惣村は、境界争いなどを調停し、外敵から守ってくれる、より強い実力者を求めた。戦国大名という新しい統治者は、このような要求にこたえる形で登場してきた。

戦国大名は、領国内の武士を家来に組み入れて強力な家臣団をつくり、ほかの大名との戦いに備えた。主君への反逆や謀反は機敏な行動として評価されることもあり、必ずしも不名誉とはされなかった。戦国大名の出自はさまざま、甲斐の武田信

Kai was originally a protector-daimyo, Uesugi Kenshin of Echigo had served as a deputy protector-daimyo, and Mori Motonari of Aki hailed from a local samurai family.

### Castle towns and domain administration

139 What distinguished the warring states daimyo from the earlier protector-daimyo was that the protector-daimyo ruled by virtue of the authority of the shogunate, whereas the warring states daimyo ruled solely on the basis of their competence to administer their own domains. Therefore, a daimyo who proved incompetent might soon be abandoned by his own retainers and citizens and replaced with another leader.

In preparation for war, the warring states daimyo built heavily fortified castles atop mountains or hills and enclosed them with many defensive walls and a moat. They set up their residences on the flat ground at the base of the mountains and had their retainers and local businessmen live in the vicinity. These communities, known as **castle towns**, served as the political, economic, and cultural centers of the daimyo's domains.

Furthermore, to make their domains wealthier, the daimyo enthusiastically promoted agriculture by expanding farmland and constructing large-scale water management projects.<sup>2</sup> They also devoted considerable energy to exploiting mines,<sup>3</sup> supporting business activity, and maintaining transportation networks. In many cases, they promulgated their own legal codes, often styled as "regulations" and now known as **domain laws**, to discipline their retainers or to protect and control their subjects. As the daimyo tightened their grip on their domains, the shoen lost their importance. Once consolidated in their own domains, the daimyo sought to extend their influence, sparking a brutal civil war known as the **Warring States period** that was to last about one hundred years.

**\*2=Some of the most well-known daimyo-led water management projects were Takeda Shingen's Shingen Embankment, Date Masamune's Teizan Canal, and Hojo Ujifusa's Arakawa Dam. Such structures built by the daimyo can still be seen throughout Japan and continue to serve their original purposes.**

**\*3=Iwami Ginzan Silver Mine (in modern-day Shimane Prefecture) is a representative example. Discovered in the fourteenth century, it proved an extraordinarily rich source of silver to be minted into silver coinage. During the Warring States period, it was fought**

#### 戦国大名と分国法

戦国大名は、領国内の領民をおさめたが、力による一方的な支配ではなかった。それは、分国法の条文によくあらわれている。

たとえば、甲斐の戦国大名武田信玄が定めた分国法にある「喧嘩両成敗法」は、もともと農村社会で受けつがれた慣習法で、戦国大名はこのような慣習法も利用して領内の争いを裁定した。

また、越前の戦国大名朝倉氏がつくった分国法には、「1年に3度くらいは、有能で正直な者に申しつけ、国内を巡視させて領民の申し出を聞き、そのことを参考にして政治の改革をしていくのがよい」と書かれていた。

領民の意見が領国の経営には不可欠であり、戦国大名はその声を吸収し、政治に反映させることで、よき統治者になることができた。

**信玄堤**  
釜無川と御勅使川の洪水から甲府盆地の平野部を守る色々な施設の一つが信玄堤。先人の水との闘いの歴史が分かる。

玄は守護大名、越後の上杉謙信は守護代、安芸の毛利元就は国人から戦国大名となった。

#### 城下町と領国経営

5 戦国大名が従来の幕府を背景にした守護大名と異なる点は、領国経営の實力を備えることが求められたことである。實力がなければ、すぐに家臣や領民から見限られ、別の実力者に首がすげかえられることもあった。

戦国大名は、守りのかたい山や丘に山城を築き、一ノ丸、二ノ丸、三ノ丸と幾重にも守りを固め、濠をめぐらして合戦に備えた。ふもとの平地に屋敷をかまえ、その周囲に家臣団や商工業者を住まわせて、**城下町**とした。城下町は、領国の政治、経済、文化の中心になった。

また、戦国大名は、領国を豊かにするために、大規模な治水工事をし、耕地を広げて農業をさかんにした。鉾山の開発や商工業の保護、交通制度の整備などにも力をそそいだ。家臣の取りしまりや、領民の保護と支配のために、掟書などの名称でよばれる独自の法律(分国法)を定めた例も少なくない。戦国大名の領国支配が強まるにつれ、荘園は衰退していった。このようにして、各地で實力を養った戦国大名が勢力をのばし、たがいに激しく争った約100年間を**戦国時代**という。



武田信玄 (1521~73)  
(高野山持明院蔵)

2 大名が指揮して行った大規模治水工事には、武田信玄の信玄堤のほか、伊達政宗の貞山堀、北条氏房の荒川堰などが知られる。今も各地に遺構があり、水利施設として役立つている。

3 代表的な鉾山に石見銀山(島根県)がある。14世紀に発見された豊富に銀を産出する銀山で、ここで多くの銀貨がつくられた。戦国時代には大内・尼子・毛利氏がつぎつぎと取り合い、江戸時代には江戸幕府が奉行をおいて直接に経営した。→P.136

#### まとめにチャレンジ

守護大名と戦国大名にはどのような違いがあるのか、200字以内でまとめてみよう。

over by the Ouchi clan, Amago clan, and finally the Mori clan. During the Edo period, the Tokugawa shogunate appointed a commissioner to run the mine directly.

*Topic 31 Recap Challenge! – Using approximately one hundred words, summarize the differences between the protector-daimyo and the warring states daimyo.*

### **The Daimyo and the Domain Laws**

Though the daimyo did rule over the people of their domains, the relationship was not simply one of one-sided coercion. That this is true can be seen clearly in certain clauses of the domain laws.

For instance, the domain law of Kai Province that was promulgated by the daimyo Takeda Shingen adopted the principle of equally punishing both parties of any quarrel, which was a longstanding practice in rural society. The daimyo used such traditional Japanese laws to judge disputes within their domains.

In addition, the domain law of Echizen Province promulgated by the Asakura clan required that, "At least three times annually a capable and honest man shall be asked to tour the entire domain and listen to the requests of the people, which shall be consulted as a basis for future political reforms."

The consent of the people was indispensable in the administration of a domain, and the greatest daimyo were those who absorbed the people's will and incorporated it into their policies.

## Topic 32 – Europe's global expansion

### What led the peoples of Europe to begin to explore the world?

#### The Christian world and the Muslim world

In the Christian world of medieval Europe, the Catholic Church, led by the Pope in Rome, wielded tremendous power. At the same time, Arab Muslims were embarking on a wave of expansion and by the eighth century extended their control across the Mediterranean region from Western Asia to the Iberian Peninsula. In medieval times, the nations of the Muslim world were considerably more militarily, technologically, and culturally advanced than the Christian world.

Despite this, Christian forces succeeded by the late-fifteenth century in driving the Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula, which was then transformed into the Christian nations of Spain and Portugal.

At the start of the sixteenth century, German priest Martin Luther and others criticized the Catholic Church's corruption and founded a reformist movement, in that individuals seek God directly through the Bible, without reliance on the Church hierarchy. This was called the **Reformation** and its supporters were called Protestants.<sup>1</sup> The sudden rise of the Protestants shocked the Catholic Church, which launched its own internal reform movement. The Church founded the Society of Jesus,<sup>2</sup> whose members were known as Jesuits, and made aggressive efforts to proselytize overseas.

**\*1=The Church of Rome was called the Catholic Church, meaning "universal church", while the reformers were dubbed Protestants, meaning "those who protest".**

**\*2=The Society of Jesus, founded by Spaniard Ignatius of Loyola and six others, was one of the Catholic Church's male religious orders. After receiving official recognition from the Pope, the Jesuits set up a base in Goa, India, and started missions across Asia.**

#### The Age of Discovery

In the late-fifteenth century, Spain and Portugal commenced national efforts to expand overseas. Their desire to import goods from the East had been stymied by the naval might of Muslim countries, such as the Ottoman Empire, which held sway over the Mediterranean Sea. In Europe at that time, spices like pepper were in high demand as seasoning for meat, and though they could be bought from Arab merchants, they came at such a steep price that it was said that a



ローマ教皇へのイエズス会設立の請願  
イエズス会は、とくにアジアでの布教に力を入れた。



コロンブスの西インド諸島到達  
スペイン女王の援助で大西洋を西へ航海してたどりついた。彼は生涯、自分の上陸した場所をインドだと信じていた。

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### ヨーロッパ人の 世界進出

ヨーロッパ人はなぜ世界に進出し始めたのだろうか。

1 宗教改革を求めた「プロテスタント（抗議する者）」は新教ともよばれ、これに対しローマ教会を総本山とする「カトリック（普遍）」は旧教ともよばれることもある。

2 カトリック男子修道会の一つ。創立者はスペイン人のイグナチウス・ロヨラら6人で、ローマ教皇の信託を得てゴア（インド）に基地を築き、アジア布教に乗り出した。イエズス会は「イエスの会」を意味する。

#### キリスト教世界と イスラム教世界

中世ヨーロッパのキリスト教世界ではローマ教皇を頂点とするカトリック教会が絶大な権力をもっていた。他方、イスラム教徒のアラビア人も勢力を広げ、8世紀以降は西アジアから地中海を経て、イベリア半島までを支配した。この時代、イスラム教諸国は学問や芸術においても、軍事力においても、キリスト教諸国よりはるかに先進国だった。

しかし、イベリア半島では15世紀末に、キリスト教徒がイスラム勢力を追い出し、スペインとポルトガルが支配するキリスト教圏に戻った。

16世紀初め、ドイツのルターらがカトリック教会の腐敗を批判し、教会に頼らずに個人が聖書を通じて神と直接向かい合うべきだとする改革運動をおこした。これを宗教改革という。彼らはプロテスタントとよばれた。その勃興に危機感をもったカトリック教会の内部からも改革運動がおこり、イエズス会が創立されるなど海外への布教に積極的に乗り出した。

#### 大航海時代

15世紀末から、ポルトガルとスペインは国をあげて海外進出をはかった。オスマン帝国などイスラム勢力が地中海の制海権をにぎっていたので、東方への物資の輸入ルートがはばまれていた。当

gram of gold could purchase only a gram of pepper. Spain and Portugal wanted new trade routes to India where they could buy pepper directly.

Portugal attempted to find a sea route to India by sailing southwards along the west coast of Africa. By contrast, Spain sent Italian **Christopher Columbus** on a journey across the Atlantic Ocean as far west as he could go. The **Age of Discovery** began, and before long the Europeans were actively seeking to colonize Asia itself.

### Spain and Portugal's plan to partition the world

In 1492, Columbus arrived in the islands of the West Indies. Europe had "discovered" the Americas. Because Columbus was convinced that he had reached India, the indigenous peoples of North America continue to this day to be called "Indians". Two years later, in 1494, Portugal and Spain, after intercession by Pope Alexander VI, signed the **Treaty of Tordesillas**, in that Spain and Portugal would divide the world into two hemispheres based on a line running down the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. According to the terms of the treaty, all lands discovered in the Eastern Hemisphere would belong to the King of Portugal, whereas the lands discovered in the Western Hemisphere would belong to the King of Spain.

In 1498, Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama opened a new sea route to India by rounding the Cape of Good Hope on the southern tip of Africa and traveling along Africa's east coast north to India.

*Topic 32 Recap Challenge! – Give two factors that motivated the peoples of Europe to advance overseas during the Age of Discovery of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*

<b><u>New Sea Routes Opened by Europeans</u></b>	
<u>Year</u>	<u>Events</u>
1492	Columbus crosses the Atlantic Ocean on behalf of Spain and lands in the Americas.
1498	Vasco da Gama of Portugal rounds the Cape of Good Hope in southern Africa and reaches India.
1522	An expedition led by Ferdinand Magellan of Spain sails past the southern tip of South America into the Pacific Ocean, lands in the Philippines, and successfully circumnavigates the world.
1534	Founding of the Catholic Society of Jesus.



地球を二分しようとしたポルトガルとスペイン  
16世紀に入ると、太平洋でも両国の航海・探検活動の境界が定められた。

時のヨーロッパで肉料理の必需品は胡椒などの香辛料だった。それらをアラビア人の商人から購入しなければならなかったが、「金1g=胡椒1g」といわれるほど高価だった。両国は胡椒を直接買いつけるため、主産地インドへの新たなルートを求めた。

5 ポルトガルはアフリカの西海岸を南下してインドに向かう航路の発見に乗り出した。これに対しスペインはイタリア人のコロンブスを派遣して、大西洋をどこまでも西へと向かわせた。このようにしてヨーロッパ人がアジアの植民地を求めると大航海時代が始まった。

10 **ポルトガルとスペインによる地球分割計画** 1492年、コロンブスは西インド諸島に到達した。ヨーロッパ人によるアメリカの「発見」である。彼はそこをインドと信じ込んだため、北米大陸の先住民は今でもインディアンとよばれている。2年後の1494年、ローマ教皇は大西洋を東西に分け、東半球で発見されるものはすべてポルトガル王に属し、西半球で発見されるものはすべてスペイン王に属すると取り決めた。これを**トルデシリャス条約**という。

ポルトガルが派遣したバスコ・ダ・ガマは1498年、アフリカ南端の喜望峰を経てアフリカ東岸を北上し、インドに到達する新航路を発見した。



ヨーロッパ人がアジアに求めた香辛料 ①肉桂(シナモン)、②丁香(クローブ)、③胡椒(グリーンペッパー、ホワイトペッパー)など。

ヨーロッパ人による新航路の開拓 (ス)はスペイン、(ポ)はポルトガル

年	出来事
1492	コロンブス(ス)、大西洋を横断しアメリカ大陸に到達
1498	バスコ・ダ・ガマ(ポ)、アフリカ南端の喜望峰を回り、インドに到達
1522	マゼラン(ス)、南米大陸の南端を経て太平洋からフィリピン到達、世界一周を達成
1534	旧教のイエズス会創立

### まとめにチャレンジ!

15~16世紀、ヨーロッパ人が海外に進出した大航海時代に、彼らが目的としたことを2つあげてみよう。

Topic 33 – The arrival of the Europeans

What impact did the European imports of firearms and Christianity have on Japanese society?

143 Christian missionaries and the introduction of firearms

In 1543 (Tenbun 12), a Chinese junk sailing from Siam (modern-day Thailand) with Portuguese merchants on board was struck by a storm and shipwrecked on the southern Japanese island of Tanegashima (in modern-day Kagoshima Prefecture). These were the first Europeans to reach the shores of Japan. The lord who controlled the island, a member of the Tanegashima clan, paid them a hefty sum in exchange for two firearms, which he ordered his swordsmiths to carefully study.

In no time, Japanese swordsmiths were manufacturing their own firearms in various parts of Japan, such as Sakai (modern-day Osaka). The new weapons were highly sought after by the daimyo, and Japan quickly rose to become the world's largest producer of firearms. The adoption of firearms by the daimyo dramatically changed battlefield tactics and served to hasten the process of national unification.

In 1549, six years after the introduction of firearms, the Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier<sup>1</sup> arrived in Kagoshima in Kyushu, Japan, and worked to convert the local people to Christianity. Later, more missionaries came to Japan alongside Portuguese merchants and proselytized aggressively. Christianity spread rapidly, gaining an especially large number of converts in western Japan. The missionaries won the hearts of many Japanese through their charitable deeds such as the building of orphanages, and the daimyo prized the rare imports that Portuguese merchants brought in their wake.

**\*1=Francis Xavier was one of the founders of the Society of Jesus. He was running a mission in Malacca in the Malay Peninsula when he is said to have met a young Japanese samurai named Yajiro. Surprised by his remarkable intellectual curiosity, Xavier acquired an interest in Japan and became determined to do missionary work there.**

The Southern Barbarian Trade

In the late-sixteenth century, armed merchants from Spain also entered Asia. They conquered the Philippines and made it their trade base. Referred to as the "southern barbarians", or *nanban* in the Japanese language, they brought European products such as gunpowder, clocks,



堺の鉄砲鍛冶 和泉名所図会 (江戸時代の作) 種子島でポルトガル人から購入した2挺の鉄砲を日本人は研究し、その高い技術力によってわずか数年の間に量産を始め、急速に普及した。(東京・国立公文書館蔵)

国産1号の火縄銃  
伝八板金兵衛清定作 (種子島時邦氏蔵)

33 ヨーロッパ人の来航

ヨーロッパ人がもたらした鉄砲とキリスト教は、日本社会にどのような影響をあたえたのだろうか。



フランシスコ・ザビエル (1506 ~ 52)  
(兵庫・神戸市立博物館蔵)

1 フランシスコ・ザビエルはイエズス会創立者の一人。マレー半島のマラッカを拠点にして布教活動をしていたが、ヤジローという日本人の青年武士に出会い、その旺盛な知識欲に驚いて日本に興味をもち、布教する決意を固めたといわれている。

鉄砲の伝来とキリスト教の布教 1543 (天文12) 年、シヤム (現在のタイ) からポルトガル人を乗せた中国船が、暴風雨にあつて種子島 (鹿児島県) に漂着した。彼らは日本に来た最初のヨーロッパ人だった。領主の種子島氏はポルトガル商人から鉄砲2挺を高額で買い取り、刀鍛冶に研究を命じた。

やがて、堺 (大阪府) など各地で刀鍛冶が鉄砲の生産を始めると、戦国大名たちが新兵器としてさかんに求め、日本はたちまち世界一の鉄砲生産国となった。さらに戦国大名が鉄砲を採用したことは戦闘の方法を大きく変え、全国統一を早める結果をもたらしした。

鉄砲伝来の6年後の1549年、イエズス会の宣教師フランシスコ・ザビエルが鹿児島に到着し、キリスト教の布教を開始した。その後もポルトガルの商人とともにやってきた宣教師たちは熱心に布教し、キリスト教は西日本を中心に急速に広がった。宣教師は孤児院をつくるなどして人々の心をとらえた。戦国大名は、ポルトガル商人がもたらす珍しい舶来品を珍重した。

南蛮貿易 16世紀末にはスペインの武装商人もアジアにあらわれ、フィリピンを征服して貿易の根拠地とした。彼らは日本では南蛮人とよばれ、

and glassware to Japan, as well as Chinese products such as unprocessed silk and silk fabric. What they wanted in exchange was silver. Japan was one of the world's largest producers of silver, which they coined into currency used for trade with other Asian nations. This is known as the **Southern Barbarian Trade**. Japanese people eventually also became active participants in the Southern Barbarian Trade, doing business across Southeast Asia and forming permanent settlements there called **Japantowns**.

**The Christian daimyo**

Some of the daimyo of western Japan hoped to profit from the Southern Barbarian Trade by patronizing Christianity or even being baptized into the faith themselves. These were the "Christian daimyo". The first daimyo to convert to Christianity were the Omura clan of Kyushu, who opened the port of Nagasaki to foreign trade and then donated it to the Society of Jesus. Nagasaki was a good port which rapidly developed into the center of the Southern Barbarian Trade and of Christian evangelization in Japan. It would later serve as Japan's only window to the European world.

The Jesuits took advantage of the protection given by the Christian daimyo to further their efforts to disseminate their religion. They erected churches, which the Japanese called "southern barbarian temples", in Nagasaki, Yamaguchi, Kyoto, and other cities.

In 1582 (Tensho 10), three Christian daimyo sent the **Tensho Embassy** to Europe, which comprised of four Japanese boys acting as their envoys to the Pope. After enduring a three-year journey, the boys finally arrived in Rome where they were warmly welcomed with an audience by the Pope. The Tensho Embassy stimulated greater interest in Japan among the people of Europe.

*Topic 33 Recap Challenge! – List all the Chinese and European products Japan received through the Southern Barbarian Trade as well as the main product Japan exported.*



南蛮屏風 狩野内膳筆 長崎に入港したポルトガル船が、貿易品を荷あげするところ。南蛮貿易のようすが描かれている。カピタン（船長）の行列と、出むかえる宣教師たちの姿もある。右上に南蛮寺が見える。（兵庫・神戸市立博物館蔵）

日本に火薬・時計・ガラス製品などヨーロッパの品々や、中国産の生糸や絹織物をもたらした。彼らは世界有数の銀の産出国だった日本から銀を手に入れ、貨幣に鋳直してアジア各地との交易に用いた。これを南蛮貿易という。その後、日本人も南蛮貿易に乗り出し、東南アジアの各国に定住して日本町をつくった。

**キリシタン大名**

- 10 南蛮貿易の利益に着目した西日本の大名たちの中にはキリスト教を保護し、自ら洗礼を受ける者もあらわれた。これをキリシタン大名という。最初のキリシタン大名となった九州の大村氏は、長崎を開港してイエズス会に寄進した。天然の良港だった長崎は、南蛮貿易と布教の拠点となって急速に発展し、その後もヨーロッパとの窓口となった。
- 15 イエズス会はキリシタン大名の保護を受けて長崎・山口・京都などに教会（南蛮寺）を建て、キリスト教はさらに広がった。1582（天正10）年、3人のキリシタン大名が4人の少年使節をローマ教皇のもとに送った（天正遣欧少年使節）。少年たちは3年かけてローマに着き、教皇に謁見して大歓迎を受けた。
- 20 それによって、ヨーロッパでは日本に対する関心が高まった。



天正遣欧少年使節 九州のキリシタン大名によって派遣され、帰国して豊臣秀吉にローマでの見聞を伝えたが、そのときすでにキリスト教は禁じられていた。上記氏名中、カタカナは洗礼名。このうち中浦ジュリアンは長崎で殉教、千々石ミゲルは棄教して日蓮宗に改宗した。（京都大学附属図書館蔵）

**まとめにチャレンジ!**

南蛮貿易におけるヨーロッパ、中国からの輸入品と、日本の主な輸出品をそれぞれあげてみよう。

## How did Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi unify Japan?

### The rise of Oda Nobunaga

Even as foreign nations were capturing the attentions of the Japanese people, Japan itself was riven by fighting between the country's most powerful daimyo. The daimyo were locked in a competition to be the first to reach Kyoto and declared with the support of the Imperial Court the ruler of all Japan .

Among a large field of daimyo, **Oda Nobunaga** of Owari Province (modern-day western Aichi Prefecture) distinguished himself by exploiting innovative military tactics and his advantageous geographical position close to Kyoto. In 1560 (Eiroku 3) at Okehazama, Oda Nobunaga crushed the army of Imagawa Yoshimoto of Suruga Province (modern-day Shizuoka Prefecture). Soon after, he arrived in Kyoto, installed Ashikaga Yoshiaki as shogun, and launched a series of campaigns with the goal of uniting all Japan.

Nobunaga later came into conflict with Yoshiaki and, in 1573 (Tensho 1), he expelled Yoshiaki from Kyoto. This date marked the end of the 230-year history of the Muromachi shogunate.

When Enryaku-ji Temple on Mount Hiei aligned itself with other daimyo, Nobunaga set the entire mountain ablaze, and he also subdued the rebellious followers of the True Pure Land Ikko school. These acts played a major role in breaking the influence of Buddhist groups over the Japanese government.

In 1575 (Tensho 3), Nobunaga defeated Takeda Katsuyori of Kai Province (modern-day Yamanashi Prefecture), who was reputed to be Japan's most powerful daimyo, at the Battle of Nagashino. Katsuyori's cavalry units were decimated by Nobunaga's gunners. The next year, Nobunaga constructed an immense fortress, Azuchi Castle, along the shore of Lake Biwa near Kyoto. Though he clamped down on the interference of Buddhist groups in his government, Nobunaga lauded the courage of Christian missionaries for braving the stormy seas to reach Japan.

Nobunaga adopted a policy of "**free markets, free guilds**" towards merchants and craftsmen around Azuchi Castle. He guaranteed them free enterprise and abolished the travel checkpoints that had become barriers to trade.



長篠合戦図屏風 この戦いで織田・徳川連合軍は最新の武器である鉄砲を多数そろえ、当時最強といわれた武田軍を破った。(愛知・徳川美術館蔵)

織田信長 (1534 ~ 82)  
(愛知・長興寺蔵 写真協力・豊田市郷土資料館)

34

### 信長と秀吉の 全国統一

織田信長と豊臣秀吉はどのように全国統一を進めたのだろうか。



信長は「天下布武」の印判を書状に押し、武力で天下をとる決意をした。

### 織田信長の台頭

日本人が広く国外に目を向けるようになる一方、国内では群雄割拠する

有力な戦国大名が、我れ先にと京都にのぼり、朝廷の信任によって全国の統治者になろうと競い合っていた。

その中で尾張（愛知県西部）の織田信長が斬新な戦略と京都に近い地の利を生かして頭角をあらわした。1560（永禄3）年、駿河（静岡県）の今川義元を桶狭間で破った信長は、やがて京都にのぼると足利義昭を将軍に擁立して全国統一に乗り出した。

その後、信長は義昭と対立するようになり、1573（天正元）年、義昭を京都から追放した。ここに、室町幕府は230年の歴史の幕をとじた。

信長は敵方の大名についた比叡山延暦寺を全山焼き打ちにし、浄土真宗の一向一揆も降伏させた。これによって、その後、仏教勢力の政治への発言力が弱まった。

信長は1575（天正3）年、当代最強といわれた甲斐（山梨県）の武田勝頼の騎馬軍団を鉄砲隊で打ち破った（長篠の戦い）。その翌年、信長は京都に近い琵琶湖畔に壮大な安土城を築いた。信長は政治に発言する仏教勢力をおさえる一方で、万里の波濤をこえてやってきたキリシタン宣教師の勇気を称えた。

信長は、楽市楽座の政策をとって城下の商工業者に自由な営

In this manner, Nobunaga cleared the path to national unification by destroying Japan's traditional political forces and social institutions. However, in 1582 (Tensho 10), Nobunaga was betrayed by his retainer Akechi Mitsuhide. After clashing with Mitsuhide's rebels at Honno-ji Temple in Kyoto, Nobunaga committed suicide there. This is called the **Honno-ji Temple Incident**.

### National unification under Toyotomi Hideyoshi

The man who inherited Oda Nobunaga's ambition and unified Japan was his senior retainer Hashiba Hideyoshi, later known under the name of **Toyotomi Hideyoshi**. Hideyoshi was facing off against the army of the Mori clan at Takamatsu Castle in Bicchu (modern-day Okayama Prefecture) when he learned of what had transpired at Honno-ji Temple. He immediately made peace with the Mori clan and pulled his army back to Kyoto where he defeated Akechi Mitsuhide at Tennozan.

In 1583 (Tensho 11), Hideyoshi demonstrated his commitment to ruling over a united Japan by commencing construction of the spectacular Osaka Castle, which was modeled on Nobunaga's Azuchi Castle.

In 1585 (Tensho 13), the Imperial Court appointed Hideyoshi chancellor, and the next year it bestowed him with the surname of Toyotomi, which means "bountiful minister". In the Emperor's name, Hideyoshi issued the Peace Edict, ordering all the daimyo to lay down their arms and pledge loyalty to him. He subjugated the remaining independent daimyo one-by-one and, by 1590 (Tensho 18), there was no one left to oppose him and conflict finally ended. Hideyoshi had completed the unification of Japan. The following year, Hideyoshi transferred the chancellery to his adopted son Hidetsugu and became *taiko*, the title of a retired chancellor who has passed his post to his son.

*Topic 34 Recap Challenge! – Give two major reforms implemented by Oda Nobunaga.*



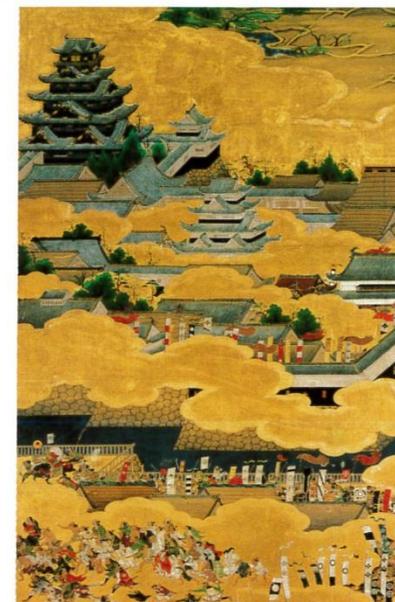
業を認め、流通のさまたげとなる関所を廃止した。

このように信長は旧来の政治勢力や社会制度を打破し、全国統一への道を切り開いた。しかし、1582 (天正10) 年、家臣の明智光秀の謀反にあい、京都の本能寺で自害した (**本能寺の変**)。

**豊臣秀吉の全国統一** 織田信長の事業を受けついで全国統一をなすとげたのは、重臣の羽柴秀吉 (のちの豊臣秀吉) であった。備中 (岡山県) 高松城の毛利軍と対陣していた秀吉は、本能寺の変を知ると直ちに毛利氏と和を結び、いち早く軍を引き返して、京都の天王山で明智光秀を討った。

1583 (天正11) 年、秀吉は信長の安土城をモデルにした壮大な大阪城の築城に着手し、全国を統治しようとする意思を示した。

1585 (天正13) 年、秀吉は関白に任ぜられ、その翌年、朝廷より「豊臣」の姓を賜わった。秀吉は天皇の名により全国の大名に、停戦して秀吉に服属することを命令し (惣無事令)、諸大名を次々と平定していった。1590 (天正18) 年、秀吉に歯向かう大名がいなくなって戦火は止み、秀吉の全国統一事業は完成した。翌年、関白を養子秀次に譲り、太閤になった。



大阪城 秀吉時代のおもかげを伝えている。「大阪夏の陣図屏風」大阪城天守閣蔵

1 関白の職を子弟に譲った人物を太閤という。

### まとめにチャレンジ!

織田信長が行った大きな改革を2つあげてみよう。

Topic 35 –Hideyoshi's government and the Japanese invasions of Korea  
 What were the distinguishing characteristics of Hideyoshi's government?

The Taiko Land Surveys and the Sword Hunt

Starting in the year 1582 (Tensho 10), Hideyoshi ordered the daimyo to undertake accurate evaluations of the rice yield of their domains and to prepare land registries with the grade of

each plot of land and the income they derived from it.<sup>1</sup> This is known as the **Taiko Land Survey**. The survey dealt a mortal blow to the shoen system by stripping shoen holders, including court nobles, of their right to own land. On the other hand, it did guarantee the rights of farmers to private land ownership, provided that they paid land tax to the daimyo in charge of the domain.

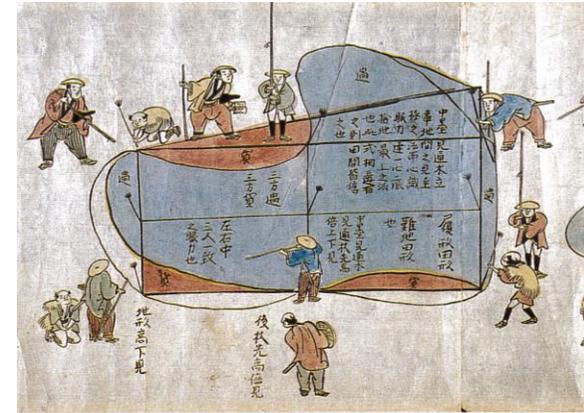
\*1=Farmland was classified as high grade, medium grade, low grade, or bottom grade. The income derived from farmland, called *kokudaka* in Japanese, was calculated through multiplying the total area of the land, measured in *tan* of about 1,000 square meters, by the rice yield expected of the land's grade.

In 1588 (Tensho 16), Hideyoshi issued the **Sword Hunt Ordinance**, demanding that all farmers and temples be disarmed of their weapons, including swords, bows, spears, and firearms. Farmers were to preserve the stability of the nation and future generations by devoting their lives to agriculture, whereas the role of the samurai was to protect the domain and nation and maintain public security. This principle was called **separation of farmer and samurai**.

The prohibition of Christianity

Hideyoshi defended Christianity until 1587 (Tensho 15), when he abruptly issued the Priest Expulsion Ordinance<sup>2</sup> and switched to an anti-Christian policy. Still, Hideyoshi valued the profitable trade with the "southern barbarian" merchants and reaffirmed their right to enter Japanese ports, so the anti-Christian policy was inconsistently enforced and the expulsion of the priests was never realized. Because Hideyoshi never prohibited ordinary citizens from practicing Christianity, the number of Christians in Japan continued to increase.

\*2=In Japanese, this ordinance was called the *bateren tsuihourei*. The word *bateren* meant "priest" and derived from the Portuguese word "Padre" meaning "Father".



検地図絵 (江戸時代の作) 役人が田の面積を測っているようすが、描かれている。太閤検地もこのような方法で行われたようだ。(秋田・玄福寺蔵)

**刀狩令** 1588年 (一部要約)

一、各地の百姓が、刀や短刀、弓、槍、鉄砲、その他の武器をもつことをかたく禁止する。そのわけは、百姓が不必要な武器をもっていると、年貢や税を出ししふり、おのずと一揆をくだして、大名から土地をあたらえられている家臣に対して、不法のふるまいをする者が出て、もちろん処罰される。そうすると、その者の田や畑は耕されず、領地がもたなくなってしまうからだ。そこで、大名や家臣、代官は、以上の武器をすべて集め、さし出しなさい。

二、とり集めた刀や短刀などは、むだにしてはならないので、このたび建てさせている京都の方広寺の大仏のクギやかすがいに使う。そうすれば、現世はもちろん、あの世まで百姓が助かることになる。

三、百姓は農具だけをもって、ひたすら農業に打ちこんでいけば、子孫の末まで長く暮らしを保つことができる。じつに国内が安らかとなり、人々が幸せになるものである。

35 秀吉の政治と朝鮮出兵

秀吉の政治は、どのような特徴をもっていたのだろうか。

1 土地の等級は、上田、中田、下田、下々田などであらわした。石高は、それぞれの等級での耕地1反(約10アール)あたりの米の収穫高に面積をかけて計算した。

2 バテレンとはキリスト教の神父のこと。伴天連とも書いた。ポルトガル語のバードレ(神父)に由来する。

太閤検地と刀狩

秀吉は1582(天正10)年から各大名に命じて米の収穫高を正確に調べさせ、土地の等級と石高を示す検地帳を作成した。これを太閤検地という。検地によって荘園領主だった中央貴族などの権利は奪われ、荘園制度は崩壊した。農民は土地私有権を認められるかわり、その領主たる大名に年貢をおさめることとなった。

1588(天正16)年、秀吉は刀狩令を発して農民や寺院から刀・弓・槍・鉄砲などを没収した。農民が耕作に専念することによって、子々孫々までの安泰を保証し、領内の自衛・治安と国防は武士の役割とした(兵農分離)。

キリスト教の禁止

秀吉はキリスト教の保護者であったが、1587(天正15)年、突如としてバテレン追放令を発し、キリシタンの禁教政策に転換した。しかし、貿易による利益を重視して、南蛮商人の入港は引きつづき認められたため、禁教政策は不徹底なものとなり、バテレンの追放も実現しなかった。秀吉は庶民の信仰までは禁じなかった

ので、キリシタン信徒はその後にも増えつづけた。フィリピンを拠点にしていたスペインの宣教師たちは、キリスト教を広めるため、南アメリカやアジアと同じように、武力によって中国や日本を征服する計画を立てていたといわれる。

However, Spanish missionaries based in the Philippines were said to be planning to conquer China and Japan and impose Christianity by force of arms, as they did in South America and southern Asia.

**Excerpts from the Sword Hunt Ordinance**

"-Peasants in all parts of Japan are strictly forbidden from owning swords, daggers, bows, spears, firearms, or any other type of weapon. If the peasants were allowed to own unnecessary weaponry, they would withhold taxes, plot rebellions without provocation, and behave disrespectfully towards samurai retainers who have been given land by the daimyo. Such deeds shall naturally be punished, as they will result in the wet and dry fields going uncultivated and the land being rendered useless. Therefore, the daimyo, retainers, and bailiffs shall collect all the aforementioned weapons and put them in government custody."

"-The swords, daggers, and other weaponry collected will not be wasted. Rather, they will be turned into nails and bolts for the great Buddha statue of Hojo-ji Temple that is being constructed in Kyoto. This ordinance is therefore a boon to the peasantry not only in their current lives, but in the next life as well."

"-If the peasants carry only their agricultural tools and devote themselves fully to farming, they will be able to ensure both their own livelihoods and those of their descendants. This is the true cornerstone of national peace and human happiness."

**The Japanese invasions of Korea**

Once he had unified Japan, Hideyoshi developed the grandiose ambition of conquering Ming China, transferring his capital city there, and even extending his dominion to faraway India.

In 1592 (Bunroku 1), Hideyoshi launched the **Japanese invasions of Korea** by sending a grand army of 150,000 soldiers into the Korean Peninsula. Hideyoshi's forces, commanded by such capable generals as Kato Kiyomasa and Konishi Yukinaga, quickly captured the Korean capital of Hansong (modern-day Seoul) and advanced deep into northern Korea. However, Japan's military position was complicated by the arrival of enemy reinforcements from Ming China and the effective naval tactics of Korean Admiral Yi Sun-sin. Consequently, Japan entered peace negotiations with Ming China and withdrew its army from Korea. The Japanese called this first conflict the Bunroku War.

**バテレン追放令 1587年(一部要約)**

一、日本は神国なので、キリシタンの国から邪教(キリスト教)を伝えることは許さない。  
 二、バテレンが地元の人々を近づけて信者にし、彼らをそそのかして神社や寺院を打ちこわしているのは、これまでに一度もなかった悪事である。  
 三、バテレンを日本に住まわせることはできないので、二十日以内に準備して帰国せよ。  
 四、ポルトガル・スペイン船が貿易に来るのは事情が違うので、今後も自由に売り買ひしてよい。  
 五、仏教をさまたげない者は、商人はもちろん、誰でもキリシタン国と自由に行き来してよい。

キリスト教宣教師の影響力を警戒して出されたもの。しかし、実際にはバテレン追放は実現しなかった。

**秀吉とフェリペ2世**

ちょうど秀吉が天下統一をなしとげたころ、スペインでは、国王フェリペ2世がイスラム勢力を打ち負かし絶頂期にあった。アジアに派遣されたスペイン人宣教師たちは、中国の武力征服を言明し、日本の利用価値を書簡でフェリペ2世に説いた。  
 しかし秀吉と同じ1598年にこの世を去ったので、征服計画は実現しなかった。



**朝鮮出兵** 全国を統一した秀吉は明を征服して都を移し、インドまでも支配するという壮大な野望を抱いた。1592(文禄元)年、秀吉は15万の大軍を朝鮮に送った(朝鮮出兵)。加藤清正や小西行長などの武将にひきいられた秀吉の軍勢は、たちまち首都の漢城(現在のソウル)を落とし、朝鮮北部にまで進んだ。しかし、朝鮮側の李舜臣がひきいる水軍の活躍、明からの援軍などで敗勢となり、明との和平交渉のために兵を引いた(文禄の役)。

1597(慶長2)年、明との交渉が決裂し、秀吉はふたたび約14万の大軍を派遣した。だが、明の反撃で今度は朝鮮南部から先に進むことができず、翌年、秀吉が死去したため、撤兵した(慶長の役)。

2度にわたる戦いによって、朝鮮の国土や人々の生活は荒廃した。また、この出兵に莫大な費用と兵力を費やした豊臣家の支配はゆらいだ。

このとき徳川家康は朝鮮出兵に賛成し、九州まで出陣したが渡海することはなかった。



3 朝鮮出兵で多くの朝鮮陶工が日本に連れてこられた。薩摩焼の沈寿官、有田焼の李参平、萩焼の李勺光らが陶磁器の技術を日本に伝えた。

**まとめにチャレンジ**  
 関白となった豊臣秀吉が、全国統一に向けて行った大きな政策を3つあげてみよう。

In 1597 (Keicho 2), negotiations with China broke down, and Hideyoshi deployed another army to Korea, this one about 140,000-men strong. This time, Japanese forces were counterattacked by the Chinese and never managed to advance beyond the southern half of the Korean Peninsula. The following year, Hideyoshi died and Japan withdrew its army from Korea. The Japanese called this second conflict the Keicho War.<sup>3</sup>

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**\*3=Over the course of the Japanese invasions of Korea, many Korean potters were taken to Japan. Pottery techniques transmitted to Japan by Koreans include the Satsuma ware of Sim Su-gwan, the Arita ware of Yi Samp'yong, and the Hagi ware of Yi Jak-kwang.**

The Japanese invasions devastated the people and land of Korea, and they also undermined the Toyotomi clan which had squandered massive human and financial resources on the campaigns.

The daimyo Tokugawa Ieyasu had supported the invasions of Korea. Though he had readied his army in Kyushu for departure to Korea, he ultimately never left Japan.

*Topic 35 Recap Challenge! – Give three major policies that Toyotomi Hideyoshi promoted while serving as chancellor in order to unify Japan.*

### Hideyoshi and King Philip II

At the same time that Hideyoshi was unifying Japan, King Philip II had scored a major triumph over the Muslim powers of Europe and reached the height of his power. Spanish missionaries working in Asia sent him a letter, advising that he conquer China and stressing the importance of control over the Japanese Isles.

However, Philip II died in 1598, the same year as Hideyoshi, and plans for war were never implemented.

### Excerpts from the Priest Expulsion Ordinance

The Priest Expulsion Ordinance, announced in 1587, warned of the influence of Christian missionaries. In fact, the ordinance was never implemented.

"-Because Japan is the land of the gods, we cannot allow the evil religion of the Christian

nations to be taught here."

"-Christian priests have been approaching people in the provinces, converting them, and inciting them to destroy shrines and temples. This is a crime unlike any this country has seen before."

"-Christian priests shall not be permitted to live in Japan and shall be given twenty days to prepare themselves to return to their home countries."

"-Because the circumstances surrounding trade are different, Portuguese and Spanish ships are still free to come to Japan to buy and sell goods."

"-Those who do not interfere with Buddhism, whether merchants or otherwise, are free to come and go from the Christian nations."

## JAPAN AS SEEN THROUGH FOREIGN EYES

### How Missionaries Saw the Japanese People

#### An "outstanding" people with "fine dispositions"

In the sixteenth century, Christian missionaries who came to Japan were surprised to discover a proud and civilized people living on islands off the coast of East Asia. They were especially impressed by the absence of theft and high literacy even among Japan's lower classes.

Father Francis Xavier wrote the following in a letter that he sent to a church in Goa, India:

"Of all the peoples I have encountered, the Japanese people are the most outstanding. Among the heathen peoples, I believe that none are greater than the Japanese. The Japanese people generally have fine dispositions. They bear no evil thoughts and are very pleasant to keep company with... Most of them are poor, but none among them, neither the samurai nor the commoners, see poverty as a disgrace."

#### Prosperity and sophistication exceeding that of Europe

Head Missionary Cosme de Torres stated that the Japanese led prosperous and self-sufficient lives:

"The prosperity of this country exceeds that of Spain, France, or Italy. Everything that the Christian nations have, so too do the Japanese have. I could not recount all their good qualities without running short of ink and paper."

The more that Father Organtino learned of the Japanese people, the higher an opinion he held of them:

"We Europeans see ourselves as a sophisticated people, but compared to the Japanese, I believe that we are utter barbarians. Indeed, I must confess that I learn new things from them every day. There may be no other people in the world with so much innate talent."

#### The differences between Japanese and European culture

Still, not all the missionaries spoke well of the Japanese people. Head Missionary Francisco Cabral was a narrow-minded man who refused to ordain Japanese men into the priesthood or teach them Latin. He made the following callous remark:

コラム

外の目から見た



## 宣教師の見た日本人

### ●「傑出した国民」「良い素質」

16世紀、日本にやってきたキリスト教の宣教師たちは、極東の島に思いがけず、文明化した誇り高い民族を発見しておどろきました。何よりも、下層の日本人でさえ、盗みがないことや、読み書きができることに強い印象を受けました。

神父ザビエルは、ゴア（インド）の教会へ送った書簡にこう書いています。

「日本人は私が遭遇した国民の中では、もっとも傑出している。異教徒の中で日本人にまさるものはあるまいと考える。彼らは総体的に良い素質を有し、悪意がなく、交わってすこぶる感じがよい」

「日本人はたいてい貧乏である。しかし、武士たると平民たるとを問わず、貧乏を恥辱と思っている者は一人もない」

### ●ヨーロッパをしのぐ豊かさと賢明さ

布教長トルレスは、日本人の暮らしが自給自足していて豊かだと言います。

「この国の豊かさはスペイン、フランス、イタリアをしのいでいる。キリスト教国にある一切のものが、この国にある。彼らの長所を数えてゆけば、紙とインクのほうが先に尽きてしまうであろう」

オルガンチーノ神父は、日本人を知るにつれて、さらに高い評価をしています。

「私たちヨーロッパ人はたがいに賢明に

見えるが、日本人と比較すると、はなはだ野蛮であると思う。私は本当のところ、毎日、日本人から教えられることを白状する。私には全世界でこれほど天賦の才能をもつ国民はないと思われる」

### ●ヨーロッパと日本の文化の違い

ただし、誰もが日本人を良く言ったわけではありません。布教長カブラルは、日本人を司祭に登用せず、ラテン語も学ばせまいとした心の狭い人でした。彼は冷淡にこう言っています。

「彼ら日本人教徒が（修道会に入って）共同の、そして従順な生活をしているのは、ほかに生活手段がないからだ」

しかし、東インド管区巡察師ヴァリニャーノは、カブラルのような態度は布教のさまたげになるとして解任し、こう述べました。

「日本人は、外国人の支配に耐えしのぶほど無気力でもなければ無知でもない。日本の教会の統括は日本人にゆだねるよりほかに考えるべきではない」

『日本史』を書き残したフロイス神父は、日本と西洋がまったく正反対である点を列挙して「日本人は罪人を平然と斬首するが、家畜を殺すと仰天する」と首をかき上げています。

彼らにとって日本はやはり「不思議の国」だったのです。

"The Japanese converts in our order lead cooperative and obedient lives only because they have no other means of survival."

However, Alessandro Valignano, a Jesuit Visitor from eastern India, removed Cabral for holding views prejudicial to the propagation of Christianity in Japan. According to Valignano:

"The Japanese are neither ignorant nor apathetic enough to kowtow to foreign domination. We have no option but to entrust the leadership of our churches in Japan to Japanese people."

Father Luis Frois, author of the book *The History of Japan*, described a long list of stark cultural contrasts between Japan and the West, expressing particular confusion over the fact that, "Japanese people can cut off the head of a criminal without a second thought, but are astonished that we kill animals."

For the missionaries, Japan was truly a mysterious country.

<p><b>I WANT TO KNOW MORE ABOUT...</b>  <b><u>Why Hideyoshi Expelled the Missionaries</u></b></p>
<p><u>Takayama Ukon's refusal to convert</u></p>
<p>Japan was a polytheistic country since antiquity and was open to new religions from foreign lands. Thanks to the pro-Christian stances of Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Japan profited greatly from the flourishing trade with Christian nations. In that case, why was it that Hideyoshi promulgated the Priest Expulsion Ordinance?</p> <p>It has been said that in June of 1587, on the night before Hideyoshi issued the ordinance, the Buddhist priests who had accompanied him to Hakata complained to him about the misconduct of the missionaries and Christian daimyo. They brought to his attention that the missionaries had been instigating the Christian daimyo to forcibly convert their subjects, destroy the shrines and temples within their domains, and banish the Shinto and Buddhist priests.</p> <p>Enraged to hear of this, Hideyoshi immediately dashed off a message to Takayama Ukon, a Christian daimyo in his encampment. The message read, "Either give up Christianity or give up your domain." Ukon replied, "I will stay true to my faith and agree to leave my domain", and Hideyoshi promptly ordered him to be divested of his lands.</p>

もっと知りたい  
コラム

ひでよし  
**秀吉はなぜ  
 バテレンを追放したか**

●高山右近の棄教拒否

日本は昔から多神教の国であり、異国の新しい宗教に対してもひらかれていました。信長も秀吉もキリスト教を優遇したため、南蛮貿易が盛んになり、大きな利益がもたらされたのです。その秀吉が、なぜバテレン追放令を出したのでしょうか。

1587(天正15)年6月、追放令が出される前夜、博多で秀吉に対して、随行の僧侶たちがバテレンやキリシタン領主らの所業について訴えたと言われます。バテレンは領主をそそのかして領民を強引に入信させ、領内の神社や寺を壊し、神官や僧侶を追い出していると訴えました。

それを聞いて激怒した秀吉は、ただちに陣営内にいるキリシタン大名・高山右近に書状を送り、「キリスト教を棄てるか、領国を追放されるか」と迫りました。右近は「信仰を守り、追放を受け入れる」と返答しました。秀吉は即座に右近の領地召上げと追放を命じました。

●宣教師コエリヨへの詰問

一方、平戸から会いに来た宣教師コエリヨにも使者を送り、次のように詰問しました。

①なぜ領民を強引に改宗させるのか、②なぜ神社仏閣を破壊するのか、③なぜ牛馬

の肉を食うのか、④なぜポルトガル人は多くの日本人を奴隷として買って連れ帰るのか。コエリヨは、秀吉を納得させる答えを出せませんでした。秀吉は側近の大名たちの前で、これまでのキリシタン保護の姿勢から一転して「バテレンの説く掟は悪魔のものだ。いっさいの善を破壊するものだ」と激しく批判し、「バテレン追放令」を布告しました。

この布告は高札によって広く全国に伝えられました。秀吉の布告は外国人バテレンの国外追放が主眼であって、一般領民の信仰の自由までは禁じてはしません。このため、コエリヨは司祭たちに、イエズス会員は日本にとどまり、各地に潜伏するように命じました。

●スペイン船の不覚

1596(慶長元)年、土佐沖で難破したスペイン船サン・フェリーペ号の航海長が奉行に対して「われらはまず宣教師を送り込んで先住民を改宗させ、つづいて軍隊が入って多くの王国を征服してきた」と脅したという風説が広まりました。このために秀吉はキリシタン取り締まりを強化したので、殉教者が出るまでになりました。一向一揆のような権力に反抗する宗教勢力の台頭をおそれていたからです。

### The interrogation of Gaspar Coelho

Around the same time, Hideyoshi sent an emissary to speak to the missionary Gaspar Coelho, who had come from Hirado to meet him.

152 Hideyoshi's emissary asked Coelho the following questions: (1.) Why do you force Japanese people to convert to Christianity? (2.) Why do you destroy shrines and temples? (3.) Why do you eat the meat of horses and cattle? (4.) Why do the Portuguese buy so many Japanese slaves and take them overseas? Hideyoshi was not persuaded by Coelho's answers. He gathered the daimyo closest to him and announced that he was reversing his policy of protecting Christianity, emphatically declaring that, "The teachings of the missionaries are those of the devil and will be the death of all that's good in Japan!" Hideyoshi then drew up and released the Priest Expulsion Ordinance.

The text of the ordinance was put up on official notice boards throughout the country. The ordinance was primarily intended to remove the Christian missionaries from Japan without prohibiting ordinary citizens from practicing any faith. Because of this, Coelho simply ordered the Jesuit missionaries to stay where they were and go into hiding.

### The indiscretion of a Spanish captain

In 1596 (Keicho 1), the Spanish ship *San Felipe* was wrecked off the coast of Tosa Province. A rumor spread that the ship's captain had threatened a Japanese official, telling him that the Spanish would first bring in missionaries to convert the local people and then bring in an army to conquer them. Fearing the growth of religious orders that would resist central authority like the ikko ikki had, Hideyoshi responded with a renewed crackdown on Christians, even making martyrs of many of them.

Topic 36 – Momoyama culture

What were the distinguishing characteristics of the Momoyama culture?

The culture of the daimyo and wealthy merchants

153 The ostentatious culture of this period was created by the daimyo who emerged triumphant from the Warring States period and eager to flaunt their newly acquired power. It is known as the Azuchi-Momoyama culture, or just Momoyama culture for short, from Nobunaga's Azuchi Castle and Hideyoshi's Momoyama Castle (also called Fushimi Castle). Likewise, the era when Nobunaga and Hideyoshi ruled Japan is referred to as the **Azuchi-Momoyama period**.

The castles constructed by Nobunaga and Hideyoshi were characterized by their magnificent keeps. The keep served as the headquarters and watchtower of the castle, but it was also intended to be a conspicuous symbol of the power of its owner. Nobunaga's Azuchi Castle used so much gold leaf that it was reputed that every inch of the interior shone with gold. The extravagant and vividly colored paintings that decorated the gold leaf of its folding screens and sliding paper doors were the work of the painters of the Kano school, including **Kano Eitoku**. They were also responsible for creating the wall paintings of Hideyoshi's Osaka Castle.

**Sen no Rikyu**,<sup>1</sup> a tea master from Sakai, perfected the art of the tea ceremony. Rikyu turned his back on the luxurious tastes of the time and instead developed *wabi* tea that could be quietly enjoyed in a small tea hut. The interiors of Rikyu's tea huts were built entirely of simple earthen walls with an alcove displaying a bamboo flower vase. For tea cups, he favored Kyoto's hand-molded *raku* ware. The tea ceremony founded by Rikyu helped to popularize the *wabi* aesthetic among the Japanese people. It was also during the Azuchi-Momoyama period that the Japanese art of flower arrangement, which arose during the Muromachi period, was perfected by Ikenobo Senko I.

**\*1=Sen no Rikyu, born in Sakai to a wealthy merchant, served Nobunaga and Hideyoshi and is regarded as the greatest tea master of his era. Rikyu was a connoisseur of tea utensils and the progenitor of the Sen family of tea masters. Rikyu trained many disciples, but eventually came into conflict with Hideyoshi and was ordered to commit ritual suicide.**



唐獅子図屏風 狩野永徳筆 金地の背景に唐獅子が堂々と歩き、天下統一をめざす武士の気風を伝えている。(宮内庁三の丸尚蔵館蔵)

36  
桃山文化

桃山文化にはどのような特徴があるのだろうか。



千利休 (1522~91)  
長谷川等伯筆 (京都・不審菴蔵)

1 千利休は堺の豪商の生まれで、信長・秀吉に仕え、当代第一級の茶人として知られた。茶道具の目ききで、茶道家元・千家の始祖。多くの弟子を輩出したが、秀吉と対立して切腹を命じられた。

大名と大商人の文化 戦国時代を實力で勝ち抜いた戦国大名たちは、その権勢を誇るように雄大な文化を生んだ。これらの文化は信長の安土城と秀吉の伏見城(桃山城)にちなんで安土桃山文化、または単に桃山文化とよび、信長・秀吉が活躍した時代を安土桃山時代とよぶ。

信長、秀吉らが築いた城には壮麗な天守閣があった。天守閣は司令塔・展望台とされるが、権勢を象徴する装飾の性格が強い。信長の安土城の内装は金箔がほどこされ、「殿中ことごとく金なり」と称えられた。金箔の地に濃彩の絢爛豪華な襖絵や屏風絵を描いたのは狩野永徳ら狩野派の絵師たちであった。秀吉が建てた大阪城の障壁画も彼らの作品である。

堺の茶人で茶の湯を完成した千利休は、こうした華やかな趣味に背を向けるように、狭い茶室で静かにたしなむ侘び茶を始めた。茶室の内装はすべて土壁で、床の間には竹の花入れをかけ、茶碗は京都の楽焼を好んだ。利休の確立した茶道は日本人の間に「侘び」という美意識をはぐくんだ。また、室町時代に生まれた華道は、初代池坊専好によってこの時期に完成された。

庶民の生活と文化 庶民の間にもこの世を楽しむ風潮が広まった。小唄が流行し、三味線の伴奏で浄瑠璃がうたわれ、これに合わせて人形浄瑠璃が生まれ

### The lifestyles and culture of the common people

The trend toward sensual entertainment also spread among the common people. Ballads called *kouta* became popular, as did a form of dramatic storytelling called *yoruri*, which was accompanied by the music of the *shamisen*, a three-stringed lute. *Joruri* also gave rise during this period of time to traditional Japanese puppet theater. Izumo no Okuni, who was said to have been a priestess at Izumo Grand Shrine, invented the *kabuki* dance, which would evolve into kabuki theater during the later Edo period.<sup>2</sup>

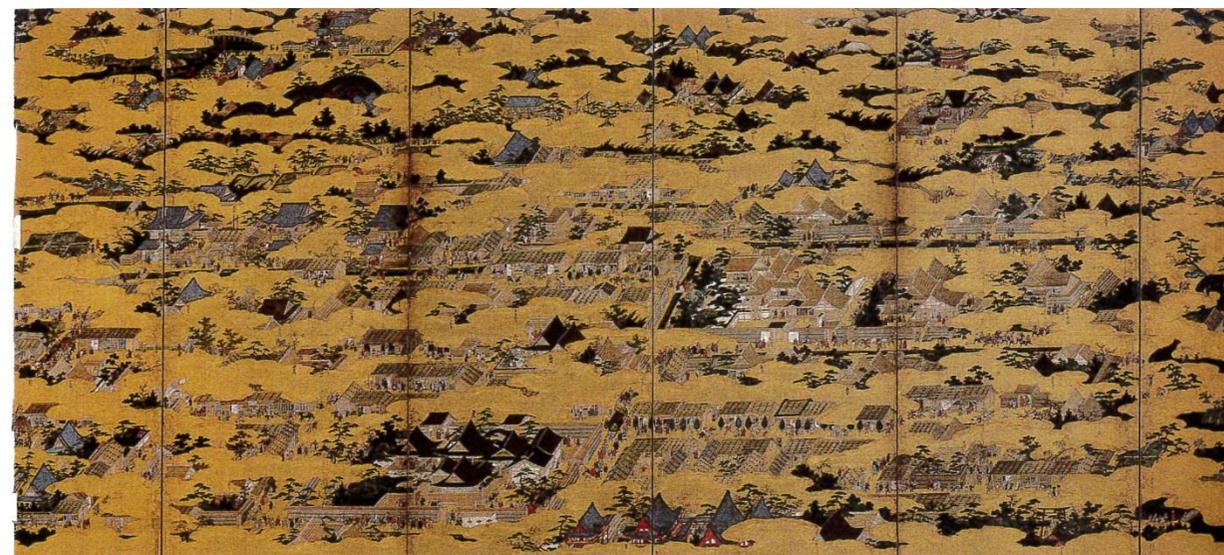
**\*2=Izumo no Okuni wore flamboyant outfits when dancing. During her performances, she would wield a large sword and dress in eccentric men's ware to play the role of a man on a wild teahouse romp. Consequently, she was dubbed a fop, or *kabukimono* in Japanese. She elicited enthusiastic responses from contemporary crowds.**

As clothing, the common people came to prefer the lightweight and short-sleeved kimonos known as *kosode*. Hemp was increasingly replaced with cotton fabric, which was not only more comfortable and durable, but also could easily be dyed in many colors.

### Southern Barbarian culture

At the height of the Southern Barbarian Trade and the work of Christian missionaries, Western astronomy, medicine, and navigation techniques entered Japan. Copies of the *Bible* and Aesop's Fables were printed in Japan with movable type presses, and the art on Japanese folding screens came to depict European and Western customs. Western tastes also appeared in Japanese fashion, craftsmanship, and food. The Japanese people began to smoke tobacco, which is native to South America, and to play card games. In addition, a wide range of Western vocabulary words were assimilated into the Japanese language, such as *kasutera* (meaning "sponge cake" from the Portuguese word *Castella*), *pan* (meaning "bread" from the Portuguese word *pão*), *manto* (meaning "cloak" from the French word *manteau*), and *juban* (meaning "undershirt" from the Portuguese word *jibão*).

These exotic cultural influences introduced to Japan by Westerners are collectively referred to as the **Southern Barbarian culture**. The wealthy merchants of cities like Sakai and Hakata, who earned their fortunes in the Southern Barbarian Trade, were responsible for patronizing and spreading the Southern Barbarian culture. The heyday of the Southern Barbarian culture proved short-lived and was soon quashed along with Christianity, but by then parts of it had taken root



洛中洛外図屏風 狩野永徳筆 織田信長から越後の有力な戦国大名である上杉謙信に贈られたもの。都のようすが細かく描かれている。(米沢市上杉博物館所蔵 上杉本 左隻) P.94

た。出雲大社の巫女と称する出雲阿国が始めたかぶき踊りは、江戸期に確立する歌舞伎の源流となった。

衣服は活動的な小袖が一般的になり、麻にかわって木綿の衣料が普及し始めた。木綿は着心地がさっぱりして丈夫な上、色柄を染められるという特性があった。

**南蛮文化** 南蛮貿易や宣教師の布教活動がさかんにあって、天文学・医学・航海術

が日本に伝わり、活版印刷によって『聖書』や『イソップ物語』などが出版された。南蛮人や南蛮風俗をテーマにした屏風絵が描かれ、衣服・工芸・食文化にも南蛮趣味が広がった。南米原産のタバコの移入によって喫煙の風習も始まり、トランプ遊びも広まった。このほか、カステラ、パン、マント、ジュバンなどさまざまな分野で南蛮語が新しい日本語になった。

こうして西洋人が日本に伝えた異国情緒ある文化を南蛮文化とよぶ。南蛮貿易で巨利を得た豪商が堺や博多などにあられ、南蛮文化を支え、広げた。南蛮文化の隆盛はその後の禁教のため短期間で終わったが、その一部は日本社会に定着し、中国やインドのさらに向こうに広大な異文化があるということを知らせた。それによって日本人は世界の見方を広げた。



茶室「待庵」 2畳の茶室で、千利休の茶室としては現存する唯一のもの。(京都・妙喜庵) P.118

2 出雲阿国は派手な衣装で踊り、大きな刀をもち、かぶき者とよばれた奇抜な男装で、茶屋遊びなどを演じて喝采をあびた。

### まとめにチャレンジ!

桃山文化の特色を、建築・絵画・茶道華道の3つの分野に分けて述べてみよう。

in Japanese society. It had made the Japanese people conscious of the existence of diverse foreign cultures well beyond China and India, and thus dramatically broadened their world view.

*Topic 36 Recap Challenge! – State the distinguishing features of the Momoyama culture in three fields: architecture, painting, the arts of the tea ceremony and flower arrangement.*

## Section 2 – The politics of the Edo shogunate

### Topic 37 – The establishment of the Edo shogunate

Through what means did the Edo shogunate control the daimyo?

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#### Tokugawa Ieyasu and the Edo shogunate

The most powerful man in Japan after Toyotomi Hideyoshi was **Tokugawa Ieyasu**. Hideyoshi was wary of having such a powerful figure near to his headquarters in Osaka, so he moved Ieyasu's domain eastward to the Kanto region. In Kanto, Ieyasu consolidated his power while developing and enlarging Edo, a small town on the fringes of his territory. After Hideyoshi's death, Ieyasu allied himself with numerous other powerful warlords. In 1600 (Keicho 5), Ieyasu's forces confronted the Western Army led by Ishida Mitsunari, who had been Hideyoshi's senior retainer, and won a decisive victory at the **Battle of Sekigahara**.

In 1603 (Keicho 8), the Imperial Court appointed Ieyasu shogun. He established the **Edo shogunate**. In the summer of 1615 (Genna 1), Ieyasu attacked and destroyed Osaka Castle, the base of Hideyoshi's son Hideyori, removing the last obstacle to his domination of Japan.

The Tokugawa family ruled Japan through the shogunate for fifteen generations. These next 260 years, which were devoid of any major wars, are called the **Edo period**.

The direct retainers of the shogun, the bannermen and housemen, were responsible for defending Edo Castle. The lands that were directly controlled by the shogun and bannermen were valued at about seven million *koku*, a *koku* being the amount of rice needed to feed one person for one year. This amounted to one quarter of Japan's rice production. Furthermore, the shogunate held exclusive rights to conduct diplomacy and mint currency. By the time of the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu, the administrative structures of the shogunate were stabilized. The highest-ranking officials were called the Elders, followed by the Junior Elders, superintendents, and commissioners. In spite of the power he wielded, the shogun himself was careful not to act arbitrarily. He decided on a policy only after holding councils with his staff and carefully considering their opinions.

#### Shogun-daimyo relations

The daimyo of the Edo period were those warlords to whom the shogun had granted a domain valued at over 10,000 *koku*. All the daimyo pledged fealty to the shogun and were his vassals.



### 37 江戸幕府の成立

江戸幕府は大名をどのように統制したのだろうか。



江戸幕府のしくみ

豊臣秀吉の次に最大の実力者となったのは、徳川家康であった。秀吉は大阪の近くに家康のような実力者がいることを警戒して、家康の所領を本拠地の三河地方から関東に移した。家康は、辺境の地の江戸を開拓して町づくりを進め、実力をたくわえた。秀吉の死後、家康は多くの有力武将を味方につけて1600(慶長5)年、秀吉の重臣だった石田三成を中心とした西国の対抗勢力を「天下分け目の決戦」となった関ヶ原の戦いで破った。

1603(慶長8)年、家康は朝廷から征夷大将軍に任命され、江戸幕府を開いた。1615(元和元)年の夏、豊臣秀吉の遺児秀頼を大阪城に攻め滅ぼし(大阪夏の陣)、全国支配を完成させた。

徳川氏が将軍として15代にわたって統治し、大規模な戦乱のなかった約260年間を江戸時代という。

江戸城は将軍直属の旗本と御家人が守った。将軍直轄の天領(幕領ともいう)と旗本の知行地を合わせると約700万石で、幕府は全国石高の約4分の1の支配地を有した。また、幕府は外交と貨幣製造の権限を独占した。幕府のしくみは、3代将軍徳川家光のころには、老中を筆頭に若年寄・目付・奉行などの



Topic 38 – From licensed trading to national isolation

Why did the shogunate reverse its pro-trade policy and ban the Christian religion?

158 Red-seal ships and Japantowns

Tokugawa Ieyasu sought to promote trade by granting licenses to certain trading ships, including those operated by the daimyo of western Japan and the merchants of Nagasaki and Sakai. The ships carried these licenses, known as “red seals”, as proof that they were officially sanctioned merchant vessels and not pirates. The **red-seal ships** set sail from Japan and vigorously traded with people across Southeast Asia, including Vietnam, the Philippines, and Thailand.

Japanese people also formed settlements called Japantowns throughout Southeast Asia. The combined population of the Japantowns quickly climbed to 10,000 people, including masterless samurai who went into exile after their lords were killed during the 1615 siege of Osaka. Some former samurai, like Yamada Nagamasa,<sup>1</sup> went on to become high-ranking officials in the Kingdom of Siam (now Thailand).

**\*1=Yamada traveled to the Kingdom of Siam aboard a red-seal ship in 1611 (Keicho 16) and was active in Southeast Asian affairs as the leader of a Siamese Japantown.**

From a pro-trade policy to the prohibition of Christianity

Because Ieyasu valued the profitable Southern Barbarian Trade, he declined to endorse the persecution of Christians, and the number of Japanese Christians continued to rise. The shogunate felt threatened by this but struggled on how to respond.

Meanwhile, Dutch and English merchants arrived in Asia as latecomers hoping to make inroads into the Southern Barbarian Trade. To persuade the Japanese to give them a share of the trade, they told the Japanese that they, as Protestants, desired only trade and not evangelization, which was part of a Spanish and Portuguese plot to conquer Japan.

In 1612 (Keicho 17), the shogunate released the first of a set of three ordinances to suppress Christianity and also moved to prevent Spanish and Portuguese ships from landing on Japanese shores. In 1635 (Kanei 12), the shogunate further tightened its grip by banning Japanese citizens from leaving Japan or returning from overseas.



朱印船 異国の港についた朱印船が3隻の手こぎ舟に引かれて岸に寄っていくようす。浜には民族衣装を着た出むかえの人々が集まっている。(愛知・情妙寺蔵)

朱印船の航路と日本町 貿易にたずさわる日本人は東南アジア各地に定住し、日本風に生活できる町を形成したが、鎖国後、自然消滅した。

38 朱印船貿易から鎖国へ

幕府が貿易重視からキリスト教の禁止へと転換したのは、どうしてだろうか。

1611 (慶長16) 年、朱印船に乗ってシャム (タイ) にわたり、タイの日本町を中心に東南アジアで活躍した人物。



キリスト教信者の増加 (五野井隆史『日本キリスト教史』より作成)

朱印船と日本町

徳川家康は貿易を奨励し、西日本の大名や長崎・堺の大商人などの貿易船に朱印状をあたえて、海賊船ではないことを保証した。朱印船は安南 (ベトナム)、呂宋 (フィリピン)、シャム (タイ) など東南アジア各地に出かけて、活発な活動を展開した。

現地に住みついた人々による日本町の人口は、合わせて1万人におよんだ。大阪の陣に敗れて亡命した浪人などもおり、そのなかには山田長政のようにシャムの国王から高い官位をあたえられた者もいた。

貿易重視からキリスト教の禁止へ

家康はキリシタン禁教よりも南蛮貿易の利益を優先したため、信者が増えていった。幕府はこれを脅威と感じ始め、その対策に苦慮した。遅れてアジア貿易に参入したオランダとイギリスは「スペインとポルトガルは日本を征服しようとしているが、われわれプロテスタントは交易だけで布教はしない」と弁明して、日本との貿易に食い込んできた。

幕府は1612 (慶長17) 年からキリスト教禁止令を3回発令し、スペインとポルトガルの来航を禁止した。1635 (寛永12) 年には、日本人の海外への渡航も帰国もすべて禁止して統制を強化した。

## The Shimabara Rebellion and the policy of national isolation

In 1637 (Kanei 14), a revolt was launched in Shimabara and Amakusa, two regions of the southern Japanese island of Kyushu, by 40,000 farmers, mostly Christians, and former retainers of the deposed Christian daimyo Konishi Yukinaga. Amakusa Shiro Tokisada, a boy fifteen years of age, led the uprising protesting the heavy taxation and harsh anti-Christian persecution of Matsukura Katsuie, daimyo of Shimabara Domain. This is known as the **Shimabara Rebellion**. Stunned by the fierce resistance of the rebel forces, the shogunate responded the following year by sending a massive army of 120,000 soldiers which crushed the rebellion within three months.<sup>2</sup>

**\*2=At the end of the rebellion, a force of 19,000 rebels holed up in Hara Castle and fought to the bitter end. Though ultimately annihilated, they killed 1,130 soldiers of the shogun's army and wounded over 8,000. The shogunate pinned blame for the incident on the Shimabara Domain. Shimabara Domain Daimyo Matsukura Katsuie was escorted to Edo and executed.**

The shogunate decided that it would have to increase enforcement of its prohibition of Christianity to forestall another rebellion like the one at Shimabara. Henceforth, all Japanese people were required to enroll in the temple registry of a local Buddhist temple where they would be issued a temple certificate proving that they were not Christians. This was called the "temple certificate system" (*teraukesei* in Japanese), which was the forerunner of the "donor-household system" (*danka seido*) that survives in Japan to this day. An individual could prove that he was not a Christian by stamping on a tablet depicting a holy symbol of the Christian faith.

In 1639 (Kanei 16), Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu issued a fifth official prohibition, this one banning all foreign ships from Japanese ports except for Chinese and Dutch ships. Then, in 1641, he closed the Dutch trading post at Hirado and ordered the Dutch to conduct all their business at Dejima, an island off the coast of Nagasaki.

The shogunate's prohibitions on emigration, immigration, and foreign trade with nations apart from China and the Netherlands were later called *sakoku*, a word commonly translated into English as "national isolation". However, the objective of the shogunate's policy was not total "national isolation". Rather, the shogunate desired only to remove the influence of Christianity from Japanese society and to monopolize foreign trade and foreign knowledge.



島原の乱 島原陣図屏風 原城に立てこもる反乱軍を攻撃する幕府軍。  
(福岡・朝倉市秋月郷土館蔵)

### 歴史の言葉

#### 【鎖国】

「鎖」はくさり、「鎖国」は国をとざすことを意味するが、言葉が強すぎて実態に合わない。

幕府はポルトガル、スペインと断交しただけで、国をとざすつもりはなかったし、鎖国という言葉を使ったこともない。

鎖国という言葉は、長崎通詞の志筑忠雄がドイツ人ケンペルの『日本誌』の一部を翻訳し、『鎖国論』(1801年)というタイトルをつけたのが始まりで、歴史用語として使われるようになったのは、明治以後である。

#### 島原の乱と鎖国

1637(寛永14)年、九州の島原と天草地方で農民とキリスト教信徒の

百姓など約4万人が、キリシタン大名だった小西行長の遺臣らとともに一揆をおこした。島原藩主・松倉勝家の重税と過酷な

5 キリシタン弾圧に抗議する人々は、15歳の天草四郎時貞を総大将にたてて決起した。これを島原の乱という。激しい抵抗に手を焼いた幕府は翌年、約12万人の大軍を送り、3か月かけてようやく鎮圧した。

島原の乱を教訓として幕府は、キリスト教の禁止政策をいっ  
10 そう強めた。幕府は、全住民を寺の宗門改帳に登録させ、キリスト教徒ではないことを証明する寺請状を寺に出させた。これを寺請制といい、今に残る檀家制度の始まりとなった。また、キリスト教徒でない証しとして踏み絵を使った。

1639(寛永16)年、徳川家光は5回目の禁令を出して、オ  
15 ランダと中国以外の外国船の入港を禁じた。さらに、1641年、オランダ商館を平戸から長崎の出島に移して封じ込めた。

対オランダ・中国以外との貿易と出入国をきびしく制限するこの制度は、のちに鎖国とよばれた。鎖国は完全に国を閉ざしたのではなく、そのねらいは、日本からキリスト教の影響を排  
20 除し、幕府が貿易と海外情報を独占することであった。

2 この一揆で籠城して最後まで抵抗した1万9000人は全滅したが、幕府軍も戦死者1130人、負傷者8000余人の犠牲を出した。幕府は島原藩の責任を追及し、藩主・松倉勝家を江戸に護送して処刑した。



踏み絵 イエス・キリストの像などを役人の前で踏ませて、キリスト教徒でない証しとした。(東京国立博物館蔵)

#### まとめにチャレンジ!

江戸幕府がキリシタン容認から禁止に転じて鎖国に踏み切った理由を書いてみよう。

*Topic 38 Recap Challenge! – Write down the reasons why the Edo shogunate shifted from tolerance of Christianity to prohibition of it and implemented the policy of national isolation.*

### HISTORICAL KEYWORDS

#### Sakoku

The Japanese word *sakoku* means "closed country", and is often translated in English as "national isolation". However, the English definition is far more extreme than what really took place.

In fact, the shogunate only cut ties with Spain and Portugal and had no intention of completely isolating itself from the outside world. The shogunate never used the word *sakoku* to describe its policies.

The word *sakoku* itself did not exist until 1801 when the Nagasaki translator Shizuki Tadao used it in the title of a piece of writing that he translated from the book *History of Japan*, originally written by the German scholar Engelbert Kaempfer. During the Meiji period, *sakoku* came into use as a historical term to refer to the policies of the period.

Topic 39 – Japan's four windows to the outside world

Even under the policy of "national isolation", commerce between Japan and other nations was vigorous, albeit tightly controlled by the shogunate. Through what networks did this commerce take place?

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Trade at Dejima

At Dejima, an island off the coast of Nagasaki, Dutch merchants continued to sell clocks, books, and many other European products to the Japanese. The Dutch ships also brought raw silk, cotton fabric, and books that they acquired in Qing China<sup>1</sup> on their way to Japan. As payment, Japan initially exported silver and copper, but later exported handicraft products such as Imari ware pottery. In order to acquire overseas information, the shogun asked the head of the Dutch trading post to submit "Dutch Reports". The Chinese also traded in Nagasaki, and their walled community was likewise asked to submit "Chinese Ship Reports" concerning news from Asia.



長崎の出島 寛文長崎図屏風 扇形の埋め立て地で、東西70m、扇形の長辺が190mだった。オランダ商館や通訳の家、倉庫などが並んでいた。(長崎歴史文化博物館蔵)



オランダ商館の宴会 唐蘭館絵巻より「宴会図」 母国の生活様式をもちこんだオランダ商館の内部のようす。食卓上の肉、ワイン、猫を抱いた日本女性も見える。(長崎歴史文化博物館蔵)

\*1=In the mid-seventeenth century, the Ming dynasty was overthrown by an internal rebellion, but was soon invaded by the Manchus who founded the Qing dynasty.

Korea, Ryukyu, and Ezochi

Tokugawa Ieyasu used the So clan, who were the daimyo of Tsushima Domain, to patch up Japan's relations with Korea that had been frayed by Hideyoshi's invasions. From then on, the Korean government sent envoys, referred to as the **Korean missions to Japan**, as a courtesy gesture each time a new shogun was appointed. The So clan conducted business with Korea at "**Japan House**", a Japanese settlement set up in Pusan.

In 1609 (Keicho 14), the Satsuma Domain sent a military expedition to the Ryukyu Kingdom and forced the ruling Sho dynasty to submit. The Kings of Ryukyu were already vassals of Qing China, and so the Ryukyu Kingdom was technically a tributary of both nations. Consequently, Ryukyu pursued a policy of dual diplomacy, paying tribute to China as well as sending envoys to Edo whenever a new shogun was appointed. The information and goods that the Ryukyu Kingdom acquired due to its relationship with China also made their way to the Edo shogunate via the Satsuma Domain.

The Matsumae Domain, which ruled the southern half of the northern island of Ezochi (modern day Hokkaido), held a monopoly on trade with the native Ainu fishermen, through which it acquired marine products and bear and seal furs. The Ainu themselves also conducted trade with

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鎖国日本の4つの窓口

鎖国下でも、幕府の統制のもとで貿易は活発に行われたが、それはどのようなしくみだったのだろうか。

1 17世紀の中ごろ、明が国内の反乱によってほろび、女真族が建国して清となった。

倭館 正式には草梁倭館といい、日本人居住区の面積は10万坪で、出島の25倍だった。対馬藩から派遣された役人や、商人、留学生など約500人が住み、貿易などにたずさわった。(下図)



出島の貿易

長崎の出島には、オランダ船がヨーロッパから時計・書物など数々の文物をもたらし、さらに中国(清)に立ち寄って生糸・綿織物・書籍を買い込んで運んできた。日本からは初めてのころは銀や銅、のちには伊万里焼などの工芸品が輸出された。幕府はオランダ商館長に「オランダ風説書」を提出させ、海外の情報を集めた。長崎には中国船も来航し、唐人屋敷から提出される「唐船風説書」でアジアの情報を得た。

朝鮮・琉球・蝦夷地

徳川家康は対馬領主の宗氏を介して、秀吉の出兵で断絶していた朝鮮との国交を回復した。朝鮮からは將軍の代がわりたびに朝鮮通信使とよばれる使節が將軍を表敬訪問した。宗氏は朝鮮の釜山に置かれた「倭館」を活動の拠点とした。

1609(慶長14)年、薩摩藩は琉球王国に兵を送って尚氏を服属させた。琉球は清の冊封も受けていたので、双方の支配に服し、將軍の代がわりには江戸に使節を送るなど二重外交をつづけた。清に朝貢して得られた物資と情報は薩摩藩を通じて幕府にももたらされた。蝦夷地(北海道)の南部を支配した松前藩は、漁労に従事するアイヌとの交易権を独占し、海産物や熊・アザ

the peoples of the Kuril Islands, Sakhalin, and Manchuria. These commercial ties allowed the Ainu to obtain a type of Chinese clothing that was dubbed "Ezo brocade". In 1669 (Kanbun 9), Ainu leader Shakushain led an uprising in response to unfair terms of trade offered by Japanese merchants, but the Matsumae Domain counterattacked and defeated the rebels.

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### The four windows

Thus, Japan maintained four windows to the outside world during its phase of "national isolation" during the Edo period: Nagasaki, Tsushima, Satsuma, and Matsumae. Through these four windows, Japan continued trading goods and information from abroad. Though the shogunate strived to control commerce and to keep its monopoly on profits and foreign information, many of Japan's domains eventually gained access to the "Dutch Reports" and similar sources of news. Therefore, the domains managed to acquire foreign information through their own means.

*Topic 39 Recap Challenge! – Despite the policy of "national isolation", Japan did not close every avenue through which it could obtain information about the outside world. List the four principal windows that remained open and briefly explain the circumstances behind each one.*



ラシの毛皮などを入手した。アイヌは千島列島や樺太、満州などとも交易をしており、彼らを通して蝦夷錦とよばれる中国産の織物も流入した。1669 (寛文9) 年、アイヌは松前藩の商人の不正な交易のやり方に反発し、シャクシャインを頭領として蜂起したが松前藩の反撃により敗北した。

**4つの窓口** このようにして、鎖国下の江戸時代には、長崎、対馬、薩摩、松前の4つの窓口が外国に開かれていた。それらを通して貿易が行われ、世界の情報も入ってきた。幕府は貿易を統制し、利益や情報を独占しようとしたが、多くの藩でも「オランダ風説書」などを入手していた。各藩は独自に海外の情報に接していた。



**まとめにチャレンジ!**  
鎖国によって日本は、海外情報を入手する窓口をすべて閉じたわけではなかった。開いていた主な窓口を4つあげ、それぞれについて簡単に説明してみよう。

Topic 40 – Peace and stability in Edo society

What was the true nature of the class system in Edo Japan?

163 The class system

The Edo shogunate inherited Hideyoshi's policies of disarming non-samurai and reinforced them through a class system that divided the people of Japan into three social classes: the samurai, the peasants, and the townspeople. Edo Japan achieved a remarkable level of peace and stability under a class system rooted in a harmonious and tranquil social order.

Members of the samurai class, who enjoyed the honor of being permitted to use surnames and wear swords, were responsible for public security, national defense, and government administration. On the other hand, peasants and townspeople engaged in production, manufacturing, and trade. It was they who were the economic backbone that supported the shogunate and the domains. The bonds of mutual dependence that existed between each of the classes were the bedrock of the prosperity Japan experienced during the Edo period.

Nevertheless, the class divisions between samurai, peasant, and townspeople were not always rigidly fixed. There were instances of samurai becoming peasants or townspeople and instances of townspeople being adopted into samurai families. Furthermore, there were a number of other occupational groups, such as the court nobles, the Shinto priests, and the Buddhist monks.

The lowest social class was the untouchables, who were referred to as "the unclean ones" (*eta*) and "the sub-humans" (*hinin*). In addition to farming, untouchables were also involved in the disposal of animal carcasses and special crafts such as leatherwork for weaponry. They were subjected to harsh discrimination and were forced to live in segregated districts.

Villages and peasants

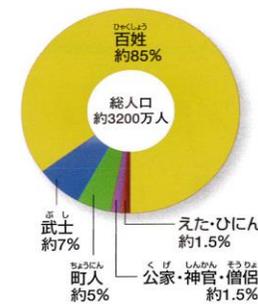
During the Edo period, rural communities were governed by **village officers**, including the village headman, assistant headman, and peasants' representative. Under what was known as the **village contract system**, they were responsible for undertaking work bearing on the entire village, such as the payment of taxes, upkeep of common lands, and management of fields, mountains, and water resources. The villages also inherited the medieval tradition of the autonomous *so* and continued to decide their own affairs at village forums, called *yoriai* in Japanese.



江戸時代の農村のようす 農耕春秋図屏風 取り入れた稲を効率よく脱穀する千歯こき（中央奥）や、風をおこして米ともみからを吹き分ける唐箕（手前）など、改良された農具が見られる。（福島・会津酒造歴史館蔵）

40 江戸の社会の平和と安定

江戸時代の身分制度の実態は、どのようなものだったのだろうか。



江戸時代末の人口の割合（関山直太郎『近世日本の人口構造』(吉川弘文館)より作成)

身分制度

江戸幕府は秀吉の刀狩の方針を受けつぎ、武士・百姓・町人を区別する身分制度を定めた。それによって、争いのない穏やかな社会秩序に基礎を置く、平和で安定した社会をつくり出した。

武士は名字・帯刀の名誉を有し、治安・国防と行政事務にたずさわった。百姓・町人は生産・加工・流通にかかわり、幕府および藩の財政をささえた。このように異なる身分の人々が互依存しながら江戸時代の豊かな時代をささえていた。

武士と百姓・町人を分ける身分制度は必ずしも厳格に固定されていたわけではなく、武士が百姓や町人になり、町人が武家の養子になることもあった。そのほか、公家や神官・僧侶などの人々がいた。

これとは別に、えた・ひにとよばれる身分が置かれた。これらの身分の人々は、農業のほかに、牛馬の死体処理、武具の皮革製品などの特殊な工芸に従事し、特定の地域に住むことが定められるなどきびしい差別を受けた。

村と百姓

江戸時代の村では、有力者が名主(庄屋)、組頭、百姓代などの村役人

Villagers were grouped into five-household units that bore collective responsibility for collection of taxes and suppression of crime. They also practiced forms of mutual aid called *moyai* and *yui*.<sup>1</sup> Those found guilty of serious crimes or refusal to abide by the rules laid down by village forums were subjected to the punishment of **social ostracism**.<sup>2</sup>

**\*1=*Moyai* and *yui* were mutual aid organizations that existed in Japanese villages since the Kamakura period to enhance cooperative labor. *Yui* were common in farming villages and involved villagers coming together on short-term labor projects such as rice planting, rice harvesting, and roof thatching. By contrast, *moyai* were common in mountain and fishing villages where they undertook collaborative fishing under the leadership of a boss called an *animoto*.**

**\*2=Social ostracism, called *murahachibu* in Japanese, meant that all interaction and transactions with other villagers would be cut off except for assistance in putting out fires and burying deceased family members.**

In principle, the shogunate forbade the purchase and sale of agricultural land in order to ensure stable land tax revenues. The peasants accepted payment of the land tax as a necessary public duty, but if the taxes being levied were unjustly high, they did band together to press for tax relief. These were known as **peasant ikki**. The peasant ikki usually attempted collective bargaining with the daimyo, and only rarely took the form of armed insurrections. The daimyo attempted to settle such disputes peaceably by accepting the demands of the ikki as far as possible.

### Castle towns and their inhabitants

In castle towns, samurai and townspeople lived in separate districts. The samurai were situated where they could best defend the castle, but the townspeople lived in the low-lying parts of the town where they set up shop along roadways. Sometimes the townspeople arranged themselves by occupation, forming separate carpenters' towns, blacksmiths' towns, and tailors' towns. Merchants paid both licensing fees and annual taxes to the domain, which, along with the land tax, were the most important sources of revenue for the daimyo. Influential townspeople were also appointed as village officers, allowing the townspeople to exercise a degree of autonomy over their own communities.<sup>3</sup>

**身分制度と百姓・町人**



江戸時代には、「士農工商」の4つの身分があったといわれることがある。しかし、「工(手工業者)と商(商人)の間には身分上の区別はなかった。「士農工商」は中国の古い書物にある言い方にすぎず、江戸時代に実際に行われていた身分制度は、武士、百姓、町人の3つの身分を区別するものだった。

江戸時代の身分制度は、職業による身分の区分であり、血統による身分ではなかったから、その区別はきびしいものではなかった。百姓や町人から武士に取り立てられる者も、反対に武士から町人などになる者もいた。武士の家でも、長男が家をつげば、二男・三男らは農家の養子になることもあった。

町人は、城下町に住んでいる、武士以外のさまざまな職業の人をさし、百姓は、村に住んでいる人々をさした。したがって、城下町で営業する鍛冶屋は町人で、「村の鍛冶屋」は百姓であり、漁業や林業に従事する人々も百姓だった。だから「百姓=農民」とは限らないことに注意したい。

職人としてはたらく町人 近世職人絵巻 村から城下町へ出た農家の息子たちは職人の家に住みこんで技術を学び、やがて一人前になると独立を許された。(江戸東京博物館蔵)

となり、年貢の徴収、入会地の調整、用水・山野の管理など、村全体にかかわる仕事を行った(村請)。村の自治は中世以来の惣の伝統を受けつぎ、寄合の合議によって行われた。

村人は五人組に組織され、年貢の徴収や犯罪の防止に連帯責任を負った。村には「結」「催合」などさまざまな相互扶助の慣行があった。また、重大な犯罪を犯した者や、寄合で決められた掟を守らない者には村八分の制裁が加えられた。

幕府は年貢を安定的に確保するため、原則として田畑の売買を禁じた。百姓は年貢をおさめることを当然の公的な義務と考えていたが、不当に重い年貢を課せられると、結束して軽減を訴えた。これを百姓一揆という。一揆は暴動の形をとることはめったになく、たいていは領主との団体交渉だった。大名はできるだけ要求を受け入れて穏やかにことをおさめようとした。

**城下町と町人** 城下町では、武士と町人の住む地域は区別された。武士は城を守るように住まい、町人は街道にそって下町を形成した。大工町、鍛冶町、呉服町のように職業別に集まり住むこともあった。商人がおさめる莫加金・運上金とよばれる営業税は、藩にとって年貢米とともに重要な収入源だった。また、町の有力者が町役人となり、一定の自治を行った。

**1** 結や催合も鎌倉時代にさかのぼる村落の労働互助組織で、結は農村、催合は漁村・山村に多かった。結は短い期間に集中する田植え、稲刈り、屋根ふきなどを共同で行う組織。催合は網元を中心とした漁業のための共同組織である。

**2** 村の住民が、火事と葬式の手助けを除き、その人物との交際や取引を断つこと。

**3** 町役人は町人から職業別に選ばれ、合議に基づく自治を行った。武士身分の町奉行が町役人をまとめていた。ただし、自治に参加できるのは営業税を納め店を構えた町人であり、長屋住まいの職人や奉公人がその下で働いていた。

**まとめにチャレンジ!**  
江戸時代の武士・百姓・町人の3つの身分について要点をまとめてみよう。

**\*3=Town officers were selected by occupation from among the townspeople and governed by consensus. They were supervised by the town commissioners, who were samurai. However, eligibility to participate in the town government was limited to townspeople who had a store and paid business taxes, not the servants and the craftsmen living in tenements who worked for them.**

*Topic 40 Recap Challenge! – Summarize the key points concerning the three Edo period classes of samurai, peasant, and townsperson.*

**Peasants and Townspeople Under the Class System**

It is commonly said that the class system of the Edo period was based upon the "four occupations" of warrior, farmer, craftsman, and merchant. In fact, the Edo class system did not distinguish between craftsmen and merchants. "Four occupations" was merely an expression used in Chinese classical literature, while the system adopted by Edo Japan was divided into only three classes: samurai, peasant, and townsperson.

Because this system established classes based on occupation rather than bloodline, it was not rigidly maintained. Some peasants and townspeople were designated as samurai, and conversely, some samurai became townspeople. Even in a samurai family, if the eldest son inherited the estate, the younger sons might be adopted into a peasant family.

The term "townsperson" actually referred to anyone living and working in a castle town, apart from the samurai, and likewise, "peasant" meant a person living in a village. Consequently, a blacksmith working in a castle town was a townsperson, whereas a village blacksmith was a peasant. Loggers and fishermen were also considered to be peasants. Therefore, the Japanese word for "peasant", *hyakusho*, is not necessarily synonymous with "farmer".