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蔡温の農務帳: An English Translation of Sai On's Noumuchou (Book on Agricultural Affairs)

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Abstract

The contents of Noumuchou can be divided into six sections: 1) conservation of agricultural land, 2) methods of cultivation, 3) cooperative community cultivation, 4) laying aside produce for times of emergency, 5) growing useful plants and 6) the duties of agriculture-related officials. From these sections it is possible to extract regional characteristics particular to Okinawa. Several points are detailed below.

The first concerns technical methods of conserving soil fertility. There are two terms found in the original Japanese (souroubun) text that relate to this: 'mizokamae [literally 'ditch arrangement/position']' and 'ifukaeshi.' Deep ditches ('mizo') are dug at the edges of fields to accumulate rain water that can then flow back into the agricultural land to keep it fertile. This process is called 'ifukaeshi.' Because this work is extremely important in keeping soil fertility high, conserving agricultural land and increasing productivity, Noumuchou provides strict guidance to agriculture-related officials on this matter.

The second relates to hill forest and agricultural area land-use classification. Because of the importance of forests in terms of obtaining cattle feed and firewood any decrease in the extent of forest should it be cut down in order to expand the area of arable land is a worrying situation. With this in mind, boundaries between cultivated land and forest should be clearly demarcated by digging ditches or by planting trees. So as to avoid any disputes with regard to the boundaries of agricultural land trees should be planted, stones placed or ditches dug.

The third point concerns the planting of adan (*Pandanus odoratissimus*) as an agricultural land shelter belt measure. Adan is commonly planted near to agricultural land in coastal areas to prevent damage to agricultural land from sea water. The planting of adan along river banks to prevent soil collapse is also encouraged.

A fourth point concerns the use of water from paddy fields. Unlike mainland Japan, most paddy fields in Okinawa are rain-fed. Because of this fact it was instructed that ponds be dug in case of water shortages. It was ordered that once the rice was harvested the ridges of earth between rice fields should immediately be firmed up in order to accumulate water.

The fifth point relates to the method of production organization on the part of farmers. Agricultural land was allocated in farming community units called 'yogo.' Under this system each farming community was responsible for the payment of annual tribute tax as a single unit. Should an individual or individuals within a community be unable to pay annual tribute tax it falls upon the community as a unit to make up the shortfall.

A sixth point deals with the laying aside of produce such as sotetsu and sweet potatoes ('hantsu-imo') for times of bad harvest. Because sotetsu contains a toxic ingredient called cycasin it has to be prepared for human consumption using fermentation and water soaking methods. Sotetsu was allowed to be planted along banks in fields and in the forest. In terms of sweet potato, at such times when the harvest was plentiful a certain amount should be dried and stored away for emergencies.

A seventh point concerns state encouragement for farming communities to grow useful plants. These include cotton, bashou, shichitoui, shuro, kurotsugu and karatake (*Bizennarihira*/*Semiarundinaria okuboi*). Fiber from shuro and kurotsugu can be used to make rope. Karatake is mainly used to make hoops that bind black sugar barrels.

Noumuchou also contains technical guidance for agriculture in general and details the duties of regional officials responsible for agriculture. All of these measures were designed to increase agricultural productivity.

1. 序論

Introduction

「農務帳」は近世において首里王府が農事指導の目的で布達した文書の一つである。「農務帳」とともに、「農業之次第」と「農務之手段書」がある。王府の農政は多岐におよぶが、その政策の主軸は、(1)農民・役人のそれぞれの立場での心構えに関すること、(2)農村統治上の諸制度に関すること、(3)貢租徴収の体制に関すること、(4)生産向上および農業技術指導に関すること、などであった。以下の「農務帳」をみると、首里王府が正式に布達したのは1734年(雍正12)である。この農務帳は当時三司官として布達署名人の一人に名を連ねている蔡温の名をとって、「蔡温農務帳」

あるいは布達年代をとって「雍正農務帳」とも称される。「蔡温農務帳」では土壌肥沃度を改善し、農業生産性を増やすために、主に農業技術指導を主軸に組み立てられているところに特徴がある。本稿では、仲地哲夫・福仲憲訳「農務帳」(山田龍雄他編著、1983、日本農書全集 第34巻)の和訳文をもとに英訳した。英訳をJohnが担当し、原文と和訳文を陳が校正した。なお和訳文の要約については、仲間勇栄氏(琉大名誉教授)にお世話になった。

Noumuchou [農務帳] is the name of an official document first issued by the Royal Government of Ryukyu in 1734 (the 12th year of the Yongzheng Era in China) to provide instruction on agricultural affairs. This same document can be referred to as either

Sai On's Noumuchou (蔡温農務帳), in recognition of its famous author, or Yongzheng Noumuchou (雍正農務帳) after the historical era in which it was published.

As historian Takara Kurayoshi outlines,¹ state agricultural administration during the early-modern period covered a range of areas including: relations between farmers and local officials of different ranks, systems of rural governance, land tax collection systems and instruction in agricultural techniques and productivity improvements. Noumuchou (Agricultural Affairs), along with Nougyou no Shidai [農業之次第] (Agricultural Procedures) and [Noumu no] Tedangaki [農務之手段書] (Book of Agricultural Measures), were three types of agriculture-related document issued by the government designed to primarily address the last of these areas.

Noumuchou, while touching at points on the role of local level officials vis-à-vis farmers and issues related to tax collection, focused mainly on practical ways to properly maintain fields, improve soil fertility and on the need to keep farmers and administrators on task and planning ahead, all in order to keep productivity up. Nougyou no Shidai addressed agricultural policies tailored specifically for the Yaeyama geographical region and the [Noumu no] Tedangaki provided detailed methods of growing specific crops and plants.²

The contents of Noumuchou are divided into six sections and comprise 30 articles in total: 1) Land Conservation [articles 1-10], 2) Knowledge of Agriculture [articles 11-16], 3) The Lives and Knowledge of Farmers [articles 17-18], 4) Laying Aside Produce for Emergencies [articles 19-21], 5) Growing Useful Plants [articles 22-23] and 6) The Knowledge of Village Officials [articles 24-30].

The origins of Noumuchou are thought to be a document titled

¹ Takara Kurayoshi. 1983. Reference: Noumuchou. Pages 168-69. Okinawa Daihyakkajiten. Okinawa Taimusu Sha.

² Fukunaka Ken (1983). Reference: Nougyou no Shidai. Page 164. Okinawa Daihyakkajiten. Okinawa Taimusu Sha. 'Nougyou no Shidai' is an agriculture-related document from the Ryukyu Kingdom era. Other such documents can be found, such as 'Shomura Nougyou no Shidai [諸村農業之次第]' but the contents are always targeted towards the Yaeyama region. The original text of this ancient document was found with the household possessions of the Kishaba family [喜捨場家蔵] but the author and year of issue are unknown. Since there is no modern translation and because it is no longer in print we know little about its contents or existence. Some of the contents of Nougyou no Shidai can be found in other books. These include [安次富松蔵] Ashitomi Matsuzou's [Collected Writings on Ryukyuan Agriculture (琉球農業全書)] (1916) [渋谷周蔵] Shibuya Shuzou's [The Origins of Konyou-Sensei's Sweet Potatoes (昆陽先生甘藷の由来)] (1926) as well as [Writings on Cultivation (耕作の書)] and [The Book of Agriculture (農業伝書)]. The contents are closer to 'Noumuno Tedangaki [農務手段書]' (the agricultural writings of Kinjo, Takara and Hokama Chikudoun Peechin [金城, 高良, 外間筑登之筋親雲上の農書]) than to Sai On's 'Noumuchou'. 'Nougyou no Shidai' describes cultivation practices of farm households in each village for a wide range of agricultural items including rice, millet, wheat, sugar cane (ogi/satoukibi), saataakuruma (sugar cane compressing wheels), vegetables, imo, taimo, yamaimo, soybeans, adzuki beans, gobou (burdock), daikon, senmoto (Allium wakegi - a type of scallion) and yuuka/yuuhana (cotton) [稲、粟、麦、荻(サトウキビ)、砂糖車、野菜、芋、田芋、山芋、大豆、小豆、牛蒡、大根、仙本(ウケギ)、木綿花].

simply Houshiki [法式] (literally Methods or Practices)³ issued by the Royal Government in October of 1697 (the 29th year of Ryukyu King Shou Tei [尚貞]) and distributed to each magiri (間切) county district on Okinawa Island. It was co-signed by the Chatan Ouji (Prince) Chouai [北谷王子朝愛] and the two sانشikan [三司官]⁴ Inoha Ueekata [伊野波親方] and Misato Ueekata [美里親方]. It was, according to historian Tomiyama Kazuyuki, "a multi-faceted set of instructions regarding ceremonial occasions, agriculture and administration in rural areas. The purpose was to strictly monitor and, if necessary, eliminate unlawful practices, particularly on the part of the magiri district administrators."⁵

Houshiki, in turn, was based on ideas outlined in the Haneji Shioki [羽地仕置], a set of laws and instructions written by Haneji Choushuu (or Shou Shouken [向象賢]) who served as sessei [撰政]⁶ from 1666-73. Haneji's emphasis therein on frugality, or perhaps more accurately the need to conserve limited resources, is well-mirrored in Noumuchou, but Haneji's writings on the importance of diligence in performing one's duties and the enforcement of moral order in society are expanded upon in far more detail by Sai On in his 'Gokyoujou [御教条]' (Articles of Instruction) that had been issued two years earlier, in 1732.⁷

After the initial publication of Noumuchou in 1734 there were at least five other documents appending the same name to different geographical regions throughout the kingdom. These include Ogimi Magiri Noumuchou [大宜味間切農務帳] (1841)⁸, Yoseyama Ueekata Yaeyamajima Noumuchou [与世山親方八重山島農務帳] (1768), Tomigawa Ueekata Yaeyamajima Noumuchou [富川親方八重山島農務帳] (1875) and Tomigawa Ueekata Miyakojima Noumuchou [富川親方宮古島農務帳] (1875).⁹

³ This document is also known as 'Nakagami Houshiki [中頭法式]' (Nakagami District Practices) or 'Inaka Houshiki [田舎法式]' (Rural Practices).

⁴ Members of the 'Three-Member Council' or 'Council of Three' [三司官 sانشikan].

⁵ Called 'jitou [地頭].' Tomiyama Kazuyuki (1983). Reference: Houshiki. Page 446. Okinawa Daihyakkajiten. Okinawa Taimusu Sha.

⁶ Basically a First Minister, Chancellor of State or equivalent. This was the highest position in the Royal Government of Ryukyu under the king himself. To serve as sessei one had to be of royal blood. Haneji had blood relations to King Shou Shin.

⁷ For the original text of Gokyoujou see Okinawa Rekishi Kenkyukai, Sai On Senshuu. Naha: Hoshi Insatsu Shuppanbu, 1967, pages 11-22. A complete English translation (titled 'Articles of Instruction') can be found in Edward Bollinger, Saion, Okinawa's Sage Reformer: An Introduction to His Life and Selected Works, Naha: Ryukyu Shimpo Sha, 1975, pages 105-123.

⁸ The actual date of publication is unknown. The only existing copy is from 1841.

⁹ This document is also referred to as Miyakojima Noumu Kimochou [宮古島農務規模帳 The Scope of Agricultural Affairs in the Miyako Islands]. It is thought that Royal Government documents with the 'kimochou 規模帳' suffix deal with issues considered urgent in areas of practical or policymaking concern. As Takara Kurayoshi writes, "the existing kimochou can be roughly divided into two types. The first type were issued as standard practice instructions by agencies of the Shuri Royal Government, examples of which are 'Yamabugyousho Kimochou' (山奉行所規模帳 The Scope of the Bureau of Forest Administration) from 1737 and 'Naha Yokome Kimochou' (那覇横目規模帳 Naha Oversight Kimochou) [date of issue unknown]. The second type were issued by the Shuri Royal Government and concerned matters related to both the Miyako and Yaeyama regions, examples of which are 'Yoseyama Ueekata's Agricultural Affairs of the Miyako Islands 与世山親方宮古島規模帳'(1768) 'Yoseyama

In and of itself, Noumuchou is an extremely valuable historical resource for understanding the state of agriculture and agricultural techniques in 18th century Ryukyu, including information on land management systems, the annual work cycle and work practices. For a clearer understanding of early-modern agriculture in Ryukyu one can only benefit from reading Noumuchou in conjunction with not just the Nougyou no Shidai and [Noumu no] Tedangaki but alongside Sai On's later writings on forest management and administration practices.¹⁰ Protecting and regenerating forests so that Ryukyu could be self-sufficient in its wood requirements as well as making available enough land for agriculture and keeping productivity high to both meet tax demands to Satsuma and feed an ever-increasing domestic population were essentially competing objectives that proved difficult for other early-modern statesmen to square, and it is therefore to Sai On's immense credit that he was able to achieve both.

As a final note, it is a depressingly familiar sight to look out into certain bay areas in northern Okinawa Island after an extended period of rain and see eroded soil washing out and coloring the sea red. Such red soil runoff (赤土流出) has for decades been caused by careless agricultural and land improvement practices and is one of the main causes of damage to coastal and marine environments.¹¹ While it is not suggested that the contents of the

Ueekata's Agricultural Affairs of the Yaeyama Islands 与世山親方八重山島規模帳(1768), 'Onaga Ueekata's Agricultural Affairs of the Miyako Islands 翁長親方宮古島規模帳'(1858) 'Onaga Ueekata's Agricultural Affairs of the Yaeyama Islands 翁長親方八重山島規模帳'(1858), 'Tomigawa Ueekata's Agricultural Affairs of the Miyako Islands 富川親方八重山島規模帳'(1875) and 'Kume Gushikawa Magiri Kimochou 久米具志川間切規模帳'(1831). The kimochou often provided instructions on matters related to the remote island regions of Miyako and Yaeyama. The organizational circumstances of the relationship between the kimochou and both remote island regions of Miyako and Yaeyama are clear, being a document that primarily provided instructions on reform policies. Administrative monitors called 'kenshi 検使' were dispatched by the government to examine the actual conditions in detail. As Takara further writes, "From the era of ancient Ryukyu when the administration was carried out according to traditionally accepted practices and common laws, the kimochou is a document that epitomizes the transition to early-modern Ryukyu for which it was necessary to have detailed rules and regulations in every area. It is an indispensable resource through which we can understand trends among the general population, the objective conditions of work and duties that local officials were responsible for, and in understanding the political agenda of the Royal Government." Takara Kurayoshi (1983). Reference: Kimochou. Pages 865-866. Okinawa Daihyakkajiten. Okinawa Taimusu Sha.

¹⁰ For example ジョン・マイケル・パーヴェス、仲間勇栄、陳碧霞、The Secrets of Forestry: An English Translation of the Sanrin Shinpi (山林真秘) of Sai on, 琉球大学農学部学術報告, No. 56, December 2009, 仲間勇栄、ジョン・マイケル・パーヴェス、陳碧霞、'Tree Growing Methods: Revised Japanese and English Translations of Sai On's Jumoku Hashshoku Houhou (樹木播殖方法),' 琉球大学農学部学術報告, No. 57, December 2010, 仲間勇栄、ジョン・マイケル・パーヴェス、陳碧霞、'Forest Methods: Revised Japanese and English Translations of Sai On's Somayama Houshikichou (杣山法式帳),' 琉球大学農学部学術報告, No. 59, December 2012 and 仲間勇栄、ジョン・マイケル・パーヴェス、陳碧霞、『林政八書』の「山奉行所規模帳」: その和文・英訳と内容分析 Modern Japanese & English Translations and Content Analysis of 'The Scope of the Bureau of Forest Administration' from the 'Eight Volumes on Forest Administration.'" 琉球大学農学部学術報告, No. 60, December 2013.

¹¹ For example 'Red clay stunting regrowth of Okinawa coral, say researchers.' The Mainichi, 4th April 2013 [retrieved on 4th April

document below could eradicate the red soil runoff problem entirely, it is possible that some of Sai On's ideas related to proper field irrigation and management and at the strategic planting of plants and trees to prevent soil erosion might be applied in some form to positive effect in Okinawa today.

The modern Japanese version of Noumuchou used as the basis for this current translation was published in the following book: Yamada Tatsuo, Oka Mitsuo and Inuma Jirou [Editors], Nihon Nousho Zenshuu: Dai 34 ken [Collected Documents on Agriculture in Japan - Volume 34], 1983, pages 3-16. The individual responsible for crafting a modern Japanese version of Noumuchou from the original souroubun text and preparing accompanying footnotes was Nakachi Tetsuo (仲地哲夫), Professor Emeritus of Okinawa International University affiliated with the Faculty of Literature. John Purves conducted the translation from modern Japanese into English, wrote the introduction and footnotes (though some of the footnotes are direct or partial translations of Nakachi Tetsuo's original footnotes), Bixia Chen organized and proofread the souroubun and modern Japanese texts and Nakama Yuei, Professor Emeritus of the University of the Ryukyus, wrote the Japanese language abstract.

2. The Souroubun, Modern Japanese and English Texts of Noumuchou

地面格護

一、土地の保全

Section One: Land Conservation

一、田畠之儀時々割直為指究主付無之、模合持之筋仕置ニ付候に付而地方之格護致大形、地位漸々薄相成不宜候。依之地割申付永々授置候条堅得其意、此心得専大切ニ存格護可有之事。

水田や畑は、ときどき地割の割直しをする。指定の耕作主がいず、共有の形のままにしておく、と、土壌の保全が疎略になり、地力がしだいに減退して好ましくない状態となる。そのため地割をして、以後永久にお上(かみ)が農民に土地を授けておく趣意を十分に汲み取らせ、土壌を大切に保全させるのである。土地の保全をしっかりするためには、この心得が大切である。

Article 1

Both dry fields and paddy fields are reallocated from time to time.¹² This is because when left under the shared ownership system, and regardless of the type of agricultural crop, soil conservation is neglected and the situation is now that the fertility of the soil has unfavorably declined. The reason that land reallocation is carried out is that we (the royal government) have carefully considered the necessity of being able to provide our farmers with land hereafter and from now on into the future and that, as such, we must be particularly vigilant with soil conservation. In order to effectively carry out soil conservation this knowledge is important.

一、溝構、いふ返し致大形候ハ、田畠致水損地位も漸々薄相

2013].

<http://www.houseofjapan.com/local/red-clay-stunting-regrowth-of-okinawa-coral-say-researchers>

¹² 'Jiwari/chiwari [地割]' is a system in early modern Ryukyu by which from time to time agricultural land was freshly distributed or reallocated among peasant farmers. The system remained in place until farmers gained private land ownership rights with land reforms introduced from 1899-1903.

成、衰微之基可成立候間随分可入念候。田畠仕付方之儀、去巳年別冊記置候通り可相勤事。

排水施設を整え、溝の土、芥などを田畑に戻すことを疎略にすると、雨水のために田畑の受ける損失が大きくなり、ひいては地力がしだいに衰える原因となる。排水溝の整備は念入りに行なうべきである。したがって、耕地の保全については雍正三年(享保十年)に書いて渡した文書のとおりに行なうようつとめること。

Article 2

If waste materials or debris clog up the ditches prepared as drainage facilities damage to the fields from excessive rain water greatly increases and is consequently the cause of a gradual decline in soil fertility. As such, maintenance of drainage ditches should be carried out diligently. Accordingly, a document related to the conservation of agricultural land was written and passed in 1725 (the 3rd year of the Yongzheng Era [10th year of the Kyouhou Era]).¹³

一、坂森剝付致明地候得は悪土流落、本田畠之為不罷成候間、右之仕形堅可差留事。

山間の傾斜地の草木を刈り払って開墾し、山肌を出したままにしておく、荒れ土が流れ落ちて本田畑をだいなしにしてしまうので、かたく禁止する。

Article 3

Cutting down trees and grasses on sloping land areas between mountains to reclaim the area for agricultural purposes and leaving a bare hillside is strictly prohibited because the soil that runs off the mountains will ruin the fields below.

一、山野之境目正敷無之候ハ、致明地、又は仕明場杯江切添、後々ハ余地も無之様ニ可成行候。然は牛馬飼採薪之不自由相成、百姓可及差廻^(廻)候間、溝又は樹木を以相境分明ニ相見得候様可仕事。

山野の境界が明確でないと、どんどん開墾し、あるいはすでに開墾した土地を広げてしまうので、のちには必要な林野にもことかくありさまになる。そうすると牛馬の飼料や薪を採るにも不自由になり、農民の生活にさしさわりができるので、境界には溝を掘ったり樹木を植えたりして、はっきりさせておくべきである。

Article 4

If the boundaries between fields and forests are not clearly defined more land reclamation for agricultural purposes will occur. Such an expansion of reclaimed land areas will result in the deterioration of necessary forests. If this occurs the result will be great inconvenience obtaining cattle feed and firewood which will in turn make the lives of farmers more difficult. As such, ditches should be dug or trees planted to ensure that boundaries are clearly marked.

一、地方致水損漸々崩増候所も可有之候。右躰場所之儀は土水一所ニ通行不仕候様に溝数多相構、兼テ其用意可致置事。

水害のためにくずれてしまった土地が多いが、このような場所では、泥や水が一か所に集中して流れないように排水溝を数多くつくり、

¹³ The document referred to here (去巳年別冊記置) was not attached to the text used as the basis for this translation.

前もって災害の備えをしておくこと。

Article 5

A good deal of land has been ruined as a result of flood damage. In such places numerous drainage ditches should be dug as a pre-disaster preparation measure so that mud or water can flow out in different directions and does not accumulate in one particular area.

一、損地有之節、致油断及大損候ハ、人夫過分費可及難儀候間、小破之節早速可加修甫置事。

被害地をそのまま放置して油断すると、ますます破損箇所がその傷口を広げ、人夫も費用も多くかかってしまう。破損の小さいうちにすぐ補修しておくこと。

Article 6

If one is not careful and damaged land areas are simply left as they are, just as a wound on the body when left untreated will become infected and spread, the damaged land area will spread out and the cost of employing workers to fix the damage will become prohibitively high. Damage to small areas should be repaired as soon as possible so that it does not spread.

一、地境致混乱候ハ入組ニ成候儀も可致出来候間、植付樹木立、石、溝構杯ニ而境目正敷可致置事。

土地の境界が混乱すると争いが起こることにもなるので、境界にはできるだけ樹木を植えたり石を置いたり溝を掘ったりして、誰の限にもわかるようにしておくこと。

Article 7

If there is confusion over the location of land boundaries it is possible that disputes could arise. As such, trees should be planted, stones placed or ditches dug to demarcate between areas so that there is no confusion as to where the boundaries are.

一、海辺ニアダン植付風波を防、作物之痛無之様に可仕致置事。

海辺にはアダンを植えて、風や潮による被害を防ぎ、作物が傷まないようにしておくこと。

Article 8

Adan (*Pandanus odoratissimus*)¹⁴ is planted at places along the coastline to prevent damage to the nearby fields from the sea water or from wind, thereby protecting crops.

一、川原筋、溝筋、左右ニあだん植付損地無之様可致置事。

河川や排水溝の両側にもあだんを植えて、土砂がくずれないようにしておくこと。

Article 9

Adan is planted on both sides of drainage ditches and river banks to prevent the earth and sand from collapsing.

¹⁴ <http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/アダン>

一、田之畦広構候儀は田水取留候仕形ニ而肝要成儀ニ候間、其心得を以広相構、田拵之砌畦草不切落候様ニ可仕事。

水田の畦畔を広くしておくことは、田の水を留めておくために重要である。その心がけで畦畔を広く厚くし、田ごしらえのとき畦畔の草を切り落とさないように注意すること。

Article 10

Widening rice field levees is important in order to retain the water in the field. When preparing the field by making wider and thicker levees be careful not to cut off the grass on the levees.

農事手入

二、農事的心得

Section Two: Knowledge of Agriculture

一、田畠之儀、地位段々有之場所ニより土性相替候所も可有之候。万事応其地性耕様入念、五穀各不違節成熟候様可為出精儀専要候事。

田畑には地力の低いものから高いものまであり、場所によって土性も変わってくるものである。すべて土地の土性に合わせて念入りに耕作し、五穀もそれぞれ収穫の適期をのがさないよう、精を出して耕作に励むことが大事である。

Article 11

Soil fertility in both dry fields and paddy fields ranges from low to high and soil texture varies according to location. All lands need to be carefully cultivated in accordance with the texture of the soil so that the appropriate harvest time for each of the five grains is not missed. It is important to apply ourselves assiduously to the work of cultivation.

一、御当国之儀、方天水田ニ候得は、兼而致其覚悟依所水塘共掘宜所は其通仕、其難可浚手当仕、尤稻刈仕廻候ハ、早速畦を固メ、水持留候様ニ可致事。

当琉球国の水田はほとんど自然の雨水に頼っている天水田なので、あらかじめその対策を立て、掘りやすいところでは溜池を掘り、水不足の難儀をしのぐよう手段をつくしなさい。もちろん、稲を刈り取ったらすぐにあぜを固め、水を溜めておくようにすること。

Article 12

Because the paddy fields in our country of Ryukyu are rain-fed paddy fields that are almost entirely reliant on natural rainwater we must devise measures in advance, like digging reservoirs in appropriate locations, taking steps to make sure that we can survive water shortages. This includes, of course, hardening the ridges between rice fields right after the harvest in order to retain the water.

一、稲刈後魚、鰻取杯に畦切損候ハ、早差当候節可耕様難成時節取失可申候間、右之仕方堅可差留事。

稲刈り後、魚やうなぎを獲ろうとしてあぜをくずしてしまうことがある。こうなると、水の溜まりが悪く、早ばつの年には耕作ができず、田植えの適期をのがしてしまうので、田の周囲で魚やうなぎを獲るのを禁止すること。

Article 13

After the rice harvest is over it is sometimes the case that ridges between rice fields are damaged as a result of people trying to catch fish or eels. When this occurs water accumulation deteriorates, cultivation cannot take place during periods of drought and the appropriate time for rice planting is missed. For these reasons the catching of fish or eels in areas around fields is prohibited.

一、壅用候儀耕作方肝要之勤候間、壅之貯可入念事。

肥料を用いることは耕作上最も重要なので、肥料を貯えるように心がけること。

Article 14

Because the use of fertilizer is of such importance for crop cultivation endeavor to always keep fertilizer in stock.

一、農具揃候儀題目之事候間、聊大形有間敷事。

農具をそろえておくのは大切なことなので、かりそめにもおろそかにしてはならない。

Article 15

Because a range of farm implements is of such importance, on no account should there be negligence in regard to this matter.

一、地広明候を専ニ存候儀甚不可然候。牛馬飼採薪之不自由迄ても無之、手隙多費、取実少無益之仕形ニ候。随分用壅致手入候ハ、地方僅ニ而も取実格別ニ相増、勝手可罷成候間、専其心得可有之事。

耕地をどんどん広げればよいという考えはまちがっている。山野が狭くなって牛馬の飼料や薪を採るのに不自由をきたすだけでなく、耕作に手間や費用が多くかかるわりには、田畑の収量は少なくなり、骨折り損になってしまう。十分に肥培管理すれば、耕地が狭くても収量が確実に増加していくので、そのように心得るべきである。

Article 16

The idea that the rapid expansion of cultivated land is a good thing is a mistake. Not only will there be inconveniences obtaining cattle feed and firewood if the extent of forest diminishes but the effort and expense of cultivation greatly increases, agricultural yields will diminish and the whole thing may end up being a waste of time. However, with adequate and effective soil fertility management yields can be robustly increased even on diminished areas of agricultural land. This is something that should be understood.

耕作致様

三、農民の生活の心得

Section Three: Knowledge of the Lives of Farmers

一、百姓与合を以田畠相授置候付而は、其与合之者共常々睦敷取合、相互ニ農事致談合、各助力を以可相働、年貢及不納者於有之は、其与中弁ニ申付置候故、若致大形候ハ、厄害ニ相成与合ノ詮も無之候間、万事致熟談、互ニ引進可相働事。

田畑は、村々の農民共有の形でお上から授けられているのだから、各組の者たちは日ごろ親しくつき合い、互いに農事について相談し、助け合って働くようにすること。年貢を納められない者がいるときは、その組中でつぐなうよう申しつけてある。申しつけをおろそかにすると厄難に会い、組の意義もなくなってしまうので、何ごと

につけても熱心に話し合い、励まし合って働くことが大事である。

Article 17

Because fields are given by the royal government to farmers in villages under a form of shared ownership, communication takes place regularly with the elders of each group, joint consultations are held concerning matters of farming, all helping one another to make everything work well. In the case that there are individual farmers who are unable to pay yearly tribute the village as a group will be asked to make up the shortfall. In order that such a matter does not have negative consequences for the village or misfortune be encountered with the ignoring of a yearly tribute shortfall request, it is important that we earnestly discuss anything and everything and work to help each other along.

一、村中ニ而上納、所遣其外何角付て而百姓共毎度致参会、手間取候様致間敷候。農事之儀は専人力を以相働事ニ而手隙之儀大切成事候。諸事引合方等之儀ハ所之掟致、其覚悟隙不取候様可致事。

上納のときや村の出費を決めるときなどのほか、何かにつけて村中の農民が集まることが多いが、むだな時間をつぶすことのないようにしたい。農事はもっぱら人手で行なうので、時間は大切にしなければならぬ。すべて用件などは村役人が知らせるので、そのようなことにみだりに時間をつぶさないようにすることである。

Article 18

Farmers in the village often gather for some reason or another, at the time of tribute payments to the government or when village expenditures are decided, for example, but we need to make sure that their time is not squandered. Because farm work is something done exclusively by hand we must make the most of their time. Village officials should be informed of all such affairs in order that time not be wasted without good reason.

貯

四、貯えについて

Section Four: Concerning the Laying Aside of Produce for Emergencies

一、凶年之節年貢致未進其身も及飢候儀、畢竟常式貯無之故ニ而候。依之徒之費不仕随分守儉約、連々申渡置候通り年々貯仕候儀、油断有間敷事。

凶作の年に年貢を納めることができず、自らも飢えに苦しむことになるのは、つまるところは平常の貯えがないからである。したがって無駄使いをつつしみ、儉約をかたく守り、引きつづき申し渡したとおりに年々の貯えに心を配り、油断なく暮らすべきである。

Article 19

Put simply, in the case of a poor crop year when tribute payments cannot be made and where people are suffering from hunger, this is the result of produce not being put aside for such emergencies on a regular basis. Thus it is important to refrain from waste, embrace prudence, take great care to continually put produce aside every year as advised and earn a livelihood while keeping one's wits about one.

一、蘇鉄之儀凶年之補ニ相成、別而重宝之物ニ候間、弥漸々植重候様可致候。拵様は別さつニ記相渡候通可仕事。

そてつは凶作の年の補助食として特別に重宝なものなので、つぎつぎと植えつづけるようにすること。その調理法は、別冊に書いて渡したようにすること。

Article 20

Because the sotetsu¹⁵ is an excellent supplementary food item in the case of a poor crop year they should be continually planted for such emergencies. The sotetsu preparation method is fully detailed in a separate document.

一、はんつ芋之儀、余計有之節は、干調飯米之貯可致置候。干調候仕様は、去亥年別冊ニ記渡置候通り可相調事。

さつまいもが余分にあるときは乾燥させて飯米用の貯えにすべきである。乾燥するさいは、殖正九年(享保十六年)に渡しておいた文書の記述のとおり調製すること。

Article 21

In the case that there are too many Satsuma imo (sweet potatoes) for immediate requirements, these ought to be dried and stored like rice for private consumption. The method of drying items was detailed in a document published in 1731 (the 9th year of the Yongzheng Era [16th year of the Kyouhou Era]).¹⁶

上木仕立

五、有用植物の仕立て方

Section Five: Growing/Adapting Useful Plants

一、木綿花、はせを、室蘭、棕梠、黒次、唐竹之類ハ不及申、其外国用ニ相立候草木作立候様可相働事。

綿、ばしょう、しちとうい、しゆろ、くろつぐ、からたけの類はいうまでもないが、そのほか有用な植物を栽培するように努力すること。

Article 22

Needless to say, efforts should be made to cultivate useful plants such as cotton, bashou,¹⁷ shichitoui,¹⁸ shuro,¹⁹ kurotsugu²⁰ and karatake (Bizennarihira/Semiarundinaria okuboi).²¹

一、近年中頭、嶋尻、竹木相絶不自由ニ相成来候間、跡々？之

¹⁵ そてつ/ソテツ or Cycad, a type of gymnosperm (seed plant). <http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/ソテツ類> [retrieved on 8th November 2014].

¹⁶ The document referred to here (去亥年別冊二記) was not attached to the text used as the basis for this translation.

¹⁷ Banana fiber.

¹⁸ A kind of soft rush scientifically known as *Cyperus monophyllus* Vahl but also known as 'Ryukyu i' (琉球蘭).

¹⁹ Shuro (棕欄、棕梠、櫻欄), or *Trachycarpus*, is a genus of palms native to the Asian region. <http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/シユロ> [retrieved on 8th November 2014].

²⁰ Kurotsugu or *Arenga engleri* Becc. A type of palm native to Japan's Nansei Shotou (南西諸島), an area that includes all of Okinawa Prefecture and the Amami Island group that is today part of Kagoshima Prefecture.

²¹ The Chinese characters '唐竹' can be read in several ways. In Okinawa, according to Amano Tetsuo (天野鉄夫) in his 'Ryukyu Rettou Shokubutsu Hougenshuu (琉球列島植物方言集)' [那覇: 新星図書出版、1979] the most common readings are 'karatake' or 'karataki,' whereas in mainland Japan the most common reading is 'touchiku.'

山敷は弥以竹木植付山仕立、且又村囲、屋敷囲、其外ニも場所見合、材木用之諸木植付候様可致候。此儀国土之重宝不軽事候間、能々入念可相働事。

近年、中頭地方や島尻地方では、竹も樹木も絶えて不自由になってきた。元、山だったところに竹や木を植えて山を仕立て、また村の境界や屋敷まわり、その他にも場所によっては用材となる諸木を植えつけるべきである。この件は、わが国土にとって重要で軽んじてはならないことなので、よくよく心づもりして努力すべきである。

Article 23

In recent years in both the Nakagami and Shimajiri districts of Okinawa Island, bamboo and other trees have unfortunately become extinct. Trees and bamboo should be planted on areas that were formerly proper forest areas as well as around the boundaries of villages and around individual residential housing, and trees for lumber should also be planted from place to place. With regard to this matter and its importance to our country it must not be neglected and we must make every effort to plan very carefully.

耕作当勤方

六、村役人の心得

Section Six: The Duties of Village Officials

一、村耕作当の儀農事ニ付而其村之頭取候間、右条々ノ趣百姓中江町嚙ニ申聞、且又月々毎度田畠水廻致下知、百姓無油断耕作方出精五壳成熟候様ニ仕其外上木貯方等入念に、百姓共有付候様可致事。

耕作当(こうさくあた)は、農事の指導についてはその村の責任者であるから、前述したことがらの主旨を農民にしていぬいに教え、また毎月、何回でも田畑の水利用について見まわるよう指図をし、農民が怠らずに耕作に励み、五穀がよく実るよう心がけること。また、前述の草木の栽培や貯蓄にいそしみ、農民の暮らしが安定するように努力すること。

Article 24

Kousaki-atai are individuals in charge of providing instructions on farming affairs in each village. They carefully teach farmers the fundamentals from the aforementioned principles of agriculture. They also give directions on how to patrol fields each month on multiple occasions to observe water use. They do these things so that farmers are not neglectful but diligent in their cultivation activities and endeavor to make sure that the growth of the five grains is abundant.

一、惣耕作之儀、毎月村々罷通り耕作当下知イタシ、其上百姓等働之様子致見分差引可致事。

惣耕作当は、毎月村々を見まわって耕作当に指示し、さらに農民たちの働く状態を見きわめて指導すること。

Article 25

Soukousaku-atai instruct the kousaki-atai to patrol each village on a monthly basis and also to provide direction in assessing the working conditions of farmers.

一、地頭代之儀間切中之頭役ニ候。其上農事之儀第一之勤候間、惣耕作相合農業之儀何廉致談合、入念可相働事。

地頭代は間切の責任者であり、その第一の任務は農事の監督である。惣耕作当ともども農事については何かと相談し、熱心に職務に励むようにすること。

Article 26

Jitoudai are the individuals in charge of each magiri county district and their primary responsibility is the supervision of agricultural affairs. They discuss agricultural affairs along with the soukousaku-atai whenever the opportunity presents itself and work hard at their duties with great diligence.

一、百姓村耕作之下知不請付候ハ、両惣耕作并地頭代江可申出事。

農民が耕作当の命に従わない場合は、その旨を惣耕作当と地頭代へ報告すること。

Article 27

In the case that farmers do not follow the instructions of the kousaku-atai this should be reported to the soukousaku-atai and jitoudai accordingly.

一、村耕作、惣耕作之下知不請付候ハ、両惣地頭ニ付高奉行江可申出事。

耕作当が惣耕作当の命に従わない場合は、両惣地頭から高奉行に報告すること。

Article 28

In the case that the kousaku-atai does not follow the instructions of the soukousaku-atai this should be reported to the jitoudai by the ryousoujitou²².

一、田打拵、稲植付且又畠作相仕廻候首尾、二月中限惣耕作当より高奉行江可申出事。

田ごしらえ、田植え、畑作の首尾については、二月までに惣耕作当から高奉行へ報告すること。

Article 29

Issues related to field arrangement, rice planting and dry-field crops are reported to the takabugyou by the sousaku-atai by February.

一、田水取留又ははんす芋等植付候首尾、七月中限右同断。

田に水を溜めておくことと、さつまいもの植えつけ状況については、七月までに右と同様に報告すること。

Article 30

The state of affairs with regard to the accumulation of water in rice fields as well as the planting of Satsuma imo is reported to the takabugyou by the sousaku-atai by July at the latest.

右農業之儀は題目之御仕置候処、百姓共致大方候而は別而不可然事候間、於間切中下知方入念申渡、作職之働随分入念、

²² Present in each magiri were both an aji jitou and ueekata-jitou. These were collectively known as the Ryousoujitou [両惣地頭]. There were also individuals called wakijitou

年々五穀致成熟年貢無未進相納、其外上木貯等仕、往々百姓有付候様可仕儀專要ニ候。此旨能々申渡、猶又毎年各間切中罷通、右条々之趣勤否ノ致致検分、其外ニも万事氣を付致下知、其首尾可申出者也。

以上記した農事の件は、問題が重要であるにもかかわらず、農民は疎略に考えているので困ったことである。番所の指示を間切中の農民たちに的確に伝え、耕作に一所懸命励むようにしなければならない。毎年、五穀がよく実り、年貢の未納者がなく、また有用な樹木の栽培と貯蓄などに志す農民が立ちゆくようにすることが肝要である。この趣旨をよくよく申し開かせ、かつ毎年それぞれの間切中を見まわり、上記の農事の心得に照らして検分し、その他、万般のことがらに気を配って間切の農民を指図し、その顛末を報告してもらいたい。

On account of the fact that farmers can behave carelessly, despite the importance of all the articles on agricultural affairs outlined above, this will be a problem. Instructions from the bansho (local district office) should be accurately conveyed to farmers throughout the magiri district and they must put the maximum possible effort into cultivation activities. It is of paramount importance every year that grain is produced in abundance, that there are no people in the community who are delinquent in their yearly tribute payments, that farmers are making a living and resolved to lay surplus produce aside for emergencies and to the growing of trees and plants with a wide array of useful applications. Having given a very careful explanation of the import of these articles on agricultural affairs and the need to patrol throughout all of the magiri districts every year, to conduct inspections in the context of the knowledge in the articles on agricultural affairs outlined above and to instruct the farmers of the various magiri to be vigilant of all things, we hereby submit the entire contents of this document.

雍正十二年(享保十九年)甲寅八月
12th year of the Yongzheng Era (19th year of the Kyouhou Era), August.

評定所
Hyoujousho (Council of State)²³

具志頭親方	Gushichan Ueekata ²⁴
美里親方	Misato Ueekata ²⁵
伊江親方	Ie Ueekata ²⁶
北谷親方	Chatan Ueekata ²⁷

高奉行²⁸

Takabugyou (Director of Land Assessments and Grants)

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要約

Abstract

この「農務帳」は、6つの大項目からなる。1つは農地の保全、2つは農耕の仕方、3つは共同耕作、4つは凶作時の貯え、5つは有用植物の栽培、6つは役人の勤務内容、などである。それらの中から、沖縄の地域的な特徴を抜き出すと、以下のとおりである。

1つは、土壌の保全の技術的な仕方である。原文では「溝構」や「イフ返し」という言葉で表されている。畑の周辺の畔の耕作地側の溝は、常日頃から深く掘り下げて置き、そこに土壌が雨で流れ込んで溜まったら、それを元の農地に返す。この元に返すことを「イフ返し」と呼んでいる。この土壌は肥沃なため、農地保全と生産力を高めるためには、重要な作業だったようで、農務帳では、このことを役人を通して、厳しく指導させている。

2つは、山野や農地の土地利用区分に関することである。山野は牛馬の飼料や薪の採取場所として重要であるため、それが開墾されて面積が減少していくことに、神経を尖らせている。その境界を明確にするため、溝を掘ったり、樹木を植えさせている。また、

²³ The Hyoujousho (Uinuza in Ryukyuan) in the case of Ryukyu was the highest decision-making body of the Royal Government at Shuri. Members of this 'Council of State' included the Chancellor (sessei 撰政) and Three-Member Council (sanshikan 三司官). Just below the Sessei and Sanshikan in rank were the so-called 'Fifteen Officials' (omote juugonin 表十五人) that consisted of the heads and deputies of the seven main departments within the two main branches of government that were the Board of Finance (Monobugyousho 物奉行所) and the Board of General Affairs (Moushikuchihou 申口方).

²⁴ Gushichan Ueekata Bunjaku served as sanshikan from 1728-1753.

²⁵ Misato Ueekata Anman served as sanshikan from 1725-1735.

²⁶ Ie Ueekata Chouteki served as sanshikan from 1728-1753.

²⁷ Chatan Ueekata (Oji/Prince) Choukakeru [朝騎] was an ancestor of the Oomura family [大村家の祖] and the second son of King Shou Eki. He served as sessei from 1722-1739.

²⁸ 高奉行 Takabugyou. Director of Land Assessments and Grants and head of the Bureau of Land Assessments and Grants (Takasho/Takajo 高所). The position was first established in 1669 because of the vital importance of agricultural administration to the realm. His area of control was over agricultural administration but also emoluments for aristocrats and officials and the inspection of tribute vessels. Just less than a century further on (1766) and the workload of this department had expanded so much that a separate Bureau of Agriculture (Denchihou) was established. The Denchihou was headed by an Ueekata Bugyou (director) and below him three Zashiki Bugyou (assistant directors), one for each of the three Okinawa Island districts. That said, the Takasho/Takajo was still involved in agricultural administration, reflective of its continuing importance to the realm. Additional information from: Mitsugu Matsuda, The Government of the Kingdom of Ryukyu, 1609-1872. Gushikawa: Yui Publishing Co., 2001, pages 152-54.

農地の境目には、混乱を防ぐため、樹木植栽、石積み、溝掘り、などの手法で対応させている。

3つは、農地の防風林対策として、アダンなどを植えさせている。海岸域の農地を潮害から保護するために、アダンはよく植えられている。また河川の流域沿いにアダンの植栽を奨励しているが、それは土壌の崩壊を防ぐためである。

4つは、田んぼの水の利用の仕方である。沖縄は本土と違って、ほとんどが天水田である。そのために溜池を掘り、水不足に対応するよう指示している。そして稲を刈り取ったら、すぐに畔を固めて、水を溜めるように指導している。

5つは、農民の生産組織のあり方である。農地は「与合」(組合)単位に割り付けられていて、年貢もその組合で共同で負担することになっている。もし組合の中で、年貢が負担できない場合には、その組中の者が全員でその責任を負う構造になっている。

6つは、凶年の貯えにソテツと「はんつ芋」(唐芋)があげられている。ソテツにはサイカシンという有毒成分が含まれているため、発酵や水晒しの手法で食料化している。皇の畔や山野などに植え付けさせている。芋は収穫が多いときには、干し芋に調べて、凶年の貯えにするよう指導している。

7つは、有用植物の作付を奨励していることである。その種類は、木綿花、バショウ、シチトウイ、シュロ、クロツグ、唐竹(ビゼンナリヒラ)などである。シュロやクロツグは、その繊維を縄に使う。ビゼンナリヒラは、主に黒糖樽の箍用に使うものである。

その他、この農務帳には、耕作への地方役人の職務などが書かれていて、農業全般にわたる技術指導とともに、農業生産力を上げるための、施策がまとめられている。