The people connected with vegetable markets

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Abstract
In this paper, I discuss various merchants connected with the transportation and sale of vegetables and fruits in early modern Osaka. Previous research has argued that there was a conflict between the whole-salers and brokers of the Tenma Vegetable Market who possessed special rights, and the markets and merchants of Osaka's neighboring farming villages. While this conflict did exist, overemphasizing it has meant that the trends and lifestyles of the various levels of vegetable merchants have been obscured. In this paper, which builds on research done in the 1990s on city markets and wholesalers/brokers, I highlight the process by which the Tenma Vegetable Market acquired its rights. Additionally, I examine three merchants or markets which were assumed to be against Tenma: (1) shipping agents or merchants dealing with satsuma imo (a type of sweet potato), which appeared for the first time in the early modern period; (2) Nanba Village Market which was to the south of Osaka; and (3) the so-called “standing sales” merchants in Osaka City. I argue that these three did not necessarily come into being in opposition to the Tenma Market. Finally, I classify the trends of these merchants who operated at various levels in Osaka and its environs by examining their style of trade and their relationship with the Tenma Market.

Introduction
There has been much discussion of the rivalry between Tenma Vegetable Market (Tenma Aomono Ichiba, below also referred to as “Tenma”), which had been given official rights from the shogunate, and the free trade that took place among farmers in the vegetable markets of outlying farming villages with regard to the circulation of vegetables and fruits in early modern Osaka. This paradigm became prevalent after it was outlined by Furushima (1951) and furthered by Kobayashi (1963), among others. Furushima’s framework of a conflict between “urban markets with rights” and “farmers circulating their products,” in which the latter destroyed the former, has been the focus of criticism by Hara (1996).

There is no denying that the Tenma Vegetable Market held certain rights and played a central role in the circulation of vegetables in Osaka. Even amongst historical sources about the vegetable trade, over half of the extant documents are related to the conflicts between Tenma and the markets of the surrounding villages. However, although the debates in the research to date are predicated upon these “official rights”, exactly what these rights entailed and the processes by which they were formed, developed, and finally disappeared has never been clarified. Moreover, the opposing merchants in surrounding farming villages have up until now been viewed monolithically. However, these merchants and their rights must be concretely examined to explore the types of commercial circumstances under which they did business and the types of historical developments that led up to their formation.

The Tenma Vegetable Market was a wholesale market located in the middle of the massive city of Osaka. Since the 1990s, there has been rapid development in research on urban markets and the wholesalers (ton’ya or toiya) and brokers (nakagai) that comprised them. Through an investigation of the vegetable and fish markets of Edo, Yoshida, (1990) clarified the relationship between the possession and organization of selling locations, as well as between the suppliers (ninushi) and brokers. This was further developed by Tsukada (1994 [1997]), who distinguished between wholesalers and brokers: because wholesalers owned their selling locations they were similar in status to landowning townspeople (chōnin), while brokers, who owned movable property and could sell it,
were similar to non-landowning merchants (shōnin). In other words wholesalers had both a selling location and connections to suppliers and brokers as the bases for their business. Therefore, having served as intermediaries who helped set prices, wholesalers received a commission on the sale of the goods. Such trade took place in markets. Brokers, on the other hand, were able to buy goods from suppliers and sell them to small-scale merchants through the mediation of wholesalers. Yoshida (2001b) extends this, placing the market at the center of the structure of urban society and postulating that the “market society” (ichiba shakai) drew in market wholesalers and acted as a “society within the city” (toshi nai shakai).

My aim is to construct a blueprint of merchants’ roles and interactions that takes their historical development into account. Therefore, I examine both the circulation of vegetables in Osaka, the center of which was Tenma Vegetable Market, as well as the specifics of the various levels of vegetable merchants both inside and outside of the city by relying on Yoshida’s theory of “market society” and Tsukada’s and Yoshida’s explanations of the character and historical position of wholesalers and brokers.

Wholesalers and traders of Tenma Vegetable Market

First, I begin with an outline of the center of vegetable circulation in early modern Osaka: Tenma Vegetable Market.3

According to the Origins of Tenma Vegetable Market (Tenma Aomono Ichiba Ranshō) (Osakashi, 1911, Vol. 5),4 wholesalers handling fruits and vegetables, fish and dry goods began operating in the grounds below Osaka Castle before the Siege of Osaka in 1614–1615. Following the siege, wholesalers reinitiated their operations at Yodoya Kōan’s5 manor on Kyōbashi 1-chôme (the first street/block of the Kyōbashi area of central Osaka). Although the Origins of Tenma Vegetable Market indicates vegetables and fruits were sold wholesale at Yodoya’s manor, it is difficult to imagine wholesalers actually setting up rows of shops and conducting their operations at that location. More likely, Yodoya offered a space for selling; vegetables were gathered from various places and then sold by a small number of wholesalers6 to brokers and small-scale merchants. When that site was taken for use by the shogunate in 1651, the wholesalers had to move to a different location. Moreover, it can be assumed that as the quantities of goods increased, the number of sellers also increased and more space was required. In any case, the market relocated to a small port on the north bank of the Ôkawa River between Tenjinbashī and Tatsutamachi in the seventh month of 1653.7 This was Tenma Vegetable Market, which remained the center of vegetable distribution in Osaka until the establishment of the Osaka Central Wholesale Market in 1931. Geographically, it was located in the north-eastern part of central Osaka on the Ôkawa River, several kilometers from the port at the mouth of the Ajikawa and Kizugawa Rivers.

At the Tenma Vegetable Market, the buying and selling took place at wholesalers’ shops lining the east-west road along the bank of the Ôkawa River. The wholesalers’ shop entrances faced this river-side road, and vegetables and fruits were auctioned off on the street to brokers and small-scale merchants. The small port on the other side of the road could be used by home-owning townspeople as long as they paid dues to the authorities. Port-based wholesalers built storehouses (hamanaya) where they could keep their goods and used the small port to unload cargo. Some local wholesalers also worked with wholesalers from other domains such as Ki, Harima, and Aki (in modern-day Wakayama, Hyogo, and Hiroshima, respectively), who handled specialty products from those domains. Presumably, they sold special vegetables and fruits from those regions. In addition, wholesalers did not trade only within the market; a vital part of their work involved traveling to local areas of production to negotiate the shipping of products with the suppliers. Brokers, in fact, did not live in the market area at all; instead, they usually lived in nearby neighborhoods and operated by renting wholesalers’ shops and storehouses on the riverbank.

Wholesalers and brokers both formed guilds (nakama), which became the core of trade at Tenma Vegetable Market. In the eighth month of 1771, the Osaka town magistrate’s office (machi bugyōsha) issued 40 licenses (kabu) for wholesalers and 130 licenses for brokers. Owners of such licenses were endowed with highly exclusive rights. Guild-like organizations are thought to have been in existence before then, and it is likely that the town magistrate’s office only came to exert a major influence on their actions from that time onward (see below).

The wholesalers’ and brokers’ guilds also joined together on several occasions: for example, they participated in the large Tenjin Festival by parading floats through the city, and gathered for the dredging of the then-harbor at the mouth of the Ajikawa River (called “Assisting with the Great Dredge,” osukui-ōsarae). The guilds ostensibly participated. Of course, the people who actually did the work were the wholesalers’ and brokers’ servants (hōkōnin) and stevedores (nakashi), who loaded and unloaded products. Thousands of such workers participated (Yagi, 2006). In this way, a “market society” was formed at Tenma Vegetable Market with wholesalers and brokers at the core, and included people such as attending stevedores. This society occupied a place of central importance within early modern Osaka.

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2 See Hara (2007) for an interesting study of markets in early-modern Osaka, which investigates dried sardine (fish fertilizer)dried salted fish markets.

3 This is treated in detail in Yagi (2004). There is also the classic study of Tenma Vegetable Market by Juichi (1929). Further, regarding the formation and “special rights” of Tenma, it is conceivable that Tenma formed and was granted special rights by virtue of being the official supplier of vegetables to Osaka Castle; however, as there are no historical sources to support it, that idea is disregarded here.

4 The Origins of Tenma Vegetable Market was compiled after the Siege of Osaka and is therefore not considered to be completely reliable. As there are no other sources available, it is being used with caution.

5 Editor’s note: Yodoya Kōan (1577–1643) was a merchant and city developer who was involved with the establishment of vegetable, fish, and rice markets in Osaka.

6 These are thought to have been similar to the “intermediaries” of the Namba-mura vegetable markets, discussed below.

7 In the 1676 document “Kaichū Ninwa Susume,” Ninwa Suzume/Ninwa Sode Kagami, Osakashi Shi Shiryō, Collection No. 53, there are 20 names listed as “vegetable shop wholesalers” from Tenjinbashī to Tenmabashi-hama.
Tenma Vegetable Market and the prohibition of direct trade

An edict was issued by the Osaka magistrate's office to the Osaka Sangō regarding the vegetables arriving at Tenma Vegetable Market via wholesalers and brokers on the 15th day of the fourth month of 1783.\(^8\) Local shipping agents (funayado) and merchants were buying goods straight from the suppliers and selling them directly to greengrocers and small shops in the city. In other cases, merchants would intercept the shipments on their way into Tenma and sell the goods at small markets by shrines or temples, or near small ports and waterways. This meant trouble for wholesalers and brokers at Tenma, who petitioned the magistrate's office for intervention on behalf of the Market. The edict stated that, as Tenma Vegetable Market had a history as a market officially sanctioned by the magistrate's office, (1) the direct purchase (jikikai) from suppliers of vegetables destined for the market and (2) the direct sale (jikiuri) of such vegetables was henceforth prohibited. While Tenma Vegetable Market had already held exclusive rights to the shipments of vegetables from rural areas, in reality, direct trade in vegetables was thriving.

Before analyzing this further it is necessary to review the situation before the 1783 edict.\(^9\) In newly developed areas around the periphery of Osaka, many new markets were set up and there were also numerous petitions for new markets submitted during the mid-17th to early 18th centuries. When something was simply set up without permission, the magistrate's office abolished it; or when a new area filed a petition, the office would consult Tenma Vegetable Market and then deny petitions that were not in Tenma's best interests. The town magistrate's office was not necessarily opposed to the actual petitions. Sometimes, after Tenma Vegetable Market agreed to pay the tribute (myōgagin) the new area had offered to pay, the office would deny the petition.

In the 18th century, there was an increase in attempts to stamp out instances of farmers from local villages “standing and selling” (tachiuri) their vegetables within the city.\(^10\) Tenma petitioned the magistrate's office to ban the practice; the offenders were driven off by those in neighborhoods closest to the illicit markets or in the vicinity of standing sales. These standing-sales locations were around Tenma or on the edge of the city center.

Such matters appear in the history of Tenma Vegetable Market written by guild members, and while the Tenma Market's vested rights were accepted up to a point, it can be inferred that there was not necessarily a firm rule that no other markets were permitted in the city of Osaka or outlying areas. It appears that the establishment's repeated rejection of new markets and the expulsion of standing sellers reinforced Tenma Vegetable Market's monopoly. It is under these circumstances that Tenma Market, supported by guild certification and public authority, seized the opportunity to attempt to eliminate other markets and standing-sales vegetable merchants by requesting the magistrate's office to promulgate an edict proscribing direct vegetable trade. It can be said that the certification of the guild and promulgation of the edict redefined Tenma's “special rights,” which had been informal up until then, as “official.” The same type of edict was issued repeatedly up until the end of the Tokugawa period in the mid-19th century, and Tenma continued to actively petition for the prohibition of direct trade on the basis of the edicts.

In 1783, however, producers of vegetables in villages surrounding Osaka petitioned for direct trade to be officially licensed.\(^11\) Within this dispute, Tenma accepted the farming villages' assertions that it was not a problem for farmers to sell eggplant and daikon (a large, white root vegetable often described as “Japanese radish”) near their farms, to bring vegetables to townspeople's houses in exchange for night soil, or to carry their vegetables and sell them while walking. Thus, conducting business in a manner similar to what occurred at the market – for example, circumventing Tenma and selling large amounts of vegetables to brokers and small-scale merchants – was prohibited; but the act of farmers simply selling their vegetables was acceptable. Perhaps the “principle of one's own belongings” (jiban nimotsu no ronri), described by Yoshida (2005) as “carrying one's own goods or one's own belongings to various areas for trade or to engage [in labor] was fundamentally unhindered,” was the basis for the decision to allow producers to participate directly in trade of the vegetables they had grown.

With this background in mind, I now address three points in the conflict over the prohibition of direct trade between the Tenma Vegetable Market and other vegetable merchants in Osaka City and surrounding villages: (1) the appearance and distribution of satsuma imo, (2) the employment of the “principle of one's own belongings” in the vegetable trade at the Nanba Village Vegetable Market, and (3) the engagement of farmers from villages near Osaka in standing sales.

The circulation of satsuma imo

When satsuma imo (one of the many types of Japanese tubers loosely categorized as “sweet potatoes”) started being grown and distributed in the middle of the early modern period, it was unclear who was going to handle trade. Because of this, a conflict over the handling of satsuma imo arose between the Tenma Vegetable Market on one side and shipping agents and vegetable merchants on the other.\(^12\)

Satsuma imo distribution and shipping agents

On the 7th day of the 10th month of 1778, 26 shipping agents\(^13\) and brokers from various neighborhoods submitted a petition to the magistrate's office of Osaka.\(^14\) According to that petition, shipping agents had for many years acted as wholesalers and brokers dealing with and widely selling satsuma imo that were being shipped to Osaka from various domains. However, Tenma Vegetable Market insisted that satsuma imo fell within the purview of “vegetables, etc.”

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\(^8\) Edict (Pure) 3181 in Ōsakashi (1911, Vol. 3).
\(^9\) The document is in the above cited Tenma Aomono Ichiba Ranshō.
\(^10\) The term tachiuri is used in various contexts other than this; see Sakamoto (1935).
\(^11\) Historical documents can be found in Ōsaka shishi hensanjo (1990, Vols. 1 and 2).
\(^12\) The content of this section is explored in detail in Yagi (1999), Yagi (2007).
\(^13\) Shipping agents looked after cargo, provided lodging for boat workers, procured boat- and shipping-related supplies, and represented the boat workers in legal disputes.
\(^14\) This document can be found in “Kiroku [Record],” Tenma Aomono Ichiba Nakagai Nakama [Tenma Vegetable Market Brokers’ Guild], Osaka[jō Tenshukakuzō.
and therefore shipping agents should cease operating as wholesalers and brokers of these tubers. Shipping agents argued that stopping their trade in satsuma imo would cause them undue difficulties, so they petitioned the bakufu to be able to pay tribute fees that would allow them to become officially recognized guilds with “licenses” to act as wholesalers and brokers of satsuma imo. To the shipping agents, satsuma imo did not fall into the category of “vegetables,” over which Tenma Vegetable Market had an exclusive right over which Tenma since their appearance in the market 60 years earlier, and currently some of the Market’s wholesalers’ and brokers’ businesses were focused on satsuma imo. Therefore, it would cause great damage to the Market if shipping agents continued to sell the tubers directly, without transporting them to Tenma, as they had that year.

The Osaka city magistrate’s verdict was that that seventy percent of the satsuma imo brought in by shipping agents were to be sold by wholesalers at Tenma Vegetable Market, and the remaining thirty percent could be sold by the agents themselves. This could be interpreted as a judgment that favors Tenma since allotting seventy percent of satsuma imo business to the Market did confirm the status of satsuma imo as vegetables; yet at the same time, the judgment meant that shipping agents’ activities were not necessarily improper. This process gives an indication as to how Tenma Vegetable Market acquired its special rights over the years.

Letters written by the brokers’ guild basically expressed sympathy for wholesalers. However, they also reflected how brokers’ faced serious troubles if satsuma imo were not first taken to the wholesale market, so in such cases they would go all the way to the Ajikawa River to purchase them. This shows the reality of the brokers’ business: if the products did not come to the wholesale market, then they would go wherever the product was located to buy it.

Almost all of these shipping agents were located at the harbor at the mouth of the Ajikawa River. On the other hand the satsuma imo brokers,15 who bought from the agents, were all tenants located along the Ajikawa River, Kizugawa River, Dōtonborigawa River, or the Horie canal area. Water transportation from outlying areas to these central locations, within the three main districts comprising Osaka, was excellent. Moreover, these locations were closer to the mouths of the rivers than to Tenma.

Tenma Vegetable Market frequently caught these kinds of merchants from central Osaka or the surrounding areas who bought satsuma imo directly. Among these merchants, some functioned in the same way as brokers, buying directly from shipping agents; others were similar to the operators of small-scale shops such as steamed potato shops, or traveling peddlers who sold their wares as they walked through the city.

Satsunoma imo distribution from Sakai City and Izumi Province

Presumably, the satsuma imo arriving at port at the mouth of the Ajikawa River came from the area of Shōdoshima Island in the Seto Inland Sea, although a great number were also shipped from Sakai and Izumi. The satsuma imo from Sakai were grown in newly developed fields in the hills that stretched from what is currently Senboku New Town in the southern part of Sakai City to Sayama City in Osaka Prefecture. There, satsuma imo were harvested from the end of the sixth month to the ninth month and then stored in dug-out storage pits and shipped to Sakai in the second or third months of the following year. The buyers were merchants of the villages of Sumiyoshi (in contemporary Sumiyoshi-ku, Osaka City) and Kotsuma (in the area now known as Tamade in Nishinari-ku, Osaka City); there were roughly 200 of these merchants known as “potato masters” (imoshi). Satsunoma imo were vitally important as a staple food for the lower classes living in urban areas and their environs.16 In each village between Osaka and Sakai, such as Sumiyoshi and Kotsuma, there were numerous satsuma imo merchants.

In 1858–1859, an argument took place between satsuma imo wholesalers in Sakai and the wholesalers and brokers of Tenma.17 Tenma Vegetable Market asserted that satsuma imo taken from Sakai should first be sold through their market before being taken to surrounding villages such as Sumiyoshi. There were many twists and turns to the case, but a decision was finally reached wherein 100 licenses were issued to merchants in the town of Anryūmachi and the villages of Imazaike and Nakazaike in Sumiyoshi with the stipulation that people from the north of Yamatogawa River who did not have a license could not sell satsuma imo in Sakai. While there were restrictions on the number of merchants and the way they could operate, de facto direct trading by vegetable merchants in and around Sumiyoshi was permitted and there was no movement to put a stop to those merchants around Sumiyoshi.

It is noteworthy that, following the will of Tenma, the merchant Shimaya Kashichi from Anryūmachi was employed to ensure that vegetables were not sold without restriction in the area from Sakai to Sumiyoshi. Shimaya was also taken in as a member of the Tenma Vegetable Market brokers’ guild. It is significant that Tenma’s absorption of members reached as far as the merchants around Sumiyoshi who operated as brokers. The existence of a vegetable market in Anryūmachi in 1871 can be confirmed (Okuda, 1952), perhaps indicating that the market formed due to Shimaya and others.

Tsuda Hideo’s research on Nakazaike Village around the mid-19th century provides a point of reference regarding vegetable merchants (including satsuma imo merchants) in the villages located between Osaka City and Sakai (Tsuda, 1977). Based on Tsuda’s data, we can divide the vegetable merchants of Nakazaike into three levels according to the financial liquidity they possessed and their types of work: (1) home-owners, (2) store-renters, and (3) store-renters who were day laborers or small-scale merchants. Group 2 accounted for the majority of the merchants, and it can be inferred that, at the end of the Edo period, a certain number of specialized vegetable merchants existed.

15 These brokers came to be called “satsuma imo sanbu nakagai” or “thirty percent satsuma imo brokers” because they bought satsuma imo from the shipping agents allotted thirty percent of the satsuma imo trade.

16 Yoshida Nobuyuki points out that in the Edo period, the baked sweet potato business was very widespread and served as an important food source for common people (Yoshida, 2002).

17 Historical documentation in “Sakai Satsuma Imo Tonya Bunsho [Sakai Satsuma Imo Wholesalers Document],” Osaka City University Media Center Archives, etc.
Vegetable market of Nanba village

Vegetable production in the farming villages surrounding Osaka expanded to meet the demand of the city's residents, which increased in conjunction with the construction and other developments in the city. Following the above-mentioned “principle of one's own belongings,” village farmers went to the city to sell vegetables directly to both consumers and merchants in Osaka City. Gradually, Tenma sought to eradicate such activities, and a conflict developed. This section will first delve into the vegetable trade in Nanba Village, which was along the southern edge of Osaka City.18

But first, I will briefly describe Nanba Village (also called Nanba). Nanba was divided into lands controlled by the shogunate and those of Ikutama-sha shrine. The village was estimated to produce 2172 koku of rice (a koku was approximately the amount of rice to feed one person for a year) according to a land survey conducted in the Enpô era (1673–1681); 300 koku of that area was controlled by the shrine. In 1808, the village was comprised of 932 households with 3556 people; in 1834 it had grown to 1330 households (365 as homeowners and 984 as renters) with 5250 people. In Nanba during the Kyo hô era (1716–1735), there were four neighborhoods, while this grew to eight in the Tenpô era (1830–1843) (Chi hô shirô senta, 1986). Barley constituted sixty percent of crops cultivated from winter to spring, and the remaining forty percent was a combination of rapeseed, daikon, carrots, and different variants of green onions and leeks. Indigo plant and cotton accounted for sixty percent of crops from summer to autumn, while vegetables such as eggplant, watermelon, bottle gourds (kanpyô), melon cucumber (shiourti), and wax gourd (tôgan) comprised the remaining forty percent. Other vegetables were continually cultivated in other seasons as well. Nanba was a “town-village” (machimura), which meant that it was village containing a number of communal neighborhoods (Yoshida, 2001a). As such, it had characteristics of a city, but also was a “village” with fields that supplied vegetables to Osaka.

The origins of the vegetable market in Nanba can be traced back to first half of the 18th century. Prior to the establishment of the Nanba Vegetable Market, vegetables produced in Nanba and neighboring villages (Kizu, Ima-miya, etc.) were taken to be sold in places near the Dôtonbori area, such as Kuruouemoncho and in front of Hôzenji Temple. The vegetables were sold to merchants from Osaka City called zaru, who are thought to have been a class of small-scale brokers on the edge of the city. However, the buying and selling around Dôtonbori was a nuisance to residents and it was banned. Because of this, elders from each of the neighborhoods within Nanba lead the way towards the creation of places for buying and selling within the village. Intermediaries (sawanin) at places where the vegetables were sold took a sales commission as compensation for introducing buyers and sellers and deciding the price of the produce. There must have been considerable amounts of vegetables brought in from other villages to be traded as well. The intermediaries passed on the commission they received to elders in the neighborhoods (chô no toshiyori kata), who distributed them to the treasuries of each of the neighborhoods within Nanba. Village headmen (shôya) from Nanba participated in setting the regulations for trading vegetables and the establishment of the places for trading, but did not participate in the specifics of trade such as the way the commissions were assembled and divided.

From the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th century, Tenma Vegetable Market repeatedly demanded the prohibition of the vegetable-selling places in Nanba, and employed the edict against direct trade (see above) as leverage. Although Nanba rebutted by claiming that its selling places should not be considered “markets,” in the end, the magistrate's office banned the vegetable-selling places within Nanba in 1805. The ban, however, failed to stop the trading of vegetables by vegetable merchants in Nanba. Moreover, Nanba continued to submit applications for permission for a market, and its vegetable market was approved with certain conditions attached in 1809.19

Initially, the Nanba Vegetable Market was a place where farmers sold vegetables to Osaka merchants (the class of brokers). As this followed the “principle of one's own belongings,” it could not be rejected by the town magistrate's office or Tenma Vegetable Market. For a time, buyers appear to have taken charge of the trading; but the rise of vegetable merchants in the village transformed the market into a place where Nanba merchants gathered goods from Nanba and outlying farming villages, and sold them to merchants from those villages and Osaka City. There is data showing that, as of 1807, vegetable merchants came to comprise one-fourth of the population of Nanba. The rise of these merchants in Nanba is considered to be a result of Nanba Village’s attempts to resist the trade in vegetables which had been led by Osaka merchants. Thus, the vegetable market of Nanba did not necessarily develop out of an antagonistic relationship with Tenma Vegetable Market.

Near the end of the Tokugawa period in the mid-19th century, a full-fledged market developed in the village.20 That is, it came to take the shape of a market where wholesalers, broker-merchants, and small-scale merchants assembled. While they may not have been the same people, per se, it can be assumed that market intermediaries shifted their style of business such that it centered on the wholesale of goods. Looking at data from 1894, after the beginning of the Meiji period (1868–1912), the scale of the Nanba market was thirty to forty percent of the size of the Tenma Vegetable Market. In other words, it was comparable in size to the markets in Sakai (Osakafu, 1903). At the end of the Tokugawa period and the beginning of the Meiji period, the Nanba Vegetable Market occupied an important role as one of a

18 The topics in this section are discussed in detail in Yagi (2007). Documents can be found in Osaka shishi hensanjo (1990).

19 Although in the 18th century there were times when there were multiple places within Nanba where vegetables were sold, it is assumed that in the beginning of the 19th century they solidified into just one market.

20 From “Nanba Ichiba [Nanba Market]” in Akatsuki (1793 or 1861/1927–1928).
group of satellite markets around the central market of Tenma. This process can be viewed as the development and growth from a small, spontaneous village market to an urban wholesale market.

**Standing sales (tachiuri)**

While the previous section dealt with the formation of the market in Nanba, in many cases individual farmers and vegetable merchants sold to traders and small-scale merchants through standing sales. This will be explored in this section.21

As a means of curbing the damage from tachiuri, Tenma Vegetable Market set up its own space for standing sales in 1798 and allowed vegetable merchants from 26 villages in Nishinari county (in modern-day Osaka Prefecture) to participate. However, because many merchants were far away from the market and the tachiuri area was small, these efforts did not particularly thwart the buying and selling outside of Tenma.

In 1860, standing-sales locations for four villages from Higashinari were approved, followed later that year by locations for 85 more villages from the counties of Higashinari, Nishinari, and Sumiyoshi. Also at this time, groups named Goshita, Aonagumi, and Komamonogumi from villages with standing-sales areas bought vegetables in surrounding farming villages from producers who could not take their vegetables to Tenma. They sold those vegetables in markets at standing-sales places, but Tenma recovered this and declared it to be “direct trade” – in other words, trade which bypassed Tenma’s right to wholesale. Recognized trade within the standing-sales places was supposed to be done by the producers who brought their own vegetables directly to the market to sell them. Problems arose when someone who was not the producer brought vegetables to the market and resold them, because transactions that involved vegetables purchased for resale were supposed to be made through the wholesalers at Tenma. After being exposed, these groups joined a brokers’ guild, and worked out an agreement wherein they brought the vegetables to wholesalers and paid them a commission, purchased the vegetables back from the wholesalers, and then resold them from 26 villages’ standing-sales areas in the market. We can surmise that these groups had with the 26 villages that had standing-sales places was another point they had in common with vegetable merchants of Nanba.

In Osaka City and its environs, Nanba Vegetable Market was set up with merchants buying goods from farmers (producers and suppliers) and prices were decided by the intermediaries. The scale is presumed to have grown to approximately twenty to thirty percent of the size of Tenma Vegetable Market, which made it comparable to individual markets in nearby cities and rural neighborhoods. However, many aspects of trade in Nanba differed from Tenma. Nanba possessed selling places and it also received commission from sales. Intermediaries received a portion of the money, but they were in fact employed by the village and were not wholesalers. Also, the suppliers of the goods to the market were either farmers who produced the vegetables in Nanba or surrounding farming villages, or merchants who bought those vegetables. The majority of buyers shifted from Osaka City merchants to village merchants. In that sense, the market’s operations were steered toward the goal of maximizing profits for villagers, including intermediaries. Regarding this point, the villagers were in competition not only with Tenma Vegetable Market, but also with merchants outside of the markets in Osaka City and its environs.

Categories (2) and (3) both joined brokers’ guilds at the end of the Tokugawa period in the mid-19th century after the restoration of guilds,22 but they were different from Nanba because Nanba was certified as an independent market. Joining these guilds was not so much about yielding to Tenma as it was a matter of paying commission and other fees as a trade-off for obtaining genuine freedom to conduct trade. However, as discussed above, the actual situations of Shimaya and the Goshita group were different. The market in Anryūmachi was centered on Shimaya, and was small in

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21 The topics in this section are discussed in detail in Yagi (2004) and Yagi (2007). The historical documents for this section can be found in Osaka shishi hensanjo (1990).

22 Editor’s note: For more on the temporary ban on guilds and wholesalers, see Tani Naoki’s article in this issue.
was also competition among them. The village merchants of Nanba and groups like Goshita shared a common character with groups like Tsuda's second category from Nakazaike, store-renters, and can be understood Sakai with Sumiyoshi, Sakai with Osaka, and Sumiyoshi was in competition with farming-area merchants that connected Sakai with Sumiyoshi, Sakai with Osaka, and Sumiyoshi-shi with Osaka. He probably monopolized the gathering of goods in the area and tried to attract those same merchants to his own market. The Goshita and other groups like them, would also have been of the same character as vegetable merchants from Nanba. The villages within this category (3) can be thought of as slightly middle-scale farming villages which also had an urban character. Villages such as these were probably unable to go as far as to set up independent markets like Nanba had. Outside of Tenma Vegetable Market, various markets and merchants formed; but their scale, character, and interests were not uniform, and there was also competition among them.

In this paper, I covered the state of vegetable merchants in Osaka City and surrounding farm villages, while I do not actually trade freely, they could essentially buy and sell products that they wanted, which was, in essence, a common point with the merchants of category (b). Category (b) merchants traded at locations where goods could be easily transported from Osaka City and surrounding areas. These merchants either went to the surrounding farming villages to purchase goods themselves or bought them from merchants who traveled from those villages. This study was unable to examine the small-scale merchants of category (c) in detail, but steamed potato shops did, for example, play a vital role in supporting the eating habits of the lower classes. Perhaps they also shared some characteristics with small-scale merchants from surrounding villages.

In this paper, I covered the state of vegetable merchants in Osaka City and surrounding farm villages. While I do not deny the basic framework of a conflict between the “urban market endowed with special rights” and “free-trade markets of farmers” established by Furushima that I discussed in the introduction, I suggest that this conflict was not inherent from the inception of these markets. I have shown this conflict took shape and evolved through specific historical processes, and have drawn attention to the diversity of the trends followed by concerned vegetable merchants, including those of Tenma Vegetable Market.

Further investigation is needed to explore how the Tenma Vegetable Market, surrounding farming village markets, and other merchants existed within the social structures that emerged during Japan’s modernization, which began in the mid-19th-century, and the accompanying expansion of urban areas. Additionally, further studies are needed to elucidate how such developments have continued until the present.23

References


Juichi, Nagai (1929). Tenma shijō shi (First volume), Osaka: Tenma aomono ichiba.


