A Study on the Formation of Residential Districts in Yukinoshita District: Construction of a Spatial Database of Residential Districts in Kamakura

Wakako Sawada
Faculty of Media and Governance, Keio University, Japan

Abstract
This study is an attempt to construct a spatial database that captures the heterogeneous character of the residential district in the medieval city of Kamakura. The landscape in Kamakura is mainly housing and alleys multi-layered on a historical urban frame. The landscape is apparently a miscellany of irrelevant artifacts, and thus, contemporary planning is limited to individual preservation. In contrast, the historical urban frame is almost imperceptible from the perspective of residential artifacts.

In this study, archival research is undertaken in terms of site, architecture and street network to reveal characteristics in different stages. By further analysis, artifacts are sorted and interrelated to clarify the structure and spatial features unique to this district. As a conclusion, possible typologies and spatial trends are suggested, which can lead to methods of synthetic preservation/reconstruction of the landscape.

Keywords: Kamakura; residential district; spatial database; roji (alley); modern Japanese housing

1. Introduction
Kamakura is well known as a medieval city constructed in the 12th century, symbolized by the central axis of the Tsurugaoka shrine and temples in the mountains that have been dominant throughout history, albeit the continuous transition of its land usage.1

However, the major part of the city is private residential districts. Housings of good quality, constructed from the 1910s (Taisho era) to the 1920s (beginning of Showa era)2 are scattered on the landscape. They are preserved through extension, conversion and relocation, but only individually and by private means. The roji (alley) is also praised as a spatial feature in Kamakura, and there are many movements aiming to preserve such rojis. Yet, they are not appreciated in relation to the housing that was the very reason for their creation.

At the same time, there are movements to utilize the historical urban structure to create scenery that will represent the culture of the city. However, the historical aspect of the city is apparently extinguished by accumulation of residential artifacts and constant subdivision of land, and one can only recognize the city history within a very limited area of the temples and shrines.

In Europe, archival research on historical land use and architecture is taken as a fundamental procedure for contemporary planning.3 Historical artifacts, visible or invisible, are taken as important assets to foster urban culture and to enrich our daily lives, and also as references for new creation. A spatial database is constructed to acknowledge the characteristics of the site in an inclusive and detailed account, which becomes the most useful tool in creating a synthetic cultural landscape. Especially for residential districts where there are numberless amounts of privately owned artifacts, an explicit database becomes inevitable to share information about the image or goal of the city.

For Kamakura, a certain amount of research has been undertaken on modern Japanese housing and the historical urban structure, but there have been almost no measures in utilizing these assets in contemporary planning. Apart from the financial and physical limitations in maintaining the cultural heritage by private owners, one of the reasons seems to be that the historical aspect of the city is not related to the residential district that composes the visual landscape. However, the heterogeneous character of Kamakura

*Contact Author: Wakako Sawada, Ph.D. Student,
Faculty of Media and Governance, Keio University
5322 Endo Fujisawashi Kanagawa, Japan
Tel: +81-466-47-5111 Fax:+81-466-47-3516
E-mail: swaka@sfc.keio.ac.jp, swaka@syd.odn.ne.jp
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makes this extremely difficult.

The primary aim of this paper is to suggest a spatial database that clarifies the features of the district and relates cultural heritage and historical aspects to the landscape as a whole. An archival research is undertaken to extract various sources related to the survey site, together with field research on the extant buildings. The datum is used to reconstruct or sort out the urban structure of different stages, and is integrated to construct a database map that can visualize and interrelate various factors. Through further analysis, certain typologies and spatial trends have been found in the survey district, which could structure the spatial database of the residential districts in Kamakura.

2. Contextual Clauses and Methodology

2.1 The survey site

The Yukinoshita district can be defined as a typical residential district in Kamakura composed of modern Japanese housing and alleys scattered in the former Monzen district\(^4\) and rice fields. The area expands around the Tsurugaoka shrine in the heart of Kamakura. The survey district (approximately 3 hectare) is the site where the central government and house of the regent were located in the 13th century. Since the district is near the railway station, not only did it serve as a field for ideal living at the beginning of this century, but it became the most densely populated district in Kamakura due to subdivision of land. The district now has over 200 households in the estimated area of a single regent house (Fig.1.).

2.2 Historical land use

The land organization in Kamakura owes much to the land measurement and planning enforced by the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1591. The main location of religious facilities and the street networks were not altered,\(^5\) but much priority was given to the temples and shrines\(^6\) that became tourist spots for the citizens in Edo. The survey site is partially composed of the Monzen district of Tsurugaoka shrine.\(^7\) Shrine workers were given housing on these sites and engaged in diverse businesses such as management of inns and teahouses, land cultivation and land renting to merchants.

In the Meiji restoration, many historical artifacts were demolished and temple land was largely reduced. The residents in the Monzen districts were compelled to either change their occupations to merchants and craftsmen or to move to other affordable districts.\(^8\) The official registry map in Japan was first drawn in this period, and thereafter traces the gradual transition from the pre-modern urban structure to a modern residential district.

In the first stage of the formation of residential lots, housing was mainly constructed for villas, and gradually transformed into a suburban town after railway construction.

2.3 Methodology: Constructing a basemap and sampling from documentation and field research

In this paper, the historical aspect of Kamakura is derived from the pre-modern era. The specific goal of this study is to clarify the interrelations between the pre-modern urban structure and residential districts, and also to draw from spatial features that can be helpful in utilizing residential assets to contemporary planning.

Since all contemporary registration and planning are based on registry maps, it becomes inevitable to construct a registry based digital map apart from the "Spatial information database" used by the Kamakura Municipality.\(^9\) This is done by tracing and reconstructing the overwritten registry maps\(^10\) to separate maps showing different stages of urban transition. Graphic\(^11\) and registry information\(^12\) are used to comprehend the registry map.

In parallel to documentation research, a thorough field survey on the extant architecture is undertaken to record distribution of different architectural features such as estimated construction age, usage, structure, and number of stories, all input in the contemporary "Spatial information database." This is later integrated with the registry based digital map to analyze trends in succession of the residential assets.

3. Reconstruction of the Urban Structure in the Meiji Era

3.1 General land use

Fig.2. and Fig.7. are photographs of Wakamiya-oji Street in the 1870s (beginning of Meiji era), when the original registry was drawn. The whole site is covered with rice fields with only a few thatched houses in the Monzen district of the Tsurugaoka shrine.

Fig.3. is a map indicating the land owned by the Tsurugaoka shrine in 1871 (Meiji 4), right after the Meiji restoration, when their land was drastically reduced. In the survey district, the Monzen area can be divided into land indicated as "shrine workers" on the west and "peasants" on the north. This distinguishes the land rented to farmers and merchants from land managed by the shrine workers themselves.
The occupations of residents living in the Monzen area in the survey district are listed in Table 1. In 1871 (Meiji 4), there are descriptions of duties of each shrine worker, such as Gagaku (musician) and Shinshi (secretary) Yaotome (dancers), all related to events at the Tsurugaoka shrine. In 1872 (Meiji 5) most of the shrine workers lost their jobs and changed occupations to peasants, carpenters and merchants.

Fig.4. is part of a perspective drawing drawn in 1896 (Meiji 29). In this map, the Japanese Railway station and some architecture labeled as hotels and villas are seen, showing the stage when many educated people came to reside in Kamakura as an ideal resort. Housing is still concentrated in the Monzen district leaving the rice fields with small temples.

3.2 General street network

In Fig.5., we can see that the district is enclosed on three sides by the main streets: Wakamiya-oji Street, Komachi-oji Street, and Yoko-oji Street. The Monzen landlots are all arranged beside the main streets, leaving the rice fields, which are accessed by a winding alley in the center. This network is also clearly depicted in Fig.3. Fig.4. shows the land adjacent to the Komachi-oji Street in 1868 (Meiji 1). We can recognize the winding alley connecting the survey district with the southern block, which is described as "farm road."

3.3 Detailed spatial features in the survey district

Fig.9. is the original registry map retraced from the overwritten map to show the details of land division in 1873 (Meiji 4).

In the Monzen district, we can indicate the strips of land with a description of the housing, each of which is approximately 15-24 meters wide and 45 meters long. The land on the southern side is approximately 15 meters long, but the reason for this difference is unknown.

The land division of the rice fields is more disciplined in the northern area than in the southern area. It is likely that the northern rice fields were systematically provided to peasants in the Monzen district. We are also able to detect narrow landlots, which were reservoirs.

There is no exceptional description of a temple on the registry map, but there is a trace of a site where a short street stretches from Komachi-oji Street. The site is similar in form to the small temples located in the Southern block (Fig.8.). Considering the former administration name of this district "Gohoji", we can suggest that this site was where the temple had been located until its demolition before the land registration. Today, it is impossible to find any trace of this temple, either on the site or in any form of documentation.

In the street network we can clearly distinguish the winding alley in the center, and also an alley in front of the demolished temple. These streets are linked to Komachi-oji Street by a horizontal street, which seems to distinguish the fields rented to the peasants from the rest. There are no public streets that connect the rice field zone to the other main streets.
generates a clear spatial distinction between the Monzen area and the rice fields in the back.

3.4 Classification of the original land form

In the original registry map, the landlots are merely classified into residential lots, rice fields and temples, but from this analysis, we are able to classify the landlots in Yukinoshita to: (1) The Monzen district, (2) rice fields, (3) site of Gohoji temple, (4) reservoir, as shown in Fig.9.

Furthermore, in terms of land use, the Monzen district can be sub-classified to (1)-1 Monzen of shrine workers and (1)-2 Monzen rented to peasants/merchants. The rice fields can be sub-classified to (2)-1 rice fields adjacent to (likely to be once owned by) the northern Monzen district, (2)-2 rice fields on the south with organic forms.

4. The Formation of Residential Districts

4.1 Formation of residential lots

The gradual transition from the pre-modern Monzen district to a modern residential district is shown in Fig.12. The amount of land has increased by four times, and the average scale of each land lot has decreased by over one third of its original in the past century. The subdivision of land occurs more rapidly in the Monzen area than in the rice field area.

Most land is owned by private citizens, but there is an exception where a single landlord owned a certain amount of land depicted in Fig.10. as "A" and "B". The process of subdivision starts from the former rice field area where land is divided into approximately 5a of land, which can be taken as a typical scale for villas constructed in the Taisho era (1912-1926). Land use can be simply classified into residential and commercial areas. In the middle of the Showa era (1930s-1950s), subdivision occurs more rapidly reducing the average size of land to 2-3a.

Distribution of the housing from the Taisho era and beginning of the Showa era is also depicted in Fig.12. There are no sites where the scale of the original site of the architecture has been inherited, except one example in the center of this district, where Sukiya style architecture has been relocated.\(^{(13)}\)

4.2 Transition of land usage

In Fig.13., the residents' occupations in 1872 (Meiji 5) are shown on the registry map layered with the distribution of contemporary architectural usage, to see the degree of succession in land usage. We realize that none of the occupations match. The descendants from the Meiji era are indicated by a thick outline. The descendants have also changed their occupations but are still involved in various businesses such as liquor shops, tatami makers, and management of apartments and parking lots. It can be said that the northern Monzen district inherits the community from the pre-modern era, whereas the western Monzen district has completely changed.

4.3 Formation of roji

Many small alleys, or roji, have been created during the process of subdivision. The original alley has been extended by the public or by provision of land by the private landowner, which does not appear in the registry map since it is not registered. The extended original alleys provide the main access to the sites, and small alleys penetrate the sites as small branches. The street network was mainly constructed by the beginning of the Showa era, and further alterations are merely the formation of small alleys due to subdivision of land.

From the transition of the street network, we can see that the clear distinction between the Monzen and rice field area can still be seen in the Taisho era, when villas were formed in the rice fields. The clear distinction is altered only in the middle of the Showa era when extension of the public alley becomes inevitable for the rapid construction of residential housing. In the Monzen area, the alleys penetrate the site in a straight line, whereas in the rice field area, the alleys penetrate the site towards the center (Fig.11.). The former alleys are often deeper than the latter, both creating a cul-de-sac.

4.4 Interrelation between the historical land use and the residential district

In terms of the succession of land use, there is almost no connection between the pre-modern community and the extant residents. However, there are certain spatial
Fig. 9. Reconstructed Landuse of the Pre-modern Era

Fig. 10. Different Process of the Formation of Alleys

Fig. 11. Trends in the Subdivision of Land and Formation of Alleys

| Transition of landform | Formation of streetnetwork |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| **1868 (Meiji era)**   |                            |
| 1. 59                  |                            |
| 2. 659.68 m²           |                            |
| 3. 0                   |                            |
| Number of land lots    | Number of extant architecture |
| Average size of land lots | Average size of extant architecture |
| Number of extant architecture | Number of extant architecture |

| **1912 - (Taisho era)** |                             |
| 1. 78                   |                             |
| 2. 506.63 m²            |                             |
| 3. 24                   |                             |
| Subdivision             | Unification                 |
| Extant modern housing    | Extant modern housing       |

| **1950s**               |                             |
| 1. 164                  |                             |
| 2. 245.9 m²             |                             |
| 3. 11                   |                             |

| **1981**                |                             |
| 1. 222                  |                             |
| 2. 182.17 m²            |                             |
| 3. -                    |                             |

Fig. 12. Transition of Landform and Streetnetwork
distinctions inherited from the original land use, such as the orientation in the Monzen and rice field area, and the narrow sites of the former reservoirs. In contrast, the site of the Gohoji temple is entirely erased from the residential district.

In this sense, the classification of the pre-modern landform can be applied to the modern residential district as well, except for the land owned by the single landowner, where street and landlots are more elaborately planned.

5. Verification with the Extant Environment: Towards a Construction of a Spatial Database of Kamakura

5.1 Extant situation and the spatial database

Fig. 14. shows the distribution of the extant architecture sorted by usage. We see that commercial usage is scattered in the rice fields as well as in the former Monzen district. This indicates modern housing reused as cafes and museums. Also, a small amount of housing is scattered in the Monzen district where five story high buildings are allowed in accordance with the architectural regulation in commercial districts.

We can see that the extant regulations on architecture are unfolded on a very large scale, and do not capture the potential of the historical assets of Kamakura. A more detailed information system is necessary to regulate further construction in order to generate an historical environment making use of the historical urban structure and residential assets.

5.2 Spatial features derived from the historical urban structure

In the residential district, spatial features can be sorted into two main types. One is the Monzen district with deep cul-de-sacs penetrating the strip of land in a straight line. The other is the rice fields where the original winding alleys and the new rojis form a maze-like impression. This co-existence of organic and geometrical pattern is highly unique to the historical districts in Kamakura, whereas in Kyoto, Kanazawa and Tokyo, rigid geometrical patterns are derived from the pre-modern jokamachi (castle town) planning. Furthermore, we can understand that only the Monzen district and the northern part of the rice fields were elaborately planned in the pre-modern era, and the rest of the land could even inherit the land division of the medieval era. In this respect, the land classified as rice fields has more potential as a physical element to create the image of the medieval city. The detection of the demolished temple is also important as a component of the synthesized landscape beside the Komachi-oji Street, even though there is no trace of it in the extant residential district.

In contrast, the classification of historical land use is also useful to detect landlots, which share the same spatial conditions and problems. For example, the orientation of the Monzen district, where private access is provided only from the main streets, and the extremely narrow landform of the former reservoir.

5.3 Interrelation among the residential assets

We have seen that the main spatial structure of the residential district had been constructed by the beginning of the Showa era, and that the scale of the residential district was meant to be approximately 5a. There is a certain amount of architecture inherited from this period, but most land has lost its scale together with the gardens.

The most preferable landscape can be seen in the center of this district, approached from the historical background to show that most of the modern housing is not designated.

Fig. 15. shows the distribution of the extant architecture sorted by usage. We see that commercial usage is scattered in the rice fields as well as in the former Monzen district. This indicates modern housing reused as cafes and museums. Also, a small amount of housing is scattered in the Monzen district where five story high buildings are allowed in accordance with the architectural regulation in commercial districts.

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winding alleys and has recovered its original scale. The architecture is a typical example of relocation from outside Kamakura, making use of the alleys and greenery of the neighborhood. In this respect, the recovery of the scale of land and the preservation of alleys should be given the highest priority in reconstructing the landscape of residential districts in Kamakura.

Furthermore, there is a spatial trend in the interrelation between modern housing and alleys. If we categorize alleys into main historical alleys and small modern alleys that penetrate the sites, the distribution of extant modern housing is concentrated next to the historical alleys. The modern alleys generate a sense of depth and enhance the maze-like impression, but in the cul-de-sacs we find only comparatively new housing. There are movements in Kamakura to construct collective housing instead of building private housing on extremely small sites. In this case, collective housing could be constructed by unifying the inner sites of the district, leaving modern housing facing the historical alleys.

6. Conclusion
In this study, historical land use was reconstructed and classified to clarify the structure of the residential district and identify spatial features unique to this district. The formation of the residential district was also analyzed in detail to reconstruct the landform and street network of the original state in the Taisho era. We have seen that the pre-modern urban structure has developed the spatial features in the residential district, and pre-modern land use is inevitable in constructing an effective spatial database.

The findings have been verified with the extant environment and a relationship between the housing and alleys was found, which can become useful for contemporary planning.

References
1) Editorial committee of the History of Kamakura. "The history of Kamakura", 1956-
After the city loses its political importance, it declines to a typical countryside with rice fields and fishing villages, only leaving the temples and shrines that survived as tourist spots in the suburb of the Edo city. In the modern era, Kamakura becomes popular as an ideal resort and the population rapidly grows after the construction of railways.
2) These housings use valuable timber and elaborate craftwork based on the traditional housing industry in Japan. Some of them are standardized housings produced by housing associations and building agencies. Others are designed by regional craftsmen, but also influenced by the innovative housing techniques and designs through media. For general information of modern Japanese housings, see for example Uchida, S. "Modern Housings in Japan". 1992 or Sand, J. "House and Home in Modern Japan". 2003
3) Futagami, Y. and Toriumi, M. (2005) Production of the archive of cultural properties-constructing a database of cultural properties and tie-up with external organizations. Research institute for cultural properties in Tokyo.
4) Editorial committee of the History of Kamakura. "The history of Kamakura", 1956-
By the land measurement and planning in 1591 enforced by the Tokugawa Shogunate, detached estates were united to form commercial districts called "Monzen" in front of the temples, usually a row of long and slender land lots that stands out in the disorderly rice fields.

We must be aware that the Monzen area discussed in this paper is that of the pre-modern era and is different from the Monzen district in the medieval era. In order to relate contemporary land organization to the medieval era, it is inevitable to construct a different methodology. See Ito, T. "History of urban space". 2003, for comparative analysis of the enrollment of religious facilities in the formation of Japanese historical cities, which also discusses the characteristics of Monzen districts in the medieval and pre-modern times.
5) The Wakamiya-oji street on the West was a sacred axis of the Tsurugaoka shrine, and the main street of Kamakura was the Komachi-oji street on the East on which all the buildings entrance faced. The main street shifts to the West by the construction of the Monzen district of Tsurugaoka shrine in the 16th Century.
6) Kimura, H. "A study on the Monzen district in Kamakura". 1984
The ratio of landownership in 1591 was; "Shogunate owned land" 17.67%, "temple owned land"28.3%, "shrine owned land" 53.9% in which Tsurugaoka shrine alone owned 52.4%. Since the planning of 1591 was concentrated on the "Monzen" district, there are traces of the land division from the medieval era still seen in

Fig.14. Extant Construction Age+Preservation Law
Fig.15. Extant Usage+Architecture Regulation
the rice fields.

7) The Monzen district of Tsurugaoka shrine was allocated in Yukinoshita, Ogigayatsu, Omachi, and Jomyoji district.

8) According to Kimura, H. (1984), there were 35 shrineworkers 8 Yaotome, 3 Shinkan, 4 servants, 53 peasants in the whole Monzen district of Tsurugaoka shrine in the documentation of 1872, whereas in 1875, most of the names cannot be seen, and the remains had changed their occupation to doctors, carpenters, coopers, peasants, inn managers and merchants.

9) The "spatial information database" (2002) offered from the Kamakura municipal is one of the most developed GIS system used in municipals in Japan. It is mainly used for protection of greenery and construction of hazard maps, including datum such as administrative division, buildings, law designation, overall land use, etc. Since it is not used as basic information for historical preservation, there are no datum considering landownership or historical usage.

10) The original registry map was drawn in 1873 (Meiji 4) when the land tax reform was enacted. And was overwritten several times until it was totally rewritten in 1966 (Showa 41).

11) Sawa, T. "Collection of old documents of Kamakura". 1976, Miura, M. Committee of education in Kamakura."Old Documents of Kamakura-2". 1969, The City of Kamakura. "Kamakura-Zuko". 1956

12) The registry information is limited to those documented in the new files, which only go back to 1920s. The information before each file was renewed should be investigated for further study. In this paper, we will make use of the datum investigated by Kimura, H. (1984). Occupation of the residents in the Monzen district can be read from the documents on the registry investigation operated in 1872 (Meiji 5) and 1875 (Meiji 8) on the occasion of the land reform.

13) Sukiya architecture is a style of architecture derived from the culture of tea. Because of its cultural and technical value, there are many examples in historical cities where Sukiya architecture are relocated from other districts such as Kanazawa and Kyoto.

14) The Preservation Law enacted in 1966 (Showa 41) is a license system, determined by designating preservation area from the mountain ridge, in respect of protecting the greenery and temples in the mountains.

15) Sato, S. "A study on the modernization of the Jokamachi cities".

16) Committee of education in Kamakura."Report on the archeological research on the site of the former Yofukuji". 1996

From recent archeological research, it is known that some part of the land boundaries trace the outlines of the medieval artifacts. This shows that the land readjustment was only applied to the Monzen district and the rice fields succeeded the land boundaries from the medieval times.

17) Maki, F. "The shadowed city". 1980