

Lordly Pageantry: The Daimyo Procession and Political Authority

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In Tokugawa Japan the daimyo were required by the shogun to alternate their residences between their domains and Edo. The present essay examines this system, known as alternate attendance, from two major perspectives: first, as a symbol of authority, both of the shogun and bakufu as national hegemon and of individual daimyo as local rulers; and second, as performance or theater. It does this through an analysis of the form in which these movements were made—the daimyo procession—as depicted in contemporary accounts of Japanese and foreigners, in oral literature, and in a number of popular cultural forms including woodblock prints, picture game boards, printed books, and horizontal scrolls.

Keywords: ALTERNATE ATTENDANCE (*SANKIN KŌTAI*), PROCESSION, PARADE, CULTURAL PERFORMANCE, PAGEANTRY, TRAVEL, THEATER, REGALIA, DAIMYO, BAKUFU

No other institution epitomized the Tokugawa period (1603-1868) as much as alternate attendance, or *sankin kōtai* 参勤交代. Under that system, the shogun in Edo required the semi-autonomous lords, or daimyo, to leave their domains to come wait on him, usually for a year at a time. The daimyo, furthermore, were required to keep their wives and most of their adolescent children in permanent residence in Edo, where they served, in effect, as hostages, acting as guarantees for continued daimyo good behavior. Through alternate attendance, large numbers of retainers were able to expand their social environments and mental worlds by leaving their individual domains to serve their lord in Edo. Roughly twenty to thirty percent of Edo's population—250,000-300,000 people from the early eighteenth century—lived in the more than six hundred compounds (*daimyō yashiki* 大名屋敷) maintained by the domains across the city, and their numbers were continuously replenished from the castle towns through the regular migrations of alternate attendance; as many as one-third to one-

half of these numbers accompanied the daimyo on their periodic trips in any given year.¹

So emblematic of the period was the practice that even in Meiji times, when the Englishman Algernon Bertram Mitford, Lord Redesdale, visited Japan in 1906 to deliver the Order of the Garter from King Edward VII to the Meiji Emperor, a representation of a daimyo procession was recreated as entertainment. This was carried out in the great space in front of a pavilion specially erected in Hibiya Park, where distinguished foreign and Japanese guests has been gathered.² The reenactment resonated with Lord Redesdale, who had as a young British diplomat experienced Tokugawa Japan in 1866-67, during its last years. Alternate attendance, more than anything else, evoked the Tokugawa past to him:

Feudalism is dead, but its ghost haunts me still. I shut my eyes and see picturesque visions of warriors in armour. . . . Processions of powerful nobles with their retinues marching along the cryptomeria avenues of the Tōkaidō, the road by the eastern sea—and I hear the cry ‘Shita ni iro, Shita ni iro’ (Be down, be down), at which all men of low degree go down upon their knees and bow their heads in the dust while the great man [i.e., the daimyo] passes, silent and gloomy in the loneliness of the norimono (palanquin).³

The movements of the daimyo—who were portable lords—and their entourages to and from Edo did not take place in a haphazard manner. They were a type of group activity that assumed certain distinct forms, marking the cultural landscape of early modern Japan. Alternate attendance was in essence a military exercise, and this basic fact necessarily influenced the form of the movement. While we do not have substantive descriptions of these periodic movements before the Genroku period (1688-1704) to compare with later accounts, daimyo processions also assumed a parade-like character, with notable theatrical elements; they were a type of cultural performance. The road became the stage: the members of the retinue, particularly the infamous *yakko* 奴 footmen, the players; the implements carried, the props; and, the people lining the road, the audience. These images were captured in “still frame” in woodblock prints, printed books and in written descriptions by foreigners and Japanese alike. They became the background of imaginative journeys played by children on picture game boards (*esugoroku* 絵双六); and, also, became part of a narrative journey that played itself out across picture scrolls as they were unfurled. It is no wonder, perhaps, that the images of daimyo processions—part military exercise, part theater—remained vivid in the mind of the Englishman Mitford long after he left Japan and became a lord himself.

While the regular, parade-like embassies from Korea and the Ryukyuan kingdom have received scholarly attention, the more routine movements of the daimyo, who plied the highways of Tokugawa Japan from their castle towns to Edo and back year after year, generally have not.⁴ This essay will explore the dual nature of the daimyo procession and the significance of the interplay between those two elements: first, as a symbol of authority, both of the individual daimyo as local rulers, but also of the Tokugawa bakufu as national hegemon; and secondarily, as performance or theater. I examine both elements through the use of popular cultural forms, such as woodblock prints, picture game boards, horizontal

scrolls (*emakimono* 絵巻物), contemporary accounts and oral literature. Since the processions were mini-dramas—theaters of power—the essay will also examine the processions as sites of competing production, with daimyo and bakufu as the actors and with multiple levels of performance and audience.⁵

Reception of the Procession

In Tokugawa Japan's castle towns, certain preparations were carried out in anticipation of the departure of the lord's procession. Generally, the streets were swept clean, water buckets and brooms placed in front of households facing the road, and decorative sand piled up by the edge of the road (known as *morizuna* 盛砂).⁶ The sand was heaped into a conical shape, often one on each side of a building or gatepost. This practice dates from the Muromachi period, and has been commonly interpreted as a symbol of welcome or "hospitality" (*gochisō* 御馳走) for a guest of high rank. It also has religious overtones, as the salt, which was spread on top of the sand pile, connotes purification. Together with the placement of the buckets and broom, these various practices, carried out in the castle towns and post stations through which the processions passed, symbolized the completion of the cleaning of the road.⁷

Hospitality connoted public signs of deference to rank, and as extended to daimyo processions when they passed through post stations could assume a number of forms. From the records of the Ishii family, operators of the official inn (*honjin* 本陣) at Yagake 矢掛 station in Okayama (Niwase 庭瀬 domain), we know that it could also consist of: 1) greeting, namely domain officials and/or post station officials, especially the head of the daimyo inn (*honjin*), meeting and welcoming travelers at the entrances to post stations; 2) clearing the way, that is, village or post station officials leading the way for the travelers through their village, calling out "*Shita ni (iro), Shita ni (iro)*" "Down!" or "On your knees!" They were often preceded by two men, brooms in hand, clearing the way (*tsuyu barai* 露払), and signaling symbolically that the road had been cleaned; 3) guard service, mainly the establishment of temporary guard posts in front of the official inn, manned by domainial footsoldiers; 4) sending off (*miokuri* 見送り) of travelers by domainial officials at the borders of post-stations and the domain and by post station officials at the borders of their settlement; and 5) physical symbols or marks of cleaning or purification, namely the decorative water buckets, brooms and sand piles. All of these were basic duties, signs of respect and public deference that were owed by local officials, and those under their authority, to the lords who passed through their settlements.⁸

This great variation in the degree of hospitality extended was consistent with the general pattern in Tokugawa Japan of calibrating most everything to status (*mibun* 身分), and was part of the natural, accepted social order. Hospitality therefore depended on the identity of the traveling party and the relationship between that party and the domainial as well as bakufu authority. Accordingly, officials of the bakufu generally received the highest level of hospitality. From the records of the official inns at Yagake post station, it seems that most daimyo formally received no special treatment except for their reception by post station

officials, the courtesy of freshly swept roads, and the hanging of decorative curtains in front of the *honjin*. A few lords did also have water buckets and brooms arrayed for their passage. These courtesies represented hospitality as shown by the post station (bakufu territory). At other post stations, hospitality might also include torch lights or lanterns.⁹

Hospitality sponsored by the domain, rather than by the post station, typically was extended only to bakufu officials, like the Nagasaki Magistrate, and to lords with whom there was a direct connection of some sort. It was up to the domain lord, in the final analysis, to determine the level of hospitality beyond what the post station offered. Most of the fourteen or fifteen daimyo who passed through Yagake post station annually did so without any greetings from the local daimyo, but occasionally as a courtesy, a low-ranking official of the domain might send his name placard (*nafuda* 名札) with instructions to the itinerant lord to contact him should any need arise. As other examples of this type of irregular hospitality offered by the local daimyo, the Mori lord of Chōshū was treated to tea and sweets at a rest stop near Yagake post station at the expense of the local lord of Niwase domain; the Hōjō lord sent a messenger with greetings and a small box of dried sea bream to the lord of Hagi as he passed through Odawara; and for the early morning (4-5 a.m.) passage of the Satsuma lord through Nagoya lanterns were lit on both sides of the road.¹⁰

A number of contemporary commentators noted some of the various signs of hospitality. In the early 1860s, at Goyu station on the Tōkaidō, Sir Rutherford Alcock witnessed the sand-piles in addition to the road-clearing exercise that was routinely carried out:

We met a cortege, with some Daimio (sic) of unusual importance, apparently; for a train of little sand-heaps marked the road for several miles, in testimony of respect, signifying that the road was freshly swept and sanded for him especially. So, even with ourselves, there generally ran before us a couple of little ragged urchins, dragging their brooms after them, and shouting as they went, for an advertisement to all whom they might meet, the magic word which brings every Japanese to his knees, “Shitanirio (sic)!” or, rather, this was the word which should have been articulated; but, in their mouths, it was transmuted into a sort of monotonous cry or howl, which we often took occasion to leave far behind us by pushing our horses on.¹¹

On a later day he wrote with incredulity how within a few steps of a “dense mass of swaying bodies and excited heads,” a wide path suddenly opened up in front of them, “as if by magic,” with the wave of an official’s fan and the command of “Shita ni iro.”¹² Though not a daimyo procession, the Dutch retinue including Englebert Kaempfer was treated as one, at least while passing through Kyushu. This suggests that there were local variations on the practice of hospitality, with “local” daimyo receiving a higher degree of it. Kaempfer wrote that the Dutchmen’s procession of which he was a part was treated with “nearly the same honours and civility” as a daimyo:

The roads are swept and clean’d before us, and in cities and villages they are water’d

to lay the dust. The common people, labourers and idle spectators, who are so very troublesome to travellers upon the great Island Nippon, are kept out of the way, and the inhabitants of the houses, on either side of the roads and streets, see us go by, either sitting in the back-part of their houses, or kneeling in the fore-part behind the skreens [sic], with great respect and in a profound silence.¹³

Those, he said, “who will not pay us this respect willingly, and of their own free choice, are compell’d to do it by the officers aforesaid, who proceed our train.” He also took notice of “some country people” who not only retired out of the way, but turned their backs to his procession as a sign of respect.¹⁴ While this may seem counter-intuitive to us today, turning one’s back was a public display of deference to a social superior, an indication that one was not worthy to look upon the other.

Robert Fortune, an Englishman who traveled to Japan in 1860 to collect botanical specimens, works of art and objects of natural history, also witnessed a number of processions:

Every now and then a long train of the servants and armed retainers of one of the Daimios—lords or princes of the empire—may be seen covering the road for miles. It is not unusual for a cortege of this kind to occupy two or three hours in passing by. Men run before and call upon the people to fall down upon their knees to do honour to the great man, nor do they call in vain. All the people on both sides of the way drop down instantly on their knees, and remain in this posture until the norimon [sic] or palanquin of the prince has passed by.¹⁵

Francis Hall’s account of life in the closing years of the Tokugawa bakufu also relates important information about the reception of processions. He wrote, in 1860, that he was “desirous to see what I might of the cortege of a man whose traveling train is said frequently to contain five thousand.”¹⁶ While the reputation of the size of the lord of Owari’s procession far exceeded the reality of it, it was nevertheless a spectacle. To observe it he and his party watched from a bluff in Kanagawa, overlooking the Tōkaidō. Hall observed that the “Japanese were already pinned down on their knees below by the cry of the herald in advance of the cortege, ‘*sta iri*, get down.’” On his hilltop position with a Dr. James Hepburn, a Dr. Simmons and Dr. Simmons’ wife, Hall and the foreigners were spotted and the herald, “with gesture and shout commanded us also to fall down. The Japanese went down as if shot and Dr. S[immons] followed suit, Mrs. S[immons], Dr. H[epburn] and myself continued standing, though presently Mrs S[immons] sat down beside the Dr.”¹⁷ The lord of Owari saw them observing him, in his palanquin, and his procession, ordered his vehicle stopped, slid the door open, and gazed back at them through an opera glass. Hall later noted that the lord took a long look at them, especially Mrs. Simmons, whom he presumed “was the first foreign lady he had ever seen.”¹⁸ Hall, his legs perched over the edge of the cliff, bowed back. This mutual cross-cultural investigation went on for several minutes before the train moved on. Hall’s Japanese guide later informed him that the incident on the hill had created quite a stir

amongst the Japanese, and related what a “great breach of Japanese etiquette” Hall’s behavior had been. They should have “gone within some home and looked out unseen,” he said. Not to have done so was quite dangerous in fact; another daimyo “less friendly might take such displeasure as to order his soldiers to shoot at us,” Hall learned. He was instructed that the “mark of politeness would be to ‘turn your back towards the royal cortege.’”¹⁹

While foreigners were in a particularly hazardous situation because of the political situation in the early 1860s, as would later be evidenced by the murder of the Englishman Charles Richardson by a group of samurai from Satsuma that he had had the misfortune of encountering on the Tōkaidō, the misbehavior or lack of proper conduct of a Japanese towards a daimyo procession might be corrected on the spot. As Hall reported when he encountered the train of the daimyo of Fukui on the Tōkaidō, all went down on their knees except “one poor fellow who was not quite quick enough[. He] had his wide straw hat knocked over his eyes and was hustled very much as men in a crowd are sometimes hustled in a home mob.”²⁰ Other contemporary accounts indicate that there could be rough treatment in store for those who failed to move quickly enough. They might be forcefully pushed out of the way, or in the case of a peddler selling sweet bean soup (*shiruko* 汁粉) in the middle of the road, who was taken unawares by the procession of the Sendai lord one night, his portable cart was kicked over, sending pots and bowls flying. Though he had tried to move his things out of the way, apparently he did not do so quickly enough, for “without saying a word, one of the men at the head of the procession [had] kicked over the cart, sending its contents flying.” When he squatted down to clear up the mess, someone kicked the hot pot, sending it flying. It struck the man on the left side of his face, above the eye, burning him.²¹

In addition to getting down on their knees before the procession, Chōshū residents along the lord’s route in 1863 were instructed: 1) to remove hats and other head coverings; 2) to refrain from playing musical instruments; 3) to keep children from being a nuisance; 4) not to hang wash outside or to place unsightly things by the roadside; 5) not to spread manure in nearby fields the day before the lord’s passage; 6) not to argue or make loud noises; 7) not to hold funerals the day of the passage; 8) to listen to the instructions of officials; and

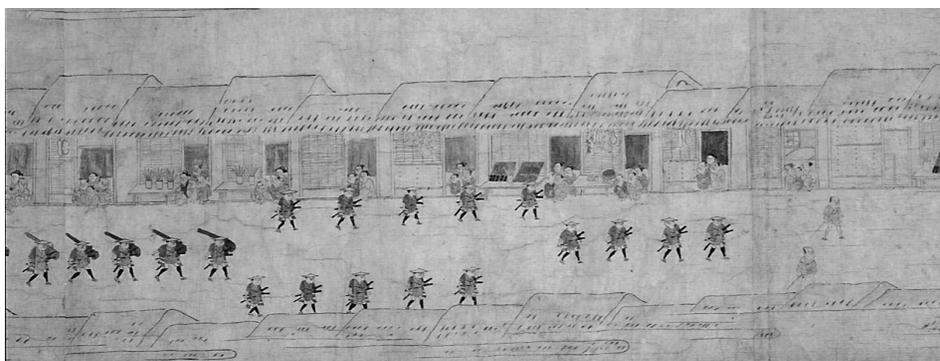


Figure 1. A scene from the *Kishū han sankin kōtai gyōretsu zu*. Courtesy of Sakai Hakubutsukan.

9) to clean the road, make sand piles and to put out lanterns should it grown dark while the procession was passing by.²²

In addition to these written accounts, pictorial representations also inform us to some extent about the issue of reception. In the “Kishū han sankin kōtai gyōretsu zu” 紀州藩参勤交代行列図, an anonymous artist has reproduced the procession of the lord of Kii (Wakayama), with some 1,320 men in the retinue and about 500 spectators gathered at various locations along the travel route, which runs through parts of present-day Sakai and Osaka cities.²³ How are we to read the implicit narratives as we unroll the scrolls, pictorial representations without written text? “A parade is not an instantaneous ‘event,’ but a ‘process’ that develops over time and space,” Ronald Toby reminds us.²⁴ In the Kishū scroll, which dates from late Tokugawa times, we can observe the people along the route going down on their knees, and others simply squatting, only when the section which comprised the main force centered on the lord approached [see Figure 1]. The approach of the lord and the main section of the procession were marked by a large physical space, or gap, followed by road clearers. Before and after the main force the people depicted appear as casual spectators, with numbers of people going about their business, seemingly oblivious to the event unfolding nearby. Given the length of the procession and the slowness of pace dictated by the dignity of the lord, one can understand perhaps why people are seen kneeling only for the passage of the main portion of the retinue, yet this flies in the face of the popular image of commoners lying prostrate before (entire) processions. As the main segment of the parade approached and people went down on their knees, they are respectful but their faces are relaxed and definitely not buried in the ground. Once the lord passes people are up on their feet again. Just before the road clearers in this main segment we observe a humorous scene. A man, broom in hand, has apparently finished sweeping the road, but below him in the foreground a boy has spread some of the contents of a water bucket in a manner which has angered a samurai nearby, who scowls in response.

The passage of another lord is depicted in much the same fashion in the “Sunpu jōka gyōretsu byōbu” (駿府城下行列屏風), a screen painted sometime in the first half of the seventeenth century. People are out of their homes and on their knees before the lord’s palanquin; elsewhere, some people are on their knees, while others are standing but bent over in a bow.²⁵ On the other hand, the Swiss consul Rudolph Lindau, in the closing years of the Tokugawa period, reported that,

With the call “shita ni iro” the entire area went quiet, as a sign of respect. Work was temporarily halted; windows were shut, and many people quickly returned to their homes. . . . Travelers went down on their knees, foreheads to the ground, until the lord’s palanquin passed.²⁶

While accounts vary, it is clear that at least the portion of the procession which centered on the lord was treated with the great respect, while lesser amounts of the same were paid to those in its other sections.

The passage of daimyo processions was part of the regular cycle of yearly events, or

nenjū gyōji 年中行事 experienced by people living in castle towns, including Edo, and in settlements along the alternate attendance routes in domains, as well as along the Tōkaidō official transport network, the Gokaidō 五街道. The fact that single-sheet guides, or *banzuke* 番付, were not ordinarily published for them by commercial artists as they were for processions of foreigners from Korea and Ryukyu, might seem to suggest that daimyo processions were viewed by the populace as routine. They certainly occurred on a regular basis, unlike the far more episodic foreign missions, and the marchers were Japanese rather than alien; therefore for most Japanese they did not remain “in the realm of fantasy, heard about but unseen,” in contrast to the parades of foreigners.²⁷ One was far more likely to see a daimyo procession than a parade of foreigners.

Nevertheless, daimyo processions were often grand spectacles that attracted much attention, and often formed the backdrop of many woodblock prints (*nishikie* 錦絵 and *surimono* 刷り物) and picture game boards, or *esugoroku*, thereby evidencing their hold on the popular imagination.²⁸ For example, in Hiroshige’s “Hōeidō Tōkaidō” series, in at least four of the prints, beginning with the first, Nihonbashi, but also in Shirasuka, Okazaki (two processions about to pass each other on the Yahagi Bridge), Kameyama, the members of the retinue are the major or only human figures in the work, and thus the focal points.²⁹ The popularity of game boards with travel themes (*dōchū sugoroku* 道中双六) reflected the boom in travel which occurred in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The games were a favorite pastime of children at New Year’s and during festivals.³⁰ Parts of daimyo processions were routinely depicted in the blocks apportioned for particular stops (post stations) on the highway; in others, processions wind their way back and forth across the board. Moreover, almost without fail Nihonbashi in Edo, the zero point for the Tokugawa official road network, and the starting point (*furidashi* 振り出し) for the *sugoroku* game board, was associated with alternate attendance through the visual representation of a procession crossing the bridge, as in “Nihonbashi, Morning View (c.1833-34) Odawara-chō,” by Utagawa Hiroshige, from his series “Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō,” where the retinue is depicted just beginning the journey home.³¹ In this way, then, alternate attendance became synonymous with bakufu authority through these artistic representations.

Some oral histories taken in the early Meiji period relate the attraction of the daimyo procession to commoner spectators. One woman who lived in Osaka remembered that people intentionally sought out processions, as one would seek out a play to go see. Just over the bridge from her house in Kyōmachi were the compounds of the lords of Satsuma, Higo and Marugame. She recalled how “when lords or young princesses arrived from the provinces large numbers of people came out to pay their respects (*taigai ogami ni itta mon dasu* 大概拝みに行ったもんだす). The gates to the compound wide open, a curtain hanging across them, and all around the ground swept clean, signaled to her and others that someone important would be arriving that day. “The spectators,” she said, “would be on their knees from early on, when they heard ‘*Shita nii, shita nii*’ 下にイ下にイ. Sometimes the lord would not arrive until evening; we’d be hungry and our eyes had gone dizzy, but we had to wait patiently.”³² This recollection, incidentally, certainly conflicts with the notion that spectators observed the

courtesy of kneeling or bowing only for the passage of the main segment of the procession.

Remembering having seen a daimyo procession in Edo one night, a (former) townsman remarked, “It was really something (*jitsu ni taishita mon de* 実に大したもので)—there were around 300 men accompanying the lord. It was so quiet that all one could hear was the sound of horse bridles.” This was even true when the procession was just a small unit accompanying the lord within the city. For example, upon seeing the procession of the Saga lord at night at Kandabashi returning to his main compound, the same person just quoted above remarked: “There were more than fifty men in two rows, like a cluster of stars. They were uniform in height, not even an inch difference among them. . . . The procession passed by quietly, not so much as a cough coming from any of the men. Thanks to working at night, I was able to witness this grand spectacle, which has been engrained in my mind.”³³

Samurai, too, had occasion to comment on the daimyo processions. Mutō Hiroki, a Sendai retainer who created a written and pictorial record of his lord’s first procession to the domain in 1842, observed that the streets of Edo “were so crowded with sightseers that the procession could barely move.”³⁴ Maki Yasuomi, a Kurume retainer, viewed the retinues of several daimyo while traveling on the Tōkaidō in 1843 and noted:

I rested at Mitsuke [post station] where I had encountered the retinue of the daimyo of Kumamoto on his way back to the han. Both in accoutrements and in the number of men and horses, it is probably the finest in Japan. I also met with that of the daimyo of Chōshū, and observed it while resting in a house by the side of the Road. His cortege, if one compares it with that of Kumamoto, was only half as large; however the samurai were extremely well disciplined and the effects of the daimyo’s reform is a sight to behold. I also met with the daimyo of Fukui, Ōtsu, and Kurushima, none of whom are worth looking at.³⁵

Maki had clearly rated these various processions in his mind, and then took the trouble to put his thoughts on paper, revealing the keen status consciousness with which samurai viewed their society. Similarly, Tosa samurai Mori Yoshiki 森芳材 noted in 1801 that the retinue of the Ikeda lord, Narikuni, of Tottori domain (325,000 *koku*), was smaller than that of the Tosa (200,000 *koku*) lord, of which he was a part.³⁶ Men of warrior status were highly competitive and strongly aware of the hierarchal order of which they were a part.

Samurai apparently were also aware that daimyo processions were viewed by commoners as a form of theater. According to the recollections of a former retainer from Satsuma domain, “The most popular forms of sightseeing (*kenbutsu*) in Edo were: one, watching the daimyō processions in front of Edo castle (*geba*); two, sumō; and three, the theater,” all of which were forms of viewing or spectatorship.³⁷

Processions as Theater

Processions are a type of group activity that exist in most if not all cultures, yet they do not consist simply of a group of people walking in the same direction. There are certain

principles that define them.³⁸ For one, a procession consists of a group organized in columns which proceeds forward on a set course to a predetermined destination. Secondly, people wait along the route for the group to pass, watching the procession while obeying certain rules of an audience. Thirdly, the group marching, while being watched by the spectators, also observes them. Fourthly, the arrangement of the procession and the behavior of the spectators are both regulated or controlled by some underlying authority or power. Put differently, parades are political acts. Those in the procession move with the understanding that they will be seen and move fully conscious of the fact that their movement is a demonstration of power and authority. In sum, the procession functions in four ways: to see, to show, to be seen, and to cause to be seen.

As the various observations noted in the section above implied, processions, as political acts, are dramatic representations, performance, or theater. Drama and power have, of course, long been closely linked. In ancient times as well as in medieval and early-modern Europe, “the wielders of authority—the church and the state—developed expertise in the techniques of display; the relationship between theatre and monarchy, processions and power, was intimate.”³⁹ While the bakufu had its own processions, shogunal processions to Kyoto and Nikkō in particular, it will be argued here that the daimyo parades were a reflection of both domainal status and Tokugawa authority.

There were a number of elements to the theatrical or dramatic character of the daimyo processions: size; forms of movement; attire; military gear and other accoutrements carried; color; and, sound. The first, size, consisted of the sometimes awe-inspiring, sheer number of men and horses that moved together, generally in a stately manner. Prestige required numbers. As Kaempfer noted “the train of some of the most eminent among the Princes of the Empire [i.e., daimyo] fills up the road for some days.”⁴⁰ On his second trip to Edo Kaempfer’s group encountered a portion of the Kii lord’s procession: “We counted eighty led horses, more than fifty norimono, one hundred or more ordinary pikes, thirty-six pikes with feathers and drooping bushes or horsehair, thirty to forty men carrying bows, excluding those men who were still inside the houses, thirty boxes with the gilded emblem of the shogun and other gilded coats of arms, and many many more.”⁴¹ Francois Caron, in Japan in the 1630s, was so impressed by the numbers that he took to exaggeration, writing that some of the lords traveled “to and from with one, two, three, four, five and six thousand men.”⁴² More than two centuries later (1865), the German archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann estimated the largest daimyo procession at 15,000 men.⁴³ Siebold, too, was taken to exaggeration by the large numbers: “The trains with which the princes of the empire visit Yedo amount in number to ten thousand men for those of the lowest rank, and twenty thousand for those of the highest.”⁴⁴ More accurately, however, the largest of the domains’ processions were in the 2,000-3,000-man range. In terms of the number of horses included in the procession, Kaga, for example, brought almost four hundred of them from the domain; in addition, as many as 1,000 animals from villages in areas around the roads traversed in the domain might be required for such a substantial procession.⁴⁵

Foreigners were not the only ones impressed by the size of many daimyo processions.

The Japanese geographer Furukawa Koshōken traveled around the country in 1787 with a group of bakufu inspectors. His party exited Edo at the same time as the lord of Sendai and the two groups met up on the roadway after that as well. He noted,

Despite hearing of the economizing measures being practiced in recent years, with attendant reductions in daimyo processions, from the various implements carried to the number of men in the retinue, the procession of the Sendai lord is large and resplendent (*bibishiki taninzū nite* 美々しき多人数にて), by far superior to that of the lord of Satsuma's. The display of not only the Elders [and their men] but of all the samurai, and the various implements they are carrying is astonishing (*me o odorokaseshi tomomawari nari* 目を驚かせし供廻りなり). The family crest is a nine-star pattern on a vermillion background. The men, all dressed in sleeveless, long overcoats that look like formal wear, hold their implements upright, against their shoulders. I have seen many province-holding daimyo's processions, but none as fine as this.⁴⁶

This might be seen as even more remarkable given the fact that this was written at a time of the Tenmei famine, which centered on the north of Japan and adversely affected Sendai. If the procession that Furukawa saw was similar in scope to the one from 1842 which a Sendai retainer painted, a retinue with 1,577 men in it, headed by fifty gunners and fifty bowmen, one can well understand his admiration.⁴⁷

While the numbers of men a lord brought with him were tied to issues of prestige, and the large numbers lent to the theatricality of the corteges, the practical, military rationale behind the numbers should not be overlooked. The processions were military exercises—planned exercises in mobilizing and moving large numbers of troops and attendant war materiel. As such, daimyo needed to have an adequate number of men appropriate to their status should the shogun require their military services. This requirement of military service also dictated that adequate military hardware and materiel be brought along. To protect the lord at overnight stops, for example, a metal sheet was placed under the *tatami* matting in his bedroom at whatever inn at which he was lodging.

Daimyo processions had the reputation of being long, as was suggested in the haiku by Kobayashi Issa:

<i>Ato tomo wa</i>	The rear of the procession
<i>Kasumi hikikeri</i>	vanished into distant mist
<i>Kaga no kami</i>	The lord of Kaga ⁴⁸

These men accompanied the daimyo to Edo, where the lords were to perform their feudal duty to the shogun. In practical terms this meant, among other things, guarding the gates of the shogun's castle, providing fire prevention units at various locations in the city, and attending formal shogunal audiences. Given the nature of these duties, which did not require a large force, it is not surprising that the Tokugawa government tried to regulate the number of men that the lords could bring to Edo. This was due not only to military considerations—

the shogun did not want a large buildup of potentially hostile forces in his capital—but also because of concerns about overcrowding in Edo and overburdening the official transport network.⁴⁹ Warnings concerning the large numbers of men being brought to Edo were issued from early on, in the *Buke shohatto* of 1635, 1653, and again in 1701 and 1712. Whether or not these instructions were repeated to all daimyo at their audiences before returning to their domains or not is uncertain, but the lord of Tosa was directed in 1679 both to carry out the *Kirishitan shūmon aratame* diligently and to reduce the numbers in his procession when he returned to Edo the following year.⁵⁰ Finally, limits were established in 1721.⁵¹ In particular criticism was directed at the practice of hiring commoners (*machi no yakko*) to fill out the processions; these people were of “no use” (*myō* 無用) since the processions were by nature a military exercise.⁵²

The number of men that a lord could bring with him to that city was based upon the officially assessed domainal productive output (*omotedaka* 表高)—the larger the domain, the larger the number of men allowed—and at least through the beginning of the eighteenth century, the daimyo greatly exceeded the limits established.⁵³ They did this, despite the financial burdens incurred, because in times of peace status considerations became paramount: the size of one’s entourage, like the number and size of the lord’s mansions, were indicators of status, and thus of utmost importance in the world of the samurai.

According to bakufu regulations issued in 1658, the Tosa lord should have brought about 1,800 men with him to Edo. Available records for Tosa show (Table 1) that around this time the lord was bringing slightly fewer than the prescribed number of attendants, around 1,500, with him. The record reveals however, that at the height of the period of conspicuous consumption at the end of the seventeenth century, this figure was routinely exceeded, sometimes by almost a thousand men. In 1690, for example, 2,775 men accompanied the lord to Edo. Among the personnel who traveled to Edo, some only accompanied the procession to Edo (*tachigaeri* 立ち返り), and then returned home; others came and went with the lord (*Edozume* 江戸詰); while still others remained as long-term staff (*jōfu* 定府).

According to the regulations issued in 1721 Kaga should have had no more than twenty mounted samurai, 120-130 footsoldiers and 250-300 menial attendants (*chūgen* 中間 and *ninsoku* 人足), a total of 385-450 men. As these levels applied to all domains over 200,000 *koku*, other large domains such as Satsuma, Tosa and Sendai should have had equal levels, but they, too, far exceeded them. At this time Kaga domain actually had approximately 3,000 men in its processions. From this one might hypothesize that the regulations applied only to those in the main body of the procession or to those directly attached to the lord. Even so, Kaga’s numbers far exceeded those stipulated in bakufu regulations.

After the turn of the eighteenth century procession figures are scarce for Tosa domain. Available data, for 1718, shows a decrease to 1799, just one person shy of the 1,800 standard for Tosa prescribed by bakufu regulation.⁵⁴ In Tosa, as elsewhere, fluctuations in the domain’s fiscal condition, rather than the centrally issued edicts of the Tokugawa enjoining the daimyo to bring fewer men with them to Edo, probably account for the reduction in numbers, particularly evident in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁵⁵ This was no doubt also

a factor in the decision to change the course for alternate attendance to the overland route across Shikoku initiated in 1718 (the Kitayama route). Despite the apparent decrease in the numbers accompanying the Yamauchi lord, the size of Tosa's processions was still a target of criticism and reform during the Tenmei period in the late eighteenth century. For example, one scholar from Tosa reported that:

This summer (1787), on the return trip to the domain, at Kusatsu post station, we saw the procession of the lord of Aki province [lord Asano of Hiroshima], and people were saying that its size was not even a third of ours. In other places people were saying that, at present, there is not another daimyo in all of Shikoku and the Western provinces with a procession as large as that of the Tosa lord's, while noting that the lord of Awa [Tokushima Hachisuka] had reduced the numbers in his retinue by one-half.⁵⁶

In the context of the times, this connoted criticism, because Tosa, unlike the other domains cited, had not reduced the size of its procession.

Among some domains, however, the drop in numbers could be more startling. The Hosokawa of Kumamoto domain reduced their numbers from 2,720 (1645) to 2,563 (1680) to 546 (1777).⁵⁷ Sendai han, among others, did the same. A key part of the domain's program in its own reform program, launched in 1789 in response to massive crop losses caused by an extended period of cold and rain, was to reduce the numbers in its retinue by "two-thirds."⁵⁸ Still, as mentioned earlier, the geographer Furukawa Koshōken noted, in 1788, that despite its economy measures Sendai's retinue was startling, far greater than any of those of the large, province-holding daimyo he had ever seen before, even Satsuma's; and, according to the "Rakuzan-kō" scroll the numbers were still quite substantial in the 1840s (1,282 people in 1842).

Thus for some domains it was a matter of local pride that even in dire economic times the procession remain large. According to Sendai retainer Mutō Hiroki, "From the beginning of the Tenpō period [1830-44]... all the great lords like Kii, Mito, Kaga, Satsuma, Hosokawa [Kumamoto], Aki, Kuroda [Fukuoka], Aizu, Echizen, Saga, Mori [Chōshū] have made reductions, below what their status dictates (*bungai no shōryaku* 分外の省略), in the amount of men, arms and military accoutrements. The Sendai lord alone has strictly maintained them all as before."⁵⁹ Perhaps Sendai, like Aizu, felt that it could not reduce the size of its procession because of the need to protect the reputation of the domain (*ogaibun* 御外聞). In explaining the domain's decision in 1721 not to reduce the size of the procession, an Elder asked rhetorically, "What will happen to our domain's reputation if it becomes known that our numbers have been reduced?"⁶⁰

Since the size of the procession imparted prestige, even when daimyo reduced the numbers in their processions, many hired temporary laborers for departures and arrivals in order to swell the ranks and thus increase the prestige of the domain. The bakufu caught on to this gimmick, and prohibited it as well, apparently to no avail.⁶¹ For local consumption as well the daimyo expanded the ranks artificially. One of the Elders of Sendai, the castellan

of Shiraishi welcomed the lord at the border of the domain (*okuni iri kangei* 御国入り歓迎), adding 295 men to the 1,282 already in the daimyo's procession in 1842 for the final leg home to the castle.⁶²

Looking at other domains (see Table 2), Kaga, with an assessed productivity in excess of one million *koku*, routinely sent more than 2,000 people with the daimyo to Edo.⁶³ Kaga, like Sendai, for reasons of prestige, did not to have cut back on the scale of processions over time. Particularly large numbers of men were dispatched after the succession of a new daimyo, as in 1802, when Maeda Tsunanori made his first entry into Kanazawa as lord.⁶⁴ This was also an occasion for careful record-taking in terms of documenting the size and progress of the retinue as well as making a visual record in scroll form; many procession scrolls were made to mark such occasions.⁶⁵

Kaga, Hiroshima, Tosa, and Okayama were among the largest domains, and were therefore most likely on the highest end of the scale in terms of the numbers of people sent to Edo.⁶⁶ For domains of middling size, producing 50,000-200,000 *koku*, we have the examples of Yonezawa (150,000), which typically had more than 700 men, Kurume (210,000 *koku*), 804 men in 1706, Uwajima (100,403 *koku*) with 539 people (1800), Miharu domain (50,000 *koku*), which had 150 men in its procession in 1807 and Nagaoka domain (74,000 *koku*), which had 500 men in 1818.⁶⁷ According to Maruyama Yasunari, in Kyushu, in general, a daimyo of about 100,000 *koku* would bring roughly 280 men with him while one of 75,000 *koku* would bring 190. Outside of Kyushu, he holds, processions were in the 150-300 range.⁶⁸ Falling within the range of these generalizations, Morioka domain (100,000 until the early nineteenth century) varied from 300 to 600.⁶⁹ On the far end of the spectrum, however, small branch domains such as Hachinohe (20,000 *koku*), which was one of 161 domains in 1732 producing between 10,000 and 50,000 *koku*, had from fifty to several hundred people in their retinues.⁷⁰

In accounting for the size of Kaga and other domains' processions we must first look to the large number of hired laborers and others needed to transport the many goods necessary for the procession to make it the mobile fighting force that it was intended to be. Almost one half of Kaga's procession in 1827 consisted of such hired laborers: thirty-five percent were hired in the domain, the remaining fifteen percent hired at post stations from local labor pools, and thus serving to help support local economies along the highways.⁷¹ Besides the food, drinking water, sake and soy sauce that were carried in wooden barrels, raincoats, clothing, ammunition (powder, balls, fuse cord), portable chairs, torches and lanterns for lighting when dark were needed. For raincoats, alone, one retainer of 550 *koku* status, who brought twenty-five men with him to Edo, required two of them to carry rain gear.⁷² A number of doctors were required; in the case of Kaga this included not only a surgeon and acupuncturist but also a veterinarian for horses.⁷³ According to the Sendai scroll, one man was necessary to carry feed, in a box suspended on a pole across his shoulder, for every horse (in addition to the man leading each animal). Also a necessary part of the Kaga procession were five to six carpenters brought along to inspect and/or repair the lord's rooms at official inns; workmen to repair flags, curtains and carrying cases for guns; cooks; and, scribes to

keep records and to look up precedents in log books. Finally, the lord always traveled with a portable toilet and bathtub. Some lords brought animals, including pets, along with them on the journey as well, and these had to be carried, in the case of the Ōgaki lord's birds, or walked by an attendant, as was the case with the Arima, Sendai or Matsue lords' dogs.⁷⁴ The dogs were often used for hunting, working in conjunction with falcons, to retrieve downed birds. Consequently, at least several falconers, together with their animals, were a part of most processions, though some of the birds were meant as gifts for the shogun.

A second element to the spectacle was the attire the men wore, which was usually coordinated and colorful. To an official in the Kyoto City Magistrate's office, the "luxurious display" of the Owari lord's procession was "startling" (*me o odorokasu* 目を驚かす).⁷⁵ Kaempfer, as noted above, remarked that everyone except the palanquin bearers was dressed in resplendent black silk. Though writing of nineteenth-century Philadelphia, Susan G. Davis' comment on this subject applies to Tokugawa Japan as well. She noted, "Uniforms reduced variety and effaced individualism, heightening the image of order created by concerted movement. At the same time, costumes caught the eye with a gorgeous and colorful organization of detail."⁷⁶ Depictions of the men in the Sendai lord's retinue in the "Rakusan-kō ogyōretsū zukan" 楽山公御行列図鑑 procession scroll are not individualized much, but the painter gives great attention to the depiction of clothing and implements carried. The lead group of gunners is divided into two units, one outfitted with dark blue cotton waistcoats (*haori* 羽織) marked with an abstract white, nine-star (really one large circle surrounded by nine smaller ones, or *kyūyō* 九曜) crest, their guns enclosed in scarlet-colored cloth bags; the other group wears black cotton tops with red seals and carrying guns wrapped in black woolen cloth. The dress of one lance-carrying unit in the Nambu domain scroll—formal black waistcoats, with a light blue undergarment, and black-and-white striped leggings—was a particularly riveting sight. Another remarkable unit consisted of a group of men each carrying two boxes of arrows connected with by a wooden pole and covered in red cloth, each decorated with one of the domainal crests, two sparrows surrounded by bamboo leaves. The red of the arrow boxes is contrasted nicely with the yellow color of their leggings and sedge-hats (*jingasa* 陣笠). Their formal, blue, attire is dramatically accented by thick white lines, bent like lightning bolts, down the sleeves. In Kaga domain's procession members of individual units wear the same type of clothing, particularly the sedge hat and top coat (*haori*); favored was a sedge hat (*sugegasa* 菅笠) from the local Etchū Kosugi area, which had a little slope to it, and from a distance a line of these made an impressive sight. Even in the rain uniformity seems to have been important. If someone in the main body of Kaga domain's procession forgot his raingear (*kappa* 合羽) he was required to drop back to the following group.⁷⁷ The spectacle was increased further in Edo, as the members of the processions usually changed into formal attire before entering the city; they wore it when departing the city as well. The various visual and textual sources reveal that there were substantial differences in attire. From this one might conclude that this was one way in which daimyo proudly displayed the local culture of their domain to those from other political entities.

Although the attention to appearance and decoration might tempt one to conclude

that it was only during the Tokugawa peace the daimyo became preoccupied with display, this is incorrect. Such concerns were not new to the Tokugawa period and reflected military considerations as well. The Go-Hōjō of Odawara domain, for example, in the late Sengoku period, “ordered their retainers to decorate ornately their weapons and armor and to dress their *matamono* [又者、sub-retainers] in colorful costumes,” especially when they were to accompany the lord. To have one’s followers dressed gaily, as if on parade, “was a means not only for stirring up the fighting spirit of one’s own forces but also for intimidating the enemy and winning over the people.”⁷⁸ In other words, dress had a clear military function.

A third, related, element was the weapons and other implements carried (discussed below). These, together with the numbers of marchers, constituted a demonstration of military power that was meant to awe, to display the lord’s status and authority. The procession was also in effect, however, a demonstration of Tokugawa authority, as it was known to all that it was the bakufu which commanded these processions to move to Edo and back.

The implements carried had a military function and/or served as status markers, but there were other objects carried in some processions which seem to have had both religious and theatrical elements. In the “Rakuzan-kō ogyōretsu zukan,” of Sendai domain this is evident from the very beginning of the procession, which was marked by four sets of porters carrying long containers (*bonten nagamochi* 梵天長持), each covered in red cloth and topped with a combination of purifying Shinto wand and mask. The masks are representations of Ebisu, *kami* of good fortune, Okame (on two containers), a folk symbol of fertility, and the humorous *hyottoko*. These various religious and/or folk objects, which were often used in local *matsuri*, heading the procession presented the lord’s arrival as a festive occurrence, one that would bring happiness, good fortune, and drive away evil. In a case such as this, with a lord making his first appearance in the domain as ruler, these symbols conveyed an ideological message from the lord that his rule would not be harsh, but rather would bring prosperity to all.

Related to this political message is an object of an exotic nature which appears towards the middle of the same Sendai procession, consisting of a combination of thickly padded saddle on the bottom, like those used on the roads near Ise shrine for pilgrims, and a black chair used by monks (*kyokuroku* 曲祿) on top. The lacquer frame perched on top of the red and green padding is open in the rear and would offer no back support. All in all, it seems quite unwieldy, uncomfortable and therefore unlikely that it was actually used by the lord for riding. Behind the lacquer frame, on opposite sides, appear two short decorative sheaths (*keyari* 毛槍), topped with bird feathers. In the Morioka scroll, where the black chair is without the sheaths, the object together with the horse are referred to as *otsuzura uma* (御葛籠馬); *tsuzura* can refer to what is usually a wicker basket for transporting goods or a wicker seat/saddle for a rider. In each of the processions the horses bearing the seats are in line together with the lord’s horse (*omeshi uma* 御召し馬) or his spare horses (*omeshikae uma* 御召し替え馬), which indicates that the device was meant for the lord’s use, at least in a symbolic sense. Whatever its origins, it was an object of display; the Nagoya retainer Enkōan remarked that the example in the Aizu procession which passed through his domain

was of “unparallel beauty.”⁷⁹ Perhaps this was merely another exotic object which marked the lord’s high status, but the association of the lord with a wise Buddhist monk who lectures his followers was probably intentional.

Two other elements of the theatrical performance involved the form of movement, that is the manner in which the men in the retinue made their progress, and the sounds which accompanied them. Kaempfer wrote that the men attending the lord of Kii marched in strict formation so that “they somehow seemed to be crouching together and marched in total silence.”⁸⁰ This order to “fix the line” (*gyōretsu o tateru* 行列を立てる) occurred just before a procession arrived at castle towns or major post stations, including checking stations (*sekisho* 関所), revealing the daimyo as political actor, an actor who wanted to impress the audience, checking his appearance before stepping foot on stage. In practical terms this meant aligning the queue, adjusting helmets, synchronizing step, raising lances (from a resting position on the shoulder), and mounting horses.⁸¹ From what Heinrich Schliemann witnessed in Japan in 1865, this was also highlighted by the bravura performance of the retainers he saw in a number of processions, who looked sideways at the people, in an intimidating fashion.⁸²

As noted in several places here, numerous observers made comments about the quiet in and through which the procession passed. Spectators were hushed, a sign of respect and hospitality, and the retinue moved with little sound, giving the passage of the procession an air of effortlessness, solemnity and grandeur.⁸³ The closed formation and silent mode of progression made the procession an exercise in self-discipline and martial vigor.⁸⁴

The silence of the procession, however, was punctuated at certain points by two types of sounds—sounds which thereby added greater weight to the silence which preceded and followed them. It was first broken by the local officials who walked ahead of the procession when it began its passage through post-stations or castle towns, calling out “*Shita ni iro, shita ni iro.*” To this was later added another theatrical element of sight and sound, as the *yakko* footmen (Figure 2) located towards the front and at various other locations in the procession, walked with a slow, unique step, moving side to side, and raising their arms and legs. Doing so made the fringes, feathers, or animal hair on top of their decorative lances (*keyari* 毛槍) swirl gracefully. The cycle of the performance also included the men tossing these objects into the air to a partner, who would catch it and continue. This male



Figure 2. Yakko footmen. Right: “Nanokaichi hanshu Ōsaka tōjō zu,” courtesy of Gunma Kenritsu Hakubutsukan. Left: “Sōhitsu gojūsan tsugi: Nihonbashi,” courtesy of Kumon Kodomo Kenkyūjo.

posturing added an element found in parades in nineteenth century Philadelphia, where “all participants assumed the masculine posture, stepping high, chest expanded, as they marched into the public ceremony.”⁸⁵ This was theater, and meant for an audience. As the men in daimyo retinues walked on average 10 *ri* (about 25 miles) per day, they marched hard and reserved the performance for short stints when the procession would have the largest audience and hence the maximum impact.

Like their counterpart across the ocean, the processions of the Tokugawa daimyo processions were “almost exclusively male affairs,” adding a different sort of affinity with the theater, the kabuki version of which by the end of the seventeenth century was a strictly male production. In this skewed gender scheme, women, when they were a part of the procession, were always few in number, came towards the rear of the procession and were not visible to the observer; indeed, they generally withdrew into closed palanquins.⁸⁶ None are visible in any of the numerous procession scrolls and images that I have viewed. Displaying their femininity to the public eye would detract from the martial character of the procession.

There was an element of dance to the theater that was the daimyo procession. In one scene from the “Kishū han sankin kōtai gyōretsu zu,” mentioned above (but not shown in Figure 1), a young boy points at one of the decorative lances being held high by a carrier; in conversation with her son, the mother smiles. Here and elsewhere in several places in the main body of the procession we can discern that a dance on the part of the footmen is taking place, due to the raised position of the feet and the footmen’s body position. Several men have their free hand held straight out, just as Kaempfer described it, rather critically so, in the early eighteenth century:

It is ridiculous to see how the bearers of pikes and *norimono* have their clothes tucked in high at the back to publicly display their bare buttocks with only a narrow loincloth down the gap. Also how the bodyguards and bearers of pikes, the sun hat, parasol, and boxes put on a swaggering gait when they pass through inhabited areas and meet other processions. With every step they kick up their heels nearly to their backsides and at the same time thrust the opposite arm forward, so that it looks as if they are swimming in the air. Adopting the same rhythm, the bearers with each step twirl around their pikes, the hat, and the parasol a number of times, and the *hasamibako* are kept in constant motion on men’s shoulders. The *norimono* porters bare their arms, tying up their sleeves by threading a string through them, and carry their burden one moment on their shoulders, the next on one hand raised above the head, while the other arm is held stretched out horizontally palm up. The gesturing of this spare arm in combination with their short steps done with stiff knees make a ludicrous display of fear and caution.⁸⁷

The “swimming in the air” which Kaempfer described can be observed in the *yakko* depicted in the “Tōkaidō dōchū fūkei byōbu” and is in fact similar to the movement in kabuki known as *idaten hashiri* 違駄天走り; the element of foot stomping in synchrony with arm movements is likewise similar to the *roppō furi* 六法振り.⁸⁸

Kaempfer's critical comment was echoed by Matsudaira Sadanobu's son, Shinkō, who also found the performative element a bit excessive. Here he was perhaps influenced by his father's high sense of Confucian propriety. He ridiculed the artificiality of the high stepping manner of the spear-wielding *yakko*, saying that "they raise their arms and step in rhythm [in certain places on their route], but they can not possibly keep it up for five *ri* [i.e. a long time]." ⁸⁹ Another Confucian scholar, Dazai Shundai (1680-1747), was also critical of the arm-raising, foot-stomping movements, describing them as "displaying arrogance" (*bōjaku bujin naru tei o nasu* 傍若無人なる体をなす). ⁹⁰ While these observers were put off by the theatricality of the daimyo processions it may have been this very quality which accounts for them serving as the background for, or the subtext of, large numbers of woodblock prints and picture game boards.

Another obvious theatrical element was observable in the processions of only some of the most prestigious daimyo houses, like Sendai, whose gunners were allowed to light a segment of fuse cord, which gave off a bluish white smoke, while walking through castle towns. This only added to the display of the procession. It was also an indication that the implements being carried were indeed weapons, though safety and economics did not allow them to be fired while walking through populated settlements.

This overall theatrical scenario was, to be sure, more restrained than in many other parts of the contemporary world. In early modern France, for example, processions often "opened with a burst of color and sound from the ceremonial guard" and included "a trumpeteer in a red costume with silver lace, who cleared the way for dignitaries behind him with a blast of music." ⁹¹ The restraint exhibited in Tokugawa processions, observable in the slow manner in which they passed through post stations and castle towns, perhaps reflected the stately manner in which authority was ideally exercised.

Tokugawa processions were more restrained than those in France perhaps, but they still were drama—colorful displays of marching men whose silent passage was punctuated only by the road clearers and the theatrics of the *yakko* footmen. They were theater enough for the roughly five hundred spectators depicted observing the Kii lord pass through the area of Anryu post station near Osaka. A large number of spectators at an unidentified post station on the Hokkoku-kaidō watched the spectacle of the procession of the Kaga lord, amazingly, from the comfort of covered reviewing stands, which protected them from the elements. The commoners there appear to be on their knees, while in contrast two officials in formal attire, perhaps *honjin* operators, are on all fours with their faces down towards the ground. ⁹² According to an identified source which the Sendai retainer Mutō Hiroki quotes in the textual comments that accompany his procession scroll, "Crowds of people, young and old, lined the road from the domain compound at Shiba [in Edo] all the way to Senjū [on the outskirts of the city] to view (*haikan* 拝観) the procession, with its variety of unusual objects." ⁹³

To aid the spectators watching the substantial, 3,000-man procession of another important domain, Kumamoto, *surimono*, a type of woodblock-printed newsheet, was made, and presumably made available, for purchase, to help them read the procession. Supporting this interpretation is the fact that in the top portion of the paper are head notes, which list

the various parts of the procession.⁹⁴

The theatrical element of daimyo processions is also revealed in the integration of aspects of these events in commoner life through imitation. This imitation can be seen in the behavior of young boys and sometimes even adults mimicking daimyo processions in their play, as captured for example in Kitao Shigemasu's 北尾重政 print "Yatsushi hakkei Seta no sekishō" やつし八景勢多夕照 (Figure 3), in which three children are imitating



Figure 3. Kitao Shigemasu, "Yatsushi hakkei Seta no sekishō." Courtesy of Kumon Kodomo Kenkyūjo.

a daimyo procession crossing the Seta bridge (Ōmi province), thereby recognizing, if only implicitly, the procession as a site of power and status.⁹⁵

Certain forms from daimyo processions also found their way into local festivals, as evidenced in places such as Niimi and Yagake (both in Okayama prefecture), Iwataki (Tango), Ōi (Shizuoka), Hagi (Yamaguchi), Yuzawa (Akita) and Kōchi (Kōchi prefecture). In all but the latter, this practice continues even today.⁹⁶ In Niimi in particular old cultural forms have been maintained but at the same time transformed and put to new uses. For at least 250, if not 300, years local residents in Niimi have taken part in a festival in which part of the form of the daimyo procession has been maintained. Referred to variously as the “Goshinkō buki gyōretsu matsuri” 御神幸武器行列祭り (“festival of transporting the kami and the procession of arms”), “daimyō gyōretsu matsuri” (daimyo procession festival), or “dogeza matsuri” 土下座祭り (“kneeling festival”), it is a fall festival of thanksgiving for the harvest which also has its origins in the support of the local daimyo, the Seki 関 lord of Niimi, whose domain was established only in 1697. The Seki supported the shrine, Funakawa Hachiman, recognizing its deity as the family’s divine protector. The diary of a shrine priest that has recently come to light has thrown into question what had theretofore been accepted knowledge, that the first lord established the procession festival shortly after taking up his post in the newly created domain. While this record shortens the history of the festival by fifty years, to 1754, the time of the third lord, it provides some documentation: i.e., the lord donated a portable shrine to Hachimangū, as well as a rice support and fifteen weapons (five guns, five bows and five spears), and instructed that the town hold the festival and provide twenty-five men of its own to act as an armed escort for the protector deity.⁹⁷ The daimyo procession festival in its current manifestation is said to consist of a “faithful” recreation of the Seki lord’s first entry into his new domain, sixty-four men in formal period attire (*kamishimo* 袴), including road clearers, men holding lances, decorative spears, guns, bows and various containers for footwear and baggage. Occupying the center of the procession is a white horse, symbolic of the lord. The men in arms act as a military guard for what follows: the local deities in portable shrines as they are transported on a set course through the town.⁹⁸ Part of the “authenticity” of the procession festival is also said to lie in the custom of “hospitality” (*gochisō*) for the procession, as discussed above. Local merchants and residents along the course of the procession build sand mounds, topping them off with purifying salt (see Figure 4). Observers are required to get down on their knees (*dogeza*) before the procession, though in its current interpretation this means simply to be seated on the ground or to squat, not necessarily to prostrate oneself. Those who remain standing even after the road-clearers call out “*Shita (ni)*, *Shita (nii)*” are ordered to get down, as this researcher observed in 2003. In years past this was taken even more seriously: according to local lore and local publications on the festival, the procession would come to a complete stop until the offending person obeyed. It is said that the forward movement would also come to a complete halt if someone cut in front of the procession; in one year, though the year is not specified in any of the literature and no one that I spoke with was able to identify it, the festival was cancelled after someone cut in front of the procession.⁹⁹



Figure 4. The Daimyo Procession in Niimi, as reenacted in 2003. Photo by author.

It is perhaps because the Japanese, like the “Indians and perhaps all peoples, think of their culture encapsulated in such discrete performances, which they can exhibit to outsiders as well as to themselves,” the people of Niimi took their festival abroad, to France, in 1992.¹⁰⁰ The daimyo procession, as practiced in Niimi, demonstrated the town’s important links to its early-modern past. It also revealed how for many Japanese, daimyo processions are



Figure 5. Hospitality, as observed by Niimi residents in 2003. Photo by author.

emblematic of the Tokugawa period.¹⁰¹

In 1860 the American merchant Francis Hall observed a festival similar to Niimi's taking place in July in honor of Benten, the deity of the sea, which he likened to Carnival. The festival was divided into a number of different sections, with either a variety of floats or a number of representations. The eighth such unit was a representation of a daimyo retinue passing through the streets of Edo. The lord's palanquin "was preceded by pike and standard bearers, armor bearers, weapon bearers who wound along with a peculiar slow and mock dignified step, for this scene was evidently a half caricature"; inside the palanquin rode not a lord but a fox, and on each side of the vehicle "walked three men clad in female attire, their faces painted and colored like so many harlequins."¹⁰² In this festival we see both gender and social inversion, commoners imitating if not mimicking their social superiors; at the same time the target of their humor reveals the importance of that social practice as a symbol of warrior authority. One cannot help but wonder how widespread this imitation was in other festivals across the country. As a result of such manifestations, though, one can argue that the political and cultural impact of the daimyo processions, like the foreign embassies, "was felt far beyond the confines of the prescribed route, to a greater social and cultural depth, and over a much longer chronological span than the ephemeral, 'event' quality of the historical. . . [events] would suggest."¹⁰³

It is important to remember that depictions of daimyo processions in woodblock prints and in scrolls are in one sense simply images, or a series of images, reflecting the biases of the artists and/or their patrons. Documentation produced by artists under domainal patronage, reflecting the perspective of the samurai leadership, presented images of processions proceeding in a grand, stately manner. The formal processions evident in these media were only seen in castle towns, post stations and in Edo, when the procession was a unified body. Non-official artists, including woodblock artists like Hiroshige, and the artist of the Kishū scroll, were more likely to capture the real-life images, which were slightly less grand. Since daimyo processions routinely covered 35–40 kilometers or more in a day, they did not always proceed in an orderly fashion. The tail end of the Wakayama lord's procession depicted in the Kishū scroll is far less orderly than the earlier sections. In it one can observe that some men are holding their lances across a shoulder rather than straight up. Small numbers of men throughout the procession have turned the upper parts of their bodies back, no doubt to talk with someone behind them. Understandably, boredom—and physical exhaustion—would not have been uncommon. Sometimes nature called, too; the anonymous creator of the “Ōshū kaidō ezu” depicted one man in the procession—apparently towards the rear of it, as the formation is rather sparse at that point—standing, his back to the viewer, apparently relieving himself in a rice field.¹⁰⁴

The samurai ideal of respectful commoners bowing before daimyo processions was similarly not always a reality. There is in fact evidence that some commoners in the late-Tokugawa period were less respectful of daimyo processions than before. This is not surprising, given the general trend of questioning or disrespecting of authority noted by many observers.¹⁰⁵ Examining local documentation from Chōshū domain, Taniguchi Shinko has discovered an increased incidence of commoners not prostrating themselves as processions went by. She found twenty-one occurrences reported during the period 1744-89.¹⁰⁶ The punishment in these cases could be either a monetary fine or banishment, although we are not told how the cases were resolved. In one case involving a commoner in Edo, the penalty was mortal. The man, who was drunk, had cut in front of a daimyo procession at Edobashi. Warned by a retainer, he had bad-talked (*hōgai naru waruguchi* 法外なる悪口) back, and consequently he was cut down.¹⁰⁷

In certain parts of Edo the passage of daimyo processions was probably too common a sight to interrupt the patterns of life. For example, in the image of Kasumigaseki in the *Edo meisho zue* 江戸名所図絵 the artist depicts a scene in which two daimyo processions are about to pass one another. Commoners in the scene continue going about their business in a seemingly carefree manner; none of them stop and drop to their knees. Two peddlers continue walking parallel to the retinues, though staying at the edge of the road, one of who turned the upper half of his body to observe the processions. One group of two men in the middle ground stops to observe the procession while another pair are talking, oblivious to the men walking by. Near the head of the procession closest to the viewer a samurai with an attendant bows to the procession, but two commoner women, under a parasol and directly in the line of the procession, are standing and watching.¹⁰⁸

Writer Jippensha Ikku's fiction also indicated that a certain lack of respect was not unknown, as Yaji, one of his two main characters, fails to bow to the procession and jokes about its members:

“Down, down!” cried one of the footmen. “Off, those with headgear.”
 “Those with the head covered don't have to squat down, it seems,” said Kita.
 “Why?” asked Yaji.
 “Because he said off with them!” answered Kita...
 “That man behind is not bending low enough,” went on the footman.
 “Does he mean me?” asked Yaji. “Of course I'm not low enough. You couldn't expect it of one who's as tall as Kumonryō on Atago Hill.”
 “Don't make fun of them,” said Kita, “or you'll get 'em angry.”
 “Look,” said Yaji. “Aren't those fine fellows? See how regularly their clothes are folded and how they keep in line. I know what they're like. They're like an airing of clothes in Yoshichō.”
 “Halloa!” said Kita. “Look at the helmets of those fellows with the bows. They look as though their heads were swollen.”
 “And look at their cloaks,” cried Yaji. “You can see their whatyoumaycallems peeping out.”
 “He's a fine fellow—the lord,” said Kita. “I expect he's a great man with the maids.”¹⁰⁹

Composition of the Procession: People and Regalia

Despite the relative lack of commercial art work in which the daimyo processions comprised the main subject matter, daimyo ordered that *emaki*, or scrolls, be created depicting a procession from their domain, most often it seems to commemorate his first entry to the domain (*okuni iri*). The scrolls consisted of a type of static depiction of the retinue members without any geographic or other background visual detail or a depiction of the procession moving through time and space in its journey across Japan. From these various depictions, foreigners' accounts, as well as from official documentation, we can understand the make-up or composition of the processions. While different in matters of size and the type of equipment carried, they also shared significant common features.

Kaempfer had occasion to watch numerous processions and described in detail the passage of an “ordinary daimyo. . . whose processions are no different and fit the same description [as those of important daimyo from Satsuma, Kaga, Owari, etc.], except for their special pikes, personal crests, number of led horses, bearers of *hasamibako*, porters of sedan chairs and their companions, as well as some arbitrary variations in the order of marching.”¹¹⁰ As this is the only contemporaneous, extended description of a daimyo procession, it merits being quoted at length. “There are,” Kaempfer noted,

1. Several advance parties consisting of quartermasters, scribes, cooks, and their assistants, who prepared the inns for the dignified accommodation of the lord and his courtiers [attendants].
2. The lord's personal luggage, some items transported in packs on horses, each marked with a small personal flag and the name of the owner, some carried in large boxes covered with lacquered leather and painted with the lord's personal crest. Each piece is accompanied by various attendants to add to the grandeur.
3. A long trail of lesser retainers of the lord's most senior servants and nobles, accompanied by men carrying pikes, scythes, parasols [a ceremonial umbrella wrapped and tied up], and small boxes, and grooms leading horses, all according to each man's birth, rank, and proper station, with the principals in *norimono*, *kago*, or riding horses.
4. The lord and his personal escort, marching in unusual formation, as well as various troops of soldiers, each led by a marshal and consisting of:
 - i. Five horses, some less sprightly than others, each with a groom at the side and two servants following behind;
 - ii. Five, six, or more burly porters walking in single file with *hasamibako*, or small lacquered boxes, some also with rather delicate, lacquered baskets on their shoulders, containing clothes and other items kept in readiness for the lord, with each porter being accompanied by two attendants walking behind;
 - iii. Ten or more men bearing arms, walking in single file with scythes, pikes, valuable small swords, and guns in wooden, lacquered cases, as well as quivers with bows and arrows. Occasionally the size of this party is made larger by placing porters of *hasamibako* and led horses in between the men.
 - iv. Two, three, and more personal, ornamental pikes, with bunches of black cock feathers at the top, dressed and covered with certain rough skins or other ornaments specific to the lord. These are carried in single file and each is followed by a servant.
 - v. The sun hat covered in black velvet with two officials walking behind.
 - vi. A sun parasol, covered and accompanied in the same fashion.
 - vii. Various additional *hasamibako* and personal luggage covered with lacquered leather and with the golden imprint of the lord's coat of arms, each piece accompanied by two attendants.
 - viii. About sixteen bodyguards in rows of two as advance party of the lord's *norimono*. For this task the tallest men available are searched out and employed.
 - ix. The *norimono*, or palanquin, in which the lord sits, carried by six to eight uniformed men, who are often relieved by an equally large party of men. The palanquin is accompanied on each side by two or three valets to hand

- the lord whatever he desires and assist him in getting in and out of the palanquin.
- x. Two or three saddled horses with saddles covered in black, the last one carrying a large armchair covered with black velvet on a *norikake* that is also covered in black velvet, with each of these horses led and accompanied by the appropriate number of attendants. These personal horses of the lord are often led by men from his bodyguard.
 - xi. Two pike bearers.
 - xii. Ten or more people each carrying two incredibly large baskets, one in front and one behind, suspended from a pole over their shoulders. Their function is to enhance the usual display rather than to be of any practical use. Sometimes these men alternate with porters carrying cases and *hasamibako*. The lord's personal party is followed by:
 5. Six to twelve horses with their grooms and attendants.
 6. A large rear guard of the lord's servants with their official valets and pike and *hasamibako* bearers. Some are carried in *kago*, or there might only be one *norimono* at the head with the lord's highest minister or steward.

In his lengthy description Kaempfer emphasizes the accoutrements carried in the procession. These various implements and paraphernalia were “tokens of identity” and like the badges, sashes, ribbons and banners carried in parades in America, “unified marchers and separated them from their audience.”¹¹¹ In Tokugawa Japan the richness of color and material, together with the artifacts carried, were intended as displays of wealth, rank, military power and authority. Just as the size of the procession and the attire of the men in it were indicators of a lord's status, most of the regalia displayed, which were precisely dictated by bakufu regulation, publicly proclaimed the lord's place in the political universe. These were visual elements of political power, reflections of a lord's position in the daimyo hierarchy, his relationship to the Tokugawa and the family's past military achievements. These status distinctions were well known, that is, legible, and recorded in the warrior books of heraldry (*bukan* 武鑑), which included drawings of some of the implements, and were widely available from commercial publishers since the seventeenth century.¹¹² A form of serial publication, like calendars, the books enjoyed the tacit approval of the Tokugawa. They were constantly updated, and this “was some indication of their functional value in the complex bureaucratic world of Edo.”¹¹³ Thus the processions were texts that could be read, more or less precisely, by observers such as those discussed above, who could then rank the lords.

The procession in its entirety can be read as a status symbol. The implements carried, like the overall size and sartorial makeup of the procession, were of great significance. The number of spears (*yari* 槍) and *hasamibako* 挟箱 (a lacquered box with a bamboo pole that was carried across one shoulder, meant primarily for carrying the lord's clothes), and their placement in the procession, were also markers. So, too, were the presence (or absence) of halberds (*naginata* 長刀), the type of vehicle in which the lord rode, the type and shape of

umbrella used, and so forth. The fact that a number of the implements carried were highly ornamental in nature lead one scholar to criticize the processions as “a decadent survival of the warlike columns of armed men who accompanied their lord to battle or attended him on his journeys in the days before the long Tokugawa peace.”¹¹⁴ Certainly in a time of prolonged peace great attention was paid to status distinctions in many sectors of Tokugawa life, and it is not surprising therefore that this would be the case with such a visible symbol of authority as the daimyo procession. But, as noted before, samurai believed that colorful displays of clothing and decorated weaponry had a definite military function.

Of the various implements, lances or spears (*yari*) were one of the most important status markers. As a Tokugawa-era poem declares, “A daimyo’s spear/Without speaking/ Announces the lord’s name.”¹¹⁵ Germane here were not only the number and type of lances but the pattern of their arrangement and their position in the procession. The number of spears before and after the lord’s palanquin was dependent on his status. Members of the *gosanke* 御三家, the related Tokugawa families, were allowed four (two in front, two behind), Satsuma and Sendai, a total of three, two in front and one behind. Lesser lords might have only one or two. Having two across (*tsui no godōgu* 対の御道具) was a mark of distinction and required bakufu permission. Great stock was also put in the spears’ decorative covers, the distinctive shape of which identified specific lords. A red handle, symbolic of blood spilt on the battlefield, was a sign of a family’s ancestors’ military valor and of loyalty to the Shogun.¹¹⁶ Given the importance of the lance as a marker of the lord’s status, attention was paid to the physical stature and looks of the men—good-looking and tall being the key attributes (rather than skill with the lance).

The *hasamibako* was another important accoutrement. Here the daimyo displayed the family crest, and it was a mark of distinction to be allowed to have one embossed in gold. As with the lances, a further indicator of high status was the privilege, allotted to only twenty daimyo, of having a pair of men, rather than a single one, carry them. Fukuoka domain, for example, was allowed to increase the number of spears and *hasamibako* in front of the lord’s palanquin from one of each to two of each after receiving an heir from the Tokugawa house of Hitotsubashi.¹¹⁷ They were positioned before and/or after the lord’s palanquin. These boxes were small in size, so most of the lord’s possessions, not to mention most of the luggage for the members of the procession, were carried in rectangular chests called *nagamochi* 長持.

The mere presence of certain objects indicated a lord’s high status. A *naginata*, for example, was permitted for only thirty-one daimyo houses. It is said that the fifth shogun Tsunayoshi would not allow even Yanagisawa, his top advisor and paramour, to display it.¹¹⁸ Portable tea kits (*cha bentō* 茶弁当)—an iron tea pot, tea cups and brazier—were likewise restricted to certain daimyo, about thirty in number, all with holdings in excess of 100,000 *koku*.¹¹⁹

While many objects carried were practical in nature—raingear, other clothing, food, armor, powder, money, the lord’s bathtub—some were highly ornamental and highlight the theatrical character of the procession. In the Morioka procession scroll, a man holding a *daigasa* 台笠, a rain helmet mounted on a pole, was followed by a man holding a *tate gasa*

立笠, a regular umbrella with a long handle, both of which might in other cases have been covered with black velvet or some other type of cloth and tied up with a purple or black cord. These men were followed then by two others carrying decorative lances topped with swan feathers (*hakuchō keyari* 白鳥毛槍). Black swan feathers and bear hair, either black or white, or monkey hair, were other possibilities. A monkey-hair covered decorative lance and a spear sheath covered in sea otter skin (i.e., a foreign object) were distinguishing markers for the retinues of the lord of Morioka and Sendai, respectively.¹²⁰ In Tosa a special type of fowl (*onagadori* 尾長鳥) was bred to produce a unique type of feathers for the decorative lances that made the Tosa procession immediately recognizable.¹²¹ Space does not allow me here to explore exhaustively the important issue of the manner in which alternate attendance impacted Japanese culture, but this may be the singular instance of its affecting local practices in animal husbandry.¹²² In any case, the decorative lances gave daimyo another way in which to display the local culture of their domain.

Close investigation of some of the accoutrements depicted in a procession scroll of Morioka domain yields insight into the political relationship between the Nambu lord and the bakufu. The family crest of the Nambu family, two cranes facing center, was embossed in gold on objects carried in the procession with bakufu permission only. It stood out brilliantly on the red-lacquered leather material covering the *hasamibako* and chests. (At least one domain tried to bolster its status by using gold seals when it was not qualified to do so. Hachinohe, a small domain of 18,000 *koku*, masked this visual deception by covering up the gold seals until the procession passed beyond Senjū, beyond the city limits of Edo.¹²³) Also symbolic of the feudal relationship between bakufu and lord were two tiger skins, which were used as covers for the daimyo's spare horses. The skins were obtained as gifts from the first shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu, to the second Nambu daimyo, Toshinao, early in the seventeenth century. They therefore symbolized the historic relationship of lord and subject between the two houses. The same was true of the scarlet leather bags, used to cover the lord's musket, given by the second shogun, Hidetada, to Nambu Toshinao. Also in the procession, but intended as gifts from the current daimyo to the current shogun, were several hawks and Nambu horses, known for their speed. These gifts, too, demonstrated the historic and ritual ties between daimyo and shogun.

That these markers of status were important to the lords is revealed in the deception of Hachinohe mentioned above. Daimyo could, and did, petition the Tokugawa for the right to use and display certain objects legally. Aizu, for example, made a request to use a lacquered palanquin (for the lord), to have three spears accompany the lord's palanquin (two in front and one in back) and a tiger skin saddle cover on the lord's spare horse. The application was made after the lord had successfully completed a period of duty as the bakufu's messenger to the imperial court, and indeed the fact that permission was granted for all three items in the request might be interpreted as the government's sign of appreciation for the Aizu lord's service. A year later, though, another request from Aizu, to emboss its *hasamibako* with gold seals, was not accepted completely. The lord was allowed to display them only outside the city of Edo!¹²⁴

This discussion of the regulation of the panoply of regalia brings to mind Philip Brown's notion of the Tokugawa as a "flamboyant" state, one in which its leaders "employ displays of the state's nominal authority to serve important symbolic functions."¹²⁵ All the pomp that the term implies was certainly present in early modern Japan, not only "fully marshaled on behalf of the hegemon in the political use of Noh drama, monumental castle architecture, and tea ceremonies,"¹²⁶ but also quite visibly in the daimyo processions which paraded on the highways leading from all corners of the country to Edo and back.

As noted earlier, alternate attendance was a form of military service whereby the daimyo, accompanied by a small army, traveled from the seat of his administration to a point of service, the capital of his overlord in Edo. The march was a type of military maneuver, with forced marching of upwards of forty kilometers a day over whatever distance the retinue had to cover to and from the domain. For retainers coming from the peripheries of Japan, the trip could take one month, which no doubt provided excellent physical conditioning. Procession scrolls routinely show retainers walking in formation, protecting the lord. In the "Ōshū kaidō ezu" we see the retinue from an unidentified domain moving at a fast pace through a hilly area in Shimotsuke (Tochigi).¹²⁷

The composition of the retinue replicated the form of a military force setting out for battle. In this regard the retinue can be considered in most general terms in two or three parts. First came the attack force (*kōgeki shuryoku butai* 攻撃主力部隊), led by a domain Elder. He acted as general, and in the case of attack was trusted with complete authority by the daimyo to direct battle.¹²⁸ The Elder contributed substantial numbers of men to the procession; in the case of a large domain such as Chōshū he brought along 260 retainers and 496 subretainers, as much as 40% of the total.¹²⁹ Second came the main body (*hontai* 本体), sometimes referred to as the "inner procession" (*gyōretsu no uchi* 行列の内), comprised most importantly of a group of retainers whose duty it was to protect the lord (*shin'eitai* 親衛隊). Lastly, there was the *shingari* 殿 or *gozume* 後詰 ("rear guard," in both cases), the guard deployed at the back of the procession to protect against rear-end attacks. This group frequently was led by an Elder as well. Oftentimes only the main body is depicted in procession scrolls.

In battle an army was led by an advance force, known as the *sakizonae* 先備え. For example, according to the Shimabara Battle screen, the advance force was far larger than the lord's and contained a significant number of mounted warriors. In peaceful Tokugawa times it was unusual for many to have a large number of horses in the procession, perhaps as a cost-saving device. Also, the advance group tended to be abbreviated, making the main segment of the procession, the portion in which the lord was located, more central.¹³⁰

As the lord was paramount, he occupied roughly the central position in the procession. In the "Kishū Wakayama han" depiction of a daimyo procession, the second group, centering on the lord, does not begin until the fifteenth of forty segments of the scroll. The main body of the procession, like the *hatamoto zōnae* 旗本備 force in a wartime army upon which it was based, was primarily defensive in nature.¹³¹ The lord, seated in his palanquin, which was itself a great symbol of status with myriad variations in construction and finish, rode with the protection of a compact group of samurai designated for that purpose.¹³² In Kaempfer's

words, “he was traveling in closed formation with his courtiers.”¹³³ More than a century later, Francis Hall noted: “The procession had been filing along slowly in this manner for nearly an hour when the train began to move in a more compact mass, for the lord of Owari himself was approaching.” The bodyguard around the lord, by his account, “contained seven hundred men.”¹³⁴ In the Kishū scroll, he was backed up by some seventy double-sworded men; for Chōshū, seventy-five men were clustered around the lord.¹³⁵ These were men of high rank who formed a type of elite bodyguard while the lord traveled.

The vanguard of the first group, the attack force, made it clear that the daimyo procession was a military formation.¹³⁶ It consisted of men carrying three types of weapons. Their function was in effect to clear the way in a military sense for the main body of the procession. The lead, and principal, weapon was the musket. Typically, a unit of twenty to thirty was followed, depending on the domain, either by spearmen or archers. Each unit was led by a unit commander (*kumigashira* 組頭). A mounted warrior, accompanied by several men attached to him (subretainers and/or menials) before and after him, was interspersed in between units. The social ranking was not as clearly laid out as Kaempfer suggested. Marius Jansen, reading Kaempfer, notes that the warriors were “arranged from low to highest rank as the daimyo palanquin nears, and then taper[ed] off again in reverse sequence.”¹³⁷ In fact, while relatively low-ranking men led the procession, each of the groups of twenty to thirty men that followed was led by a higher-ranking unit commander.

The dominant position of the musket in the vanguard reflected changes in the nature of military warfare that took place during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as witnessed by evidence from depictions of the last major battle of Tokugawa times at Shimabara, in 1638. In the famous two six-paneled screens of the Akitsuki lord’s military force heading for battle archers are not visible until the end of the second of six rows, which move back and forth across the screen, evidencing their secondary position in the hierarchy of Tokugawa weaponry.¹³⁸ The order of guns, bows, spears, and then cavalry (though abbreviated in the daimyo procession), prevailed among the domains “because strategists envisioned a battle plan in which, reflecting the nature of the weapons, the order of combat would proceed from muskets to bows to spears and would culminate in a cavalry battle.”¹³⁹

In the Shimabara screens, the lord sits astride his chestnut-colored steed, with a bright red covering under his saddle, close to the center (absolute center would have placed part of his body across two different panels). The division between attack and main force is marked in conspicuous fashion by tall black and white banners. In alternate attendance processions the two groups are more subtly, yet to the informed observer nonetheless clearly, separated by physical space, the beginning of the main segment with the lord marked by the presence of road clearers.

Following the main unit centered on the lord came the rear guard, or *shingari*, in which doctors, spare horses, and palanquins bearing retainers who worked the night shift or who otherwise required relief could be found.

While the bakufu attempted to regulate the numbers in a procession, fixing numerical figures based on *kokudaka*, we noted that these numbers appears to have referred only to

those in the main body of the procession, i.e., those attached to the lord. The majority of the men in a procession were not under the direct authority of the lord, but rather were subretainers (that is, retainers of his vassals). In the case of a small domain such as Ichinoseki (30,000 *koku*) there might be rough parity (forty-eight retainers and forty-nine subretainers in a procession totaling 218 in 1831) but in the case of a large domain such as Okayama the gap could be quite pronounced. In 1698, for example, there were 756 subretainers in contrast to 115 direct retainers of the lord; for Kaga, 185 direct retainers and 830 subretainers.¹⁴⁰

Looking at the procession more specifically in terms of status, samurai (*shi*) comprised roughly twenty percent of the retinue in many domains, though in some the figure could be much higher.¹⁴¹ For Hachinohe, in 1854, this was thirty-seven out of 202 people (eighteen percent). Numerically, pages (*komono* 小者) were the single largest group (forty-seven, or twenty-three percent), followed by subretainers (*matamoto* 又者, thirty-seven, or eighteen percent), and footsoldiers (*ashigaru* 足輕, twenty-five, or twelve percent). Hired workers were considerable in number (thirty-six), comprising another eighteen percent. The remaining personnel were doctors (two), tea specialists (two), *sōji bōzu* 掃除坊主 (one), palanquin bearers (nine), horse grooms (five), and carriers of small implements (*kodōgu* 小道具) (fifteen).¹⁴²

Conclusion: Some Thoughts on Display and Authority

In Morocco during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the king tried to keep the warrior-based tribes under control by moving around his kingdom. The mobility of the king was a central element in his power. The realm he endeavored to hold together “by a restless searching out of contact, most agonistic, with literally hundreds of lesser powers within it.”¹⁴³ With an entourage of as many as 40,000, the king was in almost constant motion, his throne like a saddle, “the sky his canopy.”¹⁴⁴ In Elizabethan England, the Queen’s regular progresses around the country during a forty-four year reign (1558-1603) gave her “a public stage on which to present herself as the people’s sovereign” and provided the settings in which she crafted her royal authority.¹⁴⁵ Movement here too was central to the government in question. In Tokugawa Japan we find almost a mirror image of the situation in these other two countries: the lords, or daimyo, were in constant motion while the sovereign, the shogun, remained at the center, in Edo.¹⁴⁶ The shogun’s power was manifested not in his regular movement, a court in motion, as was the case in England and elsewhere in Europe. The year of the Queen’s death, the Tokugawa government was founded, and once its power was consolidated by the middle of the seventeenth century the shogun rarely moved. The lords were portable, but not the hegemon.

The shogun’s authority derived not from movement and public visibility but from his stasis, his relative inaccessibility at the center, and his ability to cause his subordinates to move in orbit around him. Much as Elizabeth’s visits to hundreds of local elite “created a dislocating confusion that reminded courtiers, citizens and hosts of the queen’s centrality in their lives,” the Tokugawa, through an interplay between structure (a settled existence) and anti-structure (lives on the move), created disorder—a chaos which facilitated their ability to rule.¹⁴⁷ The

daimyo spent the majority of their adult lives in Edo or traveling to and from the center. Preparations for the trip to, and for life in, Edo consumed the time and energy of a large number of his officials, and expenses for both were quite taxing.

In Edo, the comings and goings of the lords as they moved from their compounds to wait on the shogun in his castle were visible to all who cared to view them. It was common for townsmen, including peddlers, and visitors to Edo to view the daimyo and their entourages at an open area before the castle where the processions gathered and the lords were required to alight from their palanquins, before smaller numbers of retainers proceeded with them to audience chambers within the bakufu headquarters. This spectacle could be seen only in Edo and reinforced the message of shogun as sovereign.

Daimyo retinues made trips up and down the highways of Tokugawa Japan with seasonal regularity for almost the entire period of shogunal rule. When the call by some of the country's leading lords for reform of the requirements of alternate attendance was heeded by the shogun in 1862, the system was undone; three years later a call to return to the old status quo was widely ignored, eliminating what one might argue was the institutional glue that kept the bakufu-domainal system (*bakuhan seido*) together for so long. Just six short years after the reform, the Tokugawa reign was brought to an end by a small coalition of domains whose leaders forged the new Meiji government.

The Meiji leaders who staged the daimyo procession in Hibiya Park for foreign dignitaries in 1906 were demonstrating theatrically, with the safety that the passage of almost forty years since the Meiji Restoration allowed, that there was a continuity of strong central government in Japan. Their Tokugawa predecessors had commanded the daimyo to make the journey to Edo to wait on them. The daimyo's periodic movements on the highways made concrete that authority for all who went to see the retinues, to all who were unable to witness them first-hand but were able to hear about them through word of mouth, to see images of them or to read about them in contemporary fiction. Their movements to and from Edo made it clear that the bakufu capital was the political center of the realm and the shogun the sovereign power. They were reminders of the "august authority" (*goikō* 御威光) of the Tokugawa shoguns.¹⁴⁸ Through the ritual of alternate attendance, the daimyo processions made the people conscious of the Tokugawa's political authority, much as the new Meiji emperor was paraded around the country so the people could be made aware of the authority the new political leaders were investing in him.

Year after year the daimyo and their columns of samurai, sub-retainers, menials and hired workers wound their way up and down Tokugawa highways to and from the bakufu's capital, never, until the political turbulence of the 1860s, publicly questioning the necessity of their forced migrations. As the memory of war faded during the course of the seventeenth century, the movements may have assumed more theatrical elements, but these certainly did not diminish the processions' embodiment of authority; the theater, in fact, based on oral testimony and other evidence, seems only to have heightened their political impact.

During those migrations the bakufu was in effect parading daimyo past other daimyo, and infringing upon the authority of daimyo as domainal rulers by commanding others

through their domains both on and off the official Gokaidō network of highways, which was Tokugawa territory. The annual movements of the lords were in this regard nothing more than a performance which expressed the supreme position of Tokugawa authority. Moreover, the bakufu's regulation of the accoutrements of the parade set daimyo in competition with each other. The special gold seals, lances, tea boxes and other status markers all reminded the daimyo that they held their domains at the pleasure of the shogun. Peter Kornicki writes that "it remains remarkable" in the light of the prohibition on foreigners purchasing *bukan* "and the insistence on censorship edicts on avoiding reference in print to contemporary officials, that the Bakufu tolerated the exposure of its personnel to the public gaze in this way."¹⁴⁹ The bakufu wanted this information—about *all* daimyo—made publicly available, as it reinforced its sovereign position, which included its powers to regulate the symbols of authority and status.

These two points—competition and the subordinate position of the daimyo—were made clear in all of the paraphernalia regulated in the daimyo procession, but also by those things which revealed more directly ties to the Tokugawa: the tiger skins bequeathed by the first Tokugawa shogun to the Nambu lord, or the routine gifts of horses and hawks presented to the shoguns being good examples.

Daimyo clearly had different agendas in displaying in their processions the variety of objects regulated by the Tokugawa. They were probably, without exception, not interested in elevating the bakufu's position by exhibiting them. More likely these objects had value in performing their own status. They revealed to informed observers the position of the lord in the hierarchy of Tokugawa society. The parading of the physical manifestations of historic ties to the shogunal family was meant to elevate the position of the daimyo through association with the hegemonic power. The comments of Furukawa Koshōken quoted earlier in this essay, which related that the Sendai lord's procession was "far superior" to that of Satsuma, Kurume retainer Maki Yasuomi's comparison of the retinues of Kumamoto and Chōshū, as well as Hachinohe's illicit use of gold seals, suggests that there was a competitive aspect to the alternate attendance. Daimyo were, in other words, performing for each other up and down the highways of Tokugawa Japan and in the bakufu capital of Edo. When they could afford it, and sometimes even when they could not, many tried to exceed their status by bringing to Edo larger numbers of men than bakufu regulations allowed.

Daimyo had multiple agendas, though, in staging these displays of power and authority, and were concerned about multiple audiences. While in public (that is, bakufu) space, daimyo competed with one another in their performative movements before spectators from whatever domains through which their processions passed. But the daimyo were also concerned about the processions as displays of their authority when moving within private (that is, their own, domainal) space. Hence, many lords boosted the numbers in their processions when they reached the borders of their domains, either by employing temporary laborers or by adding the substantive retinue of an Elder who joined the lords' as they paraded through the home territory, no doubt anticipating the crowds which would witness their passage through the home territory and arrival in the castle town. These dual agendas overlapped, of course, and

this was particularly evident when a lord made his first entry into the domain as ruler. The numbers in the procession tended to be much higher: witness the impressive size, 3,000 men, in Hosokawa Narimori's entourage on his first trip to Kumamoto as lord around 1826, as compared with the 694 men accompanying his predecessor in 1812. The impetus to display the daimyo's authority through the sheer numbers of men in the procession was probably even greater when the man in question was adopted, as was the case with Narimori. No doubt it was also because of the larger numbers involved that a first entry was documented for posterity in print or scroll form.

Symbols of political authority, the parades also reflected the social hierarchies and conditions of the time, reinforcing the centrality of the lord and his samurai, around whom the social structure was constructed. The lengths of the trains of men were generally diminished by the financial exigencies that developed from the early eighteenth century, but their basic nature as spectacle and symbol of authority remained unchanged for the remainder of the period, even to be recreated by later political entities seeking to link past and present.

Table 1. Tosa Domain Processions

<u>Year</u>	<u>Forward Group</u>	<u>Main Group</u>	<u>Trailing Party</u>	<u>Total</u>
1645	---	---	---	1,477
1676	278	1,249	---	1,527
1680	320	1,413	---	1,799*
1682	291	1,375	---	1,666
1684	436	1,269	320	2,025
1688	471	1,474	586	2,531
1690	430	1,592	753	2,775
1697	---	---	---	2,813
1698	644	1,525	446	2,615
1718	---	---	---	1,799

Sources: Based on information from Hirao n.d., vol. 12, "Rokusei hen" and "Yamauchi-ke shiryō," vols. 18, 43, 58, 65, 78, 86, 89. In 1688, the forward group left on 3/1, the main group on 3/10, and the following group on 3/27.

* In the original documentation for 1680, the total is given as 1,799, sixty-six more men than are accounted for in the figures for the forward group and the main group.

Table 2. Procession Figures for Various Domains(K = *kōtai*; unless otherwise noted all figures are for *sankin*, i.e., the trip to Edo)

<u>Domain</u>	<u>Size (koku)</u>	<u>Seventeenth century (year)</u>	<u>Eighteenth century (year)</u>	<u>Nineteenth century (year)</u>
Akita	105,800	1,350 (1616)		173 (1855)
Fukuyama		1,020 (1682)		
		1,121		
	100,000	(1688)		
Hachinohe	20,000		188 (1797)K	210 (1822)
				202 (1854)
Hiroshima	426,500	2,169 (1663)		
		1,628 (1698)		
Hitoyoshi	22,165		203 (1730)K	
			193 (1781)	
			252 (1799)K	
Honjō	20,400	260 (1677)		
Ichinoseki	30,000			218 (1831)
Kaga	1,022,700		3,000 (1724)	3,500 (1802)
			2,500 (1745)	2,144 (1816)
			2,184 (1764)	2,238 (1860)
Kii	550,000			1,322 (1833)
Komatsu	10,000		57 (1719)	58 (1800)
			47 (1797)	
Kumamoto	540,000	2,720 (1645)	546 (1777)	694 (1812)
		2,563 (1680)K		3,000 (ca.1826)K
Kurume	210,000		804 (1706)	
Miharu	50,000			150 (1807)
Morioka	200,000	1,660 (1634)		373 (1855)
		800 (1677)		
Nagaoka	74,000			500 (1818)
Okayama	315,000	1,628 (1698)	640 (1720)	
			710 (1722)	
Ōmura	27,973			139 (1843)
Satsuma	770,800	1,240 (1635)	920 (1749)	
			507 (1765)K	
			559 (1790)	
Sendai	625,600	3,480 (1675)		1,282 (1842)K
Tahara	12,000	223 (1696)		
Tosa	200,000	1,477 (1645)	1,799 (1718)	
		2,775 (1690)		
		2,813 (1697)K		
Ushiku	10,017			94 (1860s)
Uwajima	100,403			539 (1800)K
Yoita	20,000			84 (1833)K

Table 2 is based on the following sources (HDJ = *Hanshi daijiten*):

- Aizu: HDJ, vol. 6: *Chūgoku, Shikoku*, pp. 340-41.
- Akita: HDJ, vol. 1: *Hokkaidō, Tōhoku*, pp. 365-66; Ōta Kōtarō, *Nambu han sankin kōtai zukan*, p. 32.
- Fukuyama: HDJ, vol. 6: *Chūgoku, Shikoku*, p. 291.
- Hachinohe: Miura Tadashi, “Hachinohe han no rikujō kōtsū,” p. 19; HDJ, vol. 1: *Hokkaidō, Tōhoku*, p. 97.
- Hiroshima: HDJ, vol. 6: *Chūgoku, Shikoku*, p. 315.
- Hitoyoshi: HDJ, vol. 7: *Kyūshū*, p. 318; Maruyama Yasunari, “Sankin kōtai sei no kōzō (2), *Kōtsūshi kenkyū* 18 (1987), pp. 24-25.
- Honjō: HDJ, vol. 1: *Hokkaidō, Tōhoku*, p. 387.
- Ichinoseki: HDJ, vol. 1: *Hokkaidō, Tōhoku*, p. 150.
- Kaga domain: Chūda Toshio, *Sankin kōtai dōchūki: Kaga han shiryō o yomu*, pp. 58-59.
- Kagoshima: HDJ, vol. 7: *Kyūshū*, p. 552; Maruyama Yasunari, “Sankin kōtai no kenkyū (1): sono josetsu hen (1),” in *Kyūshū bunka shi kenkyū kiyō*, vol. 20 (1979), pp. 81-82.
- Kii (Wakayama): Ishikawa Kenritsu Toshokan, ed., *Sankin kōtai* (Ishikawa Kenritsu Toshokan, 1991), p. 56.
- Komatsu: HDJ, vol. 6: *Chūgoku, Shikoku*, p. 488.
- Kumamoto: Maruyama Yasunari, “Sankin kōtai sei no kōzō (2) sono sobyō, *Kōtsūshi kenkyū* 18 (1987), p. 25; Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, ed., *Edo jidai no Tōkaidō: egakareta kaidō no sugata to nigiwai* (Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 2001), pp. 59, 103.
- Kurume: HDJ, vol. 7: *Kyūshū*, p. 53.
- Miharu: HDJ, vol. 1: *Hokkaidō, Tōhoku*, p. 184.
- Morioka: *Nambu han sankin kōtai zu*, p. 32.
- Nagaoka: HDJ, vol. 3: *Chūbu* (pt. 1), p. 90.
- Okayama: HDJ, vol. 6: *Chūgoku, Shikoku*, pp. 192-193; Edwin L. Neville, “The Development of Transportation in Japan: A Case Study of Okayama han, 1600-1868,” Ph.D. dissertation, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1958.
- Ōmura: HDJ, vol. 7: *Kyūshū*, p. 212.
- Sendai: HDJ, vol. 1: *Hokkaidō, Tōhoku*, p. 184; Takakura Jun, “Sankin kōtai no shidō shiryō ni suite,” *Miyagi shigaku* 12 (1987), pp. 22-23.
- Tahara: HDJ, vol. 4: *Chūbu* (pt. 2), p. 266.
- Ushiku: HDJ, vol. 2: *Kantō*, p. 125.
- Uwajima: HDJ, vol. 6: *Chūgoku, Shikoku*, p. 552.
- Yoita: HDJ, vol. 3: *Chūbu* (pt. 1), p. 76.

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NOTES

¹ This is a widely cited estimate. See, for example, Rozman 1974, p. 100. Concrete data are available, however, for a number of individual domains, and are cited in Table 1.

² Cortazzi 1985, pp. 215-16. Mitford noted that the processions “used to be seen daily on the Tōkaidō, or on any of the great roads of Japan, in the time before the restoration. Less than forty years ago!” He found that the necessary paraphernalia was difficult to find and that the stage management of the affair was difficult because there were few men left who remembered such a procession. Twenty years earlier, perhaps, the reenactment probably would have been unthinkable, as early Meiji Japanese endeavored to forget the recent, Tokugawa, past. The staging of this reenactment, thus, might be seen as further evidence of the return of Japanese pride in their own past.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴ Toby 1986, pp. 415-56, and Toby 1991. In Japanese, there is Kuroda and Toby 1994, though the focus here is not on daimyo processions, and Watanabe 1985, pp. 132-54.

⁵ Sean Wilentz refers to political ceremonies as “minidramas or as metaphors” as well as a “theater of power” in Wilentz 1985, pp. 3-4.

⁶ *Hachinohe han Toyama ke nikki*, p. 17. The sand was referred to by one *bushi* diarist, Toyoma Heima, a samurai of 125 *koku* ranking, as *kesbō suna*, but was more commonly known as *morizuna*.

⁷ Kurushima 1986, pp. 60-2. The sand also had a practical use; if rain muddied the road the sand piles could be spread over the road surface (*ibid.*, pp. 85, 91). These and other practices were not restricted to the daimyo on alternate attendance, but applied to bakufu officials as well.

⁸ The following discussion is based on Kurushima 1986, pp. 60-92. There were, of course, other forms of *gochisō*—e.g., all official travelers, which included daimyo on alternate attendance, were allowed prescribed number of no-cost and subsidized numbers of porters and post horses. See Vaporis 1994, pp. 26-27.

⁹ During his stay in Japan, 1690-92, Englebert Kaempfer noted the existence of light lanterns in all the households in Numazu for the daimyo of Owari, a high-ranking daimyo and member of the Three Houses (*go-sanke* 御三家) who was also married to the shogun’s sister. Kaempfer 1999, p. 370.

¹⁰ The example of Odawara is from Miyamoto 1987, p. 79. The example of Nagoya is from *Kinmeiroku*, the diary of Kōriki Tanenobu 高力種信 (1756-1831), p. 374.

¹¹ Alcock 1863, vol. 2, pp. 124-25.

¹² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 409.

- ¹³ Kaempfer 1999, p. 350. He noted, though, that “few of these public marks of honour and respect are shewn us” in Honshu.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 351. Thunberg (eighteenth century) and Siebold (nineteenth century) both noted the same phenomenon. See von Siebold 1973, p. 68.
- ¹⁵ Fortune 1863, p. 45.
- ¹⁶ Notehelfer 1992, p. 132.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 133.
- ¹⁸ This account is based on *ibid.*, p. 135.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 141-42.
- ²¹ The anonymous man began his account responding to a question about the mark on his face. The story he told had taken place fifty years earlier, around 1853. Shinoda 1969, pp. 93-94. The other account of being pushed is from Ikeda Sadatsune 池田定常, “Omoide kusa” 思いで草, in Mori et al. 1980, vol. 7, pp. 275-76.
- ²² Kuga-machi Kyōiku Inkai 1990, pp. 129-31.
- ²³ The scroll is housed at the Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan (Sakai City Museum), and segments of it have been reproduced in various exhibition catalogues on *sankin kōtai*. Many thanks to the head cultural arts supervisor (*gakugei gakari chō* 学芸係長) Yoshida Yutaka for sharing with me his insight on this rich document. The scroll is not dated but given evidence such as the vanishing point perspective employed in one scene it is ascribed to the “late Tokugawa.”
- ²⁴ Toby 1986, p. 418.
- ²⁵ Fukushima Kenritsu Hakubutsukan 2001, pp. 6, 7, 45.
- ²⁶ Lindau 1986, p. 162.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 454.
- ²⁸ For example, in Hiroshige’s “Hōeidō Tōkaidō” series, the members of retinue are the major or only human figures in at least three of the prints, beginning with the first, Nihonbashi, and also in Shirasuka, Okazaki (two processions about to pass each other on the Yahagi Bridge), and Kameyama. Narasaki 1964.
- ²⁹ See, for example, the reproductions in Narasaki 1964.
- ³⁰ Toyohashi-shi Futagawa Honjin Shiryōkan 1998, pp. 72-73. This museum catalogue has 175 examples, most from the Edo period.
- ³¹ On Nihonbashi see Yonemoto 1999, pp. 49-70. In this article she argues that prints in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries focus on places known for commerce and entertainment: “Their emphasis on mobility and vitality emphasized a new and dynamic perspective, one which visually transformed the static, hierarchical spiral of the ‘shogun’s city’ into a series of snapshot-like ‘views’ of commoner life” (p. 61).
- ³² Shinoda 1971, p. 351. Kaempfer, too, was awed: “Watching the procession of a territorial lord, one cannot help but be impressed and praise high enough, firstly, how with the exception of the norimono bearers everybody is dressed in black silk, and secondly, how so many people travel in close and well-ordered formation with only the sound of their clothes, feet, and the horses being heard.” Kaempfer 1999, p. 273.
- ³³ Shinoda 1969, pp. 93-94.
- ³⁴ “Rakuzan-kō ogyōretsu zukan,” scroll 11.
- ³⁵ Craig 1961, p. 78.

³⁶ “Nichi roku,” vol. 6, folio 17.

³⁷ Quoted in Watanabe 1985, p. 138.

³⁸ This discussion of the definition of a procession is based on Toby 1994, pp. 37-38.

³⁹ Davis 1986, p. 5.

⁴⁰ Kaempfer 1999, p. 331. Due to their great size, and the consequent burden imposed on the transport network, forces traveling to Edo on alternate attendance were usually broken down into three groups: an advance party or lead group (*sendatsu* 先達), which as its name indicates departed before the main group. A trailing party (*atodatsu* 後達) traveled behind the main group accompanying the lord (*otomodatsu* 御供達). The various groups traveled by different routes for a portion of the trip. For example the advance group from Tosa domain usually traveled by boat from Kōchi to Osaka, where the two groups merged together. The entire procession, or sometimes the forward and main portions of it, would travel together in a single group for certain portions of the road, primarily when passing through castle towns. This clearly reveals the theatrical nature of the procession and its symbolic function in demonstrating a lord’s military power and status.

⁴¹ Kaempfer 1999, p. 418.

⁴² Caron and Schouten 1935, p. 30.

⁴³ Schliemann 1998, p. 125.

⁴⁴ Siebold 1973, p. 66. He contrasted this with his retinue of only 200, which he wrote “does not very extravagantly exalt the mercantile foreigner.”

⁴⁵ Chūda 1993, pp. 60-62. Just for his personal use, the Kaga lord brought to Edo as many as twenty horses, and each horse required a person to lead it. Not all of these were in the main part of the procession: e.g., in 1818, seven were included in the main body with the lord; the remainder followed. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-76.

⁴⁶ Furukawa 1964, p. 7.

⁴⁷ The scroll, “Rakusan-kō ogyōrestu zukan,” which depicts the Sendai lord’s procession of 1842, is housed in the Sendai-shi Hakubutsukan. It was painted by a retainer named Mutō Hiroki and presented to the lord as a gift. A small portion of it is reproduced in Toyohashi-shi Futagawa Honjin Shiriyōkan 1997, p. 10.

⁴⁸ Kobayashi Issa. Quoted in Kameda et al. 1995, p. 22.

⁴⁹ On the rising burden of the corvée labor tax for transport on the bakufu’s official highways, see Vaporis 1986, pp. 377-414.

⁵⁰ “Toyomasa kōki,” 23 kan, Enpō 7 (1679)/1st-7th Month, “Onnikki,” folio 24.

⁵¹ The bakufu warned the lords of the economic burden that would result from bringing large entourages to Edo as early as 1635 in the *Buke shohatto*. Kodama 1978, pt. 1, Doc. 169, p. 106; for the warning sounded in 1653 see *ibid.*, Doc. 222, p. 148; in 1701 (*ibid.*, Doc. 397, pp. 291-292), 1712 (*ibid.*, Doc. 450, pp. 346-347), and 1721 (*ibid.*, Doc. 494, pp. 391-92).

⁵² Yamamoto et al. 1982-86, vol. 6, Doc. 2, pp. 4-6. The men were also known variously as *watari chūgen*.

⁵³ Limits, as set in 1721, were as follows: for daimyo over 200,000 *koku*, fifteen to twenty mounted samurai, 120-130 footsoldiers, 250-300 petty attendants (*chūgen* 中間 and *ninsoku* 人足); for daimyo over 100,000, the numbers are reduced to ten, eighty, and 140-150; for lords over 50,000, seven, sixty, and 100; and for those below 50,000, three to four, twenty, and thirty. Kodama 1978, pt. 1, Doc. 494, pp. 391-392.

⁵⁴ “Toyomasa kōki,” 86 kan, folios 55-57.

⁵⁵ Reductions were made in 1674 as a result of a flood in Kōchi. “Toyomasa kōki,” 14 *kan*, Enpō 2 (1674), folios 33-34.

⁵⁶ Quoted in Ishifumi 1933, p. 39.

⁵⁷ Maruyama 1987, p. 25.

⁵⁸ HDJ, vol. 1: *Hokkaidō, Tōhoku*, pp. 120. The numbers were reduced again by one-half in 1815. Unfortunately no numbers are given in either case.

⁵⁹ “Rakusan-kō ogyōretsu zukan,” scroll 11. There was, to be sure, some bravado here. Certainly at least Kaga maintained its high numbers.

⁶⁰ *Kasei jikki*, pp. 483-84.

⁶¹ Regulations are quoted in Ōshima 1959, pp. 174-175. According to the one issued in 1712, the practice was “completely useless.”

⁶² “Rakusan-kō ongyōretsu zukan,” scrolls 10-11.

⁶³ For example, in 1764 there were 2,184 persons; in 1816, 2,144 persons. George Tsukahira notes that “Maeda’s retinue was reduced in 1747 to about 1500 persons” (Tsukahira 1966, p. 80), but this was only a temporary deviation. Louis G. Perez, quoting Susan Hanley (“Urban Sanitation,” p. 4), repeats a statement which exaggerates the numbers: “Most daimyo brought at least 500 samurai. Many brought more than 1,000, and one, the Maeda, commonly brought more than 4,000. Note that the numbers he gives are only for samurai, who made up only a modest portion of the retainues. Perez 2002, p. 144. Harold Bolitho on the other hand, underestimates the size of the largest processions: “The daimyo gyōretsu, or procession, numbering as many as a thousand men with spears and pennants, was one of the most splendid sights Tokugawa Japan had to offer” (Bolitho 1991, p. 220). Part of the confusion may lie with the acceptance of Kaempfer’s figures as representative for the entire period. He reported that “the processions of the greatest daimyo consisted of about two thousand people, those of the *shōmyō* have half that number” (Kaempfer 1999, p. 271). In footnote 1 (*ibid.*, p. 488), translator/annotator Beatrice Bodart-Bailey remarks, “The original states twenty thousand, but this seems to be a slip of the pen in view of the figures stated elsewhere in this chapter.”

⁶⁴ Chūda 1993, pp. 58-61, 67.

⁶⁵ As was the case with the tenth lord of Kumamoto, Hosokawa Narimori. Edo-Tōkyō Hakubutsukan 1997, p. 38.

⁶⁶ The existence of data for procession numbers may indicate that the procession was special in some way—e.g. a new lord’s first trip to Edo—and therefore larger than normal. Kaga domain alone seems not to have cut back at any time on the grand scale of its processions.

⁶⁷ For Yonezawa, see HDJ, vol. 1: *Hokkaidō, Tōhoku*, p. 511. For other domains please refer to the note that accompanies Table 2.

⁶⁸ Maruyama 1987, p. 25. Conrad Totman notes that “Daimyo retainues commonly numbered in the hundreds” (Totman 1993, p. 100). Shimabara, a domain assessed at 43,000 *koku*, had 148 people in its processions in the Bunka era (1804-17) (HDJ, vol. 7: *Kyūshū*, p. 233). Some han retainues were considerably smaller: Hisai domain (53,103 *koku*, Ise province) usually had seventy-eight in its procession in the 1830s but that number was reduced even more, to sixty-nine, in 1843 (HDJ, vol. 4: *Chūbu* 2 (Tōkai), p. 490).

⁶⁹ Edo-Tōkyō Hakubutsukan 1997, pp. 40-43.

⁷⁰ Available statistics for Komatsu domain (10,000 *koku*, Iyo province) range from forty-seven to fifty-eight people, about a third of who were full samurai. HDJ, vol. 6: *Chūgoku, Shikoku*, p. 488.

⁷¹ Chūda 1993, pp. 68-70.

⁷² Ibid., p. 79. If this percentage held for the entire procession of 2,000 this would translate to eighty people just to carry raincoats!

⁷³ Ibid., p. 83.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 98.

⁷⁵ The comment was made by Kanzawa Tokō, during the Kyōhō period (1716-36). Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 121.

⁷⁶ Davis 1986, pp. 159-60.

⁷⁷ Chūda 1993, p. 100-01.

⁷⁸ Takagi 1985, pp. 54-55. A retainer was instructed to have his subretainers dress uniformly so they would “look smart.” They were not to talk in line, not to look around, nor should they use a fan while marching. In discussing warriors decorating their military equipment Takagi concludes that those of the Sengoku and early modern period were “the same” (p. 55).

⁷⁹ “Kinmeiroku,” p. 332.

⁸⁰ Kaempfer 1999, p. 369.

⁸¹ Kaga’s procession did this at forty-six of the sixty-seven post stations through which it passed. Chūda 1993, pp. 94-95.

⁸² Schliemann 1998, p. 148.

⁸³ The quiet was maintained in part through explicit prohibitions on loud voices, the playing of instruments and noise due to construction. Chūda 1993, pp. 203-04.

⁸⁴ The quiet was maintained in part through explicit prohibitions on loud voices, the playing of instruments and noise due to construction. *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Ryan 1989, p. 147.

⁸⁶ Mori Kanzaemon Hirosada reported that the children of Tosa samurai based in Edo whose service was over traveled separately, departing the day before the main body of the procession. “Hirosada-kō dōchū yorozu nikki” Kyōhō 17 [1732].

⁸⁷ Kaempfer 1999, p. 273.

⁸⁸ Fukumochi 2002, pp. 9-14. The late-seventeenth century dating of the screen would make it roughly contemporaneous with Kaempfer. While difficult to prove, it seems there was likely a direct connection between kabuki and the *yakko*.

⁸⁹ Quoted in Konno 1986, p. 52.

⁹⁰ Dazai is quoted in *ibid.*, p. 52.

⁹¹ Darnton 1984, p. 113.

⁹² “Daimyō gyōretsu zu.”

⁹³ “Rakusan-kō ogyōretsu zukan,” 1842, scroll 11.

⁹⁴ The procession was that of Hosokawa Narimori (1804-60), who was making his first entry into the domain as lord. The total of 3,000 includes an unidentified number of men who met the lord at the domain’s border for the final leg of the journey to the castle town. Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 2001, pp. 53, 109. The intended audience for the surimono is an important but unknown issue. Was it made for the local, Kumamoto audience, for Edoites, for people who would watch along the roadways between these two cities, or for all of the above? As this was the lord’s first trip to the domain as ruler the procession was no doubt larger than normal. Another example of this type of surimono is from Sendai. Matsudo Shiritsu Hakubutsukan 1998, p. 22.

⁹⁵ Kumon Kodomo Kenkyūjo 2003, #32 (p. 57). This volume also contains a number of *mitate-e* of children’s daimyo processions, e.g. #42 (p. 61). On *mitate-e*, see Clark 1997, pp. 6-27.

⁹⁶ For Iwataki, see Fukumochi 2002. For Hagi, Kuga-chō Kyōiku Iinkai 1990. The procession in Ōi, like the one in Niimi, has been declared an intangible folk cultural property (*mukei minzoku bunkazai* 無形民俗文化財). It took place yearly, beginning in 1816, until recent times. Since 1963 it has been held every three years. Ōi-machi Kyōiku Iinkai 2000, pp. 1-3. The current festival combines a daimyo procession with the parading of portable shrines and Kashima-style dancing by youths (*ibid.*, pp. 3-12). For Yuzawa, see Ashkenazi 1993, pp. 54-64.

⁹⁷ Takemoto 2003, pp. 81-84.

⁹⁸ Niimi Daimyō Gyōretsu Hozonkai 1997. Other than the priest's diary from the eighteenth century referred to above, a written record of the festival does not exist until recent times. Hence the historical basis for the current procession of sixty-four people is questionable. Participants in the modern festival come from designated parts of town from which the original participants supposedly hailed.

⁹⁹ Hasegawa 1969, pp. 293-97; Niimi Daimyō Gyōretsu Hozonkai 1997.

¹⁰⁰ The quotation is from Milton Singer, *Traditional India: Structure and Change*, quoted in MacAloon 1984, p. xiii.

¹⁰¹ In contemporary Niimi, as in the Edo period, members of the procession are given marching instructions. While their exact origins are not known precisely, they are said to be a "tradition inherited from olden times." The same instructions, communicated orally to the marchers before the festival begins, convey to them the need to maintain a distance of six meters behind the person directly in line in front of them. Weapons should be held at a forty-five-degree angle. The arm not holding a weapon, an implement or a container, should be fully extended outward, with the sleeve of the jacket grasped tautly. Those people marching in reserve should hold both sleeves in the same fashion. Doing this creates a smart line and emphasizes the theatrical element, i.e., that the procession was meant to be seen.

Since about a decade ago a children's daimyo procession, with children in full period dress, and a procession of children carrying or pulling portable shrines has been added to the festivities. In this manner the festival acts as a means of instruction in Edo-period history and local customs for multiple generations. During the pre-festival activities at the Furukawa Hachimangū on 15 October 2003 I was able to observe instructions being given on how to wear the period clothing as well as how to arrange the two swords which the men in the daimyo procession wore.

Observers of the parade were also of course participants, making sand mounds and/or simply by squatting down and making way for the procession.

¹⁰² Notehelfer 1992, pp. 198-99.

¹⁰³ Toby 1986, p. 421. The quote refers of course only to the foreign embassies.

¹⁰⁴ Fukushima Kenritsu Hakubutsukan 2001, p. 32.

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, Walthall 1986 and Taniguchi 2001, pp. 54-70.

¹⁰⁶ Taniguchi 2001, pp. 62-4. The breakdown by period and number of occurrences was 1744-48 (1), 1751-64 (13), 1764-72 (4), and 1781-89 (3).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁰⁸ Kawata 1990, p. 46. The same is true in the scene at Bakuro-chō.

¹⁰⁹ Jippensha Ikku, pp. 25.

¹¹⁰ This and the following description are from Kaempfer 1999, pp. 272-73.

¹¹¹ The comment on American parades is from Davis 1986, pp. 159-60.

¹¹² A detailed study of the regulations informing the use of implements in the daimyo processions can be found in Ogawa 1992. The following discussion of implements is, unless otherwise indicated, based on vol. 1, pp. 185-205 of this work.

- ¹¹³ Kornicki 2001, p. 69. For a complete set of *bukan*, see Fukai and Fujizane 1996-2003.
- ¹¹⁴ Tsukahira 1966, p. 73. Perhaps the progress of the sultan in late-nineteenth century Morocco was equally “decadent.” Its vanguard “was formed of a cavalry escort, headed by standard bearers, carrying flags of every hue and colour, the poles topped with glittering balls.” Harris 1983, p. 57.
- ¹¹⁵ The Japanese is: “Daimyō no yari wa damatte na o nanori” 大名の槍は黙って名を名乗り. Chūda 1993, p. 106.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁸ Imado 1984, pp. 244-45.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 245.
- ¹²⁰ A reproduction of the Morioka han procession is most conveniently available in Edo-Tōkyō Hakubutsukan 1997, pp. 40-43. Photographs of some of the paraphernalia discussed here can be found on pp. 47, 51; for Sendai, see “Rakuzan-kō ogyōretsu zukan.”
- ¹²¹ Edo-Tōkyō Hakubutsukan 1997, p. 52.
- ¹²² I explore some of the cultural implications of alternate attendance in Vaporis 1997, pp. 25-67 and more fully in my book manuscript, “A Year in Edo: Alternate Attendance and Japan’s Early-Modern Experience.”
- ¹²³ “Odōchū hitomaki chō.”
- ¹²⁴ *Kasei jikki*, vol. 3, pp. 458-68.
- ¹²⁵ Brown 1993, p. 233.
- ¹²⁶ Ibid.
- ¹²⁷ Fukushima Kenritsu Hakubutsukan 2001, pp. 32-34.
- ¹²⁸ Kasaya 2001, pp. 28-32.
- ¹²⁹ HDJ, vol. 6: *Chūgoku, Shikoku*, p. 194.
- ¹³⁰ Kuwata 1988.
- ¹³¹ Kasaya 2001, pp. 28-32. This unit acted as the central headquarters for command of battle but didn’t participate directly in combat unless needed. Its primary task was defending the lord. “*Sonae*” refers to military unit; “*hatamoto*” indicates that the head is a bannerman or high-ranking retainer of the lord, usually an Elder.
- ¹³² See Ogawa 1992, vol. 2, pp. 195-202, for a discussion, and diagrams of, the various types of palanquins. Those of higher quality had hinged roofs to allow the rider great ease in entering and exiting the vehicle.
- ¹³³ Kaempfer 1999, p. 271.
- ¹³⁴ Notehelfer 1992, pp. 133, 135. Hall was clearly overwhelmed by the numbers. Beyond his “seven hundred” he asserted that “it is impossible to reckon the number” of attendants behind the main body-guard around the lord. “I think it not all improbable that several thousand persons passed preceding and following this immediate body guard,” he wrote (p. 135).
- ¹³⁵ Miyamoto 1987, p. 85. The statistics are from 1697.
- ¹³⁶ The procession dispatched on bakufu orders from Kanazawa to take possession of Takayama castle began in a similar fashion, namely with thirty gunners, twenty bowmen, and twenty spearmen. The takeover occurred in 1693. Document #2680, Kanazawa Shiritsu Tamagawa Toshokan.
- ¹³⁷ Jansen 2000, p. 131.
- ¹³⁸ The Shimabara screen is beautifully illustrated and discussed at length in Kuwata 1988.
- ¹³⁹ Takagi 1985, pp. 50-51.

¹⁴⁰ HDJ, vol. 1: *Hokkaidō, Tōhoku hen*, p. 150. For Chōshū, *ibid.*, vol. 6: *Chūgoku, Shikoku hen*, p. 194. For Kaga, see Chūda 1993, pp. 68-70.

¹⁴¹ In Hitoyoshi domain (Kumamoto), *shi* comprised almost fifty percent (46.6%) of the total in 1781 (90 of the 193 men were of *shi* status). Maruyama 1987, p. 24.

¹⁴² There were variations from trip to trip—e.g. samurai comprised 23%, pages, 23%, and hired workers, 10%, in 1797—but these were not very substantial. *Hachinohe han Toyama ke nikki*, p. 23 and HDJ, vol. 1: *Hokkaidō, Tōhoku hen*, p. 97.

¹⁴³ Geertz 1983, pp. 134-42. The quote is on page 138. The Kangxi Emperor in Qing China was famous for his travel around the empire. His journeys served multiple purposes: to familiarize himself with the land he ruled; to collect plants, birds and other animals encountered; for hunting and exercise; and, to train his troops. Spence 1988, chapter one (“In Motion”).

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.138. The Moroccan saying went, “The king’s throne is his saddle, the sky his canopy.”

¹⁴⁵ Cole 1999. Queen Elizabeth I actually made twenty-three progresses during her forty-four year reign. On Elizabeth, see also Strong 1977.

¹⁴⁶ After the large-scale processions to Kyoto by the first three shoguns no Tokugawa ruler made the trip until 1862. The shoguns also periodically made trips, accompanied by a large number of daimyo, to Nikkō to pay their respects to the founding members of the dynasty enshrined there, but other than for this and the occasional hunting trip, they rarely left Edo. See Watanabe 1985, pp. 25-27 for a brief account of these trips.

¹⁴⁷ The quote is from Cole 1999, p. 10. The notion of the interplay between structure and anti-structure is Victor Turner’s, e.g. in Turner 1969.

¹⁴⁸ Watanabe Hiroshi has outlined this argument about “august authority” or “monarchic aura” (*goikō*) being supported and maintained through ritual in *ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ The quote is from Kornicki 2001, p. 69. He is referring only to office-holding daimyo.

要旨

華麗なる君主の興行—大名行列と政権—

コンスタンチン・N・ヴァポリス

大名を原則として一年おきに、あるいは半年おきに江戸と国元に交代で住ませ、その妻子は江戸に常住させたのが参勤交代制度だった。当論文はこの参勤交代制度を二側面から取り上げる。一つは、政権のシンボル（象徴）として、つまり各大名の政権と幕府の威光の面、もう一つは、パフォーマンスまたは演劇としてである。錦絵、絵双六、絵本、絵巻物、文学など、当時の外国人、日本人の記録などをもとにしてこれら二つのテーマを考察する。