

**DISPLAYING AUTHORITY: GUNS, POLITICAL LEGITIMACY, AND
MARTIAL PAGEANTRY IN TOKUGAWA JAPAN, 1600-1868.**

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ABSTRACT

DANIELE LAURO: Displaying authority: guns, political legitimacy, and martial pageantry in Tokugawa Japan, 1600-1868.
(Under the direction of Morgan Pitelka)

From the end of the sixteenth century on, firearms in Japan are increasingly found in contexts other than the battlefield. A perusal of the *Records of the Tokugawa Family* (*Tokugawa Jikki*) - the military clan that ruled Japan from 1603 to 1868 - reveals, for instance, that guns were often involved in ritual practices performed by the warrior elite, such as weddings, funerals, hunting parades, and celebrations of the New Year. Moreover, it was common for both the shogun and the domainal lords (*daimyô*) to display firearms and other weapons during public audiences and military parades. By considering different ritual practices that involved the display of military power such as daimyo processions to Edo, shogunal pilgrimages to Nikko, military reviews, large-scale hunts and other pageants, this paper argues that during the Tokugawa period guns were often used by the warrior elite as tools to shore up authority, legitimize the political order, and reinforce ideals of warrior identity.

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INTRODUCTION

Sometime between 1820 and 1829 Johannes Gerhard Frederik van Overmeer Fischer (1800-1848), a Dutchman residing in Japan, received permission to observe the hunting procession of the governor of Nagasaki, a thriving commercial center on the southern island of Kyushu. Puzzled by the disproportionate display of military power for a hunt, Fischer recorded in his diary his impressions of the procession marching through the city. Such processions, known as “state-huntings,” were performed in various parts of the country, and the surprisingly large number of heavy guns, paraded like “badges of distinction,” led Fischer to think he was attending a military inspection rather than seeing a group of men going to hunt. At the head of the cortege four men held brooms to clear the passage of pebbles and encouraged the viewers, lined on the sides of the road, to sit down and bow. While those outside hastened to prostrate themselves, Fischer observed others peeping from behind the blinds of their houses. As the procession approached, laughter and idle talk gave way to a religious silence. “It was,” wrote Fischer, “an awe-inspiring scene.”¹

¹ Fischer published his recollections of Japan in 1833 in the volume *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Japansche rijk* (*Contribution to the knowledge of the Japanese State*). This excerpt, however, is drawn from a later publication in English language based on the accounts of the Dutch residents on the island of Dejima in Nagasaki and of the German doctor Franz Von Siebold, who resided in Japan between 1823 and 1829. See, *Manners and Customs of the Japanese in the Nineteenth Century From the Accounts of Recent Dutch Residents in Japan, and From the German Work of Dr. Ph. Fr. Von Siebold*. (New York: Harper & Brothers 1842), 54-55.

Following this vivid description, the Dutchman devoted five pages of his diary to listing the extensive military paraphernalia the marching party carried, including a great number of matchlock guns with lit fuses and “a massive Japanese weapon of about 50 lbs. Dutch weight.”² Fischer, who visited Japan during the reign of the eleventh shogun Tokugawa Ienari (1773-1841), worked at the trading post of Dejima, an artificial islet in the city of Nagasaki where the Dutch had been confined since 1641. The Osaka campaigns of 1614 and 1615 had marked the end of a century and a half of internal warfare, after which the Tokugawa family was able to rule Japan and maintain social stability with little use of weapons until the 1850s. What could be then the reason for such a spectacular demonstration of military strength? Was this, in Fischer’s words, a “hunting party” or a “military evolution?”³

While Fischer’s memoir provides an outsider’s perspective on the splendor and military power embodied in Tokugawa ritual processions, the six-fold screen known as the *Hie Sannô byôbu* (Folding Screen Depicting Pilgrimage to the Hie Sannô Shrine) offers a Japanese view (fig.1).⁴ This screen painting, produced toward the end of the Kan’ei era (1624-1644) was probably commissioned by the third shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604-1651). Currently housed at the Edo-Tokyo Museum, it depicts Iemitsu’s legitimate heir and future shogun Tokugawa Ietsuna’s first visit in 1642 to the Hie Sannô,

² Ibid., 56.

³ Ibid., 54.

⁴ Hiromu Ozawa, “Hie Sannô Byôbu” [Folding Screen Depicting Pilgrimage to the Hie Sannô Shrine,] Tôkyôto Edo Tôkyô Hakubutsukan Kenkyû Hôkoku, no.16 (March 2010): 81-112.

a Shinto shrine located not far from Edo Castle. Similar to the parade that Fischer observed, the future shogun's procession incorporated beautifully decorated weapons, including ten matchlock guns protected by flashy scarlet leather covers. Viewers lined up at the sides of the road are prostrating themselves as the shogunal palanquin is approaching. When the Hie Shrine folding screen was painted, Japan had been at peace for more than twenty-five years. Like Fischer, one may reasonably ponder the true nature of this shogunal procession and speculate about the function of such an impressive display of military strength for a pilgrimage. Moreover, why was this folding screen commissioned? And in what context was it displayed before becoming a museum artifact?

The establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1603 marked the beginning of the so-called "Great Peace" (*taihei*), a period of 250 years of almost uninterrupted harmony and relative isolation from the outside world, raising two pressing questions for the warrior elite.⁵ First, once they had seized power, how could it be legitimized and made acceptable in the eyes of society? And second, how could the shogun and his retainers maintain their role as prototypes and shapers of warrior ethics and values in a war-free Japan? Using evidence like the above descriptions of ritualized military processions, I argue in this essay that, during the Tokugawa period, rituals such as awe-inspiring daimyo processions or shogunal pageants became tools through which the shogun, and the warrior elite at large, shored up their authority by impressing the crowds

⁵ When talking about Tokugawa "warrior elite" I refer to the shogun and to *daimyô*. A *daimyô* ("domainal lord") was a title given to lords governing large territories and commanding a large number of vassals since the Muromachi period (1333-1573). Under the Tokugawa a lord was required to have an annual revenue of at least 10,000 *koku* (unit of volume used to measure rice equivalent to about 180 liters) to be granted the title of *daimyô*.

with displays of military power and by demonstrating their prowess at arms even in times of peace. Building on the work of David Kertzer, I define “ritual” in this paper as a standardized behavior or act characterized by repetitiveness, symbolic meanings, and the ability to provoke an emotional reaction in those who take part to it.⁶

To be sure, hunting processions or pilgrimages were not the only occasions in which Japanese elites exhibited weapons. Under the Tokugawa, in fact, ceremonial display of arms became an integral part of the warrior elite’s social practices including funerals and wedding ceremonies, domainal lords’ corteges to Edo, processions to the imperial court in Kyoto, and other shogunal pageants. The populace was not the only recipient of the shogun’s messages of authority. I argue, in fact, that those public exhibitions of military might also represented deliberate efforts by the shogunate to validate its political authority in the eyes of daimyos and of the imperial court. Similarly, domainal lords travelling to Edo competed among each other and made their position in the Tokugawa social hierarchy explicit through the size and pomp of their processions.

Conventional narratives of early modern Japan attribute the longevity of the Tokugawa military government to the complex system of administrative and social regulations, known as *bakuhan taisei*, laid out by the founder Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) and perfected by his successors.⁷ At the heart of this system lay the alliance between a central government (*bakufu*) and peripheral feudal lords, who administered local domains (*han*) in return for loyal service to the shogun. The *bakufu* also created a

⁶ David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988).

⁷ See, for example, Conrad D. Totman, *Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu, 1600-1843*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967).

hierarchical society whose status boundaries could not be easily crossed. The Tokugawa adopted a class system based on the four traditional occupations – warrior, peasant, artisan, and merchant (*shinôkôshô*) – and regulated daily activities and prerogatives of both the warrior class and the imperial court. To avoid the fate of his predecessors Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), Tokugawa Ieyasu also ensured that the shogun would not run out of heirs by establishing three cadet lines from which the future chieftain of the military regime could be selected (*Tokugawa go-sanke*). Domainal lords, whose importance in the Tokugawa status system varied according to feudal relations with the Tokugawa clan before the establishment of the shogunate, were kept under control through the ingenious method of alternate attendance (*sankin kôtai*) by which the shogunate required daimyos to spend alternate years in Edo, thus enacting a spectacular system of lordly processions that moved from every corner of Japan toward the center of political and military power.

While such measures proved instrumental in solidifying the Tokugawa's position, they do not sufficiently illustrate how elites made their power legitimate, acceptable, and explicit. In fact, shogunal authority became validated and reinforced through less direct, though equally concrete and effective, means such as the creation of hagiographies and mythological genealogies, the deification of the *bakufu* founder and establishment of a "Ieyasu cult," the display of foreign relations, the use of political art and architecture, and the invention of shogunal pageants. Exploring these connections helps clarify how the Tokugawa obtained their authority and explains how they sanctioned, strengthened, and made public their power in the eyes of the Emperor, the warrior class, and the populace, thus maintaining the status quo for more than two and a half centuries.

The idea that ritual can be used as a tool to legitimate new political systems and those who hold the power in them has a long tradition that can be traced back to the work of the French sociologist Emile Durkheim. Only in recent years, however, have Western historians of Japan turned their attention to the link between ritual, political power, artistic and cultural production during the Tokugawa period.⁸ As scholars have shown, a preoccupation with legitimacy and the appropriation of public authority (*kôgi*) were not unique to the Tokugawa, and both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi tackled similar issues.⁹ Only under the long-lived Tokugawa regime, however, did these dynamics find their most complex articulation, tracing the pattern of how authority was preserved, confirmed, and passed down generation after generation.

Because a survey of the whole array of martial and shogunal pageantry is beyond the scope of this paper, I will limit my study to certain rituals and social practices performed by the warrior elite involving the display and use of firearms. The case of guns is particularly suitable to an elucidation of the ways military power continued to play an important function during the Tokugawa period despite the absence of war. Swords, bows,

⁸ The traditional classic English-language treatment of Tokugawa ideology remains, Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology. Early Constructs, 1570-1680*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985). More recent works on the connections between artistic/cultural production and power include William H. Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1996); Karen M. Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999); Timon Screech, *The Shogun's Painted Culture: Fear and Creativity in the Japanese States 1760-1829*. (London: Reaktion Books, 2000); Constantine N. Vaporis, *Tour of Duty. Samurai, Military Service in Edo, and the Culture of Early Modern Japan*. (Honolulu: Hawaii University Press, 2008); Morgan Pitelka, "The Empire of Things: Tokugawa Ieyasu's Material Legacy and Cultural Profile." *Japanese Studies* 29, no.1 (May 2009): 19-32; Anne Walthall, "Do Guns Have Gender? Technology and Status in Early Modern Japan." In *Recreating Japanese Men*, edited by Anne Walthall and Sabine Fruhstuck, 169-224. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.; Morgan Pitelka, "The Tokugawa Storehouse: Ieyasu's encounter with things." In *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories 1500-1800*, edited by Paula Finden. New York: Routledge, 2013.

⁹ See, Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology. Early Constructs, 1570-1680*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985):18-62.

and spears had been part of samurai warfare for centuries; guns, on the contrary, arrived in Japan only in the 1540s and, despite their rapid diffusion, they were still a relatively recent military technology that lacked the spiritual and symbolic values attached to traditional weapons.¹⁰ Beginning in the last decade of the sixteenth century, however, firearms underwent a process of spiritualization and dignification. For instance, marksmanship (*hōjutsu*) was integrated into the traditional martial arts (*bugei juhappan*) and shooting schools became widespread. Marksmanship also came to be regarded as one of the seven foundations of *bushidō*, the code of the samurai that provided warriors with an explicit and idealized value system. Around the same time, firearms appeared in contexts such as the ones described by Fischer or depicted by the Hie Shrine folding screen where the function they served went beyond that of a tool for fighting. In short, guns were transformed by the warrior elite into symbols of samurai ethics, military power, and masculinity.

In addition, the ritual and social practices associated with the use or ceremonial display of guns by the warrior elite helps rectify persistent misconceptions concerning the status of firearms in pre-modern Japan. Initially regarded as rarities to be exchanged

¹⁰ Firearms technology had been known in Japan at least since the thirteenth century Mongol invasions. What the Portuguese are credited to have introduced are matchlock guns. For a discussion on the sources and the circumstances related to the spread of matchlock guns in Japan see, Olof G. Lidin, *Tanegashima. The Arrival of Europe in Japan*, (Copenhagen : NIAS Press ; London: Routledge, 2002) and Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, *Rekishi no naka teppō denrai. Tanegashima kara Boshin sensō made. [The story from within. The spread of matchlock guns. From Tanegashima to the Boshin war]*. (Sakura: Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, 2006). The issue of whether the Portuguese arrived in Japan in 1542 or 1543 is another controversial subject. The problem arises from the fact that, while European chronicles mention 1542 as the arrival date, Japanese chronicles place the arrival of the Portuguese in 1543. Tokoro Sōkichi has argued that 1542 marks the first arrival of the Portuguese in Japan, while 1543 is the year when matchlock guns were introduced. See, M. Izuka and Ken'ichi I., *Teppō denrai zengo: Tanegashima o meguru gijutsu to bunka [Before and after the introduction of guns: Tanegashima technology and culture]* (Tōkyō: Yūhikaku, 1986), 58-66.

among feudal lords, guns became gradually integrated into Japanese warfare during the second half of the sixteenth century. The end of the wars of unification and the establishment of the Tokugawa *bakufu* did not entail – as some scholars have argued – “Japan’s reversion to the sword.”¹¹ Though the lack of warfare, Tokugawa restrictions on the use of weapons, and limited contacts with the outside world resulted in a decline of gun production and military technology, gun manufacturing continued, and firearms kept on filling shogunal arsenals. At the same time, elite warriors also displayed guns in audience rooms as symbols of strength, and firearms were carried in funeral or wedding processions of the shogun’s family members as objects endowed with spiritual power, giving lie to the common claim that they were “for cowards alone.”¹² Finally, although they embodied power for the warrior elite, guns were not consistently associated with high status.¹³ For a peasant in Tokugawa Japan, a gun was merely an agricultural implement that helped protect crops from wild animals, and for a professional hunter, guns were the unmistakable symbol of low status.¹⁴ With the fall of the shogunate in 1867 and the creation of a modern army in 1873, Tokugawa firearms gradually became

¹¹ See, Noel Perrin, *Giving Up the Gun. Japan’s Reversion to the Sword, 1543-1879*. (Boston: David R. Godine, Publisher, 1979).

¹² Cosme De Torres (?- 1570), a Spanish Jesuit father who stayed in Japan during the second half of the sixteenth century reported that the Japanese “do not have any kind of guns because they declare that they are for cowards alone.” See, Michael Cooper. *They Came to Japan. An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), 41.

¹³ See, Anne Walthall, “Do Guns Have Gender? Technology and Status in Early Modern Japan.” In *Recreating Japanese Men*, edited by Anne Walthall and Sabine Fruhstuck, 169-224. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

¹⁴ See, David Howell, “The Social Life of Firearms in Tokugawa Japan.” In *Japanese Studies* 29, no.1 (May 2009): 65-79.

collectibles exhibited in museums and symbols of a feudal past and technological backwardness that no longer existed. Building off David Howell's work, my analysis of the shifting perceptions and functions of guns in pre-modern Japan concludes that firearms – like any other “thing” - had multiple “social lives” and, most importantly, that those lives could be mutually compatible, and even co-exist harmoniously.¹⁵

Rituals involving the use and display of guns were fraught with symbolism and conveyed clear political messages. But exactly what did those messages mean to say? And for which audiences were they intended? The case studies presented in this paper convey the richness of meanings attached to Tokugawa martial pageantry and the variety of recipients they aimed to impress. Section one, *Local authority on the move: daimyo processions and the system of alternate attendance*, scrutinizes a number of visual and written sources to describe domainal lords' corteges to Edo and the particular function guns played within them. I maintain that daimyos used these processions as devices to make their power visible to the eyes of their subjects and also as occasions to compete with other domainal lords in pomp and splendor. Ultimately, daimyo processions demonstrated the shogun's authority, because daimyos travelled to Edo to serve him. The second section, *Performing authority: shogunal processions, Tokugawa pageantry, and guns*, looks at a number of different pageants and social practices performed by the shogun and its retainers, including secular and religious processions, hunting, military reviews, and celebrations of the New Year. The final section, *Impressing the Other: Tokugawa display of foreign relations and the Dutch Court Journey*, explores the larger

¹⁵ See, Arjun Appadurai, “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,” in *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3-63.

political implications of the Dutch court journey to Edo through the records and diaries of the Western residents of Dejima. While providing a privileged perspective on Tokugawa Japan and a wealth of information on shogunal and lordly pageantry, these records are a window into the ways the shogunate manipulated foreign residents to validate and make its power visible outside the national borders.

CHAPTER 1

LOCAL AUTHORITY ON THE MOVE: DAIMYO PROCESSIONS (*DAIMYÔ GYÔRETSU*) AND THE SYSTEM OF ALTERNATE ATTENDANCE (*SANKIN KÔTAI*)

“Who was the actual authority or ruler of feudal society? Discerning and clear-minded individuals would certainly say the ruler of society was not the Emperor, the nobles, the warriors, peasants, or merchants. Authority lay somewhere else. The ruler of society was custom, usage, and tradition.” – Tokutomi Sohô *Youth of the New Japan*¹⁶

Among the numerous measures devised by the Tokugawa shogunate to control domainal lords' authority, the system of alternate attendance (*sankin kôtai*) was by far the most influential and long-lived.¹⁷ For more than two centuries from its establishment in 1635, in fact, daimyos from every corner of Japan were required to travel to Edo every other year to serve the Tokugawa, while their wives and children had to reside in the shogunal capital

¹⁶ Quoted in Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), 96.

¹⁷ The system of alternate attendance has been the object of numerous studies in both Japanese and English. For English works see, Toshio G. Tsukahira, *Feudal Control in Tokugawa Japan. The Sankin Kôtai System*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966); Constantine N. Vaporis, *Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1994) and *Tour of Duty. Samurai, Military Service in Edo, and the Culture of Early Modern Japan*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008); for a treatment of the *sankin kôtai* in Japanese see, Tokyo-to Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, *Sankin Kôtai: kyodai toshi Edo no naritachi* [System of alternate attendance: the origins of the Edo megalopolis]. (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Edo Tokyo Hakubutsukan, 1997).

permanently. In return for the administration of local domains, the *bakufu* required daimyos to fulfill different obligations such as paying homage to the shogun upon their arrival in Edo, attending audiences at Edo castle on certain days of the month, escorting the shogun to pilgrimage sites, keeping a standing army in case of war, taking turns to defend Edo castle's gates from attacks and fires, as well as maintaining roads and other *bakufu* facilities. Daimyos were assigned lots whose location and size reflected social status and where they could build permanent headquarters (*yashiki*) for them and their retainers. While providing the labor force and money necessary to run the shogunal administrative machinery, the system of alternate attendance also worked as an effective tool to preserve peace in Japan and restrict daimyos' autonomy by imposing a severe financial burden on them.

In addition to these evident political implications, the system of alternate attendance shaped the culture and economy of Tokugawa Japan on more profound levels as well. As Constantine Vaporis argues, domainal lords' magnificent processions to and from Edo provided a considerable incentive to the Japanese economy in a period of relative isolation. Daimyos invested immense sums of money in preparation of their trips, board, lodging, transportation of their belongings, as well as gifts to be presented to *bakufu* officials and to the shogun in Edo. Funds to cover the expenditures were obtained through the selling of rice in commercial hubs such as Edo and Osaka, which acquired their current economic prominence during the seventeenth century.¹⁸ In addition, the ceaseless movement of more than two hundred and fifty domainal lords and the construction of about six hundred

¹⁸ Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 2-3.

residences to lodge them resulted into the transformation of Edo into a million-people megalopolis by the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹⁹ The confluence of daimyos and their retainers into the shogunal capital also boosted the circulation of material culture, with local products (*meibutsu*) shipped to Edo for personal consumption or gift exchange.²⁰

It is in its function as a marker of social distinction and a tool for political legitimacy, however, that the system of alternate attendance served the Tokugawa regime best. Daimyo processions to Edo became a way to advertise and make warrior elite's authority palpable to the populace. Lordly corteges were in fact the only occasions when subjects could come into direct contact with their rulers and experience their might. Movement on Japan's road network also worked as an instrument to link the periphery to the new center of authority, a device widely adopted in other nations when new political systems were established. For instance, when Charles IX became king of France in 1563, his mother Catherine de' Medici sent him out on a two-year long tour of the country in order to consolidate his rule²¹. Nevertheless, the system of alternate attendance allowed, at the same time, daimyos to make their power tangible and the shogunate to shore up authority by requiring its retainers to travel to Edo. By responding to the shogun's call, in fact, domainal lords acknowledged his supreme authority and submitted to his rule.

¹⁹ Matsunosuke Nishiyama, *Edo Culture. Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600-1868*, trans. Gerald Groemer (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 28.

²⁰ Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 31, 55

²¹ David Kertzer. *Ritual, Politics, and Power*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 22-23.

Looking at the circumstances under which the system of alternate attendance was established can help understand its great significance in the Tokugawa's quest for legitimacy. The custom of retainers attending their lord dated back to the late fifteenth century and had been practiced and encouraged under the rule of Tokugawa Ieyasu.²² Only under the third shogun Iemitsu, however, was the system of alternate attendance codified by law. In 1634, Iemitsu travelled for the last time to Kyoto to meet the emperor.²³ The next shogunal trip to the imperial court would occur almost two and half centuries later. The end of shogunal processions to Kyoto and the codification of the system of alternate attendance the following year can be interpreted as signs that the center of power had definitely shifted to Edo. "Virtually imprisoned" in his palace, the Emperor had been once and for all deprived of his authority.²⁴ Korean delegations heading to Edo passed through Kyoto without paying homage to the emperor;²⁵ daimyo en route to the shogunal court had to request the *bakufu* a special permission to visit the imperial capital.²⁶

The system of alternate attendance was imbued with symbolic meanings and ritual practices. Protocol codified each stage of the system, from the preparatory phases of the trip to the sends-off before the return to the domains. It is the daimyo procession, however,

²² Tokyo-to Edo Tokyo Hakubutsukan. *Sankin Kôtai*, 27.

²³ Herman Ooms. *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Construct, 1570-1680*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 42.

²⁴ Herschel Webb, *The Japanese Imperial Institution in the Tokugawa Period*. (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1968), ix.

²⁵ Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 52.

²⁶ Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 51.

that best exemplifies how the system of alternate attendance was used to convey messages of political and military authority. In addition, since daimyo processions always featured displays of military equipment, it is in this particular practice that role of guns as implements for status appears most evidently.

Nevertheless, stressing the role of guns in the daimyo processions is not to say that firearms by themselves are what made the processions effective symbols of status. A number of factors – the size of the cortege, the luxurious accoutrements displayed, the theatrical nature of processions, and the protocol that came with them – determined their nature as magnificent, awe-inspiring demonstrations of authority and military power. Also, discussing the symbolism of gun displays is not to deny the practical function firearms played in the cortege. As many other examples show, in Japanese culture these two aspects are not easily separable.²⁷ Daimyo processions were, after all, military formations ready to fight if required. The number of weapons that each daimyo was allowed to carry was prescribed by law, and the shogunate's fear that the introduction of an excessive number of guns into Edo could cause disruptions – epitomized by the prohibition *de onna iri teppô* (“women leaving, guns entering”) – demonstrates that firearms were still seen as formidable tools of war.²⁸ Nevertheless, the predominance of guns in daimyo processions' depictions, the codified and hierarchized structure of the musketeers' battalion, the accessories attached to guns, and the theatrical devices adopted by the marching soldiers reveal that the function of firearms went beyond protecting the travelling daimyo or filling the shogunal arsenal.

²⁷ For example this was the case of the world of tea, where extremely valuable and treasured utensils were used for actual practice.

²⁸ Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 139.

What did a daimyo procession look like? On his first trip to Edo in 1691 as part of the Dutch delegation, German physician Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) meticulously recorded the details of the procession of a domainal lord his party had run across. The cortege was made up of:

1. Several advance parties consisting of quartermasters, scribes, cooks, and their assistants, who prepare the inns for the dignified accommodation of the lord and his courtiers.
2. The lord's personal luggage, some items transported in pack on horses, each marked with a small personal flag and the name of the owner, some carried in large boxes accompanied by various attendants to add to the grandeur.
3. A long trail of lesser retinues of the lord's most senior servants and nobles, accompanied by men carrying pikes, scythes, parasols, 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 an unusual formation, as well as various troops of soldiers, each led by a marshal 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 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 lords' *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 be one *norimono* at the head with the lord's highest minister or steward."²⁹

Kaempfer's description strongly emphasizes the size of the cortege and the variety of military implements on display. Size was a key component because it drew a line between the powerful lord and powerless commoners, reflected and concretized the wealth of daimyos, and allowed them to mark status distinctions among one other.

The number of retainers a daimyo could bring to Edo depended on the annual yield value of his domain (*kokudaka*). For instance, according to a chart compiled by the shogunate in 1721, a domain assessed for 10,000 *koku* was granted permission for 3 or 4 mounted soldiers, 20 foot soldiers, and 30 attendants; a domain whose annual revenue

²⁹ Engelbert Kaempfer, *Kaempfer's Japan. Tokugawa Culture Observed*. Trans. Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 272-273.

exceeded 200,000 *koku* could claim 15 to 20 mounted soldiers, 120-130 foot soldiers, and 250-300 attendants.³⁰ Despite restrictions enforced by the shogunate, daimyos often failed to comply with the limits determined by their revenue. It was common in fact to inflate the size of the corteges by hiring commoners, who were there just to puff up the numbers.³¹

An idea of the dimensions a procession could reach is provided by drawings, folding screens, painted scrolls, and other visual media that were produced to immortalize lordly corteges. An eloquent example is the *Tsuyama Hanshu Matsudaira Naritaka Tsuyama Irikuni Gyôretsu* (1884), a depiction of domainal lord Matsudaira Naritaka's entrance in Tsuyama in 1817 on the occasion of the restoration of the fief's value to 100,000 *koku*. The depiction, which stretches over seven wooden panels, illustrates a Z-shaped cortege that included a total of 812 people. The painting is uniquely valuable as a historical document because the illustration is accompanied by an explanation of the names and positions held by Naritaka's attendants, a feature seldom found in other visual depictions.³²

The fifth panel from the right (fig.2) provides precious information on the function assigned to firearms within lordly cortege. In the painting a battalion of ten *ashigaru* (footsoldiers) wearing black formal overgarments (*haori*) and carrying matchlock guns enclosed in scarlet woolen cloth bags (*shôjôhi*) leads the main body of the procession (*hongyôretsu*). They are followed by the *kogashira*, a supervisor that led small groups of

³⁰ Tokyo-to Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, *Sankin Kôtai*, 34.

³¹ Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 73.

³² Tokyo-to Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, *Sankin Kôtai*, 15-18.

soldiers, and by two men transporting red lacquered boxes for gunpowder and ammunition (*tamagusuribako*) with the Matsudaira family crest embossed in gold. While making the identity of the parading daimyo fairly recognizable to those who experienced the procession in person or through the painting, the golden family crest also spoke of the high status of the Tsuyama lord. The Matsudaira were directly related to the shogun (*shinpan daimyô*) and for this reason they were granted permission to use the Tokugawa family crest (*mitsuba aoi*) to decorate their military paraphernalia. Gun equipment, therefore, played the double function of military gear and status marker. The musketeers' formation is closed by the *sakite teppô gashira*, a mounted official of fairly high rank, escorted by some foot soldiers. Musketeers, followed by archers (*sakite yumi ashigaru*) and foot soldiers carrying long-handled spears (*nagae ashigaru*) formed the front of the procession, which was responsible for the protection of the daimyo in case of attack. As the Tsuyama painting shows the front was followed by the daimyo palanquin (*kago* or *norimono*) and by his personal guards. Finally the main body of the cortege was closed by a rear guard to protect the daimyo from behind. The main core of daimyo procession was composed by retainers directly related to the daimyo; however, these men could in turn require their retinue to follow, thus causing the procession to grow in size. As Constantine Vaporis notes, visual representations, such as the Tsuyama domain procession, disprove the common assumption that men in the vanguard were positioned from low to high rank and that, therefore, a musketeers' battalion was associated with the lowest status. On the contrary, while foot soldiers were relatively low ranking warriors, each battalion was an independent formation led by higher ranking officials.³³

³³ Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 95.

That rank and military value were somehow connected to expertise in weaponry is also revealed by a perusal of the registries of the military houses (*bukan*). These were popular publications - a sort of *Who's Who* in the Tokugawa military elite - that contained information related to domainal lords and their retainers such as daimyo family crests, the location of their residences in Edo, and the implements they were allowed to carry on their trips to the shogunal capital. Originally intended as guides for samurai to provide information about their peers, after the 1640s these registries became increasingly available to urban dwellers too, thus contributing to the circulation of knowledge on the status of daimyos beyond the borders of the military elite. Mary Elizabeth Berry argues that the shogunate was the main provider of information on daimyos and their wealth, hence confirming that the ultimate function of these publications was to advertise the authority of the *bakufu*. “Swollen with information that was more ideological than practical [*bukan*]...surpassed pragmatic considerations to convey and normalize a political vision.”³⁴

A *bukan* probably published toward the end of the Tokugawa period and known as *Taihei yūshi roku* (“Record of the brave warriors of the Great Peace”) shows the importance played by marksmanship in the definition of samurai identity (fig 3).³⁵ The wood-block print layout is that of a roster. In the upper section are indicated the names of distinguished warriors and the daimyos they served; the lower section explains the reason

³⁴ Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print. Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period*. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2006), 108-9.

³⁵ *Tōkyō Daigaku Daigakuin Jōhō Gakkan Gakusai Jōhō Gakufu* [The University of Tokyo Interfaculty Initiative in Information Studies Graduate School of Interdisciplinary Information Studies] (digital archives), Ono Hideo Korekushon [Ono Hideo's collection]. http://www.iii.u-tokyo.ac.jp/archives/digital_archives/ono_collection/contents/item.32.N008.html.

why those warriors were deemed brave and depicts the weapons they could skillfully use. Of eight warriors listed, three distinguished themselves for their ability with guns. Specifically, Chôkuryôzaemon, a warrior serving the Maeda family was renowned for his skill in using “hundred *monme* guns”; Arano Musashi no kami distinguished himself for being able to shoot “fifteen *kanme* (= fifty-six kilograms) guns” whose length was “seven *shaku* and two *sun* (= 227 cm)”; Taneshima Naizen, another Shimazu retainer, was known for his skills with “shooting hundred *monme* (= 37,5 kg) guns of the Minamihashi school with one hand.” The calibers of the guns listed in the record are strikingly large. *Monme* is the Japanese measure used to indicate both the diameter of the caliber and the size of the balls. The size of the balls used for actual fight normally ranged from one *monme* to one *kanme*, and a two or three *monme* bullet was sufficient to kill a man; as a consequence the ability of these warriors was clearly impressive.³⁶ Guns of the size described by the *Taihei yûshi roku* were too heavy and difficult to maneuver to be used on the battlefield; instead they were used for military reviews (*jôran*) or demonstrations by shooting schools. Starting in the last decade of the sixteenth century marksmanship (*hōjutsu*) had been codified as a martial discipline and during the Tokugawa period over two hundred schools teaching shooting techniques, and methods for making bullets, match cords, and gunpowder emerged in Japan.³⁷ As Anne Walthall observes, shooting was transformed from “drill into

³⁶ Shigeo Sugawa, *The Japanese Matchlock Gun. A Story of the Tanegashima.* (Tokyo: Bunka-do Printing, 1991), 17.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

art (*gei*) – not mere gunnery but the discipline of gunmanship more suited to the target range than the battlefield.”³⁸

The predominant role of the musket in the front of the procession was the result of the growing importance this weapon assumed during the wars that ravaged Japan in the second half of the sixteenth century.³⁹ Introduced by the Portuguese in 1543, firearms were gradually integrated in Japanese warfare, and by the last decade of the century the number of guns on the battlefield equaled the bows.⁴⁰ The significant role of guns in daimyo processions is also confirmed by visual depictions. For instance, in the *Takayamajô uketori gyôretsu no zu* (1694, fig.4), a painting showing the procession of Maeda clan’s retainer Nomura Gorô Heimon from Takayama Castle to Kanazawa, guns occupy about half of the scene and are, after swords which were carried by all retainers, the most numerous weapon displayed.⁴¹

While not purposely designated as ceremonial weapons, as the decorative lances (*kazariyari*) were, guns paraded in daimyo processions still entailed powerful symbolic meanings. A closer examination of the *Morioka han sankin kôtai zukan* (fig. 5), a painted scroll depicting the procession of Nanbu lord of Morioka domain to Edo, helps clarify this

³⁸ Anne Walthall. “Do Guns Have Gender? Technology and Status in Early Modern Japan,” 188.

³⁹ Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 95.

⁴⁰ Thomas Conlan, “Instruments of Change: Organizational Technology and the Consolidation of Regional Power in Japan.” In *War and state building in medieval Japan*, eds. Ferejohn, John A., and Frances McCall Rosenbluth (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2010), 147.

⁴¹ Toyohashi-shi Futagawajuku Honjin Shiryôkan., *Daimyô gyôretsuzu: ekakareta daimyo gyôretsu* [Illustrations of daimyo processions. Daimyo processions illustrated.] (Toyohashi-shi: Futagawajuku Honjin Shiryôkan, 1997), 52.

point. As in the case of the Tsuyama domain procession, a battalion of twenty-one *ashigaru* carrying muskets leads the main body of the cortege. Guns, however, are present at different points of the procession. Some of them are enclosed in bags made of an imported scarlet woolen fabric known as *shôjôhi* (fig.6). According to the records, the Morioka clan was granted permission to use these cloth bags for their guns by the second shogun Tokugawa Hidetada (1579-1632) as recognition to Nanbu Toshinao (1576-1632) for the distinguished service during the Osaka campaigns. The display of guns in these special cases was therefore a reminder of the illustrious connections of the Morioka domain to the shogunate. Other guns are encased in black leather pouches (*kurokawa jômoniri*) decorated with one of the Nanbu family crests (*takedabishi*). This specific family crest, representing a divided rhombus, was inherited from the Kai Minamoto family, who was related to the first shogun of Japan, Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-1199). Displaying these symbols was another way for the Nanbu domainal lord to assert and advertise his prestigious background.

Daimyo procession also acted as tools for political legitimization by inspiring awe and respect among those who were watching. Parading daimyos, conscious that their corteges were observed, gazed back at the observers and adopted dramatic devices, such as showy attires or a particular way of marching. Gunners of the Sendai domain, for example, proceeded through castles towns with the fuses of their muskets burning and emitting smoke, thus creating a suggestive view.⁴² Moreover, written records reveal that daimyo processions usually proceeded in a stately manner only when approaching major post

⁴² Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 85.

towns or the shogunal capital, thus confirming that theatrical expedients like the ones described above were carefully planned.⁴³

Therefore, while fulfilling a military function, daimyo processions also conveyed symbolic messages. What remains difficult to determine, however, is the extent to which these messages were understood. The existence of a precise protocol based on status relations to be followed when two processions crossed each other and the preoccupation of the samurai with obtaining updated information about the rank and wealth of their peers suggest that warrior elite seriously considered the symbolic dimension of daimyo processions.

What about commoners and others not belonging to the samurai class? Sources provide mixed answers.⁴⁴ Both Japanese and foreign written records tend to stress the impressive, awe-inspiring, magnificent appearance of daimyo processions. For example, geographer Furukawa Koshôken defined the procession of the lord of Sendai as “large and resplendent” and described the equipment on display “astonishing.”⁴⁵ Watching a daimyo procession, Engelbert Kaempfer recorded that “one cannot help but be impressed.”⁴⁶ Oral

⁴³ Tokyo-to Edo-Tokyo Hakukubutsukan, *Sankin Kôtai*, 37.

⁴⁴ Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 87-91.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁴⁶ Kaempfer, *Kaempfer's Japan*, 273.

histories recorded in the Meiji period also confirm popular fascination with daimyo processions and the reverent behavior of the crowd when the cortege was approaching.⁴⁷

Visual sources offer a more nuanced interpretation. Many of the painted depictions do not consider the watching crowd, but focus solely on the size and structure of the cortege, placed on an empty backdrop. In addition, painted scrolls, folding screens, and other visual media that take into account the crowds presented varied depictions. Some, such as the *Ryûei yôshiki zue* (fig.7) depicted the procession of the Maeda daimyo from Edo to Kaga, including a prostrated crowd in awe as the daimyo palanquin approached.⁴⁸ Such depictions reflected an idealized vision of daimyo processions and were usually commissioned by members of the warrior elite.⁴⁹ Yet the commission of commemorative paintings was in itself a proof of highly ritualistic and symbolic value of processions. In fact, these depictions, often displayed in audience rooms or other strategic locations, not only immortalized the event, but also supplied those who had not experienced it in person with a visual substitute.

More popular media such as *ukiyo-e* prints depicting lordly corteges in urban settings provide a different interpretation of the crowd reaction to the procession. For instance a wood-block print from Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858) depicting a daimyo procession crossing the Nihonbashi, the zero point of Japan's road network, shows a group of street merchants (*botefuri*) standing in a disorderly fashion on the procession's way and

⁴⁷ Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 69.

⁴⁸ Itabashi kuritsu kyôdo shiryôkan, *Nakasendô Itabashiju to Kaga han shimoyashiki* [Lodgings in Itabashi Nakasendô and the residence in Kaga domain.] (Tokyo: Itabashi kuritsu kyôdo shiryôkan), 51.

⁴⁹ Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 90.

even two dogs wandering aimlessly (fig 8).⁵⁰ Hiroshige's depiction is diametrically opposed to the paintings analyzed so far. Here the focus is on the city and on its people, while the lordly cortege is on the backdrop as a mere accessory. For those merchants, who continue their business undisturbed, the procession is just another parade for which it is not worth interrupting their activities. Hiroshige, as many other artists who operated outside the circle of warrior elite's patronage, was more interested in daimyo processions as a feature of urban life in Edo than in its symbolic implications. His print suggests that despite their awe-inspiring nature, over time city dwellers saw lordly corteges as a common sight, another aspect of their daily lives.

Weapons' function, both practical and symbolic, in daimyo procession is undeniable. Yet daimyos were not the only members of the warrior elite to parade weapons. The most spectacular displays of military power, in fact, were the ones staged by the shogunate. It is to these practices therefore that my analysis shall turn next.

⁵⁰ Tokyo-to Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, *Nihonbashi. Kakareta Randomaaku no 400nen* [The 400 Years Nihonbashi: The Foremost Landmark of Edo-Tokyo Seen in Art.] Tokyo: Tokyo-to Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, 14.

CHAPTER 2

PERFORMING AUTHORITY: SHOGUNAL PROCESSIONS, TOKUGAWA PAGEANTRY, AND GUNS

“Lives the man that can figure a naked Duke of Windlestraw addressing a naked House of Lords? Imagination, choked as in mephitic air, recoils on itself, and will not forward with the picture. The Woolsack, the Ministerial, the Opposition Benches--- *infandum!* *infandum!* And yet why is the thing impossible? Was not every soul, or rather every body, of these Guardians of our Liberties, naked, or nearly so, last night; 'a forked Radish with a head fantastically carved'? And why might he not, did our stern fate so order it, walk out to St. Stephen's, as well as into bed, in that no-fashion; and there, with other similar Radishes, hold a Bed of Justice?” – Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*⁵¹

Like the daimyos travelling on Japan's thoroughfares to and from Edo, Tokugawa shoguns saw in lordly processions an effective device to exhibit their power and consolidate their position as the chieftains of a military regime. While in time the shogun became less and less accessible to the public eye, in fact, his retainers, the populace, and the courtly aristocracy in Kyoto were reminded of his authority through lavish and massive displays of military power that accompanied him while on the move.

It was not only through the size of the cortege, however, that the shogun made his majesty explicit. Destination mattered too. For instance, between 1634 and 1863 no shogun travelled to Kyoto to pay homage and be received in audience by the Emperor. By the mid-

⁵¹ Thomas Carlyle. *Sartus Resartus* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1869), 69.

1630s, in fact, the shogunal administrative machine had been tested and consolidated, and the Tokugawa felt that they could finally emancipate their rule from the imperial sanction. Legitimacy could be now derived from the glory of their own ancestors. As we have seen, the establishment of the system of alternate attendance in 1635 completed this shift. When travelling, the shogun would now usually remain in the surroundings of his castle to hunt, or visit Ieyasu's shrine on mount Nikkô, some eight miles north of Edo, to worship the *bakufu*'s founder.

Under Ieyasu and Hidetada, as well as during the first decade of Iemitsu's reign, however, shogunal trips to Kyoto had been more frequent. This practice was started by Minamoto Yoritomo, who established the seat of Japan's first military government in Kamakura. Under the Tokugawa a system of centrally administrated highways linking Edo to the outer provinces was developed. Of these roads the Tôkaidô – a 300-mile artery that ran along the coast of the Pacific Ocean and the Inland Sea – became the preferred route to reach Kyoto and, for this reason, journeys to the imperial capital were also known as *gojôroku Tôkaidô* (“proceeding to the capital along the Tôkaidô.”)⁵² Even before the establishment of the shogunate, Ieyasu's presence in Kyoto had been fairly constant and under Hidetada and Iemitsu the *gojôroku* occurred twice.⁵³

⁵² The Tôkaidô existed long before the Tokugawa period. In 1604, however, the road was renovated, widened, and boarded with cryptomeria. Ieyasu also established fifty-three post towns (*shukueki*), which were celebrated in series of prints known as *Fifty-three Stations of the Tôkaidô* (*Tôkaidô gojûsantsugi*) by ukiyo-e artist Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858).

⁵³ Katsuhiko Fukuda, *Tôkaidô gojûsantsugi shogun Iemochi kô gojôrakuzu* [*Fifty three stations of the Tokaido. Illustrations of shogun Iemochi's processions to Kyoto,*] (Tokyo: Kawada Shobô, 2001), 4.

Although officially performed to show subservience to the Emperor, trips to Kyoto were meticulously planned as magnificent displays of power and entailed exorbitant costs for the shogun's treasury. Daimyos and other retainers accompanying the shogun deemed the journey as military service and therefore required that, on top of their stipends, the Tokugawa covered all expenses deriving from the trip. Rules and logistics of the *gojôroku* were fixed by the 1623 ordinance *Shogun jôroku gubu hatto*.⁵⁴ Hidetada's trip to Kyoto in 1605, a couple of months before becoming shogun, included some 100,000 people.⁵⁵ The *Chronicle of the Tokugawa (Tokugawa Jikki)* records that among other weapons, Hidetada was accompanied by 600 fowling guns (*chôjû*) and 50 *mochidutsu*.⁵⁶ In 1634, shogun Iemitsu performed what is considered to be the greatest military procession in the history of Japan, parading 307,000 troops on his way to Kyoto.⁵⁷ These figures help make sense of the extraordinary burden placed on the shogunate's finances.

That the *gojôroku* was more than a formal visit to the Emperor is also revealed by the lavish gifts the shogun would distribute on his way to Kyoto. On his second journey Iemitsu presented 3,000 pieces of silver to the Emperor and distributed other 120,000

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁵⁵ Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 47.

⁵⁶ The *Chronicle of the Tokugawa (Tokugawa Jikki)* is a collection of official records covering the first ten shoguns and compiled between 1809 and 1849 by some twenty historians, including Hayashi Jussai and Narushima Shichoku. An addition was planned by the project was never completed. See, Katsumi Kuroita, ed., *Shintei Zôho Kokushi Taiki*, vols: 38-47: *Tokugawa Jikki*, vols. 1-20. (Tôkyô: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1964), 2, 126-27. Hereafter *Tokugawa Jikki*. *Mochidutsu* is a generic term to indicate guns owned individually by warriors.

⁵⁷ *Tokugawa Jikki*, 3: 638.

among Kyoto's merchants and destitute people.⁵⁸ A drawing depicting Iemitsu's procession toward the imperial palace provides an idea of the *gojôroku*'s magnificence.⁵⁹ The cortege proceeds in a stately manner with retainers on horses and their troops carrying different types of weapons. Interestingly enough the shogun is not carried in a palanquin, the regular means of transportation for the members of the warrior elite, but he advances in a carriage driven by two oxen (*goshoguruma*), a means of transportation traditionally associated with imperial ceremonies.⁶⁰ While it is true that the Tokugawa were cognate to the Imperial family – Empress Meishô (1624-1696) was in fact Tokugawa Hidetada's niece – the appropriation of symbols belonging to the courtly aristocracy by the chieftain of a military regime reveals that by now the shogun probably felt comfortable placing himself on a level very close to the Emperor.

The next occasion for the Tokugawa to travel to the Imperial court came in 1863 when the fourteenth shogun Iemochi (1846-1866) was summoned by Emperor Kômei (1831-1867) to confirm his support for the imperial edict expelling foreign influences from the country (*jôï chokumei*). Since the arrival of Commodore Perry's Black Ships in 1853 the *bakufu* had been pressured by foreign powers to give up its isolationist policies. The 1858 Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the United States was followed by riots that culminated with the assassination of Ii Naosuke (1815-1860), the shogun's counselor who had signed the treaty. Iemochi believed that the only possible way to avoid colonization by

⁵⁸ Fukuda, *Tôkaidô gojûsantsugi shogun Iemochi kô gojôrakuzu*, 4.

⁵⁹ Toyohashi-shi Futagawajuku Honjin Shiryôkan, *Daimyô gyôretsuzu: ekakareta*, 51.

⁶⁰ *Japanese Architecture and Art Net User System*, <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/g/goshoguruma.htm>.

foreign powers was to comply with their requests. Moreover, the *bakufu* had been weakened by internal quarrels about succession. The partial disruption in 1862 of the system of alternate attendance was another sign of the shogunate's irreversible crisis.⁶¹ Iemochi and his counselors understood that, despite various problems and internal instability, the shogunal journey to Kyoto could have been used as propaganda to demonstrate that the center of authority still resided in Edo. With a much smaller retinue than his predecessors – 3,000 troops of which about a quarter were equipped with guns – Iemochi left Edo Castle on the thirteenth day of the second month of Bunkyû 3 (1863) and reached Kyoto twenty-two days later. Following the precedent set by Iemitsu, Iemochi presented 100 pieces of gold and 1,000 pieces of silver to the court, while 5,000 golden *kan* were distributed among the populace.⁶²

If ensuring the shogun's safety, especially in times of political instability such as the 1860s, was an important function played by guns, visual depictions reveal that firearms were more than a technical expedient in the procession. Iemochi's *gojôroku* was the object of a series of woodblock prints published in 1863 and authored by sixteen famous artists of the time hired by the shogunate.⁶³ How this collective project came about is unclear, but

⁶¹ In 1862 the *bakufu* reduced the attendance in Edo to one every three years or hundred days per year. In 1865 the Tokugawa unsuccessfully tried to resume the every other year rule. The system of alternate attendance definitely ended with the Meiji Restoration in 1867. See, Tokyo-to Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, *Sankin Kôtai*, 27.

⁶² Fukuda, *Tôkaidô gojûsantsugi shogun Iemochi kô gojôrakuzu*, 4, 133. One *kan* is approximately 3,75 kg.

⁶³ The group of artists was directed by Utagawa Kunisada (1786-1864) and included Utagawa Sadahide (1807-1873), Hiroshige II (1826-1869), Utagawa Yoshimune (1817-1880), Utagawa Yoshimori (1830-1885), Utagawa Kunitsuna (1805-1869), Utagawa Kunichika (1835-1900), Utagawa Kunifuku, Kawanabe Kyôsai (1831-1889), Utagawa Yoshitora, Utagawa Yoshitsuya (1822-1866), Taiso Yoshitoshi (1839-1892), Utagawa Yoshiiku (1833-1909), Utagawa Tsuyanaga, Utagawa Yoshikata, and Kunisada II (1823-1880). See, Fukuda, *Tôkaidô gojûsantsugi shogun Iemochi kô gojôrakuzu*, 136-37.

scholars have argued that the decision of having the shogun's magnificent procession immortalized by printmakers rather than by Kano school painters was made by Iemochi's Chief for Political Affairs (*seiji sôsei shoku*), Matsudaira Yoshinaga (1828-90), whose passion for *ukiyo-e* style woodblock prints was well-known.⁶⁴ The series depicts Iemochi's cortege at different post-towns along the Tôkaidô and many of the prints strongly focus on musketeers' battalions. For instance the print titled *Tôto Nihonbashi no shôkei* by Utagawa Sadahide depicts Iemochi's troops crossing the Nihonbashi Bridge in Edo (fig.9). The section of the cortege captured by Sadahide opens with some forty musketeers marching in two rows, carrying firearms enclosed in scarlet woolen cloth pouches, and followed by a high-ranking official riding a horse and by some foot soldiers. In the right upper section of the print the tail of the procession can be seen. The use of perspective provides an idea of the size of the cortege and the focus on guns in the depiction reveals how the display of these weapons as the embodiment of power was meant to impress the observer.⁶⁵ The focus on guns as the representation of shogunal authority is also made explicit in the print *Yokkaichi* by Utagawa Yoshitsuya through the depiction of a contingent of musketeers traversing a bridge in modern day Mie prefecture (fig.10). The overwhelming number of guns immediately jumps to the eye of the viewer, who observes the battalion advancing from behind.⁶⁶ Another relevant print by Sadahide is *Hakone sanmaibashi*, showing

⁶⁴ Ibid., 135.

⁶⁵ Ibid.,16-18.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 107.

Iemochi's cortege climbing Mount Hakone (Kanagawa prefecture). The right section of the print (fig.11) adopts a frontal point of view: the procession, opened again by two rows of musketeers, proceeds toward the observer. What strikes the eye, however, is the troops' marching fashion, with men advancing while raising synchronically one of their arms. Like the musketeers of the daimyo of Sendai, Iemochi's men adopted such theatrical expedients to add a dramatic dimension to the parade.⁶⁷ Sadahide's decision to immortalize the scene suggests that, like the daimyo processions painted scrolls, these prints may serve as substitutes for those who could not experience the splendor of the shogunal cortege in person.

Iemochi's *gojôroku* must indeed have been an awe-inspiring scene as the depiction of prostrating crowds lined on the sides of the road while the cortege passes by confirms. Nevertheless, the series immortalizing Iemochi's procession was the result of an artistic endeavor patronized by the shogun himself. It is likely, therefore, that rather than adhering to reality, what we see in the prints is closer to the way *bakufu* officials wanted the procession to appear. It is interesting in this connection to compare these prints with other depictions of lordly corteges in *ukiyo-e* style. As discussed in section one, Utagawa Hiroshige's view of the Nihonbashi Bridge depicted a group of street vendors left untouched by a daimyo procession (fig.8). A similar print by Utagawa Kunisada, depicting Iemochi's parade, shows a group of people caught out by surprise, and maybe scared, as the head of the shogunal cortege is approaching toward them (fig.12).⁶⁸

⁶⁷ See footnote 42.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

Incorporation of displays of military power into shogunal pageants was not limited to secular processions, but extended to the religious realm as well. The most recurring occasion for lavish demonstrations of authority was the shogunal pilgrimage to the Tokugawa family mausoleum on Mount Nikkô (Nikkô Tôshôgû) where Tokugawa Ieyasu had been enshrined as the “Great Incarnation Shining over the East” (*Tôshô dai gongen*). Trips to Nikkô, known as *Nikkô shasan*, started in 1617 under shogun Hidetada, and throughout the Tokugawa period this practice was performed seventeen times by members of the Tokugawa family - including the shogun, his heir (*dainagon*), and the retired shogun (*ôgoshô*) – with most of the pilgrimages occurring under Hidetada and Iemitsu’s reigns.⁶⁹ Visits to worship Ieyasu’s incarnation were also performed by a *bakufu* official that acted as the shogun’s proxy (*kôke*).⁷⁰ A perusal of the *Chronicle of the Tokugawa* reveals that the duration of the pilgrimage varied from shogun to shogun. Nevertheless, with the exception of Iemitsu’s visit in 1628, all of the shogunal trips to Nikkô were performed within the first three weeks of fourth month in order to commemorate Ieyasu’s death anniversary on the seventeenth day at the family’s mausoleum.⁷¹

In time the frequency of the Nikkô pilgrimage decreased, most likely because of the exorbitant costs it entailed. This practice, however, was resumed every time a shogun sought to validate his authority by displaying connections to the *bakufu*’s founder as in the

⁶⁹ Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Nikkô Tôshôgû to Shôgun Shasan [Nikko Toshogu and the shogunal pilgrimage,]* (Tôkyô: Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, 2011), 14-15.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

case of Tokugawa Yoshimune in 1728.⁷² Like the journeys to the imperial capital, pilgrimages to Nikkô were also an occasion for the shogun to showcase the wealth and power of the *bakufu*. The costs involved in shogun Ieharu's trip in 1776 totaled 220,000 *ryô*, about one seventh of the shogunate's annual income. The shogun's parade featured about 230,000 people, including carriers, troops, daimyos and their retainers, and legend has it that when the head of the cortege reached Nikkô, its tail was still in Edo.⁷³ Display of military power was an integral part of the pilgrimage. The *Chronicle of the Tokugawa* reports that on the occasion of Ieyasu's first death anniversary, the shogunal cortege performing the installation ceremony of Ieyasu's incarnation in the new shrine, included along with flutes, hand drums, and other accoutrements - one hundred matchlock guns enclosed in pouches to protect them from the rain.⁷⁴

As in the case of all lordly corteges analyzed so far, guns also played a pivotal role in ensuring the shogun's safety. Battalions of musketeers were sent ahead of the main cortege to clear the way for the shogunal procession. Plans and maps fixing the position of musketeers along the way to Nikkô and strict ordinances limiting the use of side roads on the days of the trip confirm the shogunate's concern with security. Nevertheless, the line between practical and symbolic function of guns was often blurred. For instance, the pilgrimage was also the occasion for military reviews held by the shogun in person.⁷⁵

⁷² Yoshimune did not come from the main line of the Tokugawa family and therefore decided to advertise his relation to Ieyasu by performing the pilgrimage to the Nikkô in 1728.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 36,40.

⁷⁴ *Tokugawa Jikki*, 2:124.

⁷⁵ Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Nikkô Tôshôgû to Shôgun Shasan*, 46.

Moreover, it is significant that documents such as *Nikkôzan gosankei otomo* (“A companion to pilgrimage to Mount Nikkô”), a painted scroll depicting the paraphernalia displayed during shogun Ieyoshi’s 1843 pilgrimage, lists firearms together with other decorative equipment, such as ceremonial lances and standards (fig.13).⁷⁶

Pilgrimages to shrines and temples related to the Tokugawa family within Edo were another arena to stage demonstrations of military force. As discussed in the introduction, a six-panel folding screen, probably commissioned by shogun Iemitsu to Kano school painters, for instance, depicts the cortege of Takechiyo (future shogun Ietsuna) from Edo castle’s Sakuradamon Gate to the Hie Sannô Shrine in 1642.⁷⁷ The magnificent cortege is led by Abe Shigetsugu (1598-1651), a member of Iemitsu’s council of elders, and features various armed men as well as ten *ashigaru* (foot soldiers) carrying guns enclosed in scarlet pouches (fig.14).⁷⁸

Other occasions for displays of weapons included wedding and funeral processions. For instance, the *Chronicle of the Tokugawa* records that on the occasion of Toyotomi Hideyori’s wedding with Senhime, Ieyasu’s granddaughter, on the 26th day of the 7th month of Keichô 8 (1603), the shogun had some 300 troops armed with firearms and bows

⁷⁶ Ibid. , 40-41.

⁷⁷ See, footnote 4.

⁷⁸ According to the chronicle *Taiyû Inden onjikki* the number of guns paraded were actually twenty. See, Ozawa, *Hie Sannô Byôbu*,88.

aligned between Fushimi and Osaka.⁷⁹ High-quality guns were manufactured *ad hoc* for wedding ceremonies and other special occasions. A lacquered-coated 10 *monme* matchlock gun currently housed at Osaka Castle, but manufactured at Akita toward the end of the Edo period by gunsmith Monzaburo Nobutatsu Uematsu and belonging to the Hosakawa clan of Kumamoto - as the inlaid “nine star” (*kuyô*) family crest reveals - is an example.⁸⁰ Although no extant evidence confirms the purpose for which this weapon was manufactured, scholars believe that guns with lacquered-coated barrels were displayed during weddings, exchanged as gifts, and used as decoration within warriors’ residences (fig.15).⁸¹

Displays of guns could also occur on the occasion of a shogun’s funeral procession. According to the *Chronicle of the Tokugawa* in 1616 five men carrying bows and five men carrying guns took part in Ieyasu’s funeral. The cortege was followed by other armed men.⁸² In this connection historian Anne Walthall argues that the presence of firearms at the shogun’s funeral reveals that “their efficacy against evil extended to the invisible realm

⁷⁹ Walthall, “Do guns have gender?,” 180.

⁸⁰ See, Ôsakajô tenshukaku, *Busô: Ôsakajô tenshukaku shûzô buguten. Teematen [Armaments: weaponry and material in the collection of Osaka Castle Museum: special exhibition]* (Ôsakashi: Ôsakajô Tenshukaku Jigyô Inkaï, 2007).

⁸¹ I obtained this information through correspondence with Osaka Castle Museum curator Kitagawa Hiroshi and firearm historian Udagawa Takehisa.

⁸² Walthall, “Do Guns Have Gender?,” “180.

of spirits.”⁸³ Similarly, the *Chronicle of the Tokugawa* reports that guns, spears, and swords habitually used by shogun Yoshimune were displayed at his funeral in 1751.⁸⁴

Handed down from generation to generation as precious heirlooms, some of the shoguns’ favorite guns have survived to this day, thus confirming the great symbolic value attached to them. For instance a matchlock gun manufactured by Noda Seigyô in 1612 is on display today in the Tôshôgu Shrine on Mount Kuno (Shizuoka prefecture) as Ieyasu’s favorite matchlock gun (fig.16). The Tokugawa Museum’s eccentric small cannon in the shape of a *shachi*, a mythological benign creature half carp and half lion, and believed to have belonged to Ieyasu also deserves mention (fig.17). The weapon’s outstanding design and its auspicious symbolism suggest that its significance went beyond that of a practical killing tool for the battlefield.⁸⁵ Furthermore, firearms used by shogunate’s founder were distributed among the members of the three branches of the Tokugawa family as precious treasures by Ieyasu himself or by his successors, as in the case of a matchlock gun donated by Iemitsu to Ieyasu’s nephew and lord of Takamatsu (Kagawa prefecture), Matsudaira Yorishige.⁸⁶ Guns were also manufactured as gifts to commemorate the birth of a member of the shogunal family. According to the *Chronicle of the Tokugawa*, for instance,

⁸³ Ibid.,180-81.

⁸⁴ Ibid.,208.

⁸⁵ The Shogun Age Executive Committee, *The Shogun Age Exhibition. From the Tokugawa Art Museum, Japan*, (Tokyo: Toppan Printing, 1993), 55.

⁸⁶ Walthall, “Do Guns Have Gender?,” 217; Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan. *Rekishi no naka teppô denrai. Tanegashima kara Boshin sensô made*. [The story from within. The spread of matchlock guns. From Tanegashima to the Boshin war]. (Sakura: Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, 2006), 65.

sometime in 1763 shogun Ieharu had a fowling gun produced for his eldest son Iemoto, who was born on the 12th month of the previous year.⁸⁷

Large-scale hunts such as the one staged by the Nagasaki magistrate and recorded by Fischer, were not only another occasion for the shogun to display his majesty, but also a chance to demonstrate his mastery of weapons. The *Chronicle of the Tokugawa* reports that in 1612 Ieyasu organized a hunting parade featuring 5,000 or 6,000 troops equipped with bows and firearms. The retired shogun himself took part in the hunt, killing a boar.⁸⁸ Like his father, Hidetada was fond of falconry (*takagari*) and used guns to hunt.⁸⁹ Magnificent hunts were sponsored by Tokugawa Yoshimune in 1718, 1725, and 1726. For the last two, Yoshimune also ordered that commemorative paintings would be produced.⁹⁰ Large-scale hunts were also sponsored in 1795 and 1849 by shoguns Ienari and his successor Ieyoshi (1793-1853) with retinues of respectively 15,000 and 23,500 men. A total of about 100,000 men took part to both hunts and large-scale military exercises were performed with the purpose of advertising the shogun's authority.⁹¹ That hunting was an occasion to showcase one's martial skills, and that ability with guns was an important indicator of military value and often rewarded with prizes is demonstrated by a passage in

⁸⁷ Walthall, "Do Guns Have Gender?," 208.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁸⁹ *Tokugawa Jikki*, 2:145.

⁹⁰ Walthall, "Do Guns Have Gender?," 206.

⁹¹ *The Shogun Age Exhibition*, 73.

the *Chronicle of the Tokugawa*. On the first month of Genna 4 (1618), in fact, the lord of Morioka domain Nanbu Toshinao received the gun called “satorizao” from shogun Hidetada for having been able to seize some cranes.⁹² The gun is described as a “treasure” (*hizô*) from the shogun’s personal armory and therefore was deemed a prestigious prize to receive.⁹³ The shogun himself demonstrated his ability as a warrior and his suitability to rule the country through the mastery of weaponry. In extolling shogun Ieharu (1737-1786), the *Chronicle of the Tokugawa* states that he enjoyed the favor of his grandfather Yoshimune and that he embodied the ideal of “the pen and the sword” (*bunbu*), being versed in Chinese literature, but also having successfully mastered the secret techniques of archery, horsemanship, and marksmanship.⁹⁴ As Anne Walthall puts it, “guns figured in the skills through which they [the warriors] proved manhood and in the practices they used to construct masculinity for public consumption.”⁹⁵

Military inspections (*jôran*) like the ones conducted by the shogun on his way to Nikkô were another arena in which skills in weaponry could be exhibited and military identity reinforced. A record (fig.18) from shogunal retainer and gun master Inoue Kanryû Saemon (1740-1812), for example, describes a military review that took place in Fukiage garden of Edo Castle on the third month of Kansei 3 (1791). The record lists the participants’ names,

⁹² *Tokugawa Jikki*, 2:145.

⁹³ The gun, preserved to this day, is housed in the Morioka Municipal Central Hall (*Morioka-shi Chûo Kôkan*), <http://www.bunka.pref.iwate.jp/ciss/bunkazai/detail/id/436>.

⁹⁴ *Tokugawa Jikki*, 10:1.

⁹⁵ Walthall, “Do Guns Have Gender?,” 172.

the caliber and type of guns shot, as well as information about the shooting targets. Similar to the *bukan* discussed in section one, firearms used at Fukiage garden are striking for their unusual calibers - between 30 and 100 *monme* – a size unsuited for actual fight.⁹⁶ Beyond spiritual attainment, proficiency in shooting could also bring material benefits to warriors. For instance, the *Chronicle of the Tokugawa* records that after a military inspection of fifty duty officers conducted by shogun Ieharu in person at Fukiage garden on the eighth day of the fifth month of Meiwa 1 (1764), a number of retainers were rewarded with shogunal positions for having shown their special ability with bows and guns.⁹⁷

The increased symbolic significance of firearms during the Tokugawa period is also revealed by the integration of marksmanship in the celebrations of the New Year. The practice known as *teppô hajime* (lit. “first shooting”) was probably introduced by shogun Hidetada around 1620 and performed along with demonstrations of other traditional skills, including horsemanship and tea ceremony.⁹⁸ Although the *Chronicle of the Tokugawa* does not contain any lengthy description of this ritual, reenactments still performed to this day may provide an idea of what it looked like. For instance, every year on January 1st the city of Iwakuni (Yamaguchi prefecture) hosts a ceremony known as *Iwakunihan teppôtai hatsuuchi* (lit. “first shooting of the musketeers’ battalion of Iwakuni domain,” fig.19), where a group of men in Edo period warrior attire performs a shooting demonstration on

⁹⁶ The record (07208245) is part of the Inoue Kanryû collection housed at the Edo-Tokyo Museum. See, Tôkyôto Edo Tôkyô Hakubutsukan, *Bakushin no Inoue Kanryû saemonke monjô no sekai* [Documents of the shogunal retainer Inoue Kanryû Saemon’s family.] (Tôkyô: Tôkyôto Edo Tôkyô Hakubutsukan, 2006).

⁹⁷ *Tokugawa Jikki*, 10:164.

⁹⁸ The earliest mention I could locate in the *Chronicle of the Tokugawa* is the first month of Genna 6 (1620). See, *Tokugawa Jikki*, 2:139.

the banks of Nishiki river and celebrate the establishment of the Iwakuni domain musketeers' battalion by the domain's first lord Kikkawa Hiroie (1561-1625).⁹⁹ Celebrations such as the Iwakuni festival or the re-enactments of daimyo processions in various Japanese locales highlight the profound influence of martial pageantry on popular imagination and folklore.¹⁰⁰

In conclusion, the ubiquitous nature of firearms in shogunal pageants reveals their role as devices used to shore up legitimacy and reinforce military identity. To be sure, tracing the paradigm of guns' social perception and use over a long stretch of time such as the Tokugawa period can be challenging. Attitudes toward weapons and military values, in fact, changed over time. Some shoguns cared about guns more than others. If Ieyasu, Hidetada, Iemitsu, Yoshimune, and Ieharu stressed the importance of guns as embodiments of military value, Tsunayoshi (1646-1709) and his successor Ienobu (1662-1712) privileged the pen over the sword to construct warrior's identity. Moreover, while this paper purposely focuses on the way guns were perceived and used by the military elite, one should not forget that throughout the Tokugawa period firearms were also used in other contexts not necessarily reflective of high status such as farming and professional hunting. Within the warrior class too, it is important to keep in mind that there was a difference between guns crafted on demand for specific ceremonies, such as the one on display at

⁹⁹See, *Hiroshima Kankô Nabi* (website).

<http://www.kankou.pref.hiroshima.jp/iwakuni/event/iwakunihantepputaihatuhanashi.html>

¹⁰⁰ Every year in October the city of Niimi (Okayama prefecture) hosts a festival known as *dogeza matsuri* ("kneeling festival") in which a reenactment of Niimi first domainal lord's entrance into the fief is performed. See, Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 88; and *Dogeza Matsuri* (website). http://niimi.gr.jp/event/detail.php?id_event=226.

Osaka castle, or presented as a reward by the shogun, such as “satorizao,” and the hundreds of matchlock guns paraded in shogunal and other lordly processions.¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, in spite of their different social significance, both individual and “mass produced” firearms fulfilled tasks that went beyond the mere, practical aspects of fighting.

¹⁰¹ Walthall, “Do Guns Have Gender?,” 204,209.

CHAPTER 3

IMPRESSING THE OTHER: TOKUGAWA DIPLOMACY AND THE DUTCH COURT JOURNEY (*EDO SANPU*)

“For this reason they are now kept, little better than prisoners, and hostages under the strict inspection of crowds of overseers, who are obliged by a solemn oath narrowly to watch their minutest actions, and kept, as it seems, for scarce any other purpose, but that the Japanese might be by their means informed of what passes in other parts of the world. Hence, to make it worth their while to stay, and patiently to endure what hardships are put upon them, they have given them leave to sell off their goods to the value of about 500,000 Crowns a year. It is certainly an error to imagine, that the Japanese cannot be well without the goods imported by the Dutch. There is more Silk and other Stuffs wore out in the Country in one week’s time, than the Dutch import in a year.” – Engelbert Kaempfer, *History of Japan*¹⁰²

Scholars of pre-modern Japan generally describe the Tokugawa period as a moment of diplomatic, cultural, and commercial isolation from the outside world. The edicts adopted by the shogunate throughout the 1630s sought to eliminate Christianity, restrict and regulate international trade, forbid travel beyond national borders, and keep foreign influence at bay. According to traditional accounts this policy, commonly known as *sakoku seisaku* (“enclosed country policy”) ended with the arrival in 1853 of four U.S. warships (*kurofune*) under the command of Commodore Matthew C. Perry and with the signature in

¹⁰² Engelbert Kaempfer, *The History of Japan. Together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam, 1690-2*, v.3, trans. J. G. Scheruchzer (Glasgow: James MacLehose Sons, 1906), 333-4.

1854 of the Kanagawa Convention that opened the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate to international commerce and permitted foreign ships to resupply in these ports.

In recent decades, however, both Japanese and Western scholars have challenged this conventional interpretation of Tokugawa foreign relations and commerce.¹⁰³ First, scholars have stressed that the word *sakoku* is a relatively recent invention coined by Nagasaki scholar Shizuki Tadao in 1801 when he translated Engelbert Kaempfer's work. The term became widely adopted in the 1850s and was used as an antonym for *kaikoku*, or "open country."¹⁰⁴ Second, historians have shown that Japan's isolationism was far less absolute than it was usually depicted. Tokugawa Ieyasu strove to re-establish diplomatic relations with Korea after the devastating Imjin Wars (1592-1598) and was able to conclude a treaty of friendship in 1609. The shogunate also had contacts with the Ainu populations of Ezo (modern Hokkaido) and with the Ryûkyû kingdom (Okinawa). Relations with China were more troubled, yet by establishing a Chinese trading post in Nagasaki, the Tokugawa managed to maintain informal exchanges. Nagasaki also hosted the Dutch trading post, the only Western commercial activity the shogun tolerated after the expulsion of Christian missionaries and other Europeans in the 1630s.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ See, for example, Tashiro Kazui, "Foreign Relations During the Edo Period: the Sakoku Reexamined," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 8, no.2 (Summer 1982):283-306; Ronald Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan. Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984); Robert I. Hellyer, *Defining Engagement. Japan and Global Contexts, 1640-1868*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009).

¹⁰⁴ Fumihiko Gomi, and Yasushi Toriumi, *Mô ichido yomu Yamakawa Nihonshi* [Re-reading Yamakawa History of Japan.] (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2009), 161.

¹⁰⁵ For the Dutch experience in Japan see, Grant K. Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch 1600-1853*, (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000). The Dutch trading post was administered by the VOC (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*) or Dutch East-India Company founded in 1602. The VOC was a semi-independent institution with the right of waging war, founding colonies, and signing treaties.

Shogunal authorities strictly monitored Dutch activities in Dejima. The island hosted Dutch warehouses and a community of about fifteen members belonging to the Dutch East India company, including the *opperhoofd* or chief (*kapitan*), his associated employee (*hetoru*), various other clerks, a doctor, some artisans, and some Indonesian slaves.¹⁰⁶ Dutch employees in Dejima could not bring their families, and the only women allowed on the island were special Japanese prostitutes known as *orandayuki*. The VOC community was also assisted by Japanese personnel - translators, guards, cooks - and was allowed to leave the island only two or three times a year with shogunal permission. Ships from Batavia (modern day Jakarta), where the VOC headquarters were located, arrived in Dejima in July and left in November. Granted the status of feudal lord, the Dutch *kapitan* had to travel yearly to Edo to pay homage to the shogun and express his gratitude for the trade. This practice, known as “Dutch court journey” (*Edo sanpu* or *Edo sanrei*) became the core of Dutch-Japanese diplomatic relations during the Tokugawa period and was the only time Westerners could get a glimpse of the country.

Similar to the system of alternate attendance and daimyo corteges to Edo, the Dutch court journey became another instrument in the hands of the Tokugawa family to shore up authority and show off its strength to domainal lords, the populace, but above all the West. By forcing the Dutch to live on Dejima and parading them to Edo, the shogunate demonstrated its importance as an international power and its ability to regulate and profit from the Europeans. In addition, the ritual exchange of expensive gifts, the display of

¹⁰⁶ Nagasaki Shiritsu Hakubutsukan and Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, *Hizô Kapitan no Edo korekushon: Orandajin no Nihon shumi. Nichi-ran kôryû 400shûnenkinen [A Very Unique Collection of Historical Significance: The Kapitan (the Dutch Chief) Collection from the Edo Period – The Dutch Fascination with Japan.]* (Tôkyô: Edo-Tôkyô Hakubutsukan, 2000), 28.

wealth the Dutch were exposed to on their way to the shogunal capital, and the strict etiquette they had to follow once in Edo castle conveyed a clear message that the foreigners had to bring home. Tokugawa Japan was a thriving country and its supreme chief, the shogun, had nothing to fear from powerful European monarchs.

The significance of the Dutch court journey as an expression of Tokugawa ritual display of foreign relations also lies in its longevity. Irregularly performed under the first two shoguns, Dutch visits to Edo became a yearly practice from 1633 to 1790. Thereon the trip took place once every four years until 1850.¹⁰⁷ As a consequence, a closer examination of the registries of the Dejima trading post as well as a perusal of the abundant informal records kept by those who took part to the journeys allow one to trace the evolution of shogunal diplomacy with the West throughout the period. These documents are particularly valuable historical sources because, while containing a wealth of information on daily life in Dejima and on the social and cultural customs of the Japanese from a Western point of view, they also provide a privileged perspective on Tokugawa Japan. As members of a quasi-governmental institution such as the VOC, Dejima residents were expected to possess diplomatic skills and, as retainers of the shogun, were allowed, on their trip to Edo, to come into contact with members of the warrior elite. Therefore, far from being a dry collection of details, Dutch records provide nuanced interpretations of facts and vivid descriptions of milieu – including Edo castle and local magistrates and daimyos' residences – not accessible to commoners.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 56.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 210.

Days in Dejima could be long and hard to bear. Except for the trip to Edo and for the arrival and departure of the single Dutch ship each year, VOC employees were condemned to a monotonous routine and had little to no contacts with the outside world. Scenes of Dutch playing billiards or writing letters in their rooms, feasting or butchering livestock, depicted by artists such as Watanabe Shûseki (1639-1707), Takagawa Bunsen (? – 1858), and Kawahara Keiga (1786- after 1860) provide an idea of daily pastimes on the island.¹⁰⁹ Local festivals such as the Kunchi *matsuri* in the fall and other special events held in Nagasaki could be good occasions to request permission to step out of their confinement and explore the city for a day. The Nagasaki magistrate state-hunting procession described by Dejima clerk Johannes Fischer and discussed at the beginning of this paper provides an illuminating example.¹¹⁰ Fischer, who defined the parading party as an “awe-inspiring scene,” was struck by the number of firearms displayed, certainly excessive for hunting, and in particular by “a massive Japanese weapon of about 50 lbs Dutch weight.” As we have seen in the previous sections, large calibers were not suitable for the battlefield and were, instead, employed in military exercises or in shooting demonstrations. This is confirmed by Fischer’s words. The Dutchman reports that the commandant carrying that uncommon weapon was “accustomed to hurl *it* with a steady hand,” and that upon personal investigation he found out that “the officer in question had attained his present rank in consequence of his extraordinary bodily strength.”¹¹¹ In

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 33-37.

¹¹⁰ See, footnote 1.

¹¹¹ *Manners and Customs of the Japanese in the Nineteenth Century*, 54.

addition, it has been noted before that when practiced by high-ranking samurai and by the shogun the significance of hunting went beyond the mere killing of game. Nagasaki magistrate's huntsmen, for instance, wore flashy attires - "flat lacquered hats, a short upper garment of green calico, with a coat of arms on the breast, a sash of brownish riband, wide trousers, sandals bound to the feet, and a single short sword" – and all marched "with matchlocks and lighted matches."¹¹² Most likely these were visual devices that added to the dramatic and menacing appearance of the parade. Moreover, Fischer, as the sharp observer that he was, knew that the size of these corteges was directly related to the position one held in the Tokugawa status system and, therefore, noted down that,

[...] this is the train of a governor of Nagasaki, who although invested with supreme authority here, at Yedo [Edo], at the shogun's [shogun's] court hardly enjoys the honour of carrying his majesty's slippers."¹¹³

As important as he could be, the Nagasaki magistrate, a high-ranking *bakufu* official administering 558 subordinates,¹¹⁴ was ultimately subject to the shogun and if he could parade such a pompous cortege, it was only because the Tokugawa had decided so.

While festivals and local events were sought-after diversions from daily routine and constituted the object of lengthy entries in Dejima residents' diaries, it was the journey to Edo that struck the Dutchmen's imagination the most. Like the *daimyô gyôretsu* in the system of alternate attendance, the *kapitan's* mission to Edo was regulated by strict

¹¹² Ibid., 55.

¹¹³ Ibid., 60.

¹¹⁴ Totman. *Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu*, 274.

protocol from its inception to the return to Dejima. The Edo-bound VOC contingent involved 50 to 60 people, including the Dejima chief, the doctor, some clerks, the translators, and the guards. High-ranking officials were transported in special palanquins that had a window on the front side to allow the foreigners to stretch their legs along the way. Commenting on the hardships of the trip to Edo, German physician Philip Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), who travelled to the shogunal court in 1826, compared those palanquins to the rack.¹¹⁵

The round trip, which usually took three months, started on New Years' Day. The Dutch were received by the shogun sometime in March. The VOC delegation travelled from Nagasaki to Shimonoseki by boat; from there the Dutch marched up to Osaka, where they would take the Tōkaidō highway to Edo.¹¹⁶ Because the route taken by the Dutch was basically the same followed by domainal lords' processions, it was not unusual for two processions to meet along the way. Dutch records on the court journey abound in descriptions of daimyo corteges and, as we have seen, one of the most detailed depictions of a *daimyō gyōretsu* comes from the private records of German physician Engelbert Kaempfer. When crossing daimyo processions, the Dutch contingent was able to assess from the size of the lordly cortege whether or not it was necessary to stop and pay homage to the travelling daimyo. For instance, while passing through Owari domain (Nagoya) on his way to the shogunal court in 1691, Kaempfer assessed the wealth and status of the fief by describing the size of the lord's cortege and the protocol to be followed in case the Dutch met him. Kaempfer wrote that, when on the move, the Owari daimyo proceeded

¹¹⁵ Nagasaki Shiritsu Hakubutsukan and Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan. *Hizō Kapitan no Edo korekushon*, 56.

¹¹⁶ Jansen. *The Making of Modern Japan*, 82.

“with the greatest splendor” accompanied by “more than two thousand men, who travel with led horses, halberds, pikes, scythes, guns, arrows, bows, coat-of-arms, baskets, ornamental boxes, and other items of useful and decorative natures.” Kaempfer also recorded that when the Dutch ran into the cortege of the Owari daimyo, they had to get off of their horses and “remain crouched, bodies bent, until he has been carried past.”¹¹⁷

Similarly on their way back to Dejima, the Dutch contingent accidentally met with the cortege of the Kii clan, one of the three branches of the Tokugawa family, while passing Shinagawa (Tokyo). This time Kaempfer noted that the daimyo’s party included “twenty men marching behind each other with covered guns, the same number carrying large bows and arrows, and perhaps as many again with long wooden poles.” The last group included some men “with lacquered cases of firearms and swords and a variety of pikes.” The illustrious connections of the Kii daimyo were immediately clear to Kaempfer because “all luggage was marked with the shogunal crest in gold” and therefore the Dutch had to dismount from their horses, prostrate themselves, and send an envoy to pay homage to the powerful lord.¹¹⁸

A different treatment was reserved by Kaempfer’s party to the lord of Nagato (Yamaguchi), who, being escorted by “only eight men in front of his *norimono*,” was not worth stopping.¹¹⁹ Kaempfer’s observations and the decision of how to behave based on the size of the corteges reveal that the display of military paraphernalia worked as an

¹¹⁷ Kaempfer. *Kaempfer’s Japan*, 333.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 369.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 375.

effective indicator of rank and also shows that the Dejima residents were well aware of the importance of the status system.

On their way to Edo, the VOC contingent frequently stopped for official audiences at local daimyos or *bakufu* functionaries' residences. Descriptions of the rooms in which the Dutch were received reveal that ceremonial display of firearms within high-ranking warriors' dwellings was a common practice. The display of weapons as part of the etiquette during official visits had already been observed by Portuguese missionary Joao Rodriguez (1561-1633), who described the formation of armed men accompanying lords' litters in such occasions.¹²⁰ In the case of Dejima residents' records, however, we found evidence of firearms displayed in contexts that deprived them – at least temporarily - of their functional role as tools for attack or defense. For instance, Kaempfer recorded in his memoir about an official visit on February 25th 1691 to the house of an Osaka magistrate, a *bakufu* appointed high-ranking officer with a salary of 1,500 *koku*¹²¹. Kaempfer reported that, as he was walking through the corridors that led to the audience hall, he noticed that “the walls were decorated with bows one and a half fathoms long, many swords, and also some guns in beautifully lacquered black cases.”¹²² A few days later, in Miyako (Kyoto), Kaempfer recorded a similar scene at the house of the local magistrate where his party had

¹²⁰ Michael Cooper, trans., *They Came to Japan. An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), 192.

¹²¹ City magistrates (*machi bugyō*) for big cities such as Kyoto, Osaka, or Edo were chosen among daimyo or *hatamoto* (Tokugawa bannermen) and were entrusted with the city administration. See, Marius B. Jansen, ed., *Warrior Rule in Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 195-197 and Conrad D. Totman, *Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu, 1600-1843* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), 274.

¹²² Kaempfer, *Kaempfer's Japan*, 316.

been invited for a formal audience. After being entertained with tea and tobacco, the Dutchmen were brought to the audience hall where they saw “a small room with shiny bows, arrows, and short guns and pistols in black lacquered cases on the walls.” Kaempfer also recorded that weapons were displayed in other rooms “just as in the Osaka magistrate’s residence.”¹²³

What Kaempfer saw were probably wooden wall-racks (*bugukake*) on which different types of weapons could be displayed. The *Kurume hanshi Edo Kinban Nagaya Emaki*, a Meiji period painted scroll depicting the Edo residences of the Kurume clan retainers, can help us gain insight of how the house of a warrior looked like.¹²⁴ In particular, one section of the scroll depicting the residence of retainer Shinoda Takehara is revealing (fig.20). The scene shows three men in a room consuming a meal. Two of the men are sitting on straw mats. In between them a tray with food and a small jar of sake; around them are a small brazier, a fan, two swords wrapped in a white cloth, and a desk with writing equipment. A third man, standing, is watching at some women in a courtyard from his window. The room is decorated with generic hanging scrolls and a small vase with flowers, but next to the standing man we can see a wall-rack with various weapons displayed. Two swords and a pike are immediately recognizable. A fourth weapon, maybe a gun, is enclosed in a white cloth pouch. Whether a gun or not, what matters here is the integration of weapons into the house décor, which makes the identity and status of the subjects depicted immediately identifiable.

¹²³ Ibid., 320.

¹²⁴ Tokyo-to Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, *Sankin Kôtai*, 126.

Kaempfer was not the only Dejima resident to write about displays of weaponry in the residences of the warrior elite. Describing Japanese weapons, Swedish naturalist Carl Peter Thunberg (1743-1828), VOC surgeon from 1775 to 1776, claimed that guns were not common among the Japanese and that the only place he could see them was “at the houses of the gentry [*samurai*] where they were displayed upon an elevated stand, appropriated for that purpose, in the audience chamber.”¹²⁵

To be sure, although guns and other weapons were displayed as decorations on the walls, this does not necessarily mean that they were not used for actual fighting. As in the case of daimyo processions, in fact, the practical and symbolic functions of weaponry could not be easily separated. An entry from Kaempfer’s diary illuminates this point. On their second journey to Edo in 1692, Kaempfer and his party stopped again at the residence of one of the Osaka city magistrates for an audience. This time the Dutchmen went through two rooms where weapons and other shooting equipment - including “twenty muskets with brass locks, as well as bluish-black bamboo torches, containers with gunpowder and whatever else is necessary to load them” - had been displayed in alcoves.¹²⁶ Built-in recessed spaces in Japanese houses were almost always used to display treasured objects (*meibutsu*) particularly meaningful to their owner. At the same time the boxes containing gunpowder, match cords, and ammunition remind the viewer that those guns were real weapons to be used if necessary.

¹²⁵Carl Peter Thunberg, *Japan Extolled and Decried. Carl Peter Thunberg’s travels in Japan 1775-1796*, trans. Timon Screech (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 201.

¹²⁶ Kaempfer, *Kaempfer’s Japan*, 402.

Once in Edo the VOC contingent resided at the Nagasakiya, an inn that had been built expressly for the Dejima delegation, where they received numerous visits from the *rangakusha*, or Japanese scholars of Western studies. Their main duty in Edo, however, was to attend shogunal audiences at Chiyoda castle. Mostly built between 1590 and 1636, the castle was the physical and symbolic center of shogunal government and its size and stateliness, therefore, reflected Tokugawa authority.¹²⁷ The outer moat (*gaikaku*) measured ten miles in length and 160 feet in width and depth. The inner moat (*naikaku*) - where the castle itself stood - had a perimeter of about four miles and a diameter of a mile, thus making Chiyoda Japan's biggest castle.¹²⁸ Early accounts of Western residents in Japan immortalize Edo castle's magnificent and intimidating appearance. For example, Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco (1564-1636), a Spanish government official shipwrecked in Japan in 1609, wrote in his memoir,

It is not easy to describe the grandeur that I saw there, both as regards the material structure of the royal house and buildings, and also the multitude of courtiers and soldiers who thronged the palace that day. Without any doubt there were more than 20,000 persons between the first gate and the prince's chamber, and they were not visitors but paid servants employed in diverse offices in the palace.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ For a discussion of the relation between architecture and authority in Tokugawa Japan see, Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, 1-15.

¹²⁸ Totman, *Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu*, 89-109; Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, 129-137.

¹²⁹ Cooper, *They Came to Japan*, 140.

Vivero, impressed by the huge number of weapons within the castle ground, jotted down details of the shogun's armory, noting that it contained "abundant golden cuirasses after their fashion, pikes, lances, arquebuses, *katana* and...enough weapons to equip 100,000 men."¹³⁰ Interestingly enough, passing through the gate of the second enceinte (*ninomaru*), Kaempfer noticed that "the emphasis seemed to be on grandeur rather than strength" and that the outside walls of the guard post were "adorned...with beautiful awnings, tufts, and pikes," while the inside was decorated "with gilded screens, lacquered guns, pikes, shield, bows, and quivers."¹³¹ Once more, the border between decorative display and practical function of weaponry is blurred.

The VOC delegation was received by the shogun in the *Ôhiroma*, the Great Audience Hall located in the exterior section of the main enceinte (*omote*).¹³² Two surviving maps, sketching the seats assigned to the Dutch for the 1834 and 1838 *sanpu*, demonstrate that shogunal audiences were planned meticulously by the *bakufu* (fig.21).¹³³ These encounters, described by Kaempfer as "a miserable procedure," were a vexing practice for the Dutch. Forced to wait for a long time before the shogun appeared in the room, Dejima residents were treated as little more than freaks, asked "meaningless questions," requested to

¹³⁰ Ibid.,141.

¹³¹ Kaempfer, *Kaempfer's Japan*, 358.

¹³² Isamu Yoshinari, *Shôgun no shiro. Edojô no subete. Ieyasu kara Yoshinobu made Tokugawa 15dai no kyojô. [The shogun's castle. Edo Castle Complete. From Ieyasu to Yoshinobu, the Great Castle of the 15 Tokugawa shoguns.]* (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Oraisha, 1997), 158-159.

¹³³ Nagasaki Shiritsu Hakubutsukan and Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, *Hizô Kapitan no Edo korekushon*, 69.

perform singing and dancing, and ordered to re-enact European social customs such as farewell greetings or arguments among friends.¹³⁴

Similar to the formal visits at the residences of city magistrates, shogunal audiences at Chiyoda castle were also an occasion for the *bakufu* to exhibit its power to the eyes of the Dutch through displays of weapons. Although in Kaempfer's memoir there is no mention of guns or other arms decorating the audience hall or the adjoining rooms, a later account from Jan Cock Blomhoff (1779-1853), Dejima *kapitan* from 1817 to 1824, confirms this point. Blomhoff, who performed the court journey in 1818 under the rule of eleventh shogun Tokugawa Ienari recorded in his memoir an audience with the shogun's senior councilors (*rôjû*) and with his intended heir probably held in the Western Enceinte.¹³⁵ After being entertained "in a stately manner" with "tea, Japanese tobacco and pastries," Blomhoff was escorted "through a number of halls, the walls of which were decorated with guns, and bows, and arrows."¹³⁶ Blomhoff's experience at Chiyoda castle seems to have been less humiliating than Kaempfer's, but the *kapitan*'s account confirms that the protocol the Dutch had to comply with was exhausting and that foreigners were still perceived as objects of curiosity by the members of the shogunal court.

That shogunal audiences with the Dejima delegation were performances of power and demonstrations of submission to the shogun and that the court journey to Edo had

¹³⁴ Kaempfer, *Kaempfer's Japan*, 359, 362.

¹³⁵ The Western Enceinte was completed in 1710, and its structure was modeled after the main enceinte (*honmaru*), but was smaller in size. The Western Enceinte was usually home to the shogun's heir, however shoguns Yoshimune and Ienari also used the it as their residence after they retired. See, Totman, *Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu*, 93.

¹³⁶ Jan Cock Blomhoff, *The Court Journey to the Shôgun of Japan. From a Private Account by Jan Cock Blomhoff*, trans. F.R. Effert (Leiden: Hotei Publishing, 2000), 84.

nothing to do with practical matters of Dutch trade in Japan is evident from the sources analyzed so far. Interestingly enough, it seems that the VOC delegation was conscious of the symbolic meaning of the court journey. Describing the conditions of Japan under Tsunayoshi, Kaempfer noted in the closing pages of his memoir that “there is more Silk and other Stuffs wore out in the Country in one week’s time, than the Dutch import in a year” and that therefore Japan could do well even without Dejima.¹³⁷ Furthermore, while a thriving activity in its early decades, in time Dutch trade experienced major restrictions.¹³⁸ If the shogunate did not really need the Dutch and if the trade with Japan was not so beneficial to the VOC either, but placed, instead, a heavy financial burden on the trade company, why did the court journey and the Dejima trading post last for so long? As Marius Jansen noted, for the Netherlands Dejima became “an extension of the Batavia station,” while for the Japanese it was a window on the West through which the shogun could gather information on what was going on in the outside world.¹³⁹ Examination of the Dejima residents’ experiences, however, also shows that the court journey to Edo was another effective tool for the Tokugawa to consolidate their power. Formal visits to city magistrates, exchange of greetings with feudal lords met along the way, encounters with the shoguns and his officials were all arenas through which the *bakufu* sought to demonstrate its strength to the Dutch, and thereby to the West. Displays of weapons in audience rooms and warriors’ residences were one of the many devices through which this goal was achieved.

¹³⁷ Kaempfer, *The History of Japan vol.3*, 334.

¹³⁸ Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 84.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 85.

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this paper was to demonstrate, through a variety of case studies, the continuing importance of firearms, despite the lack of war, during the Tokugawa period and to reveal a number of social meanings guns came to acquire for the warrior elite during these years. The array of rituals and the symbolism connected to guns and weapons in general, however, could not be possibly covered in its entirety here. Therefore, additional research is required to further illuminate the relations of guns to political authority and shogunal pageantry. For instance, a possible direction for future investigation is the process of integration of marksmanship into martial arts and the study of the connection of gunnery schools to domainal lords and to the shogunate.

The collapse of the Tokugawa regime in 1867 and the restoration of the imperial power the following year brought to an end over two and a half centuries of military rule and the pageants that came with it. The transformation of samurai into ordinary subjects (*shizoku*) and the prohibition to carry swords enforced by the Meiji regime in 1876 abolished the privileges enjoyed by the Tokugawa warrior class. Furthermore, the creation of a modern military force shaped after Western armies in 1873 and the introduction of military technology from Europe and the U.S. quickly transformed Tokugawa guns into obsolete

weapons and collectibles, thus marking the beginning of a new phase of pre-modern firearms' cultural biographies.¹⁴⁰

Some of the martial pageants performed under the Tokugawa, however, found their way into the Meiji period and continued to serve the State as a device to shore up authority. Between 1889 and 1912, for instance, Emperor Meiji conducted twenty-two military reviews.¹⁴¹ The most magnificent of these pageants was performed on the occasion of Japan's victory over Russia in 1905, when the Emperor personally reviewed over two hundred warships.¹⁴² A similar ceremony occurred the following year, when weapons captured during the conflict were displayed in front of the imperial palace.¹⁴³ The Meiji regime, like the shogunate, also manipulated foreign relations inviting international delegates to take part to state ceremonies in order to reinforce Japan's position in the international arena.¹⁴⁴ As in the case of Tokugawa lordly processions, imperial military reviews were purposely immortalized by photographs and other visual media, thus contributing to shape and spread a new image for the emperor. These examples suggest that while the West became the main model the Meiji regime was looking at for the creation of a modern state, Japanese bureaucrats may also have drawn from their own

¹⁴⁰ Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: commoditization as process," in *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 64.

¹⁴¹ Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy. Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press: 1998), 137.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 130.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 134.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 136.

national past in the invention and shaping of imperial pageantry. The shogunate and its structures may have been gone forever, but firearms and martial pageantry's pivotal function remained unchanged in the modern era.

PHOTOGRAPHIC APPENDIX



Fig. 1 - *Hie Sannōsha Sankei Byōbu*

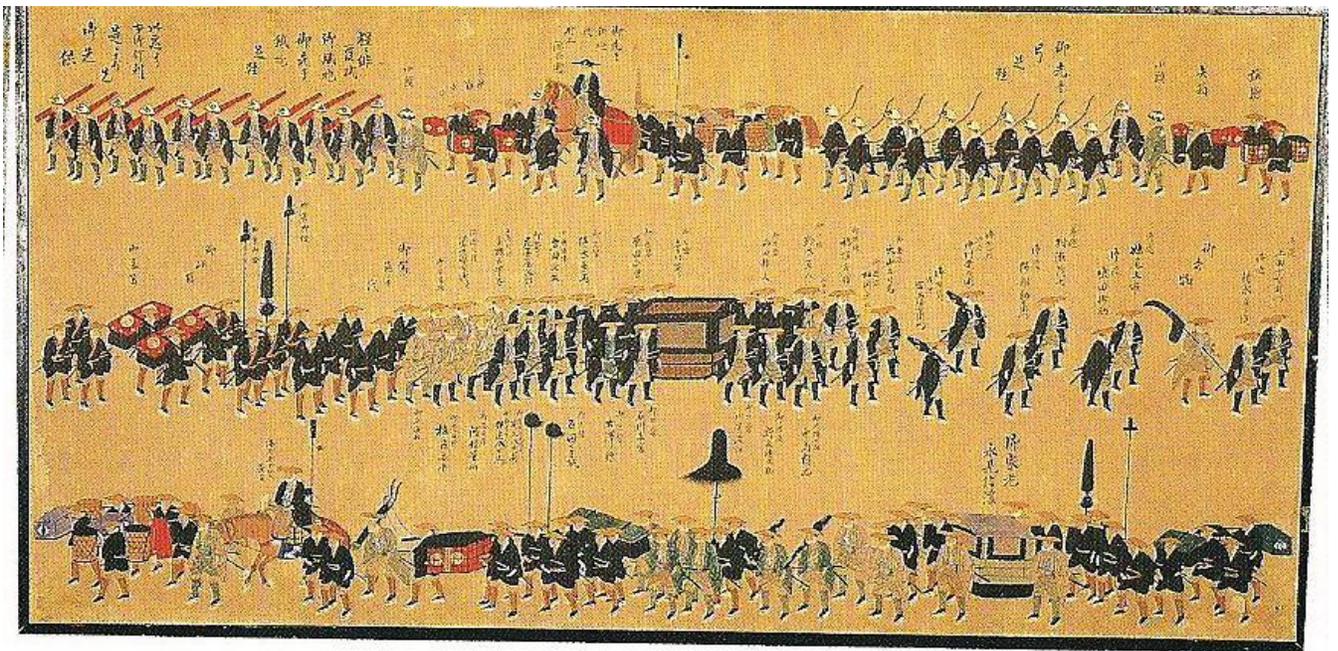


Fig.2 – Tsuyama Hanshu Matsudaira Naritaka Tsuyama Irikuni (detail, fifth panel)



Fig. 3 – Taihei Yūshi roku (bukan)



Fig.4 - Takayamajô uketori yakunin gyôretsu no zu

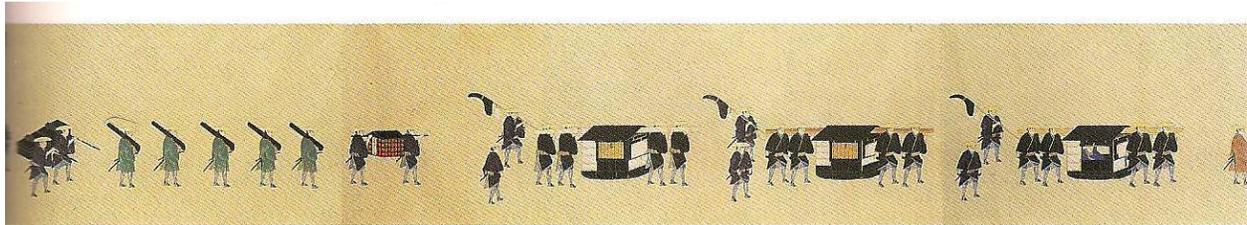
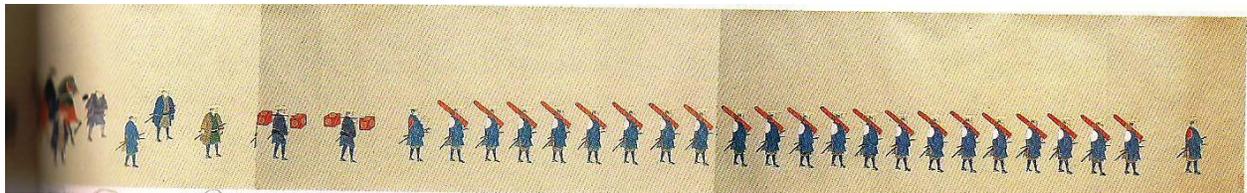


Fig. 5 - Morioka han sankin kôtai zukan (details of gunners' formations)



Fig.6 – Travelling equipment for system of alternate attendance of the Morioka clan: matchlock guns, black leather case (*kurokawa jōmon iri*) and scarlet woolen cloth pouch (*shōjōhi no tsukebukuro*)

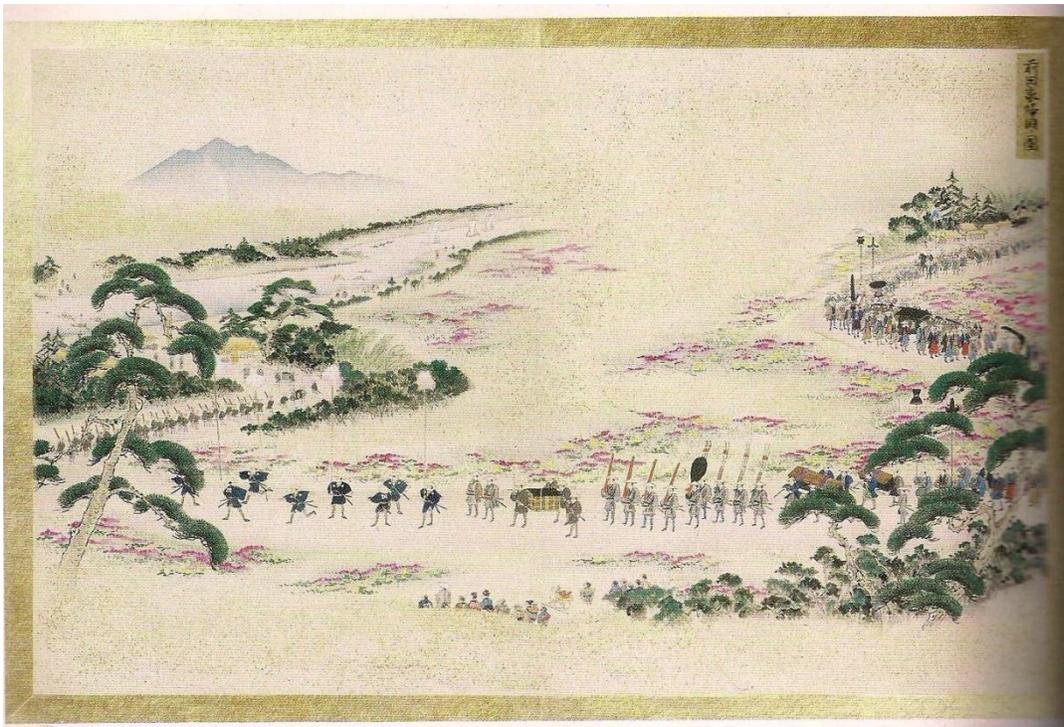


Fig.7 - *Ryūei yōshiki zue*

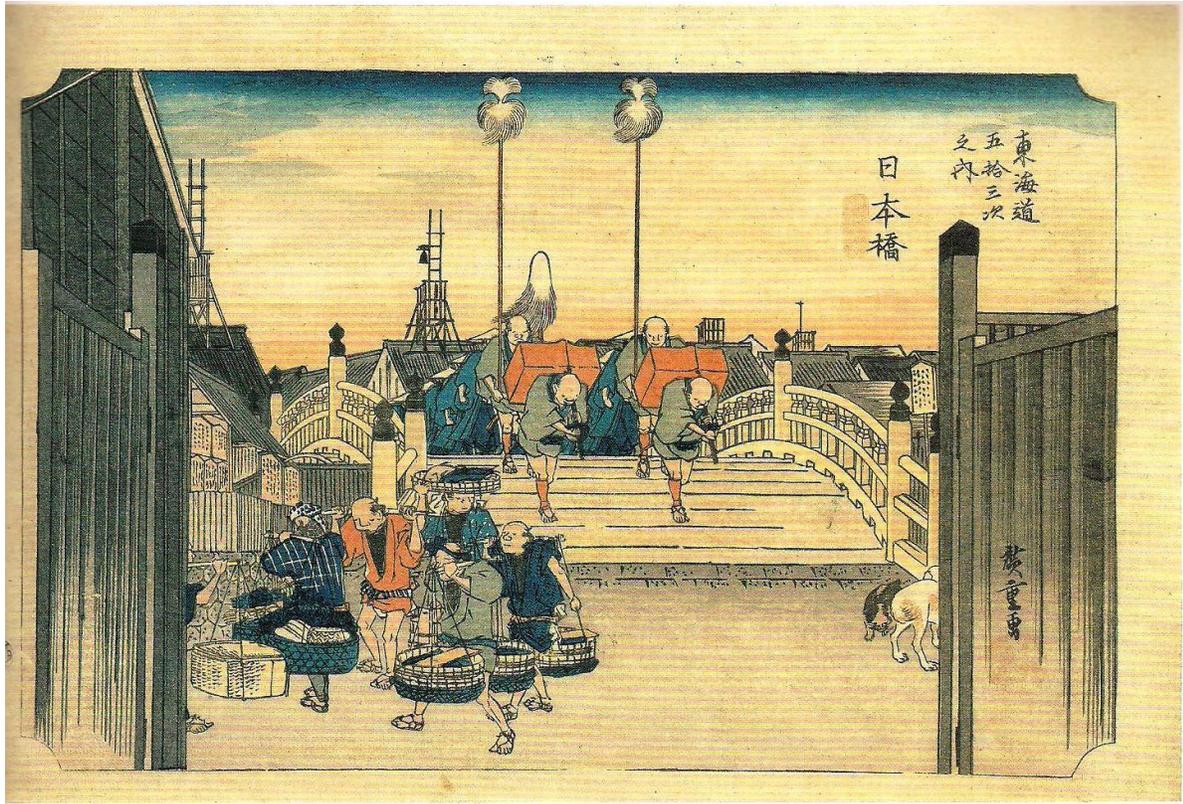


Fig. 8 – Utagawa Hiroshige, *Tôkaidô Gojûsantsugi no uchi Nihonbashi Asa no kei*



Fig.9 – Utagawa Sadahide, *Tôto Nihonbashi no shôkei*



Fig. 10 – Utagawa Yoshitsuya, *Yokkaichi*



Fig.11 – Utagawa Sadahide, *Hakone sanmaibashi* (detail)

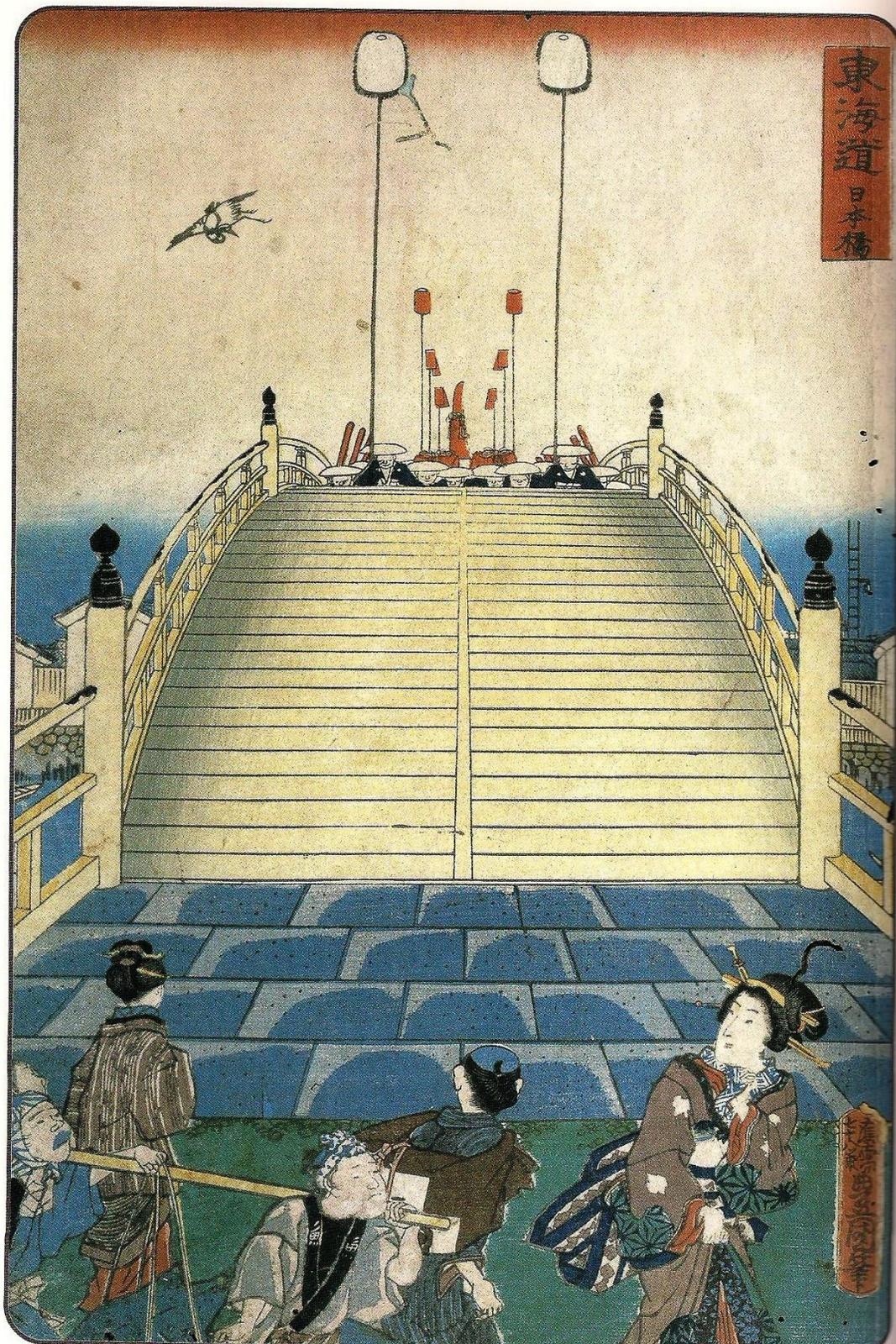


Fig. 12 – Utagawa Kunisada, *Tōkaidō Nihonbashi*



Fig.13 - Nikkōzan gosankei otomo

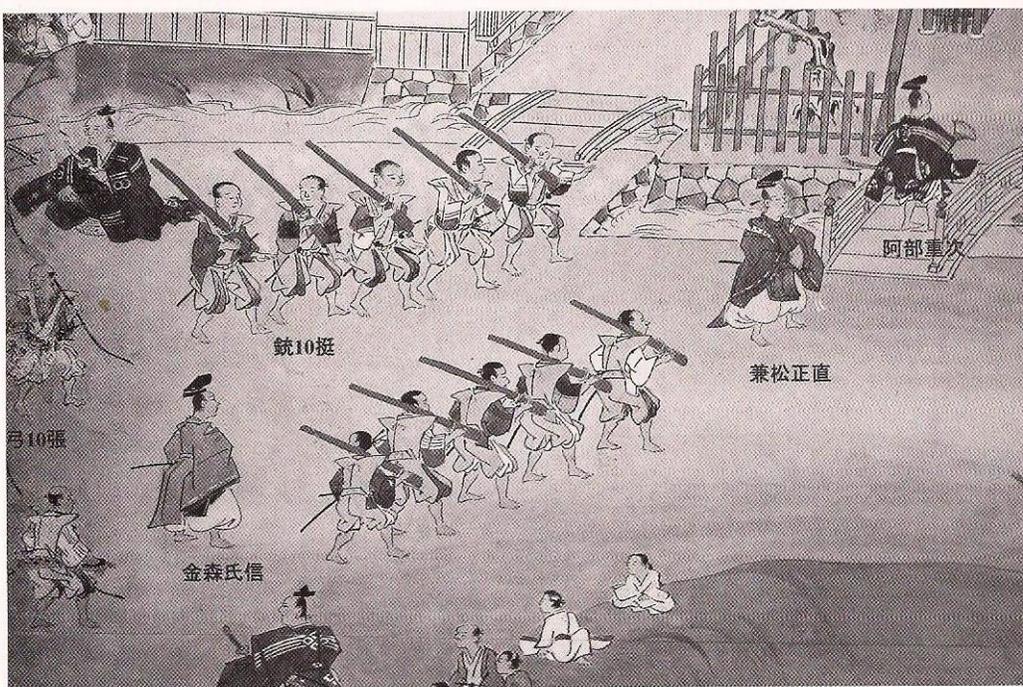


Fig.14 – Hie Sannōsha Sankei Byōbu (detail of the gunner's formation)

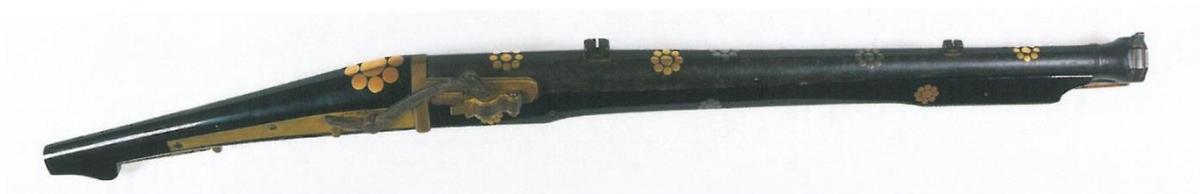


Fig.15 - 10 monme cmatchlock gun manufactured by Dewa Monzaburō Nobutatsu Uematsu

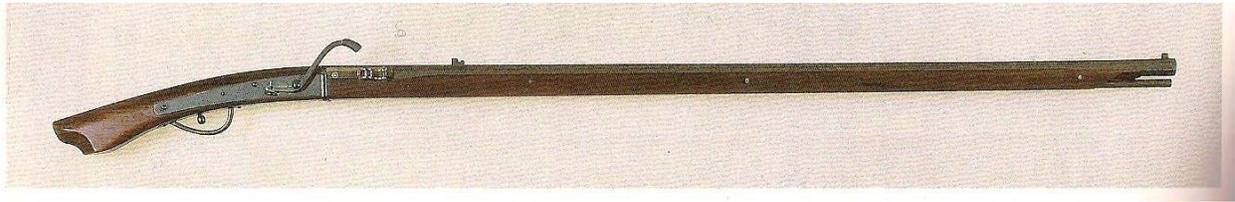


Fig.16 – One of Ieyasu’s favorite matchlock guns by Noda Seigyô



Fig. 17 – Tokugawa Ieyasu’s *shachi-shaped cannon*

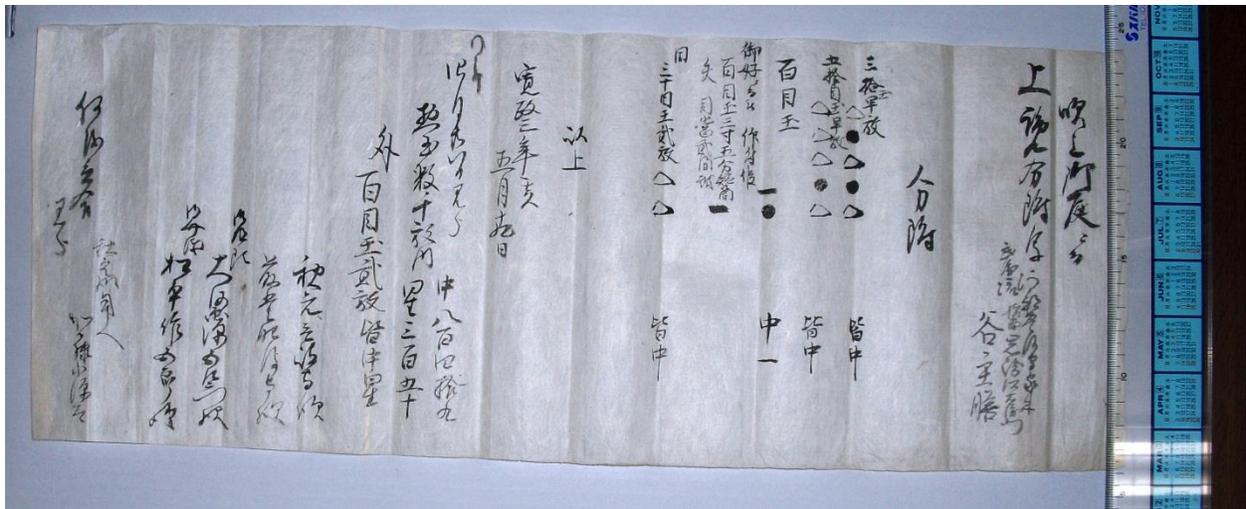


Fig. 18 – *Fukiageonniwabun nite jôranbun tsuketari no utsushi oyobi Bueiryû teppô tachiai miwake no oboe utsushi*



Fig.19 – *Iwakunihan teppôtai hatsuuchi*

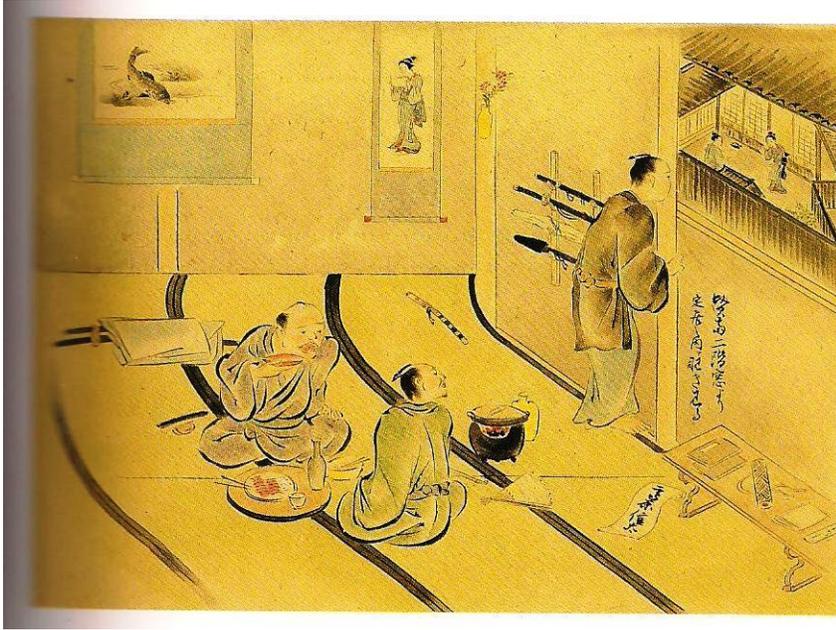
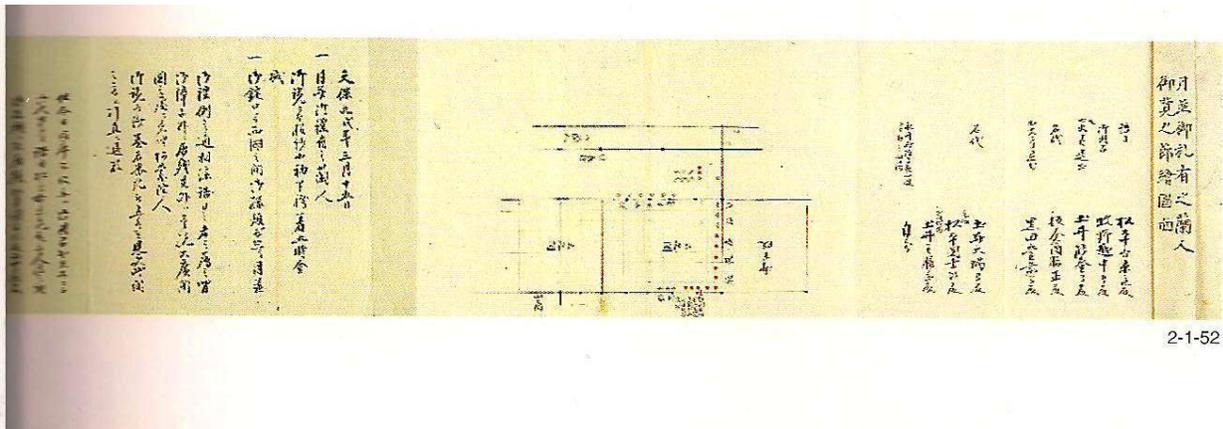
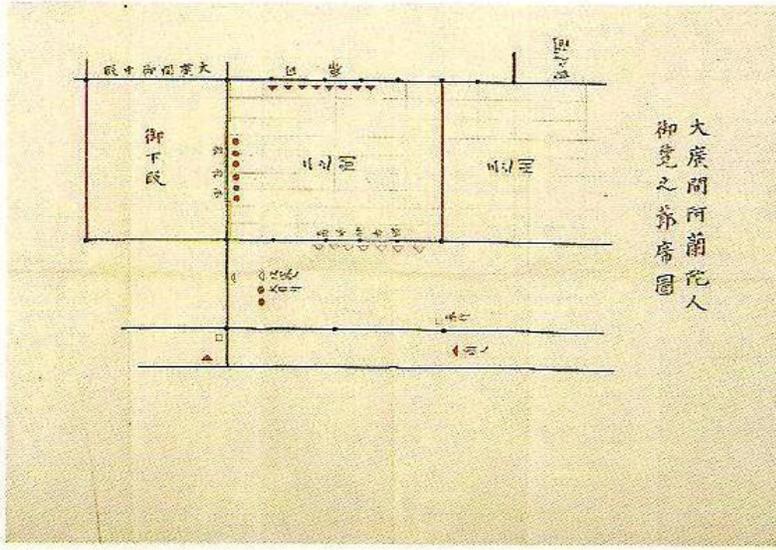


Fig.20 - *Kurume hanshi Edo Kinban Nagaya Emaki*
(detail, Takehara Shinoda's residence)



2-1-52

Fig.21 Maps of the Great Audience Hall (*ŏhiroma*) with details of the seats reserved for the Dejima contingent.

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