

# HA Revised K-Sensei Paper

The Early Modern Period as “The Age of Processions” (English Translation by Dr. Scot Hislop)

Thinking about Early Modern Society from the Perspective of Processions of Samurai, Foreigners, Festivals (PW 1)

During the early modern (Edo) period, there were a variety of processions including those of the alternate attendance of the feudal lords, envoys of the kings of Korea and Ryūkyū, and representatives of the chief of the trading house of the Dutch. Each of these was equipped with characteristic paraphernalia of travel such as clothing and equipment and each was directed toward Edo castle.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the early modern period the most authoritative procession of the Shogun was to Kyoto, including visits to the imperial palace and accompanying of the emperors on imperial processions. But these ceased for more than two hundred years from the reign of the third Shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu. However there were still processions to Nikkō and the deer hunting ground at Koganehara. These were well equipped and many retainers travelled along. Those along the way or in the post towns both provided “reception” (*chiso*) for the processions as well as watched them pass. These kinds of processions, including the processions of religious festivals in castle towns, were numerous. We might even say that the early modern period was full of processions.<sup>2</sup>

Among the great variety of processions in early modern Japanese society, those of the samurai, with the processions of the shogun at their head, reflected the social structure of the ruling class. (PW 2-9) The processions of the envoys from the kings of Korea (PW 10-13) and Ryūkyū (PW 14-18) as well as representatives of the captain of the Dutch traders to Edo (PW 10-21) allow us to understand the diplomatic relations of early modern Japan. The religious processions of castle towns reflect not only the class structures of local residents but also the images of samurai and foreigners that they had. One thing these different types of procession share in common is that they were sometimes depicted in pictures. In this paper, I will examine early modern Japan as a society of processions via images.

In the religious festivals in castle towns, the processions of foreign envoys were re-created using exotic costumes. This was depicted in pictures. By comparing pictures of these processions with the pictures of actual processions of foreigners, we can discover something of the nature of the consciousness of foreign things during the early modern period. Although this period is usually thought of as one of isolation, people watched the processions of foreigners to the city of Edo from the sides of the roads and then copied their styles in their own processions. From this we can begin to rethink early modern Japan's foreign relations and its perception of foreigners, particularly those from Korea and Ryūkyū.

In addition, I would like to introduce in this paper the exhibition “Thinking about Early Modern Society from the Perspective of Processions of Samurai, Foreigners, and Festivals” which was held at the museum where I work, the National Museum of Japanese History, from October 16th to December 9th 2012.<sup>3</sup>

## 1. The Processions of Samurai: Processions of Samurai Headed toward Edo Castle (PW 22)

The ostensible reason for existence of the samurai was to be warriors and in actual fact, they monopolized military force, lived in castle towns, and formed a group that ruled over other social classes. The processions of feudal lords on their way to serve their alternate years in attendance on the Shogun in Edo were furnished with guns, bows, and spears from the beginning to the end of the procession, symbolizing military power. However, for more than 200 years, there were no actual battles so the role of samurai shifted from serving as guards for lords and castles to staffing a bureaucracy that actualized stabilized their rule over society. What kinds of effects did this change have on their processions? How did the common people deal with those changes?

### 1A. The Different Kinds of Processions Included in the Tokugawa Seiseiroku: The Travels of Various Processions of Authority

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<sup>1</sup> The Japanese phrase for having a procession go into its formal state is *gyōretsu wo tateru*.

<sup>2</sup> I began to think about the depiction of processions during the early modern period while reading “Processions and spectacles” compiled by Kuroda Hideo and Ronald Toby in “*Rekisho wo yominaosu*” (11th supplemental volume of the *Asahi hyakka nihon no rekishi* series, Asahi Shinbunsha, 1994). This text had a large effect on my thinking. In addition, the outline of this essay is based one I prepared for a symposium held at the National Museum of Anthropology in 2010 which was included in “The perception of foreigners in early modern processions” (compiled by myself) and “Images of ethnicity in East Asia” (compiled by Nobayashi Atsushi), published in Kokuritsu Minzoku Hakubutsukan Chōsa Hōkokusho (#104, 2012). Also important was the guide to the exhibition *Gyōretsu wo miru kinsei* (held in 2012) entitled *Gyōretsu ni miru kinsei: bushi to ikoku to sairei to*. There are many places where these essays overlap and I would like to suggest that they be read together.

<sup>3</sup> Those interested in sources should refer to 240 to 243 of *Gyōretsu wo miru kinsei: bushi to ikoku to sairai to*. English and Korean versions of this guide are in progress. Images are marked with the prefix “PW.”

The first text that I will take up, the *Tokugawa Seiseiroku* was compiled by the former retainer (*hatamoto*) Ichioka Masakazu in 1889 and was issued to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the city of Edo (PW 23-24). Katsu Kaishū (1823-1899) provided the calligraphy for the epigraph, writing “re-appraise the classics” suggesting the value of reflection on the efflorescence of Edo and the rule of the Tokugawa family. Its content depicts 1. the ceremonies of the Shogunate, and 2. the systems of rules and manners of various houses. These were codified over the years after Tokugawa Ieyasu arrived in Edo. The text emphasizes visual aspects with numerous illustrations and is an important historical source. In fact many school textbooks use its picture of the new shogun being greeted by various feudal lords in the Great Hall of Edo castle just after receiving the Emperor’s proclamation. Here I would like to pay attention to what the pictures illustrate. For example, when the fourth shogun (Ietsuna) received at Edo castle the proclamation from the imperial court in Kyoto that he had been made shogun the following series of events are depicted. The scene begins with an illustration of the court nobles from Kyoto as well as the various feudal lords who will participate in the ceremony arriving at the castle gates. Then the ceremony of proclaiming the new shogun is depicted, followed by a scene of the court nobles from Kyoto returning to their lodgings where they will be entertained. Next, the celebration of the various lords in the Great Hall on receiving word that the position of shogun has been filled again is depicted, followed by a scene of the nobles and Edo townsfolk who have been invited to the castle to watch a Nô performance. Next the Kishû Tokugawa family is shown in a procession visiting the Momiji-yama (a branch of Tôshôgû) in the castle grounds (PW 25-26). A procession of the Rôchû (the shogunate’s Council of Elders) is shown entering the castle via the Hitotsubashi Gate. Feudal lords are shown dismounting and leaving behind their retainers by the interior Second Gate at Ôte. A procession of lords to Edo Castle on New Year’s Day is also shown (PW 27). There are also samurai accompanied by retainers in formal dress making rounds of greetings on New Year’s Day. And there is a picture of a procession for the marriage of the daughter of the shogun. A funeral procession for a samurai passing in front of the mansions of lords is depicted in another picture. Besides the depictions of processions, there are pictures that show various yearly ceremonies inside the houses of samurai as well as a depiction of a funeral. The ways gates and clothes were with status are introduced although how carefully these distinctions are made requires further study. But by showing the solemnity of proper processions and drawing the clothing with great care, Ichioka clearly wanted to show the splendor of the rule of the Tokugawa.

By the time this book was on the market around 1890, there were societies for nostalgically remembering the Edo period and the shogunate. Books, pictures collections, and journals about the shogunate and the city of Edo such as “Edo-kai Zasshi” (which later became “Edo-kai Shi”) and “Fûzoku Gahô” were being published. Within this movement, there was a re-appraisal of Edo culture (especially that of the Genroku Era in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries) as part of a larger movement to re-appraise the entire Edo period. *Tokugawa Seiseiroku* can be seen as a part of this movement. The text calls fondly to mind the impressive processions of samurai via its numerous illustrations, not just for Ichioka but also for his readers are well.

1B. Processions of samurai in the *Edo Hitome-zu Byôbu* (Held by the Historical Museum of the Tsuyama Region): Samurai in the nineteenth century #1

The people of Edo probably ran into processions of officials making their way to work at the castle or various offices quite often. In addition there were the processions of feudal lords traveling to and from their domains for their alternate year attendance in Edo as well as processions of lords traveling from their Edo residences to the castle. The *Edo Hitome-zu Byôbu* provides a bird’s eye view of the city from the sky over the eastern side of the Sumida River. It was created in 1809 by the official painter of the Tsuyama domain, Kuwagata Keisai (PW 28-30). Mt. Fuji can be seen in the distance. Edo Castle is depicted in front of it. Famous locations such as Sensôji (temple) and Kan’ei-ji (temple) are depicted with great clarity. Keisai also produced the well-known *Edo Meisho no E*. But the drawings on the screen include more than famous places. There are also many depictions of processions of samurai entering or leaving Edo Castle.

Alternate yearly attendance was codified during the reign of the third shogun, Iemitsu. Feudal lords were required to travel every other year from their domain to Edo. When they were in Edo, they were required to go to the castle on specific days and be present in rooms that were consonant with their status and social standing. In actual fact, they had no real work to do at the castle but rather they were required to assemble at the castle at specific times so that the common people could see them. Seeing them assemble at the castle was meaningful. The lords were accompanied to the castle by numerous retainers and their presence at the castle showed that the shogun was the ruler of the entire country. In actual fact, most lords were not allowed to work in the shogunal government at all. Fudai lords and the Hatamoto monopolized the government. Neither group held large domains. However the size of a lord’s procession was based on the size of his domain. The large processions of great lords during their alternate year attendance were colorful and popular in the Edo period. In the screen, processions are depicted along what might be called the Main Street of Edo, the Tôkaidô, passing each other by as some leave the capital and others enter (PW31). Also, the processions of Fudai lords and Hatamoto on their way to the castle to run the government are also

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depicted. These processions, small as they might be, are depicted along with the others on this screen as if they were a “famous aspect” of Edo itself.

1C. Samurai depicted in the *Edo-jō Tōjō Fūkei-zu Byōbu* (Held by the National Museum of Japanese History). Samurai in the nineteenth century #2

Next, I will take up the *Edo-jō Tōjō Fūkei-zu Byōbu* which was created in 1847 and shows samurai entering Edo castle (PW 32-34). The depicted lords are gathering together at the Castle. The procession comes to a sign that tells them to dismount their horses as well as one which tells them to get out of the palanquins. Although there are many retainers, only the lord and a very small number of retainers are allowed to enter the castle.

What did the retainers who stayed outside of the castle do while the lord was inside? Those who are seated eating their lunch are, judging by their clothes, true samurai. But a great number of the people who accompanied the lord in the procession (most of whom seem to be servants of samurai such as *chūgen* or *komono*) do not seem to be able to wait patiently. Some are gambling. Others are drinking sake or taking naps (PW 35). And some seem to be starting a fight. Even in the processions for alternate year attendance, numerous people were added to make the procession look good. Many of these were not proper samurai. These were a kind of performance where hired servants of samurai carried implements such as spears.

The people who watched these dignified processions of the servants of samurai go to the castle were not only the townsfolk of Edo but also visitors from the countryside who had come to the city for various purposes. Watching the processions of lords go back and forth was a kind of famous tourist sight that they could not view in their hometowns.

Salespeople aimed to sell things to these viewers of processions (which for some reason includes sumo wrestlers (PW 37)). There is a nurseryman despite the fact that Edo townsfolk could not afford to have gardens and had to grow things in pots. Someone else is selling old clothes. These two are emblematic of Edo. And there is an outdoor bar (PW 36). It looks like you could eat seasoned boiled fish and drink sake while watching the procession go by. And others are selling broadsheets that served as guidebooks (*bukan*) to the processions (PW 37). Usui Ryūnosuke (given name is translator’s guess) who was once a retainer in the Satsuma Domain said in 1916 that the three things to see in Edo were 1. the place where samurai were to dismount their horses, 2. sumo, and 3. the plays. However dignified the processions to Edo Castle were, they were also one of the famous sights of the city of Edo.

### 2. The Meaning of the Processions of Samurai

#### 2A. A Place of Ritual between the Lord and the Ruled (PW 38)

While in Edo the processions of the feudal lords were a kind of “tourist” sight, within a lord’s own domain, especially in the castle town, processions were less of a “tourist sight” and more of a chance to have the ruled see the lord’s retinue. When the largest of the Tozama lords, the Maeda family of Kaga, passed through the center of the port town of Miyanokoshi (outside of the castle town of Kanazawa), the heads of households in the town were required to dress in their finest clothing and kneel respectfully in front of their houses with brooms in their hands to greet the lord’s procession. This was emblematic of a kind of “audience” between the lord of the castle and the townsfolk and so a certain kind of etiquette was required. Processions of the shogun were handled the same way. In the fourth month of 1649, for instance, the successor to the shogunate was determined and the person who would later become the fourth shogun, Ietsuna, made the pilgrimage to Nikkō Tōshōgū shrine which is dedicated to the first shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu. When his procession passed through the streets, the heads of households along his way were required to crouch at the side of the road. In this way the future shogun and the true townsfolk (the townsfolk who owned houses and who made their livings by buying and selling things), just like the lord of a domain and the people he ruled, performed a ritual of relationship affirming one as the leader and the other as a constituent of that society.

#### 2B. Even When it was Mere Etiquette, One had to Show and to be Seen (PW 39)

The biggest processions were those of the shogun to Kyoto. After Iemitsu went in 1634 (PW 40), the next shogunal procession to Kyoto took place about 230 years later in 1863 by the shogun Iemochi. Iemitsu’s procession is recorded in numerous drawings; they served as scrolls that testified to the grandeur of the shogunate. So, although there were probably taboo topics (such as things that were not emblematic of the *pax Tokugawa*) that were not drawn, it seems likely that each major event was represented. Woodblock prints of Iemochi’s procession, made to seem as if it were a procession of the Kamakura period shogun Minamoto no Yoritomo, sold very well. While the shogunate’s purpose was probably to show power, for people lined up along the roads these processions were nothing more than a kind of beautiful spectacle. The next most dignified processions after the one to Kyoto were the shogun’s procession to the shrine at Nikkō (PW 41) and the Koganehara hunting grounds for deer on the outskirts of Edo. The final procession to Nikkō, which took place in 1841, was not widely depicted as a spectacle in pictures and *kawaraban* (early forms of newspapers) since it happened during a period of strict government control of print. Those along the route watched the long procession of people and pack animals both respectfully and as a spectacle.

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The 1849 procession to the Koganehara grounds for hunting deer (PW 42), however, used the numerous prints that were accompanied by short articles from a 1795 procession as pictures for woodblock prints that discussed the upcoming procession. There were also *kawaraban* that announced the trip. A great number of these were produced. Since it was forbidden to directly depict the Tokugawa shogun, many of the prints pretended to be about the procession of Yoritomo to hunting grounds near Mt. Fuji but it is clear that they were sold as depicting the hunt at Koganehara. Many *kawaraban* were sold as printed guides to the locale. This procession to the hunting ground was, from the beginning, for the purpose of being seen. The shogun and those below him including the hatamoto who were to participate in the hunting made their existence clear by wearing colorful coats while in the procession. For the hunt, several tens of thousands of peasants were gathered from numerous villages to serve as beaters and they also watched the goings-on. Koganehara was originally a pasture where the shogunate's military horses were released. Every year there would be a round up and the horses that had been born in the previous year were branded. This round up was famous in Edo and many gathered to see it. *Kawaraban* were published about it and shops selling food and other things were set up. People who lived in Edo might have only one chance in their lives to see the shogun's procession to Koganehara for hunting but the round-up was probably associated with it and attracted the interest of many. The shogunate, certainly thinking of these things, constructed a stand from which the shogun could inspect the hunt. Later sightseers were allowed view the hunting grounds and the stand.

So while these processions were originally created to be respectfully seen, by the nineteenth century at the latest they had become a kind of spectacle. They were depicted or transcribed in pictures or became the topics for woodblock prints and these visual representations were sold (PW 43). In this way, the processions of the shogun to and from Kyoto in the mid-nineteenth century also became a spectacle although, of course, the flight to Edo of the last shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu in a naval ship, was not. But the arrival of imperial forces in Edo with their flags and banners fluttering was treated as a spectacle and depicted in pictures. There was, however, a kind of decorum in the way that the procession was met which was enforced even during the trip to Kyoto of the last shogun. I will discuss this in the next section of this paper. Processions had to be met with a certain kind of "reception" (*chiso*). What kind of effect the procession had on the viewer depended on what one's relationship to this "reception" was.

### 3. The Etiquette of Reception (PW 44)

I would like to briefly describe the etiquette that the dignified processions of the shogun received. This is the full form of reception and it allows us to understand the etiquette of reception. Chart One is based on the orders given by the magistrate of Osaka to the Sangōmachi region of the city for the reception of the shogun's procession in 1864, the year of Iemochi's second trip to Kyoto. It tells what kind of reception was to be given by the surrounding areas and the hostels when the shogun's procession passed through. In this instance, the naval ship would enter Osaka and travel up the Yodo River to Kyoto. It notes that the reception would be simplified so this is not the normal reception given to a shogun. This can be supplemented with the reception given to the high shogunal official Matsudaira Noriyasu when he traveled to Osaka in 1850. The full-course reception of the early modern period is collected in Chart One.

I have indicated what was expected from the local areas by the letters A through I and what was expected from the hostels by J and K. First, an official notification was made of when and where the procession would pass (PW 45, 1 and 2). This was called the "notice of route." When this was promulgated, the route would be known and people would know what kind of reception they needed to provide for what kind of people. The area along the street of the route would be prepared for the day (PW 45, 3). Today, walking through the flourishing commercial districts of Osaka there are a lot of advertising or neon signs. In the Edo period, the signs protruded from the eaves and the walls. And eaves walls, or roofs of some of the buildings might be damaged. So the area had to be prepared for the passing of the procession by cleaning up eyesores and fixing buildings, roads, and bridges. Although the official notice would say that roads and bridges did not need to be repaired, this was in fact mandatory. As the day of the procession approached, the roads began to be cleaned. By the day before the procession passed, they had to be carefully cleaned, sand had to be laid down (C1), and decorated pails and brooms had to be placed as sets along the road. One form of laying down sand was called *moritsuna*. (PW 46) These were cones of sand that were mounded up in front of the gates of houses. Sand also had to be spread on the road so that it was fresh and clean. Sand, white sand in particular, was thought to be symbolic of purity. The sand was sprinkled with water and then carefully swept. Then the pails and brooms were placed beside the road to symbolize that the preparations of the road had been done properly. Of course they were carefully emplaced before each house, not just tossed about in a random fashion. This helps us understand the shogun's procession as it passed through the area. The blemishes in the roofs, walls, and signs of the houses of the main street were repaired and dirty things were cleaned up or hidden. The street was repaired and at least the areas that the procession would walk through were spread with sand. At the boundary between different quarters of the town, shown as D, a group of greeters from the area consisting of local officials were crouching in their finest clothes. Although they usually did not have to provide directions, it was assumed that they could respond to any queries so they can be thought of as people who could serve as guides to the local area. In front of each house or at equal distances from each other were mounds of sand and the pails and brooms, placed as

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decorations. Only the household head crouched in front of the house. He and only he was allowed to see the procession. It was not a spectacle to be viewed for enjoyment. The doors to the house were opened and the other occupants such as the head's parents, his wife, and children were expected to wait out the passing of the procession on the floor without doing anything rude or contrary to etiquette. Of course viewing the procession from above from the second floor was forbidden. The windows and doors of second floors were to be closed and no one was allowed to be there. Policing officials stopped movement on the roads and when it became evening, each house along the street was expected to put out a lantern. And all houses were expected to avoid fire. This was the case not only around the shogun's hostel but also in the entire Sangô area. Each part of town was required to set up its own policing center. The entire set-up, including the use of Osaka samurai as police, was considered the "reception" (*gochisô*). The way the Japanese word *gochisô* is used today to refer to food and drink is one part of this broader meaning. The shogun himself got the full course of reception. The reception of envoys from Korea and Ryûkyû did not receive this full course treatment but their reception was treated correspondingly.

### 4. Examining the Processions of Foreigners (PW 47)

Even the dignified processions of the shogun devolved into spectacle but before that, the people of Edo and other places along the roads began to look forward to the spectacle of the processions of the envoys of Korea and Ryûkyû which were accompanied by musicians. Many would enjoy watching the procession while reading a pamphlet about it and broadsheets and guidebooks to the processions were published (PW 48). These processions were treated as political spectacle by the government but it must be remembered that there was an established etiquette of spectacle. For the purposes of this essay, it is important to note that these processions were used to support the shogunate's political power but, since the official envoys were outnumbered by accompanying guards who were from the Tsushima Domain in the case of Korean envoys and the Satsuma Domain the case of Ryûkyû envoys, these processions also demonstrated the power of those two domains.

#### 4A. Depictions of the Korean Envoys (PW 49)

As representations of important political events, Korean envoys are depicted on such screen paintings as the *Rakuchû*, *Rakugai-zu Byôbu* and the *Edo-zu Byôbu*. On the Edo screen (held by the National Museum of Japanese History), there is a depiction of military officials who look like Tartars and it seems likely that they were drawn from a picture that was produced for reference. Ronald Toby has suggested that the oldest case where the painter had actually seen them is the "Korean Envoy Screen Painting of the Official Reception" at Sennyûji temple (PW 50, 51). In 1655, the fourth shogun, Ietsuna had a painting of Korean envoys done by Kanô Masunobu for his aunt, Masako. This is not merely a gorgeous painting but in fact each individual is treated vividly. There are some elisions of the actual procession due to space. The flag that should come at the beginning which reads "purified path" has been changed to "great joy." Toby suggests that this is because there may have been criticism of a flag bearing "purified path" at the front of a procession for foreign kings so it was avoided. At any rate, the painter occasionally chose to represent things differently from reality but the screen provides a basic understanding of this procession in the mid-seventeenth century.

At any rate, from the standpoint of "reception" discussed in the previous section of this paper, a number of interesting things are depicted. As representation that the road had been cleaned, there is a man with a broom and another spreading water with a ladle (PW 52-54). It is not possible that the road was being cleaned when the procession was passing through but they are depicted to represent the "reception" that the procession received. Second, there is a person with a club who is keeping others from using the street and many people are crouching politely, watching the procession pass (PW 55). Third, people are watching from the houses which line the street and from the opened up rooms, we can see carpets and screens (PW 56). And it appears that this "viewing" is not one way; the envoys seem to be observing what is happening around them as well. The observations are mutual. The procession proceeds, following the rules of reception and regulation. The accompanying guards from the Tsushima domain are watching the crowd. Dressed in official clothes (PW 57) and representing the power of the Korean king, the Korean part of the procession includes a great number of flags and musical instruments. The important part is the letter from the Korean king to the shogun and this must be delivered safely and with dignity (PW 55). The Korean envoys are watching the world around them and the townsfolk are watching them.

From this depiction it is clear that the Korean procession was being treated with "reception" and that those who were watching it were acting with etiquette. Assuring that this procession traveled back and forth safely was of the utmost importance to the Tsushima domain. Being seen by many along the route increased the prestige of the domain since it was being entrusted with foreign diplomacy. Therefore many scrolls of the procession were made by the domain, showing the arrival in Edo, the arrival at the castle, leaving the castle, the trip to Nikkô, and the procession by boat. Many of these scrolls still exist and some of them were produced at the behest of the shogunate and were used in gift giving. It is highly likely that some were later copied by other people. At the same time, the Tsushima domain produced broadsheets and accounts of the arrival of Korean envoys in Japan. Some who watched the procession bought these officially sanctioned texts from bookstores as guidebooks and held them in hand as they viewed it. These guidebooks

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were produced when the schedule of the procession had been finalized and they were sold to the general public. In addition, there were also picture books such as *Chōsenjin Raichō-zu* by Hagawa Tōei or *Makanai Tōjin* by Hanabusa Icchō as well as *Shōdō* (PW 58). These depicted people who accompanied the procession and were very popular.

The kinds of foreign processions that included music were, as a rule, something that could only be seen once every few decades. So not only were guidebooks and broadsheets produced but also many people came from surrounding regions to view the processions. The people who actually saw the processions or those who saw the publications about them sometimes introduced elements of them into their own religious festivals. For instance, the castle towns of Kawagoe and Tsuchiura, both in the area of the city of Edo had religious festivals that included participants dressed as foreigners. These were essentially patterned on the rare processions of foreigners but as Ronald Toby has shown, these costumed figures were not reproducing persons in processions. Instead they created the figure of foreign treasurers who gathered their favorite foods such as chickens but were not actually in the processions. These performances emphasized the consumption of meat. In these recreations of foreigners, people were probably not thinking in terms of prejudice but rather in terms of the rarity of foreigners. This needs to be debated further but the kind of prejudice that grew rapidly in the later nineteenth century was probably not present among the commoners at this time when the Korean envoys were actually traveling back and forth to Edo.

### 4B. Depictions of Envoys from Ryūkyū

Since the depictions of envoys from the Ryūkyū islands have been taken up in other presentations, I will merely touch on several points. The kingdom sent envoys to congratulate new shoguns on their accession and to thank the shogunate when a new king was enthroned. The Ryūkyū kingdom was conquered by the Satsuma domain, lead by the Shimazu family, in 1609 and was placed under de facto rule by Satsuma but it was allowed to continue to trade and maintain diplomatic relations with China. It continued to be enfeoffed as China's tributary. The Chinese emperor sent envoys of enfeoffment to the Ryūkyū islands, "ordering" the Ryūkyū kings to ascend the throne and the kingdom continued to pay tribute to China. Satsuma allowed this system to continue so in the early modern period, Ryūkyū was a kingdom of dual allegiance. Of course within the kingdom, there were various reforms and changes and the country continued to have its own culture but it had to assert itself between the two countries and this was an important part of the strategy of the Ryūkyū kings.

The envoys from Ryūkyū were in essence taken to Edo by the conquering Satsuma domain. Looking at the nature of the processions, there were many more people from the Satsuma domain than there were envoys. It might be better to say that the procession was a procession of the Satsuma domain that included a few envoys from the Ryūkyū islands. But in fact if there were no envoys from the Ryūkyū islands, Satsuma could not have presented that kind of procession so it was a kind of performance by Satsuma. One of the processions was carefully depicted by Odagiri Shunkō as it was passing Nagoya Castle in *Ryūkyū Gashi*. Before the Ryūkyū envoys arrived, information about the procession was on sale for 8 *mon*. So for about half the price of a bowl of noodles (soba), people could buy cheap broadsheets that described the procession of the Ryūkyū envoys (PW 59). Next, two people dressed like people from the Ryūkyū islands came into the area in order to get money. It is written that they did not use a real drum but instead beat a metal basin (PW 60). Guidebooks were also on sale in front of Ōnoya Sōbei's store (PW 61). Over the previous few days, the streets and roofs had started to be fixed in order to provide "reception" for the envoys. In this fashion the local area was repaired and using clubs and bamboo, a line that was not supposed to be crossed was created. Behind this, a viewing stand was built. It cost 36 *mon* to enter the viewing stand, or about the price of two bowls of soba or, today, roughly the price of a couple of cups of Starbucks coffee (PW 62). The people depicted on the viewing stand are too small to be seen in detail but they seem to be in formal clothing and sitting in a formal style. The Ryūkyū envoys make their way through this scene (PW 63-65). Brooms and pails are placed before the houses. A house facing the street has a curtain hanging and there are people inside it watching the procession. But the inside is also clearly being shown to the procession as well. There is no indication that sand was piled up here but we can examine the "reception" that was given in Tomo no Ura in Hiroshima prefecture. Fukuzenji, a temple famous for the views from its hall, served as the place for the envoys to stay. The street from the harbor was cleaned. Sand was piled up in a cone outside the gate and a water bucket was also put out to decorate the room. This was a very polite "reception."

### 4C. Depictions of the processions of the Dutch Captain from Dejima

Because of the interests at stake for the Tsushima and Satsuma domains, the processions of Korean and Ryūkyū envoys had to be observed by others. And because the shogunate had invited especially the Korean envoys, they had to be treated with extreme care and given the highest level of reception.

Compared to this, what was the situation of the procession of the Dutch Captain? The burden of the expenses for transportation, food (when the cooking was done by the travelers, food and fuel had to be procured and utensils and dishes had to be borrowed), and lodging was shared by the shogunate and the domains that were charged with taking care of the foreign envoys. These expenses could be large and were burdensome when the shogunate and the domains were having financial troubles. In the case of the Dutch,

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though, they were permitted only to trade and were supposed to travel to Edo to thank the shogun for this so they bore the full burden of the expenses of the trip. At first this happened every year but later, as the amount earned from trade decreased, it became once every four years. But this was the most regular of the foreign processions to travel through Japan. With a few exceptions, such as places in Kyûshû where trade took place (which cleaned the roads and had an official to greet the travelers) and at one of the most important places for inspection, where copper was refined in Osaka (which piled up sand), the level reception the Dutch received was not very high. This is because they were not treated as guests of the state. People along the route were not much interested in their processions and there are no depictions of the Dutch entering Edo castle except those requested by the Dutch themselves.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to bring up six points. First, the reception of the envoys from Korea and Ryûkyû were essentially on the same level. The shogunate made etiquette compulsory on those occasions and did not revise the etiquette except during the Shôtoku period in the early eighteenth century. From the early seventeenth century “reception” was provided by the government order and the basic forms of it were standardized by the 1660's. So it was codified and followed for about two hundred years.

Second, in the pictures, the envoys from Korea and Ryûkyû are depicted in basically the same way. Of course the clothes and the processions are different. During the mid-eighteenth century, envoys from both kingdoms came at around the same time and the procession of the Ryûkyû envoys (who came first) was essentially copied in depictions of the Korean envoys. At the very least, these seem to have been viewed as very similar by the people who looked at the depictions.

Third, both Ryûkyû and Korean processions were known as envoys from kings but the actual treatment varied. The envoys from Korea were treated as coming from an equal status kingdom while those from Ryûkyû were coming from a kingdom under control by Satsuma so they were essentially treated as if they were from a dependency. Both the Tsushima and Satsuma domains were entrusted by the shogunate to engage in diplomacy and profit from trade. But the Tsushima domain itself and the people living in it were completely dependent on Korean trade for their wealth. The Ryûkyû kingdom was enfeoffed as part of the Chinese imperium and Satsuma profited from its status as a Chinese tributary. The relationship between the two domains and their respective partners was quite different. However, when the envoys traveled in procession, they were both treated as envoys from foreign kings. But the Korean envoys received overall better treatment.

Fourth, although there were small differences in actual reception, when these envoys passed through they were both considered to be the envoys of foreign kings. Both increased the prestige of the shogunate and both processions were set up precisely to do so. Both sets of envoys traveled from Shimonoseki through the Inland Sea via boat. They then went up the Yodo River and traveled the rest of the way to Kyoto on foot. The feudal lords along this route provided them with food and lodging. The processions were met and sent off with the “reception” mentioned earlier in this paper. Although this was an order from the shogunate, the various feudal lords competed to see who could do the best.

Fifth, although the people viewing the procession and the people in the procession viewing the viewers may have had some sense of difference with each other, the etiquette of “reception” was demanded. In this case, the actual experience of “reception” was important. Those who actually watched the processions (as a part of “reception”) were probably not the ones who, in the modern period, developed prejudice toward other countries. The *Ryûkyû Shisetsu Dôchû Emaki* depicts an old woman who is worshipping the envoy (PW 66). The envoys were accompanied by music as they made their way through Japan and it is possible that they might have been objects of worship. At the very least, those who actually witnessed the processions had a different attitude compared to those who did not.

Sixth, in regards to the processions of religious festivals, the processions of envoys became the basis for aspects of costumed religious processions. Those who saw the processions of the envoys, either in person or via pamphlets or guidebooks added costumed figures or puppets to their processions or exhibitions. *Meiyô Kenbun Zue* shows a miniature version of a procession after the envoys from Ryûkyû had passed through Nagoya. The human figures were made from agar and the mountains (including Mt. Fuji) were made from laver. It is suggested that the creator confused the Ryûkyû with the Korean envoys and in fact the two are mixed together (PW 67). Religious festivals are about accompanying the kami on a progress through the area and those who viewed them were required to have some level of etiquette. Adding the figures of foreigners to the religious processions allowed the discovery of things that had not originally been in the processions. Ronald Toby has shown the importance of “foreign treasurers” (PW 68, 69) who were not originally in the processions but were created from the imagination of those who handled the religious procession. I would like to suggest that as it became impossible to see the envoys of the countries in actuality, these figures began to be viewed with prejudice. This is an important point but here I will bring it up here.

### Addendum

Because the images I had prepared for the symposium relied on a touch panel and seem to have overloaded the projector, I had to hastily switch to a PowerPoint presentation. I did not get to read a great

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deal of my manuscript and I did not have time to fully address the points scrupulously prepared by Professor McNally. I would like to touch on some of those points here.

During the discussion period, the problems of "interior and exterior" and "center and periphery" were brought up. I should have said something about the Okinawan processions from this standpoint. I also wished to say something about the meaning of depicting processions but there was not a chance so I will add that here.

I am interested in what it means to discuss the depiction of an Okinawan procession from early modern Japan in Hawaii. The depictions of Okinawan processions that were introduced here were done on the commission of (or with the permission of) the Satsuma domain by Japanese artists in Japan. Okinawans had been influenced by China and may have had artists with more technical expertise than those of Japan and they painted self-portraits. In addition, they depicted what is believed to be the arrival of envoys from Qing as well as their own envoys in Beijing. But their envoys to Japan were depicted only by Japanese artists. Okinawan artists did not depict their envoys to Japan. It is important to compare this with Korean envoys. Korean envoys were depicted by Japanese artists but they also brought along their own artists. These artists were generally made to paint landscapes. But there are also a number of depictions of the processions of the envoys that remain in Korea. These quite naturally depict the dynasty's forms of ceremonies as well as processions. I have discussed how the shogunate treated the envoys from Okinawa and Korea differently in my paper but this point of difference is very important.

Early in the modern period both the Ainu and the Okinawans were integrated into the modern nation state (Okinawans may reject being treated together). One difference between Ainu and Okinawans lies in the telling of their own histories. Both have told their stories in words. But while Okinawans were able to write out their history, the Ainu did not have written characters through the early modern period. In our museum, we display pictures of the Ainu in our regular exhibit but these were done by Japanese artists and they view the Ainu from "outside" in a way that Japanese wanted to see them. How accurately they depict reality is something which must closely examined. It is necessary to carefully compare the Ainu, Ryūkyū, Korean, and Dutch and find the differences. Some of these differences can be seen in the depictions of processions. By doing so we can understand the topology of the processions of the Ryūkyū envoys I think. We can analyze how the one-way depiction of the Ryūkyū processions by those "inside" Japan depicted that which was "outside." At the very least, we must think about the "gaze" and about center and periphery. By understanding the differences of gaze, we can begin to appreciate the value of these visual materials.