

MEANINGS AND FUNCTIONS OF RITUALS IN THE POLITICS OF THE TOKUGAWA
SHOGUNATE: A STUDY OF THE 1843 SHOGUNAL PILGRIMAGE TO NIKKŌ (*NIKKŌ*
SHASAN).

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ABSTRACT

Daniele Lauro: Meanings and Functions of Rituals in the Politics of the Tokugawa Shogunate: a Study of the 1843 Shogunal Pilgrimage to Nikkō (*Nikkō shasan*)
(Under the direction of Morgan Pitelka)

This project explores the political use and significance of rituals performed by the Tokugawa shoguns, the military chieftains that ruled Japan from 1603 to 1867. I argue that, far from being empty performances detached from the real business of governing, rituals were potent political tools used by those in power to establish and maintain authority, as well as to preserve social harmony. Specifically, I consider the case of the shogun's pilgrimage in 1843 to the tomb of the regime's founder in Nikkō, a majestic event that mobilized military and financial resources nationwide and involved all strata of society. Drawing on a diverse array of sources including written documents, visual materials, and artifacts, this dissertation reconstructs the various stages of the shogun's pilgrimage and examines the numerous ways in which this ritual allowed the Tokugawa regime to wield authority over its subjects. By showing that rituals were an essential component of Tokugawa politics, this study - the first of its kind outside of Japan - provides a fresh and more nuanced understanding of the early modern Japanese state, illuminating the mechanisms that regulated it and revealing the reasons for its resilience and longevity.

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(Utsunomiya); and Jigenji temple (Shimotsuke City). To them goes my deepest gratitude. I would also like to express my thankfulness to the following people for their help and advice at various stage of my research: Ms. Hsi-Chu Bolick, Mr. Tanaka Yuji, Ms. Ochiai Noriko, Dr. Higuchi Hayumi, Ms. Ōtake Hiroko, Dr. Kushida Kiyomi, and Dr. Tanimura Reiko. Finally, the support and love of my friends and family was crucial for the successful completion of this project. Thank you to my parents, Umberto and Teresa, and to my brother, Pasquale, for always believing in me. Thank you to Junko, for her unfaltering love and invaluable assistance, and to my friends in Italy, who have cheered me and encouraged me from day one. Thank you to my partner Karlo, whose love and faith in me have helped me overcome obstacles and insecurities and keep my sanity through hectic times. Thank you to the Ascano-Montegrigo family for making me feel at home, while I was away from home. Thank you to my friends in Tokyo – and in particular to Alexis, Sompra, Atsushi, and Kazuki, and to my Japanese host families, the Mitamuras, the Makiharas, and the Yamazakis, for always taking care of me.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	vii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1: FROM FAMILY AFFAIR TO NATIONAL EVENT. THE EVOLUTION OF THE SHOGUNAL PILGRIMAGE TO NIKKŌ BETWEEN 1617 AND 1843.....	30
CHAPTER 2: MATERIALIZING THE STATE AND MOBILIZING THE NATION. THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE 1843 SHOGUNAL PILGRIMAGE TO NIKKŌ IN EDO AND IN THE DOMAINS.....	77
CHAPTER 3: PARADING POWER, DISPLAYING STATUS. THE 1843 SHOGUNAL PROCESSION TO NIKKŌ AND ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE.....	148
CHAPTER 4: AUTHORITY ON THE MOVE. THE SHOGUN’S JOURNEY, THE RITUALS OF WORSHIP IN NIKKŌ, AND THE AFTERMATH OF IEYOSHI’S PILGRIMAGE	183
CONCLUSION.....	247
APPENDIX 1: FIGURES AND MAPS.....	262
APPENDIX 2: TABLES.....	282
APPENDIX 3: DIAGRAM OF THE 1843 SHOGUNAL PROCESSION TO NIKKŌ.....	345
APPENDIX 4: TOPICS RELATED TO THE <i>NIKKŌ SHASAN</i>	349
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	359

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Published sources

BFS	<i>Bakumatsu ofuregaki shūsei</i>
MTN	<i>Mizuno Tadakuni Tenpō kaikaku rōjū nikki</i>
NSKS1	<i>Nikkō shasan kankei shiryō 1</i>
NSKS2	<i>Nikkō shasan kankei shiryō 2</i>
TJ	<i>Tokugawa jikki</i>
TR	<i>Tokugawa reitenroku</i>
ZTJ	<i>Zoku Tokugawa jikki</i>

Unpublished sources

NA	<i>Tenpō Nikkō omiya gosankei ikkendome</i> (Tamon Yagura Monjo, National Archives of Japan)
ON	<i>Nikkō gosankei ki</i> (Ojima Tonomo no kami, University of Tsukuba Library)
SN	<i>Nikkō goshasan otomo otabichū osōshaban aitsutomesōrō tome</i> (Sanada Yuki Yoshi, National Institute of Japanese Literature)

INTRODUCTION

1. Topic, questions, rationale

Rituals are an omnipresent element of politics. From the ancient empires of Mesopotamia and India's early kingdoms to Elizabethan England and colonial North America, from Republican Rome and Revolutionary France to North Korea's dictatorship and modern liberal democracies, rulers of polities new and old have felt the need to develop specific sets of practices and symbols that are intimately connected with the nature and origins of political authority.¹ By claiming to be rooted in sacred traditions and by constructing power as deriving from sources beyond the human dimension, rituals can help rulers formulate reassuring and persuasive explanations for why things are the way they are.² As David Kertzer has put it, "through symbolism we recognize who are the powerful and who are the weak, and through the manipulation of symbols the powerful reinforce their authority...Creating a symbol or, more commonly, identifying oneself

¹ Examples of studies investigating the rituals of the above mentioned political entities and systems of governance include Barbara N. Porter, ed. *Ritual and Politics in Ancient Mesopotamia* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 2005); Marko Geslani, *Rites of the God-King: Sānti and Ritual Change in Early Hinduism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Mary H. Cole, *The Portable Queen. Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999); Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Jörg Rüpke, *Religion in Republican Rome: Rationalization and Ritual Change* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Nathalie Scholz, ed. *Représentation et pouvoir. La politique symbolique en France 1789-1830* (Rennes: Press Universitaires de Rennes, 2007); Jae-Cheon Lim, *Leader Symbols and Personality Cult in North Korea: the Leader State* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015); Shrin Rai and Rachel E. Johnson, eds. *Democracy in Practice: Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). The most comprehensive study of political ritual is David Kertzer, *Rituals, Politics, and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988). Important edited works including essays on political rituals are Sean Wilentz, ed. *Rites of Power. Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics Since the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Joëlle Rollo-Koster, ed. *Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Formalized Behavior in Europe, China, and Japan* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002); Axels Michaels, ed. *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual*, 3 vols., (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010).

² See Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 129.

with a popular symbol can be a potent means of gaining and keeping power, for the hallmark of power is the construction of reality.”³

While universal, the lure of ritual was felt more strongly by certain rulers. The Tokugawa shoguns, the military chieftains that ruled Japan between 1603 and 1868, were one such case. A perusal of the *Ryūei nenchū gyōji* (1858), a record of the annual events of the Tokugawa government, reveals that the shogun’s ritual agenda could be packed with as many as ten celebrations per month.⁴ Additionally, daily rites performed by the shogun in Edo castle - the regime’s headquarters; regular and extraordinary audiences; memorial services for Tokugawa family members and ancestors held at temples, shrines, and mausolea in and outside the shogunal capital; formal visits to retainers’ mansions; hunting parties; reception of foreign missions; and special events such as weddings, funerals, and celebrations for the birth of an heir contributed to keep Tokugawa overlords constantly busy with the planning and execution of rituals.⁵

Historians of Japan have noted the importance that the shogunal regime attached to rituals. Nonetheless, not all of them have fully acknowledged the role of rituals as integral to the articulation and expansion of Tokugawa authority. For instance, commenting on the duties of the masters of shogunal ceremonies (*sōjaban*) – the officials in charge of organizing and supervising the execution of shogunal rituals - Harold Bolitho noted that the shogunate’s ceremonial matters

³ Kertzer, *Rituals, Politics, and Power*, 4.

⁴ See Tōkyō-to Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan, *Edojō* (Tōkyō: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 2007), 115-16.

⁵ The magnitude of Tokugawa rituals can also be gathered by skimming through the table of contents of the *Tokugawa Reitenroku*, a record compiled by three former shogunal retainers in the 1880s describing the annual ceremonies (*nenchū gyōji*) of the shogunate as well as special events, including Shogun Iemitsu's journey to Kyoto in 1634, the accession ceremonies of Tokugawa Iemochi in 1858 and his wedding to Princess Kazu-no-Miya in 1862, journeys by Shogun Yoshimune and Shogun Ieyoshi to Nikkō in 1728 and 1843 respectively, hunting trips to Koganehara Hunting Grounds, and the reception of Korean and Ryukyuan missions to Edo. See Tokugawa Reimeikai, ed. *Tokugawa Reitenroku*. 3 vols. (Tōkyō: Hara Shobō, 1982).

“received unusual emphasis.”⁶ Then, discussing the relationship of Tokugawa overlords with their retainers, Bolitho commented that “much meaningless elaboration went into the public expression of the ties between the shogun and the daimyo.”⁷

Rejecting Bolitho’s understanding of rituals as empty spectacles, this dissertation looks at the internal dynamics of the Tokugawa regime through the lens of ritual performances as one example of how political systems establish and maintain power. My argument is that the ubiquitous presence of rituals in politics was part of the reason for the Tokugawa regime’s longevity. After coming to power by force and granting access to political participation only to a hereditary class of warriors, the Tokugawa rulers secured their position by creating a system of dominance rooted in the notion of status that placed the shogun at its apex and determined warriors’ prestige by criteria such as their relationship to the ruling clan, the size of their domains, and their official ranks and titles. Because status regulated every facet of a warrior’s life, it was inculcated incessantly in a number of ways, including the performance by the Tokugawa chieftains of rituals designated to rationalize the status quo. This dissertation posits that rituals were an indispensable political tool for the shogunal regime because, in addition to giving shape to the Tokugawa political system, they created and defined authority and they made it appear natural and intelligible.

To demonstrate this claim, my dissertation considers the ritual practice known as *Nikkō shasan*, that is the pilgrimage performed by certain Tokugawa shoguns (and at times by their retired predecessors or by their heirs) between 1617 and 1843 from the seat of the government,

⁶ Harold Bolitho, *Treasures Among Men. The Fudai Daimyo in Tokugawa Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 119.

⁷ Ibid.

Edo, to Nikkō, a mountainous locality where the regime's founder, Tokugawa Ieyasu, was venerated and enshrined in a majestic mausoleum. The performance of the Nikkō pilgrimage at crucial points of the shogunate's political life, its complex preparations, the enormous resources it mobilized from Tokugawa subjects, and the impressive demonstration of power it staged through the hundreds of thousands of retainers escorting the shogun, make this ritual the ultimate embodiment of the Tokugawa regime's articulation of power and an excellent case study to cast light on the ways in which the shogunate wielded authority over the realm and ensured its survival for 265 years.

By analyzing the various phases of the pilgrimage – from its formal announcement to its execution and aftermath - my dissertation argues that Tokugawa chieftains traveled to Nikkō with numerous goals in mind, including showcasing their military power to the eyes of their retainers and the masses, reaffirming the continuity and legitimacy of the shogunal line, renewing alliances with their retainers, emphasizing the shogunate's superiority over the imperial institution, and signaling major shifts in governance.

Furthermore, my focus on the journey conducted by the twelfth shogun, Tokugawa Ieyoshi, in 1843 explains why the Nikkō pilgrimage was a particularly appealing political strategy for the Tokugawa chieftains in the final decades of their rule of Japan. By the 1840s, domestic and external problems were quickly eroding shogunal authority. The regime's decision to implement the Nikkō pilgrimage in this delicate moment was in some ways an exercise in public relations that aimed at projecting an idealized image of the shogun as a benevolent overlord (*meikun*), at demonstrating that - despite everything - the shogunate still had teeth, and at responding to the ever-growing sense of mistrust that the ruled harbored against their rulers.

The Nikkō pilgrimage is both an exceptional and a representative case study to discuss the political significance of rituals for the shogunal regime. It is representative because, as the following chapters will elucidate, many of the elements that characterized the shogun's journey to Nikkō – e.g. the formal audiences preceding and following the shogun's departure, the exchange of gifts and ceremonial foods between the shogun and his retainers, the demonstrations of “hospitality” staged by post-towns and villages crossed by the shogunal procession – can also be seen in other frequently performed Tokugawa rituals. In this sense, choosing the Nikkō pilgrimage as a case study means more than isolating the meanings and functions of a specific rite. On the contrary, my choice allows me to demonstrate how rituals represented a coherent and ubiquitous political strategy that the Tokugawa regime used to defend, perpetuate, and justify its power.

At the same time, the Nikkō pilgrimage is an exceptional practice for several reasons. Firstly, as a state ritual it was unparalleled in scale and reach. With the exception of the shogunal journeys to the imperial capital (*gojōraku*) – a practice that the Tokugawa abandoned in the mid-1630s and that they resumed only a few years before the collapse of their regime – no Tokugawa ritual entailed a procession as impressive in size and a mobilization of men and resources as extensive as the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō. Secondly, unlike many other Tokugawa rituals that were performed on the grounds of the shogunal castle and that essentially included only members of the military elite, the Nikkō pilgrimage required the participation of all strata of Tokugawa society, from outcastes to members of the imperial court. To be sure, commoners did not join the shogun during his visit to Ieyasu's mausoleum, and the pilgrimage remained largely a ritual of the military class. Nonetheless, the cooperation of domains, post-towns, villages, and temples near and far was indispensable to ensure the successful implementation of the shogunal

visit to Nikkō. In this sense, the Nikkō pilgrimage is an important case study to investigate the ways in which rituals allowed Tokugawa overlords to exert their authority extensively over society at large.

2. Political rituals and the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō: a brief historiographical discussion

Japanese historians have recognized the central role played by rituals in the early modern polity and have produced a considerable number of studies that investigate rites of power at the level of both the central state and the domains. Recent examples of such scholarship include the works of Ōtomo Kazuo, Futaki Ken'ichi, Asao Naohiro, and Kasaya Kazuhiko.⁸ Futaki's work is particularly relevant to my research in that it casts light on the use of the concept of "social standing" (*kakushiki*) as a powerful device adopted by the Tokugawa regime to ensure order and consolidate power. Futaki also demonstrates that while the Tokugawa inherited much of their ritual culture from the imperial court and from previous military regimes, they also proactively created new rites or modified old ones to pursue their political agenda.⁹

The shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō has received scholarly attention since the 1930s, but most of the research produced until the 1980s was narrow in scope and mostly focused on the system of transportation set in place by the shogunate to move men and luggage between Edo

⁸ Kazuo Ōtomo, *Nihon kinsei kokka no ken'i to girei* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999); Ken'ichi Futaki, *Buke girei kakushiki no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003); Naohiro Asao, ed. *Fudai daimyō Ii ke no girei* (Hikoneshi: Hikonejō Hakubutsukan, 2004); Kazuhiko Kasaya, *Kuge to buke III – Ōken to girei no hikaku bunmeishiteki kōsatsu* (Kyōto-shi : Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2006).

⁹ See Futaki, *Buke girei kakushiki no kenkyū*, 4-6.

and Nikkō as well as on the financial impact the transportation system had on villages and post-towns located along the highways leading to Nikkō.¹⁰

Ōtomo Kazuo's work in the mid-1980s represented a turning point for scholarly investigations of the shogunal pilgrimage.¹¹ Moving its focus away from the history of transportation, Ōtomo's work shed light on the political implications of the Nikkō pilgrimage as a "national event" (*kokka gyōji*) that the shogunate manipulated to reaffirm the status system as well as to preserve order at the central and local level.

Abe Akira's research in the mid-1990s represented another important development in pilgrimage-related research. Abe argued that, by focusing too much on the economic aspects, scholars had overlooked the historical significance of the Nikkō pilgrimage for the establishment of the Tokugawa state.¹² Abe's work opened the door to new approaches in the analysis of the Nikkō pilgrimage, including studies focused on the pilgrimage's ceremonial aspects.¹³ Other areas of investigation included the role played by outside (*tozama*) daimyo in the implementation of the pilgrimage, the security systems adopted in Edo during the shogunal journey, the composition of the shogunal processions to Nikkō and the tasks performed by shogunal

¹⁰ Examples of studies investigating systems of transportation and the requisitioning of packhorses and porters for the shogunal pilgrimage include Nobujirō Ōshima, "Nikkōshasan ni okeru sanke senyō no honjin," *Rekishi chiri* 63-66, 1934; Jun'ichirō Fujimura "Nikkō goshasan goyō tsūshi ninsoku ni tsuite," *Nikkō rekishi* 366, 1978; Hachirō Kawachi "Nikkō shasan to Shimotsuke no mura. Kansei jūninen Nikkō hōkai tsūkō kankei sukegō shiryō ni yoru," *Tochigikenshi kenkyū* 9, 1975; Hachirō Kawachi, "An'ei gonen Nikkō shasan to Shimotsuke nōson. Muramura jinbaeki futan no kōzō," *Tochigikenshi kenkyū* 16-17, 1979; and Masato Izumi, "Tenpōki Nikkō shasan to Utsunomiyahan: shukujōchi no futan to hansei e no eikyō." *Tochigikenshi kenkyū* 23, (1982): 69-93.

¹¹ Kazuo Ōtomo, "Nikkō shasan to kuniyaku: Kyōhō jūsannen shasan wo chūshin," *Kantō kinsei kenkyū* 18, (August 1985): 29-51.

¹² Akira Abe, "Owarihan Nikkō yosan goyōkakari no jitsumu kiroku. Shōgun Yoshimune no Nikkōzan sankei no butaiura," *Kokushikan Shigaku* 3, (March 1995): 59-106.

¹³ Takeshi Tanemura, "Tenpōki Nikkō shasan ni okeru shukujō girei to sōshaban," *Kokushigaku* 190, (November 2006): 73-96.

attendants, the visual culture associated with the pilgrimage, as well as architectural studies of houses and villages located along the highways leading to Nikkō.¹⁴

To this day, however, a monographic study focusing on the Nikkō pilgrimage has not been produced. The most comprehensive scholarly analyses remain Ōishi Manabu's "Nikkō shasan no rekishiteki ichi: kokkateki ken'i no sōshutsu to dentōka" [Historical significance of the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō: the creation of state of authority and its becoming tradition] (2013) and Tsubakida Yukiko's *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka: Tokugawa shōgun no pējento no rekishiteki ichi* [Political culture in the transition from early modern to modern times: the historical position of shogunal pageantry] (2014).¹⁵ The former is a substantial essay about one hundred pages in length touching upon various aspects of the shogunal journey to Nikkō, including but not limited to security systems, special laws and proclamations issued by the regime, and celebrations to commemorate the return of the shogun to Edo. Ōishi bases his investigations on primary sources related to the pilgrimages of 1728, 1776, and 1843. The latter

¹⁴ For a discussion of the role played by outside daimyo, see Masato Izumi, "Nikkō shasan to tozama daimyō: Okayamahan Ikedake wo shuzai ni," *Okayamahan Kenkyūkai* (32nd edition), Waseda University (Presentation Outline), 1999. For a discussion of the security measures adopted in Edo during the Nikkō pilgrimage, see Izumi Masato, "Nikkō shasan to Edo no keigo. Nikkō shasan taisei no ippan," *Sōjitsu Kenkyū Kiyō* 46, (March 2012):47-58. For a discussion of processions and shogunal attendants to Nikkō, see Shigeo Negishi, "Kyōhōki Nikkō shasan ni okeru shōgun no gyōretsu," *Dainikkō* 3, (2005):9-19; Kazuo Ōtomo, "Nikkō shasan to mibun. Daimyō gyōretsu no hensei o megutte," *Kokushigaku* 190 (November 2006): 51-72; Shigeo Negishi, "Kanbun san'nen Tokugawa Ietsuna no Nikkō shasan gyōretsu to seijiteki igi," *Kokushigaku* 195, (2008): 57-81; Shintarō Kamagata, "Tenpōki Nikkō shasan ni okeru hatamoto jūsha no dōkō," *Kokugakuin Daigakuin Kiyō Bungaku Kenkyūka* 42, (2010):173-191. For a study of visual representations of the pilgrimage and shogunal painters entrusted with their production, see Kiyomi Iwahashi, "Nikkō shasan ni okeru okueshi no yakuwari: Kanō Seisei'in Osanobu 'Kōyō Nikki' 'Nikkō gosankei gubu zakki' o chūshin ni shite," *Kōtsūshi kenkyū* 12, (2003):53-70. For an architectural study of villages and dwellings located along the highways leading to Nikkō, see Yoshiki Tsuda, *Kaidō no minkashi kenkyū. Nikkō shasan shūryō kara mita jūkyō to shūroku* (Tōkyō: Fuyō Shobō Shuppan, 1995). Outside daimyo or *tozama daimyō* were domainal lords who, in principle, had submitted themselves to the Tokugawa clan after Tokugawa Ieyasu's victory at Sekigahara in 1600, and, because of their more opportunistic behavior were denied access to shogunal offices. For a more in-depth discussion of the various categories of daimyo in the Edo period, see Appendix 4.

¹⁵ Manabu Ōishi, "Nikkō shasan no rekishiteki ichi: kokkateki ken'i no sōshutsu to dentōka," in *Nihonshi no naka Tochigi*, ed. Tochigiken rekishi bunka kenkyūkai (Utsunomiya: Zuisōsha, 2013), 104-198; Yukiko Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka: Tokugawa shōgun no pējento no rekishiteki ichi* (Tōkyō: Azekura Shobō, 2014).

is a study of late Tokugawa and early Meiji political culture, which devotes several chapters to the Nikkō pilgrimage of 1843 and discusses its role as a political strategy adopted by the shogunate to justify policies, improve the public image of the shogun, and restore shogunal subjects' trust in their government. My project builds on these studies and it is particularly indebted to Tsubakida's work, which originally sparked my interest in the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō of 1843.

In addition to the above-mentioned scholarly research, numerous collections of primary sources (*shiryōhen*) and local histories (*tsūshihen*) published by municipalities located along or in the proximity of what used to be the roads leading to Nikkō include discussions of the Nikkō pilgrimage. These works, which are often published by committees that feature both professional and amateur historians, are extremely important to grasp the ways in which the Nikkō pilgrimage affected local units that were to a degree self-governing, such as post-towns, villages, and temples.¹⁶

The Nikkō pilgrimage has also been the object of museum exhibitions that have contributed to disseminating knowledge of Tokugawa ritual culture among non-academic audiences. In addition to providing overviews of the history and significance of the pilgrimage, museum exhibitions and catalogs are useful sources for the study of the visual and material culture associated with the pilgrimage, including illustrated scrolls depicting military paraphernalia displayed by shogunal attendants *en route* to Nikkō, maps of the Nikkō highways, and depictions of shogunal processions. Examples of exhibitions focusing on the shogunal

¹⁶ Recent examples of such scholarship are Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshihen* (Kokubunjimachi: Kokubunjimachi, 2003) and Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, ed. *Nikkō shasan kankei shiryō*. 2 vols., (Kokubunjimachi: Kokubunjimachi, 2001-2002). The former is a local history published by Shimotsuke City (Tochigi prefecture). The latter is a collection of pilgrimage-related primary sources in two volumes, including registries and other official records produced by village, post-town, and temple authorities, that Shimotsuke City also published.

pilgrimage to Nikkō include *Nikkō shasan to Kogahan* [The shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō and Koga domain] (1994) organized by the Koga History Museum; *Nikkō ekakareta goikō. Tōshōgū no matsuri to shōgun no shasan* [The authority of Nikkō depicted. The festivals of the Tōshōgū shrine and the shogunal pilgrimage] (2009), held at Tsukuba University; and *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan* [The Tōshōgū shrine in Nikkō and the shogunal pilgrimage] (2011) organized by the Tokugawa Memorial Foundation and held at the Edo-Tokyo Museum.¹⁷

In the West, numerous scholars of Japan have in passing acknowledged the centrality of ritual in the political life of the Tokugawa regime. For instance, in *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs 1570-1680* (1985), Herman Ooms wrote that “ritual was...the most important means by which the Tokugawa legitimized their regime” and that through rituals “the Tokugawa transformed themselves and their coercive power into sacred authority, established themselves at the center, and thus gave order and hierarchy to the realm and legitimacy to themselves.”¹⁸

Still, despite the abundance of scholarly research in English on early modern Japanese politics, a systematic investigation of Tokugawa rituals, let alone of the shogunal pilgrimage to

¹⁷ Koga Rekishi Hakubutsukan, *Nikkō shasan to Kogahan* (Koga: Koga Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 1994); Tsukuba Daigaku Fuzoku Toshokan, *Nikkō ekakareta goikō. Tōshōgū no matsuri to shōgun no shasan* (Tsukuba: Tsukuba Daigaku Fuzoku Toshokan, 2009), <http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/exhibition/Nikkōshasan/zuroku.html>; Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan* (Tōkyō: Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, 2011).

¹⁸ Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology. Early Constructs, 1570-1680* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 185, 193. Other examples of scholarly research touching, more or less tangentially, on Tokugawa ritual culture include Kate Nakai, *Shogunal Politics. Arai Hakuseki and the Premises of Tokugawa Rule* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1988); Karen Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999); Anne Walthall, “Hiding the Shoguns: Secrecy and the Nature of Political Authority in Tokugawa Japan,” in *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, eds. Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen (New York: Routledge, 2006), 331-56; Constantine Vaporis, *Tour of Duty. Samurai, Military Service in Edo, and the Culture of Early Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008); Luke Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace. Political Space and Open Secrets in Tokugawa Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012); Morgan Pitelka, *Spectacular Accumulation: Material Culture, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and Samurai Sociability* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016); Cecilia Segawa Seigle, “Tokugawa Tsunayoshi and the Formation of Edo Castle Rituals of Giving” in *Mediated by Gifts: Politics and Society in Japan, 1350-1850*, ed. Martha Chaiklin (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 116-165.

Nikkō, does not exist.¹⁹ My dissertation aims at addressing this important gap in the study of the articulation and expansion of the early modern state. Furthermore, while deeply indebted to previous scholarship by both Japanese and Western historians of Japan, my project makes an original contribution to the study of the Nikkō pilgrimage in several ways. Firstly, by employing a considerable number of unpublished and published primary sources, my dissertation delves into less researched aspects of the Nikkō pilgrimage, including the role played by temples appointed to serve as shogunal rest areas, the tasks performed by shogunal retainers participating in the pilgrimage, the rituals that the shogun performed or presided over during his stay on Mt. Nikkō, and the celebrations sponsored by the central regime in the aftermath of the pilgrimage. As a result, my dissertation provides a comprehensive analysis of each phase of the Nikkō pilgrimage - from its inception to its aftermath - and an in-depth discussion of its significance from the perspectives of both the central state and the local semi-autonomous units.

Secondly, my dissertation formulates a nuanced analysis to explain the political value of rituals, which in turn sheds light on the ways in which the Tokugawa state operated. While focusing on rulers' intentions behind the implementation of the Nikkō pilgrimage, my dissertation also considers whether or not the regime's efforts were successful and, to the extent possible, the way in which the pilgrimage was understood by the ruled. My dissertation suggests that ritual efficacy had limits and that not only the Tokugawa chieftains but also their subjects could benefit from the implementation of state rituals. Ultimately, this project shows that Tokugawa authority was rooted not only in the threat of physical violence, but also in the regime's ability to make concessions and accommodate the interests of various groups.

¹⁹ Scholarly works in English on the ritual culture of military regimes that governed Japan before the Tokugawa have been produced. See, for example, Vyjayanthi R. Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate. Ritual and Material Symbolism in the Literary Construction of Warrior Order* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

Finally, my dissertation includes a limited examination of pre-modern Japanese and European rites of power from a comparative perspective. By juxtaposing European rituals of power that emphasize “movement” with their Japanese counterparts, I explore some of the peculiarities of the Tokugawa’s approach to rituals. An analysis of European and Japanese rites of power suggests that the planning and execution of rituals such as a ruler’s reception during their journey were less centralized in Europe than in Japan. European rites of power offered local constituencies more leeway to present requests to their rulers or articulate desired visions of the state through triumphal arches, *tableaux vivants*, floats, and other allegorical decorations adorning the path covered by the ruler’s procession. On the other side, the Edo-centric nature of Tokugawa rituals left little to no space for shogunal subjects to communicate with their overlords through ritual action.

3. Concepts, definitions, theoretical approaches

This section defines some recurrent concepts adopted in this project and it introduces major academic debates connected to them.

3.1. Tokugawa state and Tokugawa nation

The terms “state” and “nation” can be problematic when used in the context of Japan’s early modern polity. Historians have engaged in lively debates on what constituted the “state” before 1868 and on whether the Tokugawa shogunate was centralized, unitary, and powerful enough to be considered the ultimate political organization that enforced order.²⁰ Scholars such as Philip

²⁰ For an overview of the scholarly debate over the nature of the Tokugawa state, see Ronald P. Toby, “Rescuing the Nation from History: The State of the State in Early Modern Japan,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 56, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 197-238.

Brown, Mark Ravina, and Luke Roberts have cast doubt on the extent to which the shogunate was able to exert its authority and “have called into question the very possibility of ‘Japan’ as the unit of analysis in the early modern era.”²¹ Brown, for example, has described the shogunate as a “flamboyant state” that made big claims about what it could accomplish, but did not necessarily follow through with its actions.²² Building on Mizubayashi Takeshi’s research, Mark Ravina has advanced the idea of Tokugawa Japan as a “compound state,” that is to say one in which daimyo territories constituted semi-independent countries that acknowledged the Tokugawa regime only to a certain extent.²³ In his study on mercantilism in Tosa domain, Luke Roberts has argued that for people living in the early modern times the term *kuni* (country) referred to the domain in which they lived rather than to Tokugawa Japan as a whole.²⁴ In a more recent work, Roberts addressed this issue one more time, conceding that, according to the context, the word *kuni* could refer both to a specific domain and to the totality of domainal territories and Tokugawa-administered lands.²⁵

On the other side of the spectrum are scholars such as Ronald Toby and Mary Elizabeth Berry. Toby has argued that “for all the ‘local power’...that remained in daimyo hands the Tokugawa bakufu, until it deconstructed in stages over the course of the nineteenth century,

²¹ Ibid., 199.

²² See *ibid.*, 200.

²³ See *ibid.*, 201.

²⁴ See *ibid.*, 203.

²⁵ See Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace*, 6.

retained the preponderance of both power and authority and that it was the ‘government’ of ‘Japan’.”²⁶ In a similar fashion Berry has noted that

the emperor may have conferred the title of shogun, but it was the shogunate that policed the court, regulated its finances, vetted aristocratic promotions, and controlled the imperial capital itself. The daimyo houses may have enjoyed latitude in domainal governance, but it was the shogunate that appointed and disciplined their heads, established the framework of local policy, and required annual attendance in Edo. It was the shogunate, too, that oversaw foreign relations, coastal defense, internal transport, major cities and ports, religious institutions, mining and the currency system. Whatever its strength over time or efficiency day by day (matters historians debate), the regime established a vertical and coherent structure of power that for centuries averted divisive contests over jurisdiction. Between the suppression of the Shimabara Rebellion in 1638 and the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853, neither emperor nor daimyo challenged the legitimacy or breached the basic polity of the shogun.²⁷

In principle, my dissertation aligns with the side of the debate that argues for the state-like nature of the Tokugawa regime, despite its obvious limitations. In particular, this project shows that rituals were one of the political strategies through which Tokugawa overlords manifested and exerted their authority across the social spectrum, often infringing on the autonomy of domainal governments. The central regime’s ability to extract resources from domains near and far and to successfully carry out a ritual as financially burdening and time consuming as the Nikkō pilgrimage - even at a time of political, social, and economic instability such as the 1840s - unequivocally shows the reach and power of the Tokugawa state.

Nonetheless, when arguing that rituals could help the “Tokugawa state” and “those in positions of power” implement their political agendas, who exactly are we talking about? It would be not only simplistic, but also mistaken to imagine the Tokugawa shogunate as a monolithic and cohesive political institution. For instance, the harsh opposition of Tokugawa

²⁶ Toby, “Rescuing the Nation from History,” 199-200.

²⁷ Mary Elizabeth Berry. *Japan in Print. Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2006), 230-31.

Nariaki – the daimyo of Mito and a member of one of the Tokugawa collateral houses who had the privilege of directly advising the shogun – to Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni’s idea to have the shogun travel to Nikkō in 1843 bespeaks the existence of various political currents within the Tokugawa governmental machinery.²⁸ As Conrad Totman has argued, while political authority resided directly in the hands of the shogun during the first fifty years of the Tokugawa rule, by the latter half of the Edo period it was the chief senior councilor (*rōjū shuseki*) who held decision-making power. The chief senior councilor governed through what Totman described as “an informal clique of supporters,” that is to say officials directly appointed by the clique’s leader to strategic positions at various levels of the shogunal bureaucratic structure. Moreover, for a clique to be successful, its leader had also to secure the support of individuals - including the shogun, domainal lords with large lands and those related to the Tokugawa clan, and the shogun’s women residing in Edo castle - who were generally excluded from the practical administrative structure, but who retained great political influence.²⁹ Since the Nikkō pilgrimage was performed throughout the Edo period, the definition of “those in power” and of “central state” was ever-changing and contingent. In the case of the 1843 pilgrimage – the main case study discussed in this dissertation – by “central state” or “regime” I generally refer to the reformist clique led by Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni, whose main political goals included furthering the centralization and expansion of shogunal power at the expense of domainal governments, curbing extravagance and emphasizing frugality in governmental and private

²⁸ For a discussion of the political clash between Tokugawa Nariaki and Mizuno Tadakuni, see Conrad Totman, *Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1995), 520-525; 530-31. For a discussion of Tokugawa Nariaki’s opposition to the 1843 pilgrimage see Harold Bolitho, *Treasures Among Men*, 217.

²⁹ See Conrad Totman, “Political succession in the Tokugawa bakufu: Abe Masahiro’s rise to power, 1843-45,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 26 (1966):102-03.

affairs, reinforcing the central government's monopoly over commercial matters, restoring an agriculture-based economy, and refurbishing the public image of the shogun and of his regime as benevolent and considerate of its subjects' needs. Mizuno's allies included key shogunal officials such as Senior Councilors Sanada Yukitsura and Hotta Masayoshi, who supported his decisions; Grand Chamberlain Hori Chikashige, who provided Mizuno with direct access to shogun Ieyoshi; Edo City magistrate Torii Yōzō; as well as lower-ranking officials such as shogunal scholar and Confucian ideologue Narushima Motonao.³⁰

To be sure, the Nikkō pilgrimage did not benefit only those who supported Mizuno's political agenda, nor did Mizuno's political adversaries necessarily oppose the implementation of the pilgrimage. Shogun Ieyoshi, who, by virtue of his role, represented the public face of Mizuno's reformist plan, could also reap benefits from the implementation of the ritual – including the improvement of his public image as a proactive and merciful ruler - even though he did not always support Mizuno's policies as his decision to dismiss the chief senior councilor in late 1843 demonstrates.³¹ Likewise, Senior Councilor and daimyo of Koga domain Doi Toshitsura, who disagreed with Mizuno's reforms and for a brief time assumed control after Mizuno's ousting in 1843, played a pivotal role in the successful implementation of the pilgrimage, as one of the retainers hosting the shogun during his journey and attending on him during the celebrations for Ieyasu's death anniversary that took place on Mt. Nikkō. While opposing Mizuno's political agenda, arguably Doi still profited from the Nikkō pilgrimage as the ritual offered him a chance to reaffirm his relationship with the shogun and to display his military might through the procession that accompanied him to Nikkō.

³⁰ See *ibid.*, 103, 113; Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, 526; Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 70.

³¹ See Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, 531.

Historians of Japan have also debated whether it is appropriate to adopt the term “nation” and related expressions such as “national identity” or “national consciousness” when talking about Tokugawa Japan. While acknowledging that the seeds of Japanese national identity can be found in the Edo period, historians generally associate the emergence of a cohesive Japanese nation with the political agenda implemented by the Meiji regime in the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, which included the construction of the emperor as a unifying and widely known symbol of a shared Japanese identity, the establishment of a highly centralized state, the manufacturing of national holidays, the adoption of a standardized language, the creation of a nation-wide education system, the organization of a modern national army, and the building of national monuments and museums.³² For those subscribing to this view the term “nation” in the context of Tokugawa Japan appears as anachronistic. Yet, many other scholars have argued for the emergence of a Japanese national consciousness and even for the existence of a Japanese early modern nation in the Tokugawa period. For instance, the work of Susan L. Burns and Ewa Machotka have demonstrated that ideas about Japaneseness circulated before 1868 thanks to intellectual movements such as the *Kokugaku* (“Native Studies” or “National Learning”), which emerged in the late-17th century and promoted the study of Japan’s classical literature and culture (as opposed to Chinese culture), and through popular media, including woodblock prints.³³ Mitani Hiroshi has advanced the idea of a Japanese “proto-nationalism,” that is an awareness of belonging to a larger polity that transcended the local governments ruled by domainal lords.³⁴

³² See, for example, Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy. Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 1-28.

³³ Susan L. Burns, *Before the Nation. Kokugaku and the Imaging of Community in Early Modern Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Ewa Machotka, *Visual Genesis of Japanese National Identity. Hokusai’s Hyakunin Isshu* (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2009).

³⁴ See Toby, “Rescuing the Nation from History,” 202.

Like Mitani, Luke Roberts also recognized the existence of proto-national elements in Tokugawa Japan; however, he believes that a Japanese nation did not emerge until the Meiji period.

According to Roberts,

Many individual elements, later transformed and woven into Japanese nationalism, certainly originated in the Tokugawa period and earlier, including some ideas that had been sealed to fit the conceptual space of “Japan” and some to fit the space of “domains” and “houses” as well...Political and religious traditions of an imperially centered country of Japan have deep lineages explored by many scholars, and...certain practices later appropriated by the Japanese state’s official religion of Shintō originally developed in daimyo-ruled domainal countries of the Tokugawa period...However, the existence of these elements, which can be described historically as protonational, made neither “Japan” nor any domain a ‘nation’...Under the feudal politics of the Tokugawa period they were variously and situationally referred to as ‘all under heaven’ realms, military states, daimyo realms, countries, kingdoms, dukedoms, houses, domains, fiefs, and private property.³⁵

Rejecting the idea of a protonation because “the term has the perverse effect of conjoining the histories of the Tokugawa and Meiji periods as necessary complements,” Mary Elizabeth Berry has talked about an “early modern Nihon” or an “early modern nation.”³⁶ Berry believes that the wide circulation of what she calls a “library of public information” that included maps, travel guides, gazetteers, military rosters, commercial directories, and encyclopedias contributed to instill a shared cultural identity in Tokugawa subjects. Nonetheless, Berry argues that the early modern nation did not necessarily correspond with the Tokugawa state because of the remoteness of Tokugawa rulers from the ruled. According to Berry,

This remoteness reflects the peculiarity of the early modern state, which differed from its Meiji successor as deeply as early modern conceptions of territory differed from modern variants. The crucial difference turned on the relationship between ruler and ruled. While exercising paramount powers of governance, the shogunate established no direct tie with

³⁵ Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace*, 9-10.

³⁶ Berry, *Japan in Print*, 212.

subjects and exacted no paramount loyalty from them. While demanding obedience from those subjects, the shogunate inculcated no sentiment of attachment to the person or the office of the shogun. Thus an early modern Nihon defined spatially by internal connection rather than external tension was defined politically by a common structure of rule rather than a universal center of allegiance. And insofar as it required no universal allegiance, the regime required no universal story of itself—on the order of the mythhistory contrived for the Meiji emperor—that might inspire popular devotion. The regime did project a story, to be sure, but one addressed with considerable ambiguity to the elite. In consequence, it imposed lightly on the public mind, leaving open the popular construction of national narratives. Unlike the modern state, which distorted the past into a single chauvinist orthodoxy, the early modern state allowed for a historicism—and for histories of Nihon—separable from itself. First, an overview of state structures; then, a discussion of state stories.³⁷

While my dissertation's main focus is not the extent to which Tokugawa subjects experienced a shared national consciousness, I do contend that besides constructing, displaying, and justifying shogunal authority, the Nikkō pilgrimage did contribute to disseminate an awareness among shogunal subjects of a common membership to the Tokugawa polity. As we shall see, the pilgrimage mobilized subjects belonging to virtually all sectors of Tokugawa society and residing in territories near and far. Moreover, it often called for the collaboration between villages and post-towns that were under the jurisdiction of different local governments in the name of the shogun and of the divine ancestor Ieyasu. From the mid-18th century onward, the shogunate extracted resources destined for the pilgrimage from its subjects regardless of whether they lived in territories administered by or granted to Tokugawa direct retainers or in semi-independent daimyo domains. In this sense the Nikkō pilgrimage allowed the shogunate to infringe on domainal autonomy and temporarily expand the scope of its authority. In turn, the shogunate's imposition of "state duties" (*kuniyaku*) on villages and domains across the archipelago made them aware of the essential role they played in the political life of the nation. The ability to extract resources from lands near and far and to obtain the collaboration of subjects

³⁷ Ibid., 230.

from across the social spectrum is what made the Nikkō pilgrimage a ritual of the “nation.” “Nation” and “realm” are, therefore, used in this dissertation to indicate the conglomerate of lands under the direct rule of the shogunate, lands granted to shogunal direct retainers, and semi-autonomous territories administered by various categories of domainal lords. My adoption of terms such as “nation” and “realm” also suggests that authorities presiding over these lands and to a certain extent subjects residing in these lands acknowledged the existence of a superior political entity, the Tokugawa shogunate, to which they submitted.

3.2. Rituals and ritual-like activities

Anthropologists and historians have taken on the challenging task of defining what constitutes rituals.³⁸ For the purpose of this project, I adopt David Kertzer’s definition of ritual, i.e. “a symbolic behavior that is socially standardized and repetitive...[that] follows highly structured, standardized sequences and is often enacted at certain places and times that are themselves endowed with special symbolic meaning.”³⁹ For Kertzer “ritual action is repetitive and, therefore, often redundant, but these very factors serve as important means of channeling emotion, guiding cognition, and organizing social groups.”⁴⁰ Kertzer’s definition of ritual describes well the ceremonial practices performed by Tokugawa chieftains. Nonetheless, in the specific case of the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō, it must be noted that, while the basic skeleton of the ritual remained unaltered, some of its aspects, including the ceremonies performed at the hosting castles or the scale of the shogunal procession, evolved over time. In other words, while

³⁸ For a discussion of different definitions of ritual, see Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992): 69-93.

³⁹ Kertzer, *Rituals, Politics, and Power*, 9.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

generally “repetitive” and “redundant,” Tokugawa rituals were also flexible enough to allow room for change and for the incorporation of new elements.

The Nikkō pilgrimage - a ritual created and implemented by the early modern Japanese state, but with profound religious and spiritual implications - can be analyzed from a variety of perspectives including that of political history and religious studies. This dissertation looks at the shogunal journeys to Nikkō first and foremost as a “political ritual,” i.e. ceremonial practices that “specifically construct, display, and promote the power of political institutions...or the political interests of distinct constituencies and subgroups.”⁴¹

To be sure, in Tokugawa Japan the threshold between the spiritual and temporal realms was blurred. As a consequence, the religious and political dimensions of rituals often overlapped. For instance, the deification and successive veneration of Ieyasu as Tōshōdaigongen (“Great Incarnation Shining Over the East”) had an important religious significance because it implied the shogunate’s support for the Sannō tradition, the Buddhist-Shintō syncretic doctrine advocated by Tenkai, one of Ieyasu’s closest advisers and the mastermind behind the first shogun’s apotheosis. At the same time the choice of this title had also major political implications because, as we shall see in Chapter 1, it suggested that the now deified Ieyasu was, among other things, an incarnation of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, from whom the imperial line descended.⁴²

The Nikkō pilgrimage was a complex ritual practice that included well-defined and circumscribed ceremonies as well as what Catherine Bell has described as “ritual-like activities,” that is to say practices that were less codified by tradition, but somewhat close to conventional

⁴¹ Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 128-29.

⁴² See Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 59-62.

rituals.⁴³ Examples of ritual-like activity in the context of the Nikkō pilgrimage include the displays of hospitality arranged by post-towns and villages crossed by the shogunal cortege (Chapter 1) or the impromptu audiences between the shogun and the masses along the highways leading to Nikkō (Chapter 2). In this dissertation I discriminate between the Nikkō pilgrimage *sensu stricto* - i.e. the shogunal journey from Edo to Nikkō and back and the celebrations that took place on Mt. Nikkō on Ieyasu's death anniversary, which lasted in total less than two weeks – and the pilgrimage *sensu lato*, which included the preparations in Edo and in other areas of the realm that could start as early as fourteen months before the shogun's actual departure for Nikkō; the pilgrimage itself; and the festive events sponsored by the central regime to celebrate the successful implementation of the pilgrimage, which went on for several months after the shogun's return to Edo. Besides reconstructing the details of the shogun's pilgrimage *sensu stricto* and discussing its meanings and functions, this dissertation also pays attention to the preparatory phases of the shogunal journey to Nikkō as well as to its aftermath and considers them as integral components of the Tokugawa political strategy to preserve, reinforce, and exert power.

A number of broad theoretical contributions from scholars active in the fields of anthropology and ritual studies have significantly shaped my understanding of rituals for this project. The first theory that informs my research is the idea advanced by anthropologists such as Alfred Radcliffe-Brown that rituals play an important social function because they have the power of controlling, preserving, and restoring harmony in the life of systems, including political ones.⁴⁴ Tokugawa shoguns performed rituals such as the Nikkō pilgrimage not only to manifest,

⁴³ See Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 139.

⁴⁴ See *ibid.*, 29.

naturalize, and reaffirm the power dynamics that regulated their system of governance, but also – as the case of the 1843 pilgrimage suggests - to restore order and harmony in times of crisis.

At the same time, this project espouses the idea advanced by anthropologists such as Clifford Geertz and Victor Turner that ritual does not merely preserve existing systems, but it can also help effect change.⁴⁵ As David Kertzer has pointed out,

One of ritual's most distinguishing features is its standardization. This, along with its repetitive nature, gives ritual its stability...If ritual is by nature a conservative form of symbolic action, wouldn't it simply act as a drag on political change? Oddly enough, ritual can be important to the forces of political change just *because* of its conservative properties. New political systems borrow legitimacy from the old by nurturing the old ritual forms, redirected to new purposes...A new regime can...signal its superiority over its immediate predecessor, as well as establish its own identity and legitimacy, by resurrecting older political symbols.⁴⁶

Kertzer's observations are particularly relevant to the study of the Nikkō pilgrimage. As a matter of fact, Tokugawa overlords often traveled to Nikkō after ascending to the shogunal throne to not only signal a change in leadership, but also to distance themselves from their predecessors and announce major changes in policy.

Mary Douglas' argument that rituals are “preminently a form of communication” that have “a constraining effect on social behavior” also informs this project.⁴⁷ As we shall see, the incessant repetition of ritual practices manifested and visualized the rules of the status system that regulated the hierarchies of power within the Tokugawa polity, making them second nature for Tokugawa retainers.

⁴⁵ See *ibid.*, 66-67.

⁴⁶ Kertzer, *Rituals, Politics, and Power*, 42-43.

⁴⁷ Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (New York: Random House, 1970), 41-42.

Another idea that influenced my understanding of rituals is Clifford Geertz's argument that rulers created and manipulated rituals to develop "master fictions," that is ideological narratives meant to sanction their hegemonic position, perpetuate their authority, and preserve social order.⁴⁸ Rituals enabled Tokugawa chieftains to transform the regime's founder into a high-ranking god acknowledged domestically and internationally that overlooked and protected the realm and that could boast prestigious connections with the imperial institution. Specifically, the Nikkō pilgrimage provided successive shoguns with a narrative that helped them legitimize their roles as the realm's overlords by allowing them to create and display a privileged and intimate relationship with their divine ancestor.

For Geertz, however, rituals did not merely give form to power, but they helped construct political reality. Geertz argued that rituals had a creative force and that they did not simply mirror social relations, but they also worked as templates for social behavior.⁴⁹ In his study of 19th century Bali Geertz suggested that rituals allow "imagined reality and experienced reality to merge, thereby recreating social contexts."⁵⁰ He described the pre-colonial Balinese state as a "theater-state," which "through dramatic performance... shaped the world according to the ideals it proclaimed" and in which "the excessive display of wealth provided a platform for the competition for status and the realization of hierarchy, the ultimate legitimization for the use of force."⁵¹ Other scholars have developed similar ideas. For example, according to David

⁴⁸ See Wilentz, *Rites of Power*, 4.

⁴⁹ See Bell, *Rituals: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 66

⁵⁰ Ursula Rao, "Ritual in Society," In *Theorizing Rituals. Issues, Topics, Approaches, Concepts*, eds. Jens Kreinath, Jan Snoek, and Michael Stausberg (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006), 146.

⁵¹ Ibid.

Cannadine rituals are not simply “a mask of force” but rather “a type of power.”⁵² Likewise, David Kertzer has argued that “far from being window dressing on the reality that is the nation, symbolism is the stuff of which nations are made.”⁵³ As we shall see, these observations are useful to understand the nature of Tokugawa rituals, which was often theatrical and aimed at regulating social relations.

To be sure, Geertz’s theoretical framework is beneficial to my project, but it also presents some shortcomings. Some historians have criticized Geertz’s theories for failing to take into account that rituals are not set in stone and that they are in continuous evolution. For instance, Takashi Fujitani has pointed out that “the bulk of Geertz’s work is profoundly ahistorical.”⁵⁴ To address this concern, my project pays attention to the historical ruptures and shifting meanings of the Nikkō pilgrimage throughout the Tokugawa period and provides an in-depth discussion of Japan’s historical and social context in the 1840s.

The theoretical approaches discussed thus far cast light on why rituals represented important political tools for those in positions of power. Nonetheless, my project is also concerned with exploring the limits of ritual efficacy. In the specific case of the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō my dissertation considers not only the intentions and goals that the regime set for itself when executing a shogunal journey to Nikkō, but also whether or not the regime’s efforts were successful and, to the extent possible, the way in which rituals were understood by the ruled. To this goal, my project draws on a number of theoretical contributions by scholars of

⁵² David Cannadine and Simon Price, eds., *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 19.

⁵³ Kertzer, *Rituals, Politics, and Power*, 6.

⁵⁴ Fujitani. *Splendid Monarchy*, 22.

rituals. First is the idea advanced by Victor Turner that rituals are multivocal, that is to say that they have different levels of meanings available to different audiences.⁵⁵ Second is Edward Schieffelin's argument that the nature of ritual is risky and that "while the aim of a ritual may be defined beforehand, its actual effects are an outcome of the concrete performance."⁵⁶ These two observations point to the fact that, despite the regime's tight control over the planning and execution of shogunal rituals, audiences did not necessarily understand those performances in the ways that authorities wished.

Moreover, as Philip Buc has pointed out, scholars of rituals must be wary of assuming, based on historical sources, that rituals naturally achieved the political goals and aspirations of those performing them.⁵⁷ As we shall see, chronicles and ritual records were often produced with clear ideological and self-serving purposes. To measure the gaps between rhetoric and reality, this dissertation considers both sources produced and/or sanctioned by the Tokugawa regime – which I refer to as "official sources" – and private and semi-private accounts and chronicles compiled by individuals less invested in celebrating the regime and demonstrating the success of the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō. Furthermore, to gauge the reaction of Tokugawa subjects to the political strategies enforced by the central state and make up for the lack of records containing sincere discussions of the masses' feelings, I also employ alternative sources including popular woodblock prints.

⁵⁵ See Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 41.

⁵⁶ Rao, "Ritual in Society," 147.

⁵⁷ See Paul Töbelmann, "The Limits of Rituals. Mistakes and Misconceptions, Lies and Betrayals at Peace Conferences in Fifteenth Century France," in *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual*, ed. Axel Michaels (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010) 3: 261-62.

Finally, while the idea that rituals played an important political role is a tenet of this project, this approach did not mean that Tokugawa ritualists merely saw rituals in terms of potential political gain. As James Laidlaw has noted in his discussion of Chinese imperial rituals, “Confucian ritual theory...does not preclude – indeed its tendency is to re-enforce – personal commitment to the practice.”⁵⁸ In other words, Tokugawa shoguns did not just cynically use rituals for their own pragmatic purposes; they also sincerely believed in the legitimacy of those practices.

4. Organization

I have organized my dissertation chronologically into four chapters in order to reconstruct the progression of the Nikkō pilgrimage of 1843 from its official announcement to its aftermath and convey its extraordinary complexity. Each chapter also develops an independent argument. Chapter 1 provides a historical overview of the pilgrimage and of its changing meanings throughout the Tokugawa period. While the essential elements of the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō remained unchanged from its inception in 1617 to its last occurrence in 1843, over the years the political goals that the shogunate hoped to achieve through its implementations varied. By looking at the changing significance of the pilgrimage throughout the Edo period, this chapter emphasizes the flexible nature of rituals as tools of political governance.

Chapter 2 examines the year-long preparations for the pilgrimage and argues that although the pilgrimage itself was geographically limited to the Kantō region, its far-reaching

⁵⁸ James Laidlaw “On Theatre and Theory: Reflections on Ritual in Imperial Chinese Politics.” In *State and Court Ritual in China*, ed. Joseph McDermott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 416.

influence made it an event of national relevance. The pilgrimage involved virtually all strata of Tokugawa society. Moreover, domainal lords and Tokugawa direct retainers that served as shogunal attendants came from domains located in all corners of the archipelago. Resources necessary to the pilgrimage such as packhorses, porters, or building materials came from areas that were far away from the Nikkō highways. Moreover, the incessant series of shogunal audiences, which took place in Edo castle to appoint officials to various pilgrimage-related tasks and positions, allowed Tokugawa chieftains to reconfirm their prominence by performing, again and again, rituals that stressed and made visible the hierarchical order of the shogunal government. The meticulous inspections in the villages, post-towns, and temples along the Nikkō highways enabled the central government to wield its power over its subjects extensively and to infringe on the political autonomy of local domainal governments.

Chapter 3 studies the significance of the shogun's procession as an embodiment of warrior identity and Tokugawa power. I argue that the majestic procession was the centerpiece of the central regime's propaganda plan, and it helped convey messages of authority on different levels. For the warriors directly involved in it, the procession served as a tool to visualize and make sense of the hierarchical structure of the shogunal government. For those that observed it, the procession was not only a reminder of the primary reason for Tokugawa dominance, but also a demonstration of the shogunate's economic strength and organizational skills.

Chapter 4 focuses on the shogun's trip to Nikkō, discusses the use of the road as a stage for politics, and considers the aftermath of the pilgrimage and the implementation of shogunate-sponsored celebrations as propaganda devices. Specifically, in this chapter I cast light on the interactions between the shogun and other members of the warrior elite during the pilgrimage (e.g. the castle lords of Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya who hosted the shogun during his trip),

as well as the ways in which the shogun was presented to the masses along the Nikkō highways. I argue that through the pilgrimage Tokugawa shoguns aimed at reaffirming alliances with their retainers. Moreover, in the specific case of the 1843 pilgrimage, the central state also hoped to project an image of the shogun as a benevolent and enlightened ruler for everyone, both retainers and commoners. If the celebrations that took place on Mt. Nikkō on Ieyasu's death anniversary represented the culmination of the pilgrimage for the shogun and his retainers, Ieyoshi made himself available to public view in unprecedented ways during the procession and afterwards, distributing awards to poverty-stricken subjects and inviting commoners to participate in festive theatrical performances in Edo castle. I contend that these rituals and ritual-like activities allowed Tokugawa shoguns to emphasize their privileged positions of power, celebrate the glorious past of the shogunal clan, and promote a sense of unity between the shogun and his subjects. Finally, through the analysis of writings produced by shogunal ideologues, this chapter tackles the issue of how the central regime expected its subjects to understand and memorialize the shogun's pilgrimage to Nikkō.

CHAPTER 1: FROM FAMILY AFFAIR TO NATIONAL EVENT. THE EVOLUTION OF THE SHOGUNAL PILGRIMAGE TO NIKKŌ BETWEEN 1617 AND 1843.

1. Introduction

On 1617/4/12 shogun Hidetada and his retainers left Edo castle, heading northward in the direction of Nikkō.⁵⁹ Heavy rains and strong winds had been hitting the shogunal capital and the neighboring areas for several days, causing severe floods on the shogunal cortege's route. Despite the unfavorable conditions, Hidetada left Edo castle following his original schedule, as it was imperative that he reach Nikkō in time for the celebrations for his father's first death anniversary.⁶⁰ On 1616/4/17, the shogunate's founder, Tokugawa Ieyasu, had died in Sunpu (modern Shizuoka prefecture), and, in accordance with his will, one year after his burial in a temporary shrine on nearby Mt. Kunō, his deified spirit was to be invited to Nikkō.⁶¹ To this purpose, on 1617/3/15 Ieyasu's mortal remains left Mt. Kunō and, a few weeks later, reached

⁵⁹ Dates in this dissertation are reported in the year/month/day format; however, since the early modern Japanese calculated time using the lunisolar Chinese calendar, they are not to be confused with Western dates. In early modern Japan years were counted using the *nengō*, a unit equivalent to an era that traditionally, but not necessarily, extended through the reign of an emperor. The years between 1830 and 1845 are known as the "Tenpō era" (lit. "era of the heavenly imperial protection"). 1617 corresponds to the 3rd year of the Genna era. Months and days too do not correspond to their Western equivalents, hence 4/12 is not to be confused with April 12th.

⁶⁰ According to the *Tokugawa Jikki*, bridges had been washed away due to the heavy rain. To safely cross the Iruma river (present-day Saitama prefecture) shogunal attendants were forced to spread straw bags filled with stones on the bed of the river. 13 retainers among shogun Hidetada's following were carried away by the strong currents and some packhorses and porters drowned. See TJ39:123. The *Tokugawa Jikki* (True Record of the Tokugawa) is a collection of official records pertaining to the reigns of first ten shoguns, and it was compiled between 1809 and 1849. Its sequel, the *Zoku Tokugawa Jikki* (True Record of the Tokugawa, Continued), covers the reign of the remaining five shoguns.

⁶¹ It is unclear whether Ieyasu made these arrangements in person or if this was a plan devised by his advisers and his son Hidetada. See Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power*, 75-76.

Nikkō, where they were buried in the Tōshōsha, a shrine specifically built for the occasion.⁶² Then, on 1617/4/16 Ieyasu's spirit was formally enshrined in Nikkō, in the presence of shogun Hidetada, Mt. Nikkō's highest religious officials, and a few members of the imperial court. From his mausoleum the regime's founding father was to overlook and protect the realm and the prosperity of the Tokugawa house as Tōshōdaigongen or the "Great Avatar Shining over the East," a title he had been granted directly from the emperor, Japan's ultimate source of political and cultural legitimacy.⁶³ After attending several memorial services to celebrate Ieyasu's death anniversary, Hidetada finally left Nikkō on 1617/4/19. He reached Edo three days later, thus successfully completing his first progress to his father's tomb and setting the precedent for one of the most long-lived and influential Tokugawa political rituals, the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō (*Nikkō shasan*).⁶⁴ In addition to being a critical move for the apotheosis of the shogunate's founding father, the establishment of worship rituals revolving around the deified spirit of Ieyasu was a significant step in the strategy adopted by his descendants to guarantee the continuity of their rule. By pilgrimaging to Nikkō and venerating their ancestor, successive shoguns were able

⁶² Shrines dedicated to Ieyasu were originally called "Tōshōsha." In 1645 their rank was upgraded by imperial decree and their name changed to "Tōshōgū" (see Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*, 28). The character *sha* 社 is used to generally indicate shrines; the character 宮 *gū* refers to particularly prestigious shrines, including, but not limited to, the ones connected to the imperial family (e.g. Ise Shrine/Ise Jingū).

⁶³ Tenkai (1536-1643), Ieyasu's closest adviser, conducted a first enshrinement (*sengū*) on 1617/4/8. Ieyasu's enshrinement was then officialized in the presence of Hidetada on 4/16. For a detailed description of the transferal of Ieyasu's mortal remains and of the enshrinement ceremonies, see Nikkōshishi hensan iinkai, ed. *Nikkōshishi* (Nikkō: Nikkōshi, 1979), 2:90-96.

⁶⁴ The shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō is known today as *Nikkō shasan*. Nonetheless, in official chronicles from the Edo and the Meiji period the pilgrimage is also referred to with more formal titles such as *Nikkō omiya no sankei* (lit. "shogunal pilgrimage to the Nikkō Tōshōgū") or *Nikkōzan no gosankei/Nikkōzan omōde* (lit. "shogunal pilgrimage to Mt. Nikkō). See for example TJ39:123; ZTJ49:488; and TR2:631. By contrast, *shasan* (lit. "pilgrimage") or *goshasan* (lit. "shogunal pilgrimage") are titles generally used in non-governmental and private records. See Harutoshi Takafuji, *Tokugawake to Nikkō Tōshōgū* (Tōkyō: Takarajimasha, 2015), 78.

to showcase their privileged connection with the Tokugawa clan's founder to the eyes of the realm, thus bolstering their position as rightful rulers.

During the two and half centuries of Tokugawa rule, the Nikkō pilgrimage was performed irregularly, but always at crucial moments in the political life of the shogunate or in the reign of a specific shogun. To fully understand the pilgrimage's significance as a tool for building legitimacy and maintaining dominance, it is necessary to consider the peculiar circumstances in which each of its occurrences took place. To this intent, this chapter provides a diachronic analysis of the *Nikkō shasan*, from its inception in 1617 to its last performance in 1843. Such analysis suggests that, even though the pilgrimage remained substantially unchanged in its essential components, its significance and the goals that the regime hoped to reach through its enactment were not always the same. Questioning the idea of ritual as an unchanging and ahistorical force, this chapter posits that the Nikkō pilgrimage was a malleable tool employed by the Tokugawa chieftains to respond to the diverse political challenges that their regime was called to tackle over the course of its existence.

I also contend that even after becoming more standardized in its format in the first half of the 18th century, the Nikkō pilgrimage remained a flexible ritual and it continued to incorporate novel elements. For instance, as we shall see in Chapter 4, extant sources suggest that before shogun Ieyoshi's pilgrimage in 1843, there was no significant and direct interaction between the shogun and the populace during the trip to Nikkō. Ieyoshi's pilgrimage, however, was characterized by the conscious and unprecedented effort by the regime to make the shogun as visible as possible to the masses. As some scholars have noted, such efforts were part of a complex strategy embraced by the Tokugawa government to heal the rift developing between the

ruler and the ruled (*kōgibanare*).⁶⁵ Emphasis on the introduction of new elements and on the purpose they served helps mitigate the view espoused by some scholars according to which by the late Edo period the process of standardization of the ritual and the regime's heavy reliance on precedent transformed the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō and the rituals surrounding Tōshōdaigongen into a mere formality.⁶⁶ As this chapter will show, in the closing decades of the Edo period the Tokugawa regime still considered the Nikkō pilgrimage a useful tool to accommodate new political needs.

Before discussing the individual occurrences of the Nikkō pilgrimage and situating them in their specific historical contexts, I will address the questions of why the pilgrimage was performed irregularly and analyze the reasons for the declining frequency with which it was implemented after the 1640s. To discuss the pilgrimage's perceived value as a mechanism for enhancing authority and control, it is first necessary to ascertain that the shogunate, that is to say the ritual's main beneficiary, understood the pilgrimage's political potential to reinforce Tokugawa authority.

2. An established ritual or a rare occurrence?

A cursory glance at the chronology of the Tokugawa shogunate might leave one with the impression that after the death of Iemitsu in 1651 the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō gradually lost its relevance and eventually became a forgotten ritual rarely performed. According to the

⁶⁵ For a discussion in Japanese of the concept of *kōgibanare*, see Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 23.

⁶⁶ See, for instance, Shigeo Negishi, "Edo bakufu no sairei to Tōshōgū," in *Shintō to Nihon bunka no kokugakuteki kenkyū hasshin no kyoten keisei: kenkyū hōkoku*, ed. Monbukagakushō 21-seiki COE Puroguramu and Kokugakuin Daigaku (Tōkyō: Kokugakuin Daigaku, 2007), 298.

Tokugawa Jikki, an official chronicle of shogunal affairs published in the 19th century, and to its sequel, the *Zoku Tokugawa Jikki*, Tokugawa shoguns implemented the Nikkō pilgrimage nineteen times throughout the Edo period (table 1).⁶⁷ Nonetheless, as some historians have noted, this calculation might not be correct. Evidence for two of these nineteen occurrences, namely Hidetada's progress in 1619 and Iemitsu's progress in 1623, cannot be found in any other source. Therefore, it is impossible to determine whether or not these two pilgrimages actually took place.⁶⁸ Moreover, shogunal chronicles also show that not all of the Tokugawa chieftains travelled to Nikkō. Out of the fourteen members of the Tokugawa family that succeeded Ieyasu to the shogunal throne, only six, i.e. less than a half, performed a pilgrimage to their ancestor's mausoleum in Nikkō, with the third shogun Iemitsu holding the record of nine trips during his reign.

These facts invite two obvious questions. Firstly, if the Tokugawa regime believed in the political potential of the pilgrimage, why didn't Tokugawa shoguns perform it more often? Secondly, why did some shoguns avoid the journey to Ieyasu's shrine? While it is undeniable that, as time progressed, the pilgrimage was performed less frequently, the reasons that account for this fact do not necessarily indicate that the shogunate had lost interest in the ritual. On the contrary, sources suggest that the majority of Tokugawa shoguns planned at one point or another in their careers to travel to Nikkō, but that, due to circumstances often beyond their control, their plans had to be postponed or cancelled altogether. Additionally, the evolution of the Nikkō pilgrimage from a small-scale ritual mostly performed in association with the Buddhist memorial

⁶⁷ This number includes Hidetada's visit as retired shogun (*ōgoshō*) in 1628 and Ietsuna's visit as heir apparent (*udaishō*) in 1649.

⁶⁸ See Negishi, "Edo bakufu no sairei to Tōshōgū," 286-87.

services for Ieyasu and, later on, for his grandson Iemitsu's death anniversaries to a large-scale and costly ritual meant to advertise the power of shogunal clan also helps us understand why in the latter part of the Edo period the pilgrimage was not carried out as often as in the first half of the 17th century.⁶⁹

As mentioned earlier, less than half of Ieyasu's successors traveled to Nikkō, but in numerous instances, a shogun's failure to implement a pilgrimage did not depend on a lack of will. For instance, after traveling to Nikkō in 1649 the fourth shogun Ietsuna made plans for a second pilgrimage to take place in 1660. Nonetheless, the trip was cancelled about two months before its scheduled date because, due to the repeated conflagrations that had hit Edo, including the Great Meireki Fire of 1657 that destroyed over a half of the shogunal capital, "the hearts of the people were not at peace, and the masses were suffering" (*jinshin odayakanarazu, katsu gemin kankon subekereba*).⁷⁰ After visiting Nikkō in 1663, Ietsuna made plans for another trip to take place in 1667 to celebrate his father's 17th death anniversary, but the pilgrimage did not take place, most likely because of the shogunate's financial problems.⁷¹

Ietsuna's successor, Tsunayoshi, planned a progress to Nikkō for 1683, but he decided to postpone his plans because "the people were suffering due to consecutive years of poor crops across the realm" (*ren'nen shokoku beikoku minorazu, banmin shikku suru wo motte*).⁷²

Tsunayoshi did not personally pay a visit to the ancestors' mausolea while on the shogunal

⁶⁹ Following his death on 1651/4/20, the third shogun Iemitsu was buried in the Taiyūin, a mausoleum also located on Mt. Nikkō, in the proximity of the Tōshōgū. Starting in 1663, in addition to visiting Ieyasu's shrine, shoguns traveling to Nikkō would also perform rituals of worship at the Taiyūin. See TJ41:460.

⁷⁰ TJ41: 344.

⁷¹ See Shintarō Suda, *Nikkō Tōshōgū: Tōshōgū yonhyakunen shikinen taisai kinen* (Tōkyō: Shūeisha intānashonarū, 2016), 137 and Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*, 9.

⁷² TJ42: 443.

throne.⁷³ Nonetheless, since the pilgrimage he had planned for 1683 coincided with his father Iemitsu's 33rd death anniversary, a significant date in the Buddhist ritual calendar, he decided to sponsor a grandiose celebration on Mt. Nikkō, which involved over 85,000 members of the clergy.⁷⁴ Tsunayoshi manifested his intentions to pilgrimage to Nikkō one more time in 1697/2/15, but his plan never came to fruition.⁷⁵

The sixth shogun Ienobu announced his intention to visit Nikkō on the occasion of Ieyasu's 100th death anniversary in 1715, but Ienobu's project was halted by his death in 1712.⁷⁶ His successor, Ietsugu became shogun at age four and died only two years later. While shogunal chronicles do not contain any reference to the regime's intention to have the shogun travel to Nikkō, it is likely that Ietsugu's young age and his premature death prevented him and his advisers from making any plan.

The eleventh shogun Ienari announced that he would travel to Nikkō in 1825 and he went as far as appointing his retinue and rehearsing for the ritual celebrations to be performed on Ieyasu's death anniversary. Nonetheless, he first postponed and then cancelled his trip due to floods and poor crops affecting the Kantō region.⁷⁷ In this connection it should be noted that the postponement or cancellation of the pilgrimage because of natural disasters or financial hardships could, paradoxically, work in the government's favor. By sparing the populace from

⁷³ Tsunayoshi visited Nikkō in 1663, when he was serving as domainal lord of Tatebayashi. See TJ41: 463

⁷⁴ See Negishi, "Edo bakufu no sairei to Tōshōgū," 293. While memorials for the deceased are held annually, certain memorial days and years have special significance for Buddhist believers. In addition to the commemorations held on the 7th, 35th, 49th, and 100th day from somebody's death, special celebrations are held on the 1st, 3rd, 13th, 17th, 25th, 33rd, and 50th death anniversaries.

⁷⁵ See TJ43:284 and Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*, 9.

⁷⁶ See Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*, 9.

⁷⁷ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 43.

the labor and the expenses that a journey to Nikkō entailed, the shogun could show concern for his subjects' conditions and provide them with a concrete example of his benevolence.

The last three shoguns - Iesada, Iemochi, and Yoshinobu - did not travel to Nikkō, and shogunal chronicles do not suggest that they made arrangements to pay a visit to their ancestors' mausolea. Their failure to perform the Nikkō pilgrimage, however, had arguably less to do with a lack of interest toward the ritual per se than with Japan's unstable political situation in the last two decades of the Edo period. By the mid-1850s, the regime's authority was so weakened that the shogunate might not have been able to mobilize the enormous resources necessary to the smooth implementation of a large-scale event such as the Nikkō pilgrimage. In 1854, the shogunate signed, under American pressure, the Kanagawa Treaty, officially putting an end to more than two centuries of almost complete isolation from the Western world.⁷⁸ The "re-opening" of Japan to foreign nations exacerbated the internal political crisis, leading to a series of uprisings and even to the assassination of prominent shogunal officials.⁷⁹ By 1862 fear of a foreign invasion forced the Tokugawa regime to relax its regulations for domainal lords' mandatory attendance in Edo (*sankin kōtai*), so that Tokugawa retainers could focus their

⁷⁸ From the 1630s to the early 1850s Japan's contacts with the outside world were severely restricted. The Tokugawa had official diplomatic relations only with Korea and with the Ryūkyū Kingdom. International commerce occurred with the Dutch and the Chinese, who could only reside in Nagasaki, with the Ainu people of Hokkaido (through the mediation of Matsumae domain), with the Koreans (through the mediation of Tsushima domain), and with the Ryūkyū Kingdom (through the mediation of Satsuma domain). The shogunate also proscribed Christianity and forbade international travel.

⁷⁹ An illuminating example of the tense political climate in the closing decades of the Edo period is the so-called "Sakuradamon Incident" (1860), during which shogunal Chief Minister (*tairō*) Ii Naosuke, who had led the negotiations to open Japan to commercial and diplomatic exchanges with the United States, was assassinated by a group of samurai from Mito domain. See Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000): 295-99.

resources on strengthening local defenses.⁸⁰ Clearly, the regime could not afford to deploy hundreds of thousands of men to escort the shogun's progress to Nikkō.

Financial restrictions also prevented the shogunate from implementing the pilgrimage to Nikkō in the closing decades of the regime. As part of the Tokugawa strategy to restore shogunal authority through cooperation with the imperial court against the foreign threat (*kōbu gattai*), the fourteenth shogun, Iemochi, travelled three times from the seat of the shogunal power, Edo, to the imperial capital, Kyoto, over the course of his eight-year reign.⁸¹ Not only did these repeated and prolonged trips to Kyoto put a strain on the already shaky shogunal finances, but their very occurrence is indicative of the declining power of Tokugawa clan. In the early days of the regime shogunal journeys to the imperial capital (*gojōraku*) were a frequent expedient that allowed the Tokugawa chieftains to increase their prestige by showing their loyalty to the imperial institution. Nevertheless, once the Tokugawa had consolidated their position, this practice was abandoned, and after 1634 no shogun visited the imperial capital again. The revival of the shogunal journey to Kyoto in 1863 was therefore an unequivocal sign of the shifting balance of

⁸⁰ Regularized between 1635 and 1642, the system of alternate attendance was by far the most influential and long-lived measure devised by the Tokugawa shogunate to exert control over domainal lords. For more than two centuries daimyo 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 permanently. In return for the administration of local domains, the shogunate required daimyo 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 shogunal facilities. Daimyo were assigned lots whose location and size reflected their 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 daimyo's autonomy by imposing a severe financial burden on them. In 1862 the shogunate 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 ended with the fall of the Tokugawa in 1867. See Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 128-34, 300.

⁸¹ Twice in 1863 and once in 1865. See Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Tokugawa Iemochi to sono jidai. Wakaki shogun no shōgai* (Tōkyō: Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, 2007), 76-77.

power between the shogunate and the court. Additionally, while in 1634 shogun Iemitsu had descended over the imperial capital with an overwhelming contingent of about 300,000 men, the 1863 journey was all but an act of bravado. Iemochi's trip was organized in a great rush and the shogun's retinue comprised a mere 3,000 men.⁸² The last Tokugawa shogun, Yoshinobu, was in power for about one year. Not only did his short tenure make it technically impossible to travel to Nikkō, but by the time he ascended to the throne, anti-Tokugawa sentiments were so widespread that even a grandiose progress to the most prestigious among the Tokugawa sacred sites could not have spared the regime from its inevitable collapse. By the mid-1860s the shogunate had neither the material means nor the authority to organize and implement a complex and costly ritual such as the Nikkō pilgrimage.⁸³

External circumstances were not the sole factor behind the decreasing frequency with which the *Nikkō shasan* was executed after the 1640s. As a matter of fact, in the decades that separate Ietsuna's pilgrimage in 1663 from Yoshimune's one in 1728, the ritual underwent radical transformations that help us understand why in the latter part of the Edo period Tokugawa shoguns did not travel to Nikkō as often as before. Firstly, as we shall see in detail in the next section of this chapter, during Tsunayoshi and Ienobu's reigns, the association of the pilgrimage with the periodical and recurrent Buddhist memorial services marking Tokugawa ancestors' major death anniversaries became looser. As a consequence, free from its ties with the Buddhist ritual calendar, the pilgrimage was carried out less regularly and, in time, it came to be regarded as an extraordinary event that should take place at least once during the reign of each

⁸² See Shin'ya Kusumi, *Bakumatsu no shōgun* (Tōkyō: Kōdansha sensho mechie, 2009), 149-51.

⁸³ It is worth noting that on his first journey to Kyoto in 1863, after reaching Sunpu on 2/20 Iemochi performed a pilgrimage to Mt. Kunō, where Ieyasu had first been buried in 1616. See Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Tokugawa Iemochi to sono jidai*, 76.

shogun.⁸⁴ It also took on a stronger political hue as it was now performed as a propagandistic ritual aimed at overtly marking the transition from a shogunal reign to the next, to reconfirm the continuity and rightfulness of Tokugawa rule, or as an ideological justification for the regime's policies.

Moreover, while in the early days of the regime, the Tokugawa heavily relied on domainal lords and other retainers to cover the expenses deriving from their frequent pilgrimages to Nikkō, by the time of the eighth shogun Yoshimune, the shogunate managed and financially supported most aspects of the *shasan*.⁸⁵ This change, coupled with the transformation of the pilgrimage into a grand-scale event that occurred between the 1640s and 1660s and that increased the costs associated with this ritual, made it impossible for the Tokugawa shoguns to frequently and repeatedly visit Nikkō. As a consequence, after the 1640s vicarious pilgrimages (*daisan*) executed by a shogunal proxy, usually a daimyo or a member of the high-ranking families in charge of shogunal ceremonial affairs (*kōke*), became more frequent.⁸⁶

In conclusion, the fact that shogunal pilgrimages to Nikkō only occurred seventeen times over the course of two and a half centuries and that, after 1663 the *shasan* evolved from a frequently performed practice into a once-in-a-shogun's-reign event do not automatically indicate that the ritual had lost its value. External factors, including natural disasters, sudden deaths, and financial hardships, often disrupted Tokugawa shoguns' plans to travel to Nikkō.

⁸⁴ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 43.

⁸⁵ See Akira Abe, "Kyōho no Nikkō shasan ni okeru kōgi goyō no hensei," *Jinbun gakkai kiyō* 26, (October 1993): 28, 36.

⁸⁶ The vicarious pilgrimage to Nikkō or *Nikkō daisan* was first implemented in 1618, when Honda Masazumi traveled to Nikkō on behalf of shogun Hidetada. The shogunal proxy (*myōdai*) usually traveled to Nikkō three times a year (in the 1st month, the 4th month, and 9th month), as well on extraordinary occasions. See Manabu Ōishi, ed., *Edo bakufu daijiten* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009), 959.

Moreover, radical changes in the way in which the pilgrimage was organized and conceptualized also contributed to its rarer implementation over time.

3. Tradition and change: the Nikkō pilgrimage as an evolving ritual

Due to its standardized and repetitive nature, ritual is often understood as an inherently conservative force, rooted in antiquity and antithetical to innovation.⁸⁷ While this might be true to a certain extent, standardization and repetitiveness do not make rituals immune to change. On the contrary, as cultural products molded by people that live in and experience specific social and historical contexts, “rituals do change in form, in symbolic meaning, and in social effects.”⁸⁸ The shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō was not an exception in this sense. While the core elements of the pilgrimage - i.e. the shogun’s physical progress from Edo to Nikkō and the celebrations at Ieyasu’s shrine – remained essentially unaltered, from its first occurrence in 1617 to its last performance in 1843 the *shasan* underwent radical changes in at least three regards: first in its nature as a religious event; second in its outward appearance; and third, and most importantly, in the goals that the Tokugawa shogunate hoped to reach through its execution.

In regard to the first change, Japanese historians have identified Ietsuna’s pilgrimage of 1663 as a watershed in the evolution of the *Nikkō shasan*’s significance as a religious event. The tenets of the faith centered on Ieyasu were established by Tenkai, a Buddhist monk and one of the first shogun’s most trusted advisers, and they were based on the *Sannō ichijitsu*, a syncretic

⁸⁷ See Brian K. Pennington and Amy L. Allocco, eds. *Ritual Innovation: Strategic Interventions in South Asian Religion* (Albany: State University of New York, 2018), 1.

⁸⁸ Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, 12.

doctrine that blended Tendai Buddhism and Shintō teachings.⁸⁹ As one manifestation of the Tōshōdaigongen's faith, the shogunal pilgrimage included both Buddhist and Shintō elements. Nevertheless until 1663 this ritual retained a strong Buddhist connotation due to the fact that most of the shogunal visits to Nikkō occurred in concurrence with commemorations marking major death anniversaries in the Buddhist ritual calendar for either the first shogun Ieyasu or the third shogun Iemitsu. To be sure, while Shintō rituals were regularly performed, emphasis was put on the Buddhist memorial services offered by the traveling shoguns to guarantee the ancestors' happiness in the afterlife.⁹⁰ This tendency ended during the reign of the fifth shogun Tsunayoshi, who did not perform a pilgrimage in 1683, the year coinciding with his father's 33rd death anniversary. After that time, all the remaining *shasan* - both those carried out and those that ended up being postponed or cancelled - were planned independently from any major Buddhist anniversary.⁹¹

Some scholars have argued that the loosening of the pilgrimage's association with the Buddhist ritual calendar can be explained by considering the growing popularity of Neo-Confucianism in Japan after the collapse of the Ming dynasty in China in 1644.⁹² The defeat of the Ming at the hands of the Manchus, an outside ethnic group, was interpreted by Tokugawa

⁸⁹ See Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 59, 174-76.

⁹⁰ See Negishi, "Edo bakufu no sairei to Tōshōgū," 287. See footnote 74 for an explanation of important Buddhist death anniversaries.

⁹¹ See *ibid.*, 282.

⁹² Neo-Confucianism originated in China with scholars Han Yu (768-824) and Li Ao (772-841) and it became prominent during the Song (960-1279) and Ming dynasties (1368-1644). Neo-Confucianism can be seen as a more rationalist version of Confucian philosophy, lacking the superstitious elements of Taoism and Buddhism that had influenced Confucianism during and after the Han Dynasty. Neo-Confucianism arrived in Japan during the Kamakura period (1185-1333). In the Edo period Neo-Confucian doctrines were developed by scholars such as Fujiwara Seika, Hayashi Razan, and Arai Hakuseki, and Neo-Confucianism became instrumental in the articulation of Japan's early modern political philosophy.

Confucian scholars as the end of the Han's cultural supremacy in East Asia, and it opened the doors to the surge of "nationalistic" doctrines that advocated Japan's superiority over China. Some scholars in Japan saw themselves as the new custodians of Confucian traditions and they strove to present their doctrines as useful for the administration of the realm. Their efforts were successful as Tsunayoshi, who had become shogun in 1680, showed great interest for Neo-Confucianism. Chinese courtiers that had fled their country after the downfall of the Ming and had found shelter in Japan also contributed to the spreading of Confucian doctrines.⁹³

The shogunate's adoption of Neo-Confucianism between the closing decades of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century to pursue specific political goals also contributed to the pilgrimage's gradual detachment from the Buddhist ritual calendar. For instance, in an effort to obfuscate the shogunate's theoretically subordinate relation with the imperial court and recast the shogun into a more independent monarchal figure, Arai Hakuseki, a Confucian scholar and adviser to the sixth shogun Ienobu, abandoned the use of the title *gongensama*, which was associated with Buddhist and Shintō doctrines, to refer to the shogunate's founding father and adopted the appellation of *shinso* ("divine ancestor"). As noted before, *gongensama* was the godly name granted to Ieyasu by the imperial court and therefore it was evocative of pre-modern Japan's "tradition of bifurcated sovereignty."⁹⁴ With its connections to the posthumous names given to Chinese emperor, the title *shinso* provided Ieyasu with "a fully autonomous religious status rather than one dependent on the sanction of the court."⁹⁵ Hakuseki also proposed the

⁹³ See *ibid.*, 292-93.

⁹⁴ Nakai, *Shogunal Politics*, 291. The idea of "bifurcated sovereignty" refers to the co-existence throughout the Edo period of two political figures who could advance claims to head the country, i.e. the emperor, based in Kyoto, and the Tokugawa shogun, based in Edo.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 295.

creation of a Confucian-style ancestral shrine dedicated to Ieyasu.⁹⁶ The shrine was never built, but as a manifestation of the regime's sanctioned ideology, Hakuseki's initiatives are indicative of the ways in which the shogunate's understanding of the worship of Ieyasu, including the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō, changed.

Incidentally, upon Hakuseki's advice, Ienobu announced a pilgrimage to celebrate Ieyasu's 100th death anniversary in 1715, a major Buddhist commemoration. The pilgrimage was never performed because of Ienobu's sudden death in 1712. Hakuseki's proposal might suggest that the Buddhist ritual calendar continued to affect the shogun's decisions about when to travel to Nikkō even after Tsunayoshi's reign, but a memorial written by Hakuseki reveals that the reason why the Confucian scholar insisted on 1715 as a date for the trip to Nikkō had little to do with the commemorations for Ieyasu's 100th death anniversary. Hakuseki believed that shogunal authority could be reinforced through the strategic implementation of rituals and he was trying to introduce some modifications to the shogunal court dress code and to the system of offices and ranks (*kan'i*). Claiming support from the ideas of ancient Chinese scholars, Hakuseki argued that "to establish the rites requires the accumulation of a hundred years of virtuous rule."⁹⁷ Even though the shogunate had been in place since 1603 Hakuseki must have considered Ieyasu's victory over the Toyotomi clan in the Osaka campaigns of 1614 and 1615 as the beginning of Tokugawa family's "virtuous rule." In other words, the implementation of the Nikkō pilgrimage in 1715 was imagined as a way to smoothly introduce Hakuseki's proposed modifications and as a piece of a larger strategy to strengthen the regime's legitimacy.

⁹⁶ See *ibid.*, 297-98.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 293. See also Negishi, "Edo bakufu no sairei to Tōshōgū," 294-95.

The Nikkō pilgrimage also underwent changes in its outward appearance. To be sure, adherence to tradition always played a central role in the implementation of Tokugawa rituals, and as a consequence many of the pilgrimage's essential elements remained unaltered over time. For instance, Tokugawa official records such as the *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki* (Diary of the Shogunal Documents Keepers) contain several entries for the months preceding Yoshimune's journey in 1728 that record requests by shogunal officials to access documents pertaining to previous pilgrimages to Nikkō held in the shogun's private library.⁹⁸ In particular, the last two shogunal trips to Nikkō, which took place respectively in 1776 and 1843, were almost completely modeled after Yoshimune's pilgrimage of 1728. Records detailing the preparations of the 1843 pilgrimage are often accompanied by expressions such as "as in the previous instances" (*senrei no gotoku*), "as in the precedents of the Kyōhō [1728] and An'ei [1776] pilgrimages" (*Kyōhō An'ei no rei ni te*), or simply "as in the past" (*maemae no gotoku*).⁹⁹

Despite the shogunate's regard for tradition, a comprehensive analysis of the history of the Nikkō pilgrimage reveals that several elements of this ritual, including the shogun's itinerary and his schedule, changed over time. For instance, Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya castles started to regularly serve as the shogun's resting places for the night (*shukujō*) both on his way to Nikkō and while traveling back to Edo only in 1728.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, the completion in 1653 of the Taiyūin, a mausoleum on Mt. Nikkō dedicated to third shogun Iemitsu, altered the shogun's schedule while visiting Nikkō. From 1663 on, in addition to pilgrimaging to Ieyasu's shrine,

⁹⁸ See Ōishi, "Nikkō shasan no rekishiteki ichi," 121.

⁹⁹ These expressions can be found, respectively, in MTN16:522; MTN16:550; and TR2:635.

¹⁰⁰ Before 1728, certain shoguns also stopped for the night in Mibu castle and/or at the shogunal palace in Oyama post-town. See Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan. *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*, 14-15.

successive Tokugawa shoguns also stopped at Iemitsu's mausoleum.¹⁰¹ Finally, from 1728 onward, after pilgrimaging to the Tōshōgū and the Taiyūin, the shogun and his retainers also visited major landmarks of Mt. Nikkō (*goyūran*).¹⁰²

The most significant change underwent by the Nikkō pilgrimage, however, was its growth in scale, because it marked its transformation, by the 1720s, into a centrally managed, grandiose ritual embodying the Tokugawa regime's dominion over the realm. The shift to a large-scale event occurred gradually. As Abe Akira has pointed out, the shogunate's decision in 1633 to adopt a retainer's income – which was calculated in liters of rice produced by his domain or received by the central government as a fixed stipend – as a criterion to calculate the number of men that he had to provide to escort the shogun to Nikkō, is an early sign that the pilgrimage was evolving into a large-scale event and that regime felt the need to establish a standardized method for the organization of the shogunal procession.¹⁰³ Abe, however, believes that the *shasan* definitively matured into a grand-scale ritual between the latter part of the Kan'ei period (1624-1645) and the Keian period (1648-1652). It is after this time that sources start to describe the pilgrimage as a magnificent ritual.¹⁰⁴ Tsubakida Yukiko has argued that, despite the lack of clear indications in the sources, the shogunal pilgrimages performed before 1648 must have been rather small in scale. This is because before that time no more than eight months elapsed between the official announcement of the pilgrimage and the shogunal cortege's departure for

¹⁰¹ See TJ41:459.

¹⁰² See Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan. *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*, 10.

¹⁰³ See Abe, "Kyōho no Nikkō shasan ni okeru kōgi goyō no hensei," 23. The conscription system adopted by the Tokugawa shoguns to exact resources from their retainers is known as *gun'yaku seido* and it is discussed at length in Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁴ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 44-45.

Nikkō. Consequently, considering the short time allotted for preparations, the shogunal procession must not have been too big in size. Iemitsu's pilgrimage of 1648, however, was the first one to be announced almost one year in advance, a sign that the ritual was growing in scale.¹⁰⁵ Tsubakida also maintains that a proclamation issued by the shogunate in the fourth month of 1642 demonstrates that toward the end of the Kan'ei period (1624-1645) the pilgrimage was already evolving into a large-scale ritual. According to this proclamation, should the laborers and horses provided by the relay stations located along or immediately around the Nikkō highway (Nikkō dōchū) not suffice, additional resources could also be requisitioned "from slightly farther away territories."¹⁰⁶

The shogunal procession was not the only component of the pilgrimage that grew in scale. Rituals performed by the Tokugawa shoguns during their trips to Nikkō also became more sophisticated. For instance, when the fourth shogun Ietsuna stopped in Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya castles on his way to Nikkō in 1663, the audiences with the castle lords and their chief ministers were performed, for the first time, on a grand scale and included the exchange of gifts as well as the presentation of food and drinks.¹⁰⁷ Scholars have interpreted the modifications undergone by the castle rituals performed by Ietsuna during the 1663 pilgrimage as part of a larger effort by the shogunate to reorganize the relationship between the Tokugawa chieftains and their retainers around the idea of *kōgi*, i.e. the absolute governmental authority

¹⁰⁵ See *ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁰⁷ See Negishi, "Edo bakufu no sairei to Tōshōgū," 288.

held by the Tokugawa shoguns that determined the power dynamics between the shogun and the daimyo by casting the former as the superior and the latter as the inferior.¹⁰⁸

The evolution of the *shasan* into a large-scale ritual was followed by the regime's conscious effort to transform the pilgrimage into a ritual predominantly managed by the central government in Edo. The first steps in the process of centralization were the establishment in the late 1600s of a systematized method for requisitioning laborers and horses to be used on occasions including, but not limited to, the Nikkō pilgrimage and the creation of the Nikkō Magistrate (*Nikkō bugyō*), an office entrusted with the supervision, protection, and administration of the Nikkō domain. The process of centralization of the Nikkō pilgrimage came to completion under the eighth shogun Yoshimune, who ceased to delegate tasks pertaining to the organization of the *shasan*, such as the construction and renovation of facilities, to his retainers and placed them under the direct supervision of the shogunal Bureau of Finance (*Kanjōsho*).¹⁰⁹

By evolving into a majestic and centralized ritual performance, the shogunal pilgrimage came to symbolize the Tokugawa regime's supreme authority over the realm. As we shall see in the next chapters, the pilgrimage's growth in scale meant, above all, that copious resources had to be mobilized to ensure its successful execution. These resources – including building materials, foodstuffs, ceremonial tools to embellish the shogunal route to Nikkō, and laborers and packhorses to transport luggage and supplies, were not obtained solely from the areas

¹⁰⁸ See *ibid.*, 292. For a discussion of the concept of *kōgi* in early modern Japan, see Naohiro Asao, "The Sixteen Century Unification," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1991), 4: 88-95.

¹⁰⁹ See Nikkōshishi hensan iinkai, ed. *Nikkōshishi*, 2:145-46; Manabu Ōishi, ed., *Edo bakufu daijiten*, 339-40; 628; Abe, "Kyōho no Nikkō shasan ni okeru kōgi goyō no hensei," 29. The system devised by the shogunate to extract labor from villages is discussed at length in Chapter 2.

adjacent to the road that connected Edo to Nikkō, but from the entire Kantō region, thus providing the shogunate with an occasion to exert its authority extensively on towns and villages (see Chapter 2). The evolution of the shogunal progress into a grandiose procession also meant that the regime appointed a growing number of retainers to accompany the shogun to Nikkō. For example, on the occasion of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage in 1843, nine daimyo, whose domains were scattered from Kyushu (pre-modern Japan's southernmost island) to the modern day Tōhoku region (northeastern Japan), served as attendants in the shogun's cortege.¹¹⁰ Many other retainers did not directly partake in the procession, but were called to patrol the Nikkō highways and Mt. Nikkō or to protect other sensitive areas of the country during the shogun's absence from Edo.¹¹¹ In this way, the shogunal pilgrimage constituted an event of national interest involving hundreds of thousands of warriors from domains near and far.

To be sure, in spite of the shogunate's decision to centralize its management, the Nikkō pilgrimage continued to be implemented as a collective effort. The collaboration and resources of villages, post-towns, temples, and domains were essential to guarantee the successful implementation of the shogun's journey to Nikkō. Decisions regarding all aspects of the organization and management of the ritual, however, were taken in Edo. By the time of Yoshimune's pilgrimage in 1728, towns and villages regarded the labor they provided for the pilgrimage as a special "state duty" (*kuniyaku*); daimyo appointed to pilgrimage-related business

¹¹⁰ The daimyo are: Andō Nobuyori, Aoyama Yukishige, Hotta Masayoshi, Endō Tanenori, Hori Chikashige, Hotta Masahira, Mizuno Tadakuni, Matsudaira Chikayoshi, and Matsudaira Katsuyoshi. This calculation is based on the procession diagram included in the *Tokugawa Reitenroku* (see Appendix 3) and does not include the three daimyo hosting the shogun during his trip (i.e. Ōoka Tadakata, Doi Toshitsura, Toda Tadaharu), those who traveled to Nikkō separately from the shogunal procession (for instance, Ii Kamon no kami or the members of the Tokugawa cadet houses), and Tokugawa direct retainers (*hatamoto* and *gokenin*). Furthermore, I did not consider Provisional Master of Shogunal Ceremonies Sanada Yuki Yoshi because at the time he was not a daimyo. Nonetheless, Yuki Yoshi was heir to Sanada Yukitsura daimyo of Matsushiro domain.

¹¹¹ See Appendix 2, table 3 for a complete list of retainers appointed to serve in the 1843 pilgrimage to Nikkō.

were performing “government-commissioned tasks” (*goyō*); and the participation in the cortege was part of the military duties (*gun'yaku*) that warriors had to perform for the Tokugawa regime.¹¹² As some scholars have pointed out, in the latter part of the Edo period many shogunal subjects considered, at least in official discourse, the Nikkō pilgrimage as one of the many blessings (*myōga*) bestowed on the people by the shogunate.¹¹³ Likewise, Tokugawa subjects' contributions to the successful implementation of the pilgrimage was seen as a moral obligation and as a way to repay the regime (*kokuon*).¹¹⁴ Partaking in the pilgrimage became therefore an acknowledgment of the supreme authority of the Tokugawa regime over the realm.

4. One ritual, multiple goals

The transformation of the Nikkō pilgrimage into a large-scale and centrally managed ritual suggests that, even though more rarely implemented, for the shogunate this ritual continued to represent a powerful expression of the primacy of the Tokugawa state. Additionally, through its implementation, Ieyasu's successors hoped to achieve a number of other goals, some of which were constant, while some others were specific to the historical context in which a certain shogun lived and ruled. Tokugawa chieftains manipulated the journey to Nikkō as a flexible instrument to respond to the varying political challenges that they were called to confront.

¹¹² For a discussion of “state duty” and its role in the Nikkō pilgrimage, see Hiroshi Kurushima, “Hyakusho and Military Duty in Early Modern Japan,” *Acta Asiatica Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture*, no. 87 (July 2004): 6-7 and Kazuo Ōtomo, “Nikkō shasan to kuniyaku,” 29-51.

¹¹³ “Blessing” (*myōga*) is the term used by the religious authorities at Jigenji temple to describe their reaction upon learning that their temple had been asked by the central regime to host shogun Ieyoshi for lunch during his journey to Nikkō. NSKS2:1 (13).

¹¹⁴ See Ōishi, “Nikkō shasan no rekishiteki ichi,” 198 and Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 207, 211.

4.1 The formative years: Hidetada and Iemitsu

As discussed in the first two sections of this chapter, the majority of the shogunal pilgrimages to Nikkō took place in the formative years of the regime, i.e. under the reigns of Hidetada and Iemitsu. This chapter has also shed light on the performance of the pilgrimage as part of the Buddhist commemorations for the first shogun Ieyasu and, later on, for his grandchild Iemitsu. Finally, this chapter has argued that the relatively small scale and financial affordability of the Nikkō pilgrimage until the 1640s partially account for the high frequency with which Tokugawa shoguns travelled to Nikkō during the first half of the 17th century. The recurrent implementation of the pilgrimage under Hidetada and Iemitsu also suggests the regime's need to naturalize Ieyasu's status as a national deity and, in turn, to shift the center of power from the seat of the imperial court, Kyoto, to the headquarters of the military government, Edo.

As previously noted, it is unclear to what extent the first shogun participated in the decisions pertaining to his deification and afterlife. Nonetheless, the choice of Mt. Nikkō as the heart of the Tokugawa spiritual empire was not arbitrary. Since antiquity this mountain had been considered a sacred place because of its associations with Tendai Buddhism, the religious tradition to which Tenkai, the mastermind behind Ieyasu's apotheosis, belonged. Moreover, because of its position north of the shogunal capital, the mountain bore an auspicious meaning according to the principles of Chinese geomancy.¹¹⁵ Nikkō's position in relation to Edo also allowed Tenkai and Hidetada to draw an important parallel with Mt. Hiei, the heart of Tendai Buddhism in the Kansai region, which, due to its location north of the imperial capital Kyoto was thought to protect it. That Tenkai and the shogunate intended to challenge Western Japan's

¹¹⁵ See Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power*, 77.

supremacy as the religious center of the realm is also indicated by the establishment in 1625 of Kan'eiji temple, a Tendai temple that was erected thanks to the shogunate's support northeast of Edo castle to protect it from evil spirits, and which was meant to emulate the Enryakuji temple of Mt. Hiei.¹¹⁶ Finally, because of its auspicious position north of Edo, Nikkō was also associated with the North Star, of which the Japanese emperor was thought to be an incarnation. By equating Ieyasu's deified spirit with Mt. Nikkō, the Tokugawa intended to usurp an imperial symbol and to rework it to their favor.¹¹⁷

Hidetada's efforts to advance his father's apotheosis are also reflected in the choice of Ieyasu's name as a god. Two of Ieyasu's advisers, Bonshun and Sūden, believed that the first shogun should be deified as "Daimyōjin" ("Great Shining Deity"). Tenkai, instead, proposed the appellation "Tōshōdaigongen," which was eventually approved by Hidetada and formalized by the imperial court on 1617/2/2.¹¹⁸ Besides Tenkai's great influence on Hidetada, there are at least two other evident ideological reasons for the shogunate's decision to deify Ieyasu as Tōshōdaigongen. First, the title "Daimyōjin" had been already used for another powerful warlord, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (Toyokuni Daimyōjin), who had ruled Japan right before the establishment of the Tokugawa military government. Hidetada's preference for "Tōshōdaigongen" therefore was as an attempt to erase Hideyoshi's legacy and to emphasize the difference between Ieyasu and Hideyoshi. Secondly, the name "Tōshōdaigongen" enabled the

¹¹⁶ See Hiroshi Watanabe, *The architecture of Tōkyō: an Architectural History in 571 Individual Presentations* (Stuttgart: Edition Axel Menges, 2005), 30. It should be noted that Kan'eiji temple was also known as "Tōeisan," literally "Mt. Hiei of the East" (it is common in Japanese to refer to religious institutions by using the name of the mountain on which they were located).

¹¹⁷ See Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power*, 77-78.

¹¹⁸ See Hiromu Ozawa, "Kanzō 'Nikkō Tōshōgū sankeizu byōbu' ni tsuite," *Tōkyōto Edo-Tōkyō Hakubutsukan kiyō* 2, (March 2012):13 and Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 59.

shogunate to continue its campaign of appropriation of imperial symbolism. According to Tenkai's syncretic doctrines, Tōshōdaigongen was not only an avatar of Sannō Hie, a deity venerated by the Tendai school, but also a reincarnation of the sun goddess Amaterasu, from whom the imperial line was thought to have descended.¹¹⁹

While collaborating with Tenkai to shift Japan's religious center from the West to the East and ennobling the deified spirit of his father, the second shogun also endeavored to spread Tōshōdaigongen's new-born faith widely across the country. As early as 1618, Hidetada established a Tōshosha shrine in Edo Castle. The Tokugawa Owari clan followed Hidetada's example the next year, and in 1621 Tōshosha shrines were established in Mito and Kii domains. By 1625, seventeen shrines worshipping Tōshōdaigongen had been established by Tokugawa retainers, and throughout the Edo period about 220 shrines scattered all over the land worshipped Ieyasu.¹²⁰ In short, Hidetada's pilgrimages were part of the regime's strategy to carry out Ieyasu's apotheosis and to build royal authority (*ōken*) for the Tokugawa house by transferring the center of religious and political power from Western to Eastern Japan and by disseminating Tōshōdaigongen's faith across the realm.

Iemitsu, who became shogun in 1623, holds the record among the Tokugawa chieftains as the shogun who travelled to Nikkō the most times. Iemitsu's repeated and frequent pilgrimages have often been ascribed to his profound devotion for his grandfather Ieyasu, which "went beyond the

¹¹⁹ See Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 174. It should be noted that the character "shō" in Tōshōdaigongen is the Chinese reading (*on'yomi*) of 照 (*terasu*), which is also used for writing the name of the sun goddess Amaterasu.

¹²⁰ See Nikkōshishi hensan iinkai, ed. *Nikkōshi*, 2:126-27. Jurgis Elisonas estimates that no fewer than 500 shrines dedicated to Ieyasu existed in the Tokugawa period; however, sources for this claim are unclear. See Jurgis S.A. Elisonas, "The Polity of the Tokugawa era," About Japan: a Teacher's Resource. Japan Society. Last modified 2019. http://aboutjapan.japansociety.org/the_polity_of_the_tokugawa_era_1#sthash.5m95WW3U.ISAcnZSc.dpbs.

path of love and respect and was closer to a real faith.”¹²¹ According to anecdotal evidence, despite being Hidetada’s first born, Iemitsu had not been originally chosen as the shogunal heir, and Hidetada changed his mind only thanks to Ieyasu’s insistence. Iemitsu also believed that his recovery from smallpox was due to the intervention of his grandfather, who had appeared to him in a dream.¹²² These episodes might partially account for Iemitsu’s extraordinary attachment to Ieyasu, but the third shogun’s enthusiastic implementation of the Nikkō pilgrimage is better understood as part of a strategy of consolidation of shogunal power and of Iemitsu’s own legitimacy as ruler that ended with Ietsuna’s succession in 1651. According to the *Meishōgenkōroku*, a collection of stories about famous warlords compiled at the end of the Edo period, at the moment of his succession to the shogunal throne, Iemitsu announced that, unlike Ieyasu and Hidetada who had pacified the realm with the help of daimyo and who treated daimyo as their equals, he, who was a shogun by birth (*umarenagara no tenka*), expected daimyo to see him not as a warrior among warriors, but as an overlord among his retainers.¹²³ While this episode is most likely apocryphal, it exemplifies the third shogun’s political concerns. Iemitsu was the first shogun born in Edo and, unlike Ieyasu and Hidetada, he had reached the apex of power not by military value, but merely by virtue of his blood ties with his predecessors (hence the appellation “shogun by birth”). Like his father, Iemitsu worked to bolster the prestige of Tōshōdaigongen by performing the pilgrimage frequently. Additionally, he also endeavored to justify his position in the eyes of the military elites and to demonstrate that the Tokugawa

¹²¹ This is a quote by Japanese historian Shōmyō Urai (1937-) quoted in Ozawa, “Kanzō ‘Nikkō Tōshōgū sankeizu byōbu’ ni tsuite,” 14.

¹²² See Nikkōshishi hensan iinkai, ed. *Nikkōshi*, 2: 150-51.

¹²³ See Shigesane Okanoya, *Meishōgenkōroku* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1937), 6:11.

shogunate, which had by now reached the third generation of rulers, was not a mere system of domination but a rightful and natural social order.¹²⁴

To achieve his political goals, Iemitsu went beyond simply pilgrimaging to Nikkō. To enhance the prestige of his grandfather's mausoleum, in 1634 the third shogun ordered the dismantling and reconstruction of the Nikkō shrine. The lavish renovations, which were completed in time for Ieyasu's 20th death anniversary in 1636, required a staggering amount of money and labor.¹²⁵ The decision to refurbish Ieyasu's shrine should be regarded, once again, as a challenge to the cultural and religious hegemony of the imperial court in Kyoto. Emulating the example of the Ise shrine, the highest Shintō institution linked to the imperial family, which was traditionally renovated every twenty years, Iemitsu suggested that the same practice should be applied to Ieyasu's mausoleum, thus creating an analogy between the imperial clan and the Tokugawa family.¹²⁶

The renovation of the Nikkō shrine was also part of a grand project that aimed at the creation of a network of monumental Tokugawa landmarks scattered across the realm. As early as 1624, the shogunate ordered the renovations of Nijō castle, the main Tokugawa residence in Kyoto; in 1625, the Kan'eiji, one of the two Tokugawa funerary temples in Edo, was erected; in 1632 the Taitokuin, a mausoleum for the second shogun Hidetada was built in Edo; and between 1633 and 1634 Nagoya castle was renovated extensively. The reconstruction of the Ieyasu's shrine in

¹²⁴ See Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 64.

¹²⁵ See Ozawa, "Kanzō 'Nikkō Tōshōgū sankeizu byōbu' ni tsuite," 14 and Nikkōshishi hensan iinkai, ed. *Nikkōshi*, 2: 390-94.

¹²⁶ The practice of periodically refurbishing the Ise Shrine (*shikinen sengū*) has been chronicled since the 7th century CE. The most recent reconstruction took place in 2013. See John H. Stubbs and Robert G. Thomson, *Architectural Conservation in Asia: National Experience and Practice* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 43.

Nikkō was, therefore, only one of Iemitsu's many manifestations of power through the device of monumentality.¹²⁷

To increase his clan's prestige, Iemitsu manipulated the imperial institution to an unprecedented extent. For instance, in 1636 the third shogun ordered the composition of a scroll, the *Tōshōsha engi*, which was meant to serve as a sanctioned narrative of Ieyasu's deification. Iemitsu entrusted Tenkai with the composition of the text, but he requested that the retired emperor Gomizunoo inscribe it. In 1640, Iemitsu ordered the creation of another scroll, the *Tōshō Daigonen engi*. Tenkai was again in charge of composing the text, but this time, in addition to the retired emperor, various other members of the imperial court were asked to inscribe sections of it. Besides the cultural prestige deriving from the imperial calligraphy, the scrolls were also politically significant because their very existence suggested that the imperial institution accepted and endorsed Ieyasu's apotheosis.¹²⁸ Iemitsu also pressured the imperial court to elevate the status of Ieyasu's shrine. His efforts finally paid off in 1645/11/3, when Emperor Gokōmei granted the rank of *miya* (*miyagōsenge*), the highest denomination for a Shintō shrine, to the Tōshōsha. This move enabled the shogunate to place Ieyasu's shrine, now renamed Tōshōgū, on the same level as the imperial ancestors' shrine in Ise.¹²⁹

In addition to cementing Ieyasu's image as a divine ruler (*shinkun*), Iemitsu's frequent pilgrimages to Nikkō also advanced the plan already set in motion by Hidetada to shift permanently the center of religious and political power from Western to Eastern Japan. As

¹²⁷ See Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power*, xiii-xv and William Coaldrake, "Building a New Establishment: Tokugawa Iemitsu's Consolidation of Power and the Taitokuin Mausoleum," in *Edo and Paris. Urban Life and State in the Early Modern Era*, ed. James L. McClain, John M. Merriman, and Kaoru Ugawa (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997), 153-72.

¹²⁸ Ozawa, "Kanzō 'Nikkō Tōshōgū sankeizu byōbu' ni tsuite," 14.

¹²⁹ Nikkōshishi hensan iinkai, ed., *Nikkōshishi*, 2:151-54. See also footnote 62.

Herman Ooms has pointed out, “movement had great symbolic significance, and the *bakufu* made it speak of its own political hegemony.”¹³⁰ Iemitsu capitalized on the symbolic meaning of movement more than his father. During their tenure as shoguns, both Ieyasu and Hidetada regularly visited the imperial court. Iemitsu followed his predecessors’ example, but, after parading over Kyoto with a majestic procession in 1634, he abandoned this custom altogether. A look at the chronology of Iemitsu’s reign can help us understand the political value of this move. Iemitsu had been shogun since 1623, but his father Hidetada continued to hold the reins of power until his death in 1632. Iemitsu’s final procession to Kyoto was, therefore, his first display of authority as a full-fledged and independent ruler, and for this reason it is often dubbed as *miyogawari no jōraku*, literally “the journey (to Kyoto) for the political succession.”¹³¹ A few months after returning to Edo, Iemitsu traveled to Nikkō, thus using the pilgrimage as a symbolic watershed to further emphasize the transition from his father’s reign to his own.¹³² Then in 1635 he established the so-called “system of alternate attendance” (*sankin kōtai*), a form of military duty that forced Tokugawa retainers to divide their time between the shogunal capital and their domains.¹³³ By having daimyo travel to Edo every other year, not only was Iemitsu able to keep them under control by placing a perpetual burden on their finances, but he also made it clear where the political heart of the realm was located.

¹³⁰ Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 55.

¹³¹ Ozawa, “Kanzō ‘Nikkō Tōshōgū sankeizu byōbu’ ni tsuite,” 14.

¹³² It should be noted that, even though Iemitsu traveled to Nikkō in 4/1632, he did not visit Ieyasu’s shrine on this occasion. Iemitsu was still mourning his father’s death, which had occurred three months before, and because of the “defilement” (*kegare*) deriving from this condition he could not access the ancestor’s shrine. For this reason, Ii Naotaka, lord of Hikone domain, performed a pilgrimage to Ieyasu’s shrine on behalf of Iemitsu on 4/17. In this light, it can be argued that Iemitsu’s real first visit to Ieyasu’s shrine as a full-fledged shogun occurred in 1634. See, TJ 39: 547.

¹³³ See footnote 80.

Iemitsu also took advantage of foreign relations to expand recognition of the shogunate's political supremacy, turning Nikkō into a successful diplomatic arena. Under the third shogun Korean delegations travelled to Nikkō twice, in 1637 and 1643, to present gifts and offer prayers to Ieyasu's deified spirit. In 1642 the shogun was also able to obtain a congratulatory inscription by the Korean king to be hung on the Yōmeimon gate of the Tōshōsha, and in the same year the shogunate arranged the casting in Korea of a bronze bell to be displayed at Nikkō. As expected, the regime paraded Korean visits and gifts to Ieyasu as incontrovertible proof that Tōshōdaigongen's glory was acknowledged beyond the Japanese islands. Contemporary sources reveal that the Korean embassies to Nikkō were regarded by both the imperial court and the military elite as proof of the excellence of Tokugawa rule.¹³⁴ Regardless of how these missions affected Japan's foreign relations with Korea, the aristocracy and the warrior elite's reactions suggest that they certainly contributed to solidifying the shogunate's authority domestically.

Iemitsu's last move in his strategy of elevation of Ieyasu's divine status came in 1646, when, under shogunal pressure, the imperial court agreed to sending an envoy to Nikkō (*reiheishi*) every year on the occasion of Ieyasu's death anniversary. This practice was molded after the imperial custom of dispatching a messenger to Ise annually to present an offering to the imperial ancestors (*Ise reiheishi*). In 1467, the imperial court was forced to abandon this practice due to political unrest in the imperial capital, but Iemitsu revived it in 1647 as an expression of gratitude for the privilege of receiving an annual imperial offering presented to Nikkō.¹³⁵ The establishment of the imperial envoy to Nikkō was Iemitsu's final move to solidify shogunal

¹³⁴ Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan. Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 98-99.

¹³⁵ Nobutaka Inoue, "Reiheishi," Encyclopedia of Shintō, Kokugakuin University, accessed October 2019, http://k-ame.kokugakuin.ac.jp/DM/dbTop.do?class_name=col_eos

authority through movement and, at the same time, one of the many mechanisms through which he elevated Ieyasu's status by creating solid connections with the imperial institution.

Finally, Iemitsu manipulated Nikkō to ensure the continuation of the shogunal line. After the birth of his son Takechiyo (future shogun Ietsuna) in 1641, Iemitsu did not waste any time to consolidate the boy's position as a future Tokugawa chieftain. As early as 1642/2/9, the heir apparent paid a visit to the Hie Sannō shrine, which the regime regarded as a protector of the shogunal capital and of the Tokugawa house, to perform the *ubusuna mairi*, a propitiatory pilgrimage to the shrine of the tutelary deity of one's birthplace.¹³⁶ Two months later, in an attempt to further officialize Takechiyo's position as heir to the shogunal throne, Iemitsu left for Nikkō to announce the birth of his son to Ieyasu. Takechiyo would pilgrimage to Nikkō for the first time in 1649, at age eight. Iemitsu's insistence that his son perform the shogunal pilgrimage despite his young age and frail health suggests that, aware that his rule was coming to an end, the shogun was striving to bolster his heir's legitimacy as much as possible.

4.2. Ietsuna

Ietsuna succeeded to the throne in 1651 and he pursued many of his father's policies to cement shogunal authority. For instance, he continued to manipulate foreign relations as a tool of Tokugawa power as evidenced by the bronze lanterns presented in 1655 by the Korean king to Iemitsu's mausoleum in Nikkō.¹³⁷ Ietsuna also continued to exploit the imperial court's cultural prestige to elevate the status of the Tokugawa dynasty. In 1654 the Rinnōji - the complex that

¹³⁶ Ozawa, "Kanzō 'Nikkō Tōshōgū sankeizu byōbu' ni tsuite," 22-23.

¹³⁷ Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan*, 103.

supervised all religious institutions located on Mt. Nikkō - became a *monzeki*, i.e. a temple whose abbot was a member of the imperial family.¹³⁸

Ietsuna's visit to Nikkō in 1663 was aimed at reinforcing Tokugawa authority. As previously noted, Ietsuna brought some changes to the Nikkō pilgrimage, including the introduction of sophisticated rituals performed in the castles hosting the shogun during his trip to Nikkō that were meant to emphasize dōmianial lords' allegiance to the Tokugawa house. Immediately after his return to Edo Ietsuna also implemented a number of policies aimed at tightening his control over the realm. For example, in 1663/5 the shogunate issued an updated version of the code regulating military houses (*buke shohatto*) that included new injunctions against unfilial behavior. Less than one year later, Ietsuna sponsored a nation-wide re-organization of documents attesting land ownership (*kanbun inchi*). In this context, the Nikkō pilgrimage of 1663 helped Ietsuna prepare the ground for the smooth implementation of his policies by setting up an awe-inspiring and majestic demonstration of shogunal authority that acted as a formal justification for the regime's new political measures.

4.3 Tradition and innovation: Yoshimune, Ieharu, and Ieyoshi

The last three shogunal pilgrimages to Nikkō (1728, 1776, and 1843) are often discussed together for several reasons. Firstly, they are very similar to one another in terms of outward appearance and schedule because Yoshimune's journey to Nikkō in 1728 was adopted as a model for his successors. Secondly, the last three pilgrimages share the goal of serving as a response to a perceived crisis and as an attempt to revitalize shogunal institutions. As a matter of fact they were all implemented in the latter part of the Edo period, when the regime's economic

¹³⁸ Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*, 28.

and political power was becoming increasingly weaker and, as a result of the long *pax Tokugawa*, the samurai class - now turned into a full-fledged bureaucratic elite - had permanently lost touch with the practical aspects of warriors' lives.¹³⁹ Generally speaking, from the 1650s on three basic problems plagued the shogunate with increasing intensity. The first one was the disconnect between the growing size of the government and its inability to extract sufficient revenue from its lands for its own survival. The Tokugawa economy was largely supported by an agrarian base that in time became unable to meet the needs of the ruling class. The second problem had to do with the deterioration of the Tokugawa social fabric. Absence of conflict combined with new farming techniques brought about larger rural surpluses, an unprecedented commercial development, and urban wealth. In the cities, the growth of a market economy contributed to increasing the discrepancy between the social position deriving from the official status devised by the Tokugawa and the real economic power of people within that status system. Merchants, who ranked low on the Confucian-inspired social hierarchy because of their occupation, generally remained politically irrelevant, despite their growing wealth; on the contrary, samurai, whose rice stipends were fixed, became poorer and poorer, despite their

¹³⁹ This is not to say that the shogunate faced the same challenges and problems in 1728 as it did in 1776 and 1843. Japanese historians generally identify three major sets of reforms - collectively known as "three great reforms" (*sandai kaikaku*) - that were implemented by the central regime in the last 140 years of shogunal rule, i.e. the Kyōhō reforms (1722-36) during the reign of the eighth shogun Yoshimune, the Kansei reforms (1787-93) during the reign of the eleventh shogun Ienari, and the Tenpō reforms (1841-43) during the reign of the twelfth shogun Ieyoshi. Historian Fujita Satoru has pointed out that the idea of "three great reforms" is problematic because the conceptualization of these reformist efforts as a set originated only in the 1940s. Moreover, Fujita has argued that historians' focus on the "three great reforms" ignores the existence of several other attempts by the central regime to renovate shogunal institutions. An example of such ignored economic reforms are the so-called Tenmei reforms implemented by Tanuma Okitsugu during the reign of the tenth shogun Ieharu, a few years after the 1776 pilgrimage to Nikkō. Finally, Fujita argues that there is a remarkable difference between the social, economic, and political context of the Kyōhō (1716-36), the Kansei (1789-1801), and the Tenpō (1830-44) eras and he believes that the Tokugawa regime's systemic problems began only after Yoshimune's reign and not in the Genroku period (1688-1704). See Satoru Fujita, *Kinsei no sandai kaikaku* (Tōkyō: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2013), 6-16.

monopoly of political affairs. The gap between ideal social order and reality eroded warriors' loyalty toward the regime and caused widespread social discontent and a gradual alienation of the ruled from the rulers. A third problem was the impact on the country of recurrent droughts, followed by failed crops and shortage of food. Between 1675 and 1837 at least twenty great famines plagued the Japanese archipelago. Food shortages, coupled with growing fiscal pressure, led to a boom in the number of mass protests and rural uprisings (*ikki*) from the mid-18th century on. Historians have calculated that from the early 17th century to the mid-18th century the shogunate dealt with 146 peasant uprisings in its territories. In the following 90 years the number of uprisings spiked, totaling 401.¹⁴⁰ Finally, from the end of the 18th century on the regime also had to face the threat of foreign encroachment. By 1843, when the last shogunal visit to Nikkō took place, the economic, political and social situation had deteriorated so much that historians often use the expression *naiyū gaikan* ("troubles at home and dangers from abroad") to describe the atmosphere of the closing decades of the Tokugawa regime.¹⁴¹

Despite the common goal of restoring shogunal authority, the last three pilgrimages to Nikkō present some relevant differences with respect to the context in which they were implemented and the goals that the shogunate hoped to achieve through their execution. For instance, while the last three pilgrimages were consistently accompanied by Tokugawa-sponsored economic and social reforms, such policies differed in nature. Specifically, the measures introduced during the reigns of Yoshimune and Ieyoshi are generally described as conservative and focused on austerity and frugality; those implemented during Ieharu's reign,

¹⁴⁰ See Mikiso Hane and Louis G. Perez, *Premodern Japan. A Historical Survey* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2015), 272.

¹⁴¹ See, for example, Fujita, *Kinsei no sandai kaikaku*, 67 and William G. Beasley, *The Meiji Restoration* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), 41.

instead, were characterized by government spending and promoted commercial expansion under the shogunate's control.¹⁴² Moreover, the intensity of the economic, social, and political problems faced by the shogunate changed significantly between the 1720s and the 1840s. For instance, the wave of disastrous famines of the Tenmei (1781-89) and Tenpō (1830-1845) eras and the repeated incidents involving attempts by foreign vessels to break Japan's isolation that occurred in the first three decades of the 1800s made issues such as the general sense of mistrust toward the government and internal security more urgent than ever. Let us examine, therefore, what the last three pilgrimages to Nikkō reveal about the political agendas of Yoshimune, Ieharu, and Ieyoshi, respectively.

Yoshimune was the first shogun to systematically tackle the shogunate's structural problems. His reforms, whose alleged purpose was "to return to the days of Ieyasu" (*shoji Gogensama osadame no toori*), are usually divided into two main phases. The former roughly goes from 1716 to 1722 and it saw the implementation of measures aimed at reinforcing the shogun's direct control over political affairs, the introduction of a fairer and more humane legal system, and the use of austerity to reduce government expenditure. The latter phase, from 1722 onward, was instead focused on the revitalization of shogunal finances and the attainment of financial equilibrium through agricultural and fiscal reforms.¹⁴³ The decision to perform the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō six years after the start of Yoshimune's efforts to replenish the Tokugawa treasury, was hardly an arbitrary one. As a matter of fact, between 1724 and 1730, Yoshimune's policies gained the shogunate an 11% increase in its annual income, and the year

¹⁴² See, Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 240 and John W. Hall, *Tanuma Okitsugu 1719-1788: Forerunner of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1955), 18.

¹⁴³ For a detailed discussion of Yoshimune's reforms, see Tatsuya Tsuji, "Politics in the eighteenth century," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1991), 4: 445-56.

before Yoshimune's departure for Nikkō the shogunate was able to extract a total revenue of 1.62 million *koku* through the land tax (320.000 *koku* more than in 1723).¹⁴⁴ Yoshimune's pilgrimage, which was announced in the seventh month of 1727 and implemented on a grand scale less than one year later, served therefore as an eloquent statement of the government's new-found financial stability.

As discussed in the previous section of this chapter, with Yoshimune the pilgrimage underwent a radical transformation, turning from a cooperatively managed ritual to a highly centralized event organized for the most part by the regime in Edo. For example, from 1728 onward the construction and renovation of facilities used by the shogun along the highways leading to Nikkō as well as the food and the entertainment provided to the shogun during his sojourn in Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya castles were managed and paid for directly by the central government.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, while in 1663 a number of shogunal direct retainers based in Shimotsuke province supervised the construction in Nikkō of sheds (*koya*) that were meant to be used by shogunal officials on duty during the pilgrimage, starting in 1728 the shogunate took over this task.¹⁴⁶ In addition to centralizing the organization of the pilgrimage, Yoshimune also reformed the system through which the shogunate extracted labor for the preparation and the implementation of the *shasan*. As we shall see in Chapter 2, Yoshimune's introduction of a system that allowed the shogunate to mobilize men and resources from the entire Kantō region

¹⁴⁴See *ibid.*, 450. The *koku* was a unit of volume used to measure rice. One *koku* corresponds to roughly 180 liters, which was deemed the quantity necessary to feed one person for one year. The value of a domain was also measured in *koku*. The *kokudaka* indicated (but did not reflect accurately) the annual rice yield of a land.

¹⁴⁵ See Abe, "Kyōho no Nikkō shasan ni okeru kōgi goyō no hensei," 27.

¹⁴⁶ See *ibid.*, 28.

(*yosejinba*) significantly expanded the area over which the shogunate could exert its authority.¹⁴⁷

These transformations seem to be in line with Yoshimune's efforts in the first phase of the Kyōhō reforms to expand direct control over political affairs and aggrandize shogunal authority.

While Yoshimune's journey to Nikkō was carried out as an awe-inspiring and lavish demonstration of power, proclamations issued before and during the pilgrimage often encouraged shogunal officials to behave frugally and avoid unnecessary expenses. For instance, echoing the ideals of austerity and thriftiness promoted by the Kyōhō reforms, a memorandum composed by a shogunal official in 1727/8 reports that "in order not to burden the people the shogunate intended to conduct the pilgrimage in a plainer manner than in the past."¹⁴⁸ Even though the majestic size of Yoshimune's parade and his efforts to expand the regime's ability to obtain forced labor seemed to clash with the regime's official appeals to frugality, the Nikkō pilgrimage was a tool of propaganda flexible enough to allow the shogunate to develop two antithetical narratives – one of splendor and lavishness, the other of thriftiness and concern for the people – and, most importantly, to formally justify both of them in the name of the divine ruler Ieyasu. This tension between "going big" in order to vaunt the shogun's power and "keeping things simple" to demonstrate the ruler's morality is a recurrent characteristic of the pilgrimages implemented in the latter part of the Edo period.

Yoshimune's decision to travel to Nikkō was also connected to another concern that had been troubling the shogun since his succession to the throne in 1716, i.e. his relationship with the regime's founding father Ieyasu. Yoshimune was the first shogun not to belong to the main line of the Tokugawa clan. He was, instead, the head of the Kii Tokugawa house, one of the three

¹⁴⁷ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 46-48.

¹⁴⁸ Abe, "Kyōhō no Nikkō shasan ni okeru kōgi goyō no hensei," 26.

cadet branches (Gosanke) established by Ieyasu to prevent the extinction of the shogunal house in case the main dynastic line could not provide an heir to the throne. When the seventh shogun Ietsugu died heirless at age 6, Yoshimune, who at the time was daimyo of Kii domain, was appointed shogun. In order to solidify his position as rightful ruler, Yoshimune went to great lengths to display his devoutness to Ieyasu and to create a link with the shogunate's founder. For instance, in an edict he promulgated in 1721, Yoshimune stated:

That I myself and all of you have met with a period of peace, in which the empire is well-ordered, and that we live in ease, is solely due to the divine virtue of the Tōshōgū. Is it not something to be grateful for? Moreover, that you all now live in ease on account of the meritorious military service of your ancestors, and that your fathers and ancestors have obliged you with their military favor – how could you take this lightly?¹⁴⁹

Similarly, on 1722/12/26 and on 1735/4/11 Yoshimune sponsored special celebrations to commemorate the 180th anniversary of Ieyasu's birth and the 120th anniversary of the unification of Japan after Ieyasu's victory at Osaka, respectively.¹⁵⁰

In order to display his devoutness to Ieyasu, Yoshimune also pursued a radical restructuring of the worshipping rituals for the Tokugawa ancestors that aimed at augmenting Ieyasu's prestige by deemphasizing the status of successive shoguns. For example, Yoshimune reduced the number of mausolea built in Edo to commemorate Ieyasu's successors. The fire that destroyed Iemitsu's mausoleum in the precincts of the Kan'eiji temple in 1720 provided an excuse to enforce this change. Claiming that the mortuary tablets of the imperial family were

¹⁴⁹ W. J. Boot, "The religious background of the deification of Tokugawa Ieyasu," in *Rethinking Japan*, Vol. II, eds. Adriana Boscaro, Franco Gatti, and Massimo Raveri (Sandgate, Folkestone: Japan Library, 1991), 331.

¹⁵⁰ See TJ45:291, 683. 1722 marked the completion of three sexagenary cycles (*kanshi*) of the Chinese traditional calendar from the year of Ieyasu's birth. Likewise, 1735 marked the passing of two sexagenary cycles from the so-called "Genna armistice" (*Genna enbu*) of 1615 that brought an end to the conflict between the Tokugawa and the Toyotomi clans.

worshipped all at one place, Yoshimune decided not to rebuild Iemitsu's mausoleum, as there was already one in Nikkō. He also decided to erect a commemorative monument for his predecessor Ietsugu only on grounds of the Zōjōji temple, but not inside Edo castle.¹⁵¹ At the same time, in 1728 Yoshimune resumed the practice of traveling to Nikkō after a sixty-five-year hiatus. In this context the shogunal pilgrimage can be interpreted as a bold move aimed at strengthening Yoshimune's association with the shogunate's founder and making up for the fact that, unlike his predecessors, he was not a shogun "by birth."

Like Yoshimune, the tenth shogun Ieharu also showed great commitment to worshipping Ieyasu and he manipulated the Nikkō pilgrimage to demonstrate the stability and rightfulness of the Tokugawa regime. As discussed before, Ieharu's pilgrimage had been originally planned for 1772, but the death of the shogun's wife disrupted these plans. The decision to postpone his journey to Nikkō to 1776, however, was not solely dictated by Ieharu's mourning. As a matter of fact, to respond to the terrible drought that affected Japan in the summer of 1770, the shogunate enforced austerity programs that were to last for five years. The announcement of Ieharu's pilgrimage in 1775 and its enactment the following year were, therefore, eloquent indications of the realm's attained recovery.¹⁵²

Moreover, Ieharu's trip to Nikkō also aimed at advertising the soundness and legitimacy of the new shogunal dynastic line, the Kii Tokugawa, that had started with his grandfather Yoshimune. According to "Ieyasu's Testament" (*Tōshōgū goikun*) – an ideological rationalization of Tokugawa rule published during Iemitsu's reign – "when as a ruler of the

¹⁵¹ See Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan. *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*, 50.

¹⁵² See Hiroaki Fukuda, "Nikkō shasan no seijiteki igi. An'ei shasan o jirei ni," *Chihōshi kenkyū kyōgikai Nihonshi kankei sotsugyōronbun happyōkai* (59th edition), Risshō University (Presentation Outline), April 21, 2018, 2-3.

realm, one enjoys trust and support, *tendō* (Heaven) accepts his authority over the realm; if one loses the realm, one's house will completely perish.”¹⁵³ In this context, by carrying out an act of filial piety such as the Nikkō pilgrimage, Ieharu hoped to demonstrate the justness not only of his regime, but also of the Kii Tokugawa line, which had by now reached its third generation and was ready to enter the fourth with his heir Iemoto. Interestingly enough, on 1776/12/1 extraordinary celebrations - including the performance of Nō plays and the serving of food prepared with game birds hunted by the shogun himself – were held in Edo castle to commemorate the successful completion of the Nikkō pilgrimage and the shogunal heir's recovery from measles, two unequivocal signs of Heaven's approval granted to the Kii Tokugawa house.¹⁵⁴

The last shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō occurred on the fourth month of 1843, roughly two years after the regime's exhortation that officials “should not stray from traditional political principles and, in particular, from the ideas of the Kyōhō (1716-1736) and Kansei (1789-1801) eras.”¹⁵⁵ Historians generally regard this concise announcement as the starting point of the so-called “reforms of the Tenpō era” (*Tenpō no kaikaku*), a series of conservative measures enacted by Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni between 1841 and the end of 1843 that aimed at solving the shogunate's economic, political, social, and diplomatic problems by promoting frugality,

¹⁵³ Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 66.

¹⁵⁴ See TJ47: 531.

¹⁵⁵ ZTJ49: 432.

improving the tax collection system, restoring decorum, limiting domanial lords' autonomy, and fortifying the national defense system.¹⁵⁶

While the Tenpō reforms remained in place for a considerably shorter time than their counterpart in the Kyōhō era, Ieyoshi's pilgrimage, like Yoshimune's one, was intimately connected with his government's reformist efforts and should be considered as part of the regime's strategy to restore shogunal authority. Nonetheless, there are at least two important factors that must be taken into account when discussing the goals that the shogunate hoped to reach through the implementation of pilgrimage in 1728 and in 1843. The first one is that, unlike Yoshimune's case, Ieyoshi's pilgrimage can hardly be considered a demonstration of the healthy condition of the shogunal treasury. As a matter of fact, while Yoshimune's policies did restore for a short while Tokugawa finances, the measures adopted by Mizuno, such as the dismantlement of merchant guilds (*kabunakama*) and the enforcement of sumptuary laws, were overall ineffective. Hence, rather than a display of the shogunate's attained economic recovery, Mizuno's decision to have the shogun travel to Nikkō was perhaps an attempt to divert attention from the disastrous condition of the shogunal finances.

The second factor to keep in mind is that many of Mizuno's controversial policies, such as the land tax reform (*goryōsho kaikaku*), his attempt to requisition territories adjacent to Tokugawa domains (*agechi rei*), and costly land reclamation projects, were enacted only after the completion of the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō. Consequently, unlike Yoshimune's pilgrimage, Ieyoshi's journey to Nikkō was not the culmination of the regime's reformist action,

¹⁵⁶ An in-depth in English discussion of the reforms of the Tenpō era, both from the perspective of the central states and the domains, can be found in Harold Bolitho, "The Tempō crisis," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, ed. Marius B. Jansen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 5:133-55.

but a way to formally justify Mizuno's actions and ensure the smooth implementation of his future policies. For this reason, the 1843 pilgrimage was characterized by the unprecedented effort to appeal to the masses by making the shogun more visible and by refashioning him into an enlightened and merciful ruler (*meikun*). For instance, as we shall see in Chapter 4, while travelling from Edo to Nikkō and back the shogun often rode a horse or even walked instead of being constantly ensconced in his palanquin, most likely to make his presence more evident to the eyes of those who observed the procession from the sides of the road. Moreover, Tokugawa-sanctioned chronicles show that on several occasions Ieyoshi even stopped to interact with commoners and distributed gifts to destitute or meritorious subjects. Unofficial sources reveal that these episodes were not spontaneous acts of generosity, but carefully planned stratagems, thus suggesting that Ieyoshi performed them with the clear intention of creating a better public image for himself and for his government. Shogunal chronicles celebrating Ieyoshi's pilgrimage, such as the *Kōzan koshōshiki* by the Confucian scholar Narushima Motonao, make use of all kinds of rhetorical devices to equate the journey to Nikkō with a manifestation of Ieyoshi's virtuous rule. For instance, in this panegyric the good weather that characterized Ieyoshi's pilgrimage is consistently presented as a sign of the shogun's overreaching virtue.¹⁵⁷ In short, by positing Ieyoshi as a benevolent ruler, Mizuno hoped to demonstrate the justness of the Tenpō reforms, which were presented as nothing but another emanation of the shogun's enlightened regime.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ See TR2:787. For an in-depth discussion of Motonao's panegyric, see Chapter 4.

¹⁵⁸ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 74-75.

Ieyoshi manipulated the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō as a symbolic way to create some distance between him and the extravagant and corrupt ways of his father Ienari.¹⁵⁹ Paradoxically, it was by capitalizing on the perception of the *Nikkō shasan* as an unchanging force and on its values grounded in the mythical past of the Tokugawa house that Ieyoshi hoped to project the image of a reformed government. As David Kerzer has put it, “oddly enough ritual can be important to the forces of political change just *because* of its conservative properties. New political systems borrow legitimacy from the old by nurturing the old ritual forms, redirected to new purposes.”¹⁶⁰

In addition to using the Nikkō pilgrimage as a sounding board to announce a break with the past, Ieyoshi also manipulated the ritual to improve his reputation as a ruler. Despite being appointed shogun in 1837, Ieyoshi remained in his father’s shadow for several years. For this reason, he was considered by many to be excessively meek, a characteristic that had gained him the derisive nickname of “Sōsei-sama” (Mr. Let’s-do-as-you-say).¹⁶¹ Therefore, after Ienari’s death in 1841, Ieyoshi needed to not only demonstrate the rightfulness of the Tokugawa regime by radically breaking with his father’s corrupt ways, but also to recast his public image into that of a proactive, thoughtful, and magnanimous ruler. As we shall see in Chapter 4, the 1843

¹⁵⁹ In addition to being remembered for his long reign, Ienari was also famous for his lustful lifestyle. During his reign the shogun entertained relationships with about 50 concubines with whom he conceived 55 children, placing an enormous burden on the Tokugawa treasury. In order to solve this problem, Ienari often married off his offspring into daimyo families in exchange for advancements in office and ranks. The corruption and the favoritism that characterized Ienari’s reign alienated numerous domanical lords and contributed to the general sense of distrust of the people towards the shogunate. See Manabu Ōishi, ed., *Tokugawa rekidai shōgun jiten* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2013), 536-37.

¹⁶⁰ Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, 42.

¹⁶¹ See Ōishi, ed., *Edo bakufu daijiten*, 637.

pilgrimage to Nikkō was but one piece of the regime's grand plan to rehabilitate Ieyoshi in the eyes of his subjects.

One major difference between the pilgrimages of 1728, 1776, and 1843 is the fact that, in comparison with Yoshimune and Ieharu's reigns, by Ieyoshi's time domestic problems had considerably worsened, and that in 1843 the possibility of foreign encroachment was very real. In response to the frequent appearance of Russian vessels off Japanese coasts, in 1825 the shogunate ordered that all foreign vessels trying to approach Japanese ports be bombarded (*ikokufune uchiharai*). However, when in 1837 the *Morrison*, an American vessel, was able to anchor in Edo Bay – i.e. only a few miles away from the political heart of the realm - the regime came to realize the inadequacy of its coastal defenses. Moreover, news of the Qing dynasty's imminent defeat at the hands of the British in the First Opium War (1839-42) convinced the shogunate that the peril of a foreign invasion was close. As a consequence, protecting the shogunal capital and other strategic entry points such as the Miura Peninsula during the shogun's absence from Edo became a concern more pressing than ever. Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni implemented unprecedented measures to forestall a foreign invasion, including the introduction of Western artillery, the intensification and reorganization of coastal defenses that were entrusted to specific domains, and negotiations with the Dutch in Nagasaki to obtain steamboats. For some historians even the attempted reclamation of the Inbanuma Pond, which has been commonly interpreted as a move to increase the regime's agricultural output, was, in reality, part of Mizuno's efforts to prepare the country for a war with the foreigners. The reclaimed territories would have provided the shogunate with an alternative route to carry supplies into the shogunal capital, should Edo bay be attacked.¹⁶² In the context of the foreign

¹⁶² See Fujita, *Kinsei no sandai kaikaku*, 79-81.

threat that loomed over in the mid-19th century, Mizuno's decision to perform the Nikkō pilgrimage can be read as part of the shogunate's plan to strengthen Japan against the danger of a foreign invasion. Not only did the pilgrimage constitute a legitimate justification for the shogunate to request daimyo's collaboration to fortify and update national defenses, but, as we shall see in Chapter 3, the preparations for the shogunal procession – which was in essence a military parade - also offered a chance to encourage Tokugawa retainers to revive pride in their status as warriors. At the same time, by parading hundreds of thousands of men in military gear from Edo to Nikkō and back in the name of the shogun, the regime could also flaunt its military might and its ability to mobilize resources, thus demonstrating that the Tokugawa could still fulfill the task that had brought them to power in the first place, namely the defense of the Japanese archipelago from foreign invaders.

A section of a proclamation issued on 1842/4/13 sheds light on the ways in which the Nikkō pilgrimage was the linchpin of the shogunate's reformist action. The proclamation reads:

Many years have passed since the Tokugawa bannermen (*hatamoto*) have accompanied the shogun to Nikkō. During this time, without the responsibility of such a duty and thanks to the blessing bestowed on them by the Great Peace, their meals and clothes have become extravagant. [Their indulgence has caused them] to struggle day by day to support themselves. Naturally, haven't they become negligent of their preparedness [as warriors] and stopped taking care of their weapons? [The shogun thinks that] the implementation of the Nikkō pilgrimage next year is beneficial for them because, as in the past, those who will serve as attendants will have a chance to prepare themselves thriftily and to get their horses and weapons ready.¹⁶³

Condensing in a few lines the gist of the regime's rationale for the implementation of the Tenpō reforms, this proclamation represents a sort of ideological manifesto. Its premise posits that the rule by the Tokugawa house is a blessing for the people, because it has brought harmony to the

¹⁶³ BFS2:424.

country and it has allowed people's living standards to improve. For this reason, Tokugawa subjects are indebted to the shogunate. The "Great Peace," however, is a double-edged sword for the samurai because the lack of war or military duty has also caused the warrior spirit to decline. Samurai mores have become lax and, enticed by worldly pleasures, warriors have lost their way. This criticism of the extravagant and hedonistic lifestyle of the samurai might be read as a jab at the dissolute reign of Ieyoshi's predecessor, Ienari. To fix the evils of the past - the proclamation concludes- the shogun believes that it is necessary to restore the warrior spirit and to live frugally. The Nikkō pilgrimage, a ritual rooted in the Confucian values of filial piety and in the ideal of military preparedness and which here stands as an example of the regime's sweeping reforms, is presented as a golden opportunity to attain these goals. Interestingly enough, a shogunal proclamation prompting Tokugawa bannermen to take advantage of the pilgrimage to Nikkō to revive their martial spirit was also issued on the occasion of Yoshimune's *shasan* in 1728. The two proclamations are identical in several passages; nonetheless the one issued in 1728 does not mention the Tokugawa Great Peace (*taihei no goontaku*) as a reason for the increasing wealth of the samurai class over the years. Moreover, the 1728 proclamation does not mention either bannermen's "extravagance" (*shashi*) or their financial struggles (*konkyū*).¹⁶⁴

In his analysis of the Tenpō crisis, Harold Bolitho raises the question of why a daimyo infamous for his ambition, self-interest, and venality such as Mizuno Tadakuni would suddenly "turn and savage his own class" by embarking on a reformist program aimed at reducing domainal autonomy to the advantage of the central state.¹⁶⁵ Even though, by Bolitho's own

¹⁶⁴ See Shinzō Takayanagi and Ryōsuke Ishii, eds., *Ofuregaki Kanpō shūsei* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1976), 411.

¹⁶⁵ Harold Bolitho, "The Tempō crisis," 157. Mizuno was initially daimyo of Karatsu domain (Bizen province) from 1812 to 1817. From 1817 to 1845 he ruled over Hamamatsu domain (Tōtōmi province).

admission, the lack of sources makes it impossible to answer this question with any finality, the argument he proposes is intriguing. Bolitho suggests that China's unfortunate fate as a result of the Opium Wars caused Mizuno to believe that the only possible way to prevent foreign encroachment and the end of Japan's independence was to concentrate more powers in the hands of the central government. In this sense, Mizuno was a precursor of the political changes that occurred some thirty years after the implementation of his policies.¹⁶⁶

Pushing Bolitho's argument even further, I suggest that, in addition to rehabilitating Ieyoshi's public image, the 1843 shogunal pilgrimage was also imagined as a "dry run", so to speak, for how Mizuno's reformed and more centralized state would operate. The extraordinary nature of the Nikkō pilgrimage – often encapsulated in official proclamations and chronicles of the event by expressions such as *gojissetsu ni tsuki* ("because it's a special occasion") – instilled a sense of urgency in Tokugawa subjects that enabled the regime to mobilize enormous resources with the cooperation of all sectors of society and to wield its authority beyond its regular scope for an extended period of time.¹⁶⁷ The projects for the reinforcement of coastal defenses and the renovations of the Nikkō highways supervised by the shogunate and implemented in collaboration with local domains are proof of the validity of ritual as a tool to maintain control and exert authority.

To be sure, the failure of the policies implemented by regime after the completion of Ieyoshi's journey and Mizuno's ousting at the end of 1843 point to the limits of the Nikkō

¹⁶⁶ See *ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ This is not to say that Ieyoshi's decision to travel to Nikkō pilgrimage was well-received unanimously. For example, Tokugawa Nariaki, daimyo of Mito and member of the Mito Tokugawa cadet branch criticized the regime's decision by arguing that "the daimyo...will be impoverished by the vast cost" entailed by the pilgrimage and that the shogunate "should restrict all useless ostentation." Harold Bolitho, *Treasures Among Men*, 217. Moreover, satirical poems and tirades criticizing the implementation of the pilgrimage can be found in popular sources. See, Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 110-12.

pilgrimage's long-term political effects. At the same time, the fact that Ieyoshi's journey to Nikkō was arguably the only part of Mizuno's reforms that was completed without major hindrances suggests the efficacy of rituals. As we have seen with Arai Hakuseki, the idea that change could be obtained through the implementation of rituals was not foreign to the Tokugawa regime. Ogyū Sorai (1666-1728), another influential scholar in the early modern period, argued that in order to establish a "new system" (*seido*), the performance of a shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō was the first step to take because it would enable the regime to introduce special measures two or three years in advance and, then, to transform them into everyday practice.¹⁶⁸ Regardless of the final outcome, Mizuno might just have thought the same when planning Ieyoshi's pilgrimage to Nikkō.

¹⁶⁸ See Ogyū Sorai, *Ogyū Sorai's Discourse on Government*, trans. Olof G. Lidin (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), 184.

CHAPTER 2: MATERIALIZING THE STATE AND MOBILIZING THE NATION. THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE 1843 SHOGUNAL PILGRIMAGE TO NIKKŌ IN EDO AND IN THE DOMAINS

1. Introduction

The shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō evolved from a rather private ritual, limited to the shogun, his immediate family members, and a handful of his closest retainers, to a grandiose and public demonstration of Tokugawa political, military, and economic might sometime in the mid-17th century. If it is true, as some scholars have pointed out, that there is a correlation between the increasing complexity of the ritual and the duration of its preparations, then, with its announcement occurring about fourteen months before the shogun's departure for Nikkō – the earliest recorded formal announcement in the history of this ritual - Ieyoshi's journey in 1843 must have been the most articulated pilgrimage ever performed by a Tokugawa shogun.¹⁶⁹ Yet, as the Tokugawa government's repeated appeals for thriftiness and efforts to cut down unnecessary expenses suggest, Ieyoshi's pilgrimage was intended to be less conspicuous in scale than the ones performed by his predecessors in 1728 and 1776.¹⁷⁰ Thus, even though the growing number of retainers escorting the shogun to Nikkō might have accounted for the lengthier planning behind the pilgrimage, this was not the only determining factor. Other circumstances must have warranted such complex preparations.

¹⁶⁹ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 44-46.

¹⁷⁰ See, for example, entries for 1842/2/24 and 1843/1/27 in NA; and a shogunal proclamation issued on 1842/4/13 in BFS2: 423.

To tackle this problem, this chapter retraces the timeline that connects the announcement of the pilgrimage in the second month of 1842 to the shogun's departure for Nikkō in the fourth month of the following year. In doing so, I argue that, more than the pilgrimage itself, it was its long preparatory phase that provided the Tokugawa chieftains with their best chance to exert authority on their subjects extensively and make their regime visible well beyond the borders of the roads connecting the shogunal capital to Nikkō. Furthermore, I contend that the preparations for the pilgrimage should not be considered as a mere means to a desired end – i.e. the shogun's successful progress to Ieyasu's mausoleum – but as an equally pivotal part of the Tokugawa strategy to preserve and reinforce social and political order.

Firstly, the virtually seamless sequence of audiences to appoint Tokugawa retainers to pilgrimage-related tasks, which were conducted in Edo castle in the months preceding the shogun's departure for Nikkō, allowed the Tokugawa chieftains to iterate an ideal hierarchy of power that placed the shogun at the apex and his retainers below him, in positions of relative power determined solely by their Tokugawa-sanctioned status (*mibun*). The way in which audiences were conducted varied significantly according to a retainer's status. Therefore, in the context of the Nikkō pilgrimage, besides facilitating the distribution of tasks necessary to the execution of the ritual, audiences also played the role of visual lessons in regime's ritual language of power, enabling retainers to realize the nature of their subordinate relationship with the shogun and make sense of their relative importance in the larger warrior society.¹⁷¹

Secondly, an analysis of pilgrimage-related appointments shows that almost every sector of the Tokugawa government, from the high-ranking members of the shogunal cabinet to the

¹⁷¹ The importance of shogunal audiences as a tool to make Tokugawa hierarchies of power intelligible has been also been noted by historians of Japan. See, for example, Anne Walthall, "Hiding the Shoguns," 336.

petty retainers with no domains, was mobilized in the name of the ruler's progress to Nikkō. Entrusted with "official duties" (*goyō*), shogunal retainers high and low were dispatched not only to the domains immediately adjacent to the Nikkō highways, but also to areas considerably distant from them to perform tasks necessary to the successful implementation of the pilgrimage.¹⁷² For these reasons, I argue that the Nikkō pilgrimage was, indeed, a "ritual of the state" (*kokka gyōji*) because it put the Tokugawa governmental machine at large into motion and made it visible in regions of the realm where shogunal authority was no more than an abstract notion and the only political power immediately recognized was that of the local rulers.¹⁷³ Capitalizing on the extraordinary and sacred nature of the Nikkō pilgrimage and on the power bestowed onto them by the government, shogunal officials were able to temporarily expand the traditional scope of Tokugawa authority and infringe on local autonomy by performing inspections and supervising construction projects in the villages, post-towns, and temples located along the shogunal route to Nikkō as well as by exacting men and resources from a vast portion of the Kantō region. As a matter of fact, while more than half of the domains traversed by the Nikkō highways belonged to the Tokugawa demesne or to small domains entrusted to shogunal direct retainers, thanks to the requisitioning system enforced by the shogunate at the end of the 17th century to cope with the growing traffic on the realm's thoroughfares, post-towns (which de facto depended on the central government regardless of the territory in which they were located) could request a number of "assisting villages" (*sukegō*) to provide packhorses, porters, and other

¹⁷² I use "Nikkō highways" to refer to the two roads used by the shogun to travel from Edo to Nikkō and back, i.e. the *Nikkō onarimichi* and the *Nikkōdōchū*. For a more in-depth discussion of the roads connecting Mt. Nikkō to other parts of Japan, see section 3 of this chapter and Appendix 1, fig. 17.

¹⁷³ Several Japanese historians have used the expression "*kokka gyōji*" (or alternatively *kokkateki ibento*) to describe the magnitude and scale of the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō. See, for example, Ōishi, "Nikkō shasan no rekishiteki ichi," 104; Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*, 8; Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshihen*, 458.

resources necessary for the pilgrimage, even when those villages belonged to private lands administered by domainal lords.¹⁷⁴ At the beginning, *sukegō* duties on the Nikkō highways were performed by nearby villages; however, by the 1840s the system had grown so out of proportion that even villages located tens of miles away from the Nikkō roads were affected by it.¹⁷⁵ As a consequence, even though the assisting duties of *sukegō* villages were not limited to the shogunal journey to Nikkō, because of its the scale, this ritual represented a major occasion for the central government to exert its authority on the peripheries of the realm and to encroach on the fiscal autonomy of domains.

Thirdly, the geographical area affected by the pilgrimage was not limited to the territories traversed by the Nikkō highways or by the domains in which “assisting villages” were located. For instance, in the months preceding Ieyoshi’s departure for Nikkō, special defense systems were deployed in strategic areas across the realm to prevent the risk of foreign encroachment during the shogun’s absence from Edo. Moreover, even though the direct impact of the shogunal procession was limited to the roads it crossed - namely the Nikkō onari michi and to the Nikkō dōchū - other main arteries such as the Nakasendō, the Tōkaidō and several secondary roads, including the Mibu kaidō, the Nikkō reiheishi kaidō, and the Nikkō higashi ōkan were used by

¹⁷⁴ By “Tokugawa demesne” I refer to lands under the direct control of the shogunate administered by intendants (*goryō* or *bakuryō*), which represented roughly 16% of Japan’s overall territory throughout the Edo period. Small domains entrusted by the regime to shogunal direct retainers were called *chigyō* and represented roughly 10% of Japan’s overall territory at the beginning of the 1700s. See, Ōishi, ed., *Edo bakufu daijiten*, 890 and John W. Hall, “The *Bakuhan* System,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1991), 4: 152. According to a report (*torishirabechō*) dated 1843/2 out of 86 villages and post-towns located between Edo and Nikkō and through which the shogunal cortege passed by, 44 were Tokugawa lands (Appendix 2, table 6). For a discussion of the “assisting village” system in English, see Constantine N. Vaporis, “Post Station and Assisting Villages. Corvée Labor and Peasant Contention,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 41, no.4 (Winter 1986): 377-414.

¹⁷⁵ See Tochigikenshi hensan iinkai, *Tochigi tsūshihen 4 kinsei ichi* (Utsunomiya, Tochigiken, 1981), 667. For example, Kamishibutare village (present-day Ashikaga city, Tochigi prefecture) was located roughly 43 miles SW of Imaichi, the post-town it served as “assisting village” in 1843. See Imaichishishi hensan senmon iinkai, ed., *Imaichi shishi shiryōhen kinsei II* (Imaichi: Imaichishi, 1975), 215-223.

Tokugawa retainers and members of the imperial court who served in various capacities in the pilgrimage and traveled independently from the shogun. Their corteges were considerably smaller in scale than the shogunal one, but they still required resources for their trips, which were obtained from “assisting villages” located near and far from the highways. Consequently, while at first glance the impact of the Nikkō pilgrimage might seem limited to a specific geographic area, in reality this ritual affected, whether directly or indirectly, large portions of the realm, serving as a powerful mouthpiece for inculcating the idea of Tokugawa hegemony.

Finally, by the mid-18th century taxation and labor exacted for the pilgrimage were regarded by the shogunate as an instance of “state duty” (*kuniyaku*), i.e. a cross-cutting service that villages and towns across the realm were called to provide to the Tokugawa central government regardless of whether they belonged to private or shogunal territories - on the occasion of extraordinary events such as the shogun’s trip to Nikkō or Korean and Ryūkyū diplomatic missions to Japan.¹⁷⁶ Historians have pointed out that the *kuniyaku* service reinforced the awareness of villages as essential contributors to the proper functioning of the Tokugawa polity.¹⁷⁷ Therefore, besides being “a ritual of the state,” the Nikkō pilgrimage can also be seen as a ritual of the “nation” – which coincidentally also translates as *kokka* in modern Japanese - in that it entailed the collaboration of individuals, high and low, not only with the central state, but also with their peers from different and often distant regions of the country. In this way, the Nikkō pilgrimage helped the regime to foster the idea of “an imagined community” – to borrow

¹⁷⁶ See Ōishi, ed., *Edo bakufu daijiten*, 869. See also footnote 112.

¹⁷⁷ See, for example, Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 183, 190, 210-212 and Ōtomo, “Nikkō shasan to kuniyaku,” 48.

Benedict Anderson's words - unified by the common goal of ensuring the successful implementation of the state's most sacred ritual, i.e. the worship of the divine ancestor Ieyasu.¹⁷⁸

In order to elucidate the arguments outlined so far, this chapter will look at the preparations for Ieyoshi's pilgrimage to Nikkō from three different perspectives. The first section of this chapter will consider the preparations from the standpoint of Edo, by reconstructing the timeline of events taking place between 1842/2/13 and 1843/4/12 through the perusal of official and semi-official sources pertaining to Ieyoshi's pilgrimage.¹⁷⁹ In particular, by dissecting the system of appointments of Tokugawa retainers to pilgrimage-related tasks, I will show how the ritual enabled Tokugawa chieftains to inculcate their desired vision of social order into their subjects' minds. Such analysis will also bring attention to the fact that, despite its apparent geographical limitations, the Nikkō pilgrimage was a ritual of the nation because it involved domains from virtually every corner of the archipelago, and it overcame the traditional divide between *tozama* and *fudai* daimyo.

In the second section of this chapter I will look at the pilgrimage's preparations from the perspective of domains, post-towns, and villages. First, I will investigate the relation between the system of requisitioning of labor and resources (*sukegō seidō*) and the shogunal pilgrimage to demonstrate that the social, political, and economic effects of the *Nikkō shasan* were not limited to the roads traveled by the shogunal cortege. Secondly, I will focus my attention on the preparations in the post-towns and villages located along the Nikkō highways. Specifically, I will

¹⁷⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, New York: Verso, 1983). The idea of an early modern Japanese nation and national consciousness has been explored by several historians of Japan, including Mitani Hiroshi, Mary Elizabeth Berry, and Luke Roberts (see Introduction).

¹⁷⁹ Events taking place between 1842/1/9 and 1843/4/12 are reported in Appendix 2, table 2, which is based on the following primary sources: *Zoku Tokugawa Jikki* (ZTJ), *Tokugawa Reitenroku* (TR), *Tenpō Nikkō Omiya Gosankei Ikkendome* (NA), *Bakumatsu ofuregaki shūsei*, and *Mizuno Tadakuni Tenpō Kaikaku Rōjū Nikki* (MTN).

consider records pertaining to the preparations for the 1843 pilgrimage in Koganei post-town and Kawanago village (modern Shimotsuke city, Tochigi prefecture) and look at the interactions between shogunal officials, domainal authorities, post-town administrators, and village representatives. Particular attention will be given to the numerous inspections of the section of the Nikkō road crossing Kawanago village and Koganei post-town that were performed by shogunal and domainal officials. I will also consider the ways in which such inspections represented important ritual occasions to make the power of the central state intelligible in the peripheries of the realm. The specific case-studies of Koganei and Kawanago are particularly valuable because, despite their physical proximity, in 1843 the post-town and the village belonged to two different domains, namely Sakura and Mibu. Therefore, by reconstructing the timeline leading up to Ieyoshi's departure I will also show that the pilgrimage brought together individuals belonging to different political units were and forced them to collaborate in the name of the Tokugawa state.

In the final section, I will look at the impact of the pilgrimage on religious institutions located along the Nikkō highways. Specifically, I will consider the case of Jigenji temple (Shimotsuke city, Tochigi prefecture), one of the four Buddhist institutions appointed by the central government to host Shogun Ieyoshi for his lunch break during his journey. Besides illustrating the actions undertaken by the temple's administrators to welcome the shogun, the analysis of Jigenji's records also allows me to shed light on another fascinating reality, namely that the pilgrimage represented an occasion to advance political agendas not only for its main beneficiary – the Tokugawa regime – but also for smaller constituencies. Capitalizing on Ieyoshi's imminent visit and on the need to properly host the shogun, the abbot of Jigenji was able to obtain an almost cost-free refurbishment of his temple supported by the daimyo of Sakura

and by the temple's parishioners. In other words, the discussion of the preparations in the hosting temples suggests that, despite its value as a tool to advance the regime's ambitions, the pilgrimage could be manipulated to simultaneously serve the needs of different political actors. To be sure, Jigenji's ability to turn the pilgrimage to its own advantage does not mean that the shogun did not benefit from traveling to Nikkō. On the contrary, the possibility of benefitting from the collaboration with the state was perhaps an incentive for local institutions to give in to the shogunate's requests, ultimately contributing to the goals of the central government. In this sense the Nikkō pilgrimage represented an important arena for social negotiation.

2. Preparations in Edo

2.1 Pilgrimage-related appointments and audiences in the castle

The earliest announcement of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage dates back to 1842/4/13.¹⁸⁰ On this day the shogun informally communicated his intention (*gonai*) to visit Ieyasu's mausoleum in the fourth month of the following year to his son Iesada, to his legal wife Kōdainsama, to his late father's legal wife Gorenchūsama, and to the three heads of the Tokugawa cadet branches (*Gosanke*). A couple of days later the announcement was formalized in the Gozanoma Hall – the shogun's private office (fig.1) – where the pilgrimage's main architect Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni, the shogun's close aide Grand Chamberlain Hori Chikashige, and, once again, Ieyoshi's immediate relatives were summoned in the presence of the shogun.¹⁸¹ While the

¹⁸⁰ See TR2:631.

¹⁸¹ It is unclear on what day Ieyoshi formalized his decision to travel to Nikkō. According to the TR, Ieyoshi publicly announced his intentions on 1842/2/16. The ZTJ record, instead, records that the announcement was made on 1842/2/17. See TR2:631 and ZTJ49:453.

preparations for the pilgrimage started in earnest only after the shogun's formal announcement, as early as 1840/10/20 the shogunate had already ordered the restoration of Mt. Nikkō's sacred halls, and less than one year later officials were dispatched to conduct preliminary inspections of the buildings that needed refurbishment. Moreover, roughly one month before Ieyoshi's announcement, Senior Councilor Mizuno himself personally visited Nikkō, returning to Edo on 1842/1/27.¹⁸²

Sources do not mention plans for a shogunal visit to Nikkō before the second month of 1842; however, it is likely that Mizuno had been thinking about a pilgrimage for several years as part of a plan to strengthen the shogun's power.¹⁸³ When Mizuno had joined the shogunal cabinet as senior councilor of the Main Enceinte in 1834, he had initially faced the opposition of Ienari's powerful advisors Mizuno Tadaatsu and Hayashi Tadafusa. In 1841/4/16 – roughly two months after Ienari's death – Mizuno was finally able to get rid of his political opponents by enacting a purge of 62 of the former shogun's close aides. A month later, with full power in his hands and the former shogun gone, Mizuno finally announced the start of his ambitious program of reforms.¹⁸⁴ As discussed in the previous chapter, the decision to announce the pilgrimage at beginning of 1842 was part of Mizuno's strategy to rehabilitate the regime's reputation after Ienari's long reign of excesses by portraying the new shogun, Ieyoshi, as a filial and merciful ruler. The pilgrimage also served as a formal justification of the reforms enacted by Mizuno thus far and as a tool to ensure the smooth implementation of his future policies.

¹⁸² See TJ49: 414, 433, 451-52.

¹⁸³ See Michie Kitajima, *Mizuno Tadakuni* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1969), 400.

¹⁸⁴ See Uki Ōdachi, *Bakumatsu shakai no kiso kōzō: Bushū yonaoshisō no keisei* (Urawa: Shinbunsha, 1981), 169.

The actions taken by the regime leading up to Ieyoshi's departure for Nikkō on 1843/4/13 (table 2) can be divided in three large groups a) congratulatory audiences with the shogun and appointments of Tokugawa retainers to pilgrimage-related tasks; b) issuance of laws and ordinances regarding the pilgrimage and the administration of Edo and other strategic areas of the realm during the shogun's absence; and c) dispatch of governmental officials to Nikkō as well as to post-towns and villages along the Nikkō highways to overlook construction projects and carry out preparations for the passage, lodging, and boarding of the shogunal attendants as well as the performance of ritual activities by the shogun.

Starting with Mizuno's nomination to the role of the pilgrimage's executive director (*goyōkakari*) on 1842/2/16, appointments of Tokugawa retainers to pilgrimage-related tasks followed one another until just a few days before the shogun's departure for Nikkō.¹⁸⁵ Tasks entrusted to retainers fell into four main categories: a) "shogunal retinue" (*gubu* or *otomo*); b) "official duties" (*goyō*); c) "military duties" (*kinban*); and d) "keeper duties" (*orusu*). Officials appointed to shogunal retinue included both those retainers making up the shogun's cortege to Nikkō and those who attended Ieyasu's memorial service on 4/17, but who travelled independently from the shogun (e.g. the members of the Gosanke or daimyo such as Ii Naoaki). In addition to escorting the shogun, some of these officials were also entrusted with other duties such as hosting the shogun for his overnight stops on the way to Nikkō or overseeing ritual protocols in the hosting castles.

"Official duties" was an umbrella term that referred to a variety of tasks performed by shogunal retainers in the name of the regime to ensure the smooth implementation of the

¹⁸⁵ For a complete list of the appointments of shogunal retainers to pilgrimage-related tasks, see Appendix 2, table 2. The last appointment recorded in pilgrimage-related chronicles took place on 1843/4/11, two days before Ieyoshi's departure for Nikkō. See TR2:679.

pilgrimage. Tasks included, but were not limited to, overseeing the preparations and approving executive orders, laws, and ordinances; handling financial affairs such as the distribution of shogunal funds, loans, and allowances to retainers serving in the pilgrimage; supervising the construction and refurbishment of infrastructure (e.g. roads, bridges, inns, rest-areas, stables, kitchens, guardhouses, offices); providing resources for the restoration of Mt. Nikkō's mausolea; arranging lodgings (*ōshukuwari*) and boarding (*makanai*) for the shogun's direct retainers in the inns along the Nikkō highways; gathering intelligence and implementing security measures to guarantee the shogun's safety during his journey; coordinating the marching schedule of the shogunal cortege; discussing ritual protocol; and rehearsing shogunal rituals to be performed along the way and on Mt. Nikkō.

Officials entrusted with “military duties” patrolled the Kantō region before the shogun's departure from Edo and throughout the duration of the pilgrimage, and they were also in charge of watching out for fire hazards. Warriors appointed to these roles included both daimyo and direct retainers and complemented the escort marching alongside the shogun.¹⁸⁶ Military rosters printed on the occasion of the 1843 pilgrimage include the names of retainers deployed in Nikkō (fig. 2.1), but patrolling units were stationed along the entire route traveled by Ieyoshi's cortege as well as in areas relatively distant from it, and even within the precincts of the Tōshōgū shrine (figs.3 and 4).¹⁸⁷ Ensuring the shogun's safety was undoubtedly a top priority as demonstrated by

¹⁸⁶ See Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan. *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*, 47.

¹⁸⁷ The *Nikkō gosankei keigo ezu* - a set of 18 bird-eye view maps held at Tsukuba University Annex Library – depicts security plans laid out by shogunal guards (*hyakuningumi*) in 1843 for different sections of the Nikkō highways such as Iwabuchi (modern Kita district, Tokyo), Kawaguchi and Kizawa (modern Saitama prefecture), Utsunomiya and Nikkō (modern Tochigi prefecture). See, Manabu Yamasawa, “Nikkō shasan ni okeru shogun ken'i no hyōshō. Tenpō jūyon'nen ‘Nikkō gosankei keigo ezu’ wo chūshin ni,” *Rekishi Jinrui* 38, (March 2010): 3-26; Tsukuba Daigaku Fuzoku Toshokan, *Nikkō ekakareta goikō*. The maps reproduced in Appendix 1, figs. 3 and 4 do not belong to the Tsukuba University collection, but to a similar set of maps held by the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum Edo-Tokyo and produced for the same occasion. In 1842/12 shogunal retainers were ordered to supervise the defense of major barriers in the Kantō region such as the Shingōkawamata barrier (on the Tone river between

the fact that all organizational aspects of the pilgrimage, except for the shogun's security, were the object of exhortations by the regime to avoid "useless expenses" (*mueki no shippi*) and to reduce costs. For instance, an ordinance issued on 1842/3/27 encouraged retainers to "be thrifty on all things" (*bantan otegaru ni*), but to enforce security systems (*okatame*) in the same fashion of the previous pilgrimages.¹⁸⁸

The last category of pilgrimage-related appointments was that of "keepers" (*rusu*), i.e. officials entrusted with the defense of Edo castle, the shogunal capital, and other high-risk or strategically important regions of the realm during the shogun's absence from Edo (figs. 2.2, 2.3, 2.4). By the 1840s Tokugawa shoguns would rarely be absent from their castle for more than one day. Therefore, a particularly meticulous system of defense was enforced to ensure the security of the realm during the shogun's trip to Nikkō. As discussed in the previous chapter, in the context of the Tenpō period, the attention paid by the regime to the defense of the shogunal capital (and of the country at large), was symptomatic of the anxieties and fears of an invasion by Western powers. Nevertheless, in addition to the very concrete possibility of foreign encroachment, there were at least two other reasons for wanting to avoid major crises while the shogun was away from the seat of the government. First, an incident in the capital, such as a major fire or the arrival of foreign vessels, would represent a major embarrassment for the shogunal institution, whose original *raison d'être* was precisely preserving the safety of the

Musashi and Shimosuke provinces) and Sekiyado barrier (on the Edogawa river, Shimousa province). In 1843/3/21 29 daimyo were entrusted with the task of seizing criminals (*akutō*) in various areas of Kantō region. See Appendix 2, table 2.

¹⁸⁸ BFS2:420.

realm in the name of the emperor. Secondly, an emergency in Edo would likely force the shogun to rush back from Nikkō, thus disrupting the regime's costly propaganda plan.¹⁸⁹

During the Tenpō pilgrimage, the defense of the Edo castle was entrusted to Senior Councilor Sanada Yukitsura, lord of Matsushiro domain, who was appointed as chief keeper (*orusui*) on 1842/2/23.¹⁹⁰ Throughout the duration of the pilgrimage, Sanada was de facto in charge of supervising governmental affairs and defending the main stronghold of Tokugawa power. According to his diary, between 1843/4/13 and 1843/4/21, Sanada was stationed for most of the day - including the night hours - in Edo castle, patrolling the main gates and the areas along the moats with the help of his men and other retainers.¹⁹¹

During the shogun's absence only a few governmental officials such as the master of shogunal ceremonies, the inspector general, and certain superintendents were required to attend the castle, while retainers with no official duty were exempted. The so-called *tsumeshū* daimyo did not have to report to their rooms, but they were expected to attend the Western Enceinte of Edo castle to inquire about the shogun's health.¹⁹² Construction projects inside the castle were

¹⁸⁹ No major incident disrupted Ieyoshi's journey to Nikkō, but on 1843/4/17 at around 6 p.m. a fire broke out in the shogunal capital (Ryōgoku area) spreading from the Tama-ya, a fireworks store owned by a man named Ichirōbei, to an area of about 5,400 square feet. Even though the shogunate was able to extinguish the fire within hours and only a relatively small area was affected by the flames, Ichirōbei was banished from his residence (*tokorobarai*) in Edo as a consequence of his neglectfulness. The *Fujiokaya Nikki*, a diary compiled by a *kawaraban* broadsheet seller in Edo, contains an entry dated 1843/5/27 in which the details of the fire are recounted. The entry emphasizes Ichirōbei's careless attitude despite the shogunate's appeals to prevent fire hazards during the shogun's absence. This episode corroborates the idea that the shogunate was particularly anxious about any incident that could disrupt the pilgrimage to Nikkō. See Tōzō Suzuki and Shōtarō Koike, eds. *Kinsei shōmin seikatsu shiryō: Fujiokaya Nikki* (Tōkyō: San'ichi Shobō, 1987-1995), 2:338-39. For Senior Councilor Sanada's schedule and his duties during Ieyoshi's absence, see *Nikkō orusuchū nikki* (Diary of the Edo keeper during the shogun's absence), manuscript, National Institute of Japanese Literature, Tachikawa, Sanada Monjo.

¹⁹⁰ See TR2:635.

¹⁹¹ See *Nikkō orusuchū Nikki*, manuscript.

¹⁹² *Tsumeshū* is a term referring to daimyo sitting in the Kari no ma Hall of Edo castle. Top-ranking officials such as senior councilors, master of shogunal ceremonies, superintendents of temples and shrines, or the Kyoto deputy were

halted. Most gates were closed in the evening, while others remained permanently locked and could only be opened in case of a fire. Daimyo assigned to watch the castle's numerous entryways were instructed to deploy their heirs or their retainers should they get ill.¹⁹³ Retainers who remained in Edo during the pilgrimage were encouraged not to leave their mansions and to devote extreme care to the prevention of fire hazards.¹⁹⁴ Other tasks performed by the Edo keepers included installing temporary guardhouses, patrolling bridges, putting out fires, supervising traffic, forbidding access to restricted areas, arresting suspicious individuals, and conducting inspections of boats traveling on Edo's waterways.¹⁹⁵ Needless to say the assignment, coordination, and implementation of these tasks required considerable time.

While the defense and management of Edo was undoubtedly one of the regime's top priorities, retainers entrusted with keepers' duties were not stationed exclusively in the shogunal capital. Special defense systems were laid out also in other strategic and high-risk areas to ensure national security. For instance, in the months leading up to Ieyoshi's departure for Nikkō both shogunal officials and daimyo that held no governmental office were entrusted with

chosen from among them. Unlike other daimyo, *tsumeshū* lords took turns in order to attend Edo castle every day. See Ōishi, ed., *Edo bakufu daijiten*, 309.

¹⁹³ See BFS2:441-42. During the pilgrimage the following gates closed at 6 p.m.: Ōtemon, Uchisakuradamon, Sakashitamon, Momijiyamamon, Yaraigomon, Sotosakurada, Wadakuramon, Takebashimon, Kijibashimon, Hitotsubashimon, Kandabashimon, Tokiwabashimon, Gofukubashimon, Kajibashi, Sukiabashimon. Babasakigomon and Hanzomon gates were permanently locked. Tayasumon and Shimizumon gates too were kept closed, but they could be opened in case the Hitotsubashi lord or the Tayasu lord (members of Tokugawa Gosankyō cadet branches) had to pass through. The Gosankyō (lit. "the three lords") were three collateral branches of the Tokugawa clan descending from the eighth shogun Yoshimune. The three branches included the Tayasu house, the Shimizu house, and the Hitotsubashi house. Unlike the Gosanke – the three collateral houses established by Ieyasu – the Gosankyō lords did not rule a domain.

¹⁹⁴ See BFS2: 443.

¹⁹⁵ See Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan. *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*, 48 and Izumi Masato, "Nikkō shasan to Edo no keigo," 50, 55. These temporary measures were adopted to enhance Edo defense systems that were already in place. For a discussion of Edo defense system, see Reiji Iwabuchi, "Edo no jian iji to bōbi," *Rekishi to chiri* 640, (February 2010): 1-17.

strengthening the protection (*okunikatame*) of areas such as Shimoda (Shizuoka prefecture), Uraga (Kanagawa prefecture), and Haneda (Tokyo, Ōta district), three major entry points to Edo bay. Other areas subjected to special security measures included Sado island (Niigata prefecture), a critical target due to its gold mines and its role as a harbor for ships traveling between the Kansai region and Northern Japan; Matsumae (Hokkaido), the early modern nation's northernmost domain; and possibly the Hakone barrier; the Usui pass; the Urawa and Ōi rivers, and Satsuma domain, Japan's southernmost daimyo territory.¹⁹⁶ Certain daimyo were ordered to return to their domains and bolster local defenses, a behavior that suggests that, by leveraging the extraordinary nature of the Nikkō pilgrimage, the shogunate envisioned the defense of the realm as a collective and nation-wide effort.¹⁹⁷

The discussion of the appointments to keepers' duties offers a chance to emphasize an important characteristic of the Tenpō pilgrimage. Special security measures in Edo and other strategic areas of the country were regularly enforced during the shogunal journey to Nikkō, but

¹⁹⁶ The Magistrates of Sado, Shimoda, and Haneda were dispatched to their respective areas of responsibility on 1843/4/1 (see ZTJ49: 488). The defense of Matsumae was entrusted to Tsugaru Yukitsugu, lord of Hirosaki domain (Mutsu province) on 1843/3/15. On the same day Matsudaira Ōsumi no kami (Shimazu Narioki, lord of Satsuma) was granted permission to return to his domain, but the reason is not clear (see ZTJ49: 485). Shogunal page Ogasawara Kaga no kami was appointed Uraga magistrate on 1842/5/10 and preparation for bolstering fortifications in Uraga started at latest in 1843/2 (see ZTJ49:462 and Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 171). Some historians have argued that the Date, Maeda, Shimazu, and Nanbu outside daimyo clan were entrusted with the defense of the Hakone barrier, the Usui pass, the Urawa river, and the Ōi river, respectively; however, sources for this claim are unclear. See, for instance, Ōdachi Uki, *Bakumatsu shakai no kiso kōzō*, 181 and Koga Rekishi Hakubutsukan, *Nikkō shasan to Kogahan*, 36.

¹⁹⁷ Izumi Masato states that on the occasion of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage Tsu domain (*tozama*, Ise province), Tanaka domain (*fudai*, Suruga province), Murakami domain (*fudai*, Echigo province), Ōno domain (*fudai*, Echizen province), Minakuchi domain (*tozama*, Ōmi province), Yūki domain (*fudai*, Shimousa province), Komoro domain (*fudai*, Shinano province), Kanbe domain (*fudai*, Ise province), and 16 other domains were asked to deploy troops in their territories during the shogun's pilgrimage. Izumi derives these data from the *Tenpōdo Nikkō gosankei kakidome*, a chronicle of the pilgrimage held at the Akitsuki Kyōdōkan in Fukuoka, Japan. See, Masato, Izumi, "Nikkō shasan to Edo no keigo," 57. The *Tokugawa Jikki* mentions some of the retainers listed by Izumi in an entry dated 1843/2/15. The entry states that 16 lords including the daimyo Tsu domain were granted permission to return to their domain, but there is no specific reference to the Nikkō pilgrimage. The same entry also reports that the heirs of 8 lords, including the daimyo of Kokura who served on patrol duty in Nikkō, were asked to return to their domains during the pilgrimage. (see ZTJ49: 483).

on the occasion of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage, the regime's efforts to bolster national security were particularly intense and extensive. For instance, in Uraga, preparations for the pilgrimage represented the first instance of coordinated work between the local shogunal magistrate (*Uraga bugyō*) and a domainal lord. As early as 1821 the shogunate had ordered Kawagoe and Odawara domains to contribute to the defense of Uraga Channel in extraordinary occasions; however, in 1843, besides providing men and resources, the Kawagoe domainal lord was also entrusted with the task of supervising security measures and, for the first time, he was stationed in Uraga throughout the shogun's trip to Nikkō. The 1843 pilgrimage also registered an increase of about 30% in the number of vessels and personnel mobilized to patrol Uraga Channel. New watchtowers were built, and 78 new guns were placed along the coast.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, new offices dedicated to the defense of high-risk areas were either created or old ones were resumed on purpose for the Nikkō pilgrimage. For instance, the shogunate created *ex novo* the position of Haneda magistrate in 1842/12 and, in the same month, a Shimoda magistrate was appointed for the first time in 122 years.¹⁹⁹ To be sure, the effort to bolster defenses was not homogenous across the realm. For example, in comparison to the 1728 and 1776 pilgrimages, in 1843 fewer men were mobilized for the defense of Hakone, which lay inland from Edo.²⁰⁰ While revealing the limits of the regime's ability to shore up resources, the decision to prioritize coastal defense also suggests that by the 1840s the shogunate's most pressing concern was that of a foreign invasion by the sea.

¹⁹⁸ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 165; 171-75.

¹⁹⁹ See *ibid.*, 220 and Ōishi, ed., *Edo bakufu daijiten*, 248.

²⁰⁰ See *ibid.*, 175.

The implementation of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage and the debate on the conditions of the archipelago's defenses in the 1840s were two intimately connected topics. As a matter of fact, the decision by Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni to resume the costly practice of the shogunal progress to Nikkō in a time of economic and political uncertainty was criticized by some of the Tokugawa top-ranking retainers. For example, in a series of letters to Mizuno, Tokugawa Nariaki - head of the Mito Tokugawa clan, one of the collateral branches of the Tokugawa family (Gosanke)- argued that, despite the importance of the Nikkō pilgrimage, the ritual should be postponed because it would place a burden on the already struggling retainers. Nariaki also suggested that, in light of China's recent defeat by Western powers in the recently concluded First Opium War (1839-1842), resources allotted to the pilgrimage should be redirected toward the realm's coastal defenses.²⁰¹ However, an unwavering Mizuno retorted that, were Nariaki unable to serve in the pilgrimage because of financial distress, he should be excused from his duties.²⁰² Needless to say, this was a rather outrageous proposal, considering the role played by the Gosanke in the Nikkō pilgrimage and their special relationship with Ieyasu.²⁰³ Mizuno's disregard of Nariaki's advice stemmed not so much from a lack of concern for a possible foreign invasion of Japan, but from a divergence on how to tackle that problem. As discussed in Chapter 1, historians have shown that most of the Tenpō reforms were, in fact, meant to bolster the realm's security. Therefore, Mizuno's insistence on proceeding with the implementation of the pilgrimage, despite its costs, suggests that rather than devolving the task of fortifying the realm

²⁰¹ The letters are quoted in Ōdachi Uki, *Bakumatsu shakai no kiso kōzō*, 169-70.

²⁰² See Tochigi Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, *Nikkō sankei no michi (dai rokkai kikakuten)* (Utsunomiya: Tochigi Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 1984), 20-22.

²⁰³ The Gosanke ("three great houses"), which were branches of the Tokugawa houses established by Ieyasu's youngest sons (Yoshinao, Yorinobu, and Yorifusa), customarily travelled to Nikkō a few days before the shogun and escorted him during his visit to Ieyasu's shrine. This practice was known as *Nikkō yosan*.

to individual retainers, the senior councilor intended to reach that goal through an enterprise spearheaded and coordinated chiefly by the central government. As an unavoidable duty and the most powerful collective display of filial piety by the regime and its subjects to the divine ancestor Ieyasu (thanks to whom the country had been at peace for so long), the Nikkō pilgrimage thus worked as an ideological device to coerce the collaboration of a large number domains across the realm. Moreover, with its propagandistic overtones, the pilgrimage also had the potential to recast Mizuno's reforms as emanations of the regime's enlightened and pious rule, to rehabilitate Ieyoshi's public image, and to mark a definitive and clear-cut break with Ienari's regime. In short, Mizuno's decision was neither a reckless display of vanity nor an inexplicable political choice. It was, instead, an integral part of an ambitious attempt to solve Japan's internal and external problems, while further concentrating political authority in the hands of the shogunate.

2.2. Shogunal audiences and the grammar of Tokugawa ritual language of power

Pilgrimage-related appointments were communicated to retainers by means of formal audiences with the shogun and/or his officials. The way in which these meetings were conducted varied according to a retainer's position in the Tokugawa hierarchy of power and on his relationship with the shogun. Thus, in addition to facilitating the distribution of tasks necessary to the implementation of the pilgrimage, audiences also worked as an instrument of social

control because they turned the abstract notion of status (*mibun*) into a concrete and easy-to-grasp idea.²⁰⁴

Generally speaking, on the occasion of formal audiences, a retainer would be summoned to the castle on a specific day and time. Once in the castle the retainer would wait in the antechambers of the hall where the audience was scheduled to occur. Then, when summoned by the officials coordinating the meeting, he would appear in front of the shogun or his representatives. After receiving his appointment, a retainer would customarily express his gratitude to the shogun and, finally, leave the room at the signal of the shogunal officials supervising the audience. In the case of congratulatory audiences, participants would customarily exchange additional greetings and, at times, even gifts. The numerous audiences taking place in Edo castle in the months leading up to the departure of Ieyoshi for Nikkō consistently followed the above-mentioned formats. Nevertheless, several elements of the audience varied on the basis of the status of the retainers involved, thus helping them making sense of their social standing.

The most obvious indicator of status during a formal audience was whether or not a retainer was allowed to appear in front of the shogun. Retainers who had this privilege were known as *omemie ijō* (lit. “retainers of the rank allowing shogunal audiences and above”) and were normally warriors with a court rank from the sixth up. Those with a lower rank who did not have the right to personally meet the shogun were labeled as *omemie ika*. In the context of the Nikkō pilgrimage-related audiences, at times, even retainers with *omemie ijō* status did not receive their appointments to official duties in the presence of the shogun. For example, on 1842/2/25 five chamberlains (*toritsugi*) and two shogunal painters (*goyōeshi*) were ordered to accompany the shogun to Nikkō. Even though their status allowed them to appear in front of the

²⁰⁴ For an in-depth discussion on the significance and implication of status in Tokugawa Japan, see Appendix 4.

shogun, the official appointment was communicated to them by senior councilors.²⁰⁵ One possible explanation for this behavior is that due to the great number of retainers with *omemie ijō* status that served in the pilgrimage, it might have been too taxing for the shogun to take part to every single audience. Therefore, formal appointments in the presence of Ieyoshi might have been limited only to top-ranking officials.

Similarly, on 1842/2/23 and on the following day, the three retainers who customarily hosted the shogun for the night while he was travelling to Nikkō – the lord of Iwatsuki, the lord of Koga, and the lord of Utsunomiya – were officially entrusted with this task. According to records of their appointments, the lord of Koga, Senior Councilor Dōi Tsushitsura, received his nomination directly from the shogun. The lord of Iwatsuki, Junior Councilor Ōoka Tadakata, was instead first informed of his task by the senior councilors, and then received in an audience by the shogun. Finally, the lord of Utsunomiya, Superintendent of Temples and Shrines Toda Tadaharu, was notified of his assignment by the senior councilors, but, unlike the other two lords, was not conceded an audience with the shogun.²⁰⁶ A breakdown of the status of three “hosting lords” (table 4) can help us understand the reasons underlying the different modes in which they received their appointments and how the factors that accounted for a retainer’s status interacted with one another. First, it must be noted that, even though in their roles of respectively Senior Councilor and Junior Councilor Dōi and Ōoka had greater political responsibilities than Toda, governmental office did not justify the different treatment they received. As matter of fact, senior councilors, junior councilors, and superintendents of temples and shrines were equally placed under the direct control of the shogun and, thus, were normally allowed to meet him in an

²⁰⁵ See TR2: 636-37.

²⁰⁶ See TR2: 635-36.

audience.²⁰⁷ Moreover, rather than a criterion for determining status, shogunal office was a reflection of it. The three retainers were also equal in terms of relationship with the shogunal house as all of them were *fudai* daimyo. As a consequence, the two other factors that could account for variations in their treatment were the lord's respective *kokudaka* and their court rank. Among the three lords, at the moment of their appointments, Doi had the highest court rank and annual rice yield, which explains why he was granted access to the shogun during the audience on 2/23. Ōoka and Toda had both the same court rank, but the former administered a considerably smaller domain than the latter. Yet, while Ōoka was conceded an audience with the shogun, Toda was not. This means that, in the Tokugawa status system, for two retainers with equal court rank, the determining factor for assessing status was not the *kokudaka*, but seniority in terms of court rank.²⁰⁸ As a consequence, despite the smaller size of his domain, Ōoka, who had been promoted to the junior fifth rank lower grade eight years before Toda, was considered higher in status.²⁰⁹

The appointment of the hosting lords also sheds light on two other important aspects of the rules that regulated the Tokugawa ritual language, namely the setting of audiences. For instance, Doi Toshitsura received his appointment as hosting lord in the Gozanoma Hall, the shogun's private office in the Main Enceinte's Middle Interior, where he was received by Ieyoshi along with four other senior councilors serving in the pilgrimage. Ōoka Tadakata too was received in the Gozanoma, but only after being appointed to his duties by the senior councilors in

²⁰⁷ Initially the superintendents of temples and shrines were placed under the control of the senior councilors; however, starting in 1663 they reported directly to the shogun. See, Ōishi, ed., *Edo bakufu daijiten*, 239.

²⁰⁸ See Kazuhiko Kasaya, "Bushī no mibun to kakushiki," in *Nihon no rekishi 7. Mibun to kakushiki*, ed. Naohiro Asao (Tōkyō: Chūō kōronsha, 1992), 193.

²⁰⁹ Ōoka Tadakata was promoted to junior fifth rank lower rank on 1816/12/16; Toda Tadaharu was promoted to junior fifth rank lower on 1824/12/16.

an antechamber close by (*otsugi*). Finally, Toda Tadaharu was entrusted with the task of hosting the shogun in the Fuyōnoma Hall, a room in the Main Enceinte's Exterior where retainers serving as masters of shogunal ceremonies were stationed.²¹⁰ These choices were not arbitrary.²¹¹

The Main Enceinte of Edo castle (*honmaru*), the part occupied by the reigning shogun, was divided into three main sections, namely the Exterior (*omote* or *omotemuki*), where public events such as the appointment of a new shogun or ceremonies for the New Year occurred and where Tokugawa civil servants had their offices; the Middle Interior (*nakaoku*), where the shogun conducted his daily tasks and administered state affairs, and the Great Interior (*ōoku*), where private apartments for the shogun, his wives, his children, as well as his ladies-in-waiting were located (fig.5).²¹² Access to the various sections of the castle was determined by status and restricted by physical barriers. For instance, the location of rooms where Tokugawa retainers were stationed at regular times (*denseki* or *shikōseki*) or the sitting arrangement on the occasion of extraordinary events (*zaseki* or *reiseki*) was determined by their social standing.²¹³ Moreover, a gated wall (*dōbei*) running West to East through the Main Enceinte marked the border between

²¹⁰ See Ōishi, ed., *Edo bakufu daijiten*, 283.

²¹¹ According to the *Tokugawa Reitenroku*, the hosting lords participated in formal audiences at least another four times, i.e. on 1842/4/19 when they were granted a leave to return to their domains and start preparations for the shogunal visit (see TR2: 648); on 1842/5/12 before leaving for their domains (see TR2: 650-51); on 1842/7/9 when Ōoka and Doi were ordered by the shogun to travel to Nikkō for Ieyasu's death anniversary after the shogunal cortege had left Iwatsuki on 4/14 and Kōga on 4/15 (see TR2: 652-653); and on 1843/3/28 when Doi and Ōoka received gifts from the shogun for their service (see TR2: 668). The setting of these four audiences is consistent with the ones held on 1842/2/23 and 2/24 for the daimyo's appointments to the role of hosting lords.

²¹² See Masaumi Fukai, *Zukai Edojō o yomu. Ōoku, nakaoku, omotemuki* (Tōkyō: Hara Shobō, 1997), 9. On Edo castle and its ritual space in English, see William H. Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London, Nissan Institute/Routledge, 1996); Cecilia Segawa Seigle and Linda H. Chance, *Ōoku: The Secret World of the Shogun's Women* (Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2014).

²¹³ For a discussion of the correlation between status and seating arrangement in Edo castle, see Appendix 4.

the Middle and Great Interior.²¹⁴ In this context, an audience conducted in the Gozanoma office embodied for retainers such as Doi or Ōoka the privileges accorded to them by their status (i.e. getting access to the shogun's private quarters) and helped them realize their intimate relationship with the ruler as well as their standing in comparison with their peers.²¹⁵

Incidentally, the idea of space as an indicator of status is also evident in the way in which ritual actions are recorded in the sources. For example, the term used by the *Tokugawa Reitenroku*'s authors for instances when the shogun enters an audience room located in the Exterior is *shutsugyō* ("to come out" or "to appear"). Conversely, the action by the shogun of withdrawing from the Exterior to return to the Middle Interior is described as *nyūgō* (lit. "to enter").²¹⁶ When audiences take place in the Middle Interior's Gozanoma Hall, the *Reitenroku* does not use any of the terms described above, but simply reports the time at which the shogun takes a seat in the room (*ochakuza*). This word choice suggests that in the minds of the *Reitenroku*'s compilers the Middle Interior is constructed as the natural and fixed center of shogunal life as well as the *sancta sanctorum* of shogunal power so that, even when audiences

²¹⁴ See Fukai, *Zukai Edojō o yomu*, 150, 214.

²¹⁵ In addition to top-ranking shogunal officials with high status such as senior councilors, junior councilors, and grand chamberlains, in the months preceding Ieyoshi's departure audiences in the Gozanoma Hall were reserved for members of the shogun's family such as the heir apparent (1842/2/17, TR2: p.631), Tokugawa-related clans such as the *gosanke* (1843/4/6, TR2: p.671), or members of the imperial family such as the abbot of Chioin temple (1843/4/12, Mizuno Tadakuni Nikki, p.439). Audiences also took place in the two shogunal offices located in the Exterior, the Shiroshoin (see for example congratulatory audience with *kunimochi* daimyo on 1843/4/11, TR2 p.679) and the Kuroshoin (for instance, see audience with keepers on 1843/4/4, TR2 p.669). The former was reserved for public and official events (e.g. the audiences for the new year); the latter was used for less formal functions (monthly audiences with retainers). See Fukai, *Zukai Edojō o yomu*, 32.

²¹⁶ See, for example, audiences occurring in the Exterior's Kuroshoin Office on 1843/4/4 (TR2: 669-70). Even if the *Tokugawa Reitenroku* was compiled in the Meiji Period, because its compilers were former Tokugawa retainers and based their research on Edo period sources, it is plausible to think that their narrative choices reflect the mindset of Tokugawa warrior society.

occur in the Exterior, the Middle interior remains the immovable center stage from which Ieyoshi is temporarily stepping away.²¹⁷

Setting was not the only spatial element of an audience that reflected a retainer's status. In addition to the location of the audience room in relation to the Middle Interior, a retainer's social standing was also made concrete by the physical distance that separated him from the shogun during the audience. First, it must be noted that the reception halls of the Main Enceinte were large spaces composed of multiple rooms that could be separated from each other, if necessary, by removable sliding panels (*fusuma*). For instance, the Main Enceinte's largest audience room, the Ōhiroma Hall (fig.1), was a U-shaped space measuring approximately 8,290 square feet and it comprised three main rooms, elevated approximately 8.2 inches above each other (the *jōdan*, the *chūdan*, and the *gedan*, fig.6), several other chambers (*ninoma*, *sannoma*, *yon'noma*, *nando*, and *atonoma*), as well as an inner garden (*nakaniwa*). The shogun customarily sat in the *jōdan*, while his retainers were assigned specific seats whose proximity to the ruler was proportional to their status. In several cases the shogun's body was shielded from his retainer's eyes by adjustable bamboo blinds hanging from the ceiling (*sudare*).²¹⁸ Moreover, retainers were expected to prostrate with their face lying on the floor, when the shogun observed them. This meant that, even when granted the right to appear in front of the shogun, retainers might not necessarily be able to see or hear the ruler. An extreme example is a offered by a shogunal proclamation issued on 1843/3/14 establishing that during the shogun's trip to Nikkō retainers on

²¹⁷ See, for example, the audience with the shogun's heir held on 1842/2/17, (TR2: 631) or the audience with former Great Councilor Ii Naoaki and Senior Councilors Mizuno, Doi, Hotta, and Sanada held on 1842/2/23 (see TR2:635).

²¹⁸ The *Tokugawa Reitenroku*'s chronicle of the ritual audiences performed in Edo castle on the occasion of the 1843 pilgrimage does not mention the use of bamboo blinds. However, other chapters of the same work, such as the one describing audiences in the castle on the occasion of the 1719 diplomatic mission from Korea, specifically record when blinds were rolled up (*sudare kore wo kakeru*) or down (*sudare wa kore wo tarasu*), as well as who could see (*ukagai sōrō*) or not see (*ukagai kore naku sōrō*) the shogun in the audience room. See TR3: 368.

duty in the guardhouses along the highways would perform the *omemie* ritual without moving from their designated positions. Considering that the shogun often travelled in a covered palanquin and that the guardhouses could be located at some distance from the road, it can be argued that, in this case, the *omemie* had nothing of an audience in the modern sense of the word. Ultimately, the social prestige that retainers obtained from participating in this ritual derived not so much from being able to see the shogun, but rather from being touched by his gaze.

Audiences performed in the months preceding Ieyoshi's departure for Nikkō also followed the above-mentioned rules. Let's consider for example the shogunal audience with the Senior Councilor Doi Toshitsura that took place on 1843/3/28. On this occasion Doi was summoned to the Gozanoma Hall to confirm his duties as hosting lord and receive shogunal gifts for his service. The Gozanoma Hall (fig.7) was composed of the *jōdan* and the *gedan*, two main rooms elevated about 6 inches above each other and measuring approximately 300 square feet each, and by several other chambers (the *ninoma*, the *sannoma*, the *ōdamari*, and the *nandogamae*). After being notified through a fellow senior councilor of the gifts presented by Ieyoshi, Doi was prompted to advance toward the shogun who was sitting in the *jōdan*. The audience's record does not specify Ieyoshi's exact position; however, it reports that Doi advanced to the first straw mat (*tatami*) of the *gedan* room. This means that the Senior Councilor had likely listened to the shogun's words while waiting at the border between the corridor (*irigawa*) that led to the Gozanoma and the *gedan* room. Surprisingly, even for someone with a status as high as Doi, considerable distance was put between the shogun and his retainer during the audience. In the case of lower-ranking retainers, the *omemie* could occur *en masse* in larger audience rooms such as the Shiroshoin (4,973 sq. feet) and Kuroshoin (3,154 sq. feet), which were located in the Interior, thus furthering the physical distance placed between the ruler and his

subjects and their sense of remoteness from the source of political authority (fig.8).²¹⁹ A more intimate type of audience, the so-called *taigan* or *taimen* (lit. “face-to-face meeting”) was reserved to members of the Tokugawa clan, such as the Gosanke and the Gosankyō, to the shogunal heir, and to members of the imperial family (fig.9).²²⁰ Unfortunately, records of the audiences conducted on the occasion of Ieyoshi’s journey to Nikkō do not explain how such meetings occurred; however, they specify that in certain cases the guest was allowed to sit in the *jōdan* next to the shogun.²²¹

Tightly connected to an audience’s spatial arrangement was the issue of how communication between participants was conducted. In the majority of cases both the words uttered by shogun and those spoken by his retainers were conveyed by an official who acted as a mediator (*hirō*). The layers of mediation, as well as the status of the mediator depended on the social standing of the retainers participating in the audience. Records of the shogunal audiences conducted in Edo castle during the preparatory phases of the pilgrimage show that senior councilors were almost always serving as mediators between the shoguns and his retainers.²²²

²¹⁹ See, for example, the audience in the Kuroshoin held on 1843/4/4 involving 14 retainers serving as shogunal retinue (see TR2:669); the audience in the Kuroshoin held on 1843/4/6 involving 53 retainers divided in 5 groups (see TR2:672-73); and the audience in the Shiroshoin held on 1843/4/11 involving *kunimochi daimyo* and other retainers (see TR2:679).

²²⁰ See, for example, the audience with the Gosanke held on 1843/4/6 (see TR2:671); the audience with Chioin’s abbot (an imperial prince) held on 1843/4/12 (see MTN16:439); the audience with the Gosankyō and the shogunal heir held on 1843/4/13 (see TR2: 679); the audience with the Nikkō abbot (*Nikkō jugō*) and his appointed successor (*Nikkō shingū*) held on 1843/4/25 (see TR2: 687-88).

²²¹ This was the case with the shogunal heir on 1843/4/13 (see TR2:679) and with the Chioin’s abbot on 1843/4/12 (see MTN 16: 439).

²²² According to the *Tokugawa Reitenroku*, one exception is the audience taking place in the Gozanoma on 1842/2/23 and involving the shogun and four senior councilors serving in the pilgrimage (i.e. Mizuno Tadakuni, Doi Toshitsura, Hotta Masayoshi, and Sanada Yukitsura). According to the record, no other official was serving as “announcer” (*hirō*) on that occasion and the shogun’s spoke directly to the retainers (see TR2: 635). It is difficult to imagine, however, that the audience was completely unmediated. As a matter of fact, even during face-to-face meeting (*taigan*) with members with a higher status than the senior councilors, the shogun communicated with his guests through a mediator. For instance, in the audience with Chioin’s abbot, who was an imperial prince, the senior councilor on duty mediated the conversation (see MTN16:439). It is possible, therefore, that one of the senior

Nonetheless, normally, audiences conducted in the Interior were mediated by masters of shogunal ceremonies, while senior councilors served as mediators in the more prestigious Gozanoma Hall.²²³ Communication could involve as many as four transmissions by different mediators before the shogun's words reached a retainer. This was the case of audiences with Korean and Ryukyuan envoys to Edo, during which the shogun's words were transmitted first to the senior councilors, who passed them to the daimyo accompanying the envoys (respectively, the lords of Tsushima and Satsuma), who transmitted them to the interpreters, who finally translated them for the envoys.²²⁴ There were also instances in which the shogun uttered no words at all, another strategy through which the ruler increased awareness of a retainer's status.²²⁵ Besides practical reasons such as a language barrier or the fact that the physical distance between the shogun and a retainer made it necessary for messages to be conveyed by mediators, the rationale behind such a complex system of communication - or behind the choice to avoid communication altogether - was that it effectively placed an additional barrier between the ruler and his subjects that helped them in making sense of their status.

The type of language used by the ruler also mattered. Descriptions of pilgrimage-related audiences in the *Tokugawa Reitenroku* do not report the exact words spoken by the shogun and generally simplify his utterances with honorific expressions such as *jōi kore ari* or *gyōi kore ari* ("the shogun expressed his august will"). Nonetheless, records of words spoken by the

councilors summoned to the room also acted as mediator and that the *Reitenroku*'s compilers simply omitted that piece of information.

²²³ For example, the master of shogunal ceremonies customarily served as *hirō* in the Kuroshoin. See, Ōishi, ed., *Edo bakufu daijiten*, 493.

²²⁴ TR3: 366-79; TR3:330-333.

²²⁵ See Masaumi Fukai, "Shōgun ken'i to denchūgirei," *Fūzoku shigaku: Nihon Fuzōku Shigakkaishi* 35, (January 2007): 10-11.

Tokugawa chieftains in various ritual occasions that have survived to this day reveal that the complexity of the phrasing as well the speech register used by the shogun varied according to the status of the person he was addressing. For instance, when entrusting a bannerman with a certain task the shogun would generally state the task assigned followed by a concise expression such as ...*ni iitsukeru* (“I instruct you to serve as...”). On the other hand, when a senior councilor was appointed to a certain position, wordier and more polite expressions such as ...*ni tsukite no yōmuki o tsutomuru yōni* (“because of...I ask that you serve as...”) were adopted.²²⁶

The exchange of gifts during formal audiences also represented a ritual device through which the Tokugawa social hierarchy was made palpable.²²⁷ The type of gifts offered to the shogun (*kenjōbutsu*), the ones received from him (*hairyōbutsu*), and the way in which such gifts were presented was decided on the basis of a retainer’s standing. For instance, two days before Ieyoshi’s departure for Nikkō seven top-ranking officials were summoned in the Gozanoma Hall

²²⁶ See Fukai, *Zukai Edojō*, 44-48. Some of the words spoken by the shogun during audiences conducted on the occasion of the Nikkō pilgrimage are recorded in Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni’s diary. For instance, when ordering retainers to advance toward a certain position in the room the shogun would use expressions such as “*kore e*” or “*sore e*” (“move here” or “move there”), and, when ordering attendants to bring presents to the room, he would utter the words “*dōgu o*” (“bring the implements”). See MTN16: 488, 513. It is dubious, however, whether the expressions reported by Mizuno are literal transcriptions of the shogun’s words or simply concise annotations meant to put down on paper for future reference. In any case, it is clear that the shogun’s utterances were pre-arranged formulas and that, rather than literal orders, they were meant to work as cues for the retainer. As a matter of fact, because audiences were often rehearsed, retainers would know well in advance where to move in the room.

²²⁷ Needless to say, the practice of gift-giving was not peculiar to the Tokugawa era. Exchanges of gifts are recorded in documents as ancient as the *Man’yōshū*, Japan’s oldest collection of *waka* poetry composed in the second half of the 8th century CE. In the context of the Tokugawa regime, gift-giving worked as a mechanism of social control. Besides adding to the numerous financial burdens placed by the shogunate onto its subjects, the systematic presentation of gifts to the Tokugawa rulers was understood as a token of gratitude by retainers and an acknowledgment on their part of the existing social hierarchy of power. The offering by retainers of goods produced in their domains, for example, symbolized their gratitude for the lands they had received, as well as the fact that they were administering them correctly on behalf of the shogun. Charts that detailed the amount and type of gifts retainers were expected to present to the regime on auspicious occasions, such as their first audience or shogunal weddings, were compiled during the reign of Iemitsu and refined during the reign of Shogun Tsunayoshi. For a detailed discussion of ritual exchange of gifts among warriors in Tokugawa Japan, see Kazuo Ōtomo, *Nihon kinsei kokka no ken’i to girei*, 22-28; Tokugawa Bijutsukan, *Shōgun kara no okurimono: girei to hairyō* (Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan, 2014); Morgan Pitelka, *Spectacular Accumulation*, 65-93; Cecilia Segawa Seigle, “Tokugawa Tsunayoshi and the formation of Edo castle rituals of giving,” 116-165.

and rewarded with articles of apparel for their efforts in ensuring the implementation of the pilgrimage. According to records (table 5), as the only retainer of the senior fourth rank (and the one with the highest *kokudaka*), Ii Naoaki was rewarded with one of Ieyoshi's personal overgarments (*omeshi ohaori*), which he received directly from the hands of the shogun (*otemizukara*).²²⁸ Matsudaira Katsuyoshi, Mizuno Tadakuni, Hotta Masayoshi, and Hori Chikashige, retainers of the junior fourth rank, were also rewarded with Ieyoshi's personal robes, but those gifts were not received directly from the shogun.²²⁹ Finally, as retainers of the fifth rank, Hotta Masahira and Endō Tanenori, only received regular robes, which were presented to them in a different room.²³⁰ In this case, the presentation of shogunal gifts enabled Tokugawa chieftains to emphasize differences in the degree of intimacy that each retainer had with the ruler in a twofold manner, that is through the way in which gifts were delivered and through the offering of either personal or impersonal items.

The quantity of gifts received was also generally indicative of a retainer's status. For instance, during the rituals conducted in Iwatsuki castle on the occasion of Ieyoshi's trip to Nikkō, the castle lord Ōoka Tadakata received, among other things, seven seasonal clothes (*jifuku*) from the shogun. By contrast, Tadakata's heir, Tadayuki, was rewarded with four similar

²²⁸ The literal meaning of *otemizukara* is "from the very hands of the shogun;" however, it is unclear whether this phrasing meant that the robes were physically passed from Ieyoshi's hands to the retainer's ones. Normally, gifts were presented on large trays (*hirobuta*), whose arrangement in the room also embodied the receiver's status. It is likely that a page physically delivered the shogunal gift to the retainer.

²²⁹ From this specific instance it appears that although Matsudaira Katsuyoshi was higher in status than Mizuno and Hotta, he received a smaller quantity of gifts. Perhaps this was because Mizuno and Hotta were being rewarded for their crucial roles in the implementation of pilgrimage. While further research is necessary to ascertain this point, this episode suggests that even in the rigid status system there was some leeway for flexibility.

²³⁰ See TR2:678-79. The *Tokugawa Reitenroku* does not specify where Hotta Masahira and Endō Tanenori received their presents; however, according to the *Tenpō Nikkō omiya gosankei Ikkendome* (NA) the two retainers picked up the shogunal gifts "not in the presence of the shogun" (*oku ni oite*).

items, and the domain's chief retainers (*karō*) Aoki and Takaki only with three.²³¹ Likewise, status regulated the gifts that retainers could offer to the shogun. For instance, on 1843/4/6 the members of the Gosanke families presented the senior councilors with gifts for the shogun by means of a messenger. The Owari and Kii lords, the heads of the two Tokugawa-related clans with the highest status, proffered two sets of stirrups and two saddles each. The Mito lord, who ranked below them, presented instead only two saddle cloths.²³² Similarly, in the course of the above-mentioned visit by Ieyoshi to Iwatsuki castle, the domainal lord Tadakata presented the shogun with swords, gold coins, and 100 bundles of cotton.²³³ By contrast his son Tadayuki could offer only swords and less valuable silver coins. Moreover, a proclamation issued on 1842/12/14 regulated on the basis of *kokudaka* the quantity and the type of gifts that retainers escorting Ieyoshi to Nikkō could present to the tombs of Ieyasu and Iemitsu.²³⁴ By establishing what gifts were deemed appropriate for the shogun, the regime was likely hoping to prevent subjects from having any leeway to express undesired political messages through the manipulation of ritual events and, perhaps, compete with each other.

One final device used in ritual settings through which retainers were made familiar with their status was the dress code. As in the case of the system of court rank and office, the Tokugawa appropriated the imperial court's ceremonial costumes as part of a strategy to enhance

²³¹ SN.

²³² See TR2: 674.

²³³ See SN, manuscript.

²³⁴ See TR2:659 entry for 1842/12/14. Retainers' gifts to the Nikkō mausolea generally consisted of swords (*tachi*) and coins that were presented in place of horses (*umadaikin*). Needless to say, the quantity of gifts that retainers were expected to present to Ieyasu was larger than the one for Iemitsu. For instance, retainers with a *kokudaka* between 50,000 and 99,000 *koku* were ordered to offer "swords and five pieces of silver" to Ieyasu and "swords and three pieces of silver" to Iemitsu. For *koku* and *kokudaka*, see footnote 144.

their prestige by association with Kyoto.²³⁵ Records of formal audiences and other ritual events performed in connection to the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō often contain specific descriptions of formal outfits worn by the shogun and his retainers.²³⁶ A clear example of the ways in which status was articulated through the dress code is provided by shogunal ordinances addressing retainers escorting Ieyoshi to Nikkō and detailing the formal outfits that they were permitted to bring. Retainers of the fourth rank such as former Great Councilor Ii Naokai or masters of court ceremonies Hatakeyama Yoshinobu and Toda Ujitoshi were allowed to bring a *sokutai* (fig.10), a formal ceremonial dress traditionally reserved to top-ranking members of the court. Domainal lords of the fifth rank such as masters of shogunal ceremonies Aoyama Yukishige and Matsudaira Chikayoshi were allowed to bring an *ikan* (fig.11), a less formal version of a *sokutai*. By contrast, shogunal direct retainers of the same court rank, but with considerably smaller *kokudaka* were permitted to bring only a *daimon* (fig.12), a crested formal robe used by ordinary retainers. Officials such as the shogunal inspectors and the captains of the shogunal body guards were permitted to bring a *hoi* (fig.13), which was normally designed for retainers of the sixth rank.²³⁷ Finally, low-ranking officials such as members of shogunal body guards were allowed to bring a *suō* (fig. 14), a simplified version of a *daimon*, originally worn by commoners and later adopted by lower-ranked samurai (*hirazamurai*). Interestingly enough, this example shows that in absolute terms the distribution of formal robes was predicated on a retainer's court rank and office. Nonetheless, for officers holding the same rank, factors other than rank seniority

²³⁵ See Nakai, *Shogunal Politics*, 191.

²³⁶ See, for example, TR2:633 (entry for 1842/2/17); MTN16: 439, 497, 500, 501, 505, 506; SN manuscript (entries for 1843/4/15 and 4/17); and *Nikkō orusuchū nikki* manuscript (entry for 1843/4/13).

²³⁷ See Appendix 4.

determined status. For instance, even though the annual rice yield of master of court ceremonies (*kōke*) Toda Ujitoshi was only 2,000 *koku*, his higher court rank allowed him to bring a more prestigious garment than master of shogunal ceremonies Aoyama, whose domain was assessed at 48,000 *koku*. Nonetheless, in the case of retainers of the Junior Fifth Lower Rank, the line between those who could wear an *ikan* (master of shogunal ceremonies Aoyama and Matsudaira) and those who could wear only a less prestigious *daimon* (Nikkō magistrates Inō Masaoki and Nakabō Hirokaze) was drawn on the basis of the retainer's *kokudaka* or perhaps of their shogunal office. In any case, the marking of status differences through the regulation of an individual's outward appearance was a particularly effective means of social control because it enabled Tokugawa retainers to not only make sense of their position on the social ladder, but also to immediately recognize their peers' standing and adjust their behavior accordingly.²³⁸ For this reason, in addition to the ceremonial dress code, the shogunate regulated all aspects of a retainer's outward appearance, from the type of paraphernalia they could display while parading with their retainers to the shape of the gates of their mansions.²³⁹

The analysis of audiences occurring prior to Ieyoshi's departure for Nikkō suggests some general observations on the value of rituals as mechanisms of social control and on the rationale at work behind the Tokugawa status system. First, it must be noted that opportunities for Tokugawa rulers to visualize and inculcate status differences into their subjects' minds through

²³⁸ Fukai Masaumi has noted that, even though the required outfit for numerous annual celebrations in Edo castle was more or less the same for all warriors (a long *kamishimo*), for extraordinary events that involved large numbers of retainers (e.g. the New Year's rituals), the shogunate enforced a special dress code predicated on status. See Fukai, "Shōgun ken'i to denchū girei," 5. Fukai's observation suggests that Tokugawa rituals were intended to not only reinforce a retainer's awareness of his own status in absolute terms, but also to help him understand how he related to his peers.

²³⁹ For a discussion of military accoutrements used by retainers accompanying the shogun to Nikkō and on their relation to status, see Chapter 3.

the performance of rituals were by no means limited to the Nikkō pilgrimage. Shogunal audiences were regularly held every month and on special occasions.²⁴⁰ Ordinary and extraordinary events taking place in Edo castle and other parts of the realm throughout the year constantly exposed Tokugawa subjects to the regime's ritual language of power and contributed to make its grammar clear.²⁴¹ In this sense, the Nikkō pilgrimage should not be seen as an exception, but as part of what Ueki Emori, the son of a former shogunal retainer from Tosa – described as the regime's "strategy of political mystification" " (*shinpi seiryaku*).²⁴² Nonetheless, what set the pilgrimage apart from other rituals was its magnitude and complexity, which allowed the regime to involve the military class at large for a prolonged period of time.

Second, the case-studies discussed so far suggest that the components determining a warrior's status – i.e. his relationship with the shogun, the size and annual rice yield of his domains, and his court rank and office - did not always have the same weight. For instance, the different treatment reserved to the "three hosting lords" or the rules underlying the ceremonial dress code show that the economic power deriving from the administration of a large domain was not automatically synonymous with greater access to the shogun or social prestige. Despite their nominal nature, court ranks and offices played a prominent role in defining the position of a

²⁴⁰ Regular audiences (*tsukinami*) occurred on the 1st, 15th, and 28th day of each month. Special audiences occurred on various occasions including the New Year, Tokugawa seasonal observances or *gosekku* (held annually on 1/7; 3/3; 5/5; 7/7, and 9/9), and the *hassaku* (8/1), which commemorated Ieyasu's entrance into Kantō region in 1590.

²⁴¹ A perusal of the *Ryūei nenchū gyōji* (1858), a record in two volumes recording the calendar of the annual events of the Tokugawa government, reveals that the shogun's ritual agenda could be packed with as many as ten major celebrations per month. Additionally, daily rites performed by the shogun in his living quarters, fixed and extraordinary audiences with his retainers, and celebrations such as Buddhist memorial services and Shintō rites for the ancestors held at the temples and shrines affiliated with the Tokugawa clan also bespeak of the centrality of ritual in the daily life of the regime. See footnote 4.

²⁴² Watanabe Hiroshi. *Higashi Ajia no ōken to shisō* (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1997), 20.

retainer in the Tokugawa hierarchy of power.²⁴³ Thus, the complex and often counterintuitive ways in which the status system worked made rituals all the more necessary because they allowed the regime to explain and preserve social order. Incidentally, the existence of manuals illustrating the complex minutiae of Tokugawa etiquette suggests that shogunal retainers regarded fluency in the regime's ritual language as an essential part of their identity as warriors and that they acknowledged its implications for their social prestige.²⁴⁴ The intimate connections between ritual symbolism and a warrior's status was also understood beyond the borders of Tokugawa military society as demonstrated by the fact that information such a retainer's court rank and office, his annual rice yield, the paraphernalia he was permitted to display when traveling, and his assigned room in Edo castle was reported in military rosters widely purchased and consumed by commoners.²⁴⁵

Third, the analysis of ritualistic elements regulating audiences and other ceremonies performed in Edo castle suggests that the notion of status and social prestige was largely dependent on a retainer's degree of remoteness from the ruler, whether physical (e.g. how far from the shogun a retainer sat in an audience room) or symbolic (e.g. whether or not the robes he received as a gift came from the shogun's personal closet). By making the shogun hardly accessible, removing him from public sight, mediating his words, and revealing him only at calculated times, Tokugawa rituals heightened the perception of the ruler as a sacred, mystical,

²⁴³ Futaki Ken'ichi has noted that the emphasis on rank and office as a determining component of status was a characteristic that set Tokugawa rituals apart from those of the Ashikaga shogunate. See, Futaki, *Buke girei kakushiki no kenkyū*, 441.

²⁴⁴ Examples of such manuals are the *Reimotsu kishiki* ("Rules for making offerings," 1816), the *Tachi origamitori atsukaisho* ("Instructions for offering swords," 1829), and the *Sōbyō chōtei no rei* ("Manual for events and rituals," 1857). See, Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, *Edojō*, 91, 109.

²⁴⁵ For a discussion of military rosters and their role in disseminating knowledge across the realm, see Chapter 3.

and almost supernatural being. Noting that the “dialect of disclosure and concealment” was a characteristic trait of Tokugawa rituals, Anne Walthall has wittily compared shogunal audiences in Edo castle to the Buddhist practice of *kaichō* (lit. “opening of the curtain”), during which sacred icons that were otherwise hidden from public sight (=the shogun), were temporarily displayed in sacred buildings (=Edo castle) to the eyes of worshippers (=the retainers).²⁴⁶

Walthall has also argued that the Tokugawa emphasis on secrecy set early modern Japan apart from European monarchies of the 18th century. For instance, instead of capitalizing on the ruler’s mystical nature by keeping him hidden and wrapping him a sacred aura, European monarchs were more open to public gaze and often displayed themselves to large crowds.

Walthall believes that this difference was rooted in the transition of European monarchies toward absolutism, which made necessary the inclusion of greater numbers of people in the idea of state.²⁴⁷ The case studies presented in this chapter confirm that in the 1840s the notions of secrecy and concealment of the ruler still played an important role in the performance of the shogunal rituals. Nonetheless, it must be noted that, while the shogun remained largely hidden from his retainers’ sight, an important countertrend started to emerge in the ways in which Tokugawa chieftains related to the masses. As we shall see in Chapter 4, the 1843 pilgrimage to Nikkō saw a conscious effort on behalf of the regime to de-emphasize the enigmatic nature of the shogun and transform him into a more relatable figure made of flesh and blood in order to narrow the rift between the ruler and the ruled (*kōgibanare*) that had expanded since the first half

²⁴⁶ See Walthall, “Hiding the shoguns,” 344, 351-352. For a discussion of the practice of *kaichō*, see Barbara Ambros “The Display of Hidden Treasures: Zenkōji’s *Kaichō* at Ekōin in Edo.” *Asian Cultural Studies* 30, (March 2004): 1-26

²⁴⁷ See Walthall, “Hiding the shoguns,” 345-46.

of the 19th century.²⁴⁸ For example, regulations prohibiting certain people from watching the shogunal cortege were loosened at the very last minute. On his way to Nikkō, instead of constantly traveling in a palanquin, the shogun often rode a horse or even walked, making himself visible to the onlookers gathered at the sides of the road. Ieyoshi also met people living in the villages located along the Nikkō highways and demonstrated his mercifulness by distributing awards and rice-stipends to meritorious or poverty-stricken subjects. In this context, if the shift toward absolutism, as Walthall argues, accounts for the loosening of secrecy, then the unprecedented ways in which Ieyoshi displayed himself to the masses during his journey to Nikkō in 1843 might be an indication that Tokugawa regime too was shifting toward a more absolutist rule. The regime had perhaps realized that hiding the shogun from public gaze had ended up making him invisible to his subjects.

Finally, the analysis of the appointments to *shasan*-related tasks (table 3) indicates that the pilgrimage involved a large number of officials from each of the four sectors of Tokugawa administration, i.e. shogunal household affairs, military affairs, civil administrative affairs, and ceremonial affairs.²⁴⁹ Specifically, table 3 demonstrates that the pilgrimage required the collaboration of not only high-ranking members of the shogun's cabinet (*bakkaku*) and the shogun's close aides, but also of all kinds of retainers holding less prestigious offices, including but not limited to the master of shogunal and court ceremonies, inspectors and superintendents, construction officials, kitchen supervisors, shogunal guards and pages, shogunal doctors and painters, tea and falconry masters, and Confucian scholars.

²⁴⁸ See footnote 65.

²⁴⁹ For a discussion of the structure of the Tokugawa government and an overview of its offices, see Conrad D. Totman, *Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu 1600-1843* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1967): 32-42, 270-277.

Moreover, it must be noted that, as far as the appointment of officials is concerned, the *Tokugawa Reitenroku*'s record is incomplete. For instance, some of the Tokugawa officials listed in pilgrimage-related records compiled by temples, villages, and post-towns or in the military rosters published on the occasion of Ieyoshi's journey to Nikkō, do not appear in the *Reitenroku*'s chronicle.²⁵⁰ In their effort to prevent the memory of Tokugawa rituals from "sinking into oblivion," the *Reitenroku*'s compilers must have been less focused on listing all the officials involved in the ritual than on providing the reader with a sense of what type of ceremonies took place on the occasion of Ieyoshi's visit to Nikkō.²⁵¹ In light of the variety of shogunal officials it involved, the pilgrimage was a truly "ritual of the state," to borrow an expression common among Japanese historians because, by dispatching these men to post-towns, villages, and temples located along the Nikkō highways to supervise preparations or by parading them on the shogunal route to Nikkō during the shogun's trip, the Tokugawa state made itself visible in all its complexity in the peripheries of the realm.²⁵²

The list of appointments included in the *Tokugawa Reitenroku* also discloses another characteristic of the *shasan*, namely the fact that the pilgrimage required the collaboration of domainal lords regardless of their political affiliation. As a matter of fact, of the some 90 daimyo entrusted with official tasks at least 21 were *tozama* lords, a category of retainers traditionally excluded from the administration of state affairs.²⁵³ While most *tozama* daimyo served on Edo

²⁵⁰ I became aware of this discrepancy by comparing the names of officials listed in the *Tokugawa Reitenroku* (Appendix 2, table 3) with those mentioned in Jigenji's temple registry (discussed in section 4 of this chapter) and with the *Nikkō omya gosankei gubu oyakunintsuke* (1843, woodblock edition, Edo-Tokyo Museum), a military roster published on the occasion of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage to Nikkō.

²⁵¹ See TR1: 46-47.

²⁵² See footnote 173.

²⁵³ See Appendix 2, table 3.

patrol duty during the shogun's absence (*orusu*), their involvement in the pilgrimage was not limited to this task. For instance, in 1843 Sanada Yuki Yoshi, heir apparent of Matsushiro domain lord Sanada Yukitsura, escorted the shogun to Nikkō and served as provisional master of shogunal ceremonies.²⁵⁴ Several other *tozama* lords were entrusted with the defense of strategic areas of the country (*okunikatame*), and at least three *tozama* clans were ordered to provide funds for the restorations of the Nikkō mausolea (*shūfuku sukeyaku*).²⁵⁵ Furthermore, as some historians have pointed out, all daimyo, regardless of their relation to the Tokugawa clan, were required to congratulate the shogun when the pilgrimage was announced and upon the shogun's return from Nikkō. Daimyo residing in Edo were also expected to attend *nō* performances arranged by the regime to celebrate the successful completion of the shogunal journey. Sources also indicate that *tozama* lords celebrated the shogun's return to Edo by hosting receptions in their mansions in Edo to which members of the government were invited.²⁵⁶

Table 3 (Appendix 2) reveals that some 90 domains located in various corners of the archipelago were involved to some extent in the implementation of the 1843 pilgrimage. Even though daimyo entrusted with official tasks were often already in Edo in compliance with the requirements of the system of alternate attendance, domainal authorities were nonetheless aware of their lords' participation in the shogunal pilgrimage. For instance, numerous entries pertaining to the Nikkō pilgrimage of 1843 can be found in Sakura domain's *Toshiyoribeya nikki*, an

²⁵⁴ From 1728 onward, it became customary for the heir of Edo castle's chief keeper (*rusui rōjū*) to serve as provisional master of shogunal ceremonies during the Nikkō pilgrimage. See Tanemura, "Tenpōki Nikkō shasan ni okeru shukujō girei to sōshaban," 75.

²⁵⁵ For *tozama* daimyo entrusted with *okunikatame* duties, see footnotes 194 and 195. For *tozama* lords entrusted with *shūfuku sukeyaku* duties, see Appendix 2, table 2, entry for 1842/11/9.

²⁵⁶ See Izumi, "Nikkō shasan to *tozama* daimyō," 2-3.

official record of domainal affairs kept by local administrators.²⁵⁷ In some cases retainers residing in the domains escorted their lords to Nikkō, and, through their “eyes” knowledge of the pilgrimage was disseminated back in the domains. For example, in 1843 the lord of Mito, Tokugawa Nariaki, ordered Aoyama Nobumitsu, a scholar working at the domain’s Confucian academy (Shōkōkan), to accompany him to Nikkō. Aoyama later reported his experience in a travelogue titled *Nikkō jūga kiji*.²⁵⁸

To be sure, some of these works circulated only among domainal elites, but, thanks to cheap and easily accessible publications, such as military rosters listing the names of the shogunal attendants traveling to Nikkō, knowledge of the *shasan* also reached the less educated sectors of society both in Edo and in the domains.²⁵⁹ Furthermore, as the next two sections of this chapter show, involvement in the implementation of the shogunal pilgrimage was not limited by any means to the warrior class. On the contrary, the pilgrimage affected all sectors of Tokugawa society, from high-ranking courtiers to outcasts. Therefore, besides embodying the Tokugawa state, the Nikkō pilgrimage was also a ritual of the early modern nation because of the large geographical area it affected and the vast spectrum of political and social actors it involved.

²⁵⁷ See Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshihen*, 599, 606.

²⁵⁸ See Tochigi Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, *Nikkō sankei no michi*, 26.

²⁵⁹ Chapter 3 discusses at length the role of military rosters in spreading knowledge of the Nikkō pilgrimage throughout the archipelago.

3. Preparations in the domains

3.1. The Tokugawa highway system and the requisitioning of resources for the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō

Due to the enormous volume of traffic generated by the Nikkō pilgrimage, providing a reliable transportation system and creating adequate infrastructure to support the shogun's journey were tasks of paramount importance. By the end of the 1650s the Tokugawa had established a network of centrally administered thoroughfares that connected the shogunal capital to central and northern Japan (fig.15).²⁶⁰ On these highways Tokugawa-sanctioned post stations (*shukueki*) were entrusted by the regime with the task of providing porters and packhorses for moving men and goods, supplying lodging and boarding to travelers, and maintaining the road and other transport infrastructure in good condition.²⁶¹ In exchange for transporting Tokugawa retainers conducting official business and specific categories of goods free of charge, post stations were exempted from paying certain taxes to the central government (*jishi menjo*). Regular retainers and commoners could also benefit from the post stations' services for a fee.²⁶²

²⁶⁰ For an in-depth discussion of the highway system established by the Tokugawa shogunate and of the roads connecting the shogunal capital to Nikkō, see Appendix 4.

²⁶¹ Despite the regime's efforts, an unauthorized (and often more efficient) system of transportation emerged on both the main highways and the minor roads. See, Vaporis, "Post Station and Assisting Villages," 398. Stations on the Nikko highways maintained 25 horses and 25 porters each. See Kawaguchishi, *Kawaguchishishi tsūshihen jōkan* (Kawaguchi: Kawaguchishi, 1988), 480.

²⁶² Free of charge transport (*muchin*) was reserved to 79 categories of travelers and goods. To benefit from this privilege travelers needed to obtain an authorization letter from the shogun (*goshuin*), the senior councilors (*goshomon*), or other high-ranking officials such as the Kyoto Deputy and the Superintendent of Finance. For paid service, there existed two types of fees, i.e. a fixed fee (*osadame chinsen*) and a market fee (*aitai chinsen*). The former was established by the shogunate and it allowed 17 categories of travelers and goods, including ranking Tokugawa officials and daimyo to rent a predetermined number of porters and packhorses for an advantageous price. The latter was negotiated directly between post-towns and patrons and it was reserved for commoners or to pay for horses and porters used by Tokugawa retainers that were not covered by the fixed fee. In principle, travelers were required to stop in every station to change horses and porters so that all the post-towns were equally guaranteed a profit. Officials known as *ton'ya* (or *toiya*), chosen from among the post-town's elders (*toshiyori*), managed the transportation system. The *ton'ya* did not always receive a fixed wage and gained most of their profits from the fees paid by travelers to store luggage (*niwasen*). They were assisted by accountants (*chōtsuke*), who managed the

Initially, post stations were directly responsible for providing resources for transportation, but in order to tackle the growing volume of the traffic passing through the national highways, as early as 1637 the shogunate allowed post-towns along the Tokaidō to requisition additional horses and porters from nearby villages (*sukeuma seidō*).²⁶³ In the case of the Nikkō highways, a similar measure was adopted in 1642 when the regime established that on the occasion of a shogunal pilgrimage, should the laborers and horses provided by the relay stations not suffice, additional resources could also be requisitioned “from slightly farther away territories.”²⁶⁴ Due to the arbitrary mode in which horses and porters were requisitioned, conflicts between post-towns and villages often arose. To solve this problem, in 1694 the shogunate reformed the *sukeuma* system by assigning to each post station a fixed number of “assisting villages” (*jōsukegō*) located within a 3- to-6 miles radius.²⁶⁵ The number of packhorses and porters that each village had to provide was determined on the basis of a village’s annual rice yield and was in principle fixed to

financial aspects of the business, and by clerks who took care of the horses and of luggage (*basashi*). For instance, in 1843 Koganei post-town had 4 *ton'ya*, 5 elders, 2 accountants, 2 clerks, and 2 menial laborers. Normally, only 1 *ton'ya*, 1 elder, 1 clerk, and 2 accountants worked in the *ton'ya* office (*ton'yaba*), but in extraordinary cases such as the Nikkō pilgrimage, a higher number of officials coordinated transportation. Post stations were also equipped with facilities that provided lodging and boarding for travelers, including a main inn reserved for government officials (*honjin*), a secondary official inn (*wakihonjin*), several types of lodgings for commoners (*hatagoya*), and tea houses. See Vaporis, “Post Station and Assisting Villages,” 379-380 and Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshi*, 413-416. For a general discussion of post stations in Japanese, see also Eiichi Imado *Shukuba to kaidō* (Tōkyō: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1984) and Kōta Kodama, *Shukuba to kaidō. Gokaidō nyūmon* (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1998).

²⁶³ Likely, a direct result of the establishment of the system of alternate attendance in 1635. See Tochigikenshi hensan iinkai. *Tochigi tsūshi* 4, 665 and Vaporis, “Post Station and Assisting Villages,” 383.

²⁶⁴ See footnote 106.

²⁶⁵ In principle, 20 assisting villages were assigned to each post-town (see Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 47). The establishment of the *sukegō* system did not eliminate tensions between post stations and villages as demonstrated by the existence of numerous records of trials and disputes. Post stations often abused their authority by completely relying on villages for securing packhorses and porters or by showing favoritism toward certain villages. Additionally, in order to request an exemption from *sukegō* duties, villages had to nominate a substitute (*sashimura*), explaining the reasons why the switch was necessary. In this game of “passing the buck” tensions between villages arose as well. See Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshi*, 435-440.

2 porters and 2 packhorses per 100 *koku*.²⁶⁶ Starting in 1696 the *sukegō* system was also established on the Nikkō highways.²⁶⁷ For instance, according to a registry compiled in 1697/4 seventeen “assisting villages” providing labor (*tsutomedaka*) equivalent to 7,948 *koku* served Koganei post-town. ²⁶⁸ Some of these villages belonged to shogunal territories, while others were part of private lands administered by shogunal retainers. Hence the *sukegō* system was devised by the regime as “a tax without borders” through which the Tokugawa could exert their authority homogeneously regardless of domain status.²⁶⁹ As representatives of the shogunal Superintendent of Roads (*dōchū bugyō*), post-towns’ authorities had the power to univocally appoint villages to *sukegō* duties. Moreover, even though the *sukegō* tax differed from a *corvée* labor, because villages were somehow reimbursed by post stations for the horses and men supplied, the money they received was rarely commensurate to the service they provided.²⁷⁰ The *sukegō* duty heavily affected villages by taking away a vital segment of the workforce from the fields for sustained periods of time.²⁷¹ For this reason, villages that were experiencing economic

²⁶⁶ See Vaporis, “Post Station and Assisting Villages,” 384.

²⁶⁷ See *ibid.*, 385.

²⁶⁸ See Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshihen*, 427.

²⁶⁹ Vaporis, “Post Station and Assisting Villages,” 385. For example, in 1697 Machida village belonged to the private lands of the Senbon clan, a *hatamoto* family; Higashine village, Tanaka village, Isobemura village, and Niragawa villages were part of Akita domain, which was ruled by the Sataka, a *tozama* clan; Kamiyoshidamura was administered in part by the shogunate and in part by the Shimada, a *hatamoto* clan (*Nihon Rekishi Taikei Chimei*, Heibonsha, accessed via JapanKnowledge).

²⁷⁰ Whether or not villages were reimbursed for their services depended on the type of goods that they were transporting. Even when paid, porters obtained wages as little as a fifth of a regular carpenter’s stipend. Moreover, when duty started in the morning, porters and horses had to reach the assigned post-town the night before and they paid for boarding and lodging out of their own pocket. If they found a stoppage along the road to the post-towns and were not able to reach their destinations in time, they were not paid. Post-towns often over-requisitioned resources from villages, and villages did not receive any compensation for porters and horses that ended up not being used. See Vaporis, “Post Station and Assisting Villages,” 390-91.

²⁷¹ This was particularly true for villages providing resources for the Nikkō pilgrimage, which occurred during the rice planting season. For instance, in 1776 Higashimizuuma village (pop. 470) provided 140 men for shogun Ieharu’s progress to Nikkō, and later served for the Tokugawa Hitotsubashi lord’s pilgrimage in the 5th month of the

hardship could appeal for a temporary exemption from duty (*kyūyaku*).²⁷² In their place substitute assisting villages (*daisukegō*) were appointed, thus expanding the range of influence of the requisitioning system devised by the central government.²⁷³

The requisitioning of men, horses, and labor from “assisting villages” did not occur exclusively on the occasion of the shogun’s pilgrimage to Nikkō. Other events, including daimyo processions and the travel of Tokugawa officials on government business, as well as the daily movement of goods and regular travelers, offered a chance for the central government to exert its authority on domains and villages through post stations. Nevertheless, the extent to which the pilgrimage to Nikkō enabled the regime to make itself seen in the peripheries of the realm was unparalleled. One obvious reason for that effect was the volume of the traffic traversing the Nikkō highways on the occasion of a shogunal trip to Ieyasu’s mausoleum. As we shall see in the next chapter, in 1843 the main body of Ieyoshi’s cortege (*hontai*) – i.e. the shogun, his bodyguards, and his close aides - was almost seven times bigger than the largest daimyo procession regularly traversing the realm’s highways as a result of the system of alternate attendance.²⁷⁴ Sources indicate that up to 425,000 horses and 360,000 laborers might have been mobilized on the occasion of Ieyoshi’s journey to Nikkō.²⁷⁵ In order to appropriate adequate

same year, acting as assisting village for over 50 days. To make up for economic losses, the village was forced to request a “relief loan” (*sukui no shakkin*) to the local daimyo Mizuno Katsuoki (Yūki domain). See Tochigikenshi hensan iinkai. *Tochigi tsūshi*hen 5 kinsei ni (Utsunomiya: Tochigiken, 1984), 409-414.

²⁷² See Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshi*hen, 428.

²⁷³ In addition to the *daisukegō*, in time several other extraordinary categories of “assisting villages” were created, including the *mashisukegō* (“supplemental assisting village”) and the *tobunsukegō* (“temporary assisting village”). See Vaporis, “Post Station and Assisting Villages,” 387.

²⁷⁴ The *Nikkō gosankei otomokata*shū ninzu (manuscript, Edo-Tokyo Museum, 1843) claims that 19,876 men accompanied the shogun as part of the *hontai*. The largest procession by a domainal lord comprised no more than 3,000 men. See Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 72.

²⁷⁵ See Appendix 2, table 10.

resources to meet the pilgrimage's needs, starting in 1728, in addition to the *sukegō* tax, the Tokugawa introduced an extraordinary regulation (*yosejinba*), which extended the reach of regime's power by allowing it to exact men, horses, and labor not only from regular assisting villages but from across the eight provinces of the Kantō region.²⁷⁶ According to records compiled by the Imaichi post station's authorities, in 1843 villages located as far 43 miles away supplied horses and porters to the post town.²⁷⁷ In addition to porters, laborers were mobilized from villages all over the Kantō region to serve in other capacities as well. For example, sources reveal that in 1843 laborers from Edo and other territories along the Tokaidō were employed for the preparations of meals in Koganei post-town.²⁷⁸

Post-town records also suggest that the burden placed on villages on the occasion of the shogunal pilgrimage was heavier than normal. For instance, a contract drafted in 1843/1 by a certain Wadakichi, the owner of an inn in Koganei post-town who also worked as a contractor for the relay system, requested that Kawanago serve Koganei as a “supplemental assisting village” (*mashisukegō*) and that it provide labor equivalent to 403 *koku*.²⁷⁹ In 1843/4 Wadakichi

²⁷⁶ The eight provinces of Kantō (*kanhasshū*) are Sagami, Musashi, Awa, Kazusa, Shimōsa, Hitachi, Kōzuke, and Shimotsuke (see Appendix 1, fig.16). Certain categories of villages were exempted from the *yosejinba* system including villages belonging to the domains of the hosting lords (Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya); villages belonging to domains administered by retainers traveling to Nikkō with the shogun, lands granted by the shogunate to shrines and temples (*shuinchi*); post-towns and assisting villages located on the along the highways and temporary assisting villages (*tōbun sukegō*). See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 48.

²⁷⁷ This was the case of Kamishitabure village (modern Ashikaga city). Other notable examples are Kubota village and Nishiba village (modern Tochigi city), located respectively 27 and 39 miles from Imaichi. See, “Tenpō jūyon’nen Nikkō shasan ni tsuki Imaichishuku goyō Nikki” (1843) in Imaichishishi hensan senmon iinkai, ed. *Imaichi shishi shiryōhen kinsei II*, 215-23.

²⁷⁸ See NSKS2: 8 (260). This was not an isolated case: laborers employed in Nikkō and Ōsawa post-station districts for the boarding of shogunal retainers were mobilized from villages located in districts including Adachi (modern Tokyo and Saitama prefecture); Iruma (modern Saitama prefecture); Ebara (modern Tokyo); Tama (modern Tokyo and Kanagawa prefecture); and Tachibana (modern Kanagawa prefecture). Villages could be located as far as 90 miles from the post-towns to which laborers were assigned, as in the case of Baba village (modern Yokohama city). See Ōdachi, *Bakumatsu shakai no kiso kōzō*, 181-183.

²⁷⁹ Even though Kawanago was exempted from the *yosenjiba* system because it was located along the Nikkō highway (see footnote 274), the village continued to serve in some capacity as “assisting village.” Kawanago was

drafted a second contract asking Kawanago to supply “additional resources” to Koganei “because of the heavy traffic resulting from the shogun’s pilgrimage.”²⁸⁰ While under normal circumstances, travelers would stop at every post station on the highways, in order to maximize resources and expedite the movement of the shogunal cortege, the *yosejinba* system extended the distance travelled by allowing the replacement of exhausted horses with fresh animals only in Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya. For this reason, the shogunate ordered that only men of age 15 to 60 and sturdy male horses in good health could be used for the occasion.

Incidentally, while in 1728 and 1776 villages were forced to provide real horses and men (*seijinba*) as part of their *sukegō* duties, in 1843 the regime authorized certain villages to pay *sukegō* taxes in cash (*daikin’ nō*).²⁸¹ Moreover, only injured or sick horses were allowed to be replaced on the route between Edo and Nikkō.²⁸² This change was symptomatic of the peculiar economic and political climate of the Tenpō era. First, the shift to cash payment was dictated by pragmatic considerations. Many villages in the Kantō region had been heavily affected by the droughts, the irregular weather, and famines that hit Japan in the 1830s and, by the time of Ieyoshi’s pilgrimage, they were still suffering the economic consequences.²⁸³ As we have seen,

ordered to serve Koganei as “supplemental assisting village” (*mashisukegō*) in 1824 for a period of 20 years. The contract issued by Wadakichi in 1843 specifies that Kawanago could pay its *sukegō* duties in cash, fixing the exchange rate at 7 *ryō* and 1 *bu* for every 100 *koku* of taxable rice yield (*tsutomedaka*). Since Kawanago’s *tsutomedaka* was 403 *koku*, the village had to provide about 29 *ryō* every year. See NSKS1:58 (212) and Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshi*hen, 445-46. In the Edo period the *ryō* was the shogunate’s standard gold coin.

²⁸⁰ The contract issued on 1843/4 stipulates that Kawanago can pay the additional *sukegō* tax in cash and fixes the exchange rate to 6 *ryō* and 1 *bu* for every 100 *koku* of taxable rice. Of the roughly extra 25 *ryō* due, Kawanago had to pay 12 1843/4/15 and 12 by 1843/11. See NSKS1:71 (229-30).

²⁸¹ See Tochigikenshi hensan iinkai, *Tochigi tsūshi*hen 5, 441. This was the case of Kawanago in 1843. See footnotes 279 and 280.

²⁸² See NSKS2 (8): 260.

²⁸³ The famine that affected Honshū from 1833 to 1837 and that led to widespread rural and urban protest is known as the “Great Famine of the Tenpō Era” (*Tenpō daikikin*). After the famine, both the central and the domainal

in the case of the Nikkō pilgrimage, *sukegō* duties hindered the implementation of activities in the agricultural calendar such as rice planting by taking away workers from the fields for prolonged periods of time. The switch to cash payment, hence, enabled villages to minimize those losses, while continuing to serve the central government. The decision to abolish the payment in horses and men might also have been intended by the regime as yet another demonstration of the merciful and enlightened nature of Ieyoshi's rule and of the Tempō reforms; or, at least, certain villages perceived the change in this way. For instance, in an official registry (*goyōtomechō*) compiled in 1843, the headman of Kawanago village, Den'emon, welcomed the shift to cash payment and the decision to hire porters and horses in Edo instead of requisitioning them from the peripheries as a measure that would greatly help villages because it allowed them to maintain an adequate workforce.²⁸⁴

The shogun's gigantic procession directly impacted two roads – namely the Nikkō onari michi, from Edo to Satte, and the Nikkō dōchū, from Satte to Nikkō (fig.17). Nevertheless, the traffic generated by the Nikkō pilgrimage affected a much larger geographic area. For instance, the imperial envoy (*reiheishi*) dispatched to Nikkō annually on the occasion of Ieyasu's death anniversary traveled from Kyoto to Kuragano on the Nakasendō highway. From Kuragano he proceeded on the Nikkō Reiheishi road, crossing Kōzuke province and then, after Yagi station, entering Shimotsuke province. Then from Imaichi post-town he continued on the Nikkō dōchū until his final destination. On his way back, the imperial envoy customarily traveled from Nikkō to Edo on the Nikkō dōchū. Then after a brief stop at the Sensōji temple in Asakusa, he returned

governments enacted measures to enhance agricultural production. See Mashikochōshi hensan iinkai, *Mashikochōshi tsūshihen* (Mashiko: Mashikochō, 1991), 6:806-807 and Harold Bolitho, "The Tempō crisis," 117-120.

²⁸⁴ See NSKS2: 7 (205).

to Kyoto through the Tōkaidō.²⁸⁵ To be sure, the imperial envoy was escorted by a small contingent of some 50 people; nevertheless his journey still required the mobilization of porters and packhorses from post towns and villages, as well as the arrangement of lodging and boarding on three of the five national highways for a period of about one month.²⁸⁶

Likewise, the members of Tokugawa cadet houses did not follow the same route as the shogun's procession. The *gosanke* lords, for example, travelled on the Nakasendō highway from Edo to Kōnosu station; then, they proceeded to Tenmyō post town on the Tatebayashidō, a side road. From Tenmyō they took the Reiheishi kaidō up to Imaichi and reached their final destination on the last stretch of the Nikkō dōchū.²⁸⁷ The Gosankyō lords, who travelled to Nikkō in the 5th month, followed instead the shogunal route during their outward journey and the Gosanke's route on their way back to Edo.²⁸⁸

Other minor roads were also traversed by Tokugawa retainers serving in various capacities during the pilgrimage. For instance, daimyo entrusted with the defense of Nikkō used the so-called Nikkō higashi ōkan, a side road running for about 50 miles between Kogane post-town (modern Chiba prefecture) and Utsunomiya. Daimyo traversing this road were accompanied by medium-sized contingents.²⁸⁹ As in the case with the *reiheishi* or the members of Tokugawa cadet houses, these minor processions also required the collaboration of post-towns

²⁸⁵ See Tochigikenshi hensan iinkai, *Tochigi tsūshihen* 4, 569.

²⁸⁶ Initially the *reiheishi* left Kyoto in the 3rd month. In time, the departure date was postponed to 4/1 and the arrival in Nikkō was expected for 4/15. After worshipping Ieyasu on behalf of the emperor, the *reiheishi* would leave for Kyoto on 4/16. The *reiheishi*'s pilgrimage occurred uninterruptedly from 1646 to 1867. See *ibid.*, 568.

²⁸⁷ See Ōtaki Haruko, "Tenpō shasan to gosankyō no sankei," *Dainikkō* 55, (1984): 42.

²⁸⁸ See *ibid.* For an explanation of the Gosanke and of the Tokugawa cadet branches, see footnotes 191 and 201.

²⁸⁹ For instance, on the occasion of Ieharu's pilgrimage in 1776, Sakakibara Masanaga (daimyo of Takada) travelled on the Nikkō higashi ōkan with a retinue of about 700 people. See Tetsuya Kihara, "Nikkō shasan ni tomonau Sakakibara no Nikkō Higashi ōkan tsūkō," *Dainikkō* 74, (March 2005): 21.

and assisting villages, thus amplifying the impact of the Nikkō pilgrimage on the peripheries of the realm.

As noted before, the *sukegō* tax crossed the traditional boundaries of domainal autonomy because through it the regime requisitioned resources indiscriminately from Tokugawa possessions, *hatamoto* domains, and private lands belonging to either *fudai* or *tozama* clans. Interestingly enough, in addition to territories located in the eight provinces of Kantō, the *sukegō* also involved domains considerably distant from that region. This was because some of the villages providing resources for the transportation system on the Nikkō highways belonged to so-called “satellite lands” (*tobichi*), that is, detached parcels placed under the jurisdiction of larger domains. For instance, Higashine and Tanaka, two villages assisting Koganei post-town, belonged to Akita domain, a *tozama* territory located in modern Aomori prefecture. Likewise, Shimosenba, which also served Koganei, was part of Izuhara domain, another *tozama* territory corresponding to modern Tsushima, an island located halfway between Northern Kyushu and the Korean Peninsula.²⁹⁰ Therefore, although with varying intensity, the effects of the shogunal pilgrimage were felt well beyond the borders of the roads connecting Edo to Nikkō.²⁹¹

²⁹⁰ Tanaka and Higashine obtained a partial exemption from *sukegō* duties from 1841 to 1851, but still supplied resources on the occasion of Ieyoshi's territory. Shimosenba served as “substitute assisting village” (*daisukegō*) in 1843. See Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshihen*, 432-33.

²⁹¹ Domains such as Izuhara or Akita were only marginally affected by the pilgrimage and, because of their satellite territories in the Kantō region, were mainly required to provide horses and porters. By contrast, the impact of the pilgrimage on domains traversed by the shogunal cortege such as Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya was more widespread. These domains were exempted from *sukegō* duties, but they were required to cover expenses for the maintenance of the highways and to supply resources for hosting the shogun and his retinue during his trip. For instance, in 1843 Utsunomiya domain exacted taxes from villages for drainage works in Utsunomiya castle and for the pruning of trees, decorations, and repairs on the Nikko highways (Nikkō dōchū). Moreover, villages were also asked to provide laborers for shogunal inspections and for the cleaning of the road and the areas around the castle before the shogun's arrival in 1843/4. In some cases, levies were imposed on villages throughout the domain. Additionally, Utsunomiya domain also obtained funds from merchants operating in the castle-town, including a special loan (*goyōkin*) of 19,300 *ryō* that the domain could repay with no interest over the course of five years. In this way, the pilgrimage heavily affected on sectors of Tokugawa society, including peasants and traders. For a

To be sure, after 1649 the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō was implemented only four times before the collapse of the regime in 1867. Therefore, despite the unparalleled scope of its influence on the peripheries of the realm, the pilgrimage had some limitations as a tool of political and social control. Nonetheless, it must be noted that even though Tokugawa shoguns visited Nikkō less and less after the death of Iemitsu, the regime made sure that a shogunal proxy traveled to Ieyasu's shrine every year (*Nikkō daisan*). The proxy's cortege was significantly smaller than the shogunal ones, but it was still larger in scale than an average daimyo procession travelling on the roads of Japan as part of the system of alternate attendance.²⁹² Hence, at least vicariously, the Tokugawa chieftains were able to consistently exert their authority on domains through the manipulation of the Nikkō rituals.

3.2. Preparations of the road: inspections in Kawanago village and reception of shogunal officials

Besides the daunting task of gathering an adequate number of packhorses and porters, post towns and villages located along the Nikkō highways were also entrusted with the construction and maintenance of infrastructure to support the journey of the shogun and of his retainers. To cast light on the ways in which the preparations for the pilgrimage enabled the Tokugawa regime to exert authority on the peripheries of the realm, I consider the case study of Kawanago village (Mibu domain) and of Koganei post-town (Sakura domain), both part of present-day Shimotsuke

discussion of the impact of the 1843 pilgrimage on Utsunomiya domain, see Masato Izumi, "Tenpōki Nikkō shasan to Utsunomiyahan," 69-93.

²⁹² For instance, in 1732 Utsunomiya domain lord Toda served as shogunal proxy and travelled to Nikkō with a cortege of about 360 people (see Tochigi Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, *Nikkō sankei no michi*, 64). In the latter part of the Edo period the average size of a daimyo procession ranged from 150 to 300 samurai. See Stephen Turnbull, *The Samurai: a Military History* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 257.

city, Tochigi prefecture (fig.18).²⁹³ A series of official and unofficial records compiled between 1842 and 1843 by Kawanago and Koganei's authorities cast light on the complexity of the preparations undertaken in the villages and post-towns on the occasion of Ieyoshi's journey to Nikkō.²⁹⁴ Tasks pertaining to the construction and maintenance of infrastructure to support the passage of the shogunal cortege roughly fell under three categories: a) repair, maintenance, and modification of pre-existing infrastructure; b) creation of new infrastructure; and c) organization of boarding and lodging for shogunal attendants. In principle costs deriving from these tasks were covered by the shogunate in territories belonging to the Tokugawa demesne (*bakuryō*) or in small domains administered by shogunal direct retainers (*chigyō*). On the contrary for villages and post-towns governed by daimyo, domains were responsible for providing funds.²⁹⁵

Preparations on the highways started immediately after the announcement of the pilgrimage in Edo castle. For instance, as early as 1842/2 Kawanago was ordered to submit a report of trees planted along the stretch of the Nikkō dōchū traversing the village.²⁹⁶ In addition

²⁹³ Koganei post station was under the direct control of the Superintendent of Roads; however, from 1799 to the collapse of the shogunate, Koganei village was administered by Sakura domain. Kawanago, instead was part of Mibu domain throughout the Tokugawa era.

²⁹⁴ In the case of Kawanago, I consider "registries" (*goyōtomechō*) compiled by the village headman Nagai Den'emōn. Such registries are particularly useful to reconstruct the events taking place between 1842/2 and 1843/4 because they contain copies of orders, circular letters, and reports of inspections and of the constructions. I also take into account Kawanago's "registries of boarding expenses" (*makanaichō*), accountant books recording the names of domainal officials dispatched to Kawanago to greet shogunal officials and the costs sustained by the villages to feed them. For the preparations in Koganei, I rely on an account written by Tetsuka Gensen, a doctor employed in Koganei post-town during the 1843 pilgrimage to Nikkō. These documents are all gathered in the documentary collections *Nikkō shasan kankei shiryō* published by Shimotsuke City.

²⁹⁵ See NSKS2:8 (258). There were, however, several exceptions. For instance, facilities built to host the shogun within Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya were paid by the central regime. The shogunate also offered "hosting lords" loans to cover the rest of the renovations. Construction of shogunal facilities in the temples serving as rest areas were also funded by the shogunate (see TR2: 638, 651). Moreover, the shogunate provided post-towns with loans to cover the costs deriving from the preparations. For example, on the occasion of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage Koganei received a loan of 150 *ryō* from the central government. See NSKS2:8 (257).

²⁹⁶ See NSKS1: 18 (119-20).

to taking care of repairing damaged sections of the road, villages and post stations were also required to prune roadside trees and bushes to improve the condition of the Nikkō highways before the passage of the shogunal cortege. As in the case with the strengthening of defense systems in high risk areas of the realm, local and central authorities encouraged commoners to cooperate in the maintenance of the highways by using the extraordinary and sacred nature of the Nikkō pilgrimage as leverage. For instance, in 1843 Koganei post town convinced Sekinei (a district of Koganei village) to provide men for the mowing and cleaning of an open field extending alongside the shogunal route by arguing that, “it would be an unforgivable act to the shogun” (*ouesama e taishi aisumazaru gi ni tsuki*) if Sekinei refused to help.²⁹⁷ This example shows that the regime used the Nikkō pilgrimage as an “ideological glue,” so to speak, that held together different constituencies by fostering a common sense of belonging in the name of the Tokugawa state.

Villages and post-towns were also expected to temporarily modify the appearance of the Nikkō highways before the passage of the shogun’s cortege. In this connection Kawanago and Koganei were ordered to install staggered fences (*kuichigai*) to block access to side streets that merged into the road traversed by the shogunal procession; to cordon off open areas and fields with ropes, to remove shop signs, to cover windows on the second floor of buildings with paper, and to take away footwear and other filthy items (*fujō no shina*) from the porch of houses facing the highway. Some of these modifications were justified by aesthetic considerations and were meant as a sign of respect toward the shogun. For example, in 1842 officials conducting inspections in Koganei ordered that Gorozaemon, one of the *toiya* operating in the post station, modify the outward appearance of his mansion. In particular, inspectors took issue with the fact

²⁹⁷ NSKS2: 8 (255-56).

that Gorozaemon had adorned the front of his house with a gate somewhat similar to a *yotsuashi* (“four-legged gate”), a structure traditionally reserved for high-ranking temples or for the imperial palace. Since that type of architecture was inappropriate for Gorozaemon’s status, it would have been an “unpleasant sight for the shogun’s eyes” (*omezawari ni ainari sōrō*). Officials, therefore, ordered that he modify it into *yakuinmon*, a more sober type of gate.²⁹⁸ In this way, the pilgrimage also provided the regime with an opportunity to reconfirm and consolidate the correct social order.

Some other modifications, however, can be also understood as safety measures. For instance, it is likely that in addition to cosmetic purposes, the pruning of roadside trees also aimed at decreasing the likelihood of threats to the shogun because the lack of cover near the roadway deprived potential assassins of opportunities to hide. The regime’s safety concerns are also confirmed by a number of orders issued to villages and post-towns located along the Nikkō highways. For example, on 1842/3/7 the shogunate ordered a survey of dispossessed samurai (*rōnin*) dwelling within a 1.3 miles radius from the Nikkō highways.²⁹⁹ Moreover, due to the scarcity of regular laborers, villages were even ordered to employ outcasts (*eta*) for patrolling and fire watch duties.³⁰⁰

Besides repairing the road and modifying pre-existing facilities, villages and post-towns were also entrusted with the construction of *ad hoc* infrastructure including guardhouses, handrails for bridges and canals, road and traffic signs, stables, storehouses, kitchens, as well as rest areas. Sources indicate that on the occasion of Ieyoshi’s pilgrimage the regime made

²⁹⁸ NSKS2: 8 (261).

²⁹⁹ Dispossessed samurai often made a living by operating as bandits or highwaymen. See NSKS1: 21(122).

³⁰⁰ See NSKS2:7 (200).

unprecedented efforts to guarantee the comfort of retainers escorting the shogun to Nikkō. For instance, a greater number of short-term rest areas (*shokyūsho*) were set up along the cortege's route and lavatories (*secchin*) were installed at a distance of every 0.6 miles.³⁰¹ These innovations help us understand why the 1843 pilgrimage required longer preparations in spite of the smaller number of retainers involved when compared to the 1728 and 1776 pilgrimages.

As mentioned before, the central regime exerted its power on domains by forcing post-towns and villages located along the national highways to handle the transportation system. Nonetheless, it was through inspections conducted in the months before the shogun's departure to Nikkō that the Tokugawa state made its authority most visible in the peripheries of the realm. As a general rule, for daimyo's territories, local lords were responsible for overseeing preparations, while the central regime only performed general inspections.³⁰² Sources, however, show that shogunal inspectors often visited villages and post-towns even when they fell outside of their jurisdiction, thus infringing on domainal autonomy. For instance, in addition to domainal inspections, between 1842/3 and 1843/4, Kawanago village also received numerous visits by shogunal officials with peaks of 5 inspections in 1842/5 and 4 inspections in 1842/8 (table 7).³⁰³

Post-towns acted as proxies of the central government by informing villages of an upcoming inspection, forwarding orders, and delivering circular letters. For instance, Kawanago

³⁰¹ See NSKS2:8 (262).

³⁰² See NSKS2:2 (66).

³⁰³ In the case of Kawanago, domainal officials often attended major shogunal inspections. A full-scale inspection was conducted by the daimyo of Mibu, Torii Tadahiro, on 1843/4/7. NSKS2:7 (210-11). Post-town doctor Tetsuka Gensen reported in his account that "domainal officials from Sakura inspected Koganei post-town time and again" (*tabitabi gokenbun kore ari*). NSKS2:8 (255). After the inspections of 1842/8 there is a five-month hiatus in the surviving documents concerning the inspections of Kawanago. It is not clear whether or not inspections took place; however, because few references to inspections of villages and post-towns in this period can be found in other sources, such as the *Tokugawa Jikki*, it is likely that flow of officials visiting Kawanago temporarily decreased. See Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshi*, 488.

received notifications of shogunal inspections (*sakibure*) from either Shinden post-town or Koganei post-town, depending on whether shogunal officials were travelling toward Nikkō or back to Edo. Only after receiving a notification, the local headman would contact and inform domainal authorities at the headquarters of Mibu domain. Moreover, unlike previous instances of the Nikkō pilgrimage where only few officials conducted inspections, in 1843 a variety of shogunal officials- including senior councilors, junior councilors, inspectors, superintendents, and intendents - visited Kawanago. Thus, through the frequent implementation of inspections and the variety of officials conducting them, villages came into direct contact with the complex Tokugawa governmental machine.

Just as in the case with shogunal audiences discussed earlier in this chapter, inspections equally allowed the regime to make the status system concrete and inculcate a desired social order in its subjects' minds. As a matter of fact, on the occasion of a shogunal inspection it was customary for the domain to show "hospitality" (*chisō*) to Tokugawa inspectors by dispatching officials from the domainal headquarters to the villages or post-towns involved in the inspection. The number and type of domainal officials dispatched was decided on the basis of the inspectors' governmental position and varied from domain to domain. For instance, Mibu dispatched a domainal intendant, a messenger, and a district superintendent (*kōribugyō*) for inspections conducted by mid-ranking to high-ranking officials such as shogunal inspectors (*metsuke*), inspectors general (*ōmetsuke*), superintendents (*bugyō*), senior councilors (*rōjū*) and junior councilors (*wakadoshiyori*). For inspections performed by officials ranking lower than the *metsuke*, Mibu dispatched only a domainal intendant.³⁰⁴ As such by observing the level of

³⁰⁴ See NSKS2:7 (240). There were, however, exceptions. For instance, on the occasion of the inspection of Kawanago conducted by the Shogunal Intendant Mori Chikanosuke (*daikan*) and the Finance Official (*kanjō*)

“hospitality” shown to the various shogunal officials passing through Kawanago, the village could experience and comprehend the Tokugawa hierarchy of power.

The reception of shogunal officials conducting inspections also affected villages financially. First, villages had to provide boarding and lodgings for domainal officials dispatched to greet shogunal inspectors. For instance, between 1842 and 1843 Mibu domain dispatched a total of 960 officials to Kawanago over 119 occasions to receive shogunal inspections. Because sometimes inspections lasted for more than one day, the village also had to provide lodgings for the domainal officials. According to Kawanago’s records, during the 1843 pilgrimage the village provided 3,885 meals, using a total of more 1,350 liters of rice.³⁰⁵ Second, villages were also expected to supply laborers (*gōninsoku*) for the cleaning of the road before the inspection, as well as forerunners and men to guide the shogunal officials from the previous village and then, once the inspection was completed, to the following one.³⁰⁶ For example, on the occasion of the full-scale inspection conducted in Kawanago on 1842/4/26 the village provided a total of 51 laborers as part of the domain’s “hospitality” for shogunal officials.³⁰⁷ Moreover, villages and domains were required to provide “hospitality” not only during shogunal inspections, but also when high-ranking officials passed through the village on their way to Nikkō or back to Edo. To

Okayama Kakuzaemon on 1843/3/11 Mibu dispatched both the domainal intendant and the district superintendent. See NSKS2:7 (218-19).

³⁰⁵ Specifically, in 1842 Kawanago prepared 1146 meals for a total of 3 *koku*, 4 *to*, 3 *shō*, and 8 *gō* of rice; in 1843 the village prepared 2,739 meals using 8 *koku*, 2 *to*, 1 *shō*, and 7 *gō* of rice. See NSKS1: 52(187) and NSKS1: 75(259).

³⁰⁶ See NSKS2:8 (256).

³⁰⁷ See Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshihen*, 486.

shoulder the costs, on 1842/12/26 Kawanago requested from Mibu domain a loan of 15 *ryō*, an indication of the economic impact of “hospitality” duties on villages.³⁰⁸

Even though inspections were normally announced in advance, there were times when the volume of traffic or adverse weather conditions caused villages to fail to provide appropriate “hospitality.” For instance, in 1842/6/8 the shogunal intendant’s assistant Akiyama Suzunosuke visited Kawanago to inspect the road signs and notice boards. Because of the heavy rain, however, Kawanago was not able to inform Mibu of the inspection and, as a result, no domainal officials showed up to greet Akiyama. Fearing that other villages might follow Kawanago’s example, after completing the inspection Akiyama requested that Mibu domain dispatch some officials for a meeting. Although Akiyama specified that his request was not to be taken as an order, his insistence on receiving some sort of reception by the domain, despite the fact that the inspection had already been completed, is symptomatic of the importance for the regime of “hospitality” as a device to preserve social order.³⁰⁹

Needless to say, villages and post towns were also expected to provide hospitality to the shogunal cortege travelling to and back from Nikkō and, in this connection, they received numerous instructions from the central government in the months preceding the shogun’s departure. For example, the highways had to be perfectly leveled, covered with white gravel (*makizuna*), and sprinkled with water (*mizuuchi*) to prevent dust from rising.³¹⁰ For this purpose straw bags filled with earth and water tanks had to be placed on the sides of the highways.³¹¹

³⁰⁸ See NSKS2:5 (184).

³⁰⁹ See NSKS2:5 (171).

³¹⁰ See NSKS2:7 (202, 213).

³¹¹ See NSKS2:7 (213, 221).

Moreover, villages and post-towns were ordered to adorn the sides of the road with conical piles of sand (*morizuna*), brooms (*hōki*), and buckets (*teoke*), which in the context of warrior processions symbolized that the road had been thoroughly purified (*kiyome*).³¹² The placement and quantity of these items was determined by the guest's status so that, in addition to serving as tokens of reverence for the shogun, they also represented visual reminders of the Tokugawa hierarchy of power.³¹³ Finally for areas traversed by the shogunal cortege during the night, various types lanterns (*andon*, *takaharichōchin*) had to be installed on the sides of the road.³¹⁴

The analysis of sources connected to the topic of “hospitality” provided by villages during the Nikkō pilgrimage casts light on two important characteristics of Tokugawa rituals. First, as in the case with shogunal audiences, details pertaining to ceremonial etiquette were mostly decided by the central government. In the case of the Nikkō pilgrimage the overall appearance of the road, the shape and placement of decorative items, as well as the way in which commoners were allowed to watch the parading procession were decided in Edo and communicated to villages via proclamations and circular letters. Secondly, as a form of ritual communication, “hospitality” benefitted the ruler as it symbolized his subjects' obeisance and worked as concrete evidence of his elevated status, but it did not leave much room for the ruled to advance their agendas and convey their requests. Domains, post-towns, and villages did not have any say in what type of items could be used to decorate the road and greet the shogun, and therefore could not manipulate the symbolic meaning of “hospitality” to their advantage.

³¹² See NSKS2:7 (199-200). For a discussion of the the symbolic and practical functions of sand piles, brooms, and buckets, see Hiroshi Kurushima, “Morizuna, makizuna, kazari teoke, hōki,” *Shigaku Zasshi* 95, no.8 (1986): 60-92.

³¹³ See Kurushima, “Morizuna, makizuna, kazari teoke, hōki,” 69. According to Kawanago's records, on the occasion of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage decorative sand piles of about 6-7 inches of height had to be placed on both side of the road at a distance of 30 feet from one another. See NSKS2:7 (221).

³¹⁴ See NSKS2:7 (199-200).

On the contrary, when early modern European rulers travelled through their territories, local authorities displayed their “hospitality” by adorning the streets with a variety of devices including triumphal arches, street theaters, and oversized statues whose complex allegorical meanings could benefit both the ruler and the ruled. For example, when Charles VIII entered Florence in 1494 as part of his campaigns to subjugate Italy, the local government welcomed the French king by removing the city’s gates to show that Florence was defenseless, by setting up street performances evoking the religious theme of the Annunciation to suggest that the city saw the king as a savior, and by adorning the streets with monuments bearing the inscription “Conservateur and Libérateur de Notre Liberté” (lit. “Custodian and Liberator of Our Freedom”). Despite being a republic, Florence had been de facto ruled by the Medici family for the greatest part of the 15th century. Nevertheless, in 1494 the Republican forces regained power and were able to depose the Medici ruler. Therefore, on the occasion of Charles VIII’s visit, the Florentine local government manipulated street decorations to communicate that the city was ready to submit to the French crown, but that it also hoped that the French would defend Florence’s independence from the Medicis.³¹⁵ Likewise, when Charles V entered Bologna in 1530 to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Clement VII, the route travelled by the king was adorned with decorations evoking the idealized role of emperor as imagined by the Pope. For instance, triumphal arches depicted previous emperors who had defended the papacy, fought heresy, and spread Christianity into new worlds including Charlemagne, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Constantine. The “hospitality” provided by Pope Clement was both a symbol of respect to the new Emperor and a request that he act as a champion of the Christian faith and a shield for

³¹⁵ See Bonner Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State. Triumphal Progresses of Foreign Sovereigns in Renaissance Italy (1494-1600)*, (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1986), 63-64.

the Church.³¹⁶ Similarly, when Philip, Charles' son, entered Antwerp in 1549, the city put up decorations depicting the Roman deity Mercury, traditionally considered a protector of commerce, to remind the Prince that the wealth of the Empire depended on trade and to demand that the Emperor respect the privileges and autonomy of the city.³¹⁷ Manipulation of "hospitality" by the ruled could go as far as expressing dissent toward guests visiting the city. For instance, when Louis XII entered Milan in 1499 accompanied by the Venetian ambassador, the populace built an unofficial *apparato* (scenic arrangement) depicting St. Mark, the patron saint of Venice, fleeing from the city toward the sea, an allegorical criticism aimed at the maritime republic's support to the French.³¹⁸

In the Japanese case, however, the incessant inspections performed before the passage of the shogunal cortege and the limitations imposed on the items that could be displayed as part of the domains' hospitality toward the shogun did not leave any room for dialogue between the Tokugawa chieftains and their subjects. In other words, if we imagine "hospitality" as a ritual conversation between the ruler and the ruled by means of decorative devices permeated with allegorical meanings, it can be argued that in Tokugawa Japan communication was essentially univocal, with the shogun exerting his authority on his subjects and reminding them of the correct social order. By contrast, in the early modern European case, that both parties had a chance to exchange messages suggests that "hospitality" was understood as a "dialogue between

³¹⁶ See Roy Strong, *Splendor at Court. Renaissance, Spectacle, and the Theater of Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), 87-91.

³¹⁷ See *ibid.*, 105.

³¹⁸ See Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 86.

the prince and his subjects paying homage, but respectfully reminding him of the virtues he should cultivate and the liberties of his subjects he should respect.”³¹⁹

To be sure, Tokugawa rituals did not merely benefit the central government. As we shall see in the final section of this chapter, even though the distinctly Edo-centric nature of the *Nikkō shasan* limited Tokugawa subjects’ ability to convey political messages inconvenient for the regime, the pilgrimage still allowed some leeway for other constituencies to advance their political agendas.

4. A ritual that benefits many: preparations in the temples and the shogunal pilgrimage as an arena for social mediation

Besides providing the shogunate with an opportunity to infringe on domainal autonomy, the Nikkō pilgrimage also allowed the central government to exert its power on religious institutions. As a matter of fact, temples and shrines located along the shogunal route to Nikkō customarily served as rest areas where the shogun could stop to consume a meal or simply take a short break from the long hours of traveling.³²⁰ In 1843 four temples - Shakujōji (Kawaguchi), Shōfukuji (Satte), Jigenji (Koganei), and Ryūzōji (Ōsawa) - hosted Ieyoshi during his lunch

³¹⁹ Strong, *Splendor at Court*, 96-97.

³²⁰ Sources suggest that temples also provided overnight accommodation for certain shogunal retainers travelling to Nikkō. For instance, the *Nikkō gosankei otomokatahū ninzu* (manuscript, Edo-Tokyo Museum, 1843), a record of the men composing the main body of the shogunal cortege, also reports the names of the temples hosting shogunal retainers on Mount Nikkō. In this section, however, I will focus exclusively on temples serving as rest areas for the shogun.

breaks on his way to Nikkō and back from there.³²¹ In addition to these religious institutions, several other temples served the regime as short-term rest areas (*shokyūsho*).³²²

Records produced by temples' authorities on the occasion of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage suggest that preparations in the rest areas were similar to those taking place in villages and post-towns. For instance, an official registry (*goyōdomechō*) compiled by Jigenji's abbot in 1842 shows that the temple prepared for the shogun's visit by refurbishing its facilities and making arrangements to provide hospitality to the Tokugawa chieftain. Moreover, in the months preceding the pilgrimage a virtually incessant stream of shogunal and domainal officials inspected Jigenji's precincts to ensure that the preparations were progressing smoothly (see table 8).³²³

As in the case with post-towns and villages, the shogunate exerted its authority on temples by partially burdening them with the costs deriving from their renovations. While expenses for the refurbishment and construction of facilities used by the shogun (*otoritatemono*) were shouldered by the central government, temples were responsible for repairing other buildings within their precincts and decorating their surroundings with sand-piles, buckets, and

³²¹ See TR2:683-84. As in the case with the "hosting castles," temples serving as long-term rest areas on the occasion of the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō were not always the same throughout the Edo period. For instance, Kawaguchi's Shakujiōji was initially used as a short-term rest area and it served as long-term rest area from the third Shogun Iemitsu's times on. Likewise, Jigenji hosted the shogun for his lunch break from 1728 onward. See, Kawaguchishi, *Kawaguchishishi, Tsūshihihen Jōkan*, 476 and Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshihihen*, 646.

³²² The following temples served as short-term rest area in 1843: Kōtokuji (Hizako, modern Saitama city), Hōkokuji (Kanamuro, modern Saitama city), Hachimangū Shrine (Tomonuma, modern Nogi), Kaiunji (Ishibashi, modern Shimotsuke city), An'yōin (Tokujirō, modern Utsunomiya), Nyoraiji (Imaichi, modern Nikkō). On 4/18, while travelling back to Edo, Ieyoshi also visited the Futarayama Shrine (Utsunomiya Myōjin) in Utsunomiya. See ZTJ49: 489-95.

³²³ Jigenji, which was established in 1196 by warrior Nitta Yoshikane, was a branch-temple (*matsuji*) of Muryōjin, which, in turn, was affiliated with Daigoji, a major center of Shingon Buddhism located in Kyoto. In 1843 Jigenji was part of the satellite territories (*tobichi*) under the jurisdiction of Sakura domain. See Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshihihen*, 645-46. The registry compiled by Jigenji's abbot meticulously describes pilgrimage-related events occurring between 1842/2 and 1842/9. Though incomplete, the registry provides us with a good understanding of preparations taking place in the long-term rest areas in the months preceding Ieyoshi's journey. See NSKS2: 1 (13-64).

brooms in order to properly greet the shogun during his visit.³²⁴ As far as the temple's registry shows, the cost of repairs conducted by Jigenji amounted to a staggering total of 395 *ryō*.³²⁵ Unable to cover expenses by itself, the temple heavily relied on the support of the daimyo of Sakura, who offered a donation (*gōriki*) of about 345 *ryō*. The rest of the money was obtained through parishioners' almsgiving and a loan of 35 *ryō* that Jigenji had to return to the lender, a certain Uemura Jūzō from Kōmura village, with an interest fee of about 15 *ryō* by 1844/8.³²⁶ Jigenji was also responsible for covering the traveling expenses when the abbot or the parishioners' chief were called to Edo or to Sakura to conduct pilgrimage-related business, for purchasing new outfits for the abbot and his assistants, and for providing hospitality to domainal and shogunal officials inspecting the temple in the months preceding Ieyoshi's journey.³²⁷ Despite the financial support provided by Sakura domain, the expenditure incurred by Jigenji was substantial, if we consider that the temple's annual income at the end of the Edo period was of about 50 *ryō*.³²⁸ Incidentally, Sakura's involvement in Jigenji's renovations suggests that, while heavily burdening religious institutions, preparations in the shogunal rest areas also enabled the shogunate to further exert its power over domainal authorities.

³²⁴ The main shogunal facility at Jigenji was the *onarioden* (literally "palace for the shogun's visit"), which contained the *gozasho* i.e. the hall where the shogun rested and consumed his meal. The shogunal facilities were located south of Jigenji's Main Hall (*Hondō*), but none of them has survived to this day. See Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Zusetsu Kokubunjimachi no rekishi*, 131.

³²⁵ This sum is calculated on the basis of the estimate compiled by Sakura domain in 1842/4/30. Nonetheless, since the temple's registry covers events up to 1842/9, it is impossible to determine whether the actual costs of repairs matched the sum calculated by Sakura officials.

³²⁶ See NSKS2:1 (30, 37-38).

³²⁷ See NSKS2:1 (28-29).

³²⁸ On the first year of the Meiji era Jigenji's annual income totaled 50 *ryō* and its annual expenses amounted to 11 *ryō*. In addition to the cash income, Jigenji also made profits from 27 bales of rice harvested in the temple's lands and 2 bales of polished rice donated by parishioners. See Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai. *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshi*, 647.

The central regime also imposed itself on religious institutions serving as rest areas by dispatching officials high and low, including senior and junior councilors, inspectors, superintendents, and carpentry officers, to conduct surveys and coordinate construction projects. Like post-towns and villages, temples had to take care of shogunal officials conducting inspections. As we have seen, rules for the type of hospitality provided were established by the host and were determined on the basis of a guest's status. For instance, at Jigenji, the abbot would customarily welcome and see off shogunal officials with *omemie ijō* status at the entrance of his office, while temple apprentices (*samurai*) or the priest in charge of clerical duties (*yakusō*) would take care of officials with a lower status.³²⁹ Moreover, during inspections the temple was expected to offer tea, sweets, and tobacco; to clean and decorate its precincts with gravel, sand-piles, and buckets; and to provide visiting officials with footwear and umbrellas in case of rain.³³⁰ When visits by particularly illustrious officials occurred, special measures were adopted to greet the guests. For example, on the occasion of the full-scale inspection that took place on 1842/8/10 Jigenji's abbot personally welcomed Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni at the temple's Sanmon gate.³³¹ The temple also hired six servers and ten young pages and served tea to senior officials using high-quality drinkware.³³² As discussed before, by diversifying the types of officials conducting inspections and by forcing temples, post-towns, and villages to calibrate "hospitality" on the basis of guests' status, not only did the central government make

³²⁹ See NSKS2:1 (13).

³³⁰ See NSKS2:1 (25, 49).

³³¹ See NSKS2:1 (50-51).

³³² See NSKS2:1 (48).

itself visible in all its complexity, but it also naturalized the Tokugawa social order and inculcated it in its subjects' minds.

The burden deriving from the preparations for Ieyoshi's visit at Jigenji might lead one to believe that the several expressions of elation and gratitude that can be found in the temple's official registry do not reflect its true feelings for being ordered to serve as a rest area.³³³ Nonetheless, a perusal of the same registry also suggests that, despite the financial strain imposed on Jigenji by the central government, the temple benefitted from the appointment to a great extent. Firstly, a request for financial support issued on 1842/4/14 by Jigenji's abbot to Sakura shows that the domain consistently sponsored the refurbishment of the temple on the occasion of the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō. In 1776 Sakura offered Jigenji about 200 *ryō*, and in 1823 the domain's expenditure for the temple's refurbishment went up to 330 *ryō*.³³⁴ The abbot's request also indicates that, while Jigenji strove to autonomously provide for its own maintenance, financial difficulties often prevented it from conducting thorough renovations.³³⁵ As a matter of fact, from the 18th century onward Jigenji experienced frequent fires. Moreover, due to its parishioners' destitution the temple was often left in a dilapidated state and at times did not even have enough funds to support an abbot.³³⁶ In this context, the shogunal pilgrimage represented a major opportunity for Jigenji to conduct renovations and obtain the domain's

³³³ For instance, on 1842/2/28, after hearing that Jigenji might be serving as rest area for Ieyoshi's pilgrimage to Nikkō the temple's authorities wrote that "despite Heaven being great, no blessing could compare to hosting the shogun" (*futen no moto hiroki to iedomo san korenaki hodo no myōga*). In 1842/7 in a letter address to Sakura domainal officials Jigenji's abbot stated that the temple "was extremely grateful" (*myōga shigoku arigataki*) to serve as long-term rest area. NSKS2:1 (13, 43).

³³⁴ See NSKS2:1 (21). In 1728, when Jigenji served as long-term rest area for the first time, Koganei was part of Tokugawa territories.

³³⁵ See NSKS2:1 (21).

³³⁶ See Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshihen*, 646.

financial support. In order to do so, the temple manipulated the pilgrimage to its advantage, capitalizing on its extraordinary and sacred nature. For instance, in his first request for funds Jigenji's abbot claimed that because the temple was badly damaged, he was "deeply concerned that it might be an unpleasant sight for the shogun" (*gojiseisu omezawari ni ainari sōrō te ha osoreoku zonji*).³³⁷ Jigenji's strategy must have proved effective since, as reported by Koganei's post-town doctor Tetsuka Gensen, Sakura eventually agreed to provide funds since leaving the temple as it was would have reflected poorly on the local domainal lord.³³⁸

Secondly, sources indicate that the temple accepted the appointment to serve as a rest area before securing funds for its refurbishment. As far as the temple's official registry shows, Jigenji's abbot issued his first request for financial support on 1842/4/14, but neither did Sakura officials immediately reply, nor did they inspect the temple to make an estimate until 4/30. Nonetheless, as early as 4/16 Jigenji contacted the shogunate's liaison temple in Edo informing it that "there was no hindrance" (*isasaka sashitsukae gozanakusōrō*) to host Ieyoshi the following year.³³⁹ Even though Sakura rejected Jigenji's initial estimate and request for funds, the domain eventually covered nearly 90% of the repairs and maintenance expense, making sure that the temple could preserve its privileged status as a shogunal rest area.³⁴⁰

³³⁷ NSKS2:1 (21).

³³⁸ See NSKS2:8 (256).

³³⁹ NSKS2:1 (23).

³⁴⁰ According to the *Nikkō dōchū ryakki* (manuscript, National Diet Library) in 1649 Jigenji received a twenty-*koku* land donation from the shogunate for having offered prayers for propitious weather during the shogun's journey to Nikkō (see Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshihen*, 645). Moreover, according to Jigenji's records, the temple's abbot was customarily invited to Edo Castle at the beginning of each year and received by the Superintendent of Temple and Shrines (I retrieved this piece of information from a pamphlet printed and distributed by Jigenji temple). A number of items donated by the shogunal clan to Jigenji that have survived to this day - including a sake cup decorated with the Tokugawa family crest (*mitsuba aoi*) and a talisman in the shape of a dragon to pray for rain - speak to Jigenji's relation to the Tokugawa family. See Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjimachi no rekishi, zusetsu*, 131.

Finally, leveraging the prestige deriving from its connection to the Tokugawa clan, Jigenji was also able to obtain support from its parishioners. For instance, after being informed by Sakura officials that the temple had to contribute 50 *ryō* to its restoration, on 1842/5/15 Jigenji called a meeting with the parishioners' chief and Koganei's authorities to discuss how to raise that money. The assembly decided that, in addition to applying for a 35 *ryō* loan, Jigenji would request the collaboration of Koganei as well as of its parishioners residing in other areas. To this purpose representatives from nearby villages and post-towns including Sekinei, Minowa, Sasahara, Kawanago, and Shinden were summoned to the temple on 5/17. On that day, Jigenji also received a letter from one of its parishioners, Koganei post-town doctor Tetsuka Gensen. In the letter Tetsuka explained that he had not received a summons from the temple and that he wondered whether this was a mistake or if the temple was harboring a grudge against him (*onfukumi*). Even though the reasons for not summoning the doctor are not clear from Jigenji's reply, the temple ended up asking Tetsuka to contribute to the renovations by providing horses and laborers. Parishioners summoned to the temple on 5/17 also agreed to supply Jigenji with similar resources "as a donation to their family's temple" (*bodaisho e kishin no tsumori o motte*).³⁴¹ To be sure, in Tokugawa Japan parishioners were customarily involved in the administration of religious institutions, and in the specific case of Jigenji almsgiving represented a source of income for the temple even in normal times.³⁴² Nonetheless Jigenji's official registry

³⁴¹ NSKS2:1 (30-32).

³⁴² Under the codes issued by the Tokugawa shogunate to regulate temples parishioners had a say in the appointment and dismissal of their temple's abbot. In the specific case of Jigenji, the temple was administered by an abbot (*injū*) and by an assembly composed by prominent parishioners (*danchū*). Parishioners were guided by a leader (*dantō*) and they prominent Koganei post-town officials and other village leaders. According to Jigenji's accounting books, in 1868, parishioner's almsgiving (*danse*) amounted to 17 *ryō*, i.e. about 34% of the temple's annual cash income. See Kazuo Kasahara, ed. *A History of Japanese Religion* (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co., 2007), 337-38 and Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshihen*, 646-47.

suggests that parishioners were eager to see their name associated with the temple on the occasion of the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō.

The manipulation of the shogunal pilgrimage to advance private interests was by no means the sole prerogative of religious institutions. For instance, on 1842/12/8 the shogunate accepted a donation of 50,000 pairs of straw sandals, 600 bales of rice bran, 2,000 bales of mixed fodder, and 400 bales of soybeans to be used by horses and laborers mobilized for Ieyoshi's pilgrimage to Nikkō. According to the petition presented to shogunal authorities by two Edo townsmen, a total of 6,818 households spread over 38 towns within Edo and 791 localities from provinces across the realm had come together to donate these supplies as a token of gratitude for the blessings they had received from the shogunate over the past 200 years and to reduce the burden imposed on villages and post-towns by the *shasan*. Even though the petition does not specify either the identity of the donors or the connection between them, other sources reveal that this charitable initiative was supported by Fujidō, an association of laypersons founded in 1809 by Hatogaya's merchant Kotani Shōbei (1765-1841).³⁴³ Despite its popularity, Fujidō was considered a heterodox doctrine. Moreover, even though the shogunate tolerated its existence, the movement was not fully acknowledged and, as laypersons, its leaders were not allowed to

³⁴³ Fujidō (literally “non-dual way”) was a millenarian movement worshipping the deity of Mount Fuji. Fujidō believers aspired to live according to the way of *miroku* (literally “keeping oneself upright”), by adopting an honest, altruistic, and compassionate mode of living. Fujidō members believed that world renewal could be obtained only if the entire realm joined their faith. Nonetheless, neither did the movement advocate for the abolition of the established social order, nor did it criticize the shogunate. On the contrary, Fujidō leaders encouraged believers to express gratitude to the regime for maintaining the country at peace. For a discussion of Fujidō and of its charity campaign led in conjunction with Ieyoshi's pilgrimage, see Fumiko Miyazaki, “Longing for the Ideal World: An Unofficial Religious Association in the Late Tokugawa Public Sphere,” in *Religion, Culture, and the Public Sphere in China and Japan*, eds. Albert Welte and Jeffrey Newmark (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 145-72; and Hiroshi Okada, “Shōgun no Nikkō shasan to Fujidō.” *Dainikkō* 69, (1998): 14-19. A record of the donation is Hatogayashi Bunkazai hogo iinkai, ed. *Nikkō gosankei no migiri jinba e hodokoshi sashidashi sōrō shidai. Hatogayashi no komonjo dainijūnishū* (Hatogaya: Hatogayashi Kyōiku Iinkai, 1998).

proselytize openly.³⁴⁴ As a consequence, it is possible to imagine that by contributing to the successful implementation of the shogunal pilgrimage the leaders of Fujidō were trying to curry favor with the regime.

To be sure, acts such as Fujidō's donation should not be seen merely as cynical stratagems to obtain personal profit. For example, Fujidō followers believed that engaging in charity campaigns to support the populace was a pivotal step in the realization of the "new world."³⁴⁵ This attitude explains why Fujidō's donation was presented to the shogunate as "almsgiving" (*hodokoshi*) and why it was specifically intended as a relief measure for the packhorses and porters mobilized from various parts of the Kantō area. Sources also suggest that during his lifetime the movement's founder had wished to show his gratitude to Ieyasu on the occasion of the shogun's pilgrimage to Nikkō, but that he had passed away before being able to do so.³⁴⁶ In spite of the donors' genuine intentions, Fujidō's charity campaign in 1842 undeniably advanced the movement's agenda. For one, even though the petition presented to the shogunate did not contain direct references to the movement, before accepting a donation the regime would customarily conduct thorough investigations to ascertain the donors' intentions. As a consequence, Tokugawa officials must have been aware on some level that supplies were being

³⁴⁴ Among the so-called "new religions" (*shinshūkyō*) established in the Tokugawa period, Fujidō was the largest in size. By the mid-19th century the movement included about 10,000 followers. See Miyazaki, "Longing for the Ideal World," 145-46.

³⁴⁵ Fujidō believers had engaged in charity campaigns since the 1820s. For instance, in 1823, believers helped villages located along the Tone river, after a flood destroyed crops. The petition presented in 1842 was therefore not an isolated case. Ironically, it was precisely because of a petition submitted to the shogunate in 1847, overtly asking that the government adopt and spread the movement's beliefs, that Fujidō was eventually disbanded. See Miyazaki, "Longing for the Ideal World," 147, 157-60.

³⁴⁶ See *ibid.*, 160.

offered by Fujidō believers and they seemed not have had any particular problem with that.³⁴⁷ Moreover, the petition presented to the shogunate specified that donors would be responsible for transporting and distributing supplies to villages and post-towns serving in the shogunal pilgrimage.³⁴⁸ As a consequence, the donation allowed Fujidō members to come into direct contact with non-believers and, thus, to publicize their faith through their actions.

Commoners' donations, presented to the Tokugawa regime as tokens of gratitude, were not unusual during the Tenpō pilgrimage. For example, on the occasion of Ieyoshi's journey to Nikkō, Uruga's sardine wholesale merchants presented a monetary contribution to the regime. As some historians have argued, while it is impossible to determine to which extent these acts of generosity were spontaneous, they certainly came with hidden political agendas. In the case of Uruga, the donation was likely meant to remind the central government, which had recently abolished guilds as part of the Tenpō reforms, of the prominent social, political, and economic role played by merchants in that region.³⁴⁹

The most unequivocal example of manipulation of the *shasan* for personal gain is perhaps offered by the behavior of the imperial envoy (*reiheishi*) during his trip to Nikkō. In 1653 the shogunate granted lands to the court to support the envoy's pilgrimage; however, as the income deriving from these territories often proved insufficient, the envoy resorted to a series of gimmicks to improve his financial situation.³⁵⁰ For example, while on the road, the envoy would

³⁴⁷ The document issued by the shogunate on 1842/12/8 states that upon investigating the donors' intentions (*aitadashisōrō tokoro*), the regime had decided to accept their request because it deemed the donation a laudable act (*kitoku no gi ni tsuki*). See NA, manuscript (entry for 1842/12/8).

³⁴⁸ See *ibid.*

³⁴⁹ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 207.

³⁵⁰ These lands were known as *reiheishiryō* and amounted to 1,010 *koku*. Of these, 698 *koku* were reserved for the Nikkō envoy and 322 *koku* for the Ise envoy. See Ōtashi, *Ōtashishi tsūshihen kinsei*, 301-02.

offer warriors and commoners amulets made with gold paper strips (*heikaku*) presented on behalf of the Emperor at the Tōshōgū or with dried rice used for ceremonies at the Imperial palace on the third day of the new year, in exchange for monetary compensation.³⁵¹ The envoy would also make a profit by asking post-towns for credit and then refusing to pay off his debts or by staging a scene where, after purposely falling off his palanquin and blaming the porters for their negligence, he would force the post-town for which the porters worked to present him a compensation.³⁵² This stratagem, known as *kagoochi* (literally “falling off the palanquin”) was so commonly used that post-towns offered to pay the envoy in advance to avoid additional troubles. The compensation offered to the envoy (*jikkokin*) by post-towns was sufficient to cover not only the envoy’s travel expenses but also his daily needs for about one year.³⁵³ The pilgrimage also offered the envoy a chance to pump up his status and, by extension, to make the imperial court and its culture visible in the peripheries of the realm. For example, the envoy customarily composed poems and offered them to the owners of the inns and tea houses that hosted him on his way to Nikkō and back to Kyoto. Moreover, a number of popular beliefs that attributed special powers to the imperial envoy developed as a result of his annual journey to Nikkō, such as the custom of passing under the envoy’s palanquin or drinking the water in which he bathed in order to cure diseases. ³⁵⁴

³⁵¹ See *ibid.*, 302. The imperial envoy offered gold paper strips to the Tōshōgū every year. Amulets were made by using gold strips offered the year before.

³⁵² For example, in 1822, even after being admonished by the Kyoto deputy, the envoy did not repay post-towns and, after a while, his debts were written off. See *ibid.*, 302.

³⁵³ Each post-town could offer the *reiheishi* up to 2 *ryō* as a compensation. See *ibid.*, 304-05.

³⁵⁴ See *ibid.*, 303.

The numerous cases of manipulation of the Nikkō pilgrimage by actors other than the central regime cast light on a flipside, so to speak, of the *shasan*, namely the fact that, despite the shogunate's best efforts to maintain tight control on the organization of the shogun's progress to Nikkō, due to its complexity the ritual offered several subgroups, including commoners, religious institutions, and members of the imperial court, a substantial margin to benefit from its execution. The existence of multiple entities pursuing diverse goals through the participation in the shogun's journey to Nikkō, however, was not necessarily detrimental to the political agenda pushed by the central regime. On the contrary, the prospect of personal gain might have worked as an incentive for the numerous groups to become involved in the implementation of the shogunal pilgrimage. As we have seen, temples welcomed their role as rest areas and took advantage of it to prompt support for their refurbishment from local authorities. Commoners presented tokens of gratitude to the regime in the form of supplies or monetary contributions, easing the financial burden of the *shasan* on the Tokugawa treasury, in order to advance requests or seek official recognition. By visiting Ieyasu's shrine in Nikkō annually, members of the imperial court augmented the regime's cultural prestige, while also exploiting the *shasan* as a source of livelihood. In this sense it can be argued that the Nikkō pilgrimage was not only a powerful tool of social control, but also a major arena for collaboration and negotiation between the central state and its subjects.

CHAPTER 3: PARADING POWER, DISPLAYING STATUS. THE 1843 SHOGUNAL PROCESSION TO NIKKŌ AND ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

1. Introduction

Scholars have extensively investigated the use of military parades as a tool of political legitimacy in early modern Japan.³⁵⁵ Some scholars have examined the shogunal procession to Nikkō and its political significance, but no in-depth analysis of Ieyoshi's procession has been produced so far.³⁵⁶ In this chapter I will consider Ieyoshi's parade and I will analyze concrete aspects of it, including its composition, its scale, and the assembling and departure of the shogun's attendants from Edo to Nikkō on 1843/4/13, showing the ways in which the Tokugawa government used the procession as a mechanism to preserve the status quo. I argue that the shogunal procession helped the central regime convey messages of authority on different levels. For the warriors directly involved in it, the procession served as a tool to visualize and make

³⁵⁵ Major studies in Japanese of the processions of the early modern period include: Hideo Kuroda and Ronald Toby, *Gyōretsū to Misemono* (Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbusha, 1994); Shigeo Negishi, *Daimyō gyōretsū wo kaibō suru: Edo no jinzai haken* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009); Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, *Gyōretsū ni miru kinsei: bushi to ikoku to sairei to* (Sakura: Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, 2012); Hiroshi Kurushima, *Egakareta gyōretsū: bushi, ikoku, sairei* (Tōkyō: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2015). The most comprehensive study in English of warrior processions is Constantine Vaporis, *Tour of Duty. Samurai, Military Service in Edo, and the Culture of Early Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

³⁵⁶ Three important studies of the shogunal procession to Nikkō are Kazuo Ōtomo, "Nikkō shasan to mibun. Daimyō gyōretsū no hensei o megutte," *Kokushigaku* 190, (2006): 51-72; Shigeo Negishi, "Kyōhōki Nikkō shasan ni okeru shogun no gyōretsū," *Dainikkō* 3, (2005): 9-19; and Shigeo Negishi "Kanbun san'nen Tokugawa Ietsuna no Nikkō shasan gyōretsū to seijiteki igi," *Kokushigaku* 195, (2008): 57-81. These studies, however, touch on the pilgrimages of 1663 and 1728. Tsubakida Yukiko has discussed in passing the shogunal procession of 1843, mainly from the perspective of its size. See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 44-46; 55. Shintarō Kamagata too has studied shogun Ieyoshi's procession, however his work focuses on the mobilization of wealthy farmers (*gōtō*) from the domains of the *hatamoto* (direct retainers of the shogun) in the Kantō region and their participation as attendants. See Shintarō Kamagata, "Tenpōki Nikkō shasan ni okeru hatamoto jūsha no dōkō," *Kokugakuin Daigakuin Kiyō Bungaku Kenkyūka* 42: 173-191, 2010.

sense of the hierarchical structure of the shogunal government. For those that observed it, the procession was not only a reminder of the primary reason for Tokugawa dominance, but also a demonstration of the shogunate's economic strength and organizational skills.

Through the analysis of both written and visual sources I will reconstruct a complete picture of the shogunal procession and reveal details about its makeup that are not as evident when reading each source separately. I will consider materials depicting the shogun's procession such as military rosters and procession diagrams. Additionally, by taking into account their contents, the audiences they were published for, and their wide dissemination, I contend that these printed materials played a crucial role in supporting the shogunate's political plan and in transforming the Nikkō pilgrimage into a Tokugawa ritual of national resonance.

2. Characteristics of the shogunal procession to Nikkō

Military parades were hardly a rare sight in early-modern Japan. In order to curb local autonomy, since the inception of their regime, Tokugawa shoguns made their retainers frequently move from their domains to Edo to carry out their duties. Iemitsu, the third shogun, codified this practice into law and until the early 1860s daimyo from every corner of Japan were forced to travel with their retainers to the shogunal capital every other year to serve the Tokugawa.³⁵⁷ As a result, throughout the Edo period the thoroughfares of Japan were routinely crossed by military processions, whose scale was proportional to the status of each lord. In addition to the system of alternate attendance, special events such as the annual visit to Edo of the chief of the Dutch trading post in Nagasaki and the diplomatic missions dispatched to the shogunal capital from the Ryūkyū Kingdom and from Korea also kept the highways of Japan busy.

³⁵⁷ Under Iemitsu this practice took the name of "system of alternate attendance" (*sankin kōtai*). See footnote 80.

The shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō was yet another product of what some historians have called the “age of parades,” but the shogun’s procession had at least three characteristics that set it apart from similar events.³⁵⁸ First, it was one of the few occasions for a vast number of commoners to come into relatively close contact with the shogun. While the first two shoguns travelled quite often from Edo to Kyoto or other destinations, after the 1630s shogunal trips became essentially limited to visits to retainers’ residences within Edo, to pilgrimages to local temples and shrines, or to trips to Tokugawa hunting estates. Thus, the Nikkō pilgrimage constituted a rare chance not only for the masses to get a glimpse of Japan’s supreme military chieftains, but also for the shoguns to display and advertise their authority beyond the borders of Edo.

Second, the procession to Nikkō included not only the shogun and his closer retainers, but also daimyo occupying key-positions in the government as well as their retainers and subretainers (*matamono*). Therefore, rather than a single parade whose only center was the shogun, the procession to Nikkō should be understood as the combination of a main core constituted by the shogun, his close aides, and his bodyguards with several other independent daimyo processions. Individual lords led these smaller processions, but, as a whole, they ultimately revolved around the shogun. As we shall see, the size of each individual procession and, to a certain extent, its position in the larger shogunal parade were dictated by the role each retainer played in the Tokugawa hierarchy of power. As a result, the entire procession, through its scale and its composition, not only reflected the shogun’s authority, but also embodied military society at large, making warriors’ power relations to one another and to the Tokugawa chieftains tangible and easy to understand.

³⁵⁸ Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, *Gyōretsu ni miru kinsei*, ii.

Third, what made the shogunal procession to Nikkō exceptional was the enormous number of people it involved. Extant sources suggest that in the pilgrimage of 1843 hundreds of thousands of men from different regions of the Japanese archipelago escorted the shogun from Edo to Nikkō. While the size of the shogunal procession varied over time and accurate estimates of the number of participants are difficult to make, it is no exaggeration to say that no other shogunal ritual ever matched such a great deployment of resources.³⁵⁹ The shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō can therefore be rightfully considered not only the most grandiose among Tokugawa rituals, but also the one with the most far-reaching effects.

2.1 The composition of the 1843 shogunal procession to Nikkō.

Two main criteria guided the Tokugawa government in appointing shogunal retainers to offices pertaining to the Nikkō pilgrimage: historical precedent and status. For instance, on 1842/2/22, that is to say one week after the shogun had officially announced his plans to travel to Nikkō, Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni and Junior Councilor Hotta Masahira ordered all Tokugawa retainers to submit a report to the shogunal inspectors, listing the appointments held by their clan in the previous pilgrimage.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁹ Perhaps, the only other Tokugawa ritual that can be compared in scale to the 1843 pilgrimage to Nikkō is Shogun Iemitsu's procession to Kyoto (*gojōraku*) in 1634. In order to display the power of the central government, Iemitsu is thought to have led a procession of more than 300,000 people to Kyoto, seat of the imperial court. On that occasion, the shogun donated 5,000 silver *kan* to the people of Kyoto and remitted the land taxes of Osaka, Sakai, and Nara. Nevertheless, unlike the Nikkō pilgrimage, after 1634 no shogun travelled to Kyoto until 1863. See Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, *Gyōretsu ni miru kinsei*, 34.

³⁶⁰ See NA, manuscript.

The appointments to offices and tasks related to the Nikkō pilgrimage were normally formalized during meetings among the shogun, the senior councilors, and other top officials in different areas of Edo castle. They included not only the task of accompanying the shogun to Nikkō (*gubu* or *otomo*), but also other responsibilities (*goyō*), such as supervising the condition of roads and facilities between Edo and Nikkō, patrolling post-towns and villages, organizing board and lodgings for the shogun and his retainers, as well as administrating Edo castle (*rusui*) and protecting the city from fires (*hinoban*) during the shogun's absence. Appointments and congratulatory audiences followed one another for more than one year, starting on 1842/2/17 with the appointment of Senior Councilor Mizuno to the office of pilgrimage supervisor and ending two days before the shogun's departure to Nikkō with the appointment of Niwa Nagatomi (daimyo of Nihonmatsu) to the office of Edo fire patrol.³⁶¹ The length of this process and the variety of offices to which shogunal retainers were assigned suggest not only the complexity of the preparations necessary to ensure the smooth performance of the pilgrimage, but also the large number of officials involved in the event.³⁶²

Status was the second key-factor in assigning tasks and in measuring the prestige of each shogunal retainer in the context of the Nikkō pilgrimage. Firstly, status dictated the mode of transportation appropriate to each retainer when traveling to Nikkō and back. For example, traveling in a palanquin was a privilege reserved for the shogun and his senior officials, and the

³⁶¹ See *ibid.*

³⁶² The number of appointments to positions pertaining to the Nikkō pilgrimage can be estimated by looking at the numerous military directories published between 1842 and 1843. For example, according to the *Nikkō omiya gosankei gubu oyakunintsuke* (hereinafter *Gubu oyakunintsuke*), 129 positions were filled by one or more shogunal retainers on the occasion of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage. See, *Nikkō omiya gosankei gubu oyakunintsuke*, woodblock edition, Edo-Tokyo Museum, 1843. Tsubakida Yukiko has calculated that in 1843 a total of 19 shogunal officials served as "pilgrimage supervisors" (*goyōkakari*), six officials were appointed to the position of "Edo castle keepers" (*rusui*), and 587 retainers accompanied the shogun to Nikkō as attendants (*gubu*). See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 54-55.

majority of the attendants proceeded to Nikkō either on horse or on foot. In principle, all those retainers whose status allowed them to have formal audiences with the shogun (*omemie ijō*) were granted the privilege to ride a horse, whereas the remaining ones (*omemie ika*) had to march.³⁶³ Since being granted the privilege to ride a horse was traditionally considered the trademark of a full-fledged warrior, the presence of a horse or lack thereof in the procession constituted an important indicator of each retainer's importance in the warrior hierarchy.³⁶⁴

Secondly, status also determined the number of men, weapons, and implements that shogunal officials had to provide for the procession (table 9). These numbers were loosely calculated by the shogunate on the basis of the so-called “military service system” (*gun'yaku seidō*). This system specified the number of warriors, weapons, and horses each retainer had to provide to the shogun in exchange for protection and for the privilege of being granted a domain. The bigger the domain was, the higher the number of men and weapons a retainer had to supply. Nevertheless, after the 1630s, when the need to requisition resources for the battlefield became minimal, the military service system came to be used almost exclusively to determine the number of men and weapons necessary for special events like the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō, the shogunal visit to the imperial court in Kyoto, shogunal funerals, or for tasks such as the fire patrolling and defense of important sites in Edo.³⁶⁵ Even though in time the military service lost

³⁶³ Age also played a role in determining the mode of transportation of attendants during the pilgrimage. On 5/1842, the shogunate issued a proclamation ordering that officials of or over 70 years of age and whose status permitted them to have formal audiences with the shogun (*omemie ijō*) could travel in a palanquin, if their physical conditions did not allow them to ride a horse. See BFS2: 427.

³⁶⁴ See Negishi, “Kyōhōki Nikkō shasan,” 13.

³⁶⁵ This system was originally created by warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi in the late sixteenth century and later on codified into law under the reign of Tokugawa Iemitsu. See Ōishi, ed., *Edo bakufu daijiten*, 873-74.

its primary meaning, it continued to symbolize the alliance between the lord and his retainers that was at the foundation of the Tokugawa polity.

In the context of the shogunal procession to Nikkō, the size of the retinue each shogunal attendant received permission to bring fulfilled two important functions. First, it reflected each attendant's prestige in relation to the others. Second, it epitomized the shogun's role as supreme military chief, because his retainers provided soldiers and weapons as a service and a sign of loyalty and submission to the ruler. Hence, this display of military power simultaneously consolidated individual retainers' authority and ingrained the social order created by the Tokugawa among their subordinates. In this manner, the shogunal procession served as an embodiment of the Tokugawa status system and played a pivotal role in normalizing power dynamics between the various government officials.

Unlike the case with daimyo parades, very few visual depictions of the shogun's pilgrimage to Nikkō have survived to this day.³⁶⁶ The appearance of the 1843 procession, though, can be partially understood through diagrams that describe the composition of the cortege and that were produced for either official use or for public consumption. An example of such a source is the diagram included in the *Reitenroku* (appendix 3).³⁶⁷

³⁶⁶ Some examples of visual depictions of the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō that have survived to this day are two sets of folding screens illustrating pilgrimages occurred during Iemitsu and Ietsuna's reigns and respectively owned by the Edo-Tokyo Museum (Tokyo) and the Tochigi Prefectural Museum (Utsunomiya). See Ozawa, Kanzō "Nikkō Tōshōgū sankeizu byōbu" ni tsuite," 1-33 and Tochigi Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, *Nikkō: kokusai kankō toshi, Nikkō no naritachi* (Utsunomiya: Tochigi Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 2016), 5. Several woodblock prints produced in the Meiji period (1868-1912) depict the shogunal pilgrimage, however these visual materials are not based on a direct observation of the event. See Tochigi Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, *Tochigi no Nikkō kaidō sōgon naru seichi e no michi* (Utsunomiya: Tochigi Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 2003), 252. Shogunal painters of the Kanō school travelled to Nikkō in 1843 to immortalize the shogun's pilgrimage. While the paintings they produced are lost, sketches of their work are currently held in the Tokyo National Museum. See Kiyomi Iwahashi, "Nikkō shasan ni okeru okueshi no yakuwari: Kanō Seiseiin Osanobu 'Kōyō Nikki' 'Nikkō gosankei gubu zakki' o chūshin ni shite," *Kōtsūshi kenkyū* 12:(2003), 53-70.

³⁶⁷ See TR2: 713-21.

Based on the *Reitenroku*'s diagram, the shogunal procession can be divided into three large sections, namely the vanguard (*senken butai*), the main body (*hontai*), and the rearguard (*kōzoku butai*).³⁶⁸ The *hontai* constituted the heart of the parade, so to speak, because it was here that the shogun advanced either in a palanquin or riding a horse (and sometimes even on foot), while surrounded by his close aides and body guards. The vanguard and the rearguard, instead, were composed of several independent processions led by major shogunal officials. Since the vanguard and the rearguard were essentially similar in their makeup, I will discuss their physical appearance together. Then, I will analyze the composition of the main body of the procession and the ways in which it symbolized Tokugawa power and inculcated social order in its participants and observers.

The vanguard of Shogun Ieyoshi's parade (Appendix 3, section A) included several of the most prominent shogunal officials such as Masters of Shogunal Ceremonies Andō Nobuyori (daimyo of Iwakitaira) and Sanada Yuki Yoshi (heir to Matsushiro domain), Superintendent of Festivals Aoyama Yukishige (daimyo of Gujō), Senior Councilor Hotta Masayoshi (daimyo of Sakura), and Junior Councilor Endō Tanenori (daimyo of Mikami). Each of these officials was accompanied by a pre-assigned retinue, whose size was determined by the lord's status.

On the left of the officials' names and titles, the diagram records the time of their departure from Edo. For instance, Andō departed between 9 and 11 p.m. on 4/12, Aoyama followed him about two hours later, and Sanada left sometime between 1 and 3 a.m. on 4/13.³⁶⁹ Both the

³⁶⁸ This classification is based on Shigeo Negishi's analysis of the 1728 shogunal procession to Nikkō (see Negishi, "Kyōhōki Nikkō shasan," 11). In appendix 3, the three main sections of the procession are marked by the letters A, B, and C.

³⁶⁹ The *Tokugawa Reitenroku* adopts the traditional time system based on the 12 signs of the Japanese zodiac. In this system each sign corresponds to a *koku*, a time unit which roughly covers 120 minutes. As a consequence, it is not possible to determine the exact departure time of the various components of the shogunal procession.

masters of shogunal ceremonies and the superintendent of festivals were in charge of arranging and supervising the reception of the shogun in Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya, the three castle-towns that hosted the shogun for the night during his trip. The need to arrange for the complex reception rituals that took place in the hosting castles explains why there is a gap of about 5 to 11 hours between the departure of the shogun and that of his vanguard.³⁷⁰

The need to arrive at the hosting castles before the shogun, however, does not explain why Andō, Aoyama, and Sanada's departures were scheduled at intervals of about two hours from one another. One possible reason for this schedule is that the procession diagrams only depict the men and weapons assigned to each official on the basis of their status. In reality, though, each shogunal attendant was followed by a much larger train of people. It must be noted that the numerical figures reported by the diagrams in relation to the size of shogunal officials' retinues refer only to the quantity of men and implements established by the military service charts (table 9). Nevertheless, an annotation to the right of the officials' retinues specifies that, in addition to the pre-assigned men and weapons, officials were also accompanied by an undetermined number of followers. Moreover, the numbers provided by the military service charts do not reflect the actual number of people making up the pre-assigned retinues because more than one attendant was attached to each implement. For example, when the procession diagram states that Andō had with him 30 matchlock guns, it means that for each of the 30 men carrying a gun there were one or more men serving as assistants. Lastly, the diagram includes neither sub-retainers nor the packhorses and laborers carrying luggage and other implements.³⁷¹ Negishi Shigeo has

³⁷⁰ Details pertaining to the shogun's stay in the hosting castles of Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

³⁷¹ Constantine Vaporis has made a similar observation about the military service charts issued by the shogunate for the system of alternate attendance. See Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 96.

calculated that during the 1728 Nikkō pilgrimage, the master of shogunal ceremonies that led the vanguard, Akimoto Takafusa (60,000 *koku*) traveled at the front of about 1,000 men, although the extant diagrams only depict a retinue of 195 attendants.³⁷² If we consider that Andō's annual rice yield (50,000 *koku* in 1843) was in the same bracket as Akimoto (table 9), we can conclude that Andō must have been followed at least by several hundreds of attendants. Therefore, due to the enormous number of shogunal retainers leaving Edo and moving north toward the Nikkō highways, spacing out the departure of each official by one or two hours might have been a measure to avoid excessive congestion.³⁷³

Extant sources do not provide accurate information about the number of men attending shogunal officials in addition to the retinues assigned by the military service system, but they show that those numbers were subject to change and revisions in the preparatory phases of the Nikkō pilgrimage.³⁷⁴ For instance, some of the 1843 procession diagrams, including the one in Senior Councilor Mizuno's diary, specify that the shogunate was "planning to curtail the number of additional men and weapons by one third."³⁷⁵ Moreover, between 1842/3/27 and 1843/2/19, the shogunate issued a number of proclamations prompting domainal lords and other shogunal retainers to not only reduce the size of their retinues, but also to be as thrifty as possible in the choice of outfits and other ceremonial implements.³⁷⁶ These proclamations are in line with the

³⁷² See Negishi, "Kyōhōki Nikkō shasan," 11.

³⁷³ By "Nikkō highways" I refer to the Nikkō Dōchū and the Nikkō onarimichi. See footnote 172.

³⁷⁴ Sources discussed in this chapter mostly record the size of the procession from the perspective of the central government. An examination of domainal records might provide an insight on the size of individual attendants' retinues.

³⁷⁵ See, for example, MTN16: 452.

³⁷⁶ See BFS2: 420-36 (relevant proclamations are numbers 1819, 1824, 1826, 1851). Interestingly enough, proclamation 1851 orders daimyo who planned to travel to Nikkō after the shogun had completed his pilgrimage "to curtail the number of attendants as much as possible, to reduce the number of weapons, luxurious implements, additional implements, and any other items normally used during a trip." The central government's concern with

shogunate's efforts to perform the pilgrimage without excessive spending. However, it is difficult to ascertain whether these plans were concretely implemented or if they were merely part of Tokugawa political propaganda to present the shogun as a benevolent ruler in touch with the needs and struggles of his people.

Senior Councilor Hotta Masayoshi and by Junior Councilor Endō Tanenori occupied the place in the shogunal vanguard. The procession diagram shows that Hotta's retainers were travelling by themselves while their lord followed them, surrounded by some attendants. The reason for such an arrangement was that, in his role as senior councilor, Hotta had to be ready to move at any moment from his place in the procession to conduct business or to respond to a summons by the shogun. Therefore, although the diagram does not specify this arrangement, it is likely that Hotta may have entrusted his retainers to his chief minister and that he advanced with a lighter retinue right behind them.³⁷⁷

At first sight diagrams seem to depict the shogunal procession almost as an uninterrupted train of people travelling back and forth between Edo and Nikkō in an orderly fashion and constantly maintaining their positions. As Hotta's example shows, however, this was not always the case. Various annotations that can be found in some of the 1843 diagrams show that the shogunal procession was more fluid than one may initially think. For example, according to a diagram printed for popular consumption in 1843, the shogunal inspector proceeding before Chamberlains Makino Shigeakira and Matsudaira Tadanori, rode back and forth from his position, probably to deliver orders or to ensure that shogunal attendants maintained their best

frugality, therefore, was not strictly limited to the shogun's pilgrimage, but extended also to the independent pilgrimages undertaken by shogunal retainers.

³⁷⁷ See Negishi, "Kyōhōki Nikkō shasan," 12.

behavior during the trip to Nikkō. Meanwhile, the men carrying his luggage did not move from their assigned position.³⁷⁸ The same diagram also reports that there were specific spots assigned to late-comers, to those who were taking a rest from guarding the shogunal palanquin, or to those retainers in service in Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya, who could join the procession only after the shogun had left the hosting castles. Additionally, the annotations found in the procession diagrams indicate that not only that there were substantial time gaps between the departures of the various officials, but also that the individual retinues were often separated by a distance that could go from 18 to about 220 meters.³⁷⁹ Therefore, when thinking about the shogunal procession, we should not imagine an unbroken flow of people, but rather a series of smaller processions following one another.

The rearguard (Appendix 3, section C), which closed the shogun's procession, was similar in its composition to the vanguard and included top officials such as Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni (daimyo of Hamamatsu) and other members of the shogunal government such as the Superintendent of Festivals Matsudaira Chikayoshi (Kitsuki domain) and the *ōosae*, i.e. the daimyo occupying the rearmost position, Matsudaira Katsuyoshi (Matsuyama domain). In addition to these daimyo, the retinues of the Junior Councilor Hotta Masahira as well as the retainers of the shogun's close aides were located here. Like his counterpart in the vanguard, Senior Councilor Mizuno also travelled ahead of his retainers, who were likely entrusted to his chief minister. As the master architect and the main director of the pilgrimage, Mizuno could

³⁷⁸ In Appendix 3 the inspector is at the end of the red section of the procession. The diagram is the *Nikkō omiya gosankei gubu ongyōretsutsuke* (hereinafter *Nikkō ongyōretsutsuke*), published for popular consumption by Edo-based publishers Tsuruya and Tsutaya. *Nikkō omiya gosankei gubu ongyōretsutsuke*, woodblock edition, Edo-Tokyo Museum, 1843.

³⁷⁹ See appendix 3. ㊦ corresponds to 2 *chō* (about 720 feet). * corresponds to 10 *ken* (about 60 feet). * * corresponds to 20 *ken* (about 120 feet); and * * * indicates a distance of 30 *ken* (about 180 feet).

depart for Nikkō only after having made sure that shogun had left Edo castle and, for this reason, he advanced toward Nikkō in the rearguard of the procession.³⁸⁰

As in the case with its description of the vanguard, the *Reitenroku* procession diagram omits important information in its representation of the rearguard. For instance, a great number of men serving the shogunal direct retainers (*hatamoto*) that composed the main body of the procession (Appendix 3, section B), as well as the pack-horses and the porters transporting their luggage were located in the rearguard, but the diagram does not depict them.³⁸¹ Therefore, one can conclude that, while diagrams are invaluable sources for reconstructing the complex makeup of the shogunal procession and for understanding the message of power it conveyed, these materials provide only a partial idea of the procession's scale and, rather than a literal representation of the shogun's cortege, they should be seen as a general outline of it. Incidentally, while the *Reitenroku* diagram does not provide the departure time of the rearguard, we know from elsewhere that the rearmost daimyo, Matsudaira Katsuyoshi, left Edo between 10 a.m. and 12 noon.³⁸² As such, the departures of the Tokugawa officials stretched over twelve hours, a detail that suggests the majestic scale of the shogunal procession.

The main body of the procession (*hontai*, Appendix 3, section B) occupies the majority of the *Reitenroku* diagram and can be divided into seven subsections.³⁸³ The first one (1) comprises military paraphernalia, such as camp curtains (*jinmaku*) and banners (*hata*), led by their

³⁸⁰ According to the *Reitenroku* on 1843/4/13 “Senior Councilor Mizuno, prior to the shogun's departure, had gone to the Ote Gate. From there he directed the attendants and observed the shogun leaving the castle.” See TR2: 681.

³⁸¹ See Negishi, “Kyōhōki Nikkō shasan,” 17.

³⁸² See Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*, 40. This source states that the departure time of Matsudaira Katsuyoshi is recorded in the *Zoku Tokugawa Jikki*, but I was not able to locate it.

³⁸³ See Appendix 3. Each subsection of the *hontai* is marked by a number and a different color.

respective superintendents; ammunition (arrows and gunpowder); and a number of Tokugawa guard units including both mounted and unmounted troops equipped with firearms and bows (the *hyakuningumi* and the *sakitegumi*) that protected the frontline of the cortege's main body. These troops were followed by additional units of bowmen, musketeers, and foot soldiers armed with spears and led by chamberlains Makino Shigeakira and Matsudaira Tadanori (subsection 2).

The third subsection (3) is the core of the shogunal cortege (*honjin*), where the shogunal palanquin was located. The *honjin* is led by spare horses, spare palanquins, and the *sakidōgu* (“vanguard tools”), i.e. shogunal personal implements such as suits of armor, umbrellas, folding chairs, and travelling chests. Behind the “vanguard tools,” there are four units of foot soldiers, followed by attendants carrying shogunal swords. Next comes the shogun's palanquin surrounded by pages and attendants and escorted by the shogunal gunmaster, different shogunal guards, and the officials in charge of falconry, one of the favorite shogunal pastimes and a marker of warrior identity. The *kodōgu* - small implements such as portable tea cabinets, lunch boxes, raincoats, *futon* bedding, and screens that could be used in case of an emergency stop - followed the falconry officials. The *honjin* ended with three units of escort guards, more shogunal implements collectively known as *atodōgu* (“rear tools”), as well as with drummers and trumpeters.³⁸⁴

An additional battalion of shogunal musketeers (*mochizutsugumi*), composed of 50 unmounted men divided in two groups advancing side by side and their mounted captain, further protected the rear of the *honjin* (subsection 4). Off-duty guards, attendants, and pages led by the Grand Chamberlain Hori Chikashige and by four liaison chamberlains made up the fifth

³⁸⁴ The “rear tools” included implements such as the shogun's personal firearms (*tezutsu*), the battle standards (*umajirushi*) decorated with the Tokugawa family crest, suits of armor, as well as the shogun's horses.

subsection (5) of the *hontai*.³⁸⁵ The guards, attendants, and pages in this section traveled on horse and took turns with their unmounted counterparts that protected the shogunal palanquin, hence moving back and forth between section 5 and section 3 according to a pre-established schedule.³⁸⁶

The “Two Guards” (*ryōban*), i.e. the Bodyguards and the Inner Guards, made up the sixth subsection (6) of the *hontai*, and they constituted the greatest concentration of Tokugawa forces in the procession. ³⁸⁷ Behind them advanced the shogunal doctors and Junior Councilor Hotta Masahira, who supervised the mounted guards.³⁸⁸ The seventh and last subsection of the *hontai* (7) included off-duty foot soldiers (*kachi*), samurai attendants (*chūgen*), and other menials (*kobito*); the servants of the shogunal pages and guards (collectively referred to as *dōsei*); the Superintendent of Equipment (*shodōgu bugyō*), and a number of foot soldiers carrying spears, bows,

³⁸⁵ The liaison chamberlains (*gosobagoyōtoritsugi*) were selected from among the chamberlains (*sobashū*) and were given special authority to act as intermediaries between the shogun and the *goyōbeya*, the office of the senior and junior councilors. See Ōishi, ed., *Edo bakufu daijiten*, 284-288.

³⁸⁶ See Negishi, “Kyōhōki Nikkō shasan,” 16.

³⁸⁷ The military units of the *hontai* represented some of military forces under the direct control of the Tokugawa. The shogunate had about 2,000 men organized in five guards (*gobankata*). The Great Guard (*Ōban*), the Bodyguards (*Shoinban*), the Inner Guard (*Koshōgumi*), and the New Guard (*Shinban*) were mounted units, while the Escort Guard (*Kojūningumi*) was unmounted. Each guard was composed by several subunits led by *bangashira* (captains) and *kumigashira* (chiefs), and often included attendants (*yoriki* and *dōshin*). Below the Five Guards there were about 500 infantry men that made up the *okachigumi* units. The shogunate also commanded about 3,000 men divided in units equipped with ranged weapons, namely the *mochigumi* (bows and muskets), the *sakite teppō* (muskets), and the *teppō hyakunin gumi* (muskets). Finally, the central government could also rely on auxiliary forces such as the *Hachiōji Sennin dōshin* (infantry) or the *buke hōkōnin* (warrior menials). For a discussion of the Tokugawa shogunate military organization, see D. Colin Jaundrill, *Samurai to Soldiers. Remaking Military Service in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016), 50 and Totman, *Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu*, 45-48.

³⁸⁸ The *Nikkō gosankei gyōretsusho dō otomo nikki* (hereinafter *Otomo Nikki*), a shogunal record detailing the assembling of the various sections composing the main body of the shogun’s procession outside Edo castle on the day of their departure to Nikkō, does not include Junior Councilor Hotta Masahira and the shogunal doctors either in section 6 or in section 7. To avoid confusions, I left their names in black in appendix 3. *Nikkō gosankei gyōretsusho dō otomo nikki*, manuscript, Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, Tokugawa sōke monjo, 1843.

and muskets. With these men and with the ceremonial horses (*hikiuma*) the main body of the shogunal procession ended.

As the core of the procession, the *hontai* embodied Tokugawa social order and reflected the power of the shogunal clan in a number of ways. First, the organization of the *hontai* demonstrated to its participant as well as to its observers of military nature of the Tokugawa regime. For instance, the order of the parading military units, muskets and bows (subsections 1 & 2), spears (subsection 2), and mounted men (subsection 5), recreated the typical battlefield formation of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As a matter of fact, when an army encountered its enemy, it normally first used long-range weapons (firearms and bows). Then, once the enemy got closer soldiers equipped with long-handle spears attacked, and only at that point mounted men leading their retainers would strike. The commanding general normally advanced between the foot soldiers and the mounted troops, surrounded by his aides and his attendants.³⁸⁹ The arrangement of musketeers' brigades - two groups of equal size advancing side by side, followed by a mounted commander escorted by unmounted attendants- that we see in subsection 1 of the *hontai*, and the arrangement of daimyo surrounded by their retinues in the vanguard and the rearguard of the procession were also relics of this early modern military formation.³⁹⁰

The implements carried by shogunal attendants also evoked a military atmosphere. Tools such as the camp curtains and the ammunition (subsection 1) or the conch shell trumpet and the

³⁸⁹ This battlefield formation, known as *sonae*, was called *oshi* when applied to warrior processions. See Negishi, "Kyōhōki Nikkō shasan," 10; Negishi, *Daimyō gyōretsu kaibō suru*, 24-25; Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 95. For a detailed discussion of the battle formations (*jinkei*) of the early modern period, see Stephen Turnbull, *Samurai Armies 1467-1649* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2013), 37-48.

³⁹⁰ See Negishi, "Kyōhōki Nikkō shasan," 13.

camp drum (subsection 3) served specific functions during military campaigns, but with the end of the internal warfare they lost their original purpose and were retained in the parades as markers of military identity.³⁹¹ Some of the implements, though, found new practical usages in the context of the peaceful processions of the Edo period. For instance, banners (subsection 1) and battle standards (subsection 3), which were originally used to identify allies and enemies on the battlefield, became a way to distinguish officials and position them in the hierarchy of Tokugawa power. The number of spears placed before and after a palanquin was also indicative of status. For instance, in one of the military rosters published on the occasion of the 1843 pilgrimage we can see that shogunal officials Matsudaira, Aoyama, and Sanada were allowed to display two ceremonial spears in front of their palanquins (fig.19).³⁹² The palanquins of the lords of three Tokugawa cadet houses (Owari, Kii, and Mito), who also accompanied the shogun to Nikkō, instead were preceded by seven spears, due to these lords' relation to the shogunal clan and to their elevated status. Guns enclosed in leather pouches, spears, and other beautifully decorated accoutrements also helped onlookers recognize the identity and status of the parading retainers (figs. 20 and 21).³⁹³ For instance, the tiger fur that decorated the scabbard of the 50 spears parading at the end of subsection 2 of the *hontai* worked as a cue to announce that the shogunal palanquin was approaching.³⁹⁴ Thus, it is not surprising that military rosters, in addition

³⁹¹ See *ibid.*, 12. The drum and the trumpet were used as part of a signaling system for the battlefield, as well as to set pace for the marching army.

³⁹² Fig. 19 is a page of the *Gubu oyakunintsuke* (see footnote 362).

³⁹³ It goes without saying that guns and other weapons continued to play an important role in the defense of Edo castle and other sites during the peaceful years of Tokugawa rule. However, weapons displayed in shogunal and daimyo processions were often purely ornamental. See Daniele Lauro, *Displaying Authority: Guns, Political Legitimacy, and Martial Pageantry in Tokugawa Japan, 1600-1868*, M.A. Thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2012 and Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 97.

³⁹⁴ See Negishi, "Kyōhōki Nikkō shasan," 16.

to recording information such as the attendants' names (1), their domains' annual rice yields (2), the location of their Edo residences (3) and of their lodgings in Nikkō (4), included drawings of the attendants' family crests (5) as well as visual and written descriptions of the implements (6) and of the uniforms (7) of the attendants' retainers (Appendix 3).

After the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1603, Japan entered a period of 250 years of almost uninterrupted harmony often referred to as "the Great peace" (*taihei*).³⁹⁵ Warriors slowly turned into urbanized bureaucrats and educated administrators, and some shoguns even privileged the arts over traditional military pastimes such as hunting or marksmanship.³⁹⁶ Occasions like the pilgrimage to Nikkō, hence, were meant to evoke and inculcate traditional ideals of warrior identity and to remind the Tokugawa's subjects of the basis of their lords' power, namely military strength.

The political message the Tokugawa hoped to convey seems to have been understood by those observing the procession. For instance, late Edo poetess Iseki Takako, describing the appearance of shogunal attendants performing a dry run of the Nikkō procession on 1843/3/18, wrote in her diary,

The horses were of a particularly good kind and the view of them parading, adorned with saddles and stirrups, and overcrowding the avenues that run along warriors' mansions while neighing was a scene full of dignity. The troops, which might have comprised even tens of thousands of men, flowed like water, and it was impossible to say when they would end. In the past, when troops were departing for the front, famous generals assembled their men and marched in this fashion. Nowadays, however, it is a rare thing to

³⁹⁵ Two notable exceptions are the Osaka campaigns against the Toyotomi clan in 1614-15 and the Shimabara "Christian" rebellion in 1637.

³⁹⁶ Generally speaking, after the reign of the third shogun Iemitsu, martial training lost importance as one of the shogun's pastimes. Marksmanship, hunting, and other activities traditionally associated with warriors' identity went through a revival during the reigns of the eighth shogun Yoshimune and of his successor Ieharu, but they declined again afterwards.

see superintendents and other officials gathering their troops with such a dignified appearance.³⁹⁷

Since the size of each attendant's retinue was proportional to his status, not only the quality but also the quantity of the implements and men reflected power and prestige. The composition of the *hontai* is indicative of the overwhelming military strength of the shogunate and of its will to showcase it. Extant sources suggest that over 11,000 Tokugawa guards, including four of the five main army units under the direct control of the shogunate, and at least four other Tokugawa battalions of musketeers, bowmen, and spearmen, accompanied Ieyoshi to Nikkō.³⁹⁸ Beside these men, additional shogunal forces were deployed along the Nikkō highways and on Mt. Nikkō to guarantee the shogun's safety.³⁹⁹ The scale of the shogunal procession will be discussed at length in section 2.2, however it is already clear from the above analysis that such a conspicuous deployment of troops, which exceeded by far the retinue of any daimyo of the early modern period, was meant as a demonstration of the military superiority of the central government.

2.2 The scale of the shogunal procession to Nikkō

The discussion of procession diagrams has highlighted the organizational complexity of the 1843 parade to Nikkō and its manifold symbolic meanings. Nevertheless, since the diagrams are not

³⁹⁷ Akio Fukasawa, ed. *Iseki Takako Nikki* (Tōkyō: Benseisha, 1982) 3:48-49.

³⁹⁸ The shogunate's military organization is discussed in footnote 385. According to *Tokugawa Reitenroku* diagram the Bodyguard (*Shoinban*), the Inner Guard (*Koshōgumi*), and the Escort Guard (*Kojūningumi*) accompanied the shogun to Nikkō. The *Nikkō gosankei otomokatahū ninzu* (hereinafter *Otomokatahū*), however, also mentions the New Guard (*Shinban*) as one of the military units mobilized for the pilgrimage. *Nikkō gosankei otomokatahū ninzu*, manuscript, Edo-Tokyo Museum, 1843. The number of men escorting the shogun is based on the *Otomokatahū*, and it includes only Tokugawa guard units, pages (*koshō* and *konando*), which made up more than a half of the *hontai*. Aides, inspectors, superintendents, and other shogunal officials are not considered here. The *Otomokatahū*, which I discuss at length in section 2.2, presents numerous unclear passages, hence the numerical figures provided by it must be taken as a rough estimate.

³⁹⁹ See Yamasawa, "Nikkō shasan ni okeru shōgun ken'i no hyōshō," 1-26.

literal representations of the procession but simply outlines of it, they do not offer any clear indication of its actual scale. Even though data pertaining to the number of shogunal attendants, horses, laborers, and soldiers deployed on the occasion of Shogun Ieyoshi's pilgrimage can be found in several records (table 10), none of the information provided by these sources is completely trustworthy. For example, the anonymous author of the *Ukiyo no arisama* (n.d.), a collection of rumors about events that occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century, twice mentions the scale of the 1843 pilgrimage to Nikkō. First, the author claims that 133,000 men accompanied Ieyoshi and that 623,900 ordinary soldiers protected the shogun during his trip. The author also mentions that 325,940 horses and 260,830 laborers were used during the pilgrimage.⁴⁰⁰ A few pages later, however, the author reports another set of numbers that does not match with the first one. This time the number of attendants exceeds 170,000, while the number of the laborers fell to a range between 140,000 and 150,000.⁴⁰¹

The *Bunshūroku*, another collection of hearsays compiled in the late Edo period, also provides information on the scale of the pilgrimage.⁴⁰² In accordance with the first set of numbers found in the *Ukiyo no arisama*, the author of the *Bunshūroku* states that 133,000 attendants escorted Ieyoshi to Nikkō. The number of horses (322,940), laborers (230,830), and ordinary soldiers (623,906) are also very close to those found in the first set of numbers given in the *Ukiyo no arisama*. Nevertheless, the impossibility of determining the sources for these data undermines their credibility.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰⁰ See *Ukiyo no arisama*, in *Nihon Shomin Seikatsu Shiryō Shūsei II*, vol. 11 Ken'ichi Tanigawa, ed. (Tōkyō: San'ichi Shobō, 1970), 815-816.

⁴⁰¹ See *ibid.*, 820.

⁴⁰² See *Bunshūroku*, manuscript, Historiographical Institute, University of Tokyo, n.d., vol. 37: 39-40.

⁴⁰³ The *Bunshūroku* is regarded by some historians as a reliable source. Nonetheless, for the specific case of the numerical figures pertaining to the shogunal processions, the source merely states that a person named Shibata

According to the *Nikkō gosankei no setsu dōchū ongyōretsugaki narabini gubu sōjinba nado gonyūyōdaka*, a record including a procession diagram and a breakdown of the resources and the costs of the 1843 pilgrimage, a total of 159,000 attendants, 425,540 horses, 360,830 laborers, and 823,560 ordinary soldiers were involved in the pilgrimage.⁴⁰⁴ While the number of shogunal attendants is somewhat in line with other sources, the figures pertaining to horses, laborers, and ordinary soldiers, and the general expenses are by far higher. Since we do not know by whom, when, and how this source was compiled, it is impossible to ascertain whether the numbers provided are correct. Even the *Zoku Tokugawa Jikki*, one of the official chronicles of the Tokugawa government, does not provide precise figures, but vaguely states that the shogunal cortege “must have comprised between 140,000 and 150,000 attendants.”⁴⁰⁵

The sources mentioned so far all refer to the procession in its entirety, but they do not specify what percentage of participants the main body of the procession (*hontai*, Appendix 3, section B) made up. Nevertheless, the *Otomokatahū ninzu*, a detailed record of the shogun’s retinue and the location of their lodgings on Mount Nikkō, claims that 19,876 men accompanied the shogun as part of the *hontai*.⁴⁰⁶ If we believe, as the *Zoku Tokugawa Jikki* states, that the entire parade comprised about 140,000 men, it would mean that the main body of the cortege made up slightly more than 14% of the total number of attendants. As with the sources discussed

passed the information to the Mitsui store on 1843/4/1. See Masahiro Tanaka, “*Bunshūroku no hensha to bakumatsu no johōmō*,” *Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo Kenkyū Kiyō* 10, (March 2003): 59-86.

⁴⁰⁴ See *Nikkō gosankei no setsu dōchū ongyōretsugaki narabini gubu sōjinba nado gonyūyōdaka*, manuscript, Waseda University Central Library, 1843.

⁴⁰⁵ ZTJ49: 490.

⁴⁰⁶ See footnote 398. According to the colophon, the *Otomokatahū* is a copy of an older record and it was produced 1843/5 by a person named Nishimura, possibly an official of Koyasu village in Musashi province (modern day Hachioji, Tokyo).

so far, the *Ōtomokatashū ninzu* too must be taken with a grain of salt. As a matter of fact, even though it was compiled after the end of the pilgrimage, an annotation in the record specifies that the numerical figures listed are provisional. This means that this document is a copy of an older source and the scale of the *hontai* probably underwent some changes before the implementation of the pilgrimage. Nonetheless, since the *Ōtomokatashū ninzu* was likely copied by a village official for semi-official purposes, we can assume that the information recorded is accurate to a certain degree.

Incidentally, the *Ōtomokatashū ninzu* also mentions the estimated food allowance, measured in rice, allocated by the shogunate to the members of the *hontai*: 238 *koku*, 5 *to*, 1 *shō*, and 2 *gō* of rice (in total about 42,932 liters).⁴⁰⁷ The record specifies that this rice was meant to last for six days, that is to say the number of days necessary to travel from Edo to Nikkō and back. This annotation shows that while the central government handled the costs for the members of the *hontai*'s board while on the road, during their two-day stay in Nikkō, shogunal retainers had to provide for themselves and for their followers.⁴⁰⁸ While the allocation of expenses pertaining to the Nikkō pilgrimage is hard to reconstruct, sources such as the *Ōtomokatashū ninzu* suggest that the pilgrimage constituted a remarkable economic burden not only for the central government, but also for individual retainers. Therefore, as was the case with the system of alternate attendance, the Nikkō pilgrimage and its procession worked as a mechanism for the shogunate to reinforce its authority by depleting its subordinates' finances.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁷ 1 *koku* corresponds to 180 liters; 1 *to* corresponds to 18lt.; 1 *shō* corresponds to 1.8 liters; 1 *gō* corresponds to 0.18 liters. See also footnote 144.

⁴⁰⁸ See Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*, 45.

⁴⁰⁹ As in the case with the procession's scale, extant sources indicate that the costs of the shogunal pilgrimage were significant. However, data are inconsistent and unclear (see table 10). In principle, the shogunate provided funds for the renovations of the facilities that hosted the shogun during his trip to Nikkō, for the repair of the Nikkō highways and its bridges, as well as for the lodging and boarding of the shogun's direct retainers. Daimyo and other retainers

In light of the nature of the above-mentioned sources and of the inconsistency and unclear origin of the data they provide, at present it is impossible to determine the exact scale of the 1843 shogunal procession to Nikkō. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, despite the mismatches, all the records discussed in this section point to the irrefutable fact that the shogunal cortege was monumental in scale. Even the smallest numerical figure provided by the sources conveys the military might of the shogunate and its ability to requisition resources. The numbers we see in table 10 are indicative in absolute terms of the enormous scale of the shogunal procession, but, when compared to daimyo parades, the grandiose nature of the Nikkō pilgrimage becomes all the more evident. The alternate attendance processions of daimyo controlling the largest domains in Tokugawa Japan comprised no more than 3,000 people, a minimal fraction of shogun Ieyoshi's cortege to Nikkō.⁴¹⁰

It goes without saying that the shogunal procession must have been an awe-inspiring spectacle, and contemporary accounts of the pilgrimage seem to confirm this point. For instance,

appointed as attendants had to provide laborers and horses, while those retainers, whose lands extended along the Nikkō highways, had to contribute to the constructions and refurbishment of roads, bridges, post-towns, and other facilities. Finally, regardless of their participation in the pilgrimage, retainers had to present the shogun with congratulatory gifts before and after the event. In reality, though, the allocation of expenses was more complicated. For example, in the case of Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya, the three castle-towns where the shogun stopped for the night on his way to Nikkō and back, the central government handled the costs of the refurbishment and constructions only of the areas of the castle used by the shogun. The refurbishment of the remaining areas was required as a sign of respect for the shogun, but the costs of the renovations had to be covered by the lords of the castles. To carry out these works, daimyo received "loans" from the shogunate, however, in many cases money was not returned. Similarly, as discussed in Chapter 2, the so-called *yasumidokoro*, i.e. the temples located along the Nikkō highways where the shogun stopped for his lunch break had also to refurbish their facilities on the occasion of the Nikkō pilgrimage. The central government provided funds for the renovation of the facilities used by the shogun (i.e. the dining hall and the restrooms), but the refurbishment of the remaining buildings within the temple's precincts had to be handled by the temple. When a temple could not afford it, the renovation costs fell back on its supporters and on the domain to which the temple belonged. Moreover, as part of their duties to the central government, villages along and in the proximity of the Nikkō highways had to provide unpaid labor and horses, which were used for repairs, transportation, and other tasks (*sukegō* system). In brief, it is very difficult to reconstruct the exact allocation of expenses between the central state and local governments.

⁴¹⁰ See Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 72.

on 1843/4/9, when the officials entrusted with the defense of the Nikkō highways were leaving Edo, Iseki Takako recorded in her diary that “all people could do was talk about the shogun’s pilgrimage” and that she had heard that the view of daimyo strengthening the defenses of the roads was “a solemn spectacle.”⁴¹¹ Iseki, who happened to live in the proximity of the residence of Shinmi Masamichi, one of the chamberlains who escorted Ieyoshi to Nikkō, also wrote in her diary that, although Shinmi would not depart until 4/13, already on 4/12 a great number of people, including doctors and chief retainers, as well as horses carrying luggage could be seen gathering outside his residence and getting ready to leave. On 4/13/1843 – the day of the shogun’s departure for Nikkō – Iseki reported that “while the vanguard of the procession was already in Kawaguchi [10 miles from Edo], the rear still hadn’t left,” an indication of how long the train of people accompanying the shogun was. She also added that because of the exceptional nature of the Nikkō pilgrimage, which she describes as “an event that shook the realm,” she felt inspired to commemorate the ritual by composing some verses.⁴¹²

Even though unofficial sources reveal that Edo residents were able to catch a glimpse of the parade from inside their houses and that curious onlookers came to Edo from the neighboring provinces and even rented houses in various areas of the shogunal capital to observe the spectacle, it is unclear how many people in Edo were able to witness the departure of the shogunal procession.⁴¹³ As a matter of fact, a number of proclamations issued before the

⁴¹¹ Fukasawa, ed., *Iseki Takako Nikki*, 3:61.

⁴¹² Ibid., 62. Kawaguchi (modern-day Saitama prefecture) was one of the designated shogunal rest areas.

⁴¹³ On 1843/4/12 Iseki Takako recorded in her diary that women and children curiously peeped from inside their houses at the departing men. Iseki also wrote that, because of the shogun’s departure the following day, the shogunate prohibited street vendors from working and ordered the people of Edo not to use fires. Iseki also added that servants were not allowed to leave the house for private matters. See Fukasawa, ed., *Iseki Takako Nikki*, 3:62. Commoners from modern Kanagawa prefecture came to Edo to see the shogunal parade. See Ōishi, “Nikkō shasan no rekishiteki ichi,” 185-187.

shogun's departure forbade people from accessing the roads that would be crossed by the procession.⁴¹⁴

A great number of people living in the villages and posts-towns located along the Nikkō highways, however, were able to experience the majestic procession firsthand. Sources indicate that, although the shogunate initially restricted and in some cases completely prohibited people from lining along the road, restrictions were softened after the shogun's departure. For example, according to a private record by Tetsuka Gensen, a doctor employed in Koganei post-town (modern Tochigi prefecture) during the 1843 pilgrimage, the shogunate repeatedly issued regulations forbidding certain members of the clergy, blind female *shamisen* players, and blind male masseurs from being in the proximity of the cortege.⁴¹⁵ Tetsuka also explains that the shogunate adopted measures, including the installation of guardhouses in post-towns to prevent people from accessing the Nikkō highway, the building of fences and the closing of side roads, and the covering of the windows of commoners' houses with paper, to limit the number of onlookers.⁴¹⁶ Once the cortege had left Edo, however, the shogunate progressively loosened those regulations, and, as a result, in certain areas "people gathered in crowds to observe the pilgrimage."⁴¹⁷ Such behavior suggests not only that the shogunate intended to showcase the

⁴¹⁴ For instance, one of such proclamations instructed "all people, except the retainers of the attendants accompanying the shogun" not to "access the roads crossed by the procession unless they have official business." The proclamation specified that "doctors are exempted from this order, only if they are summoned suddenly" and that "those not joining the pilgrimage and living in the proximity of the roads crossed by the procession, have to use side roads when they go to Edo castle." BFS2: 431.

⁴¹⁵ Certain categories of people were barred from "observing" the shogunal procession, but it is unclear from the sources why this was the case. A possible explanation is that certain categories of people, such as Buddhist cleric who had recently performed a funeral, were considered "defiled" (*kegare*) and were, therefore, prohibited from coming into contact with the shogun.

⁴¹⁶ It is important to note that measures such as the installation of guard houses and the closing of roads were also adopted to ensure the safety of the travelling shogun.

⁴¹⁷ NSKS2:8 (264). The topic of the use of the road as a stage for politics is discussed at length in Chapter 4.

awe-inspiring procession to the eyes of commoners, but also that it was aware of the value of the procession as a tool for political propaganda.

Finally, although the exact size of the procession cannot be determined, it is safe to assume that a large-scale procession such as Ieyoshi's allowed the shogunate to extensively impose its power on domains, post-towns, and villages along and well-beyond the Nikkō highways by forcing them to provide resources to accommodate the needs of the huge number of men travelling from Edo to Nikkō and back.⁴¹⁸ In this manner, the procession functioned not only as a concrete expression of the Tokugawa military and economic power, but also as a mechanism to wield authority over local governments and the general populace by means of fiscal pressure.

3. The shogun's departure from Edo: the assembling of the *hontai* and its implications

The analysis of the makeup and the scale of 1843 procession raises the question of how such a large retinue was able to come together into a coherent cortege and made its way to Nikkō. As we have seen, the procession in its entirety, but more specifically its main body, helped the central government display the Tokugawa house's military and economic power. Since a miscalculation in the formation of the cortege would have tarnished the shogun's reputation and prestige, the organizers of the pilgrimage made certain that no major hindrance delayed the shogun's departure on 4/13.

Few sources provide details pertaining to the assembling of the cortege. One of them is the *Otomo Nikki*, a brief shogunal record, which meticulously describes not only the ways in

⁴¹⁸ See footnote 278.

which the main body of procession came together on its departure from Edo, but also how attendants broke ranks and assembled again and again during the various stops on their way to Nikkō.⁴¹⁹ A comparison of the contents of the *Otomo Nikki* with a contemporary map of the city of Edo (fig.22) not only allows us to visualize the complex organization behind the shogun's departure, but also further discloses the majestic scale of the main body of the procession.⁴²⁰ According to the *Otomo Nikki*, the shogun, his body guards and his attendants (i.e. the *honjin* or subsection 3 in Appendix 3) were gathered within the inner walls of Edo Castle “as it was customary during shogunal journeys,” while all the other sections of the *hontai* awaited eastward of the castle in the area located between the inner and outer walls. Specifically, the vanguard (1) was aligned from Sujikai Bridge to Kanda Bridge. The chronicle does not specify the names of the roads along which the men were standing, but if we consider that the two bridges are about 0.8 miles apart from each other, we can get a sense of the impressive scale of the *hontai*'s vanguard. After the second section (2), which awaited between Kanda Bridge and the area outside the Ōte gate, had departed, the *honjin* exited Edo castle marching through the Ōte gate. Once the last members of the *honjin* - the trumpeter and the drummer - had passed the residence of lord Sakai Tadanori Uta no kami, the fourth section of the *hontai* left. The mounted guards, the aides (subsection 5), and the shogunal guards (subsection 6) were aligned along the eastern side of the inner moat roughly from Hirakawa Gate to Yaesu riverbank and left one after the other, following the musketeers that made up the fourth (4) subsection. Finally, the rear guard of the *hontai* (subsection 7), stationed between Dōsan Bridge and Daimyōkoji district, departed at a

⁴¹⁹ See footnote 388.

⁴²⁰ The areas around Edo castle where the seven sections of the *hontai* were station on 1843/4/13 are indicated on the map with numbers 1 to 7 and with the same colors used in the translation of the *Reitenroku* diagram (Appendix 1, fig.22).

time which the rear foot soldiers that led the section “deemed appropriate.” The fact that shogunal officials were able to coordinate such a complex maneuver without any major setback and simply relying on a system of messengers and on the alert judgment of the leading attendants suggests that the departure of the cortege must have been thoroughly planned. Sources show that the shogunate performed dry runs of the procession to make sure that the procession assembled smoothly.⁴²¹ Iseki Takako reported in her diary that on 1843/3/12 during the procession’s rehearsals in the Fukiage area of Edo castle, Toda Ujiyoshi, an associate inspector (*kachimetsuke*) in charge of coordinating the assembling of the vanguard of the main body of the shogun’s cortege, announced that the men he was supervising had completed their preparations. Nonetheless, when the shogun came out to inspect his retainers, many were not ready yet and were still sitting on the ground. According to Takako’s diary, Toda and his subordinates, who had mistakenly given him the green light, were reprimanded and placed under house arrest.⁴²² The harsh reaction to Toda’s mistake suggests that the shogunate attached great importance to the successful assembling of the procession as part of its effort to showcase the authority of the Tokugawa house.

4. The shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō as a “national event:” the role of printed media in the popularization of Tokugawa rituals

This examination of the shogunal procession and the unpacking of its symbolic meanings thus far made it clear that the Nikkō pilgrimage was a major occasion for the Tokugawa government

⁴²¹ On 1843/3/18 the shogun took part in a rehearsal of his retinue’s departure. See TR2: 667.

⁴²² See Fukasawa, ed., *Iseki Takako Nikki*, 3:46-47.

to push forward its political agenda. The magnitude of the pilgrimage, the complex preparations it required, as well as the fact that all strata of Tokugawa society contributed to its realization prompted historians to refer to the Nikkō pilgrimage as a “national event.”⁴²³

Nevertheless, the use of the Nikkō pilgrimage as a tool to consolidate Tokugawa authority across the realm raises the question of the extent to which the rulers’ political message reached the ruled. The cross-examination of official and unofficial chronicles of the 1843 pilgrimage demonstrates unequivocally that, despite the numerous prohibitions issued before the shogun’s departure, the shogunate allowed and, at times, even encouraged people living along or in the proximity of the Nikkō highways to experience firsthand the grandeur of the cortege. Unlike modern political rituals, though, the Tokugawa could not rely on a developed media apparatus to advertise their message beyond the procession’s itinerary or to immortalize the awe-inspiring cortege after the ritual had been performed. Hence, one might reasonably question the “national” nature of the pilgrimage and conclude that, despite the central government’s efforts, the impact of the Tokugawa propaganda must have been necessarily limited. Nevertheless, this was not the case. While there is no evidence that the central government actively planned the use of publications to advertise the Nikkō pilgrimage, manuscripts and printed documents spread the Tokugawa political message of grandeur and power well beyond the operating range of the shogunal procession in several ways.

First, it was customary for shogunal retainers to compile records chronicling events related to the Nikkō pilgrimage. In some cases, these attendants ruled over territories that, while involved in the implementation of the pilgrimage, did not come into direct contact with the shogunal procession. Moreover, wealthy peasants, village headmen, and other laborers who

⁴²³ See, for example, Ōishi, “Nikkō shasan no rekishiteki ichi,” 198.

served as subretainers also recorded their experiences in chronicles and diaries.⁴²⁴ Even though these records were neither printed nor were meant to be read by large audiences, we can assume that at least the educated elites had access to them and that knowledge of the pilgrimage trickled from top-down in the form of hearsay. In this manner, domainal administrators, village officials, and even commoners belonging to lower classes that did not travel to Nikkō were still able to gain some insight into the majestic nature of the shogunal pilgrimage.

Second, knowledge of the shogun's cortege reached those who did not experience it first-hand through printed materials such as procession diagrams and military rosters that were sold before and after the shogun's trip to Nikkō.⁴²⁵ Military rosters (*bukan*) had been on the market since the 1640s to respond to the needs of both warriors and merchants involved in the system of alternate attendance. By obtaining information such as the annual rice yield of a domain, the court title, and the number of implements each lord carried, warriors travelling along the highways of Japan could assess the status of their peers and behave accordingly. Likewise, merchants who supplied domainal lords residing in the shogunal capital consulted the rosters to obtain information such as the location of a daimyo's residence.⁴²⁶ In time, curious commoners, who had no direct involvement in the system of alternate attendance but were fascinated by the constant flow of warriors travelling back and forth between Edo and the domains, started to

⁴²⁴ Some examples are *Otomokatahū ninzu* (see footnote 398) and the *Nikkō gosankei ooseidasaru yori kangyo made no kaijō narabi ni okakitsuke nado no kakinuki* written by Makino Tokishige, daimyo of Tanabe domain (manuscript, Tochigi Prefectural Museum, 1843).

⁴²⁵ There were two categories of rosters, the *daimyōtsuke* and the *yakunintsuke*. The former was a directory of all Tokugawa retainers with an annual rice yield of 10,000 *koku* and above. The latter were directories listing retainers appointed to shogunal offices. The rosters published on the occasion of the Nikkō pilgrimage fall into the *yakunintsuke* category. See Kumiko Fujizane, *Edo no buke meikan: bukan to shuppan kyōsō* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2008), 12-13.

⁴²⁶ See Berry, *Japan in Print*, 108.

purchase the rosters as well. The addition of graphic elements, such as warriors' family crests and ceremonial implements that, as Mary Elizabeth Berry wrote, converted warriors into "icons," as well as the appearance of prefaces written by famous contemporary artists are proof of the rosters' dual nature as both practical guides and products for the entertainment of the masses.⁴²⁷ Likewise, procession diagrams, although less popular than rosters, were printed and sold to allow onlookers to identify who was in the procession for either business purposes or the satisfaction of mere curiosity.⁴²⁸

The *Gubu oyakunintsuke*, which I briefly discussed in section 2 of this chapter, is an example of a popular military roster published on the occasion of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage to Nikkō.⁴²⁹ This pocket-size directory, printed by the prominent Edo publishers Tsuruya, Nishimuraya, and Tsutaya, gathers information about both the members of the shogunal retinue and the officials entrusted with the defense of Edo and of the Nikkō highways. Officials are listed according to the importance of their office, so that, by consulting the rosters, a reader could get a sense of the impressive number of Tokugawa retainers involved in the pilgrimage and, at the same time, visualize the Tokugawa governmental hierarchy and its complex power dynamics, thus learning "how to think about authority."⁴³⁰ Because the rosters helped convey the power of the shogunate, it is not surprising that despite the edicts relating to censorship and the long administrative procedures publishers had to follow to obtain permission to print their works,

⁴²⁷ See *ibid.* 121 and Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan. A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 71.

⁴²⁸ For instance, officials of post-towns and villages located along the Nikkō Highways consulted procession diagrams to calculate at what time the shogun's palanquin would pass and make sure that the streets were adequately clean and free from food stalls or other hindrances.

⁴²⁹ See footnote 362.

⁴³⁰ Berry, *Japan in Print*, 106.

the Tokugawa did not intervene to forbid the sale of rosters. Indeed, although the government never endorsed the rosters as official materials, the shogunate must have played a role in providing publishers with relevant and updated data on the various military clans.⁴³¹

Military rosters printed on the occasion of the shogunal pilgrimage were popular titles that sold in the tens of thousands.⁴³² The great number of rosters that have survived to this day and the fact that rosters were produced by multiple publishers suggest not only the popularity of this type of publication, but also the extent to which information on the Nikkō pilgrimage was widely disseminated across the realm.⁴³³ Inexpensive and easy-to-carry, rosters and procession diagrams were brought back to the domains by shogunal attendants as either a personal purchase or a souvenir.⁴³⁴ Oftentimes old copies were given away to servants, so that knowledge of the

⁴³¹ See *ibid.*, 110 and Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 100. Nevertheless, this is not to say that there was no control at all over pilgrimage-related publications. For instance, in 1843/8/8 Edo-based publisher Izumoji Kingō was summoned by the Edo city magistrate Torii Yōzō, and subsequently arrested for having published a collection of maps of the Nikkō dōchū highway without obtaining former permission from the shogunate. See Fujizane, *Edo no buke meikan*, 214-16.

⁴³² From the records of Izumoji's meeting on 1843/8/9 with the Edo city magistrate, we learn that Izumoji, who had received permission from the shogunate on 1843/4/10, had published 30,000 copies of a pilgrimage military roster titled *Nikkō omiya gosankei gubu oyakunintsuke* and that only six were left. See Fujizane, *Edo no buke meikan*, 215.

⁴³³ For example, copies of the *Gubu oyakunintsuke* published by Tsutaya and Tsuruya in 1843 can be found in institutions located in different areas of Japan, including Tokyo (Edo-Tokyo Museum, Waseda University Library, Kokugakuin University, National Institute of Japanese Literature); Tochigi prefecture (Tochigi Prefectural Museum and Utsunomiya Daigaku); Hiroshima prefecture (Hiroshima Prefectural Historical Archive); Yamagata prefecture (Yamagata Prefectural Museum); and Mie prefecture (Kameyama City History Museum). In my archival research I have been able to locate two editions of the 1843 roster, one by publishers Tsutaya and Tsuruya and one by publisher Izumoji Kingō. The colophon of Izumoji's edition specifies that the roster was sold in Edo, Osaka, Kyoto, Nikkō, and Nagoya. *Nikkō omiya gosankei gubu oyakunintsuke*, woodblock edition, National Institute of Japanese Literature, Mitsui Monjo, 1843.

⁴³⁴ For instance, the colophon of Izumoji Kingō's *Nikkō omiya gosankei gubu oyakunintsuke* specifies that the roster's price was 80 *dō*, that is to say 80 copper coins. Copper coins (*dō* or *zeni*) were considered petty coinage. For a discussion of the price of military rosters at the end of the Edo period see, Kazuo Minami, "Bakumatsu bukan no nedan," *Nihon Rekishi* 5, no. 324 (1975):34-37. Military rosters varied in size, however the ones I have examined were all made for being carried easily in the sleeve of a kimono or in a purse. Izumoji Kingō's roster is 9,1 cm high and 12,8 cm long; Tsutaya and Tsuruya's roster is 6,8 cm high and 15,8 cm long.

Tokugawa power structure was able to reach even the lowest classes.⁴³⁵ Those unable to read could still “visualize” the shogunal procession through one-sheet prints (*ichimaizuri*) that privileged images over text (fig.23). Finally, the fact that publishers reprinted rosters and procession diagrams multiple times and in updated editions, and that they continued to publish them even after the shogunal pilgrimage had been completed attest to the commercial success of these products.⁴³⁶

In conclusion, printed documents and to a lesser extent hand-written accounts helped transform the Nikkō pilgrimage into a ritual whose scale and significance impacted not only the men directly involved in it, but also those subjects residing at the peripheries of the realm. In particular, while making the shogun’s majestic procession known across the archipelago thanks to their convenient format and affordable price, military rosters and procession diagrams printed in great numbers guided their readers through the intricacies of Tokugawa power. The precise role played by the central government in the publication of these sources is hard to assess; however, there is room to speculate that not only must the shogunate have been complicit, but also that in the closing decades of the Edo period it must have become increasingly aware of the pivotal role of printed media as a device for political propaganda. For instance, a group of 16 woodblock print artists immortalized shogun Iemochi’s visit to Kyoto in 1863.⁴³⁷ How this

⁴³⁵ See Berry, *Japan in Print*, 108.

⁴³⁶ For example, according to its colophon, the Tsutaya and Tsuruya’s *Gubu oyakunintsuke* owned by the Edo-Tokyo Museum is a second edition published in 1843/4. The colophon of the *Nikkō omiya gosankei gubu ongyōretsutsuke*, a procession diagram owned by the same museum, states that the diagram was published in 1843/5.

⁴³⁷ A copy of the woodblock prints is owned by the Asian art museum “Museo Chiossone” of Genova, Italy. See, Katsuhiko Fukuda, *Tōkaidō gojūsantsugi shōgun Iemochi kō gojyōrakuzu*, (Tōkyō: Kawada Shobō, 2001). It must be noted that the prints do not mention directly shogun Iemochi’s visit to Kyoto of 1863, but they depict a military parade of the Minamoto clan, the founders of the Kamakura shogunate (1185-1333), Japan’s first military government. For example, the paraphernalia carried by shogunal officials are not decorated with the “triple hollylock” (*mitsubaaoi*), the Tokugawa’s family crest, but with the “autumn bellflower” (*rindō*), which was traditionally associated with the Minamoto clan. Moreover, one of the prints specifies that the procession depicted

collective project came about is unclear, and there is no evidence that demonstrates that the artists observed directly the shogunal parade or that the central government was in any way involved in the publication of the prints.⁴³⁸ Nonetheless, the fact that the shogunate chose not to censure the woodblock prints might indicate its awareness of this medium's capability to advertise Tokugawa power to a large audience. This choice is all the more revealing when one considers the political instability and shaky authority of the Tokugawa regime in the early 1860s. Not only was Iemochi the first shogun to visit the imperial court in more than two centuries, but the shogunal journey was organized in a great hurry, and the shogun's retinue comprised a mere 3,000 men, a remarkably smaller figure compared to the parades of his predecessors. In this context, the prints, projecting a highly idealized and fictional image of Tokugawa power, somewhat helped the central government to conceal internal problems and shore up the regime's legitimacy in a time of crisis.

Among the myriad of rituals performed by the Tokugawa clan, the pilgrimage to Nikkō (*Nikkō shasan*) was by far the most critical in ensuring the continuity and legitimacy of the shogunal line. By travelling to the Tōshōgū shrine, Tokugawa shoguns could establish a personal and privileged connection with the clan's founder that helped them validate their claims to serve as his lawful successors. It is not surprising, then, that many of these shogunal pilgrimages

took place in the first year of the Kenkyū era (1190). Discussing contemporary events by depicting similar ones occurred in the past was a common technique used by artist to circumvent censorship.

⁴³⁸ See Kusumi Shinya, "Bunkyū san'nen shōgun Iemochi jōraku no rekishiteki ichi: Meiji gannen tōkō no zentei toshite," in *Chiyoda no komonjo* 2, (Tōkyō: Chiyodaku kyōiku iinkai, 2013), 92.

occurred at crucial stages of the shogunate's political life such as the appointment of a new shogun or the birth of an heir.

The shogunate used the pilgrimage as a device to preserve the status quo and to flaunt the power of the regime. As this chapter has shown, the Tokugawa political strategy found its most prominent expression in the shogunal procession. By adopting status and historical precedent as its main organizational criteria, the procession served as a clear and compact embodiment of the power dynamics within the warrior class, and it inculcated notions of order in its participants, while reminding them of the bond of loyalty that tied them to the shogun. Traveling back and forth between Edo and Nikkō, the shogunal cortege also worked as a moving stage from which the central government advertised its economic and military power. The procession retained several military features that reminded those who watched it of the nature of the Tokugawa regime and of its original *raison d'être*, namely military power. Moreover, the spectacular deployment of attendants reflected the ability of the shogunate to mobilize resources and was meant to impress those who came into direct contact with the procession. Printed materials such as military rosters and procession diagrams sold in great numbers in and outside Edo and disseminated the regime's propaganda well beyond the territories crossed by the shogunal cortege, transforming the Nikkō pilgrimage into a ritual of the nation.

CHAPTER 4: AUTHORITY ON THE MOVE. THE SHOGUN'S JOURNEY, THE RITUALS OF WORSHIP IN NIKKŌ, AND THE AFTERMATH OF IEYOSHI'S PILGRIMAGE

1. Introduction

The journey from Edo to Nikkō and back provided Tokugawa shoguns with new opportunities to demonstrate their power. Chapter 2 argued that it was during the long preparatory phases of the *shasan*, rather than during their journey to Nikkō, that the Tokugawa chieftains could exert their authority most extensively. As we have seen, while Ieyoshi's pilgrimage in 1843 lasted only nine days, its preparations went on for about fourteen months during which individuals across the social and political spectrum from territories near and far to the Nikkō highways were prompted to collaborate with the central regime in the name of the divine ruler Ieyasu. Most of these subjects, however, were ultimately excluded from the shogunal rituals of worship performed on Mt. Nikkō on the day of Ieyasu's death anniversary. Commoners were barred from accessing the Tōshōgū during the shogun's visit, and only a handful of the retainers escorting Ieyoshi from Edo - mostly high-ranking officials and close aides – along with some of Mt. Nikkō's religious authorities joined the shogun in the shrine's precincts. Moreover, at the moment of the shogun's worship in the Tōshōgū's innermost sanctum (*nainaijin*), blinds were rolled down, thus shielding the shogun from his retainers' gaze and enhancing the secrecy of the ritual. In brief, despite its connotation as a ritual of the nation, for most people the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō *sensu strictu* was an event largely experienced through imagination. Nonetheless, a perusal of chronicles describing Ieyoshi's journey from Edo to Nikkō and back suggests that the *shasan* enabled Tokugawa chieftains to not only display their political and military might, but also to

reaffirm their relationship with both the civil and military society. For instance, by allowing commoners to observe the shogun's awe-inspiring cortege traveling along the Nikkō roads the regime exposed Tokugawa subjects to a powerful demonstration of shogunal authority.

In Chapter 3 I argued that even though the number of people that came into direct contact with the cortege was inevitably limited, thanks to a variety of print media circulating officially or unofficially, knowledge of Tokugawa power spread beyond the borders of the roads traversed by the shogun. In the first part of this chapter I will touch again on the significance of the shogunal procession as an embodiment of Tokugawa power. Nevertheless, instead of focusing on the parading warriors, I will consider commoners gathered at the sides of the road, both in their role as onlookers and as unaware but critical participants in the regime's grand plan to rehabilitate its own image by staging "on the road" performances of Ieyoshi's enlightened rule. Chronicles of the 1843 pilgrimage contain numerous entries describing impromptu encounters between the traveling shogun and the populace as well as the distribution of awards, rice stipends, and other gifts from the ruler to his subjects. As we shall see, these events, which Tokugawa-sanctioned sources describe as spontaneous acts of generosity stemming from the shogun's concern for the well-being of his people, were part of an elaborate strategy to shore up support for the sweeping reforms implemented by Ieyoshi's cabinet and to heal the widespread and growing sense of estrangement from the rulers (*kōgibanare*) experienced by Tokugawa subjects.

Furthermore, this chapter contends that, while the *Nikkō shasan* has been generally understood as a practice meant first and foremost to attest to the continuity of the shogunal line and sanctify the incumbent shogun in his role as supreme leader of the realm, the pilgrimage was also a major occasion for the Tokugawa chieftains to renew the alliance with their retainers that was at the foundation of the early modern political system. Rituals performed at the castles

hosting the traveling shogun, ceremonies held on Mt. Nikkō in conjunction with Ieyasu's death anniversary, and festivities sponsored by the shogunate in Edo to celebrate the successful completion of the pilgrimage were designed to foster sociability and promote a sense of unity between the shogun and his retainers through the exchange of symbolically charged gifts as well as the sharing of alcohol, food, and other forms of entertainment. Such ritual practices will be the object of the second section of this chapter.

Finally, I will tackle the issue of how the central regime expected its subjects to understand and memorialize the *shasan*. I will do so by discussing the contents of the *Kōzan koshōshiki*, a eulogistic chronicle of Ieyoshi's journey to Nikkō composed by shogunal ideologue Narushima Motonao (1778-1862) in 1843. The analysis of the travelogue's recurrent rhetorical devices and the juxtaposition of Motonao's government-sanctioned narrative with unofficial records of the pilgrimage, including private diaries and accounts by both Tokugawa retainers and commoners, will unveil the regime's intentions to manipulate the *shasan* as a propagandistic tool to improve Ieyoshi's reputation. As we shall see, through his panegyric Motonao attempts to construct an ontological argument to justify the contemporary social and political order and to explain shogunal policies, including the pilgrimage to Nikkō, as manifestations of the Ieyoshi's benevolent rule.

2. Inspiring awe and warming the hearts: commoners and Ieyoshi's procession

In the months preceding Ieyoshi's journey villages and post-towns located along the shogunal route to Nikkō were flooded with proclamations regulating traffic and instructing local authorities on how the road should look during the passage of the shogun's cortege. Trees had to be pruned, open fields had to be cordoned off, staggered fences had to be built to block access

from side roads, and windows on the second floor of buildings standing on the side of the road had to be covered with paper.⁴³⁹ Moreover, the shogunate restricted traffic on the Nikkō highways. For example, on 1843/4/4 Kawanago's administrators were informed that from 4/14 to 4/20 only people conducting pilgrimage-related business could use the section of the Nikkō road going through the village. The proclamation also established that, during that time, individuals described as "mentally deranged" (*ranshin*) were instructed not to leave their dwellings or they would face harsh punishments.⁴⁴⁰ Similar measures were also adopted in Edo.⁴⁴¹ Writing from her mansion located in the vicinity of Edo castle, Iseki Takako reported that, on the day of Ieyoshi's departure, both daimyo and townspeople patrolled various areas of the shogunal capital and, as a result, the atmosphere was so heavy that "even birds and animals did not feel comfortable sticking their heads out unnecessarily."⁴⁴²

The regime's efforts to oversee who could access the Nikkō road primarily aimed at ensuring the safety of the shogun and at preventing any accident that could disrupt the pilgrimage. Nonetheless, measures regulating traffic on the Nikkō highways were also rooted in the notion that shogunal authority could be preserved and reinforced by shielding the ruler from the masses. As discussed in previous chapters, the privilege to appear in front of the shogun was determined by status. By restricting access to the road, the regime decided who could observe the parading shogun. This strategy enabled the regime to emphasize the ruler's sacredness by ensconcing him and reminded the masses of their position on the social ladder.

⁴³⁹ For a discussion of the regulations concerning the appearance of the Nikkō highways during the passage of the shogunal cortege, See Chapter 2, section 3.2.

⁴⁴⁰ NSKS2:7 (205).

⁴⁴¹ See BFS2: 431

⁴⁴² Fukasawa, ed., *Iseki Takako Nikki*, 3:61.

Nevertheless, if concealment was a key strategy to strengthen shogunal authority, Tokugawa chieftains had equally to gain from exposing themselves to their subjects. In his study of the system of alternate attendance, Constantine Vaporis has argued that military processions traveling back and forth between Edo and the peripheries of the realm were “political acts” that helped daimyo consolidate their power.⁴⁴³ As a matter of fact, unlike rituals performed in enclosed spaces, processions enabled rulers to display their authority directly to the eyes of the masses for a considerable amount of time and over extended geographical areas. Because of their scale and splendor, military parades were moving embodiments of warrior authority that naturally attracted throngs of curious onlookers. Parading daimyo were conscious of the political significance of their corteges. Therefore, not only did they allow commoners to observe them, but they also resorted to all sorts of stratagems to awe and impress the onlookers. Like daimyo processions, the shogun’s cortege to Nikkō also functioned as a touring theater in which the regime could stage impressive demonstrations of power. Furthermore, shogunal processions to Nikkō were significantly larger in scale than daimyo parades, and unlike domainal lords, who regularly travelled between their territories and the shogunal capital, after the mid-1630s Tokugawa chieftains rarely left Edo. As a consequence, the unparalleled magnificence of the procession and the possibility for commoners to catch a rare glimpse of their ruler, made the Nikkō pilgrimage an even more enticing spectacle. For instance, on 1843/4/12 Kabee, who ran Warabi post station’s main inn (*honjin*), traveled to Hatogaya to see the shogun’s cortege marching toward Nikkō. According to Kabee “there was an incessant flow of people day and night” and “the procession was imposing beyond description.” Kabee also recorded that on the occasion of the shogun’s return to Edo a great number of people were traveling toward the Nikkō

⁴⁴³ Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 71.

highways to observe the cortege. For this reason, Kabee believed that Hatogaya and Kawaguchi, the two post-towns on the Nikkō onari michi road (fig.17) closest to the shogunal capital, must have been very crowded and that local inns must have been fully booked.⁴⁴⁴ While Kabee traveled less than 10 miles to reach Hatogaya, other extant records indicate that commoners purposely came to Edo to observe the shogunal cortege from territories as far away as Echigo province (modern Niigata prefecture) in north-central Japan.⁴⁴⁵

The central regime understood the propagandistic value of the *shasan*. Hence, rather than completely barring commoners from observing the procession, the shogunate devised measures to regulate the masses' gaze. Decrees pertaining to who could watch the procession and in what way are characterized by a skillful balance between the strategies of concealment and disclosure. For instance, individuals living along the Nikkō highways were allowed to watch the shogunal cortege. Nevertheless, in residential areas women and children were required to stand underneath the eaves of their dwellings, while men were ordered to remain inside their houses and prostrate themselves on the floor at the shogun's passage. In other areas, commoners were ordered to stand about 30 feet away from the roadside trees, with women and children placed in the front and men positioned in the back.⁴⁴⁶ Onlookers were instructed "to do all things with discretion and, in particular, to behave properly and avoid speaking loudly." They were also prohibited from carrying edged tools of any type and from smoking tobacco. On the day of the shogun's passage the use of fire was forbidden, and meals had to be prepared the night before. Moreover, the shogunate did not indiscriminately allow everyone to observe the parading ruler and his

⁴⁴⁴ See Warabishishi Hensan Iinkai. *Warabishi no rekishi* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1967), 2:365.

⁴⁴⁵ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 108. See Appendix 1, fig. 16.

⁴⁴⁶ See NSKS2:7 (199).

retainers. The number of people watching the procession was regulated in order not to leave villages and post-towns completely unattended.⁴⁴⁷ Additionally, specific categories of people, including blind men (*zatō*), blind female shamisen players (*gozē*), and those who had renounced the world (*shukke*), were not permitted to observe the cortege.⁴⁴⁸ The regime threatened villages and post-towns with severe penalties, should those orders be ignored.⁴⁴⁹

The logic behind shogunal proclamations pertaining to the passage of the procession through villages and post-towns seems to derive from the view advocated by theorists such as Max Weber according to which political authority is rooted in the threat of violence and in coercion.⁴⁵⁰ Nevertheless, by the 1840s the Tokugawa regime understood that awing the masses with overwhelming demonstrations of power was not sufficient to preserve the status quo. Since the end of the 18th century sentiments of dissatisfaction and distrust increasingly characterized the attitudes of Tokugawa subjects toward their rulers, who were accused of being immoral and indifferent to the needs of the people. In the specific context of the Tenpō period, widespread famines caused by bad weather and failed crops, combined with a sense of irritation toward the excesses of the previous shogun Ienari and his regime's unwillingness to provide relief to the people, produced waves of peasant uprisings and urban disturbances. A famous instance of popular discontent was the riot led by Ōshio Heihachirō, an Osaka-based samurai-administrator, that took place in 1837, only months before Ieyoshi's succession to the shogunal throne. Accompanied by a few hundred supporters from both the warrior and civil strata of society,

⁴⁴⁷ NSKS2:7 (206).

⁴⁴⁸ See NSKS2:7 (199). See footnote 415.

⁴⁴⁹ See NSKS2:7 (206).

⁴⁵⁰ See William Outhwaite and Tom Bottomore, eds., *The Blackwell Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Social Thought* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 504-505.

Ōshio, who blamed Tokugawa officials for the disasters plaguing Japan, started a fire that razed over 3,000 houses and destroyed between 30,000 and 40,000 *koku* of rice.⁴⁵¹ Even though popular insurrections, including the one led by Ōshio, were eventually suppressed by Tokugawa forces and none of them seriously threatened shogunal power, the growing sense of estrangement of the masses from their administrators remained an undeniable reality.⁴⁵²

Ieyoshi and his cabinet strove to restore Tokugawa subjects' faith in their rulers by capitalizing on the idea of "benevolent rule" (*jinsei*), i.e. a government led by a just and virtuous leader (*meikun*), whose policies and actions were driven first and foremost by his concern for the well-being of his subjects. The construct of the shogun as a merciful and enlightened ruler was not a new one. On the contrary, it was a long-standing pillar of the ideology underlying the early modern political system, which derived most of its tenets from Confucian philosophy.⁴⁵³ According to Confucius' teachings, benevolence (*jin*), an essential quality of the ethical being, was the very reason why a ruler was legitimized in his role. As a matter of fact, Confucius posited that, though asymmetrical, the obligations between the ruler and his subjects were mutual. In other words, to preserve a harmonious society, the ruled were naturally expected to obey and follow the rulers, but, at the same time, those in positions of power had to protect and show concern for their subjects.⁴⁵⁴ Moreover, a successful ruler was expected to be benevolent,

⁴⁵¹ See Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 249-50. For an overview of peasant riots in late Tokugawa Japan, see Stephen Vlastos. *Peasant Protests and Uprisings in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 72-91. For an account of Ōshio Heihachirō's revolt in 1837, see Ivan Morris. *The Nobility of Failure. Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan*. (Clinton, Massachusetts: Meridian, 1975): 180-216.

⁴⁵² For a discussion of uprisings and internal instability in the late Edo period see Chapter 1, section 4.3.

⁴⁵³ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 23.

⁴⁵⁴ See Stephan Feuchtwang, "Chinese religions," in *Religions in the Modern World: Traditions and Transformations*, eds. Linda Woodhead, Hiroko Kawakami, et al. (London: Routledge, 2016), 146; Paul R. Goldin. *Confucianism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 15-19.

because, due to his privileged role, he had the power to shape the conduct of his subjects.⁴⁵⁵ Tokugawa ideologues also adopted the Confucian notion of the “mandate of Heaven” (*tenmei*), according to which the ruler derived his authority directly from Heaven, which had selected him as the chosen one. Since the Heavenly way (*tendō*) was aligned with moral order, an unjust and unvirtuous ruler would naturally cause disaster in his realm. To restore morality and social harmony, therefore, Heaven would deprive inept rulers of his mandate. By the same token, a ruler’s virtuous administration was a direct manifestation of Heaven’s will. Therefore, subservience to the ruler essentially coincided with submission to the Heavenly way.⁴⁵⁶

Historians have argued that the idea of “benevolent rule” did not circulate exclusively among Tokugawa scholars, but that it was a common belief also for the lower strata of society.⁴⁵⁷ For example, in his *Seji kenbunroku*, an account and critique of Tokugawa society composed in 1816, Buyō Inshi wrote:

The heart of Heaven is benevolence. It is said too that the gods and the buddhas are embodiment of mercy. Thus benevolent government conforms to the Way of Heaven and to the hearts of gods and buddhas...If the ruler represents Heaven by punishing that which Heaven hates and by blessing that on which it bestows pity, all the gods of Heaven and Earth, all the buddhas and bodhisattvas will gather around him and offer their protection...If the ruler shows benevolence and virtue, the people will all cleave to him, they will unfurl their brow and offer felicitations for ten thousand years...In the government of the present world, there is nothing to make people joyful. Rulers institute despotic governments, and they do not realize that this causes the populace to suffer hardship and torment, nor do they realize that the people are forced to scatter, starve, and

⁴⁵⁵ See Goldin, *Confucianism*, 24.

⁴⁵⁶ See Herman Ooms. “Neo-Confucianism and the Formation of Early Tokugawa Ideology: Contours of a Problem,” in *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture*, ed. Peter Nosco (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), 46-47. It should be remembered that, unlike their Chinese counterparts, Tokugawa ideologues had to confront the issue of the duality between the shogun and the emperor in regard to who had the “mandate of heaven” and, hence, the right to rule. Hayashi Gahō, for instance, argued that the imperial institution had lost its mandate to the warrior houses already in the 14th century during the reign of Emperor Godaigo because of the monarch’s ineptitude; Arai Hakuseki, instead, contended that with the victory at Sekigahara in 1600 Tokugawa Ieyasu had received the “mandate of Heaven” and for this reason he and his successors were the legitimate rulers of the country. See Ooms. *Tokugawa Ideology*, 163-67.

⁴⁵⁷ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 23.

collapse in death. Consequently windstorms, floods, earthquakes, fire, famine, and epidemics arise; descendants may have short lives, rupturing their ancestors' bloodline; and various types of disasters may occur as well, but the men who rule provinces and domains as daimyo do not know the origin of these problems...The destitute no longer benefit from the state's compassion. Stories are passed down of the shogunate's benevolent governance at the beginning of the Tokugawa rule, but even though rulers are held to be benevolent also today, there is no concrete evidence of it.⁴⁵⁸

Buyō belonged to the warrior class, but his account is believed to be reflective of a widely shared worldview.⁴⁵⁹ Moreover, while the historical context surrounding the *Seji kenbunroku* differs significantly from that of the Tenpō years, Buyō's remarks suggest that, as an ideology, benevolent rule continued to gain traction despite the masses' dissatisfaction toward their rulers. Therefore, as a newly-appointed shogun, Ieyoshi was presented with the chance to distance himself from his father's policies and restore the public image of the regime by rebranding himself as an enlightened ruler.⁴⁶⁰ Nonetheless, as Fukaya Katsumi first pointed out, rather than an argument univocally imposed by those in power onto their subjects, the benevolent rule ideology was closer to a contract between the people and the ruler. As a consequence, a ruler was "enlightened" only if his subjects acknowledged him as such.⁴⁶¹ In this light, the benevolent rule ideology can be interpreted through the framework of the so-called "theories of consensual power," according to which authority is based not on coercion, but on some level of cooperation.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁸Buyō Inshi, *Lust, Commerce, and Corruption: an Account of What I Have Seen and Heard*, trans. Mark Teeuwen, Kate Wildman Nakai, Fumiko Miyazaki, Anne Walthall, and John Breen (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 139-40, 143.

⁴⁵⁹ See *ibid.*, 4.

⁴⁶⁰ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 23.

⁴⁶¹ See *ibid.*

⁴⁶² Major advocates of the theories of consensual power include Hannah Arendt, Talcott Parsons, and Berry Barnes. Theorists such as Anthony Giddens and Michael Foucault have developed theories that explain power both in terms

The regime manipulated the shogunal procession to Nikkō in a twofold manner to persuade Tokugawa subjects of Ieyoshi's "*meikun*-ness." First, adopting a strategy somewhat reminiscent of the "carrot and stick" approach, the regime manufactured the illusion of a benevolent government by relaxing or abolishing altogether many of the strict rules it had recently imposed on post-towns and villages once the shogunal cortege was on the road. For instance, on 1843/4/13 Kawanago received an order from Mibu domainal authorities to tie dogs from the night of 4/14 to 4/15 and then again from the night of 4/18 to 4/19 so that the animals would not roam on the Nikkō road while the shogun was traveling. Then, on the following day, the village was informed that, in order not to produce smoke, from the early morning of 4/15 the use of fire was prohibited.⁴⁶³ The shogunate also issued decrees in order to regulate traffic and bar certain groups of people from observing the parade. Nevertheless, villages and post-towns' records reveal that after Ieyoshi's departure from Edo many of these regulations were either loosened or completely annulled. For instance, in his first-hand account of the pilgrimage, house doctor Tetsuka Gensen recorded that in compliance with the regime's orders post-towns and villages organized patrols to catch stray dogs. In Koganei, where Gensen was stationed, local authorities even dug a pit in which dogs were temporarily kept. On the night of 4/14, however, a proclamation arrived from Iwatsuki ordering that the dogs be released. Gensen also reported that, due to a shortage of food available for sale in post-towns and villages during the shogun's outbound journey, when the procession was returning to Edo, the regime decided to lift its ban on the use of fires in order not to cause distress to Tokugawa retainers and other individuals

of conflict and consent. See Keith Dowding, ed., *Encyclopedia of Power* (Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, 2011), 134-37.

⁴⁶³ See NSKS2:7 (223).

escorting the shoguns. As a result of the regime's change of heart, vendors were now allowed to prepare and sell food until moments before the passage of the shogun's palanquin.⁴⁶⁴ A similar change in the regulation pertaining to the use of fire and the sale of food can also be found in Kawanago's official registries. According to a memo of an order received by local authorities on 4/16, street vendors in post-towns and villages were permitted to freely sell food and hot water for tea. In open or inhabited areas vendors were even allowed to set up a temporary shed to be used as a kitchen. Moreover, as long as vendors used charcoal to cook, they did not have to put out their fires or conceal their goods during the passage of the shogun's palanquin. The order also specified that in open areas, sellers were allowed to display sweets and other snacks for sale on woven mats as long as they did not interfere with the traffic.⁴⁶⁵

Regulations regarding traffic and onlookers were also loosened after Ieyoshi's departure from Edo. For instance, according to Gensen, while the ban on certain categories of individuals approaching the road was enforced within the limits of post-towns, in rural areas authorities turned a blind eye. Moreover, Gensen reported that in Koganei two or three days before the arrival of the shogun people who were not conducting pilgrimage-related business were prevented from using the Nikkō roads. Nonetheless, traffic restrictions were eventually loosened because Koganei authorities had heard that in Iwatsuki big crowds of onlookers gathered at the sides of the road to observe the procession and that the shogun was pleased by this attention.

⁴⁶⁴ See NSKS2:8 (264).

⁴⁶⁵ See NSKS2:7 (227-28).

Gensen also recorded that during the shogun's return trip rules were further relaxed so that people who were traveling toward the Nikkō road to see the parade did not get turned away.⁴⁶⁶

To be sure, it is difficult to ascertain whether the regime premeditated the loosening of regulations all along or if decisions were taken as the shogun travelled toward Nikkō. Moreover, at times the shogunate was forced to reconsider some of its decrees not so much by choice, but because their implementation could severely hinder the regime's agenda. For instance, the shogunate decided to relax regulations pertaining to the use of fire and the sale of food in post-towns and villages to prevent shogunal attendants and laborers from starving. While the presence of street vendors and the smoke caused by the preparation of food might have spoiled the solemn atmosphere the regime strove to create in post-towns and villages at the passage of the shogunal palanquin, failure to properly feed his subjects would have severely harmed the shogun's reputation as a benevolent ruler. In this case, contrary to Machiavelli's precepts, the Tokugawa regime believed that it is better to be loved more than feared, if one of the two has to be wanting.⁴⁶⁷

In other cases, regulations were issued not to be thoroughly enforced, but rather to create the illusion of a severe and unbending regime. As Luke Roberts has argued, Tokugawa political space was in fact articulated into a formal "exterior" (*omote*), in which subjects performed subservience to their overlords' demands, and an informal "interior" (*uchi*), in which authority was negotiated rather than absolute. Rather than a sign of the shogunate's political limits, this was a conscious and coherent strategy to ensure the stability of the regime. Complying with the

⁴⁶⁶ Gensen's claim is also supported by Kawanago village registries. According to this source, while during the shogun's outbound trip people were barred from watching the procession, at the time of the shogun's return to Edo intendant Seki Yasuemon lifted this prohibition. See NSKS2:8 (264).

⁴⁶⁷ See Nicolò Machiavelli, *The Prince* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 59.

protocol of the exterior was the foundation of the alliance between the periphery (domainal lords) and the center (the shogun). Within the interior, however, subjects enjoyed relative independence and were often allowed to break some rules as long as they proved capable of keeping up appearances. The shogunate, however, showed its teeth when subjects did not prove able to “perform” a subservient behavior or openly defied Tokugawa authority thus causing disruption. Sources suggest that the exterior/interior dichotomy also informed the way in which power relations played out in the context of the Nikkō pilgrimage. For instance, according to Gensen, some decrees issued by the shogunate to Koganei post-town such as the one ordering the installation of staggered fences to block access from side roads were “just for appearance and were not enforced in a particularly strict fashion” (*otaihō nomi ni te, kakubetsu ni kibishiku ha gozanaku sōrō*).⁴⁶⁸

Whether or not the shogunate had the ability to back up its decrees with action, the “carrot and stick” strategy adopted by the regime on the occasion of Ieyoshi’s pilgrimage to Nikkō unequivocally aimed at emphasizing the shogun’s merciful nature. As a matter of fact, shortly after Ieyoshi’s return to Edo, shogunal intendant Seki Yasuemon issued a notice to all post-towns and villages located along the shogunal route to Nikkō, in which he explained that complying with “the shogun’s exceptionally magnanimous orders” (*kakubetsu kan’yū no gosata*), the regime had relaxed regulations concerning traffic on the Nikkō highways during the pilgrimage and, for this reason, street vendors and other individuals who had broken the law by standing at the sides of the road were not punished. Seki also explained that during the pilgrimage everyone behaved properly and revered the ruler because of his forbearance, and, as a

⁴⁶⁸ NSKS2:8 (264).

result, the *shasan* was completed without a hitch.⁴⁶⁹ It goes without saying that, since Seki was a shogunal official, this notice tells us more about how the regime manipulated the *shasan* to carry out its ideological agenda than it does about the real reasons behind the loosening of regulations or about the ways in which commoners understood the regime's behavior. It is difficult to say to what extent the shogunate's efforts to build a connection between the sudden relaxation of rules and Ieyoshi's mercifulness were successful; however, sources suggest that the regime's strategy convinced some individuals. For instance, in his account of the pilgrimage Gensen stated that the regime turned a blind eye on onlookers unlawfully observing the procession because of "the shogun's exceptional generosity" (*koto no hoka gokan 'yū*).⁴⁷⁰

The second strategy that the regime adopted to rehabilitate its public image consisted of heightening Tokugawa subjects' sense of attachment to their ruler by staging demonstrations of shogunal generosity, including the distribution of money and rewards to onlookers gathered at the sides of the Nikkō highways during Ieyoshi's trip. For instance, according to Gensen's account, two residents of Koganei – a certain Kohei, "who lived in the depths of misery," and his daughter Iku, "who was a widow and respected her parents" – were summoned to the presence of the shogun and received seven pieces of silver. In addition to this monetary award, Kohei was also granted a lifetime rice allowance. Likewise, a certain Tomokichi of Shimoishibashi village received five pieces of silver because the shogun had heard that "he was extremely poor and, despite his young age, he diligently worked the land and was respectful toward his mother."⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁹ NSKS2:7 (245-46).

⁴⁷⁰ NSKS2:8 (264).

⁴⁷¹ NSKS2:8 (265).

Shogunal accounts of the pilgrimage emphasize the unpremeditated nature of Ieyoshi's donations to his subjects. According to the *Tokugawa Jikki*, when the shogun was traveling to Nikkō "tens of thousands of people" from villages located in the proximity of the road came together to see the procession. Among them there were "extremely old people whose backs were bent forward" and "many aged men and women with white disheveled hair." The shogun "was moved" (*awaremase tamahi*) by their sight and asked his officials to investigate about the onlookers' age. Then, when the shogun was returning to Edo, men and women aged 90 years and over were summoned to the ruler's presence and were granted a monthly rice allowance. Ieyoshi also distributed silver to "elderly men who had lost their wives and children, who were destitute of means of livelihood, and who were starving;" to "those who demonstrated profound devotion toward their parents;" and to "those whose conduct was particularly hardworking and sincere." Moreover, shogunal chronicles report that during his journey the shogun granted "one-time awards" (*rinji no tamamono*) to laborers carrying luggage and palanquins.⁴⁷²

Nevertheless, more impartial accounts of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage suggest that the encounters between the ruler and his subjects were arranged beforehand. According to Tetsuka Gensen before the pilgrimage shogunal officials conducted secret investigations (*onmitsu*) to identify elderly, praiseworthy, filial, and poverty-stricken subjects. Those individuals who met the criteria set by the regime were ordered to appear in front of the shogun at the moment of his passage through Koganei.⁴⁷³ Similar accounts can also be found in official registries compiled by village authorities. For instance, the headman of Shinsomeya village (present-day Saitama prefecture) reported that in 1843/3 shogunal officials visited villages surrounding Daimon post-

⁴⁷² ZTJ49: 494-95.

⁴⁷³ See NSKS2: 8 (264).

town to select subjects who would receive donations.⁴⁷⁴ As Tsubakida Yukiko has pointed out, awardees were kept in the dark until hours before the shogun's arrival. For instance, residents of Shinsomeya village, who met Ieyoshi on 4/21, were informed that they would receive donations from the shogun only one day in advance. In addition to ensuring that the awardees were indeed deserving of a donation, by conducting investigation in secret, the regime hoped to heighten the sense of astonishment of onlookers gathered at the sides of the road and hence their attachment toward the ruler.⁴⁷⁵ That the donations were staged performances devised to achieve propagandistic aims is evidenced by the fact that the regime went to great lengths to ensure that the encounters between the shogun and his subjects took place publicly. For example, Shinsomeya's awardees missed the shogun's palanquin twice - first in Hizako and then in Totsuka - because many of them could not walk fast enough due to their age. To solve this problem and implement its strategy, the shogunate ordered transportation of the elderly in a palanquin so that the awardees were able to finally meet the shogun in Obuchi village.⁴⁷⁶ Furthermore, the distribution of money and awards was not sporadic. On the contrary it occurred repeatedly and systematically throughout Ieyoshi's travel over the Nikkō highways. For instance, the *Yūgeien zuhitsu*, a collection of miscellaneous writings compiled by bannerman Kawaji Toshiakira, who accompanied Ieyoshi to Nikkō in 1843, reports 81 instances of donations made by the shogun to Tokugawa subjects during the pilgrimage. Of these roughly 58% took place outside Tokugawa territories.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁴ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 100.

⁴⁷⁵ See *ibid.*, 101.

⁴⁷⁶ See *ibid.*

⁴⁷⁷ This percentage is based on Tsubakida's perusal of Kawaji's diary, according to which 21 donations occurred in the Nikkō dominion, 8 in Utsunomiya domain, 3 in Sakura domain, 2 in Yūki domain, 1 in Sekiyado domain, 3 in Koga domain, 1 in Hitotsubashi lords' territories, 2 in Iwatsuki domain, 34 in Tokugawa lands, 1 in lands

Tangentially, sources suggest that after the pilgrimage had ended subjects who had received donations during the shogun's journey also received awards from local authorities. For instance, according to Gensen's account, in 1843/9 Koganei's Yohei and his daughter Iku and Shimoishibashi's Tomokichi and his family were requested to travel to Edo. The domain shouldered expenses for the villagers' trip and the purchase of new clothes. Once in the shogunal capital, the awardees were first received in an audience by Sakura domainal lord Hotta Masayoshi, and then, after being fed, they were bestowed with donations. In particular, Kohei, Iku, and Tomokichi received money and rice allowances. Tomokichi and Kohei also received a life-long 50% exemption from taxes.⁴⁷⁸ It is not clear whether these additional "performances" of generosity sponsored by domains were also regulated by the central regime, but, they certainly contributed to its political goals because they were triggered by the shogun's pilgrimage to Nikkō. At the same time, it can be argued that, by duplicating the regime's efforts and appropriating its ideology, daimyo also sought to implement their own political agendas, i.e. emphasizing that within the borders of a domain, subjects had to submit to the authority of the local government. In brief, as we have already seen in Chapter 2, while potentially advancing the central regime's agenda, the *shasan* could also benefit other political actors, thus serving as an important arena to mediate competing claims of authority.

The regime's manipulation of the *shasan* as a demonstration of the ruler's benevolence was not a peculiarity of the 1843 pilgrimage. For example, in conjunction with the shogun's progress to Nikkō, the regime customarily pardoned (*onsha*) certain categories of criminals in

administered by bannerment, and 5 in territories administered by more than one lord. See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 97-98.

⁴⁷⁸ See NSKS2:8 (266).

Edo as well as in other areas of the realm including Kyoto and Sado island.⁴⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the extent to which the shogunate strove to rehabilitate its public image during Ieyoshi's journey to Nikkō was exceptional. For instance, as Tsubakida Yukiko has pointed out, while there are records of shogunal donations to the masses during pilgrimages that occurred prior to 1843, Ieyoshi might have been the first shogun to systematically implement this practice. As a matter of fact, the distribution of monetary awards and rice allowances enacted by Ieyoshi is often described as "unheard of" in contemporary sources.⁴⁸⁰

Nonetheless, the *shasan* was not Ieyoshi's first attempt to manipulate ritual practices for political goals. For example, in 1841/12 Ieyoshi traveled to Ōji (present-day Kita district, Tokyo) to attend a demonstration of archery. While passing through Nishigahara the shogun suddenly felt the need to use a restroom, but since there was none available in his surroundings, he stopped at the house of Jirōkichi, a villager residing in that area. Ieyoshi was struck by the dilapidated conditions of the villager's dwelling. Therefore, upon conducting an investigation, the shogun found out that Jirōkichi's poor health prevented him from providing for his family, and that his wife Kiku struggled to make ends meet by working as a seamstress and selling snacks in the streets. Moved with compassion, Ieyoshi and his retainers donated money to the couple and granted them a life-long rice allowance. As the anonymous author of the *Ukiyo no arisama*, who reported this episode in his work, noted, it is dubious that the shogun's encounter with Jirōkichi was accidental. As a matter of fact, when the shogun traveled, temporary restrooms were

⁴⁷⁹ See Ōishi, "Nikkō shasan no rekishiteki ichi," 124, 149-50, 171-72. Petty criminals were also pardoned on other felicitous occasions connected to the worship of Tōshōdaigongen, even though the shogun did not personally travel to Nikkō, including the installation of a bronze bell presented by the Korean king in 1643 or Ieyasu's 150th death anniversary in 1766. See Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan*, 102, 199 and Ōishi, "Nikkō shasan no rekishiteki ichi," 112.

⁴⁸⁰ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 106-108.

installed on his route and, even if it was true that no restroom was available in the area, shogunal attendants might have chosen a more proper dwelling to host the shogun. As in the case with shogunal donations implemented during the *shasan*, it is likely that Ieyoshi's decision to stop at a villager's house was one of Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni's "wiles" (*kanchi*) to stage a powerful demonstration of the shogun's benevolent rule.⁴⁸¹ In this light it is clear that Ieyoshi's behavior during the *shasan* was neither fortuitous nor isolated. On the contrary it was part of a conscious and articulated strategy to revamp the regime's reputation.

While emphasizing the shogun's merciful nature through the systematic distribution of awards, the regime also strove to heighten the sense of attachment of the masses toward their ruler by making Ieyoshi's presence more palpable. Sources reveal that the shogunate adopted several strategies to transform the shogun from a nebulous and esoteric entity into a concrete and relatable ruler. One of these strategies was the mode of transportation adopted by Ieyoshi during his journey. Like most of the warrior elite, Tokugawa chieftains customarily traveled in enclosed palanquins. Accounts of the 1843 pilgrimage, however, indicate that, while the palanquin remained the main means of transportation, Ieyoshi also traveled on horseback or on foot.⁴⁸² The timing for switching from one mode of transportation to another might not have been arbitrary. Constantine Vaporis has shown that men escorting domainal lords were ordered to "fix the line" - i.e. align the cortege, sort themselves out, and synchronize their step – moments before entering a post station or a castle town, "revealing the daimyo as political actor who wanted to impress

⁴⁸¹ See *ibid.*, 75-79.

⁴⁸² For instance, according to Kawaji Toshikara, Ieyoshi proceeded on foot or rode a horse every day for more than 1 *ri* (approximately 2.44 miles). Ōishi, "Nikkō shasan no rekishiteki ichi," 187. The average distanced covered by the shogunal cortege in a day ranged roughly from 19 to 29 miles. See Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*, 42.

the audience checking his appearance before stepping foot on stage.”⁴⁸³ By the same token, it is likely that the shogun purposely chose to get off his palanquin when approaching densely populated areas to increase his chances to be seen by his subjects. For example, shortly after exiting Edo castle Ieyoshi got off his palanquin and mounted a horse in Hongō (present-day Bunkyo ward, Tokyo), an area with a large number of religious buildings, samurai mansions, shops, and restaurants.⁴⁸⁴ If the purpose of marching on horseback was to connect with the masses by disclosing his figure, the shogun’s strategy proved successful. For instance, one bystander, Kijirō, who was able to see Ieyoshi parading through Edo, recorded in an account that Ieyoshi “looked indeed like an enlightened ruler” and that “he was approximately 50 years old, with a dark complexion, a long face, and a wide forehead.”⁴⁸⁵

The shogun adopted a similar strategy also on the Nikkō highways. For instance, on 4/15, after taking a short rest at Kizawa village, Ieyoshi entered Koganei post-town on foot.⁴⁸⁶ Furthermore, on the morning of 4/18, right before starting his return trip toward Edo, Ieyoshi walked from his residence on Mt. Nikkō to Hatsuishi post station, where he purchased numerous local products including potted plants, furniture, stationery, and dining trays for a total of 20 *ryō*.⁴⁸⁷ In addition to making himself visible to the eyes of the masses, through this unprecedented act, the shogun proactively engaged with his subjects displaying his human side,

⁴⁸³ Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 82.

⁴⁸⁴ See ZTJ 49: 490.

⁴⁸⁵ Manabu Ōishi, “Nikkō shasan no rekishiteki ichi,” 185-87.

⁴⁸⁶ See Oyamashishihensan iinkai, *Oyamashishi tsūshihen II kinsei* (Oyama: Oyamashi, 1986), 564.

⁴⁸⁷ This episode is reported in the *Shakke obansho nikki*, a diary kept by the Tōshōgū Shintō priests. For a detailed discussion of Ieyoshi’s purchases, see Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*,⁶⁴; Takanobu Senda, “Tenpō no Nikkō shasan gūsō,” *Dainikkō* 51, (1980): 66-68; Yoshio Funahashi, “Tenpō shasan jūnidai shōgun no kaimono (shokubutsu)kō,” *Dainikkō* 53, (1982): 34-37.

purchasing souvenirs like another traveler, and demonstrating his generosity by spending a considerable sum of money.⁴⁸⁸

On his way back to Edo, Ieyoshi had the occasion to fabricate other displays of benevolence. For example, on 4/18, before stopping at Utsunomiya castle for the night, Ieyoshi visited the castle town's Futarasan Shrine. The shogun admired some of the temple's prized possessions, including a *giboshi* (an ornamental finial used on railings and resembling an onion) that Ieyasu had presented to the temple in 1605. Impressed by the beauty of these treasures and having heard that the temple had been badly damaged by a fire the year before, Ieyoshi donated 100 pieces of silver.⁴⁸⁹ This episode suggests that secular commoners were not the sole target of the regime's make-over strategy.

Historians have pointed out that state rituals that occurred in the closing decades of the Edo period, including Ieyoshi's pilgrimage to Nikkō in 1843 and Iemochi's several journeys to Kyoto in the first half of the 1860s, signaled the start of a transition toward a more public idea of power and of a conscious attempt to transform rulers from vague and obscure political entities into "beings made of flesh and blood."⁴⁹⁰ Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 1, such efforts were implemented in a moment of profound political instability for the Tokugawa government, both on the domestic and international fronts. In this light, the regime's decision to resurrect rituals evoking a broad public resonance was not a random act. On the contrary it responded to a

⁴⁸⁸ Senda estimated that in 1980 20 *ryō* corresponded to about 800,000 yen (roughly between 3,100 and 4000 USD with the 1980 exchange rate). See Senda, "Tenpō no Nikkō shasan gūsō," 68.

⁴⁸⁹ See ZTJ 49:494.

⁴⁹⁰ Kusumi, *Bakumatsu no shōgun*, 149. Kusumi has argued that Iemochi's journey to Kyoto in 1863 was the first conscious attempt by the regime to make the shogun visible to the eyes of his subjects. By contrast, Tsubakida Yukiko believes that the regime had already manifested its intentions to recast the shogun as a relatable and widely known ruler during Ieyoshi's pilgrimage in 1843. See, Kusumi, *Bakumatsu no shogun*, 150 and Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 107.

precise strategy to consolidate and preserve Tokugawa power, because rituals are first and foremost symbolic actions that “give meaning to our world in part by linking the past to the present and the present to future” thus providing us with a sense of continuity.⁴⁹¹ At the same time rituals have also “innovatory potential” that can help “rulers who seek to distance their regimes from those of their predecessors” obtain “organizational distinctiveness.”⁴⁹² Through the implementation of the 1843 pilgrimage to Nikkō, which as we have seen combined traditional forms with novel elements, Ieyoshi and his cabinet strove to achieve both goals.

3. Rituals of sociability

As we have seen, the shogun’s physical journey from Edo to Nikkō and back, provided Tokugawa chieftains with an important chance for self-legitimization by enabling them to showcase an idealized version of the state to the eyes of their subjects. In the specific case of the 1843 pilgrimage, the shogun transformed his cortege into a traveling stage from which he demonstrated his splendor and mercifulness in hopes of healing the growing rift between the ruling classes and the ruled.

At the same time, the pilgrimage also allowed the shogun to validate his hegemonic position and preserve the status quo within the warrior elite. In point of fact, ritual practices performed during the shogun’s journey toward Nikkō and in the pilgrimage’s aftermath consistently aimed at perpetuating shogunal authority by reaffirming the bonds of loyalty and subordination that linked Tokugawa retainers to their overlords, by emphasizing the shogun’s

⁴⁹¹ Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, 11-12.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 19-20.

exclusive connection to the divine ancestor, and by transforming the pilgrimage into an ideological lesson on the history of the Tokugawa regime.

The ceremonies performed in the castles hosting the shogun during his outbound trip to Nikkō are perhaps the most straightforward example of the ways in which the pilgrimage served as a ritual arena in which the pact between the shogun and the daimyo that regulated Japan's early modern political system was validated and renewed.⁴⁹³ In the specific case of the 1843 pilgrimage, the ritual programs performed in Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya castles were essentially the same.⁴⁹⁴ Hence, I will first provide a generic description of the hosting castle rituals and then I will explore their meanings and implications.⁴⁹⁵

The shogun reached the hosting castle after a brief lunch break at the temples appointed to serve as rest areas. As a sign of courtesy and reverence toward their ruler, the hosting retainers traveled from their castles to the rest areas and waited for the shogun's arrival outside the temples' precincts. After greeting the shogun and observing him entering the temple, the castle lords returned to their residences to complete the preparations for their overlord's arrival. When news that the shogunal procession was approaching reached the castle town, the castle's gates were opened. The hosting daimyo - accompanied by his heir and his ministers - and the

⁴⁹³ For a discussion in Japanese of the palace rituals conducted in Iwatsuki on the occasion of Ieyoshi's journey to Nikkō, see Tanemura, "Tenpōki Nikkō shasan ni okeru shukujō girei to sōshaban," 73-96.

⁴⁹⁴ It should be noted that the program for the hosting castle rituals varied in time and that it became fixed in format in 1728. See Tanemura, "Tenpōki Nikkō shasan ni okeru shukujō girei to sōshaban," 87-88. One notable difference in the ritual programs implemented in the hosting castles in 1843 is that in Iwatsuki and Utsunomiya rituals were performed on the same day of the shogunal arrival (4/13 and 4/15 respectively), while in Koga they were performed the following day before the shogun's departure for Utsunomiya. As a matter of fact, 4/14 – the day of Ieyoshi's arrival in Koga – was an obligatory day of abstinence (*ohigara*), during which the shogun purified himself. See MTN16:484.

⁴⁹⁵ My description of the palace rituals is based on Master of Shogunal Ceremonies Sanada Yuki Yoshi's diary (SN), on Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni's diary (MTN), on shogunal direct retainer Ojima Tonomo no kami's chronicle (ON), and on the *Zoku Tokugawa Jikki* (ZTJ).

Tokugawa officials, who had arrived at the castle hours before to rehearse the ritual program, marched outside the castle to greet the shogun. Led by his top officials and close aides, the shogun entered the hosting castle and proceeded toward his temporary residence, which had been refurbished for the occasion. Once the shogun had settled down, the ritual program, which was carried out in the shogunal residence, began.

Rituals performed in the hosting castles in 1843 were roughly comprised of six phases. Of these, only the first three involved the direct participation of the shogun. During the first phase the hosting retainer and his heir appeared in the presence of the shogun to thank him, through the mediation of shogunal officials, for the gifts (*hairyōbutsu*) they had received, which included seasonal garments (*jifuku*), silver, and military paraphernalia. Next, the hosting daimyo and his heir presented, one after the other, cotton and swords to the shogun (*kenjōbutsu*). The master of shogunal ceremonies arranged the bundles of cotton on top of a golden stand and placed a catalog of the sword (*tachi mokuroku*) gifted by the daimyo on a tatami mat.⁴⁹⁶ At the shogun's command, the daimyo appeared in the room and prostrated himself before the shogun. The master of shogunal ceremonies announced the retainer's name and the senior councilor on duty conveyed this message to the shogun. Once the presentation was over, gifts were taken away and the process was repeated almost identically for the daimyo's heir.

⁴⁹⁶ On the occasion of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage to Nikkō, four masters of shogunal ceremonies took turns in overseeing hosting castles' rituals, i.e. Andō Nobuyori, Aoyama Yukishige, Matsudaira Chikayoshi, and Sanada Yukiyoishi. Andō, Aoyama, and Matsudaira held this office regularly (*hon'yaku*). Sanada, instead, served in this capacity only during the Nikkō pilgrimage (*kariyaku*). As we shall see later, the status of the hosting daimyo determined which Tokugawa officials served in the management and execution of the hosting castles' rituals. Nevertheless, customarily two masters of shogunal ceremonies were on duty during the rituals conducted in the hosting castle, one with the task of announcing the names of the participants to the shogun (*hirōyaku*) and the other assisting the hosting daimyo and his heir during the rituals (*kimoiri yaku*). See Tanemura, "Tenpōki Nikkō shasan ni okeru shukujō girei to sōshaban," 76, 86.

In the third phase of the hosting castle rituals, the shogun and the hosting daimyo took part in the so-called “ceremony of the three rounds of sake” (*gosankon no gi* or *shikisankon*). First, shogunal pages arranged four stands (*sakazukidai*) containing earthenware sake cups (*kawarake*) and vessels containing sake (*oshaku* and *okuwae*), as well as several trays filled with various types of snacks (*ohikiwatashi*, *ozōni*, and *osuimono*). Unfortunately, extant records of the rituals performed in the hosting castles in 1843 do not specify the exact composition of the food trays. Nevertheless, since the *sankon* ceremony was often performed during Ashikaga (1336-1573) and Tokugawa shogunal visitations to retainers’ residences (*onari*), a perusal of other sources can provide us with a rough idea of what kind of foods were served during Ieyoshi’s visit.⁴⁹⁷ For instance, the *Shichi no zen jūkyūkon no maki* (“Seven Trays and Nineteen Rounds of Drinks”), an Edo period painted scroll, depicts the *hikiwatashi* tray as made up of *konbu* seaweed, dried chestnuts (*kachiguri*), and dried abalone (*awabi*).⁴⁹⁸ As their names suggest, the *suimono* and the *ozōni* trays included a clear broth soup and a soup made of rice cake and other delicacies respectively. After the trays had been arranged, the shogun received a sake cup from one of the pages on duty. Then, the hosting daimyo was summoned in the room where the ritual was taking place. The daimyo approached the shogun, who offered him his sake cup. The standard execution of the *sankon* ceremony prescribed that the host and his guest go through three rounds of drinking and that for one round they each sip sake three times.⁴⁹⁹ Records of the *sankon* ceremonies performed in Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya do not mention the exact

⁴⁹⁷ See Futaki, *Buke girei kakushiki no kenkyū*, 297 and Tokugawa Bijutsukan. *Tokugawa shōgun no onari* (Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan, 2012), 9.

⁴⁹⁸ See Eric Rath, *Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 67; for the content of the *hikiwatashi* tray, see also Futaki, *Buke girei kakushiki no kenkyū*, 444.

⁴⁹⁹ See Rath, *Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan*, 67.

number of sake cups shared by the shogun and his host; however, the presence of multiple sake cup stands and of vessels used to replenish sake cups suggests that they went through more than one round of drinks.

After having consumed the sake and the snacks, the hosting daimyo and the shogun exchanged swords. At the shogun's command, one of his chamberlains prepared the sword to be presented to the retainer. The chamberlain handed the sword to one of the senior councilors on duty, who presented it to the hosting daimyo. The daimyo, who was holding in his right hand the sake cup from which he had previously drunk, received the sword and moved away from the shogun, advancing toward one of the two masters of shogunal ceremonies overseeing the ritual. The master of shogunal ceremonies took the sake cup from the daimyo's hand, placed it on top of an open folding fan that he was holding, and then took the sword gifted by the shogun from the daimyo. Having his hands free, the daimyo removed the small sword (*chiisagatana*) he was wearing and put on the one he had been gifted by the shogun. Then, taking his cue from one of the shogunal officials, the daimyo appeared before the shogun and, after thanking him, he left the room. Subsequently, shogunal pages put away the ritual tools used for the *sankon*. The hosting daimyo concluded the ceremony by presenting in turn a sword to the shogun. After one of the masters of shogunal ceremonies had placed the sword on a tatami mat, the hosting daimyo appeared in the presence of the shogun one last time to thank his overlord and then withdrew for good. Finally, the shogun left the room, marking the conclusion of the *sankon* ritual.

The last three phases of the hosting castles' rituals included the presentation of gifts to the hosting daimyo and his heir on behalf of the shogun; the presentation of gifts to the daimyo's retainers on behalf of the shogun; and the presentation through a messenger of additional gifts for the shogun on behalf of the hosting daimyo. During these three phases a senior councilor

acted as the shogun's proxy. After the completion of the ritual program, the daimyo returned to his apartments, while the shogun and his attendants were served dinner in the shogunal residence. The next day, the hosting daimyo saw the shogun off at the castle's gates, and the cortege proceeded to the next stop.

The rituals conducted in Iwatsuki, Koga and Utsunomiya castles can be first and foremost understood as part of those demonstrations of hospitality and reverence (*chisō*) that Tokugawa subjects were expected to perform when hosting or greeting their overlords (see Chapter 2). At the same time, these rituals were also strategic devices meant to formalize the military and political alliance between Tokugawa chieftains and their retainers. This intention is manifested by the inclusion in the ritual programs of ceremonies such as the *sankon*. As previously mentioned, the *sankon* was often performed by Ashikaga and Tokugawa shoguns as part of the rituals implemented during a shogunal visit to a retainer's house (*onari*). In comparison to other rituals performed during the *onari*, the *sankon* was a relatively intimate practice, because unlike formal banquets, it took place in the shogun's private quarters and it involved a smaller number of participants.⁵⁰⁰ As a consequence, the somewhat private nature of the *sankon* ceremony enabled the hosting daimyo to come into direct contact with the shogun and heightened the retainer's sense of intimacy with his overlord. Moreover, the *sankon* involved the consumption of alcohol, which in Japanese thinking was considered a powerful medium to foster and solidify relationships.⁵⁰¹ The sense of unity between the shogun and his retainers was enhanced by the fact that they consumed sake by sharing the same cup. That the *sankon* was a ritual meant to

⁵⁰⁰ See Rath, *Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan*, 72; Futaki, *Buke girei kakushiki no kenkyū*, 297; Toyozō Satō, "Muromachi jidai no zōtō kentō ni tsuite," *Kinko Sōsho* 15 (March 1988): 324.

⁵⁰¹ See Michael Ashkenazi and Jeanne Jobb, *Food Culture in Japan* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2003), 145; Rath, *Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan*, 66.

solidify the relationship between the shogun and his retainers is further evidenced by the fact that already in the early modern period commoners adopted this ritual for their nuptial celebrations and that ceremonies modeled after it are still practiced today as part of traditional Shintō weddings.⁵⁰²

Other elements of the rituals performed in the hosting castles contributed to emphasizing the shogun's intimate relationship with his host. For example, as a sign of gratitude for their hospitality, the hosting daimyo and his heir customarily received seasonal garments (*jifuku*) that were chosen from the shogun's wardrobe. The personal nature of these gifts made them powerful symbols to cement the bond between the shogun and his host.⁵⁰³ The exchange of swords and the sharing of food also signified the renewal of the alliance between the shogun and his retainers and, at same time, they disclosed the martial origins of the hosting castles' rituals. The mutual presentation of swords helped formalize the power dynamics that regulated the relationship between the shogun and his host. Presenting the shogun with the utmost token of warrior's authority was tantamount to performing an act of obeisance through which the hosting daimyo symbolically offered his military power to his overlord. By reciprocating his retainer's gift with the same item, the shogun in turn acknowledged the daimyo's power and recognized his essential role in the administration of the realm.⁵⁰⁴ The sharing of food also reveals the military origins of the hosting castles' rituals. As a matter of fact, as early as the Heian period it was customary for

⁵⁰² See Rath, *Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan*, 71 and Noritake Kanzaki. "Sake in Japanese Food Culture no.1," *Food Forum Kikkoman*, April 2015, accessed on August 19, 2018. <https://www.kikkoman.com/en/foodforum/the-japanese-table/29-1.html>. In traditional weddings, the bride and the groom share a stack of three sake cups of varying sizes that are filled three times. This ceremony is known as *sansakudo*. See Haruhito Tsuchiya, *Nippon no shikitari. Customs of Japan*. (Tōkyō: IBC Publishing, 2013), 79.

⁵⁰³ See Tanemura, "Tenpōki Nikkō shasan ni okeru shukujō girei to sōshaban," 86.

⁵⁰⁴ See Satō, "Muromachi jidai no zōtō kentō ni tsuite," 320, 329.

warriors to toast with food and drinks before leaving for the battlefield.⁵⁰⁵ Moreover, the food items composing the various trays presented during the *sankon* ritual were not chosen for their culinary value, but they were selected because their names evoked either auspicious concepts or terms associated with martial culture.⁵⁰⁶ For instance, the *konbu* seaweed was often called *kobu*, which brought to mind the verb *yorokubu* (“to rejoice”). The flattened abalone (*uchi awabi*) was associated with warfare because the word “uchi” could also indicate the act of striking or smiting one’s enemy. Likewise, dried chestnuts (*kachiguri*) were served because *kachi* (“hulling” or “pounding”) was a homonym of the word “victory.”⁵⁰⁷ The *ozōni* soup— whose name literally translates to “a variety of simmered items” —was instead believed to provide those who consumed it with magical powers because its appearance evoked the simmered organs of the Buddhist King of Demons, Maō.⁵⁰⁸

In addition to consolidating Tokugawa authority through the symbolic renovation of the shogun-daimyo alliance, the hosting castle rituals also benefitted the central regime in a number of other ways. For instance, they contributed to perpetuating hierarchies of power supporting the Tokugawa political system because, much like the audiences taking place in Edo castle before Ieyoshi’s departure for Nikkō, the hosting castle rituals were largely regulated by status. As a consequence while the ritual programs performed in Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya were

⁵⁰⁵ See Rath, *Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan*, 69.

⁵⁰⁶ Eric Rath has remarked that, unlike drinks, the sharing of food during the *sankon* ceremony was mostly symbolic because many of the snacks presented on the trays were often inedible. For instance, foods such as the *konbu* seaweed, the dried abalone, and the dried chestnuts had to be soaked in water before being consumed. Participants therefore pretended to partake of the snacks and then hid them in the sleeves of their kimono. See Rath, *Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan*, 68-70.

⁵⁰⁷ See *ibid.*, 69.

⁵⁰⁸ See *ibid.*, 83-84.

essentially identical, details of the ceremonies including the type of gifts presented, their quantity, and their value as well as the rank and office of the shogunal attendants officiating the ceremonies varied according to the status of the hosting daimyo. For instance, while the sword presented by Ieyoshi to Junior Councilor Ōoka Tadakata had a value of 7 pieces of gold, the one presented to Senior Councilor Doi Toshitsura had a value of 20 pieces of gold.⁵⁰⁹ Likewise, in Iwatsuki and Utsunomiya a master of shogunal ceremonies announced the castle lords to the shogun, but in Koga, where the hosting daimyo was higher in office and rank, this role was fulfilled by a junior councilor.⁵¹⁰

Furthermore, because of their highly centralized nature, the hosting castle rituals also enabled the regime to emphasize and reaffirm the shogun's hegemonic position in the administration of the realm. From the arrangement of the ritual program to the organization of security measures, all aspects of the shogun's overnight stays in Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya castles were, in fact, decided and overseen by the central regime. For instance, as early as 1842/3/7 the hosting daimyo were informed that the organization of the banquet for the shogun in the three hosting castles would be coordinated by the shogunate and that the lords would be notified at a later time of what gifts to present.⁵¹¹ Shogunal audiences with the hosting lords were also pre-arranged in Edo. For instance, after attending numerous meetings with more experienced masters of shogunal ceremonies throughout 1842, Sanada Yukiyoishi began to practice his duties on the pilgrimage as provisional master of shogunal ceremonies in Edo castle

⁵⁰⁹ See MTN16:480, 488.

⁵¹⁰ For the status of the hosting lords, see Appendix 2, table 4.

⁵¹¹ See TR2:638.

on 1843/2/15.⁵¹² Castle rituals were also rehearsed in the hosting castles hours before the arrival of the shogun.⁵¹³ Interestingly enough, describing Ieyoshi's visit to Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya castles, shogunal direct retainer Ojima Tonomo no kami reported in his chronicle that all things were run "in the same fashion of Edo castle's Main Enceinte" (*gohonmaru no omomuki o motte*).⁵¹⁴

In principle during the overnight stay in the hosting castles, local daimyo played the part of the host while the shogun was a guest in his retainers' residence. Nevertheless, the shogunal visit was planned and executed in a way that somehow reversed these roles. As a matter of fact, the shogun sojourned in an independent residence expressly refurbished for the occasion (*oden*), which was built inside the castle and was equipped with private apartments for the shogun and his attendants and facilities including a kitchen, a bathroom, audience rooms, and offices.⁵¹⁵ Like Edo castle, the shogunal residence had an "exterior" (*omote*), where official ceremonies were conducted, and an "interior" (*oku*), where less formal business took place. To attend the ceremonies and meet the shogun, castle lords were forced to move from their lodgings to the shogunal residence, which became the central stage for the ritual performances. In this connection it is worth mentioning that Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni describes the hosting daimyo's physical journey from their quarters to the shogun's residence using the words *tojō* and

⁵¹² See SN, manuscript.

⁵¹³ Castle rituals were not rehearsed in Utsunomiya castle because of lack of time and because the castle lord was himself a master of shogunal ceremony and hence was very familiar in the ritual. See Tanemura, "Tenpōki Nikkō shasan ni okeru shukujō girei to sōshaban," 86.

⁵¹⁴ ON, manuscript.

⁵¹⁵ For a discussion in Japanese of the shogunal residences in the hosting castles see Akira Sasazaki, "Saigen. Mibujō Honmaru goden: Tokugawa shōgunke no Nikkō shasan to Mibu shukujō" *Dainikkō* 83, (2013): 70-93 and Masaumi, Fukai. "Tenpō no Nikkōshasan." in *Edo Jidai no komonjo o yomu. Tenpō no kaikaku*, eds. Makoto Takeuchi, Masaumi Fukai, and Naohiro Ōta (Tōkyō: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 2008), 33-70.

sanjō (“attendance at the castle”), which were also used to describe Tokugawa retainers’ duty to regularly appear in Edo castle. In brief, the hosting lords had minimal control over the rituals performed in their residences and, paradoxically, they became guests in their own houses.⁵¹⁶ Even though the shogun was undeniably on the move, the arrangement of the hosting castles’ rituals turned him into the center toward which everyone else, including the hosting daimyo, gravitated. As discussed in Chapter 1, movement was an essential part of the strategies through which the Tokugawa displayed their authority. In this light, the protocols adopted during the shogun’s stay in Iwatsuki, Koga, and Utsunomiya were part of the same strategy of power.

Rituals performed during Ieyoshi’s sojourn on Mount Nikkō also aimed at strengthening shogunal authority as evident in the ritual program and the shogun’s schedule from his arrival in Nikkō on 4/16 to his departure for Edo on 4/18.⁵¹⁷ On the morning of 4/16, while the shogun was heading from Utsunomiya castle to Ieyasu’s shrine, the imperial envoy (*reiheishi*), who had arrived in Nikkō the night before, delivered Shintō ritual prayers (*senmyō*) on behalf of the emperor and offered ritual purification wands (*onusa*) in the Tōshōgū.⁵¹⁸ Ieyoshi arrived in Nikkō in the late afternoon, after having lunch at Ryūzōji temple, a shogunal rest area located in

⁵¹⁶See, for example, MTN16: 483, 517.

⁵¹⁷ Unless otherwise specified the description of the rituals performed on Mt. Nikkō is based on MTN, ON, TR, ZTJ, and Suda, *Nikkō Tōshōgū*, 139.

⁵¹⁸ See Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*, 54. The *nusa* wands were presented when summoning a deity or when performing purification rites from sins (*tsumi*) and impurities (*kegare*). The *nusa* were usually made of linen or paper streamers and were attached to either a branch of sakaki – Shintō’s holy tree – or to a hexagonal or octagonal staff of unfinished wood. See Masashi Motosawa, “Ōnusa,” Encyclopedia of Shintō, Kokugakuin University, accessed August, 2019.

[http://k-
amc.kokugakuin.ac.jp/DM/dbSearchList.do;jsessionid=D1D9FF59C460A324724B5EA0BF73413A?class_name=col_eos&search_condition_type=1&db_search_condition_type=0&View=0&focus_type=0&startNo=1&searchFreeword=nusa&searchRangeType=0](http://k-
amc.kokugakuin.ac.jp/DM/dbSearchList.do;jsessionid=D1D9FF59C460A324724B5EA0BF73413A?class_name=co
l_eos&search_condition_type=1&db_search_condition_type=0&View=0&focus_type=0&startNo=1&searchFreewo
rd=nusa&searchRangeType=0)

the proximity of Ōsawa post-town.⁵¹⁹ As he approached his final destination, Ieyoshi observed the temporary guardhouses set up for the occasion and adorned with curtains bearing the family crests of the daimyo serving as Nikkō patrol, who were standing outside to welcome their overlord (fig.24). When he reached the bank of the Daiwa river, Ieyoshi got off his palanquin and crossed the Shinkyō – the sacred bridge whose usage was reserved to the shogun, to imperial envoys, and to Mt. Nikkō’s ascetic priests (*yamabushi*). Shogunal attendants who would be lodged on Mt. Nikkō during Ieyoshi’s stay also crossed the Daiwa using a temporary bridge (*karibashi*) built on the right side of the Shinkyō.⁵²⁰ Nikkō superintendents Inoue Masaoki and Nakabō Hirokaze as well as Mt. Nikkō’s clergy greeted the shogun. Then, Ieyoshi finally arrived at his private residence (*Nikkō honbō* or *goryokan*), where Tokugawa superintendents, inspectors, masters of shogunal ceremonies, and other retainers serving as Nikkō patrol were waiting to welcome him (fig.25).⁵²¹ Ii Naoaki greeted the shogun at edge of the carriage porch (*kurumayose*), and Ieyoshi, led by Senior Councilor Hotta Masayoshi, proceeded toward his private apartments. The rest of Ieyoshi’s day was spent in congratulatory audiences with the messengers dispatched by the Nikkō abbot (*jugō*) and his appointed successor (*shingū*), as well as by family members in Edo.

As the shogun settled down in the Honbō and concluded congratulatory audiences, ritual performances for Ieyasu’s death anniversary began in the Tōshōgū. First, the three portable shrines (*mikoshi*) holding the spirits of the three deities enshrined in the Tōshōgū –

⁵¹⁹ See MTN16: 493.

⁵²⁰ See Tokugawa Kinen Zaidan, *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shōgun shasan*, 53.

⁵²¹ The Nikkō Honbō was originally located West of the road leading to the Tōshōgū, but it was destroyed by a major fire in 1684. Yoshimune rebuilt it on the opposite side. A reviewing stand (*sajiki* or *omonomi*) was built on the side of the Honbō facing the road leading to Ieyasu’s shrine to allow the shogun to watch the procession of the three portable shrines housed in the Tōshōgū that took place in the morning of 4/17. See Suda, *Nikkō Tōshōgū*, 138.

Tōshōdaigongen, San'nōshin, and Matarajin – were moved from the *Shin'yosha* (Sacred Portable Shrine House) to the Dōtorii Gate (fig.26).⁵²² Then the *mikoshi* were transported from the Tōshōgū to Futarasan Shrine (also referred to as Shingū) in a ritual known as *yoinari togyo*. At this point the altars enshrining the three deities' spirits (*mitamaya*) were relocated from the portable shrines to Futarasan, where they spent the night.⁵²³

In the early hours of 4/17 shogunal officials gathered at the Honbō where they were offered rice with barley (*mugimeshi*) from the shogun.⁵²⁴ Then, Ieyoshi went through a round of audiences with top ranking retainers including the members of Gosanke cadet houses, Ii Naoaki, and Matsudaira Katsuyoshi. Ieyoshi also met with the imperial envoy Ayanokōji Arinaga, to whom he donated 50 pieces of silver and 10 seasonal garments as a reward and accorded permission to return to Kyoto.⁵²⁵ In the meantime, shogunal officials were inspecting the reviewing stand (*osajiki*) from which the shogun would observe the so-called “Thousand Soldiers’ Procession (*sen'nin musha gyōretsu*), a cortege composed of Mt. Nikkō’s representatives and parishioners that brought the portable shrines now housed at Futarasan back to the Tōshōgū.⁵²⁶ When shogunal officials received notice that the preparations for the procession had been completed, the shogun proceeded to the reviewing stand, accompanied by the members of Gosanke, by the daimyo of the Tamarinoma Hall (Ii Naoaki and Matsudaira

⁵²² This ritual was known as *goshōsei gosahō*.

⁵²³ See Suda, *Nikkō Tōshōgū*, 39. This ritual is known as *yoinarisai*.

⁵²⁴ See MTN16:496.

⁵²⁵ See MTN16:496 and ON, manuscript.

⁵²⁶ This is still practiced today as part of the Tōshōgū Shrine’s Grand Spring Festival (*Shunkirei taisai*) that takes place every year on May 17. A smaller procession is also held on October 18, following the Autumn Festival (*Taisai*). See Suda, *Nikkō Tōshōgū*, 139 and JTB Nihon Kōtsū Kōsha, *Must-see in Nikkō: illustrated* (Tōkyō: Nihon Kōtsū Kōsha Shuppan, 2006), 80.

Katsuyoshi), by senior and junior councilors, and by Grand Chamberlain Hori Chikashige. The rest of the shogunal attendants on Mt. Nikkō watched the procession from the main gate of the Honbō residence.⁵²⁷ The shogun observed the parade, which was heading from the Futarasan toward the *otabisho* (“travelers’ resting-place”) via the Kamishindō and Omotensandō roads. When the *mikoshi* passed by the reviewing stand, shogunal pages pulled up bamboo blinds to allow the shogun to enjoy the view. At the *otabisho* bearers temporarily put down the *mikoshi* to rest, and at this point the shogun left the stand. The shogun appeared again when the cortege resumed its journey by heading back through the Omotesando road.⁵²⁸

Once the *mikoshi* returned to their original location, the shogun began his visit at the Tōshōgū. Ieyoshi boarded his palanquin (*nagae*) from the carriage porch in the Nikkō Honbō. He was accompanied by his top aides including Senior Councilors Mizuno Tadakuni, Doi Toshitsura, and Hotta Masayoshi; Grand Chamberlain Hori Chikashige; Junior Councilors Ōoka Tadakata, Hotta Masahira, and Endō Tanenori; and several other attendants, including masters of court ceremonies and inspectors. After passing through the Ishitorii gate, the Omotemon gate, and the Dōtorii gate (fig.26), Ieyoshi got off his palanquin and climbed the stairs that took him to the Yōmeimon gate (see fig.27). As the shogun passed through this gate, prayers were being offered in the Gomadō hall, sutra were being recited in the Honchidō hall, and Shintō music (*kagura*) was being performed in the Kaguraden hall. The procession accompanying the shogun dispersed at Yōmeimon gate, and the shogun proceeded toward the Shrine Main Hall (Honden) accompanied by his top aides. The members of the Gosanke were waiting near the Karamon gate’s staircase that led to the shrine’s worship halls. The shogun purified his hands by washing

⁵²⁷ See ON, manuscript.

⁵²⁸ See, ON, manuscript.

them as customary when visiting a shrine. Then he was welcomed at foot of the stairs of the Haiden hall by the Nikkō abbot.

Once inside the shrine's main building, the Nikkō abbot took a seat in the West side of the Haiden hall, while the shogun sat on the opposite side. Senior Councilor Mizuno brought in the record of the sword offered by Ieyoshi to Ieyasu, and the abbot's assistants, Dairakuin and Shūgakuin, placed it on a table in the Haiden (fig.28).⁵²⁹ At the same time, a sacred horse (*shinme*) was offered to Ieyasu near the Dōtorii gate.⁵³⁰ The shogun started his worshipping rituals while sitting on the *hizatsuki*, a mat the size of half a tatami (fig.29). The Nikkō abbot took the ritual wands, which the imperial envoy had offered the day before, and handed them over to one of his subordinates, who waved them over the shogun's head. At the same time, in the Haiden hall, the members of the Gosanke and the other daimyo allowed to attend the ceremony prostrated themselves. Once the shogun had completed this ritual, the members of the Gosanke presented their gifts to Ieyasu. Subsequently, the shogun, moved toward the inner sanctums (*naijin* and *nainaijin*), where the miniature shrine (*gūden*) housing Tōshōdaigongen's spirit (*shintai*) was located. Shogunal attendants rolled down bamboo blinds to conceal the shogun. Facing the miniature altar, the shogun worshipped the deity. Then, the shogun received sacred rice alcohol from Shūgakuin. After the shogun concluded the worshipping rituals, the members of the Gosanke were also summoned to the Heiden and were offered sake.

⁵²⁹ Dairakuin was the official in charge of all aspects of the Tōshōgū festivals. This office was established in 1617. Shūgakuin was the official in charge of organizing and supervising the academic life and teachings of the religious institutions of Mt.Nikkō. This position was established by Ieyasu's personal adviser, Tenkai, in 1654 as an assistant to the Nikkō abbot. See Nikkōshishi hensan iinkai, ed., *Nikkōshishi*, 2:310.

⁵³⁰ According to records the sword offered by Ieyoshi was made by Yasumitsu, a swordsmith of Bizen province; the sacred horse presented to Ieyasu was a ten-year-old, black-haired horse named Takaoka. See MTN16:508.

Subsequently, the shogun visited the *oku no in* (lit. “the rear shrine”), where Ieyasu’s tomb was located. The abbot’s appointed successor had gone there beforehand to complete the preparations. After passing the Sakashitamō, the shogun went up the long stone staircase and, when he arrived in the Okushahaiden Hall, he took a seat. Here with the help of the abbot’s successor he presented ritual foods (*shichigosanzen*) and offered incense to Ieyasu.

Subsequently, the shogun returned to the entrance of the Honden and headed to the Taiyūin - Iemitsu’s mausoleum - with the same attendants that had escorted him to the Tōshōgū. Worshipping rites for Iemitsu were somewhat similar to the ones performed for Ieyasu. Once the shogun completed the ritual performance at the Taiyūin, he returned to the Honbō, where he conducted congratulatory audiences with the Nikkō abbot and his successor, a messenger sent by his son Iesada, various representatives of Mt. Nikkō’s clergy, and the Nikkō superintendents. During the audiences, Ieyoshi distributed gifts as rewards for his retainers and meritorious actions by Mt. Nikkō’s clergy.

After completing the audiences, Ieyoshi engaged in some sightseeing (*goyūran*), visiting various landmarks located on the grounds of the Tōshōgū and the Taiyūin mausolea and of other religious institutions (e.g. the Kaisandō - a hall dedicated to Shōdōshōnin, the first priest to establish a temple in Nikkō; the Takinoo Shrine, the Futarasan Shrine, and Jakkōin temple). At this time the shogun was accompanied by Nikkō magistrate Inō, who acted as a guide, and by numerous other officials.

Finally, in the evening the shogun observed the *gōhanshiki* - literally “rice-forcing ceremony” – a ritual that took place in the Dairakuin bessho, a facility located within the precincts of the Tōshōgū. In this ceremony, which is also known as *Nikkōzeme*, participants were symbolically forced by *yamabushi* priests to consume large quantities of boiled rice accompanied

by side dishes such as smartweed (*tade*), red pepper (*tōgarashi*), and Japanese radish (*daikon*). About 30 shogunal officials including senior and junior councilors, superintendents, inspectors, shogunal guards, Confucian scholars, doctors, and shogunal painters participated in the ritual under Ieyoshi's watchful eyes. Participants sat holding bowls of rice and the priests, who stood in front of them, zealously encouraged them to eat while brandishing large long-stemmed pipes (*kiseru*) and sticks (*udegoro*) to enhance the feeling that participants were being coerced to consume the food. Participants also received a horned straw headband (*kinkō*), which symbolized that the wearer had been chosen as a recipient of divine favor.⁵³¹ The *gōhanshiki* ceremony concluded the ritual program for 4/17. The next day Ieyoshi started his return trip to Edo. As in the case with the outbound trip to Nikkō, the shogun stopped overnight in Utsunomiya, Koga, and Iwatsuki castles, but he performed no rituals.

In what ways did the rituals performed on Mt. Nikkō contribute to consolidating shogunal authority? First, like the ceremonies implemented in the hosting castles, Mt. Nikkō's rituals were designed to promote sociability and intensify the sense of unity between the shogun and his retainers. One way of pursuing these goals was the sharing of symbolically charged foods such as the *mugimeshi*, which was a staple of Ieyasu's diet.⁵³² Another one was the distribution by the shogun of gifts as rewards for his retainers' services, a practice that highlighted the magnanimous nature of Tokugawa rulers. The *gōhanshiki* ceremony performed on the evening of 4/17 was yet another occasion to solidify the bond that linked the shogun to his lieges. In this case, however, intimacy was fostered not so much through the joined participation in the ritual – Ieyoshi in fact merely watched his retainers partaking in the ceremony – but through the

⁵³¹ See Nihon Kōtsū Kōsha. *Must-see in Nikkō: illustrated* = *Nikkō-hen*, 28-29.

⁵³² See Lucy Seligman, "The History of Japanese cuisine," *Japan Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (April 1994): 170.

construction of the shogun as a paternal and benevolent figure observing his underlings enjoying local folkloric traditions.

Secondly, the visit to Mt. Nikkō also offered the shogun a chance to guide his retainers through a symbolic journey in the glorious history of the Tokugawa clan and government. Besides adding an element of leisure to the pilgrimage, the tour of Mt. Nikkō's landmarks conducted by Ieyoshi on 4/17 contributed to the implementation of the shogunate's ideological agenda. The sightseeing featured politically-charged attractions such as the Tōshōgū scrolls - which extolled the divine nature of Ieyasu and sanctioned the Tokugawa narrative of his deification - and the several donations adorning the Tōshōgū shrine, including the five-story pagoda dedicated by the Sakai clan of Obama (a *fudai* domain), the water basin offered by Nabeshima Katsushige of Saga (a *tozama* daimyo), and the bells and lanterns presented by the Korean and Ryukyuan missions to Japan as well as by the Dutch trading post in Nagasaki. These landmarks emphasized that the glory of Ieyasu was acknowledged and celebrated both domestically and internationally.⁵³³ Furthermore, the rituals entailing the moving and parading of the Tōshōgū's portable shrines evoked important moments in the life and afterlife of the regime's founder. For example, the transferal of the portable shrines from the Tōshōgū to the Futarasan on the evening of 4/16 symbolized the funeral procession from Sunpu castle, where Ieyasu had passed away in 1616, to Mt. Kunō, where he was first buried. The cortege parading the portable shrines from the Futarasan to the *otabisho* rest area on the next day was a symbolic re-enactment of Ieyasu's temporary enshrinement on Mt. Kunō. Finally, the returning of the portable shrines to

⁵³³ The five-story pagoda was originally donated by Sakai Tadakatsu - Obama domain's first daimyo - in 1650. The building burnt down in 1815 and was rebuilt in 1818 by the tenth lord of Obama, Sakai Tadayuki.

the Tōshōgū represented Ieyasu's final transferal to Nikkō in 1617.⁵³⁴ In this way, Tokugawa chieftains manipulated the pilgrimage to inculcate an idealized historical narrative in the minds of their subordinates. As Mircea Eliade has pointed out, the recreation through ritual action of historical moments and events had the regenerating power to make them appear as if they were taking place all over again.⁵³⁵

Thirdly, the rituals performed at the Tōshōgū on 4/17 also aimed at generating legitimacy for the incumbent shogun by highlighting his privileged connection to the regime's founder. As previously noted, only a handful of Tokugawa officials escorted Ieyoshi inside the shrine's Main hall (*Honden*), where the rituals of worship took place. Furthermore, when Ieyoshi entered the inner shrines to venerate Tōshōdaigongen's spirit, officials rolled down bamboo blinds, thus concealing the shogun and making it impossible even for the few retainers present in the hall to witness the rites. Capitalizing on the ideas of exclusivity and secrecy, the Tōshōgū rituals reinforced existing power hierarchies by maintaining that the shogun had the right to access the shrine's *sancta sanctorum* in the name of his supreme position. The rituals of worship were also meant to highlight the continuity of the Tokugawa clan and of the shogunal line by allowing the incumbent shogun to share ritual rice alcohol with the ancestor Ieyasu and to present him with swords, the ultimate embodiment of warrior power.

Finally, the Nikkō rituals were an important arena to reaffirm the relationship between the imperial court and the Tokugawa shogunate. As we have seen, on 4/16 the imperial envoy presented ritual items and prayers to Ieyasu on behalf of the emperor. Then, the next day, before heading back to Kyoto, he was received in audience by the shogun, who offered him gifts. The

⁵³⁴ See Suda, *Nikkō Tōshōgū*, 138.

⁵³⁵ See Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 108.

court's regular dispatching of an envoy to Nikkō bore particular significance for the shogunate because it represented an endorsement by the emperor of the Tōshōdaigongen faith and was, therefore, a source of political and cultural legitimacy.⁵³⁶ The fact that from 1654 onward the Nikkō abbot was chosen from among the members of the imperial family further tightened the connection between Edo and Kyoto. Likewise, the granting to the imperial envoy of a fixed income and of gifts during the audience conducted on 4/17, and the reviving and sponsoring by the shogunate of forsaken imperial customs such as the annual dispatching of an envoy to the Ise shrine also strengthened the ties between the shogunate and the court by promoting the image of a benevolent shogun that acted as a supporter of imperial interests.

4. Ritual continued: the aftermath of the Nikkō pilgrimage

Ieyoshi's return to Edo on 4/21 marked the official end of the shogun's journey to Nikkō. Nevertheless, the effects of the pilgrimage continued to be felt afterwards both in the shogunal capital and in the peripheries of the realm. To commemorate the successful completion of the shogunal visit to Ieyasu's shrine, the central regime organized a series of events, including congratulatory audiences, formal presentations of gifts and awards to meritorious subjects, and theatrical performances, that lasted for several months.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁶ The implications of the court's endorsement of the Tōshōdaigongen's faith are discussed at length in Chapter 1.

⁵³⁷ The *Tokugawa Reitenroku*'s compilers end their description of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage on 1843/6/11; however, according to Koganei post-town records, officials and other subjects involved in the pilgrimage were still receiving awards as late as the 9th intercalary month of 1843. When considering the pilgrimage's preparations and its aftermath as integral parts of the ritual, one could argue that the 1843 *shasan* extended for over two years and, therefore, was one among the lengthiest Tokugawa rituals. See TR2: 707; NSKS2:8 (266).

Festivities commenced on 4/21 with a musical performance (*ohayashi*) held in the Western Enceinte of the shogunal castle hours before Ieyoshi's arrival.⁵³⁸ The shogun reached his castle in the afternoon and right after settling down, he received in audience his heir, the heads of Gosankyō cadet branches (Tayasu, Hitotsubashi, and Shimizu), some of the members of the shogunal cabinet, various daimyo in attendance, and the messengers dispatched by the Tokugawa Owari and Kii lords. The next day all retainers were summoned to Edo castle (*sōshusshi*) to congratulate their overlord for having completed the pilgrimage. On this occasion, the shogunal heir, Iesada, presented his father with gifts.⁵³⁹ On 4/25 Ieyoshi held “face-to-face meetings” (*taigan*) with the Nikkō abbot and his successor, and with the members of the Gosanke houses who had returned from Nikkō. The shogun also received in audience (*omemie*) various retainers including *tamaritsume* daimyo Ii Naoaki and Matsudaira Katataka, master of shogunal ceremonies Sanada Yuki Yoshi, as well as masters of court ceremonies, patrol guards, and various *tozama* daimyo. On the same day the shogun distributed awards to some of his retainers who had played major roles in planning and executing the Nikkō pilgrimage. For instance, Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni, the mastermind behind Ieyoshi's journey to Nikkō, received a sword “for having served with exceptional efforts since the previous year” (*gosankei goyō kyonen irai kakubetsu honeori aitsutome*) and “as an expression of the shogun's joy for the pilgrimage's smooth implementation” (*bantan aitodokorinaku sumaserare gokietsu ni*

⁵³⁸ See TR2: 685.

⁵³⁹ The *Tokugawa Reitenroku* specifies the quantity of the gifts presented by Iesada to his father, but not their nature (see TR2: 687). Nonetheless, in the Japanese counting system numbers are almost always followed by classifiers that identify the type of object that is being counted. Judging from the classifiers, it can be assumed that Iesada presented his father with “two varieties” (*nishu*) of snacks (*sakana*) and “three loads” (*sanka*) of sake (*ontaru*). For comparison, see MTN16: 480.

oboshimeshi sōrō mune).⁵⁴⁰ Retainers also presented their overlord with gifts. Shogunal audiences and exchanges of presents continued through the first days of the fifth month: on 4/27 Ieyoshi received gifts from the Nikkō abbot and his successor; on 4/28 he met the members of the Gosankyō houses before their departure for Nikkō and offered them horses; on 5/3 the shogun had an audience with the imperial prince serving as the abbot of the Chion'in temple in Kyoto.

Starting on 5/2 the shogunate sponsored a four-day program of celebratory *nō* and *kyōgen* theater (*shuginō*).⁵⁴¹ Tokugawa officials, shogunal retainers, religious elites, and a number of Edo commoners were required to attend.⁵⁴² On 5/21, Ieyoshi was invited by his son Iesada to the Western Enceinte and treated to a banquet and a performance of *nō*. Then, on 5/27 the shogun returned the invitation and hosted the heir apparent in the castle's Main Enceinte. On this day officials that had accompanied the shogun to Nikkō were treated to a meal. Finally, on 6/11

⁵⁴⁰ TR2: 690-91. The sword gifted to Mizuno was made by Masaya of Bingo province and its value was 30 pieces of gold. For comparison, the sword gifted by Ieyoshi to Senior Councilor Doi Toshitsura in Koga castle on 1843/4/16 had a value of 20 pieces of gold.

⁵⁴¹ Collectively known until the beginning of the Meiji period as *sarugaku*, *nō* and *kyōgen* are two dramatic forms that developed in the fourteenth century. They both involve a combination of dialogues, singing, and dancing and are traditionally performed alternately on the same program, with *kyōgen* plays serving as a comic intermission to balance the more serious contents of the *nō*. For an introduction to *nō* and *kyōgen* theater, see Karen Brazell, ed. *Traditional Japanese Theater. An Anthology of Plays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 115-300 and Don Kenny, *A Kyogen Companion* (Tokyo: National Noh Theatre, 1999).

⁵⁴² The performances were nonconsecutive and took place on 5/2, 5/6, 5/9, and 5/11. Guests varied from day to day. For instance, on 5/2 the shogunate invited members of the members of Gosanke houses; the so-called "province-holding" (*kunimochi*) daimyo; retainers whose annual rice yield was above 10,000 koku and their heirs; certain categories of shogunal bannermen (*kōtai yoriai*); the master of court ceremonies of the Exterior; as well as a selected number of Edo commoners. On 5/6 instead Chion'in's abbot, the Nikkō abbot and his successor, Zōjōji's abbot, and other religious officials attended the performance; on 5/9 masters of court ceremonies, chiefs of shogunal personal guards, officials with a status above *omemie* and *hoi* (see Appendix 4); Confucian scholars, shogunal doctors, and officials of the Western Enceinte attended the performance; finally on 5/11 masters of court ceremonies, samurai officials overseeing domains' mansions in Edo (*rusuiyaku*), shogunal guards, retainers of the rank allowing shogunal audiences and above, retainers allowed to wear a *hoi*, certain categories of bannermen (*yoriai*), Confucian scholars, shogunal doctors, and those officials who had not been able to join on 5/2 or 5/9 were invited to watch the theatrical performance. See ZTJ49: 496-97.

Ieyoshi distributed awards and gifts to at least 105 retainers who had participated in the pilgrimage, including superintendents, inspectors, Edo keepers, construction officials, guards, intendents, secretaries, Confucian scholars, and poets.⁵⁴³

While formalizing the completion of the shogunal visit to Nikkō and celebrating the safe return of Ieyoshi to Edo, the events described above also fulfilled important political functions. As many of the rituals discussed in this chapter and in the previous ones, the commemorations devised by the central regime in the aftermath of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage aimed at reaffirming Tokugawa social order, at projecting an idealized image of the shogun as a benevolent ruler, and at promoting a shared identity as Tokugawa subjects across the social spectrum. For example, the offering on 1843/4/27 of ritual food to Tokugawa retainers that had escorted Ieyoshi to Nikkō was at one time a demonstration of the shogun's consideration for his underlings as well as a ritual act meant to nurture Tokugawa retainers' attachment to their overlord. Likewise, the distribution by the shogun of awards and gifts to officials involved in the pilgrimage projected the image of a kind-hearted ruler that acknowledged his subjects' services. Furthermore, all aspects of the ceremonial etiquette governing shogunal celebrations aimed at reinforcing the existing social order. For instance, the type of food served on 4/27 varied according to retainers' status. Those who did not have the privilege of shogunal audiences (*omemie ika*) were served steamed glutinous rice mixed with azuki beans (*sekihan*), while those with a status equal or above to *hoi* and those who were allowed to meet the shogun in audience (*hoi ijō omemie ijō*) received a more sophisticated meal (*goryōri*).⁵⁴⁴ By the same token, the quantity and type of

⁵⁴³ The names of the awardees are listed in TR2: 707-12. Gifts distributed by the shogun included seasonal garments (*jifuku*), gold and silver pieces, and textile rolls (*makimono*).

⁵⁴⁴ See TR2: 707. Tangentially, "red rice" is considered an auspicious food and it is often served on shrine festival days, birthdays, and other commemorative occasions.

presents offered to Ieyoshi by his retainers were determined by the givers' status and were decided by the central regime.⁵⁴⁵

The most emblematic case of the ways in which commemorative events for the completion of the Nikkō pilgrimage were devised to strengthen shogunal authority is perhaps the four-day program of *nō* and *kyōgen* plays held in Edo castle at the beginning of 1843/5.⁵⁴⁶ More than other Tokugawa-sponsored celebratory events these performances illustrated the regime's multipronged political agenda. First, the shogunate's control of *nō* repertoire, canon, and actors made this theatrical tradition a crucial tool for the regime's legitimization. Unlike other cultural forms adopted by the military elite, *nō* theater did not originate in an aristocratic setting.⁵⁴⁷ Nonetheless, immediately after its emergence in the 14th century, *nō* performers started to receive support from the warrior class. The third Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimitsu, was an enthusiastic patron of actors and playwrights Kan'ami Kiyotsugu and Zeami Motokiyo, who were canonized

⁵⁴⁵ A shogunal proclamation issued on the last day 3/1843 lists the type and quantity of gifts – organized by retainers' annual rice yield – to be presented on 1843/4/25 not only to the shogun, but also to the heir apparent Iesada, to Ieyoshi's legal wife (Gorenchūsama), and to Ienari's legal wife (Ichisama). See BFS2: 450-51.

⁵⁴⁶ The celebratory *nō* for Ieyoshi's pilgrimage was organized as follows. 1843/5/2: *Okina*, *Sanbasō*, *Nyoihōjū furyū* (ritual and celebratory pieces); *Yumiyawata*, *Yashima*, *Yuya*, *Kuzu*, *Yōrō* (*nō*); *Yahata no mae*, *Suzukibōchō* (*kyōgen*). 1843/5/6: *Okina*, *Sanbasō* (ritual and celebratory pieces); *Oimatsu*, *Tsunemasa*, *Hashitomi*, *Tanikō*, *Kinsatsu* (*nō*); *Ebisu Bishamon*; *Utsuozaru* (*kyōgen*); 1843/5/9: *Okina*, *Sanbasō* (ritual and celebratory pieces); *Kamo*, *Yorimasa*, *Kakitsubata*, *Kagekiyo*, *Kureha* (*nō*); *Futaribakama*, *Tsurigitsune* (*kyōgen*). 1843/5/11: *Okina*, *Sanbasō* (ritual and celebratory pieces); *Mekari*, *Kanehira*, *Higaki*, *Eboshiori*, *Iwafune* (*nō*); *Mochisake*, *Tsūen* (*kyōgen*). Records of the 1843 celebratory *nō* programs recorded in the *Zoku Tokugawa Jikki* and in the *Tokugawa Reitenroku* are generally consistent with each other, but there are some exceptions. For instance, the ZTJ does not mention the celebratory dance *Nyoihōjū furyū* performed on 5/2. ZTJ reports that on 5/2 a third *kyōgen* play, *Nasu*, was included in the program, but the TR does not mention it. The ZTJ also states that on 5/11 a play titled *Wakame* (和布) was performed in place of *Mekari* (和布刈) and *Tsuchiguruma* was performed in place of *Kanehira*. Due to the similar characters used for the titles *Mekari* and *Wakame*, it is likely that compilers of the ZTJ made a mistake or that the characters were mistakenly transcribed in the modern edition of the work. The ZTJ's record of the *nō* program for 5/11 also lacks information about the *kyōgen* plays performed on that day. See ZTJ49: 496-97 and TR2:695-706.

⁵⁴⁷ The origins of *nō* theater are to be found in forms popular entertainment that included pantomime and acrobatics as well as in rustic rites performed for rice planting (*dengaku*). See Thomas D. Looser, *Visioning Eternity. Aesthetics, Politics, and History in the Early Modern Noh Theater* (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2008), 16-17.

as the founders of *nō* during the Edo period. The association of *nō* with military governance grew stronger in the 16th century, when warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi organized actors in schools officially recognized by his regime, provided performers with stipends, and routinely included *nō* into the preparatory rituals carried out before a battle.⁵⁴⁸ Under the Tokugawa, the transformation of *nō* into a cultural form controlled by the central state was completed.⁵⁴⁹ Ieyasu demanded that the four heads of the schools established by Hideyoshi move to Sunpu castle, where he spent most of his time after stepping down from the shogunal throne. Under Ieyasu's son Hidetada, major *nō* actors recognized by the shogunate were granted rice stipends, lands on the grounds of Edo castle (where they were required to reside), as well as samurai status. In 1615 the shogunate designated *nō* as an official entertainment of the state (*shikigaku*) and incorporated it into the regime's ritual calendar.⁵⁵⁰ The Tokugawa regime also systematized *nō* repertoire by organizing plays into five main categories.⁵⁵¹ *Nō* teachings were jealously preserved by the head of the schools (*iemoto*) and transmitted secretly to their disciples under the regime's watch. Furthermore, any *nō* performance required – at least in theory - shogunal authorization.

⁵⁴⁸ The schools recognized by Hideyoshi were the Kanze, the Hōshō, the Konparu, and the Kongō and were collectively known as Yamato schools. A fifth official school, the Kita, was founded in 1619 with the approval of the shogunate. For Hideyoshi's incorporation of *nō* in the battlefield rituals, see Steven T. Brown. *Theatricalities of Power. The Cultural Politics of Noh* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 121.

⁵⁴⁹ Even though Tokugawa chieftains created a state-sanctioned version of *nō*, they were not the only ones to manipulate it as a political tool. Daimyo also took *nō* actors under their patronage in the domains. While most actors were affiliated with the schools recognized by the Tokugawa regime, there were also cases of daimyo-sponsored actors that operated outside the official Tokugawa order. See Looser, *Visioning Eternity*, 37.

⁵⁵⁰ See *ibid.*, 54-61.

⁵⁵¹ The first category of plays is the “god” type (*kami*), which involve sacred beings; the second one is the “warrior” type (*shuramono*), dealing with warfare; the third one is the “wig” type (*katsuramono*), involving a female protagonist; the fourth one included both “present-day plays” (*gendaimono*) – whose characters are realistic rather than supernatural beings – and the “madwoman” plays (*kyōjomonono*), in which a female protagonist becomes insane due to the loss of a lover or a child; the fifth category is the “final” or “demon” plays (*kiri* or *kichiku*), involving supernatural beings.

Consequently, from the 17th century onward opportunities for commoners to watch a *nō* play decreased significantly.⁵⁵² In this light, the regime's ability to oversee, sponsor, and dispense official performances of the state's most elevated theatrical art contributed to constructing an image of the shogun as a powerful ruler and as a privileged arbiter and gatekeeper of the realm's cultural traditions. Guests to Tokugawa-sponsored celebratory *nō* were not simply invited to attend the performance, but they were required to do so by shogunal proclamations.⁵⁵³ Moreover, the shogun had discretion over who was allowed to see what. Even though there were some overlaps, the programs offered in 1843 were never completely identical, and audiences varied according to the day. As a result, while the shogun had the privilege to attend the full range of the ritual *nō* performances, his subjects had only partial access to them.

Secondly, the inclusion of different social strata in the audiences invited to Edo castle aimed at fostering a sense of unity and shared identity by turning the celebratory *nō* into a collective experience in which Tokugawa subjects across the social spectrum congregated around the shogun. Additionally, the regime's decision to allow commoners to participate in the celebrations can be interpreted as yet another attempt to showcase the shogun's benevolent

⁵⁵² Two important occasions for commoners to watch *nō* during the Edo period were the "town-entering *nō*" (*machiiri nō*) and the subscription *nō* (*kanjin nō*). The former was a shogunate-sponsored event involving a *nō* program that lasted several days and that was performed on the grounds of Edo castle on the occasion of auspicious events. On certain days, selected commoners were invited to attend the performance and they received gifts from the shogunate. In this sense, the *nō* performances organized by the shogunate after Ieyoshi's return from Nikkō can be considered an instance of *machiiri nō*. "Subscription *nō*" (*kanjin nō*) were public performances held to collect funds for shrines and temples (mostly during the Muromachi period) or for *nō* schools in need for cash (a practice that became common in the Tokugawa period). *Kanjin nō* could also be performed to mark the height of an actor's career. When a school failed to receive proper authorization from the shogunate, performers might evade shogunal regulations by labeling the performance as *nō* practice session. See Looser, *Visioning Eternity*, 55 and Gerald Groemer, "Elite Culture for Common Audiences: *Machiiri Nō* and *Kanjin Nō* in the City of Edo," *Asian Theatre Journal* 15, no.2 (Autumn, 1998): 233.

⁵⁵³ See, for example, BFS2:456-57.

rule.⁵⁵⁴ Not only were commoners offered a rare chance to attend a *nō* performance and enter the shogun's residence, but they were also provided with snacks, rice alcohol, and monetary rewards.⁵⁵⁵ Interestingly enough, Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni reported in his diary that at the moment of distributing sweets to the crowd gathered in the castle's yard where the *nō* was being performed, the shogun demanded that the bamboo blinds concealing his body be rolled up so that he could observe the scene.⁵⁵⁶ This decision is at one time proof of the shogun's preoccupation with pleasing his subjects and of his attempt to further impress them by briefly disclosing himself to their eyes.⁵⁵⁷

Thirdly, in addition to increasing Tokugawa chieftains' cultural capital, celebratory *nō* performances held in the aftermath of the Nikkō pilgrimage served also as an important sounding board, so to speak, to disseminate messages conducive to the regime's ideological agenda. For instance, the ritual pieces *Okina* and *Sanbasō*, which opened the program on each of the four days, included songs, dances, and dialogues celebrating peace and prosperity across the land.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁴ Neither the *Tokugawa Reitenroku* nor the *Zoku Tokugawa Jikki* report the number of commoners attending celebratory *nō* at Edo castle in 1843. Nonetheless, figures are available for previous occurrences of the Nikkō pilgrimage. In 1649 about 3,000 commoners watched celebratory *nō* in Edo castle and in 1728 that number grew to 5,800. For reference, in 1721 501,394 commoners resided in Edo (see TJ40: 602 and TJ45:469). For statistics about Edo population see, Tōkyō-to Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan. *Zusho de miru Edo Tōkyō no sekai* (Tōkyō: Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan, 1998), 132.

⁵⁵⁵ See TR2: 693. Scholars have pointed out that during *machiiri nō* performances commoners were often unruly. For instance, in order not to seat on the gravel that covered the yard where the *nō* was performed, commoners often sneaked in pillows. Moreover, due to the lack of toilets, guests often ended up urinating on the castle's grounds. Shogunal authorities, however, excused the transgressors as a demonstration of benevolence. See Groemer, "Elite Culture for Common Audiences," 231-32 and Looser, *Visioning Eternity*, 246.

⁵⁵⁶ See MTN17:14.

⁵⁵⁷ It was a common practice during *machiiri nō* performances that bamboo blinds hiding the shogun be temporarily raised to allow commoners to get a glimpse of their overlord. See Looser, *Visioning Eternity*, 245.

⁵⁵⁸ *Okina* and *Sanbasō* are not really plays but are a mix of ritual songs, dances, and dialogues without a coherent plot. During the Edo period they were often performed at the start of a *nō* program and today they are included in special *nō* performances for the New Year or other auspicious events. Collectively they are known as *shikisanban* ("three ritual pieces"), due to the fact that before the 15th century they were performed together with a third piece titled *Chichi no jō*, which was later dropped. Scholars have offered numerous interpretations on the origins and

Likewise, *Yumiyawata* - a play written by playwright Zeami on the inauguration of Ashikaga Yoshinori (1429-1441) to the shogunal throne and performed on 1843/5/2, has been generally interpreted as a celebration of harmony in the realm and of Japan as a divine country.⁵⁵⁹ Some of the plots of plays selected for the celebratory programs such *Yuya* and *Tanikō* were developed around the theme of filial piety, an important pillar of Tokugawa ideology.⁵⁶⁰ Other plays touched on auspicious themes, warrior ethics, classical aspects of Japanese culture, and the celebration of the imperial institution of which the shogun was supposed to be the paramount champion.⁵⁶¹ It is worth noting that even though *nō* theater was part of the events performed to celebrate the successful completion of the Nikkō pilgrimage since the first occurrence of this ritual, programs changed over time.⁵⁶² Therefore it can be argued that the varying selection of plays reflected shifts in values or precise ideological goals.⁵⁶³ For example, the ritual pieces

significance of the *shikisanban*. For a discussion in English, see Noel J. Pinnington, "Interpreted origins: Muromachi interpretations of okina sarugaku," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 61, no.3 (1998): 492-518 and Susan M. Asai, *Nōmai Dance Drama. A Surviving Spirit of Medieval Japan* (Westport Connecticut; London: Greenwood Press, 1999), 98-99.

⁵⁵⁹ While the celebration of rulers is an evident theme developed in *Yumiyawata*, scholars disagree on whether Zeami wrote this play as a celebration of imperial rule or shogunal rule. See Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, 95-98 and Looser, *Visioning Eternity*, 19.

⁵⁶⁰ See Saowalak Suriyawongpaisal, "The Parent-Child Image in Noh Plays" Paper Presented at *Globalization, Localization, and Japanese Studies in the Asia-Pacific Region*, Chinese University of Hong Kong, September 2005, 231-244.
https://nichibun.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=pages_view_main&active_action=repository_view_main_item_detail&item_id=1290&item_no=1&page_id=41&block_id=63

⁵⁶¹ Examples are respectively the *kyōgen* play *Ebisu Bishamon*, featuring two of the seven "gods of fortune" (*shichifukujin*); the "warrior play" *Yashima*, which focuses on warrior Minamoto Yoshitsune (1159-89); the "wig play" *Hashitomi*, with its references to the Heian literary masterpiece *Genji Monogatari*; and the "god play" *Kinsatsu*, set in Kyoto's Fushimi Shrine and praising the emperor's benevolent rule.

⁵⁶² For a reference of celebratory *nō* performed after the completion of the first shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō see TJ39:126. Comparison of *nō* programs performed on the occasion of the shogunal pilgrimages to Nikkō is based on the *Tokugawa Jikki* and the *Zoku Tokugawa Jikki* (see TJ39:126, 434-35, 661; TJ40:13-16, 185-87, 269, 548, 602; TJ41:465-68; TJ45:469-71; TJ47:513-14; ZTJ49:496-97).

⁵⁶³ The use of theater for ideological purposes was not by any means a peculiarity of Tokugawa Japan. As discussed before, the Ashikaga shoguns manipulated *nō* to increase their legitimacy. Toyotomi Hideyoshi also appropriated *nō* for political purposes and went as far as commissioning his official chronicler, Ōmura Yūko, to compose ten

Okina and Sanbasō were included in the pilgrimage-related celebrations conducted in Edo castle in 1648 and from that time on they were routinely performed on the occasion of a shogunal visit to Nikkō.⁵⁶⁴ In the same year the shogunal chronicles mention for the first time that commoners attended pilgrimage-related *nō* performances in Edo castle.⁵⁶⁵ Moreover, in 1663 the celebratory program was expanded to four days, and its length remained unchanged through 1843.⁵⁶⁶ Under Yoshimune the selection of *nō* plays performed after the shogunal pilgrimage was revised and, as in the case with the hosting castles' rituals, the *nō* program of 1728 became the model for the pilgrimages of 1776 and 1843.⁵⁶⁷ The choice of ritual pieces promoting messages of national harmony and prosperity, the evolution of the celebratory *nō* into a performance that lasted several days, and the inclusion of commoners into the attending audiences suggest that the regime was trying to transform the Nikkō pilgrimage from a relatively private event into a large scale ritual as discussed in Chapter 1.

celebratory plays based on his life in which he played the part of his deified self. Hideyoshi also asked his retainers – including Tokugawa Ieyasu – to perform for him. Early modern European rulers also manipulated theater for political goals. An example is the so-called *ballet de cour* (court ballet), a composite theatrical art combining instrumental and vocal music, dialogue, acting, and dancing performed in France between the end of 16th century and throughout 17th century. The narrative plots of the *ballet de cour* were inspired by and celebrated major events in the life of the court or of the ruler and the king himself often held leading roles in the performance. See Brown, *Theatricalities of Power*, 120-2; Looser, *Visioning Eternity*, 24-27; and Marina Nordera, “Ballet de Cour” in *The Cambridge Companion to Ballet*, ed. Marion Kant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 19-31.

⁵⁶⁴ TJ40:548. According to the *Tokugawa Jikki*, Okina and Sanbasō were performed on Mt. Nikkō as part of the celebrations for the completion of Iemitsu's pilgrimage in 1636. See TJ40:13.

⁵⁶⁵ See TJ40: 548.

⁵⁶⁶ After his return from Nikkō, Ietsuna attended a performance of *bugaku* (court dance and music) in the Main Enceinte's Shiroshoin on 5/13. Celebratory *nō* plays were performed on 5/19, 5/27, 5/28, and 6/1. See TJ41:464-68.

⁵⁶⁷ Nikkō pilgrimage-related *nō* programs up to 1663 included plays such as *Takasago*, *Tamura*, *Toboku*, *Tatsuta*, *Bashō*, *Zegai*, *Michimori*, and *Nonomiya* that were not performed in later occurrences of the ritual. A possible difference among the programs offered in 1728, 1776, and 1843 is that the latter might have included an extra *kyōgen* play- *Nasu* – on the opening day of the celebratory performances (see footnote 546).

Lastly, while blurring social differences and promoting a sense of unity among Tokugawa subjects, the celebratory *nō* also worked in the opposite direction, i.e. reaffirming and reinforcing existing power hierarchies. The way in which the performances were devised from the point of view of spatial organization made the celebratory *nō* an embodiment of the idealized Tokugawa social order. Ieyoshi attended the performances sitting in the Ōhiroma Hall, the Main Enceinte's largest audience room, which directly faced the raised *nō* stage built in the castle's courtyard (figs.1 and 6). Pilgrimage-related sources do not specify the sitting arrangement of other participants; however, records of other *nō* performances held in Edo castle reveal that shogunal retainers sat in accordance with their status in the various chambers in the Ōhiroma Hall, that the members of the Gosanke houses observed the performance from behind or in the proximity of the *nō* stage, and that commoners watched the show from a fenced area in the castle's courtyard between the stage and the chambers of the Main Enceinte.⁵⁶⁸ In this spatial arrangement the shogun was the only member of the audience to have a complete and undisrupted view of the stage as well as full visual control on his subjects. The relative importance of Tokugawa retainers was reflected by each one's distance from the shogun, and in turn, by the quality of their view of the stage. The social gulf dividing commoners from military retainers was physically emphasized by the fact that unlike retainers, commoners observed the performance from an open, crowded, and fenced area that was located on a lower level with a quite limited view of the stage. In this way, while granted the privilege of attending a state performance in the headquarters of Tokugawa power, commoners were also reminded of their restricted access to political life and to the rituals of the state.⁵⁶⁹ In brief, rather than mere

⁵⁶⁸ See Looser, *Visioning Eternity*, 230.

⁵⁶⁹ See *ibid.*, 68-69, 228.

entertainment, the *nō* program sponsored by the shogunate evoked an idealized vision of society and of the hegemony of the central state and aimed at planting seeds of shared consciousness among Tokugawa subjects.⁵⁷⁰

To be sure, while shogunal chronicles mostly focus on celebratory events held in Edo castle, the repercussions of Ieyoshi's return from Nikkō were also felt in other parts of the shogunal capital and in the peripheries of the realm. In Edo, for example, special security measures implemented to protect the city during the shogun's absence were lifted, thus signaling that life was returning to normalcy.⁵⁷¹ In the peripheries the central regime allowed commoners to bid for cooking tools and left-over rice that were used in the shogunal kitchens built along the highways to Nikkō.⁵⁷² Facilities built on private lands along the route of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage were donated to the landowners, while those built on common lands became property of the villages or post-towns.⁵⁷³ Like the shogun, daimyo also distributed awards and gifts locally to subjects that had contributed to the implementation of the pilgrimage. For instance, Mibu domainal lord Torii Tadahiro presented monetary awards to Koganei and Shinden post-town officials as a sign of gratitude for helping Kawanago village carry out preparations for the shogun's passage.⁵⁷⁴ Tetsuka Gensen, who had served as a doctor in Koganei, traveled to Sakura

⁵⁷⁰ Whether commoners understood these messages and whether the attempts of the shogunate to impress and please them were successful is a complex matter and it will be touched on in the Conclusion.

⁵⁷¹ See, for example, BFS2: 455(1883).

⁵⁷² This was the case in Koganei where Intendant Mori Chikanosuke ordered that those interested in purchasing items come to the post-town on 1843/4/22. See NSKS2:7 (234, 265).

⁵⁷³ See NSKS2:8 (265).

⁵⁷⁴ See NSKS2:7 (248). It is worth noting that in this specific case, Mibu's donation crossed the traditional boundaries of daimyo authority because both Koganei and Shinden were part of Sakura domain. Therefore, it can be argued that to a certain extent the Nikkō pilgrimage worked as an arena to foster cooperation among domains in the name of the central state.

along with other officials from Koganei, Sasaharashinden, and Shimoishibashi at the beginning of 1843/7 to receive awards (*gohōbi*).⁵⁷⁵ Moreover, meritorious subjects that resided along the Nikkō highways and that were involved in some way or other in the shogunal pilgrimage were also summoned to Edo to receive recognition from the shogunate and from domainal lords. For instance, Mt. Nikkō religious officials and the head priest of Jigenji traveled to Edo to congratulate the shogun. On that occasion Jigenji's abbot was received by the Superintendent of Temples and Shrines and granted 10 pieces of silver⁵⁷⁶. In 1843/int. 9 officials from post-towns and assisting villages also received compensations and awards from the central regime.⁵⁷⁷ As we have seen in this chapter, commoners who had been the object of donations during the shogun's trip to Nikkō were summoned to Edo and were offered presents from the domainal lord that ruled over the territories where they normally resided.

Furthermore, even though the shogunal pilgrimage had come to an end with Ieyoshi's return to Edo, post-towns and villages continued to be affected by it because from 1843/5 onward Tokugawa retainers high and low who had not accompanied Ieyoshi traveled to Nikkō to worship Ieyasu. For instance, Koganei post-town records report that the Tokugawa Gosankyō lords (Tayasu, Hitotsubashi, and Shimizu), Matsudaira Yorisato (lord of Saijō domain), and Matsudaira Shungaku (lord of Fukui domain) also passed through the post-town on their way to

⁵⁷⁵ See NSKS2:8 (266).

⁵⁷⁶ See NSKS2:8 (266). According to a note issued on 1776/6/13, Tetsuka Gensen was given 300 pieces of gold and the privilege of wearing swords and bear a surname (*myōji taitō*) – which were in theory reserved to members of the samurai class – as an acknowledgment of his services during shogun Ieharu's pilgrimage to Nikkō. It is dubious that the Tetsuka Gensen mentioned in this document is the same person that served in Koganei in 1843; nonetheless the note suggests that for those involved in it the Nikkō pilgrimage could be not only an occasion for material gain, but also for social advancement. See NSKS2: supplement 1 (275).

⁵⁷⁷ See NSKS2:8 (266). "Int." refers to the intercalary month, which followed the month of the same number. Because one lunar year shorter than a solar one, every few years an extra month, called an intercalary (*uruutsuki*), was added to make adjustments for the lunar calendar's shortage of days.

Nikkō in 1843/5.⁵⁷⁸ Pilgrimages toward Nikkō continued until the next year and, in addition to military retainers, members of prestigious religious institutions such as the Honganji temple (Kyoto) and the Konchiin (Edo) paid a visit to Ieyasu's mausoleum.⁵⁷⁹ Like the rituals performed by the shogun along the road to and while visiting Nikkō, the calendar of events devised by the shogunate in the aftermath of the *shasan* pursued important political goals including advertising the rulers' benevolence, showcasing the economic and cultural capital of the state, preserving social order, and promoting a sense of shared identity among Tokugawa subjects by manipulating Nikkō as a unifying symbol. These goals were pursued on a large scale by including all sectors of Tokugawa society, both in the shogunal capital and beyond it. For these reasons, the celebratory events and other actions implemented in the aftermath of the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō ought to be considered for all intents and purposes as a part of the central regime's larger strategy to reinforce its authority through ritual.

5. Ritual imagined: Narushima Motonao's *Kōzan koshoshiki* and the ideological agenda behind the 1843 pilgrimage to Nikkō

I conclude this chapter with a brief discussion of the *Kōzan koshoshiki* ("Private Record of Accompanying the Shogun to Mt. Nikkō"), a chronicle of Ieyoshi's pilgrimage composed in 1843/5 by Narushima Motonao (1778-1862), a Confucian scholar at the service of the Tokugawa regime (*okujuisha*).⁵⁸⁰ This is a particularly relevant source for the study of the shogunal journey to

⁵⁷⁸ See NSKS2:7 (246-48, 250-51).

⁵⁷⁹ See NSKS2:8 (265-66). By comparison, 104 daimyo, including both *fudai* and *tozama* clans, traveled to Nikkō in the aftermath of Yoshimune's pilgrimage in 1728. See Masato Izumi, "Nikkō shasan to tozama daimyō," 3. For a discussion of daimyo pilgrimages to Nikkō, see Ichirō Miyahara, "Kinsei ni okeru shodaimyō no Nikkō sankei. Kyōhiki no Takatsuki hanshu Nagai Kitsuki hanshu Matsudaira no jikei kara," *Kokugakuin Daigaku Kōshi Gakujutsu Shisan Kenkyū* 1, (March 2009): 137-167.

⁵⁸⁰ The version of Narushima Motonao's *Kōzan koshoshiki* that I consulted is the one included in the *Tokugawa Reitenroku* (see TR2:756-91). This version does not bear the title *Kōzan koshoshiki*, which instead can be found in

Nikkō for several reasons. First, as part of Ieyoshi's entourage, Motonao directly witnessed the pilgrimage and composed his work immediately after returning from Nikkō. Therefore, unlike the *Tokugawa Jikki* and the *Tokugawa Reitenroku*, the *Kōzan koshoshiki* is for all intents and purposes a primary source. Secondly, unlike other accounts, which report facts in a rather dry and spare fashion, Motonao's chronicle is filled with impressions and thoughts about the pilgrimage. For this reason, the account is a valuable source for discussing the many ways in which those who took part in Ieyoshi's journey to Nikkō understood the pilgrimage.

Thirdly and most importantly, the *Kōzan koshoshiki* reveals the conscious political goals behind the planning for the pilgrimage. Despite what its title might lead one to believe, Motonao's chronicle hardly qualifies as a "private" record. The Narushima family had been at the service of the shogunate since 1719, and Motonao himself contributed to the compilation of the *Tokugawa Jikki*, the regime's official chronicle. Immediately after Ienari's death, Motonao presented a memorial to the shogunal throne, in which he denounced the evils of the time and framed the new shogun Ieyoshi as a paragon of benevolence and enlightened rule.⁵⁸¹ This piece

other editions such as the one included in documentary collection *Edo (dairokukan nikki kikōhen)* edited by Edo Kyūji Saihōkai and Ōkubo Toshiaki (Tōkyō: Rittaiisha, 1989). Motonao's account is divided in three parts titled respectively: *Tsuyu no michishiba* (lit. "Roadside grass of dew"), which describes Ieyoshi's trip from Edo to Nikkō; *Kamiwasa* ("Ritual"), which focuses on the commemorations for Ieyasu's death anniversary; and *Oi no sachi* ("The Elderly's Happiness"), which describes Ieyoshi's return journey to Edo. Motonao included the composition date in the chronicle's epilogue of the work. See TR2:791

⁵⁸¹ Using examples from the life of previous shoguns and of Chinese kings, Motonao describes the four ideal qualities of an enlightened ruler, i.e. magnanimity (*kanjin*), benevolence (*taido*), great intelligence (*eimei*), and self-reliance (*dokkō*). The ideal ruler must also take into account the opinions of his underlings, most likely an invitation to Ieyoshi to rely on his close aides for the implementation of the Tenpō reforms. Motonao then proceeds to justify Ieyoshi's infamous meek nature by explaining that the shogun had always shown signs of profound benevolence, but that his self-restraint and respect for his father Ienari prevented him from openly expressing his views even after becoming shogun. Finally Motonao justifies Ieyoshi's decision to overtly break with Ienari's policies by arguing that, while not straying from one's father's way for at least three years after his death is considered an expression of filial piety, the "intelligent and self-reliant" ruler won't be afraid of departing from the old ways if they are causing damage to the people. For an in-depth discussion of Motonao's memorial, see Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 71-75.

of writing won Motonao a promotion to the rank of *toshonokami* and *shodayū*. The latter title had been previously granted only to another Confucian scholar, Arai Hakuseki.⁵⁸² Moreover, Motonao was well acquainted with prominent members of the shogunal cabinet such as Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni and, for this reason, he was affected by the purge that followed the abrupt end of the Tenpō reforms in late 1843.⁵⁸³ In light of these facts, Motonao must have been particularly invested in promoting a positive image of the incumbent shogun and, as part of the political clique that supported the implementation of Mizuno's policies, his view of the Nikkō pilgrimage can be considered as the state-sanctioned narrative and as an example of the ways in which the regime wished its subjects to understand and memorialize Ieyoshi's journey.⁵⁸⁴ A comparison of Motonao's chronicle with accounts of the shogunal pilgrimage less invested in supporting the current regime reveals that the Confucian ideologue made conscious editorial choices and, at times, overtly misconstrued reality to create a narrative as conducive as possible to the regime's ideological agenda. The previous sections of this chapter shed light on the political potential of the Nikkō pilgrimage, that is to say the possible ways in which the shogun's journey could be manipulated to pursue specific political goals. The analysis of Motonao's work expands my discussion by demonstrating that Ieyoshi's brain trust was fully aware of the political value of the pilgrimage when planning and carrying it out.

Let's consider some examples that can help us understand the political agenda contained in the *Kōzan koshoshiki*. First, Motonao presents the Nikkō pilgrimage as a blessing dispensed by the shogun upon his retainers rather than a burdensome duty. For example, in the opening

⁵⁸² See *ibid.*, 70.

⁵⁸³ On 1843/10/24 Motonao was stripped of his office and punished with house arrest. See *ibid.*, 70.

⁵⁸⁴ See *ibid.*

lines of the account, shogunal attendants traveling with Ieyoshi are described as “in high spirits” (*kokoro so isamu*).⁵⁸⁵ Other sources, however, suggest that retainers involved in the pilgrimage were decidedly less enthusiastic than what Motonao wanted his readers to believe. According to late Edo poetess Iseki Takako’s diary, lower-ranking samurai dreaded the journey to Nikkō because they feared that the strenuous marching and the lack of sleep would harm their health. Takako reports that at time of Ieharu’s pilgrimage (1776) an outbreak of measles killed a great number of retainers traveling to Nikkō and that, even though in 1843 there was no such risk, retainers still made preparations for their funerals should anything happen to them while on the road.⁵⁸⁶ Tokugawa retainers’ fears are also confirmed by the anonymous author of the *Ukiyo no arisama*, a collection of rumors about events that occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century, who reports that at the time of Ieyoshi’s journey a story circulated among retainers according to which in the 1776 pilgrimage about 28,000 people had perished due to lack of food and exhaustion. Upon hearing this story, some of the retainers refused to work and other people who had come to Edo to serve in the pilgrimage ran away scared.⁵⁸⁷ In this context it is easy to understand why – as Motonao writes in his account – “shogunal attendants were moved to tears” (*rakurui shite*) when they heard that Ieyoshi had decided to increase the number of stops along the way to Nikkō to ensure that his men were properly rested.⁵⁸⁸ As one might expect, Motonao presents Ieyoshi’s decision as the result of his “affection” (*oitsukushimi*) for his subjects, rather

⁵⁸⁵ See TR2:756

⁵⁸⁶ See Fukasawa, ed. *Iseki Takako Nikki*, 3:34.

⁵⁸⁷ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 94.

⁵⁸⁸ TR2:760

than a necessary and practical measure implemented to avoid hindrances and a bad reputation for his regime.⁵⁸⁹

Motonao advertises the shogun's benevolence in other ways as well. For instance, his chronicle contains several passages describing commoners being moved to tears and awed by the sight of the traveling shogun. Nonetheless Motonao omits the fact that – as discussed earlier – the shogunate often encouraged and, at times, even forced people to observe the procession. Comparing Motonao's account with the chronicle of Ieharu's pilgrimage written by Narushima Kazusada (Motonao's grandfather), Tsubakida has noted that the main difference between the two documents is Motonao's considerable attention given to Ieyoshi's interaction with commoners. This fact suggests that projecting the image of a shogun concerned with the well-being of his people and loved by his subjects was a major goal of the 1843 pilgrimage.⁵⁹⁰

Another way through which Motonao showcases the shogun's virtuous rule is by explaining certain natural phenomena as signs of Heaven's approval of Ieyoshi's policies. For example, Motonao often comments about the favorable weather experienced during the journey to Nikkō, claiming that this was proof that "Ieyoshi's benevolence was consistent with the divine will of the gods of heaven and earth" (*ue no otoku no ametsuchi no shinryo ni kanahi tamaheru yue nari*).⁵⁹¹ To be sure, Motonao's emphasis on weather conditions is not merely a rhetorical device to demonstrate Ieyoshi's virtues, but it also suggests the Confucian scholar's relief that the pilgrimage was not hindered. Heavy rains could in fact delay the procession's schedule and

⁵⁸⁹ See *ibid.*

⁵⁹⁰ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 94. As a tribute to his grandfather's chronicle (*Michishiba no Tsuyu*), Motonao titled the first section of his account *Tsuyu no michishiba*.

⁵⁹¹ TR2:787.

even endanger attendants' lives.⁵⁹² Another fascinating example of Motonao's attempts to build a connection between natural phenomena and Tokugawa enlightened rule is an anecdote involving Junior Councilor Endō Tanenori. According to Motonao, during his patrol duties at Ieyasu's burial site (*okunoin*), Endō was inspired to compose a short poem. While doing so, he heard the cry of a hawk cuckoo (*jihishinchō* 慈悲心鳥). Interestingly enough, the first three characters used to write this bird's name in Japanese also mean "compassionate heart."⁵⁹³ Motonao comments on this episode – whose truthfulness is dubious at best – by saying that a bird with such a name was indeed "appropriate" to a sacred location such as Mt. Nikkō (*kono oyama no nani au*). Even though this anecdote does not focus directly on Ieyoshi's virtue, as Ieyasu's legitimate successor and the central actor of the pilgrimage, it can be argued that Motonao's praise of the shogunate's founder benefits Ieyoshi as well.

In addition to benevolence, Motonao's chronicle also extols other aspects of Ieyoshi's personality and of his rule. For instance, Motonao emphasizes Ieyoshi's filial piety by reporting that while the ceremonial etiquette for the pilgrimage was normally based on precedents set in the Kyōhō and An'ei eras in the 18th century, the shogun retained some of the changes made by his father in the Bunsei period (1818-30).⁵⁹⁴ Motonao also praises the wealth of Ieyoshi's regime. For instance, when describing the pontoon bridge set up by the shogunate over the Tone river, he

⁵⁹² As we have seen in Chapter 1, inclement weather caused the death of some of Hidetada's porters during his trip to Nikkō in 1617 (see footnote 60). In 1642 Iemitsu was forced to postpone his visit to Ieyasu scheduled for 4/17 to the next day because of rain. See TJ40:266.

⁵⁹³ See TR2: 772.

⁵⁹⁴ See TR2:775.

claims that he was flabbergasted (*ki mo tamashii mo kiyuru*) and that it had “no equal” (*takui naku*).⁵⁹⁵

Motonao’s ideological agenda becomes clear when he attempts to knit together the narration of Ieyoshi’s pilgrimage with episodes connected to the history of the Tokugawa clan. For instance, describing the procession’s departure from Iwatsuki in the morning hours of 1843/4/14, Motonao writes that in the Tenshō period (1573-1592), before the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate, Iwatsuki castle was under the control of the Hōjō clan, but that Hideyoshi seized it during the Battle of Odawara. Ieyasu and his troops (*oie no tsuwamono*) played an important role in the conquest of Iwatsuki, fighting the Hōjō enemy forces on the Kurumabashi bridge. In particular one of Ieyasu’s men, a certain Sahashi, who lost his life in the battle, distinguished himself despite his young age. Motonao explains that when passing on that bridge, he was reminded of this episode and “he shed profuse tears” (*sode wo shiborinu*).⁵⁹⁶ Likewise, when in Oyama post-town Motonao recounts that during the Keichō era (1596-1615) Ieyasu was traveling north toward Aizu to subjugate some rebels. When Ieyasu and his troops arrived in Oyama, they received reports of an uprising occurring in the Kamigata region (the area encompassing the modern cities of Kyoto, Osaka, and Kobe). The war council decided to head back. Although Motonao does not explicitly mention it, this episode refers to Ieyasu’s attempt to subjugate the rebellious Uesugi clan and to the events that led to the battle of Sekigahara, a major steppingstone to the establishment of Tokugawa rule. In a brief poem in Chinese style (*kanshi*) that follows this episode, Motonao links Ieyasu’s wise decision to return to Western Japan with

⁵⁹⁵ TR2:787-88.

⁵⁹⁶ TR2: 761-62.

the start of the long Tokugawa peace.⁵⁹⁷ Motonao's use of the pilgrimage as a linchpin to connect contemporary events with romanticized anecdotes in the life of the Tokugawa clan reveals his intention to dignify Ieyoshi by creating a strong and direct connection with the ancestor Ieyasu and by stressing the continuity of the Tokugawa line, as well as his efforts to conceal the troubled circumstances in which the 1843 pilgrimage took place through the manipulation of the Tokugawa clan's glorious past.

In this connection, it should be noted that the use of geographically relevant sites to extol the glory of the Tokugawa regime was not limited to panegyrics such as the *Kōzan Koshoshiki*. As previously mentioned, Ieyoshi and his retainers' visit to important landmarks in Nikkō that took place on 4/17 served as a visual lesson on the history and glory of the Tokugawa regime. Yamasawa Manabu has argued that the shogunal procession's schedule and in particular the stops along the Nikkō highways might have been planned with the same ideological purpose. For instance, up to 1663 the shogun routinely stopped at Oyama post-town for lunch - where the regime had built a facility for that purpose, the so-called *Oyama goden*. Even after the Oyama palace was demolished, shoguns traveling to Nikkō continued to stop at or in the proximities of the post-town, most likely because its strong association with Sekigahara made it a valuable "didactic tool" to educate retainers about the glorious past of the Tokugawa clan.⁵⁹⁸

The various threads of Motonao's ideological agenda come together in his account's epilogue, where he explains that due to various hindrances 68 years had elapsed since the last shogunal pilgrimage, but that, soon after becoming shogun, Ieyoshi, whose rule had seen the

⁵⁹⁷ See TR2:767-68.

⁵⁹⁸ See Manabu Yamasawa, "Nikkō shasan ni okeru chiiki no denshō to shōgun ken'i. Tenpō shasan o chūshin ni" *Kinseishi samāseminā kinsei shimotsuke no seigyō. bunka to ryōshu shihai* (57th edition), Kanuma City, Tochigi Prefecture (Presentation Outline), July 15, 2018, 5.

implementation of “superb policies” (*akirakeku okite*), manifested his intention to travel to Nikkō. Motonao declares, once again, that because Ieyoshi’s decision to visit Nikkō “matched the divine will” (*tenchi no kami no okokoro nimo kanahase tamahikeme*), the procession was blessed with good weather. He then extols Ieyoshi’s enlightened nature by arguing that the shogun’s good actions (*zensei*) have surpassed past examples (*inishie wo koetaru*) – perhaps a reference to the regime’s decision to increase the number of stops and efforts to guarantee the well-being of shogunal attendants – “to the point that a great number of retainers high and low without exception have been awed by the shogun’s affection” (*sabakari amatanaru gubu shimo ka shimo made morenu oitsukushimi wo kashikomi*).⁵⁹⁹

Finally, one last crucial aspect to consider when discussing the value of *Kōzan koshoshiki* as a propaganda tool is the issue of the intended audience for the account and who had access to it. Motonao’s flowery writing style – a mix of classical Japanese and poetry in Chinese – indicates that the chronicle aimed at a well-educated audience. Nevertheless, the fact that similar ideological writings produced by Motonao – e.g. the memorial presented to Ieyoshi in 1841 - were included in popular collections of rumors (*fūbun*) and miscellaneous essays (*zuihitsu*) - shows that this type of work had a relatively wide circulation.⁶⁰⁰ This point is particularly relevant in the context of Tokugawa Japan when we consider that, despite the great number of people involved in the organization and implementation of the pilgrimage, for the majority of shogunal subjects the *Nikkō shasan* remained an “imagined event,” whose realities could only be guessed through written and visual sources, second-hand accounts, and hearsay. Like the military

⁵⁹⁹ TR2:790.

⁶⁰⁰ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 84 (footnote 17). Tsubakida has also pointed out that Iseki Takako, who belonged to a *hatamoto* family, criticized Motonao’s memorial in her diary, thus showing that the Motonao’s memorial to the throne circulated beyond Ieyoshi’s inner circle. See *ibid.*, 74-75.

rosters and other popular publications discussed in Chapter 3, Motonao's account contributed to disseminating knowledge of Tokugawa rituals beyond the borders of Edo and of the Nikkō highways, thus expanding the reach of the shogunate's ideological agenda.

CONCLUSION

The overarching thesis of this dissertation is that Tokugawa shoguns adopted rituals as a means to create, preserve, and legitimize their political authority as well as to maintain social order. The analysis of the Nikkō pilgrimage has shown that Tokugawa chieftains traveled to their ancestor's mausoleum with numerous goals in mind, including showcasing their military power to the eyes of their subjects, reaffirming the continuity and legitimacy of the shogunal line, renewing alliances with their retainers, emphasizing the shogunate's superiority over the imperial institution, and signaling major shifts in governance. Additionally, this dissertation posits that rituals also served the shogunate as an important arena for social and political mediation. For the specific case of the 1843 pilgrimage to Nikkō, I contend that the regime implemented this costly ritual to fabricate a formal justification for the reformist policies formulated by Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni; to demonstrate that the Tokugawa regime was still powerful, despite the widespread sense of political crisis; and to heal the growing rift between the ruling classes and the ruled by portraying the shogun as a considerate and benevolent overlord.

From 1841 onward Mizuno implemented an ambitious program of reforms aimed at restoring an agriculture-based economy, increasing the regime's effectiveness in collecting taxes, strengthening military capabilities, improving the morals of the military class and of the general public, and reinforcing the authority of the central state at the expense of domainal lords. In this context, Mizuno saw the shogunal pilgrimage as an occasion to showcase the shogunate's might and persuade shogunal subjects to submit to and cooperate with the regime's new policies. Moreover, the pilgrimage was also meant to provide concrete evidence that the new shogun,

Ieyoshi, was a *meikun*, i.e. a wise and enlightened overlord, and that, for this reason, the reforms sponsored by his administration were just and necessary.

Nevertheless, about six months after the completion of shogun Ieyoshi's grandiose visit to Nikkō, Senior Councilor Mizuno Tadakuni was stripped of his office and, as a consequence, his reforms ground to a halt. Mizuno's attempt in 1843 to seize lands from domainal lords was the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back. The ordinance, which was known as *agechi rei* ("land requisition order") established that all lands within 25 miles of Edo and 12 miles of Osaka had to be returned to the shogunate.⁶⁰¹ Major daimyo including Kii domainal lord Tokugawa Nariyuki and Senior Councilor and lord of Koga Doi Toshitsura, who would have lost over a third of his lands, harshly opposed the measure. Mizuno was forced to rescind the order and to resign from office. Shogunal chronicles report this incident tersely by stating only that on 1843/int. 9/13 Mizuno "was discharged from his office because he had committed political wrongdoing" (*kokusei no koto fusei no omomuki aru ni yote shoku tokarete*).⁶⁰² Mizuno was recalled to office the following year, but was relieved of his position again shortly afterwards. In 1845 the former senior councilor retired from his rank as a daimyo and was exiled to Yamagata domain, where he died in 1851.

Two years later, the shogunate was forced to face even more forcefully than before the problem of foreign encroachment when four American warships led by Commodore Matthew C. Perry arrived in Edo bay. Perry was able in less than one year to open the ports of Shimoda and

⁶⁰¹ Historians have traditionally interpreted the *agechi rei* as Mizuno's attempt to enhance the shogunate's financial situation by adding productive land to the Tokugawa demesne. Fujita Satoru has pointed out that the ordinance was also part of the senior councilor's efforts to refurbish Japan's defense system. By bringing lands around Edo and Osaka under the shogunate's direct control, the regime could mobilize more easily men and resources necessary to strengthen the coastal defenses of those areas. See Harold Bolitho, "The Tempō crisis," 154 and Satoru Fujita, *Kinsei no sandai kaikaku*, 82.

⁶⁰² ZTJ49: 506.

Hakodate for supplies for American ships and to obtain permission to install an American consul in Shimoda. In 1858 the opening of Japan reached a new stage thanks to the efforts of the first American consul Townsend Harris, who obtained the opening of five ports for trade and secured residence rights for American representatives in those ports. Aware of the military superiority of the West and informed of the recent conflicts between the British and the Qing Empire, the new shogun, Iesada, decided to negotiate with the “barbarians” rather than subdue them as his position would require. This compromising attitude provoked indignation in the imperial court and rage among xenophobic imperial loyalists who, with the slogan of “revere the emperor, expel the barbarians!” (*sonnō jōi*), launched a series of violent attacks against shogunal officials and foreign residents. The failure of the central regime’s conciliatory strategy of enacting the “union of the court and the shogunate” (*kōbugattai*), the impatience of imperial loyalists, the shogunate’s inability to solve internal power struggles, and the military opposition of powerful domains such as Satsuma, Chōshū, and Tosa led to the final fall of the Tokugawa government in 1867 and to “the restoration of the imperial rule” (*ōsei fukko*) during the following year in the form of a new regime.

My analysis of the Nikkō pilgrimage has demonstrated that the Tokugawa shogunate depended on and had great faith in rituals’ potential as a political strategy. Nonetheless, the historical developments outlined above cast doubt on whether rituals were as effective as the central regime believed. If the purpose of Ieyoshi’s journey to Nikkō was to demonstrate that the shogunate still had teeth and to restore Tokugawa subjects’ faith in their government, is it fair to state that the regime failed in its missions? In other words, how wide was the gulf between ritual goals and ritual outcomes?

To answer this question, it is necessary to consider rituals from both a macro and a micro perspective. The long duration of Tokugawa rule suggest that rituals helped to preserve shogunal authority and social stability. In the 265 years of Tokugawa government, neither daimyo nor the imperial institution dared to overtly challenge the Tokugawa political and social status quo. For instance, the imperial court's custom of sending an envoy to Nikkō once a year to commemorate Ieyasu's death anniversary – a practice that symbolized Kyoto's subordination to Edo - continued uninterrupted until the very end of the Tokugawa regime.⁶⁰³ Likewise, since the establishment in the 1630s of the system of alternate attendance, through which domainal lords demonstrated and reaffirmed their allegiance to the shogunal clan, daimyo travelled regularly between Edo and their lands without ever questioning the reasons for this practice until the closing years of the shogunal rule.⁶⁰⁴ In the specific context of the 1840s and of the reforms implemented by Senior Councilor Mizuno, the shogunate's ability to extract resources from across the realm and to successfully implement the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō at a time of profound economic crisis and of political insecurity further demonstrates the grip that rituals had on Tokugawa subjects. Significantly, the success of the Nikkō pilgrimage stands out amid the failure of every other measure promoted by Mizuno.

To be sure, the implementation of rituals did not automatically guarantee the achievement of the shogunate's political agenda. As Paul Töbelmann has pointed out, for rituals to work all actors involved must be equally committed and they must adopt a certain cultural disposition that generates a "ritual sense."⁶⁰⁵ By the 1860s the central regime's authority was so shaky that some

⁶⁰³ See footnote 135.

⁶⁰⁴ See footnote 80.

⁶⁰⁵ Paul Töbelmann, "The Limits of Rituals," 262.

of the actors traditionally involved in shogunal rituals refused to subscribe to the rules of the game. An example of ritual disruption is Shogun Iemochi's visit to the imperial court in Kyoto in 1863. The central regime had abandoned the practice of traveling to Kyoto in 1634, when in an unprecedented display of power and wealth, the third shogun, Iemitsu, had paraded through the imperial capital with a procession consisting of some 300,000 people. By resuming this practice, Iemochi hoped to reinforce his position by showing his respect for the imperial institution, while also demonstrating that real power remained in Edo. Following Iemitsu's precedent, Iemochi distributed gifts to residents of Kyoto and to the court. What the regime had not considered, though, was the emperor's awareness of the symbolic significance of the shogunal visit and his determination to manipulate it to the court's advantage. Once in Kyoto the young shogun was treated with respect; however, he, who had come to confirm the political primacy of the Tokugawa house, ended up entangled in a series of rituals performed by the emperor, including a massive pilgrimage to the Kamo Shrine to obtain divine assistance to push back the foreign peril. By shrewdly manipulating the shogun's ritual visit, the court was able to demonstrate its revived importance in the political arena.⁶⁰⁶ In other words, while rituals certainly helped the shogunate to stay in power over the course of the Edo period, Tokugawa chieftains, especially toward the end of their reign, did not have a monopoly over their implementation; nor did they have full control over their outcomes. Ultimately, other factors – including the regime's ability to act consistently in accordance with its claims and to effectively respond to domestic and international crises – were necessary to guarantee the continuation of shogunal rule.

The degree to which the shogunate was able to achieve the specific missions it attached to the 1843 pilgrimage to Nikkō is difficult to judge. As previously mentioned, through the

⁶⁰⁶ See Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 300-301.

pilgrimage the regime aimed at justifying its policies, improving its public image, and restoring shogunal subjects' faith in Tokugawa administration. Therefore, to gauge the effectiveness of the *shasan*, one must examine the ways in which Tokugawa subjects – especially those not belonging to the military elite - reacted to the pilgrimage and the general perception of Ieyoshi and of his administration in the years following the shogunal trip to Nikkō.

Commoners' reactions to the shogunal pilgrimage were mixed. As Chapter 2 and Chapter 4 have shown, large crowds of people, high and low, gathered along the Nikkō highways to catch a glimpse of the travelling shogun. Many were impressed by the displays of power staged by the regime and some – including the head priest of Jigenji's temple – considered, with good reason, the pilgrimage a blessing. Sources also indicate that commoners appreciated the demonstrations of generosity performed by the shogun on the road. For instance, Tokugawa officials Kawaji Toshiakira and Morimura Shinzō both commented in their records of the pilgrimage about the joyful reactions of those who received monetary awards from Ieyoshi.⁶⁰⁷ Nonetheless, as Tsubakida Yukiko has pointed out, many of the records describing the 1843 pilgrimage were compiled by Tokugawa retainers, who might have been inclined to praise the shogun and his accomplishments. Records produced by individuals outside the shogunal government, for instance, suggest that for some of the onlookers, the shogunal procession was nothing more than an occasion for sightseeing (*kenbutsu*), and while their authors often included details about the procession, they did not feel compelled to report about the shogun's authority and benevolence.⁶⁰⁸ There is also evidence in popular sources of overt criticism toward the shogunal pilgrimage in the form of satirical poems or of anecdotes poking fun at Ieyoshi. For instance,

⁶⁰⁷ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 109.

⁶⁰⁸ See *ibid.*, 110-112.

commenting on Ieyoshi's decision to interact with the masses and distribute awards while traveling to Nikkō, the anonymous author of the *Ukiyo no arisama* (see Chapters 3 and 4) characterized the shogun as "frivolous" (*karugarushii*).⁶⁰⁹

Regardless of the outcomes of Mizuno's articulated performances of shogunal benevolence and splendor, the 1843 pilgrimage to Nikkō was successful in several regards. As Chapter 2 has suggested, the pilgrimage contributed to the dissemination a sense of common membership to a supradominal political entity among shogunal subjects. For instance, as the case of Kawanago and Koganei has shown, villages and post-towns belonging to different domains successfully cooperated, in the name of the regime, to ensure the implementation of Ieyoshi's journey to Nikkō. The discussion of the security measures adopted by the shogunate to sensitive areas of the realm such as the Uraga Channel has suggested that the pilgrimage was also an occasion to test new and often successful forms of collaboration between the central regime and the domains in regard to the matters of national interest. Even though Mizuno's plans to reinforce national defenses were thwarted by his ousting in 1843, the security measures adopted on the occasion of Ieyoshi's visit to Nikkō became a model for successive Tokugawa policy-makers.⁶¹⁰ Moreover, the Uraga case study shows that the pilgrimage was also an important arena for social and political mediation. Aware of their central role in the implementation of the Nikkō pilgrimage, local communities complied with the requests of the central regime, with the understanding that they would also reap benefits from collaborating with the shogunate. For instance, Uraga's sardine wholesalers presented monetary donations to the

⁶⁰⁹ See Ibid. Tsubakida has pointed out that the adjective *karugarushii* might be also translated as "informal," but that, due the *Ukiyo no arisama*'s generally negative judgment of the shogunate, the adjective was likely used in its disparaging sense of "frivolous."

⁶¹⁰ See *ibid.*, 182.

shogunate for the Nikkō pilgrimage in hopes of obtaining protection from the regime in the wake of Mizuno's decision to abolish merchant monopoly associations. Likewise, hoping to get official recognition by the central state, members of the Fujidō religious movement donated straw sandals for laborers and for packhorses traveling to Nikkō with the shogun. The case of Jigenji, one of the temples that hosted Shogun Ieyoshi during his trip to Nikkō, also indicates that shogunal subjects had reasons to proactively cooperate with the central state in the organization of the shogun's pilgrimage. Jigenji was able to obtain a refurbishment of its facilities almost completely paid by the local domainal lord and the temple's parishioners. To be sure, the collaboration between the central regime and the peripheries in the name of the Nikkō pilgrimage was not always successful. For instance, sources indicate that local communities in Haneda and Shimoda, two other sensitive areas in which the shogunate implemented special security measures, resisted the regime's effort to extract resources.⁶¹¹ Moreover, rather than unconditional acts of generosity motivated by affection for the government, the donations to the regime by local communities should be understood as a sort of *quid pro quo*. However, regardless of whether the donations were spontaneous or not, that contemporaries often explained them in terms of *kokuon* – a moral obligation that they had toward the regime – indicates that local communities were aware that Tokugawa authority extended over the nation and, to a degree, saw themselves as members of a larger polity centered on the shogun.

Ultimately Mizuno's removal from office in late 1843 and the abolition of many of his policies suggest that in the long run the Nikkō pilgrimage failed to restore shogunal subjects' faith in the central regime and to convince them of the justness and necessity of the Tenpō reforms. In this regard the reaction of Iseki Takako, a late Edo-period poetess married to a

⁶¹¹ See *ibid.*, 259.

shogunal bannerman, to the news of Mizuno's ousting is illuminating. On 1843/int. 9/13 Takako wrote in her diary

Using the shogun's authority, Mizuno implemented policies as he pleased. Many people, overwhelmed by his power, followed him reluctantly, even when his policies were unreasonable...Mizuno claimed that he was acting for the shogun's sake, but, on the contrary, he put the burden of his mistakes on our wise and impeccable overlord. Everyone is concerned that if he stays in power for longer, he may bring more confusion to society. Therefore, people in the realm cheered and rejoiced to hear that the shogun has decided to remove him. He has loathed and blamed countless people, and many have lost their offices and jobs because of him. Among them there were people who took their lives, like Yabe Sadanori, and so many others who died because of his foolish policies. Even if rulers give away gold and silver, things won't go well. What really matters is that rulers treat their subjects with affection, and only when rulers empathize with the people, the people will follow. Nonetheless, one who says that it's for the shogun's sake, while he harasses the people and causes chaos in society, is rather a sort of criminal.⁶¹²

Takako's harsh judgment of Mizuno and, specifically, her comments regarding the senior councilor's lack of empathy toward the people suggest that the Nikkō pilgrimage was not enough to present the Tenpō reforms as a manifestation of the regime's benevolence and concern for all its subjects.

Takako's feelings must have been widely shared by both commoners and members of the warrior class. The poetess reported in her diary that, on the day following Mizuno's dismissal, a crowd of people gathered around his mansion voicing their anger and throwing stones. Before long a great number of people had rushed to see what was going on, and some food vendors took advantage of the situation to make some money. The crowd was so loud that the noise could be heard from within Edo castle and shogunal officials had to intervene to break up the protest. According to Takako, shogunal officials could have easily dispersed the crowd. Nonetheless

⁶¹² Fukasawa, ed. *Iseki Takako Nikki*, 3: 127-28. Yabe Sadanori (1789-1842) was one of the Edo City Magistrates. He was dismissed from his office in 1841.

some of them, thinking that Mizuno deserved what he was getting, even took advantage of the dark to mingle with the crowd and throw stones at the former senior councilor's house.⁶¹³

Takako directed her cutting remarks to Mizuno, but intriguingly, at least in the above-mentioned excerpts, the poetess spares Ieyoshi, who is described as impeccable and wise. This positive view of the shogun raises the question of whether the pilgrimage succeeded in improving Ieyoshi's reputation and the regime's overall public image, in spite of its failure to inspire support for Mizuno's policies. Three popular woodblock prints produced by Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1798-1861) suggest that, despite the pilgrimage, many continued to have a negative opinion of both the regime and of Ieyoshi. The first print – “The Earth Spider conjures up demons at the mansion of Minamoto no Raikō”- shows a group of demonic creatures led by the Earth Spider (Tsuchigumo), who looms over Minamoto Yorimitsu – a warrior and political leader who lived between the late 10th and the early 11th centuries (fig.30). Yorimitsu is depicted sleeping in the upper right-hand corner of the scene. He is protected by four bodyguards: Urabe no Suetake, who sits closest to Yorimitsu; Watanabe no Tsuna and Sakata no Kintoki, who are busy playing the boardgame *go*; and Usui no Tadamitsu, who looks at the approaching demons while holding a sake cup. ⁶¹⁴ The print was produced by Kuniyoshi four months after the shogunal journey to Nikkō and, according to contemporary sources it quickly became popular in no time.⁶¹⁵ Rumors circulated that the scene was a satirical representation of Ieyoshi and his ministers: the four bodyguards were none other than Senior Councilors Mizuno Tadakuni,

⁶¹³ See *ibid.*, 128-29; 131.

⁶¹⁴ See Yuriko Iwakiri and Amy R. Newland, *Kuniyoshi. Japanese Master of Imagined Worlds* (Leiden and Boston: Hotei Publishing, 2013), 45.

⁶¹⁵ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 82 and Iwakiri, *Kuniyoshi*, 45.

Sanada Yuki Yoshi, Hotta Masayoshi, and Doi Toshitsura; the sleeping Yorimitsu represented, in reality, Ieyoshi; and the demonic creatures were allegories for various sectors of Tokugawa society damaged by Mizuno's reforms.⁶¹⁶ The print, therefore, contained two hidden messages: first, by depicting Ieyoshi sleeping, Kuniyoshi was suggesting that the shogun was not in control of his government.⁶¹⁷ Second, that Mizuno's set of reforms had caused great resentment among the ruled and that the regime was about to pay the consequences of its actions. Kuniyoshi opted for a so-called "riddle picture" (*hanji-e*) to express his criticism toward the regime; however, he made sure to include hints that would allow his audience to understand the print's hidden message. For example, the family crest decorating Urabe no Suetake's garments is the same as the crest of Mizuno Tadakuni.⁶¹⁸ Kuniyoshi's satire was not lost on shogunal officials. Kuniyoshi's print was banned, but it continued to circulate through unofficial channels.⁶¹⁹

Kuniyoshi made the second print – "A Great Doctor Treats Serious Diseases" – in 1850, a year before Ieyoshi's death. Therefore, this work may well reflect the popular perception of the regime after Mizuno's removal from office (fig. 31). The print depicts Chikusai Musume, a quack female doctor, sitting on a floor cushion and surrounded by a number of patients affected by odd diseases.⁶²⁰ Some of Kuniyoshi's contemporaries interpreted this print as another attempt by the artist to criticize the Tokugawa regime and saw the quack doctor as a representation of

⁶¹⁶ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 82-83 and Katsuya Hirano, *Politics of Dialogic Imagination. Power and Popular Culture in Early Modern Japan* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 79-80.

⁶¹⁷ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 82-83.

⁶¹⁸ See Iwakiri, *Kuniyoshi*, 45.

⁶¹⁹ See Hirano, *Politics of Dialogic Imagination*, 80-81.

⁶²⁰ See Tetsunori Iwashita, "Political Information and Satirical Prints in late Tokugawa Japan: The Popular Image of Government Officials in Utagawa Kuniyoshi's *Kitainameii nanbyō ryōji*," *Asian Cultural Studies* 22, (March 1996):18.

Anenokōji no tsubone (1795-1880) - one of Shogun Ieyoshi's most powerful ladies-in-waiting. The surrounding patients represented various shogunal officials that Anenokōji manipulated. Allegedly, Kuniyoshi was poking fun at the regime by drawing connections between the patients' odd diseases and the shogunal officials' physical and spiritual flaws. For instance, some people identified the woman wearing a mask and steaming her face on a pot of hot water to the right of the Quack Doctor as the shogun because they thought Kuniyoshi was criticizing the Ieyoshi for being weak and for lacking strong leadership.⁶²¹ Likewise, the man wearing a fake nose to the left of Ieyoshi was thought to be Senior Councilor Matsudaira Noriyasu, who was infamous for his flat nose.⁶²² The man below Matsudaira was thought to represent Senior Councilor Abe Masahiro, who rose to power after Mizuno's fall. Abe was depicted as a near-sighted man because he was accused by many to be narrow-minded and to lack political vision.⁶²³ Other Tokugawa officials that were thought to be the object of Kuniyoshi's satire in this print were Kyoto Deputy Sakai Tadayoshi; Senior Councilor Makino Tadamasa; future shogun Iesada's adviser Natsume Nobuaki; Superintendent of Finances Kusumi Hiroaki; Edo City Magistrate Ido Satohiro, and Senior Councilor Toda Tadaharu, who had hosted Ieyoshi in Utsunomiya during the pilgrimage of 1843 pilgrimage.⁶²⁴ Whether or not Kuniyoshi's intention was to criticize the central regime, the fact that his contemporaries were quick at drawing connections between the characters depicted in the print and the Tokugawa political elite is indicates a general critical perception of the shogunate among commoners.

⁶²¹ See *ibid.*, 20.

⁶²² See *ibid.*, 21.

⁶²³ See *ibid.*

⁶²⁴ See *ibid.*, 22-24.

The third print, “Asahina’s Travel to the Islands of Small People,” which Kuniyoshi produced in the late 1840s, depicts a gigantic Asahina, a folkloric figure popularized by medieval war tales and kabuki plays, lying half-naked on the ground, while he observes, with an amused look on his face, a daimyo procession composed of “little people.” Here, Kuniyoshi seems to poke fun at early modern Japan’s warrior elite by breaking all the rules of social etiquette. As discussed in Chapter 3, during the Edo period processions were important political devices that daimyo and shoguns alike manipulated to showcase their military power and wealth. In Kuniyoshi’s print, however, the grandiose nature of the daimyo procession is obscured by Asahina’s enormous body. Moreover, while commoners were normally expected to prostrate themselves at the passage of a warrior’s cortege to show respect and subservience, in the print Asahina, who is depicted as a laborer (*yakkō*), is blatantly pointing with his pipe directly to the daimyo, who, ensconced in his palanquin, appears helpless to object. By inverting power relations, Kuniyoshi transformed one of the most iconic symbols of Tokugawa warrior authority into a source of carnivalesque humor. Unlike the examples discussed above, this print does not poke fun at specific political figures; nonetheless it suggests that a gap existed between the rulers’ expectations and idealized visions of society and the realities experienced by the ruled. By the late Edo period daimyo processions had become a routine event and for many commoners, especially for those residing in major cities or along the national highways, processions were just another familiar element of the urban landscape. A print by Utagawa Kunisada in the early 1830s seems to capture well this idea (fig.33). Kunisada’s print shows an unidentified military procession crossing Edo’s Nihonbashi bridge. A group of street merchants is standing in a disorderly fashion on the procession’s way, and on the right side of the bridge two dogs can be seen wandering aimlessly. For the merchants, who continue their business

unbothered, the procession was just one more parade for which it was not worth interrupting their activities.

The above discussion demonstrates that as a political strategy the 1843 shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō had clear limits; however, this is not to say that Ieyoshi's pilgrimage was not effective or insignificant. Firstly, it is worth noting that the failure of Mizuno's reforms was determined by a number of problems that the Nikkō pilgrimage could not have possibly addressed. With his policies aimed at curbing governmental spending, restoring morality, and diminishing domainal autonomy, Mizuno alienated a number of key figures crucial for the survival of his political clique, including the shogun's ladies-in-waiting, powerful domainal lords such as Senior Councilor Doi Toshitsura, and influential members of the Tokugawa family such as Mito domainal lord Tokugawa Nariaki and Kii domainal lord Tokugawa Nariyuki. Additionally, scandals and accusations of bribery contributed to tarnishing Mizuno's reputation so that by late 1843 the senior councilor's "reservoir of political good will" had run dry.⁶²⁵ Nonetheless, the successful implementation of the Nikkō pilgrimage gave the shogunate a chance to demonstrate its organizational skills and to showcase its ability to extract resources and mobilize inter-domainal cooperation. Despite the abrupt end of Mizuno's reformist action at the end of 1843, the shogunate entered a period of relative calm that lasted until the arrival of Commodore Perry in Edo Bay ten years later. The Nikkō pilgrimage might have not dramatically changed people's mind about their rulers, but it certainly helped mitigate the bleak image of the shogunate as a vulnerable and toothless regime.

Most importantly, even after 1843, the regime continued to adopt many of the ritual strategies that characterized the shogunal pilgrimage planned by Mizuno, including efforts to

⁶²⁵ Totman, "Political succession in the Tokugawa bakufu," 112.

foster a sense of attachment to the shogun among Tokugawa subjects and attempts to demonstrate the shogun's benevolent and enlightened nature. For instance, in 1848 the shogunate sponsored a fifteen-day performance of *nō* theater (known as the "Kōka kanjin nō") – the largest in the history of the regime - encouraging all sectors of the population to attend.⁶²⁶ In 1849/3/18 Ieyoshi participated in a hunting party at Koganehara hunting grounds (present-day Matsudo, Chiba prefecture). The trip, which lasted only one day but required over a year of preparations, featured a majestic procession consisting of some 23,500 retainers and the shogun's distribution of rice alcohol and awards to laborers and commoners. The regime thus strove to transform the shogun into a more relatable figure "made of flesh and blood."⁶²⁷ Similar actions marked Shogun Iemochi's journey to Kyoto in 1863.⁶²⁸ These examples show that, regardless of their effectiveness, rituals remained a central pillar of the political strategy adopted by the regime to signal and effect change up to the closing years of its domination. As the rules that governed and gave meaning to the Tokugawa language of power, rituals were indispensable for the survival of the shogunate for a language without rules is a language that nobody can understand.

⁶²⁶ See Looser, *Visioning Eternity*, 2-3.

⁶²⁷ See Tsubakida, *Kinsei kindai ikōki no seiji bunka*, 138-144.

⁶²⁸ Kusumi, *Bakumatsu no shōgun*, 149.

APPENDIX 1: FIGURES AND MAPS

Fig.1 Map of Edo castle with main rooms (adapted from *Tokugawa Reitenroku* vol. 3)

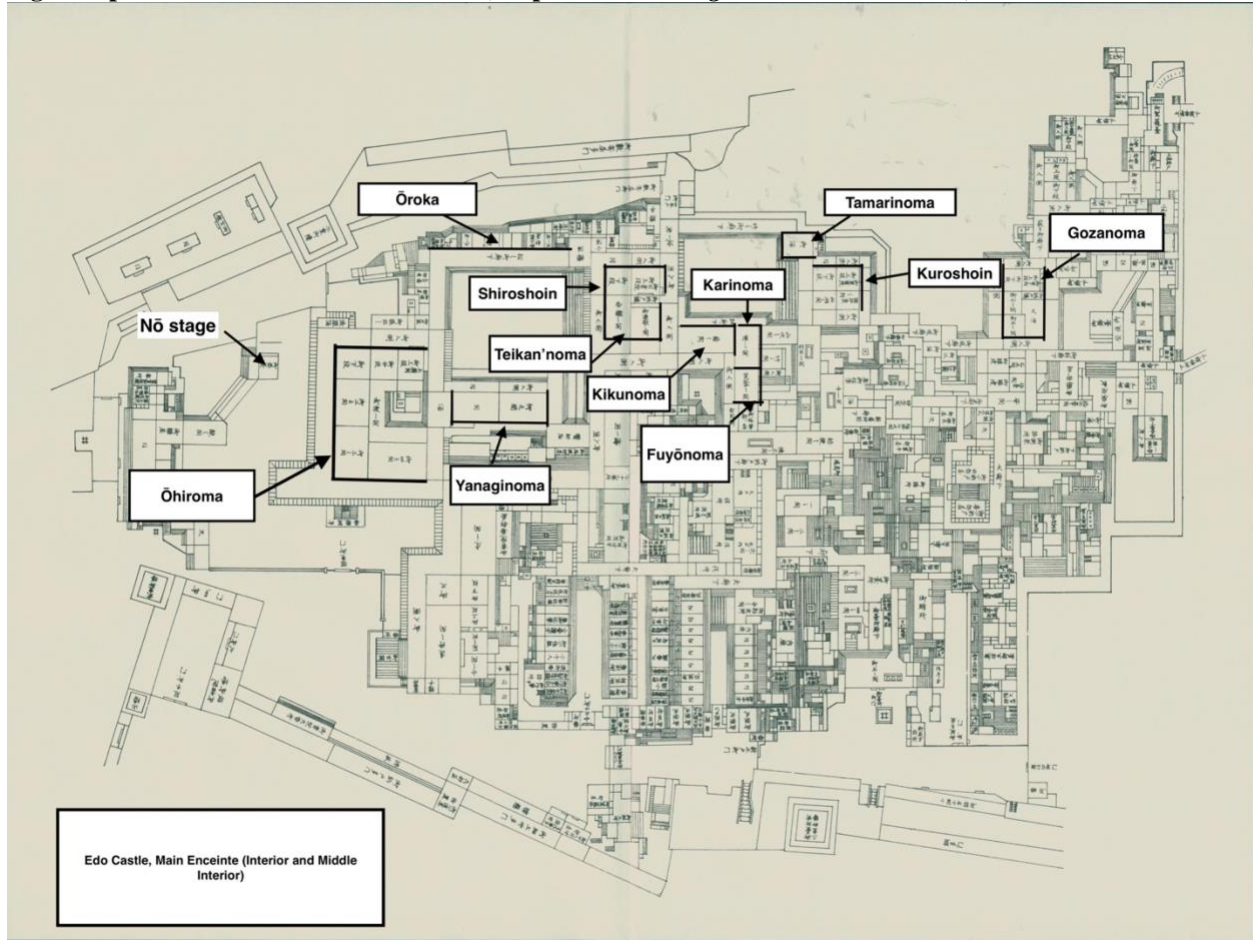
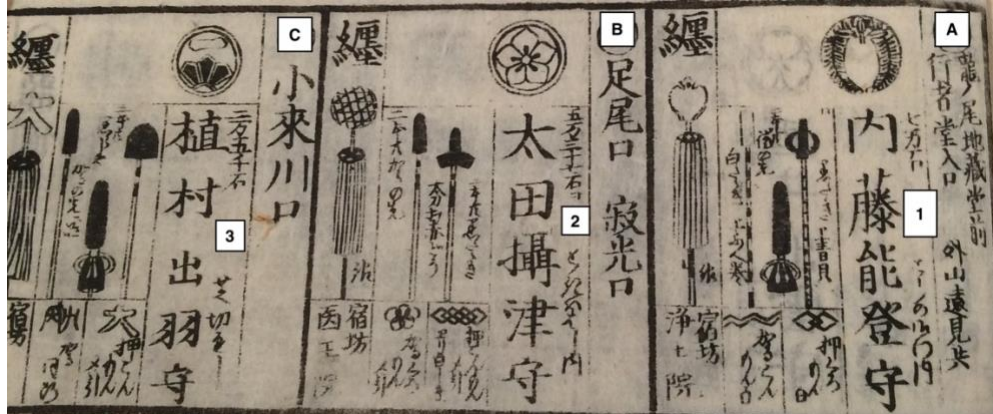
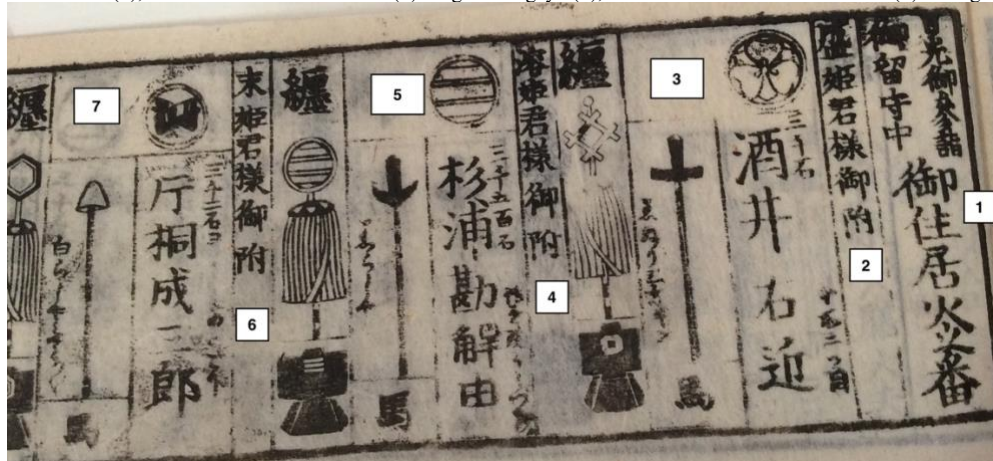


Fig. 2 Sections of a military roster (*bukan*) recording the names retainers assigned to “military duties” and “keeper duties” during Ieyoshi’s pilgrimage to Nikko (from *Nikkō omiya gosankei gubu oyakunintsuke*, Tokyo Metropolitan “Edo-Tokyo Museum” 1843)

2.1 Retainers defending various areas in around Mt. Nikko: Naitō Noto no kami (1) patrolling Takinoō Shrine (A, modern Nikko city); Ōta Settsu no kami (2) patrolling Ashioguchi (B, modern Ashio town, Kamitsuga District, Tochigi prefecture) and Jakkōguchi (B, modern Nikko city); and patrolling Uemura Dewa no kami (3) assigned to Okorogawa (modern Nikko city).



2.2 Retainers entrusted with the task of preventing fire hazards at the residences of shogunal princesses (1). For the residence of Morihime (2): Sakai Ukon (3); for the residence of Yōhime (4): Sugiura Kageyu (5), and for the residence of Suehime (6): Katagiri Narisaburō



2.3 Retainers defending the gates Edo castle. Tayasu gate (A): Matsudaira Hyūga no kami (1) and Honda Yamato no kami (2); Shimizu gate (B): Matsudaira Naiki (3) and Maita Seinosuke (4); Kijibashi Gate (C): Ōkubo Tetsunojō (5) and Akiyama Tonomo (6).



2.4. Retainers patrolling Edo. Ōtemon Gate Unit (A): Matsudaira Noto no kami (1), Hosokawa Noto no kami (2), Koide Ise no kami (3); Naitō Suruga no kami (4)



Fig. 3 Security measures at Kizawa post-town (Nikkō shasan kinban hogo ezu, Tokyo Metropolitan “Edo-Tokyo” Museum, 1843)

This map shows the details of the security system enforced at Kizawa, a post-town at the junction of the Mibu road and the Nikkō dōchū road, on 1843/4/19 during Ieyoshi’s return trip to Edo. Different types of guards (e.g. *dōshin* soldiers are indicated by black dots and *yoriki* soldiers by red dots) patrolled the main highways and the side roads.

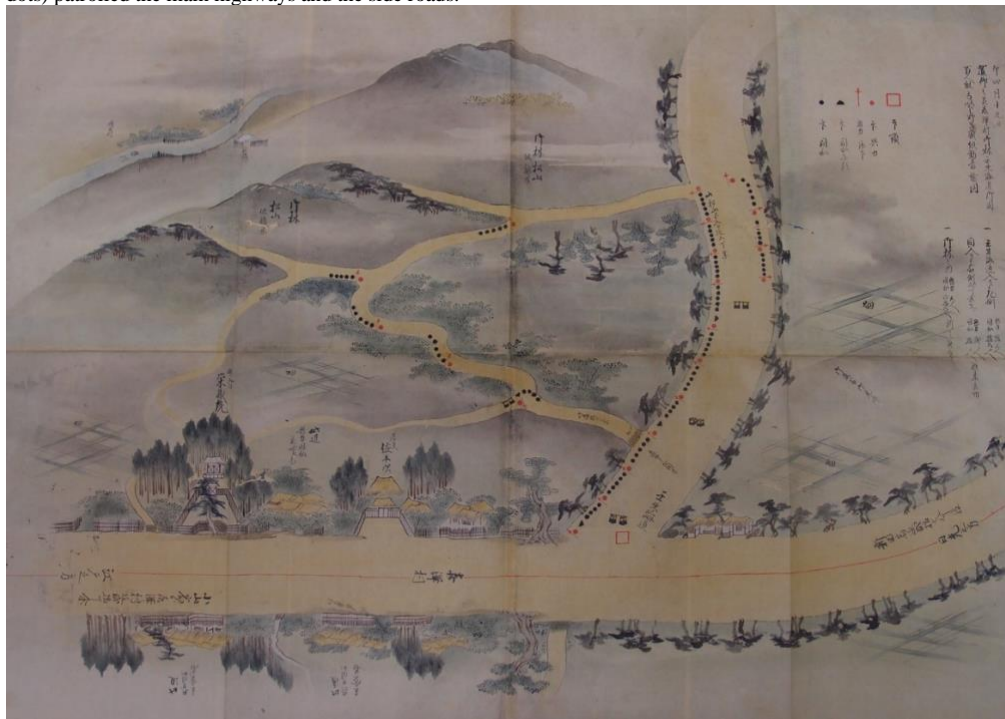


Fig. 4 Security at the Nikkō Tōshōgū (*Nikkō shasan kinban hogo ezu*, Tokyo Metropolitan “Edo-Tokyo” Museum, 1843)

This map shows the deployment of soldiers (represented by black and red dots) inside the precincts of the Tōshōgū. Several landmarks such as the Ichi no torii gate (1), the Five-storied Pagoda (2), the Omote mon (3), and the Kamishindō Avenue (4), leading to Futarasan Shrine can be seen. The map also depicts a temporary guardhouse adorned with crested-curtains (5) and a spear rack for ceremonial implements (6).

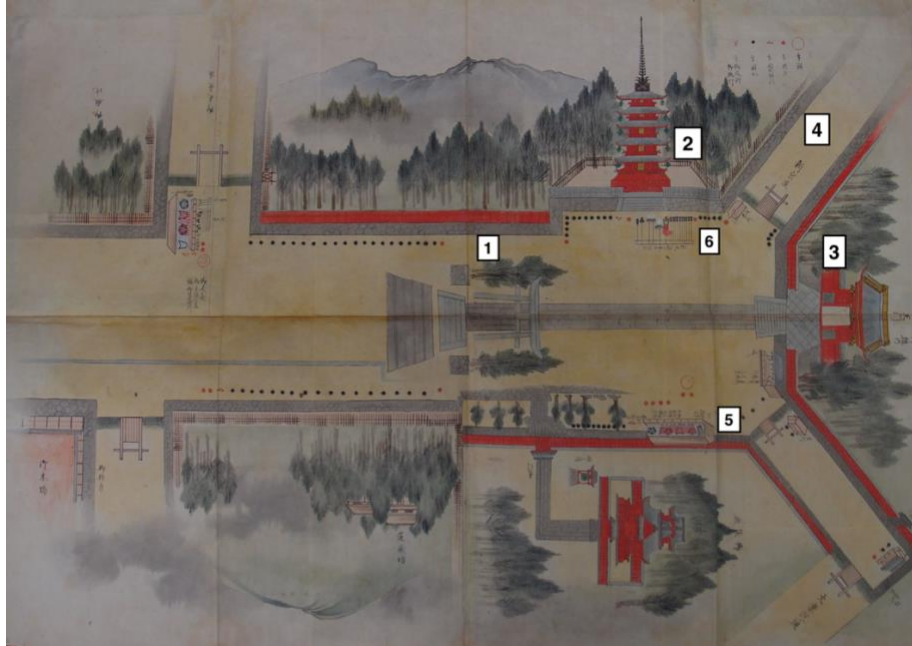


Fig. 5. The three sections of Edo castle's Main Enceinte (*honmaru*): the Exterior (*omote*), the Middle Interior (*nakaoku*), and the Great Interior (*ōoku*) (adapted from Fukai, *Edojō wo yomu*, p. 13)

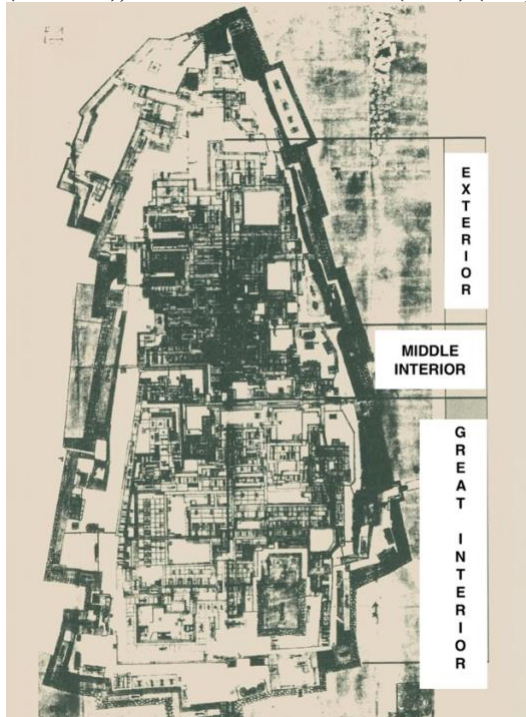


Fig. 6. The three *dan* of the Ōhiroma Hall (adapted from Tokyo Metropolitan “Edo-Tokyo Museum”, *Edojō*, p. 126)

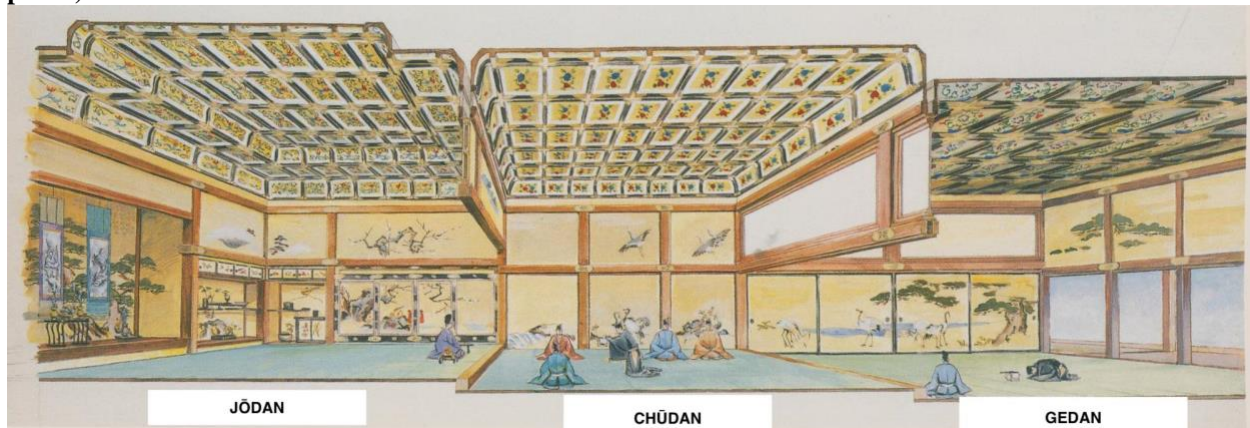


Fig.7 Detailed plan of the Gozanoma Hall (adapted from Honda, *Ezu Shiryō Edo Jidai Fukugen Zukan*, p.26)

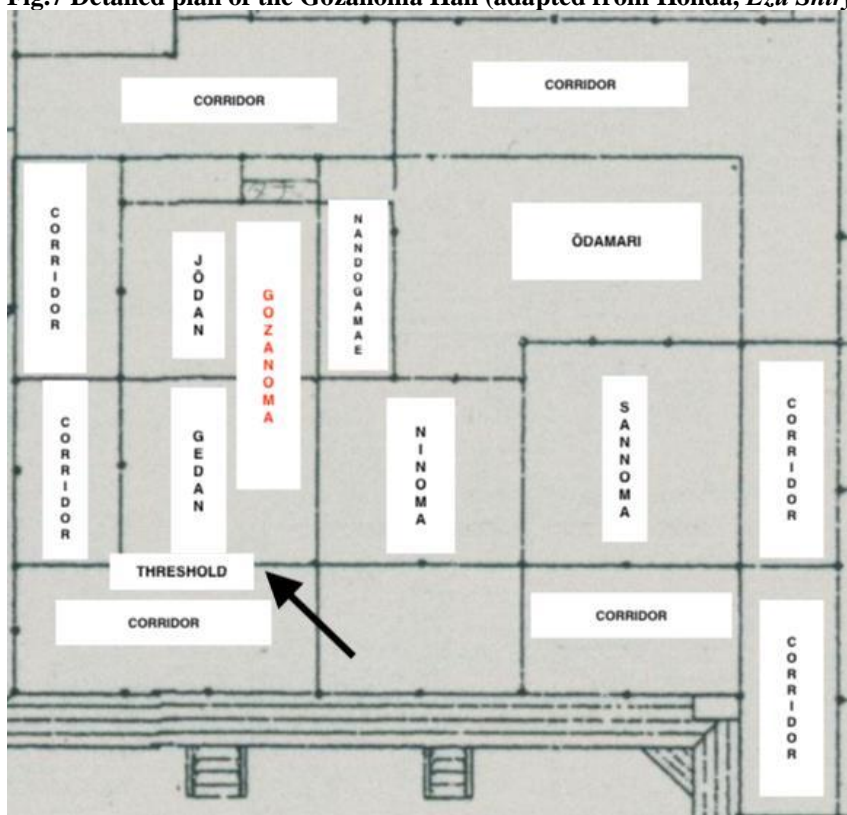


Fig.8 Group audience (retainers from 5th rank down) in the Ōhiroma Hall (from Ichioka, *Tokugawa Seiseiroku*, pp.62-63)

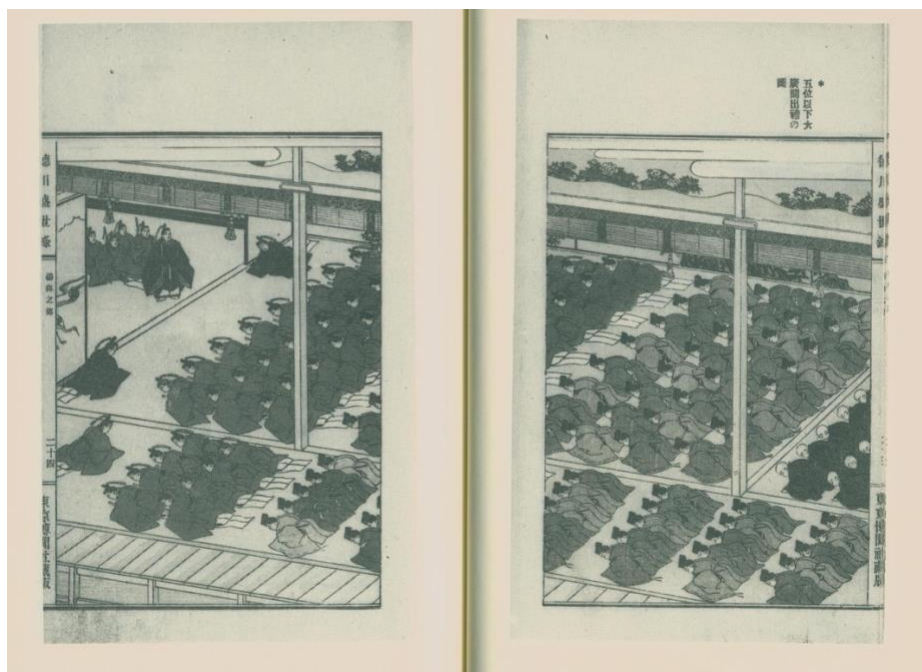


Fig.9 Audience with the *Gosanke* and the *tamaritsume* daimyo (from Ichioka, *Tokugawa Seiseiroku*, pp.64-65)

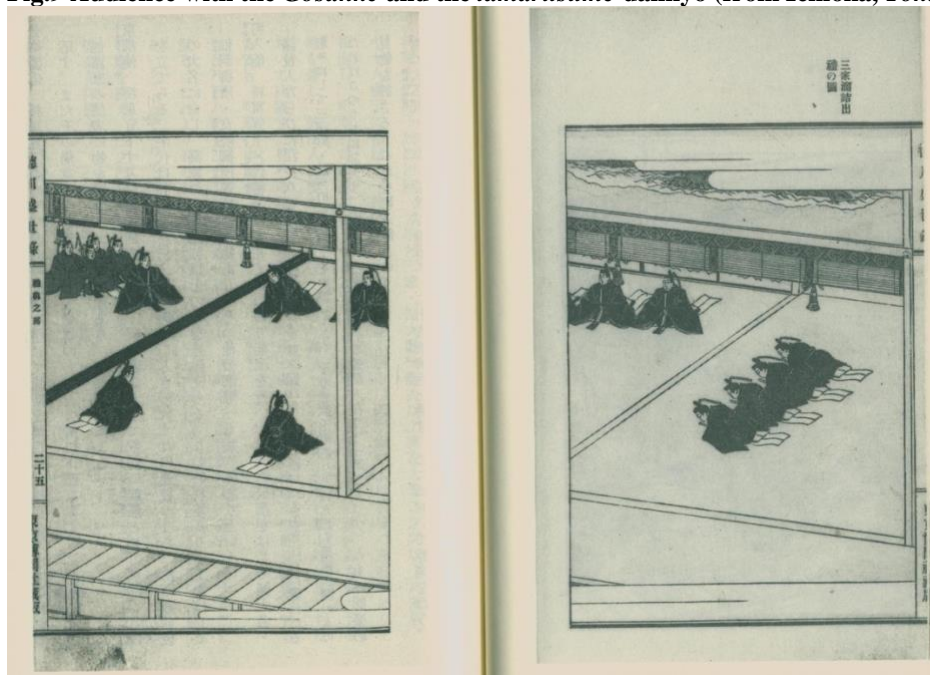


Fig.10 A *sokutai* for retainers of the fourth rank (from Ichioka, *Tokugawa Seiseiroku*, p.238)

Fig.12 - A daimon (from Ichioka, *Tokugawa Seiseiroku*, p.259)



Fig.13 - A hoi (from Ichioka, *Tokugawa Seiseiroku*, p.262)

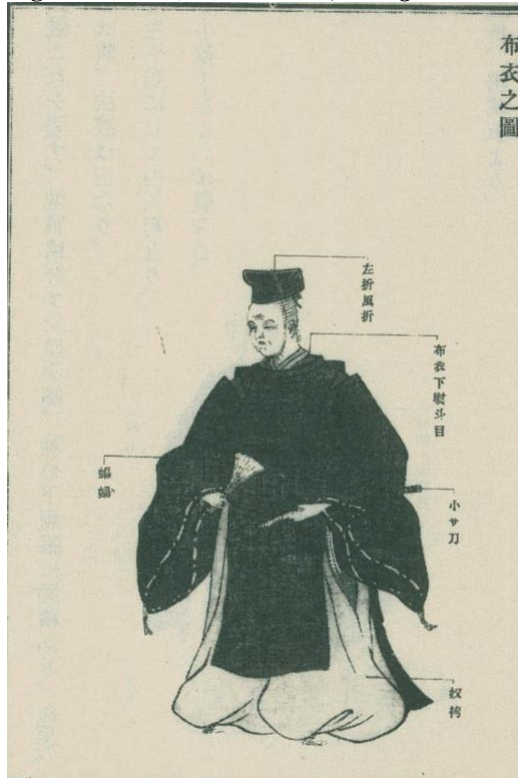


Fig.14 – A *suō* a *samuraieboshi* headgear (from Ichioka, *Tokugawa Seiseiroku*, p.266)



Fig.15 The Five National Highways (Gokaidō)

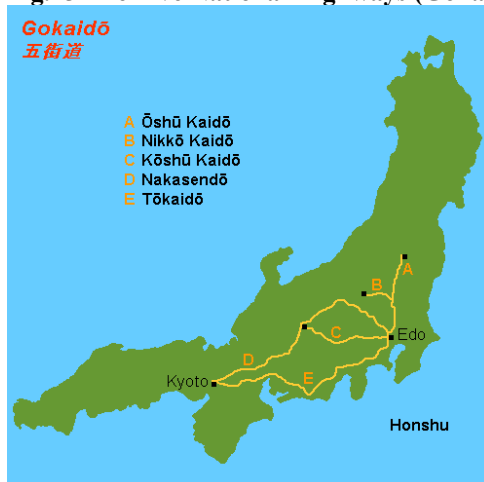


Fig. 16 Imperial provinces of Japan during the Tokugawa period (from Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, p.xvi)

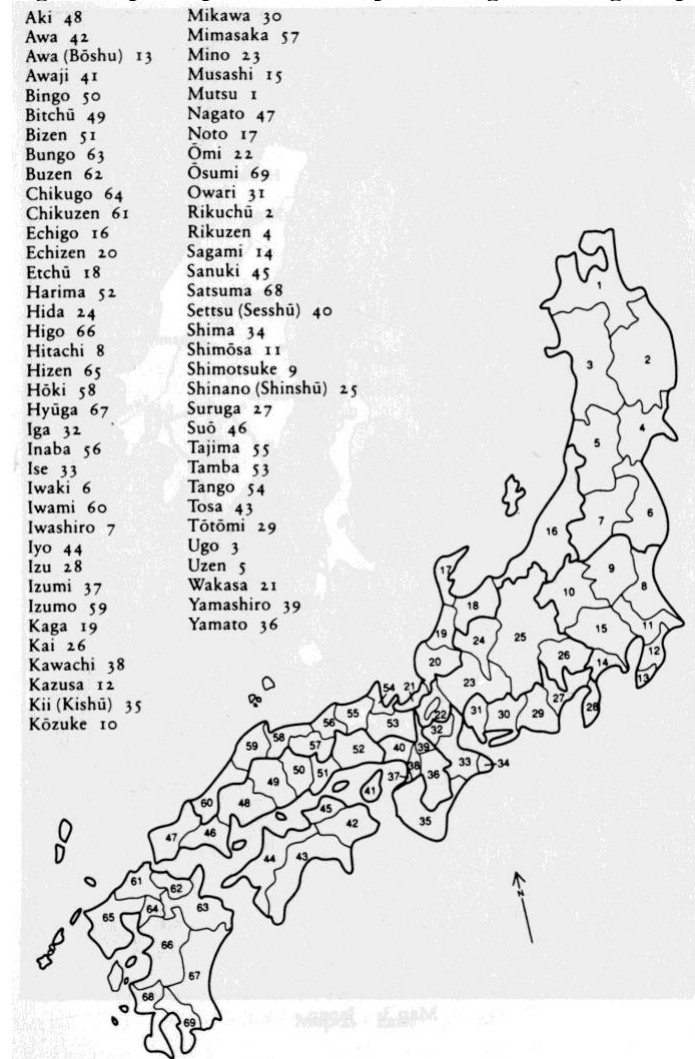
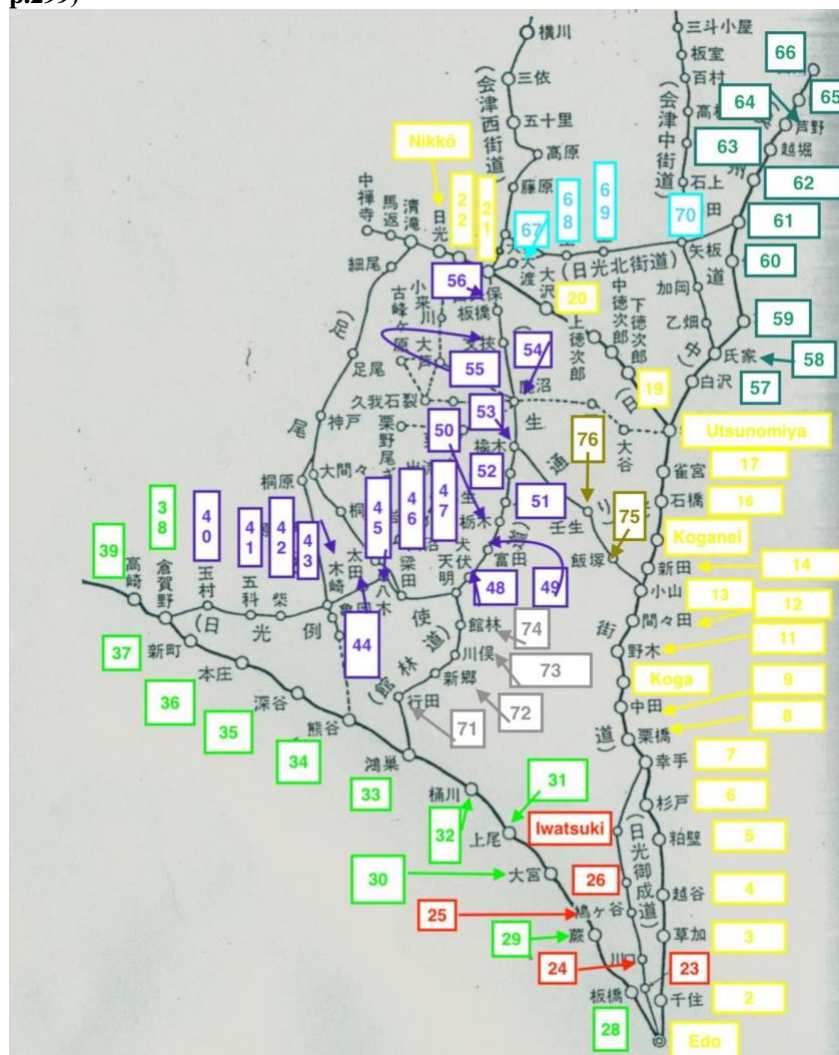


Fig. 17 Main roads leading to Nikko (adapted from Ishibashichōshi hensan iinkai, *Ishibashi chōshi tsūshihen*, p.299)



Nikkō dochū	Nikkō onari michi	Nakasendō	Nikkō Reiheishi kaidō	Ōshū kaidō	Nikkō kita kaidō	Tatebayashidō	Mibu dōri
1) Edo	23) Iwabuchi	28) Itabashi	40) Tamamura	57) Shirotsawa	67) Ōwatari	71) Gyōda	75) Iizuka
2) Senju	24) Kawaguchi	29) Warabi	41) Goryō	58) Ujiie	68) Funyū	72) Shingō	76) Mibu
3) Sōka	25) Hatogaya	30) Ōmiya	42) Shiba	59) Kitsuregawa	69) Tamanyū	73) Kawamata	
4) Koshigaya	26) Daimon	31) Ageo	43) Kizaki	60) Sakuyama	70) Yaita	74) Tatebayashi	
5) Kasukabe	27) Iwatsuki	32) Okegawa	44) Ōta	61) Ōtawara			
6) Sugito		33) Kōnosu	45) Yagi	62) Nabekake			
7) Satte		34) Kumagai	46) Yanada	63) Koebori			
8) Kurihashi		35) Fukaya	47) Tenmyō	64) Ashino			
9) Nakada		36) Honjō	48) Inubushi	65) Shirotsaka			
10) Koga		37) Shinmachi	49) Tomida	66) Shirakawa			
11) Nogi		38) Kuragano	50) Tochigi				

12) Mamada		39) Takasaki	51) Kassenba				
13) Oyama			52) Kanasaki				
14) Shinden			53) Niregi				
15) Koganei			54) Kanuma				
16) Ishibashi			55) Fubasami				
17) Suzumenomiya			56) Sakabashi				
18) Utsunomiya							
19) Tokujirō (Shimotokujirō, Nakatokujirō, Kamitokujirō)							
20) Ōsawa							
21) Imaichi							
22) Hatsuishu							
23) Nikkō							

Fig.18 – Section of Nikkō dōchū traversing Kawanago village and Koganei post-town (adapted from Kokubunjimachi, *Zusetsu Kokubunji machi no rekishi*, p.114)

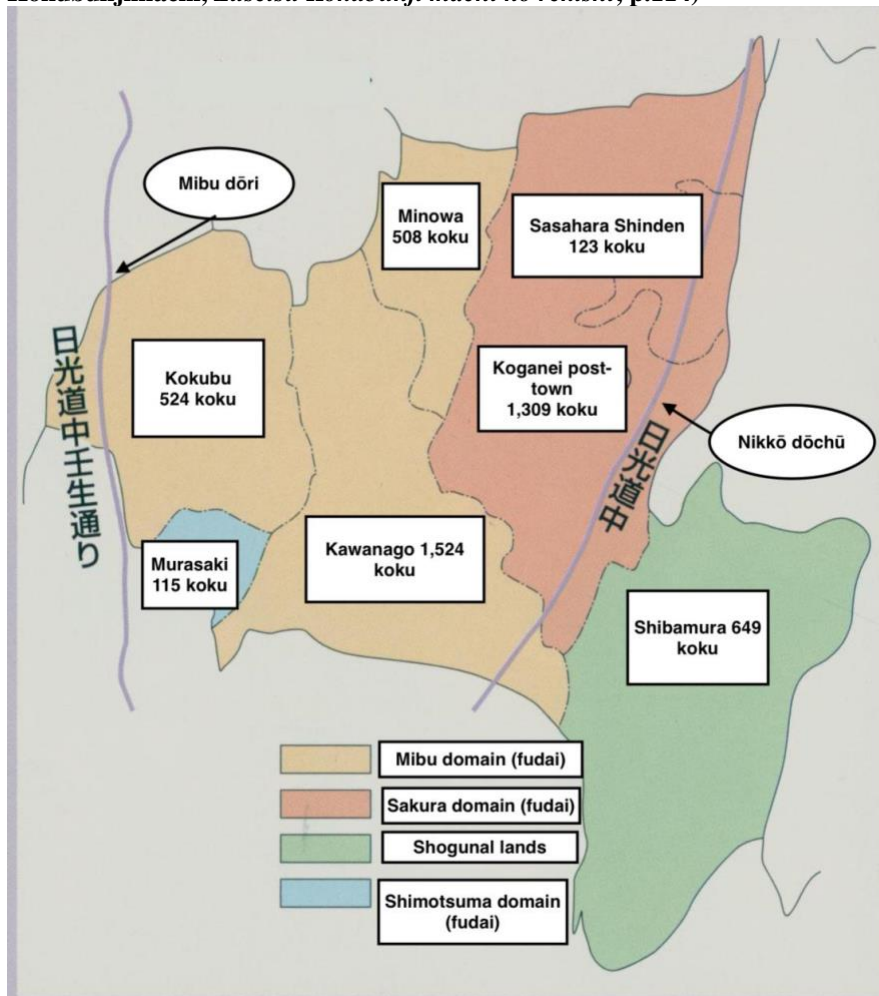
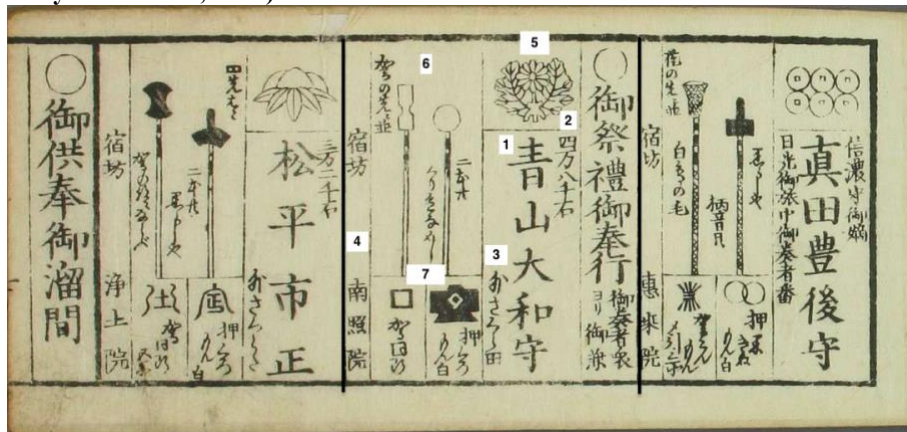


Fig.19 A page of the military roster *Nikkō omiya gosankei gubu oyakunintsuke* (from Tokyo Metropolitan “Edo-Tokyo” Museum, 1843)

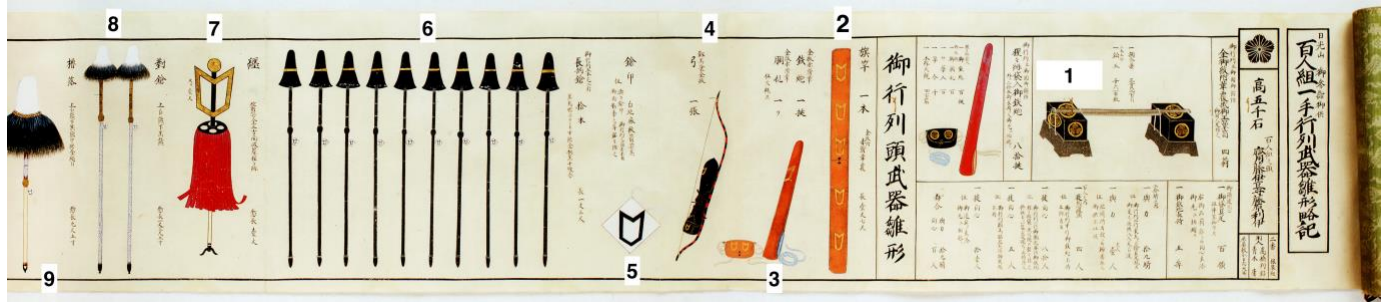


This page of the roster provides information about three shogunal officials: (from right to left), Master of Shogunal Ceremonies Sanada Yukiyoshi, Superintendent of Festivals Aoyama Yukishige, and Superintendant of Festivals Matsudaira Chikayoshi. The numbers 1 to 7 refers to various categories of information provided by the roster. 1) Name and title: Superintendent of Festivals Aoyama; 2) annual rice yield: 48,000 koku; 3) Location of the Edo residence: Sotosakurada 4) Lodgings in Nikko: Nanshōin 5) Family crest: Aoyamakiku (“Aoyama chrysanthemum”) 6) Ceremonial implements: two spears in front of the palanquin; Chest-nut color leather; 7) Outfits of the retinue surrounding the palanquin: black with white crest; Palanquin bearers: same.

Fig.20 Banners, standards, and other implements used by Tokugawa bannermen (from Tokyo Metropolitan “Edo-Tokyo Museum” *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shogun shasan*, p.41)



Fig. 21 A scroll depicting the implements carried by the Hyakuningumi battalion in 1843 (*Hyakuningumi hitote gyōretsu buki hinagata ryakki*, Tochigi Prefectural Museum, Utsunomiya).



Implements from right to left: 1) chests for ammunition decorated with Tokugawa family crest; 2) flagpoles; 3) matchlocks enclosed in scarlet leather case, pouch for bullets, and fuse; 4) bows; 5) *yarijirushi*, a marking attached to spears that served to identify the owner; 6) long-handle spears 7) *matoi* flags 8) ceremonial spears decorated with polar and black bear's fur 9) *yaguraotoshi*, ceremonial long-handle spear.

Fig.22 A Tenpō era map of Edo and the location of the *hontai* on 1843/4/13 (adapted from Kochizu Shiryō Shuppan Kabushiki Kaisha, *Tenpō Edozu*)

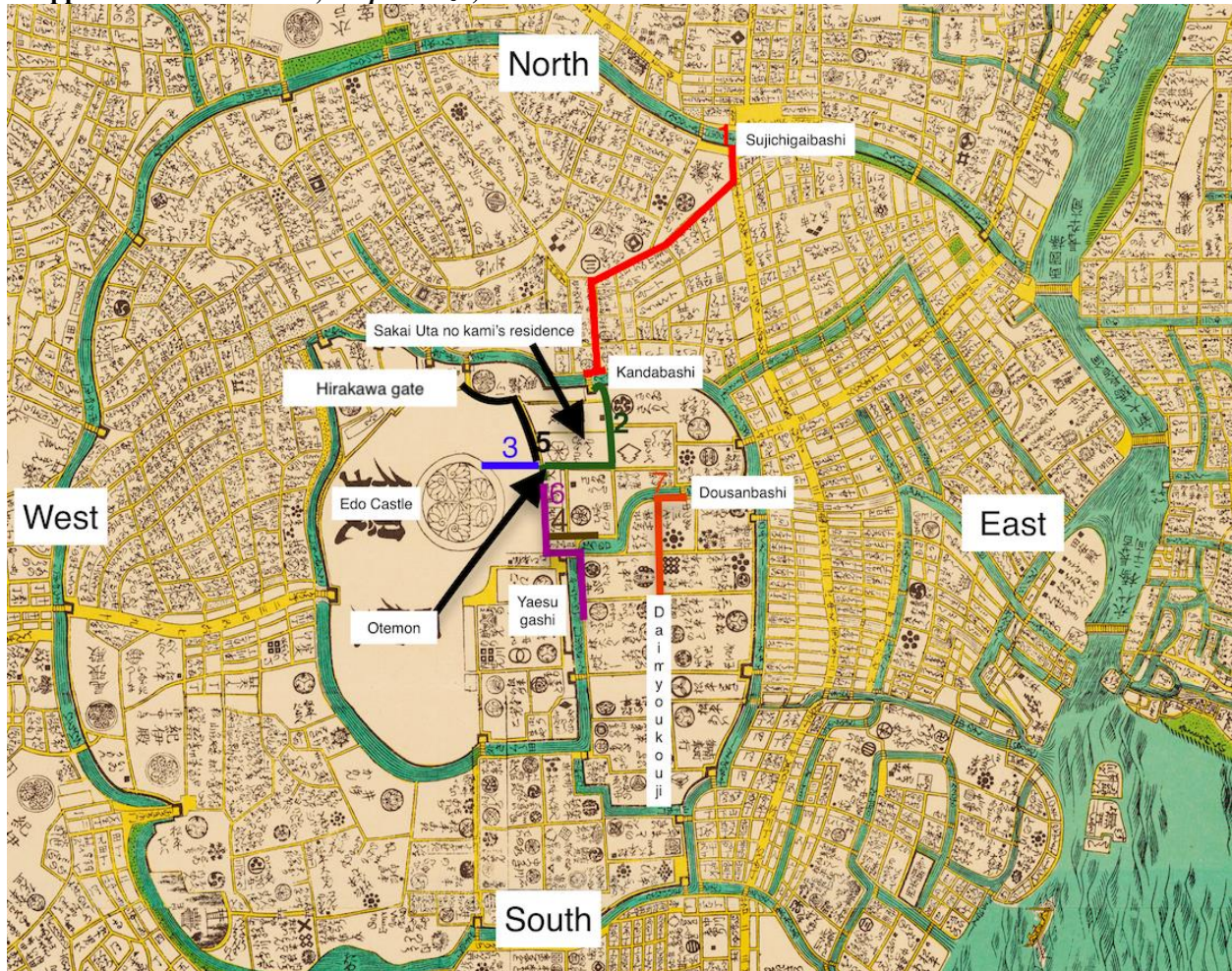


Fig.23 Section of a single sheet depiction of the 1843 shogunal pilgrimage to Nikko (*Nikkō shasan no gubugyōretsū*, Kaneko Monjo, Private Collection)

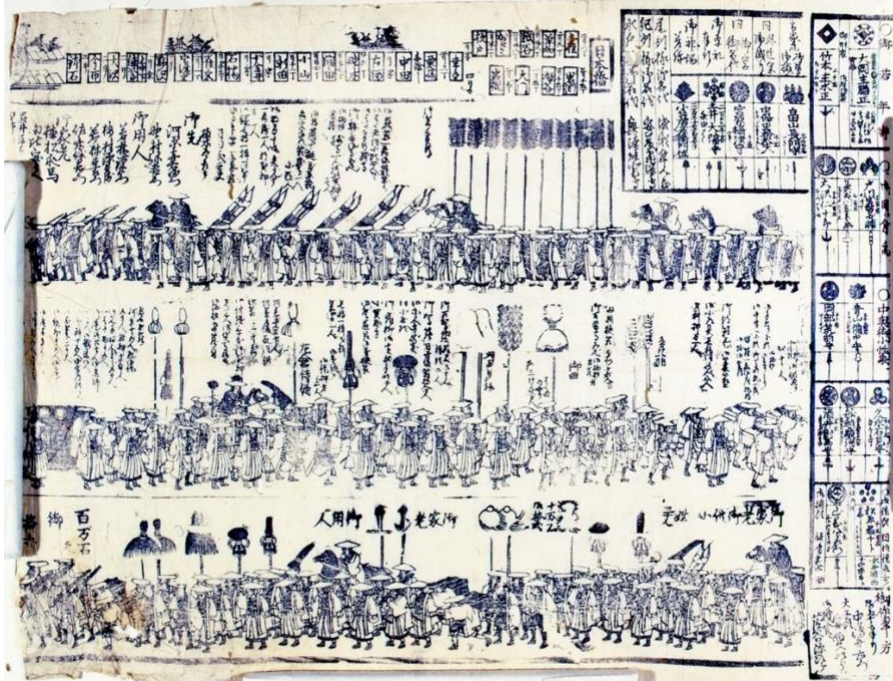


Fig.24 Security at Mt. Nikko's "Sacred Bridge" (*Nikkō shasan kinban hogo ezū*, Tokyo Metropolitan "Edo-Tokyo" Museum, 1843)



Fig.25 Map of Mt. Nikko (adapted from *Nikkōshishi*, vol.2)

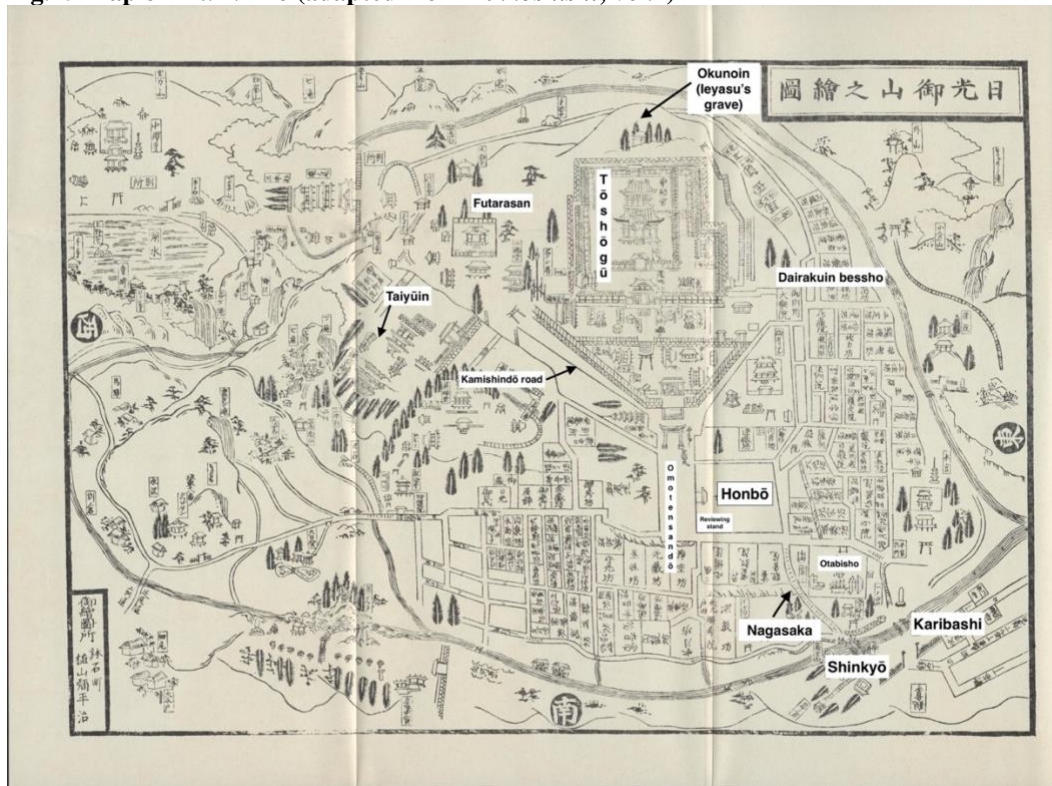


Fig.26 Map of the Tōshōgū Shrine minus the “Okunoin” (adapted from Nikkō Tōshōgū Shamusho, *Nikkō Tōshōgū*)

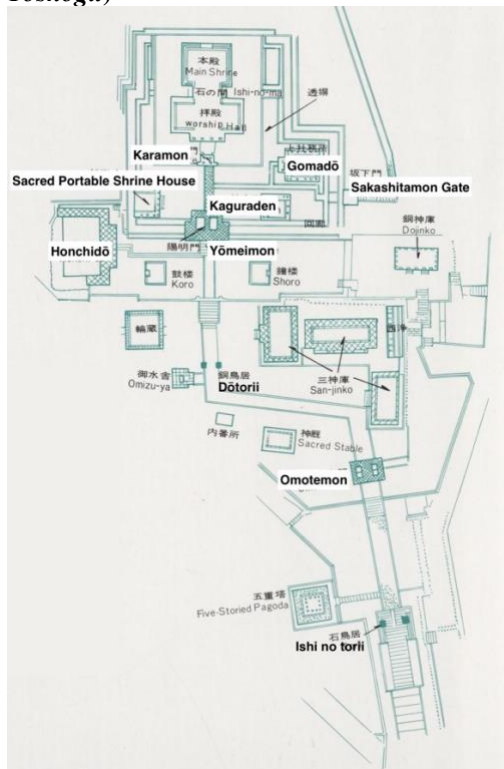


Fig.27 Shogun crossing the Yōmeimon gate (from *Chiyoda no omote*, Tochigi Prefectural Museum, Utsunomiya)



Note that the *Chiyoda no Omote* series was produced in the Meiji period and, therefore, it is not based on a direct observation of the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikko.

Fig.28 Map of the Honden, the Tōshōgū's Main Shrine (adapted from Suda, Nikkō Tōshōgū: Tōshōgū yonhyakunen shikinen taisai kinen, p.222)

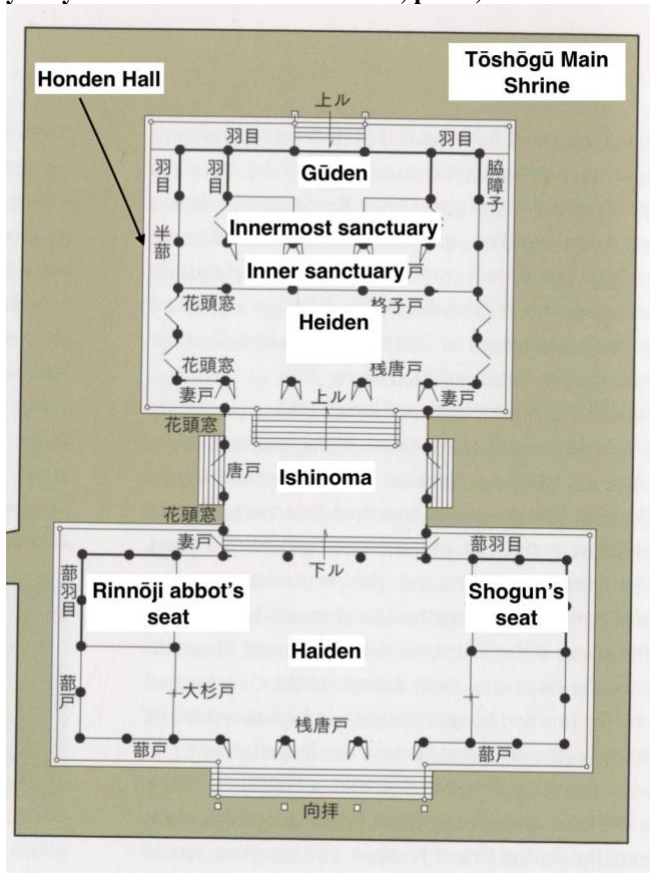


Fig.29 Detail of the Toshōsha Engi Emaki: Shogun Iemitsu worshipping in the Main Shrine (from Tokyo Metropolitan “Edo-Tokyo Museum” *Nikkō Tōshōgū to shogun shasan*, pp.26-27)



Fig.30 Utagawa Kuniyoshi, *The Earth Spider conjures up demons at the mansion of Minamoto no Raikō* (Minamoto no Yorimitsu kō no yakata ni tsuchigumo yōkai o nasu zu), 1843 (from Yuriko Iwakiri and Amy R. Newland. *Kuniyoshi. Japanese master of imagined worlds*, p.45)



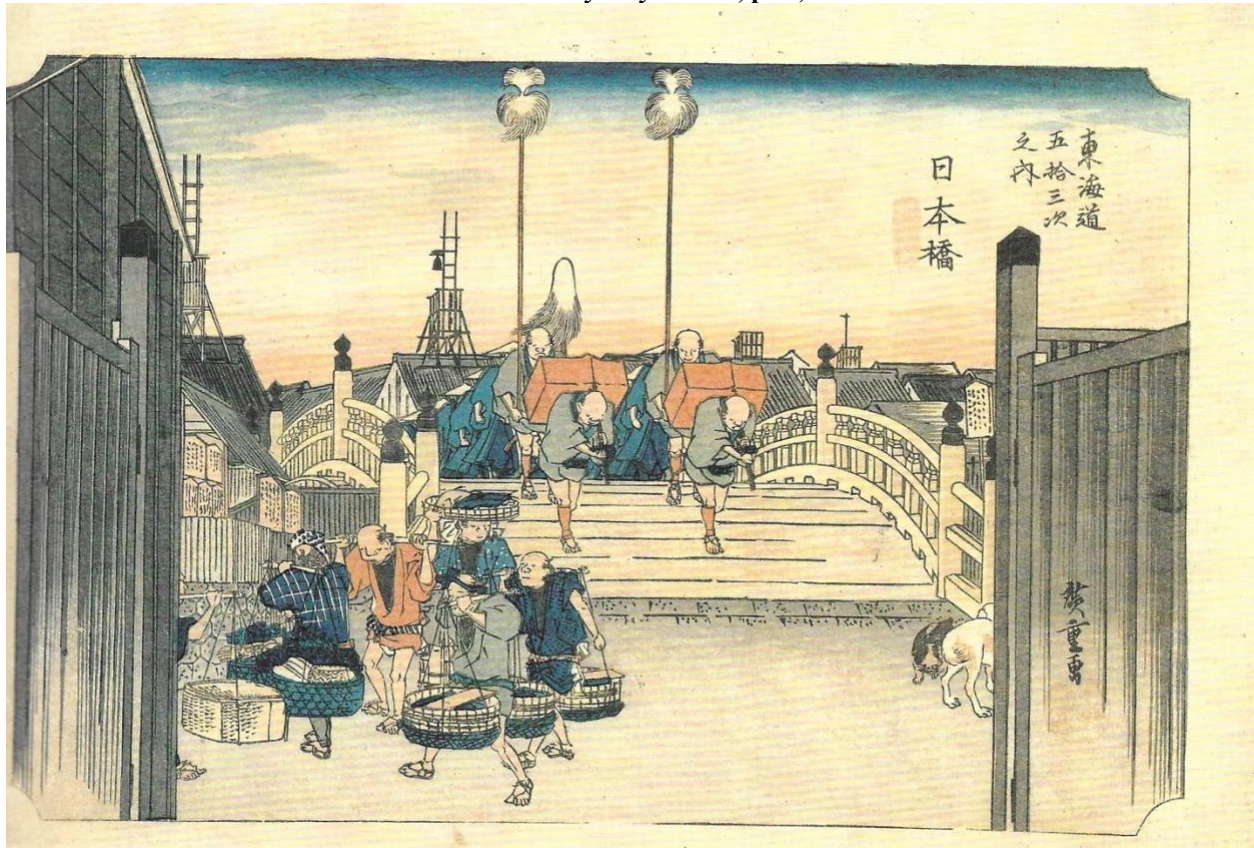
Fig.31 Utagawa Kuniyoshi, *A Great Doctor Treats Serious Diseases* (Kitai na mei nanbyō ryōji), 1850 (from <http://kuniyoshiproject.com/>)



Fig.32 Utagawa Kuniyoshi, *Asahina's Travel to the Islands of Small People* (Asahina kobito jima asobi), 1846-48 (from <http://kuniyoshiproject.com/>)



Fig.33 Utagawa Hiroshige, *Nihonbashi in the morning hours* from a series of prints depicting the post stations of Tokaido Highway (Tōkaidō gojūsantsugi no uchi Nihonbashi asa no kei), 1833-34 (from Tōkyō-to Edo-Tōkyō Hakubutsukan. *Nihonbashi ekakareta randomaaku yonhyakunen*, p.14)



APPENDIX 2: TABLES

Table 1 – Shogunal pilgrimages to Nikkō from 1617 to 1843 (including heir apparent and retired shoguns)

	Performed by	Gregorian calendar year	<i>Nengō</i> year	Corresponding death anniversary	Additional notes
1	Hidetada	1617	Genna 3	Ieyasu's 1st	Transferral of Ieyasu's mortal remains from Mt. Kunō to Mt. Nikkō and enshrinement at the Tōshōsha
2	Hidetada	1619	Genna 5		
3	Hidetada	1622	Genna 8	Ieyasu's 7th	
4	Iemitsu	1623	Genna 9		
5	Iemitsu	1625	Kan'ei 2		Announcement of Iemitsu's succession to the shogunal throne.
6	Hidetada	1628	Kan'ei 5	Ieyasu's 13rd	Performed by Hidetada as retired shogun.
7	Iemitsu	1628	Kan'ei 5		
8	Iemitsu	1629	Kan'ei 6		Worshipping of Ieyasu after Iemitsu's recovery from smallpox.
9	Iemitsu	1632	Kan'ei 9	Ieyasu's 17	
10	Iemitsu	1634	Kan'ei 11		Report of Iemitsu's last visit to Kyoto (<i>gojōraku</i>)
11	Iemitsu	1636	Kan'ei 13	Ieyasu's 21st	Celebration for the completion of the "great restoration" (<i>daizōtai</i>) of the Tōshōsha.
12	Iemitsu	1640	Kan'ei 17	Ieyasu's 25th	
13	Iemitsu	1642	Kan'ei 19		Completion of a stone pagoda at Ieyasu's burial site.
14	Iemitsu	1648	Keian gannen	Ieyasu's 33rd	
15	Ietsuna	1649	Keian 2		Performed by Ietsuna as heir apparent.
17	Ietsuna	1660	Manji 3		Cancelled.
18	Ietsuna	1663	Kanbun 3	Iemitsu's 13rd	
19	Ietsuna	1667	Kanbun 7	Iemitsu's 17 th	Cancelled.
20	Tsunayoshi	1683	Tenna 3	Iemitsu's 33 rd	Cancelled.
21	Tsunayoshi	1697	Genroku 10		Cancelled.
22	Ienobu	1716	Shōtoku 6	Ieyasu's 100 th	Cancelled.
23	Yoshimune	1728	Kyōhō 13		
24	Ieharu	1772	An'ei gannen		Postponed because of Ieharu's legal wife's death.
25	Ieharu	1776	An'ei 5		
26	Ienari	1825	Bunsei 8		Postponed because of natural disasters and bad crops.
27	Ienari	1826	Bunsei 9		Cancelled.
28	Ieyoshi	1843	Tenpō 14		

Table 2 – Preparations for shogun Ieyoshi's pilgrimage to Nikkō: chronological outline (1842/1/9 to 1843/4/12)

Date	Description	Notes
1842/1/9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Senior councilor Mizuno Echizen no kami obtains permission to travel to Nikkō 	
1842/1/27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mizuno returns from Nikkō 	
1842/1/13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The shogunal heir apparent (udaishō), Ienari's legal wife (Kōdainsama), Ieyoshi's legal wife (Gorenchūsama), and the members of <i>Gosanke</i> informed of the shogun's intention to travel to Nikkō 	
1842/2/16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pilgrimage formally announced by the shogun to the heir apparent Senior councilor Echizen no kami appointed to pilgrimage director (<i>goyōkakari</i>) Grand chamberlain Hori Yamato no kami informed of the pilgrimage Pilgrimage announced to retainers with a rank of above <i>hoi</i> Pilgrimage formally announced to <i>Gosanke</i> and their chief ministers, to Ienari's legal wife, and to Ieyoshi's legal wife Shogunal order: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) All retainers must pay a congratulatory visit to the shogun and the heir apparent at Edo castle on 2/18 b) Retainers must also pay a visit to the residences of Western Enceinte's Senior Councilors Shimousa no kami and Kawachi no kami, of Grand Chamberlain Hori Yamato no kami, and of the junior councilors of the Main and Western Enceintes c) Ill daimyo, underage daimyo must send a messenger to Edo castle d) Retainers who are not in Edo (including retired ones) must send a congratulatory letter to the Senior Councilors of the Western Enceinte Shimousa no kami and Kawachi no kami 	<p>ZTJ: the pilgrimage's formal announcement occurs on 1842/2/17</p> <p>NA: Mizuno is appointed on 1842/2/17</p>
1842/2/18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All retainers attend Edo castle to celebrate the pilgrimage's announcement Congratulatory audiences with the members of the <i>Gosanke</i> and the <i>Gosankyō</i> Congratulatory audiences with various high-ranking retainers Junior councilor Hotta Settsu no kami appointed to pilgrimage director 	<p>The <i>Gosanke</i> normally travel to Nikkō a few days before the shogun and accompany him in his visit to Ieyasu's shrine (<i>Nikkō yosan</i>). The <i>Gosankyō</i>, instead, travel to Nikkō after the shogun has returned to Edo</p>
1842/2/19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 19 retainers entrusted with "official duties" (<i>goyō</i>) 	

1842/2/22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: retainers whose families have served in the previous pilgrimages must compile a record of their families' tasks and deliver copies to Echizen no kami and Settsu no kami 	
1842/2/23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 7 retainers appointed to retinue (<i>gubu</i> or <i>otomo</i>) Senior Councilor and lord of Koga, Ōi no kami, and Junior Councilor and lord of Iwatsuki, Ōoka Shuzen no kami appointed to "hosting lords" 3 retainers appointed to keepers (<i>rusu</i>) [including Senior Councilor Sanada Shinano no kami, chief keeper of Edo castle]. 	In the context of the Nikkō pilgrimage the term "keeper" (<i>orusu</i>) refers to duties pertaining to the defense and supervision of Edo castle, of the shogunal capital, and of other strategic areas in the country during the shogun's trip to Nikkō.
1842/2/24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Superintendent of Temples and Shrines and lord of Utsunomiya Toda Hyūga no kami appointed to "hosting lord" Shogunal order: retainers serving in the pilgrimage must be thrifty and curtail expenses 	
1842/2/25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 7 retainers appointed to retinue 	
1842/2/27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Senior Councilor Echizen no kami orders Inspector General Hajikano, Superintendent of Finance Atobe Superintendent of Works Hori; Superintendent of Public Works Ikeda; Inspector Sasaki to prepare for inspections of the Nikkō highways 	NA: these officials leave on 1842/4/1 and return to Edo 5/15
1842/3/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10 retainers appointed to Nikkō patrol (<i>kinban</i>) 3 retainers appointed to retinue 1 retainer appointed to Nikkō fire patrol (<i>hinoban</i>) 19 retainers appointed to pilgrimage directors Shogunal orders: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Shogunal facilities for the pilgrimage will be restored and/or built at the shogunate's expense b) Retainers must avoid non-essential repairs of the road c) Retainers must prune trees and weeds along the Nikkō highway in the areas where vegetation grows thick 	
1842/3/22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Master of court ceremonies Miyahara and Hatakeyama ordered to be on duty in Nikkō during the shogun's pilgrimage. 	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 118 retainers appointed to retinue • Couriers (<i>tsukaiban</i>) Ishigaya, Matsudaira Daizen, Matsudaira Zendaibu, and Sakai are appointed to provisional inspectors (<i>metsuke</i>) for the duration of the pilgrimage • Inspector Asano and couriers Ishigaya, Saitō, and Ina ordered to supervise the marching pace of the shogunal procession (<i>ashinami gyōretsu</i>) 	
1842/3/24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shogunal order: injunction against raising the prices of raw materials (bamboo, wood...) necessary for the pilgrimage. 	NA: this order is dated 1842/3/28
1842/3/26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 retainers appointed to retinue 	
1842/3/27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 63 retainers appointed to retinue 	
1842/3/28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comptroller of Finance Nemoto replaces Murata in conducting “official duties” • Injunctions against overspending 	
1842/4/1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1 retainer appointed to keeper • 9 retainers appointed to members of the retinue • Inspector General Hajikano, Superintendent of Finance Atobe, Superintendent of Works Hori, Superintendent of Public Works Ikeda, Inspector Sasaki granted a leave to conduct inspections along the Nikkō highways 	ZTJ: the appointment of 9 members of the retinue occurs on 1842/4/3
1842/4/2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shogunal order: Edo keepers’ duties 	
1842/4/4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inspector Nakagawa replaces Iwase Naiki in retinue 	
1842/4/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shogunal order: memorandum detailing the quantity of men and weapons each member of the retinue can take to Nikkō 	
1842/4/8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vanguard soldier (<i>sakite</i>) Naitō Awa no kami appointed to retinue 	
1842/4/10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doctor Kasawara Nobumitsu appointed to retinue 	
1842/4/12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shogunal order: memorandum for shogunal direct retainers (<i>hatamoto</i>)’s dress code during the pilgrimage 	
1842/4/13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shogunal order: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Order for shogunal direct retainers to not wear showy outfits/ornaments during the pilgrimage b) Memorandum about men and weapons each member of the retinue can take to Nikkō 	ZTJ: item b) dated 1842/4/12

	c) shogunal direct retainers must act frugally and take advantage of the shogunal pilgrimage to revive warrior spirit	
1842/4/16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 8 retainers entrusted with the task of arranging lodging for shogunal retinue in the inns along the Nikkō highway (<i>ōshukuwari</i>) 	
1842/4/19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The three hosting lords – Ōi, Ōoka, and Toda – are granted time to return to their domains and start preparations for shogun's visit. Ōoka and Toda are granted a twenty-day leave 	NA: Ōi no kami postponed his departure to 5/15 because of sudden illness
1842/4/22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Captain of the Bodyguards Toki Tanba no kami replaces Asano Tōtōmi no kami in retinue. 	
1842/4/23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nikkō patrol daimyo Matsudaira Yamato no kami ordered to travel to Nikkō before the shogun's departure to perform his duties. 	
1842/5/1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tamaritsume daimyo Ii Kamon no kami and Ogasawa Daizendaibu granted permission to return to their domains and ordered to come back to Edo before the shogun's departure for Nikkō Matsudaira Higo no kami appointed to Edo keeper Shogunal attendant (konando) Matsudaira Tamiya appointed to retinue 	
1842/5/4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tanaka Kyūzo → head section of the Middle Interior's Secretaries replaced by Tsuzuki Chōzaburō → replaced by Secretary of the Middle Interior Tatsuta Rokusuke 	
1842/5/10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Middle Interior's Page Ogasawara Kaga no kami appointed to Superintendent of Uruga 	
1842/5/13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hosting lord Ōoka Shuzen no kami informs the shogun of his departure for Iwatsuki 	
1842/5/14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hosting lord Ōi no kami informs the shogun of his departure for Koga. Doi receives gifts. The three hosting lords receive loans from the shogun: 5,000 ryō for Ōi and Toda and 2,000 ryō for Ōoka 	
1842/5/15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sakai Uta no kami appointed to keeper Matsudaira Oki no kami appointed to retinue 	
1842/5/18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Matsudaira Sanuki no kami appointed to keeper 	ZTJ: Matsudaira's appointment occurs on 1842/6/18

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tsuchiya Uneme no kami replaces Sakai Wakasa no kami in Nikkō patrol 	
1842/5/25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> on the implements provided by the shogunate to be used during the pilgrimage on the mode of transportation for retinue during the pilgrimage 	
1842/6/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hosting lord Ōi no kami returns from Koga and presents gifts to the shogun 	
1842/6/28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inspector Suwa Shōemon granted permission to travel and supervise the distribution of lodging for shogun's retinue during the pilgrimage 	
1842/6/29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: duties of pilgrimage directors who are in a period of mourning 	Retainers who were in a period of mourning were not allowed to access Mt. Nikkō because of the “pollution” (<i>kegare</i>) deriving from their contact with the dead.
1842/7/1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hosting lord Toda returns from Utsunomiya and attends Edo castle 6 retainers (pages and body guards) are granted time to supervise the distribution of lodging for shogun's retinue during the pilgrimage 	
1842/7/9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hosting lord Ōi ordered to travel to Nikkō after the shogun has left Koga castle on 1843/4/15 Hosting lord Ōoka ordered to travel to Nikkō after the shogun has left Iwatsuki castle on 1843/4/14 	
1842/7/12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inspector Nakagawa Kenzaburō granted time to supervise the distribution of lodging for the shogun's retinue during the pilgrimage 	
1842/7/28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inspector General Hajikano, Superintendent of Finance Atobe, Superintendent of Works Hori, Superintendent of Public Works Ikeda, Inspectors Sasaki and Sakakibara granted time to travel to Nikkō to conduct inspections Shogunal order: during Senior Councilor Echizen no kami and Junior Councilor Hotta Settsu no kami's absence, queries must be addressed to the Senior and Junior councilors on duty 	
1842/7/29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 14 retainers entrusted with “official duties” (supervising preparation of meals during the pilgrimage, <i>makanai</i>) 	NA: 12 retainers appointed to this task
1842/8/4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Senior Councilor Echizen no kami meets the shogun before leaving for Nikkō. He receives gifts from the shogun 	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Junior Councilor Hotta meets the shogun before leaving for Nikkō 	
1842/8/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tamaritsume daimyo Ogasawara Daizendaibu replaces Matsudaira Yamato no kami in Nikkō patrol Superintendent of Festivals Matsudaira Ichi no kami replaces Honda Buzen no kami in retinue Uemura Dewa no kami replaces Matsudaira Ichi no kami in Nikkō patrol Senior Councilor Echizen no kami informs the shogun that he will be leaving for Nikkō on 8/7 	
1842/8/24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Senior Councilor Echizen no kami returns from Nikkō and attends Edo castle to inform the shogun that inspections have been completed. Mizuno offers gifts to the shogun 	
1842/8/27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Junior Councilor Hotta Settsu no kami returns from Nikkō and attends Edo castle to inform the shogun that inspections have been completed. Hotta offers gifts to the shogun 	
1842/8/28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Senior Councilor Echizen no kami receives seasonal robes from the shogun 	
1842/9/1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inspector General Hajikano, Superintendent of Finance Atobe, Superintendent of Works Hori, Superintendent of Public Works Ikeda, Inspectors Sasaki and Sakakibara return from Nikkō after conducting inspections Superintendent of Works Ishikawa Tosa no kami, Inspector Sakurai Shōbei, Comptroller of Finance Kawamura Seibei return from Nikkō after supervising the restorations of the Nikkō mausolea 	
1842/9/20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Master of Court Ceremonies Takeda Sakyōdaibu and Superintendent of Festivals Matsudaira Iwami no kami return from Nikkō 	
1842/9/24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: as the day of the shogun's departure approaches, officials are asked to present only urgent requests to the shogunal cabinet by 1842/12 	
1842/9/26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 8 retainers replaced in retinue 	
1842/10/2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: on the appearance of inns and shops located along the Nikkō highway during the shogunal pilgrimage 	

1842/10/4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 retainers replaced in retinue 	
1842/10/14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shogunal order: on fodder for horses to be used during the pilgrimage 	
1842/10/25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shogunal order: rules for the supervision and protection of gates of the shogunal residence in Nikkō (Nikkō Honbō) and of the three hosting castles (oshukujō) 	
1842/10/26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chief of the Hyakunin Unit Suwa Bizen no kami replaces Kondō Hikokurō in retinue 	
1842/10/29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shogunal order: Edo magistrates must keep prices under control and prevent merchants from stocking up goods such as straw sandals and shoes and re-selling them at higher prices 	
1842/11/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inspector Matsudaira Shirō replaces Asano Kin'nojō in retinue • Inspector Sakurai Shōbei replaces Asano Kin'nojō in the task of supervising the marching pace of the shogunal procession and he is also appointed to attendant 	
1842/11/9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shogunal order: attendants must wear woven bamboo hats (<i>sukegasa</i>) when traveling to Nikkō. • Tozama daimyo Matsudaira Kura no kami (Ikeda Yoshimasa lord of Okayama), fudai daimyo Inaba Tango no kami (Inaba Masamori, lord of Yodo), tozama daimyo Mizuguchi Shuzen no kami (Mizoguchi Taohiro, lord of Shibata), fudai daimyo Honda Bungo no kami (Honda Suketoshi, lord of Iiyama), tozama daimyo Akitsuki Chikuzen no kami (Akitsuki Tanedata, lord of Takanabe) are entrusted with the task of supporting the restoration of the Nikkō mausolea (<i>shūfuku sukeyaku</i>) 	
1842/11/16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shogunal order: shogunal retainers traveling to Nikkō must issue letters indicating the names of heirs 	
1842/11/18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Master of Court Ceremonies Toda replaces Miyahara 	
1842/11/24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Captain of the Escort Guards Ogasawara Nuinosuke replaces Takagi Tango no kami in retinue 	
1842/11/27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chief of the Bodyguard Unit Koguri Uzen replaces Hachiya Samon as retinue 	
1842/12/4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shogunal order: on packhorses and transportation between Edo and Nikkō 	

1842/12/5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inspector General Okamura is entrusted with “official duties” in place of Hajikano 2 officials appointed to retinue 	ZTJ: Okamura replaces Hajikano in retinue
1842/12/8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The shogunate accepts a donation of straw sandals and fodder by villages and towns within Edo and in various provinces of the country to be used for the shogun’s pilgrimage. 	
1842/12/13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inspector General Matsudaira Buzen no kami appointed to keeper 	
1842/12/14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: instructions for shogunal retainers’ visit to the Nikkō mausolea and for the gifts to be presented to Ieyasu and Iemitsu 	
1842/12/16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: rules for accessing Mt. Nikkō during the shogunal pilgrimage 	
1842/12/22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: extending the deadline of shogunal loans for retainers serving in the pilgrimage 	
1842/12/24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: on firearms and how attendants and other retainers on duty have to transport them 	
1842/12/26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal orders: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Exemption from official duties for retainers in mourning b) Dress code for attendants and other retainers on duty when visiting Ieyasu’s shrine c) Dress code for various retainers serving in the pilgrimage d) Prohibition to use the Nikkō roads between 1843/4/12 and 1843/4/13 for people who have no business related to the pilgrimage e) Instructions on how to present gifts at the Nikkō mausolea f) Dress code for attendants traveling on horses g) Instructions on where to dismount one’s horse in Nikkō and in the three hosting castles h) Instructions on what attendants should do in case of rain during their trip to Nikkō i) Instructions on the marching pace of the attendants 	
1842/12/28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nikkō Magistrate Inō Dewa no kami appointed to provisional Inspector General until the end of the shogun’s pilgrimage. 	
1842/12/29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: instructions for retainers whose domains are located 	

	along the Nikkō highway for the dispatching of messengers to shogunal officials conducting inspections	
1842/12/?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3 retainers appointed to the protections of barriers 	NA: Matsudaira Suruga no kami and Kuse Yamato no kami are entrusted respectively with the defense of Shingōkawamata barrier (between Musashi and Shimozuke provinces and Sekiyado barrier (Shimousa province). The chronicle also mentions that Hiraoka Bunjirō was assigned to the defense of a barrier located in the Kantō region (房州渡食町両所関所), which I have not been able to identify. The order is undated and does not appear in other chronicles.
1843/12/?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: allowances for pilgrimage directors and members of the shogunal retinue whose annual rice yield is less than 10,000 koku 	
1843/1/4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: retainers who have obtained loan extensions must express their gratitude to the shogunate 	
1843/1/23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attendants with a status above <i>hoi</i> summoned to Edo castle. Those busy serving in the pilgrimage to Zōjōji temple must send a proxy 	
1843/1/24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attendants with a status above <i>hoi</i> receive an allowance for their trip to Nikkō 	
1843/1/27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attendants with a state of below <i>omemie</i> informed that the shogunate will provide an allowance and they are encouraged to act frugally 	
1843/2/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: on how to cross the pontoon bridge on Tone river 	
1843/2/15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 16 retainers, including tozama daimyo, granted permission to return to their domains. 8 retainers' heirs apparent are granted permission to return to their domains during the Nikkō pilgrimage 	According to Izumi Masato the purpose of this “leave” is to give time to retainers to strengthen local defenses in the domains (<i>okunikatame</i>). The ZTJ, however, does not explicitly mentions the reason for the leave.
1843/2/16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4 officials replaced in retinue 	
1843/2/19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: instructions on how to repay shogunal loans obtained by retainers for the pilgrimage Several retainers belonging to various branches of the Matsudaira family granted permission to pilgrimage to Nikkō at their convenience after the shogun's return on 1843/4/21 	
1843/2/26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Master of shogunal ceremonies and Superintendent of Temples and Shrines Matsudaira Izumi no kami entrusted with “official duties” in place of Matsudaira Iga no kami 	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Master of Shogunal ceremonies Andō replaces Matsudaira Izumi no kami in retinue 	
1843/2/27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: regulations on how to return loans for those retainers who have received an exemption from pilgrimage-related duties 	
1843/2/28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: prohibition for porters to raise the fees of their services 	
1843/2/29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: inspections of boats and regulations for vessels entering Edo during the shogun's pilgrimage 	
1843/2/30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Captain of the Escort Guards Kawakubo Kageyu replaces Kimura Shichiemon in retinue 	
1843/2/?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal orders: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Regulations for retainers in mourning during their pilgrimage to the Nikkō mausolea Shogunal retinue exempted from regular duties before and after the pilgrimage Retinue allowed to watch the Nikkō Festival (Nikkō sairei) on 4/17 Packhorses and porters won't be available on the Nikkō highways between 4/1 and 4/20 except for those with pilgrimage-related official duties Memorandum by Edo magistrate Torii Yōzō detailing pay and tasks of daily laborers (hiyatoi) from various districts of Edo 	
1843/2/?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: instructions for retainers traveling to Nikkō who become father in the 4th month before their departure 	After the birth of a child both the mother and father were considered "polluted" (<i>san'e</i>). The period during which one considered contaminated was longer for women than for men. The proclamation explains that retainers who become fathers around the time of the pilgrimage can travel to Nikkō, but they must adopt precautions such as using different fires while in the inns in order not to contaminate other retainers.
1843/3/1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: dress code for shogunal retainers traveling to Nikkō 	
1843/3/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> regulations on shogunal kitchens in Edo castle during the shogun's absence regulations about defense and fire patrol in Edo castle various instructions for retainers appointed to Edo keepers 	
1843/3/9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal doctors Ikeda Yoshitaka and Yamada Munekazu ordered to serve 	

	as retinue for the Nikkō abbot during his trip to Nikkō	
1843/3/12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: regulations for guardhouses located along the Nikkō highways or in the proximity of them 	
1843/3/13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: retainers who are not serving as attendants are summoned to Edo castle on the day of the shogun's departure (4/13) and on his return from Nikkō (4/21) 2 retainers replaced in retinue 	
1843/3/14	<p>Shogunal order:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> retainers patrolling Edo castle patrol exempted from attending the castle on 4/13 and 4/21 to have an audience with the shogun. Retainers on duty at guardhouses along the Nikkō highway will have an audience (<i>omemie</i>) the shogun from the guardhouse Regulations for retainers attending Edo castle on 4/13 and 4/21 on where to dismount from their horses or get out of their palanquins Regulations about messengers sent by retainers to inquire about the shogun's health during his trip to Nikkō Daimyo who are in their domain must send a congratulatory letter to Edo after receiving word of the shogun's departure for Nikkō and of his return to Edo Prohibition for retainers to leave their residences in Edo during the shogun's absence, except for those with official duties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the case of item b) <i>omemie</i> must be interpreted simply as "viewing." Daimyo and other retainers who are stationed in guardhouses (and therefore won't be able to greet the shogun in Edo) will have a chance to do so by glimpsing at the parading palanquin without leaving their posts.
1843/3/15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tozama daimyo Matsudaira Ōsumi no kami (Shimazu Narioki, lord of Satsuma) and Tsugaru Ōsumi no kami (Tsugaru Yukitsugu, lord of Hirosaki) given permission to return to their domains. Tsugaru is entrusted with the defenses of Matsumae (Hokkaido) Koga and Iwatsuki daimyo's heirs apparent granted permission to return to their domains during the shogunal pilgrimage Inspectors General Okamura, Superintendent of Finance Kajino, Comptroller of Finance Nemoto travel to Nikkō to conduct inspections 	
1843/3/16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inspector Matsudaira Shikibu no shōyū is entrusted with "official duties" in place of Sakakibara Kazue 	ZTJ: 17 retainers are appointed on this day. Sōma Daizen'nosuke is missing from the TR's list of appointments.

	no kami and is also appointed to retinue <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 16 retainers are appointed to Edo keepers 	
1843/3/18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rehearsal and review of the shogunal procession in the Fukiage gardens (Edo Castle) 	
1843/3/19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Nikkō abbott receives through the Master of Court Ceremonies Takeda 100 pieces of silver and 10 seasonal robes as a compensation for the prayers offered for the shogun's pilgrimage to Nikkō 	
1843/3/21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 29 daimyo entrusted with the task of seizing criminals (akutō) in various areas of Kantō on the occasion of the shogun's pilgrimage 	
1843/3/22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chamberlain Shirasu Kai no kami replaces Hongō Tango no kami in retinue 	
1843/3/23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chief of the Hyakunin Unit Hanabusa Shima no kami replaces Matsudaira Takumi no kami in retinue Shogunal order: sitting arrangements for audience with the shogunal heir apparent in the Main Enceinte of Edo castle after the shogun's departure; sitting arrangement for retainers who have been summoned to Edo castle on the day of the shogun's departure 	
1843/3/27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Superintendent of Spears Kajikawa Shōbei replaces Mitsubuchi Tosa no kami in retinue 	
1843/3/28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Senior Councilor and lord of Koga Ōi no kami and Junior Councilor and lord of Iwatsuki Ōoka Shuzen no kami receive gifts from the shogun before their departure to their respective domains 	
1843/3/30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal order: memorandum detailing the shogun's schedule for sightseeing in Nikkō after completing rituals at Ieyasu and Iemitsu's mausolea 	
1843/4/1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sado magistrate Ōya Mitsuyoshi, Shimoda Magistrate Ogasawara Kaga no kami, and Haneda Magistrate Tanaka Ichiroemon travel respectively to Sado, Shimoda and Haneda to coordinate and supervise defenses during the shogun's pilgrimage Vanguard soldier Naitō Kura no kami replaces Sasayama Jūbei in retinue 	ZTJ: on this day Doctor Akamatsu Kyūan replaces Kasahara Ryōan

1843/4/2	Shogunal order: Masters of Court Ceremonies Hatakeyama Nagato no kami and Toda Kaga no kami, Master of Shogunal Ceremonies and Superintendent of Temples and Shrines Matsudaira Izumi no kami, Inspector General Okamura Tango no kami, Superintendents of Finance Atohe Noto no kami and Kajino Tosa no kami, Superintendent of Works Hori Iga no kami, Superintendent of Public Works Ikeda Chikugo no kami, Inspector Sasaki Ōmi no kami ordered to attend Edo castle on 1843/4/4	NA: Inspector Matsudaira Shikibu Shōyū is also among the retainers ordered to report to Edo castle on 4/4
1843/4/3	<p>Ii Kamon no kami, Matsudaira Oki no kami, Ogasawara Daizendaibu, and other retainers with status above <i>hoi</i> have an audience with the shogun</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Superintendent of Temples and Shrines Toda Hyūga no kami is granted permission to return to Utsunomiya • Inspector of the Western Enceinte Tōyama Heizaemon appointed to provisional inspector • Courier Ōkubo Hikozaemon appointed to provisional inspector of the Western Enceinte • Pilgrimage-related laws and ordinances are read to daimyo on duty and to retainers with status above <i>hoi</i> • Shogunal order: regulations for daily laborers' access to Edo castle during the shogun's absence 	TR: Toda granted a leave of absence on 4/4
1843/4/4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Numerous retainers serving in the pilgrimage have an audience with the shogun and are asked to comply with the shogunal laws and ordinances pertaining to Nikkō pilgrimage. They are later read the laws and ordinances by shogunal secretaries • The Nikkō abbot presents lucky charms (<i>Momiji mamori</i>) for the shogun and his retinue through a messenger. • Chiefs of the Shogunal Personal Guards (<i>bangashira</i>, <i>monogashira</i>) ordered to attend Edo castle on 4/6 	
1843/4/5	<p>Shogunal orders:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Instructions for seeing the shogun off on 4/13 and welcoming him back on 4/21 b) Edo castle kitchens reopen on 4/21 	
1843/4/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The shogun's heir apparent presents him with parting gifts (<i>osenbetsu</i>) • Members of the <i>Gosanke</i> families have a face-to-face meeting with the 	

	<p>shogun (<i>taigan</i>) because of their imminent departure for Nikkō</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Numerous retainers serving as keepers during the shogun's absence have an audience with the shogun and are asked to comply with the shogunal laws and ordinances pertaining to Nikkō pilgrimage • 2 retainers appointed to keepers • Shogunal secretaries read the law and ordinances pertaining to the Nikkō pilgrimage to the chiefs of the shogun's personal guards (<i>bangashira</i>, <i>monogashira</i>) • Master of Shogunal Ceremonies Andō, Matsudaira Izumi no kami, Aoyama, and Sanada Bungo no kami receive gifts from the shogun before their departure for Nikkō. • Members of the <i>Gosanke</i> families present gifts (saddles, stirrups, and saddlecloths) to the shogun through a messenger • Shogunal order: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) regulations for weapons and men that each attendant can take to Nikkō b) regulations for Edo castle keepers: Sanada Shinano no kami designated as main keeper; prohibition to leave the castle unattended at any time while on duty; injunctions against fights and quarrels 	
1843/4/7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shogunal order: instructions for off-duty retinue during the trip to Nikkō 	
1843/4/9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shogunal order: officials handling financial matters (<i>kattegata</i>) must consult Senior Councilor Sanada Shinano no kami and Junior Councilor Honjō Ise no kami to postpone official business while the shogun is in Nikkō 	
1843/4/11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High-ranking retainers, including tamaritsume daimyo Ii Kamon no kami and Matsudaira Oki no kami, Senior Councilors Mizuno Echizen no kami and Hotta Bicchu no kami; Grand Chamberlain Hori Yamato no kami; Junior Councilors Hotta Setsu no kami and Endō Tajima no kami have an audience with shogun and receive gifts • Kunimochi daimyo have an audience with the shogun in the Shiroshoin to wish him well before his trip to Nikkō 	TR: Members of the <i>Gosanke</i> also present gifts on 1843/4/6

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Senior councilor Doi sends a messenger to congratulate the shogun since he has already left for Koga. Owari and Kii lords (<i>Gosanke</i>) present gifts for the shogun through a messenger because they had already left for Nikkō After the shogun has returned in the Middle Interior (nakaoku), Niwa Sakyō Daibu and Matsudaira Tosa no kami are appointed to keepers (Edo fire patrol) 	
1843/4/12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Chion'in abbot (<i>monzeki</i>) comes to Edo castle and has a face-to-face meeting with the shogun. He offers his blessings to Mizuno and to the shogun. Shogunal retainers have congratulatory audiences with the shogun. 	Chion'in is the headquarter of Jōdo (Pure Land) Buddhism and it is located in Kyoto.

Table 3 - Who's who: retainers serving in the shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō listed in alphabetical order

	Name	Biographical info	Position in the bakufu	Role in the shasan and appointment date	Additional notes
1.	Abe Iyo no kami 阿部伊豫守	Abe Masayasu, daimyo of Fukuyama (Bingo), fudai	daimyo of the Kari no ma Hall (<i>tsumeshū</i>)	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	His appointment is not recorded in other sources. It might be referring to Abe Masayasu, 6 th domainal lord of Fukuyama (Bingo province), who held the honorific title of "Iyo no kami," but who was excused from his position as master of shogunal ceremonies (<i>sōshaban</i>) in 1831. Another possibility is that the compilers of the retainers serving as keeper was Abe Masahiro, 7 th domainal lord of Fukuyama and that the compilers of the <i>Reitenroku</i> mistranscribed is honorific title (Ise no kami 伊勢守). In 1843 Masahiro was a master of shogunal ceremonies like Sakai Wakasa no kami, the other official receiving an appointment as keeper on 1843/4/6.
2.	Abe Yukie 阿部鞠負	shogunal direct retainer	fireman (<i>hikeshiyaku</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	<i>Hikeshiyaku</i> were shogunal direct retainers entrusted with the task of extinguishing fires in Edo castle and in daimyo's mansions.
3.	Akimoto Tajima no kami 秋元但馬守	Akimoto Yukitomo, daimyo of Yamagata (Dewa), fudai	?	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
4.	Akiyama Heizaburō	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	

	秋山兵三郎				
5.	Amano Kanjirō 天野勘次郎	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
6.	Andō Tsushima no kami 安藤對馬守	Andō Nobuyori, daimyo of Iwakitaira (Mutsu), fudai	master of shogunal ceremonies (<i>sōshaban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1843/2/26; replaces Matsuidaira Izumi no kami → 1843/2/26	
7.	Aoyama Kyūhachirō 青山九八郎	shogunal direct retainer	Intendant (<i>daikan</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/7/28	
8.	Aoyama Tarōzaemon 青山太郎左衛 門	shogunal direct retainer	financial administrator(<i>shi haikanjō</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/8	
9.	Aoyama Yamato no kami 青山大和守	Aoyama Yukishige, daimyo of Gujō (Mino), fudai	master of shogunal ceremonies (<i>sōshaban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/7	
10.	Arakawa Tosa no kami 荒川土佐守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
11.	Araki Hikoshirō 荒木 彦四郎	shogunal direct retainer	financial administrator (<i>shihai kanjō shutsuyaku</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/7/28	
12.	Arima Hyūga no kami 有馬日向守	Arima Harusumi, daimyo of Maruoka (Echizen), tozama	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
13.	Arima Yūgorō 有馬勇五郎	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
14.	Asahina Jizaemon 朝比奈治左衛 門	shogunal direct retainer	captain of foot soldiers (<i>kachigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
15.	Asakura Harima no kami 朝倉播磨守	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of banners (<i>hatabugyō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
16.	Asakura Kenjirō 朝倉賢次郎	shogunal direct retainer	assistant of the Middle Interior (<i>nakaokuban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	<i>nakaokuban</i> were menials depending from the shogunal pages of Edo castle's Middle Interior
17.	Asano Kin'nojō 浅野 金之丞	shogunal direct retainer	inspector (<i>metsuke</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; supervisor of the procession marching pace (<i>gyōretsu</i>)	

				<i>ashinami</i>) → 1842/3/22	
18.	Asano Tōtōmi no kami 浅野遠江守	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the bodyguards (<i>shoinbangashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; replaced by Toki Tanba no kami → 1842/4/22	
19.	Asaoka Sanjirō 朝岡三次郎	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
20.	Atobe Noto no kami 跡部能登守	Atobe Yoshisuke, shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of finance (<i>kanjōbugyō</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/2/19	
21.	Baba Daisuke 馬場大助	shogunal direct retainer	courier (<i>tsukaiban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
22.	Ban Michitomo 伴道與	shogunal direct retainer	Edo castle physician (<i>ban ishi</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/4/1	
23.	Bicchū no kami 備中守	Hotta Masayoshi, daimyo of Sakura (Shimousa); fudai	senior councilor (<i>rōjū</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/2/23	
24.	Bungo no kami 豊後守	Sanada Yukiyoshi; heir apparent of Sanada Yukitsura, tozama	-	Provisional master of shogunal ceremonies (<i>tabichū</i> <i>sōshaban</i>) → 1842/2/23	
25.	Chiba Saemon 千葉左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	inner guard (<i>koshōgumi</i>)	supervisor of lodgings (<i>ōshukuwariy</i> <i>aku</i>) →1842/4/16	
26.	Daizen Ōmi no kami 大前近江守	shogunal direct retainer	vanguard soldier (<i>sakite</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
27.	Dan Matazaemon 團又左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the New Guards' unit (<i>shinbangumigas</i> <i>hira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
28.	Dota/Tsuchita (Ueda) Tōtetsu 土田 (上田) 東哲	shogunal direct retainer	visiting physician (<i>yoriai ishi</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/4/1	physician employed by the shogunate for emergencies or special occasions
29.	Endō Ōmi no kami 遠藤近江守	shogunal direct retainer	captain of foot soldiers (<i>kachigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
30.	Endō Tajima no kami 遠藤但馬守	Endō Tanenori daimyo of Mikami (Ōmi); fudai	junior councilor (<i>wakadoshiyori</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/2/23	
31.	Fukao Zenjūrō 深尾善十郎	shogunal direct retainer	chief the storage room supervisors' unit	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	<i>nando</i> were officials in charge of the shogun's personal implements and clothes and of managing monetary

			(<i>nando kumigashira</i>)		gifts and other presents distributed to Tokugawa retainers
32.	Fukatsu Shōdayū 深津庄大夫	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
33.	Fukatsu Yashichirō 深津彌七郎	shogunal direct retainer	vanguard soldier (<i>sakite</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
34.	Fukumura Kozenji 福村小膳治 (次?)	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
35.	Hachiya Katsugorō 蜂屋勝五郎	shogunal direct retainer	captain of foot soldiers (<i>kachigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
36.	Hachiya Samon 蜂屋左門	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the body guards' unit (<i>shoinbankumigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; replaced by Koguri Uzen → 1842/11/24	
37.	Hagino Kan'ichi 萩野寛一	shogunal direct retainer	financial administrator (<i>shihaikanjō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/8	
38.	Hagiwara Rin'ami 萩原林阿弥	shogunal direct retainer	captain of subordinate attendants (<i>dōbōgashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
39.	Hajikano Lord of Mino 初鹿野美濃守	shogunal direct retainer	inspector general (<i>ōmetsuke</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/2/19; attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/4/1	
40.	Hara Tetsuzō 原鉄蔵	shogunal direct retainer	financial administrator (<i>shihaikanjō</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/8	
41.	Harada Kanzō 原田寛蔵	shogunal direct retainer	head of craftsmanship (<i>saikugashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
42.	Hasegawa Shurinosuke 長谷川修理亮	shogunal direct retainer	military commander (<i>mochigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; replaced by Nakagawa Heizaemon → 1843/2/16	
43.	Hatakeyama Nagato no kami 畠山長門守	shogunal direct retainer	master of court ceremonies (<i>kōke</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/22	
44.	Hatanaka Zenryō (Bunryō)	shogunal direct retainer	Edo castle surgeon (<i>ban geka</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/4/1	

	畑中善良 (分良)				
45.	Hattori Gorōzaemon 服部五郎左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the inner guards' unit (<i>koshōgumikumigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
46.	Hattori Shichigorō 服部七五郎	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
47.	Hayakawa Jūemon 早川十右衛門	shogunal direct retainer	bodyguard (<i>shoinban</i>)	supervisor of lodgings (<i>ōshukuwariyaku</i>) → 1842/4/16	
48.	Hayashi Daigaku no kami 林大学頭	Hayashi Akira, head of the Tokugawa Neo-Confucian academy in Edo (Shōheikō)	next in rank to captain of the inner guards (<i>koshōgumi bangashira jiseki</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
49.	Hayashi Harima no kami 林播磨守	Hayashi Tadaakira, daimyo of Kaibuchi (Kazusa); fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
50.	Hayashibe Zentazaemon 林部善太左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	intendant (<i>daikan</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/7/28	
51.	Hiraoka Bunjirō 平岡文次郎	shogunal direct retainer	intendant (<i>daikan</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/7/28	
52.	Hiraoka Kumatarō 平岡熊太郎	shogunal direct retainer	intendant (<i>daikan</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/7/28	
53.	Hiraga Sangorō 平賀三五郎	shogunal direct retainer	inspector (<i>metsuke</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1843/2/16, replaces Suwa Shōemon	
54.	Hiraoka Tanba no kami 平岡丹波守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
55.	Hiraoka Yoemon 平岡與右衛門	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the escort guards (<i>kojūningashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
56.	Hiratsuka Zenjirō 平塚善次郎	shogunal direct retainer	captain of foot soldiers (<i>kachigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
57.	Hitotsuyanagi Hyōbu Shōyū 一柳兵部少輔	Hitotsuyanagi Yoritsugu, daimyo of Komatsu (Iyo); tozama	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
58.	Hōjō Yūnosuke 北条雄之助	shogunal direct retainer	intendant (<i>daikan</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/7/28	

59.	Honda Buzen no kami 本多豊前守	Honda Masahiro, daimyo of Tanaka (Suruga); fudai	master of shogunal ceremonies (<i>sōshaban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/7; replaced by Matsudaira Ichi no kami →1842/8/6	
60.	Honda Chikuzen no kami 本多筑前守	shogunal direct retainer	vanguard soldier (<i>sakite</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
61.	Honda Hyōbu Dayū 本多兵部大輔	Honda Yasutsugu, daimyo of Zeze (Ōmi), fudai	-	Nikkō patrol (<i>Nikkō kinban</i>) → 1842/3/7	
62.	Honda Hyūga no kami 本多 日向守	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the bodyguards (<i>shoinbangashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
63.	Honda Miki no kami 本多造酒 正	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
64.	Honda Nakatsukasa Dayū 本多中務大輔	Honda Tadamoto, daimyo of Okazaki (Mikawa); fudai	-	Nikkō patrol (<i>Nikkō kinban</i>) →1842/3/7	
65.	Honda Sagami no kami 本多相模守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
66.	Honda Sakyō 本多左京	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the escort guards (<i>kojūningashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
67.	Honda Yamato no kami 本多大和守	Honda Tadachika, daimyo of Yamasaki (Harima), fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
68.	Hongō Tango no kami 本郷丹後守	shogunal direct retainer	chamberlain (<i>sobashū</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/2/27; replaced by Shirasu Kai no kami → 1843/3/22	
69.	Honjō Ise no kami 本庄伊勢守	Honjō Michitsura, daimyo of Takatomi (Mino); fudai	junior councilor (<i>wakadoshiyori</i>)	Edo keeper junior councilor (<i>rusu wakadoshiyori</i>)	
70.	Hori Iga no kami 堀伊賀守	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of works (<i>sakujibugyō</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/2/19	
71.	Hori Yamato no kami 堀大和守	Hori Chikashige, daimyo of Iida (Shinano), fudai	grand chamberlain (<i>sobayōnin</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/2/23	He becomes roju soon after the shasan, but loses his position in the aftermath of Mizuno's demise.

72.	Horimoto Ippo 堀本一甫	shogunal direct retainer	visiting physician (<i>yoriai ishi</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/4/1	
73.	Hoshina Danjōnojō 保科弾正忠	Hoshima Masamoto, daimyo of Iino (Kazusa), fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
74.	Hosoi Sōzaemon 細井宗左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
75.	Hosokawa Noto no kami 細川能登守	Hosokawa Toshimochi, daimyo of Kumamoto Shinden (Higo), tozama	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
76.	Hotta Buzen no kami 堀田豊前守	Hotta Masami, daimyo of Miyagawa (Ōmi), fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
77.	Hotta Chikara 堀田主税	shogunal direct retainer	military commander (<i>mochigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
78.	Hotta Setsu no kami 堀田摂津守	Hotta Masahira, daimyo of Sano (Shimotsuke); fudai	junior councilor (<i>wakadoshiyori</i>)	Pilgrimage director (<i>goyōkakari</i>) → 1842/2/18; attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/2/23	Steps down after the shasan on 1843/10.
79.	Iba Kyūemon 伊庭久右衛門	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the shogunal kitchen (<i>gozensho</i> <i>daidokorogashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
80.	Ii Kamon no kami 井伊掃部頭	Ii Naoaki, daimyo of Hikone (Ōmi), fudai	daimyo of the Tamarinoma Hall (<i>tamaritsume</i>); former great elder (<i>tairō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/2/23	
81.	Ii Ukyōnosuke 井伊右京亮	Ii Naotsune, daimyo of Yoita (Echigo), fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
82.	Ikeda Chikugo no kami 池田筑後守	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of public works (<i>fushinbugyō</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/2/19	
83.	Ina Kumazō 伊奈熊蔵	shogunal direct retainer	courier (<i>tsukaiban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; supervisor of the procession marching pace (<i>gyōretsu</i> <i>ashinami</i>) → 1842/3/22	
84.	Ina Tōtōmi no kami 伊奈遠江守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	

85.	Inaba Noto no kami 稲葉能登守	Inaba Chikamitsu, daimyo of Usuku (Bungo), tozama	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
86.	Inaba Seijirō 稲葉清次郎	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
87.	Inaba Yōgorō 稲葉豫五郎	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of shogunal bows, arrows, and spears (<i>yumiyayari bugyō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
88.	Inō Izumo no kami 稲生出雲守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
89.	Inoue Genryō 井上玄亮	shogunal direct retainer	visiting physician (<i>yoriai ishi</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/4/1	
90.	Inoue Kawachi no kami 井上河内守	Inoue Masaharu, daimyo of Tatebayashi (Kōzuke); fudai	senior councilor of the Western enceinte (<i>nishinomaru rōjū</i>)	Senior councilor of the Western enceinte (<i>nishinomaru rōjū</i>)	Retires from his position on 1843/1
91.	Inoue Sadayū 井上左大夫	shogunal direct retainer	vanguard soldier (<i>sakite</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/26	
92.	Ishigaya Tetsunojō 石谷鍬之丞	shogunal direct retainer	courier (<i>tsukaiban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; Provisional inspector (<i>tōza ometsuke</i>) → 1842/3/22; supervisor of the procession marching pace (<i>gyōretsu ashinami</i>) → 1842/3/22	
93.	Ishihara Magosuke 石原孫助	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the finance section unit (<i>kanjō kumigashira</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/8	
94.	Ishikawa Ōsumi no kami 石川大隅守	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the bodyguards (<i>shoinbangashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
95.	Ishikawa Tarōzaemon 石川太郎左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	captain of foot soldiers (<i>kachigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
96.	Iwaki Iyo no kami 岩城伊豫守	Iwaki Takahiro, daimyo of	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	

		Kameda (Dewa); tozama			
97.	Iwasa Gōkura 岩佐郷藏	shogunal direct retainer	catering manager (<i>makanaigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
98.	Iwase Naiki 岩瀬内記	shogunal direct retainer	inspector (<i>metsuke</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; replaced by Nakagawa Kanjirō → 1842/4/4	
99.	Jinbo Hōki no kami 神保伯耆守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
100.	Kajikawa Shōbei 梶川庄兵衛	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of spears (<i>yaribugyō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1843/3/27, replaces Mitsubuchi Tosa no kami	
101.	Kajino Tosa no kami 梶野土佐守	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of finance (<i>kanjōbugyō</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/2/19	Dismissed from his position in 1843/10
102.	Kakeisuke Hyōe 笥助兵衛	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
103.	Kami Oribe 神織部	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the body guards' unit (<i>shoinbankumiga shira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1843/2/16, replaces Saza Gonbei	
104.	Kamio Bungo no kami 神尾豊後守	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of banners (<i>hatabugyō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
105.	Kamio Yamashiro no kami 神尾山城守	shogunal direct retainer	inspector general (<i>ōmetsuke</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
106.	Kamiya Hachimon 神 谷八右衛門	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the body guards' unit (<i>shoinbankumiga shira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
107.	Kaneda Tatewaki 金田 帶刀	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the escort guards (<i>kojūningashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
108.	Kanō Seisen'in 狩野清川院	Kanō Osanobu (1796-1846)	shogunal painter (<i>eshi</i>)	attendant (<i>meshitsure</i>) → 1842/2/27	
109.	Kanō Tōsen 狩野董川	Kanō Tōsen (?-1871)	shogunal painter (<i>eshi</i>)	attendant (<i>meshitsure</i>) → 1842/2/27	
110.	Kamihara/Kan bara Oki no kami 神原隠岐守	shogunal direct retainer	captain of foot soldiers (<i>kachigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
111.	Kaminuma Satarō 神沼佐太郎	shogunal direct retainer	outer secretariat (<i>omoteyūhitsu</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/2/19	

112.	Katagiri Narisaburō 片桐成三郎	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal direct retainer (<i>yoriai</i>)	fire patrol at the residence of shogunal princess Suehime (<i>osumai hinoban</i>) → 1843/3/16	
113.	Katō Iyo no kami 加藤伊豫守	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the inner guards (<i>koshōgumi bangashira</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/22	
114.	Katō Ōkura shōyū 加藤大蔵少輔	Katō Yasutada, daimyo of Ōzu (Iyo), tozama	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
115.	Katsuragawa Hoken 桂川甫賢	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal physician (<i>okuishi</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
116.	Katsuta Shōgen 勝田将監	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of spears (<i>yaribugyō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
117.	Kawaguchi Ichirōemon 河 口市郎右衛門	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of arsenals (<i>teppō tansu bugyō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
118.	Kawaguchi Shima no kami 川口志摩守	shogunal direct retainer	chief of pages with rank equal to captain of new guards (<i>shinbangashirak aku koshōtōdori</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
119.	Kawajiri Shikibu Shōyū 河尻式部少輔	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/12/5	
120.	Kawakubo Matazō 河久保 又蔵	shogunal direct retainer	apprentice financial administrator (<i>shihaikanjōmina rai</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/8	
121.	Kiidainagon 紀伊大納言	Tokugawa Nariyuki, lord of Kii (Kii); shinpan	Tokugawa cadet branch (<i>gosanke</i>);	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/2/18	Travel to Nikkō separately from the shogun
122.	Kimura Shichiemon 木 村七右衛門	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the escort guards (<i>kojūningashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
123.	Kinoshita Higo no kami 木下 肥後守	Kinoshita Toshichika, daimyo of Ashimori (Bicchū), tozama	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
124.	Kishi Magodayū 貴志孫大夫	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
125.	Kitamura Anzai 喜多村安齋	shogunal direct retainer	visiting physician (<i>yoriai ishi</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/4/1	
126.	Kobayashi Kyūsuke 小林九助	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of shogunal bows, arrows, and	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	

			spears (<i>yumiyayari</i> <i>bugyō</i>)		
127.	Koguri Uzen 小栗右膳	shogunal direct retainer	body guard (<i>shoinban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/11/27, replaces Hachiya Samon	
128.	Koide Ise no kami 小出伊勢守	Koide Fusahatsu, daimyo of Sonobe (Tanba); tozama	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
129.	Koike Kojirō 小池小次郎	shogunal direct retainer	assistant inspector of the comptrollers of finance (<i>kanjō</i> <i>ginmi kata</i> <i>aratame yaku</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/8	
130.	Kondō Hikokurō 近藤彦九郎	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the hundred-man brigade (<i>hyakuningumi</i> <i>gashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
131.	Kondō Iwami no kami 近藤石見守	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the inner guards (<i>koshōgumi</i> <i>bangashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; replaced by Seki Harima no kami → 1843/2/16	
132.	Kondō Tetsuzō 近藤鉄蔵	shogunal direct retainer	rank equivalent to captain of the falconers (<i>takajōgumi</i> <i>gashira kaku</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
133.	Kōriki Kensaburō 高力健三郎	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal direct retainer (<i>yoriai</i>)	fire patrol at the residence of Seijūin (Tokugawa Narikura, 5 th head of Hitotsubashi's legal wife and shogun Ienari's daughter), (<i>osumai</i> <i>hinoban</i>) → 1843/3/16	
134.	Kosuge Shingozaemon 小管新五左衛 門	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
135.	Kubota Suketarō 窪田助太郎	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the storage room supervisors (<i>nandogashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	

136.	Kuki Nagato no kami 九鬼長門守	Kuki Takanori, daimyo of Sanda (Settsu); tozama	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
137.	Kurosawa Shōsuke 黒澤正助	shogunal direct retainer	inner secretariat (<i>okuyūhitsu</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/2/19	
138.	Kuroda Kai no kami 黒田甲斐守	Kuroda Nagamoto, daimto of Akizuki (Chikuzen); tozama	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
139.	Kushimoto Hayato 久志本隼人	shogunal direct retainer	Edo castle physician (<i>ban ishi</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/4/1	
140.	Kuwashima Shingozaemon 桑嶋新五左衛 門	shogunal direct retainer	horse doctor (<i>bai</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/22	
141.	Kuwayama Rokuzaemon 桑山六左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	inner secretariat (<i>okuyūhitsu</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/2/19	
142.	Kyōgoku Iki no kami 京極壹岐守	Kyōgoku Takateru, daimyo of Tadotsu (Sanuki); tozama	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
143.	Maehara Benzō 前原辨蔵	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of supplies for shogunal troops (<i>gusoku bugyō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
144.	Mageki Matabei 曲木 又兵衛	shogunal direct retainer	equerry (<i>umaazukari</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
145.	Mageki Matarokurō 曲 木又六郎	shogunal direct retainer	equerry (<i>umaazukari</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
146.	Magaribuchi Samon 曲淵左門	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
147.	Makino Hyōbu 牧野兵部	Makino Sadahisa, daimyo of Kasama (Hitachi); fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
148.	Makino Iyo no kami 牧野伊予守	shogunal direct retainer	chamberlain (<i>sobashū</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/2/27	
149.	Makino Yamashiro no kami 牧野山城守	Makino Tokishige, daimyo of Tanabe (Tango), fudai	master of shogunal ceremonies (<i>sōshaban</i>)	fire patrol in Nikkō (<i>Nikkō hinoban</i>) → 1842/3/7	
150.	Mashiyama Danjō Shōhitsu 増山弾正少弼	Mashiyama Masayasu, daimyo of Nagashima (Ise); fudai	junior councilor (<i>wakadoshiyori</i>);	Edo keeper junior councilor (<i>rusu wakadoshiyor</i>)	dies on 1842/11/26

				i) →1842/2/23	
151.	Masuda Kingorō 増田 金五郎	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the finance section unit (<i>kanjō kumigashira</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/8	
152.	Matsudaira Bizen no kami 松平備前守	Matsudaira Masatomo, daimyo of Ōtaki (Kazusa); fudai		fire patrol in Edo (<i>rusu hinoban</i>) → 1843/3/16	
153.	Matsudaira Chikugo no kami 松平筑後守	shogunal direct retainer	chamberlain (<i>sobashū</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/2/27	
154.	Matsudaira Daizen 松平大膳	shogunal direct retainer	courier (<i>tsukaiban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; provisional inspector (<i>tōza ometsuke</i>) → 1842/3/22	
155.	Matsudaira Ichi no kami 松平市正	Matsudaira Chikayoshi, daimyo of Kitsuki (Bungo), fudai	master of shogunal ceremonies (<i>sōshaban</i>)	Nikkō patrol (<i>Nikkō kinban</i>) → 1842/3/7; attendant (<i>gubu</i>) →1842/8/6, replacing Honda Buzen no kami	
156.	Matsudaira Hida no kami 松平飛驒守	shogunal direct retainer	chamberlain (<i>sobashū</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) →1842/2/27	
157.	Matsudaira Higo no kami 松平肥後守	Matsudaira Katataka, daimyo of Aizu (Mutsu); shinpan	daimyo of the Tamarinoma Hall (<i>tamaritsume</i>)	Edo castle keeper (<i>orusu</i>) →1842/5/1	
158.	Matsudaira Hōki no kami 松平伯耆守	Matsudaira Munehide, daimyo of Miyazu (Tango); fudai	master of shogunal ceremonies (<i>sōshaban</i>)	Nikkō patrol (<i>Nikkō kinban</i>) → 1842/3/7	
159.	Matsudaira Hyūga no kami 松平日向守	Matsudaira Naoharu, daimyo of Itoigawa (Echigo); shinpan	Hitotsubashi gate guard (<i>Hitotsubashimon ban</i>)	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
160.	Matsudaira Iga no kami 松平伊賀守	Matsudaira Tadamasu, daimyo of Ueda (Shinano); fudai	superintendent of temples and shrines (<i>jishabugyō</i>);	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/2/19; replaced by Matsudaira Izumi no kami → 1843/2/26	
161.	Matsudaira Izu no kami	Matsudaira Nobutaka,	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) →	

	松平伊豆守	daimyo of Yoshida (Mikawa); fudai		1843/4/6	
162.	Matsudaira Izumi no kami 松平和泉守	Matsudaira Noriyasu, daimyo of Nishio (Mikawa); fudai	master of shogunal ceremonies (<i>sōshaban</i>), superintendent of temples and shrines (<i>jishabugyō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/7; official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1843/2/26 (exempted from attendant duties), replaces Matsudaira Iga no kami; replaced by Andō Tsushima no kami → 1843/2/26	
163.	Matsudaira Kazunoshin 松平和之進	Matsudaira Sadamichi, daimyo of Kuwana (Ise), shinpan		fire patrol in Edo (<i>rusu hinoban</i>) → 1843/3/16	
164.	Matsudaira Kii no kami 松平紀伊守	?	?	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
165.	Matsudaira Kozaemon 松平小左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
166.	Matsudaira Hisanojō 松平久之丞	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal direct retainer (<i>yoriai</i>)	keeper of Suidō bridge (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/3/16	
167.	Matsudaira Noto no kami 松平能登守	Matsudaira Noritaka, daimyo of Iwamura (Mino); fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
168.	Matsudaira Oki no kami 松平隠岐守	Matsudaira Katsuyoshi, daimyo of Matsuyama (Iyo); shinpan	daimyo of the Tamarinoma Hall (<i>tamaritsume</i>)	rearguard attendant (<i>oosae</i>) → 1842/5/15	
169.	Matsudaira Saemon no jō 松平左衛門尉	Matsudaira Chikayoshi, daimyo of Funai (Bungo); fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
170.	Matsudaira Sagami no kami 松平相模守	Matsudaira Katsunori, daimyo of Tako (Shimōsa); fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
171.	Matsudaira Sanuki no kami 松平讃岐守	Matsudaira Yoritane, daimyo of Takamatsu (Sanuki); shinpan	-	Edo castle keeper (<i>orusu</i>) → 1842/5/18	According to the Tokugawa Jikki the appointment occurs on 1842/6/18. Since his predecessor Yorihiro passed on 1842/4/16 and Yoritane succeeded him on 1842/24, it is likely that the Reitenroku's compilers mistakenly

					reported the date of Yoritane's appointment to keeper's duties
172.	Matsudaira Shikibu Shōyū 松平式部少輔	shogunal direct retainer	inspector (<i>metsuke</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) and attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1843/3/16, replaces Sakakibara Kazue no kami	
173.	Matsudaira Shima no kami 松平志摩守	Matsudaira Naooki, daimyo of Mori (Izumo), shinpan	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
174.	Matsudaira Tamiya 松平田宮	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/5/1	
175.	Matsudaira Tanba no kami 松平丹波守	Matsudaira Mitsutsune, daimyo of Matsumoto (Shinano), fudai	?	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
176.	Matsudaira Tōjūrō 松平藤十郎	shogunal direct retainer	captain of foot soldiers (<i>kachigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
177.	Matsudaira Tokugorō 松平篤五郎	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal direct retainer (<i>yoriai</i>)	keeper of Akasaka Kuichigai (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/3/16	
178.	Matsudaira Tonomo no kami 松平主殿頭	Matsudaira Tadanari, daimyo of Shimabara (Bizen), fudai	-	keeper of Ōtemon san'nomon (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/3/16	
179.	Matsudaira Ukyōnosuke 松平右京亮	Ōkouchi (Matsudaira) Terumichi, daimyo of Takasaki (Kōzuke), fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/3/16;	
180.	Matsudaira Yamashiro no kami 松平山城守	Matsudaira Nobumichi, daimyo of Kaminoyama (Dewa); fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
181.	Matsudaira Yamato no kami 松平大和守	Matsudaira Naritsune, daimyo of Kawagoe (Musashi), fudai	-	Nikkō patrol (<i>Nikkō kinban</i>) → 1842/3/7	
182.	Matsushita Denshichirō 松下傳七郎	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
183.	Matsushita Zendayū 松下善太夫	shogunal direct retainer	courier (<i>tsukaiban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; provisional inspector	

				(<i>tōza ometsuke</i>) → 1842/3/22	
184.	Matsuura Kinzaburō 松浦金三郎	shogunal direct retainer	courier (<i>tsukaiban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
185.	Matsura Yamato no kami 松浦大和守	Matsura Hikaru, daimyo of Hirado shinden (Bizen), tozama	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	See Jikki 48:744
186.	Minobe Hachizō 美濃部八蔵	shogunal direct retainer	vanguard soldier (<i>sakite</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
187.	Mitochūnagon 水戸中納言	Tokugawa Nariaki, lord of Mito (Hitachi); shinpan	Tokugawa cadet branch (<i>gosanke</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/2/18	Travel to Nikkō separately from the shogun
188.	Mitsubuchi Tosa no kami 三淵土佐守	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of spears (<i>yaribugyō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; replaced by Kajikawa Shōbei → 1843/3/27	
189.	Miura Bingo no kami 三浦備後守	Miura Yoshitsugu, daimyo of Katsuyama (Mimasaka); fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
190.	Miyahara Danjō Daihitsu 宮原弾正大弼	shogunal direct retainer	master of court ceremonies (<i>kōke</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/22; replaced by Toda Kaga no kami → 1842/11/18	travel to Nikkō before the shogun
191.	Mizuno Dewa no kami 水野出羽守	Mizuno Tadatake, daimyo of Numazu (Suruga); fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
192.	Mizuno Echizen no kami 水野越前守	Mizuno Tadakuni, daimyo of Hamamatsu (Tōtōmi); fudai	chief senior councilor (<i>rōjū shuza</i>)	Pilgrimage supervisor (<i>goyōkakari</i>) → 1842/2/17; attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/2/23	
193.	Mizuno Shikibu 水野式部	shogunal direct retainer	fireman (<i>hikeshiyaku</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
194.	Mizuno Uneme 水野采女	shogunal direct retainer	vanguard soldier (<i>sakite</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
195.	Mizunoya Mondo 水谷主水	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal direct retainer (<i>yoriai</i>)	keeper of Shibaguchi	

				(<i>rusu</i>)→ 1843/3/16	
196.	Mon'na Denjūrō 門奈傳十郎	shogunal direct retainer	Inner guard (<i>koshōgumi</i>)	supervisor of lodgings (<i>ōshukuwariyaku</i>) → 1842/4/16	
197.	Mori Chikanosuke 森親之助	shogunal direct retainer	intendant (<i>daikan</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/7/28	
198.	Mori Den'emon 森伝衛門	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the outer secretariats (<i>omoteyūhitsu kumigashira</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) →1842/2/19	
199.	Mori Heizō 森 平藏	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the shogunal kitchen (<i>gozensho daidokorogashira</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/22	
200.	Mori Sado no kami 森佐渡守	Mori Nagakuni, daimyo of Mikazuki (Harima); tozama	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
201.	Mōri Iyo no kami 毛利伊予守	?	?	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
202.	Mōri Sakyōnosuke 毛利左京亮	Mōri Gen'un, daimyo of Chōfu (Nagato); tozama	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
203.	Morikawa Kii no kami 森川紀伊守	Morikawa Toshitami, daimyo of Oyumi (Shimōsa); fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
204.	Murai Einoshin 村井栄之進	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the finance section unit (<i>kanjō kumigashira</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/8	
205.	Murakoshi Kōzukenosuke 村越上野介	shogunal direct retainer	vanguard soldier (<i>sakite</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/26	
206.	Murata Kisaburō 村田幾三郎	shogunal direct retainer	comptroller of finance (<i>kanjōginmiyaku</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/2/19; replaced by Nemoto Zenzaemon → 1842/3/28	
207.	Muroga Hyōgo 室賀兵庫	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the inner guards (<i>koshōgumi bangashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
208.	Muroga Yamashiro no kami 室賀山城守	shogunal direct retainer	page of the Middle Interior (<i>nakaoku koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	

209.	Nagai Harima no kami 永井播磨守	Nagai Naonobu, daimyo of Shinjō (Yamato); fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
210.	Nagai Sakyō 永井左京	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
211.	Nagai Tōtōmi no kami 永井遠江守	Nagai Naoteru, daimyo of Takatsuki (Settsu); fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
212.	Nagasaki Yazaemon 長崎彌左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	assistant of the Middle Interior (<i>nakaokuban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
213.	Nagata Bungo no kami 永田豊後守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
214.	Nagata Yozaemon 永田與左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) 1842/3/27	
215.	Naitō Awa no kami 内藤安房守	shogunal direct retainer	vanguard soldier (<i>sakite</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/4/8	
216.	Naitō Kura no kami 内藤内蔵頭	shogunal direct retainer	vanguard soldier (<i>sakite</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1843/4/1, replaces Sasayama Jūbē	
217.	Naitō Noto no kami 内藤能登守	Naito Masayoshi, daimyo of Nobeoka (Hyūga); fudai	—	Nikkō patrol (<i>Nikkō kinban</i>) → 1842/3/7	
218.	Naitō Suruga no kami 内藤駿河守	Naitō Yoriyasu, daimyo of Takatō (Shinano); fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
219.	Nakagawa Heizaemon 中川平左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	captain of musketeers (<i>mochitsutsugashi ra</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1843/2/16, replaces Hasegawa Shurinosuke	
220.	Nakagawa Kanjirō 中川勘次郎	shogunal direct retainer	inspector (<i>metsuke</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/4/4, replaces Iwase Naiki; supervisor of lodgings (<i>ōshukuwariy aku</i>) → 1842/4/16	
221.	Nakajima Zenzaburō 中嶋善三郎	shogunal direct retainer	outer secretariat (<i>omoteyūhitsu</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/2/19	
222.	Nakamura Matazaemon 中村又左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of field headquarters (<i>ma ku bugyō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	

223.	Nakamura Tōzaemon 中村藤左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of field headquarters (<i>maku bugyō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
224.	Nakano Kinshirō 中野金四郎	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal food taster (<i>zenbugyō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
225.	Nakayama Eitarō 中山栄太郎	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of the shogunal library (<i>shomotsu bugyō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/26	
226.	Nakayama Higo no kami 中山肥後守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
227.	Nakayama Tōichirō 中山藤一郎	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
228.	Nanbu Ise no kami 南部伊勢守	?	?	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
229.	Narahara Hikosaburō 榎原彦三郎	shogunal direct retainer	outer secretariat (<i>omoteyūhitsu</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/2/19	
230.	Narushima Zusho no kami 成島図書頭	shogunal direct retainer	Confucian tutor to the shogun (<i>okujusha</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
231.	Nemoto Zenzaemon 根本善左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	comptroller of finance (<i>kanjōginmi yaku</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/28, replaces Murata Kizaburō	
232.	Niwa Sakyō Daibu 丹羽左京大夫	Niwa Nagatomi, daimyo of Nihonmatsu domain (Mutsu); tozama	-	Fire patrol (<i>hinoban</i>) → 1843/4/11	
233.	Niwa Wakasa no kami 丹羽若狭守	Niwa Ujimasa, daimyo of Mikusa (Harima); fudai	-	keeper of Ryōgoku bridge (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/3/16	Mikusa domain, fudai, 10,000 koku
234.	Noma Hayata 野間隼太	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
235.	Nomura Hikoemon 野村彦右衛門	shogunal direct retainer	intendant (<i>daikan</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/7/28	
236.	Nose Yukienosuke 能勢靱負佐	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
237.	Ōbu Tōsuke 大武藤助	shogunal direct retainer	rank equivalent to equerry (<i>umaazukari nami</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
238.	織田伊勢守 Oda Ise no kami	Oda Nobumichi, daimyo of	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	

		Tendō (Dewa); tozama			
239.	Oda Shirōzaemon 織田四郎左衛 門	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal direct retainer (<i>yoriai</i>)	keeper of Shibatsuchi (<i>rusu</i>) →1843/3/16	
240.	Oda Yamato no kami 織田大和守	Oda Nobuakira, daimyo of Yanagimoto (Yamato); tozama	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
241.	Ogasawara Daizendaibu 小笠原大膳大 夫	Ogasawara Tadakata, daimyo of Kokura (Buzen); fudai	daimyo of the Tamarinoma Hall (<i>tamaritsume</i>)	unspecified role → 1842/2/23; keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1842/4/1; Nikkō patrol (Nikkō <i>kinban</i>) → 1842/8/6, replaces Matsudaira Yamato no kami.	
242.	Ogasawara Heibei 小笠原平兵衛	shogunal direct retainer	captain of foot soldiers (<i>kachigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
243.	Ogasawara Hyōbu Shōyū 小笠原兵部少 輔	shogunal direct retainer		keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
244.	Ogasawara Mimasaka no kami 小笠原美作守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
245.	Ogasawara Nuinosuke 小笠原縫殿助	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the escort guards (<i>kojūningashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/11/24, replaces Takaki Tango no kami	
246.	Ogawa Ryūsen'in 小川 龍仙院	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal physician (<i>okuishi</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
247.	Ōhara Ijūrō 大平伊十郎	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of tatami (<i>tatami bugyō</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/8	
248.	Ōi Oki no kami 大井隠岐守	shogunal direct retainer	vanguard soldier (<i>sakite</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → appointed 1842/3/22	
249.	Ōi no kami 大炊守	Doi Toshitsura, daimyo of Koga (Shimōsa); fudai	senior councilor (<i>rōjū</i>)	Hosts the shogun on his way to and back from Nikkō (<i>shukujō</i>); attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/2/23	

250.	Ōjima Tanba no kami 大嶋 丹波守	shogunal direct retainer	vanguard soldier (<i>sakite</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
251.	Ojima Tonomo no kami 尾嶋主殿頭	shogunal direct retainer	chief of pages with rank equal to captain of new guards (<i>shinbangashirak aku konandotōdori</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
252.	Ōoka Shuzen no kami 大岡主膳正	Ōoka Tadakata, daimyo of Iwatsuki (Musashi); fudai	junior councilor (<i>wakadoshiyori</i>)	Hosts the shogun on his way to and back from Nikkō (<i>shukujō</i>); attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/2/23	
253.	Okabe Suruga no kami 岡部駿河守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>koshō</i>)	Attendants (otomo) appointed 1842/3/27	
254.	Oka Tarōzaemon 岡 太郎左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	rank equivalent to captain of falconers (<i>takajōgumi gashira kaku</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
255.	Okabe Chikara 岡部主税	shogunal direct retainer	courier (<i>tsukaiban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
256.	Okamoto Gen'nojō 岡本 源之丞	shogunal direct retainer	finance official (<i>kanjō</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/8	
257.	Okamura Tango no kami 岡村丹後守	shogunal direct retainer	inspector general (<i>ōmetsuke</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → replaces Hajikano Bingo no kami 1842/12/5	According to <i>Tokugawa Jikki</i> Okamura's honorific title was Bingo no kami (備後守), while Hajikano's was Mino no kami (美濃守)
258.	Okamura Yauemon 岡村彌右衛門	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
259.	Okayama Kakuemon 岡山覺右衛門	shogunal direct retainer	finance official (<i>kanjōshutsuyaku</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) →, 1842/7/28	
260.	Ōkubo Yosaburō 大久保與三郎	shogunal direct retainer	Inner guard (<i>koshōgumi</i>)	supervisor of lodgings (<i>ōshukuwariy aku</i>) → 1842/4/16	
261.	Ōkuma Zentarō 大熊善 太郎	shogunal direct retainer	intendant (<i>daikan</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/7/28	
262.	Oshida Ōmi no kami 押田近江守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	

263.	Ōta Harima no kami 太田播磨守	shogunal direct retainer	chief of pages with rank equal to captain of new guards (<i>shinbangashiraku</i> <i>aku koshōtōdori</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
264.	Ōta Kazue no kami 太田主計頭	shogunal direct retainer	chief of pages (<i>koshōtōdori</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
265.	Ōta Kihei 太田喜兵衛	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
266.	Ōta Settsu no kami 太田攝津守	Ōta Sukekatsu, daimyo of Kakegawa (Tōtomi); fudai	-	Nikkō patrol (<i>Nikkō kinban</i>) → 1842/3/7	
267.	Ōkubo Hikohachirō 大久保彦八郎	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the hundred-man brigade (<i>hyakuningumi gashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
268.	Ōkubo Yoemon 大久保與右衛門	shogunal direct retainer	captain of foot soldiers (<i>kachigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
269.	Ōsawa Shume 大澤主馬	shogunal direct retainer	captain of New Guards (<i>shinbangashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
270.	Owaridainagon 尾張大納言	Tokugawa Naritaka, daimyo of Owari (Owari); Tokugawa cadet branch (<i>gosanke</i>); shinpan	attendant	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/2/18	Travel to Nikkō separately from the shogun
271.	Ōzawa Nijūrō 大澤仁十郎	shogunal direct retainer	captain of foot soldiers (<i>kachigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
272.	Saegusa Sōshirō 三枝宗四郎	shogunal direct retainer	vanguard soldier (<i>sakite</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
273.	Sagara Tōtōmi no kami 相良遠江守	Sagara Nagatomi, daimyo of Hitoyoshi (Higo); tozama	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
274.	Saitō Sagenta 斎藤左源太	shogunal direct retainer	courier (<i>tsukaiban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; supervisor of the procession marching pace (<i>gyōretsu ashinami</i>) → 1842/3/22	
275.	Saitō Izu no kami	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the hundred-man brigade	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	

	斎藤伊豆守		(<i>hyakuningumi gashira</i>)		
276.	Sakai Iwami no kami 酒井石見守	Sakai Tadamichi, daimyo of Matsuyama (Dewa), fudai	-	Nikkō patrol (<i>Nikkō kinban</i>) → 1842/3/7	
277.	Sakai Sakuemon 酒井作右衛門	shogunal direct retainer	courier (<i>tsukaiban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; provisional inspector (<i>tōza ometsuke</i>) → 1842/3/22	
278.	Sakai Yamato no kami 酒井大和守	Sakai Tadatsugu, daimyo of Katsuyama (Awa); fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
279.	Sakai Yozaemon 酒井與左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	captain of foot soldiers (<i>kachigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
280.	Sakai Wakasa no kami 酒井若狭守	Sakai Tadaaki, daimyo of Obama (Wakasa); fudai	master of shogunal ceremonies (<i>sōshaban</i>), superintendent of temples and shrines (<i>jishabugyō</i>)	Nikkō patrol (<i>Nikkō kinban</i>) → 1842/3/7; replaced by Tsuchiya Uneme no kami → 1842/5/18; keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	His appointment as keeper is recorded in sources other than the <i>Tokugawa Reitenroku</i> .
281.	Sakakibara Kazue no kami 榊原主計頭	shogunal direct retainer	inspector (<i>metsuke</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/2/19; replaced by Matsudaira Shikibu Shōyū → 1843/3/16; attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
282.	Sakakibara Shikibu no Tayū 榊原式部大輔	Sakakibara Masachika, daimyo of Takada domain (Echigo), fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
283.	Sakamoto Sekkei 坂本節景	shogunal direct retainer	Edo castle surgeon (<i>ban geka</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/4/1	
284.	Sakuma Ridayū 佐久間利大夫	shogunal direct retainer	superintendent of arsenals (<i>teppō tansu bugyō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
285.	Sakai Ukon 酒井右近	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal direct retainer (<i>yoriai</i>)	Fire patrol at the residences of shogunal princess Morihime	

				(<i>osumai hinoban</i>) → 1843/3/16	
286.	Sakai Uta no kami 酒井雅楽頭	Sakai Tadamitsu daimyo of Himeji (Harima); fudai	daimyo of the Tamarinoma Hall (<i>tamaritsume</i>)	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1842/5/15	
287.	Sakurai Shōbei 櫻井庄兵衛	shogunal direct retainer	inspector (<i>metsuke</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
288.	Sasaki Sanzō 佐々木三蔵	shogunal direct retainer	inspector (<i>metsuke</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) →1842/2/19	
289.	Sasayama Jūbei 篠山十兵衛	shogunal direct retainer	vanguard soldier (<i>sakite</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; replaced by Naitō Kura no kami → 1843/4/1	
290.	Satō Jūbee 佐 藤十兵衛	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the finance section unit (<i>kanjō kumigashira</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) →1842/3/8	
291.	Saza Gonbei 佐 々権兵衛	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the body guards' unit (<i>shoinbankumiga shira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; replaced by Kami Oribe → 1843/2/16	
292.	Seki Harima no kami 關播磨守	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the inner guards (<i>koshōgumi bangashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1843/2/16, replaces Kondō Iwami no kami	
293.	Seki Yasuemon 關保右衛門	shogunal direct retainer	intendant (<i>daikan</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) →1842/7/28	
294.	Sena Gengorō 瀬名源五郎	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the body guards' unit (<i>shoinbankumiga shira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
295.	Sengoku Noto no kami 仙石能登守	shogunal direct retainer	page of the Middle Interior (<i>nakaoku koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
296.	Shibata Wakasa no kami 柴田若狭守	shogunal direct retainer	chief of pages (<i>koshōtōdori</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
297.	Shimada Jūjirō 嶋田十次郎	shogunal direct retainer	assistant of the Middle Interior (<i>nakaokuban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
298.	Shimada Tatewaki 嶋田帶刀	shogunal direct retainer	intendant (<i>daikan</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) →1842/7/28	
299.	Shimazu Matanoshin 島津又之進	Shimazu Tadahiro, daimyo of	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	

		Sadowara (Hyūga); tozama			
300.	Shimizu Chūnagon 清水中納言	Tokugawa Narikatsu; shinpan	Shimizu Tokugawa cadet branch (gosankyō)	-	Travels to Nikkō after the shogun's return
301.	Shimousa no kami 下総守	Manabe Akikatsu, lord of Sabae (Echizen); fudai	senior councilor of the Western enceinte (<i>nishinomaru rōjū</i>)	Senior councilor of the Western enceinte (<i>nishinomaru rōjū</i>)	He was recommended to the position of Nishinomaru senior councilor by Ienari, he was ostracized by Mizuno and eventually left his position in 9/1843. He is reappointed senior councilor for Iesada in 1858.
302.	Shimura Tetsutarō 志村鐵太郎	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
303.	Shinano no kami 信濃守	Sanada Yukitsura, daimyo of Matsushiro (Shinano); tozama	senior councilor (<i>rōjū</i>)	Edo keeper senior councilor (<i>rusui rōjū</i>) → 1842/2/23	
304.	Shinmi Buzen no kami 新見豊前守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
305.	Shinmi Iga no kami 新見伊賀守	shogunal direct retainer	chamberlain (<i>sobashū</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/2/27	
306.	Shirasu Kai no kami 白須甲斐守	shogunal direct retainer	chamberlain (<i>sobashū</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1843/3/22, replaces Hongō Tango no kami	
307.	Soeda Ichirōji 添田一郎次	shogunal direct retainer	intendant (<i>daikan</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) →1842/7/28	
308.	Sōma Daizen'nosuke 相馬大膳亮	Sōma Mitsutane, daimyo of Sōma (Mutsu), fudai	-	Appointed rusu 1843/4/6	
309.	Sugenuma Heinosuke 菅沼平之助	shogunal direct retainer	finance official (<i>kanjō</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) →1842/7/28	
310.	Sugenuma Iga no kami 菅沼 伊賀守	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the bodyguards (<i>shoinbangashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
311.	Sugiura Kageyu 杉浦勘解由	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal direct retainer (<i>yoriai</i>)	Fire patrol at the residence of shogunal princess Yōhime (<i>osumai hinoban</i>) → 1843/3/16	
312.	Suwa Aki no kami 諏訪安藝守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	

313.	Suwa Shōemon 諏訪庄右衛門	shogunal direct retainer	inspector (<i>metsuke</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; supervisor of lodgings (<i>ōshukuwariy aku</i>) → 1842/4/16; replaced by Hiraga Sangorō → 1843/2/16	
314.	Suwabe Kanegorō 諏訪部謙五郎	shogunal direct retainer	equerry (<i>umaazukari</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
315.	Suzuki Ihei 鈴木伊兵衛	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
316.	Suzuki Shichirōemon 鈴木七郎右衛 門	shogunal direct retainer	Chief of the New Guards' unit (<i>shinbangumigas hira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
317.	Tateno Chūshirō 館野忠四郎	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal food taster (<i>zenbugyō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
318.	Taga Daizen 多 賀大膳	shogunal direct retainer	Chief of the New Guards' unit (<i>shinbangumigas hira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
319.	Takabayashi Tango no kami 高林丹後守	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the escort guards (<i>kojūningashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
320.	Takaki Ikunosuke 高木幾之助	shogunal direct retainer	outer secretariat (<i>omoteyūhitsu</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) →1842/2/19	
321.	Takaki Mondo no shō 高木主水正	Takaki Masaaki, daimyo of Tan'nan (Kawachi), fudai	-	keeper (<i>rusu</i>) → 1843/4/6	
322.	Takagi Kura no kami 高木 内蔵頭	shogunal direct retainer	military commander (<i>mochigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
323.	Takagi Seiemon 高城清右衛門	shogunal direct retainer	military commander (<i>mochigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
324.	Takata Sansetsu 高田 三節	shogunal direct retainer	tea specialist (<i>sukiyagashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
325.	Takeda Izu no kami 竹田伊豆守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
326.	Takemoto Mondo no shō 竹本主水正	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
327.	Takemoto Nagato no kami	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	

	竹本長門守				
328.	Takemura Takayoshi/Tak anori 高村隆徳	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal physician (<i>okuishi</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
329.	Taki Rakushin'in 多紀樂眞院	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal physician (<i>okuishi</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
330.	Tamaru Nagato no kami 田丸長門守	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the escort guards (<i>kojūningashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
331.	Takamine Mondo 高峯主水	shogunal direct retainer	junior superintendent of works (<i>sakuji shitabugyō</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/8	
332.	Tamura Noto no kami 田村能登守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
333.	Tanaka Kyūzō 田中休蔵	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the inner secretariats' unit (<i>okuyūhitsuikumig ashira</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/2/19	
334.	Tatsuke Shirōbei 田付四郎兵衛	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal gunmaster (<i>teppōkata</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
335.	Tatsuta Rokusuke 立田録助	shogunal direct retainer	inner secretariat (<i>okuyūhitsu</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/5/4, replaces Tsuzuki Chōzaburō	
336.	Toda Hyūga no kami 戸田日向守	Toda Tadaharu, daimyo of Utsunomiya (Shimotsuke); fudai	superintendent of temples and shrines (<i>jishabugyō</i>)		
337.	Toda Kaga no kami 戸田加賀守	shogunal direct retainer	master of court ceremonies (<i>kōke</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/11/18, replaces Miyahara Danjō Daihitsu	
338.	Toda Kyūsuke 戸田久助	shogunal direct retainer	vanguard soldier (<i>sakite</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22; attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/26	
339.	Toda Noto no kami 戸田能登守	shogunal direct retainer	courier (<i>tsukaiban</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
340.	Toda Uneme no kami 戸田采女正	Toda Ujitada, daimyo of Ōgaki (Mino), fudai	-	Nikkō patrol (<i>Nikkō kinban</i>) → 1842/3/7	
341.	Toi Den'uemon 土肥伝右衛門	shogunal direct retainer	finance officials (<i>kanjō</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/8	

342.	Tōjō Gon'nodaibu 東條權大夫	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/12/5	
343.	Toki Bungo no kami 土岐豊後守	shogunal direct retainer	captain of New Guards (<i>shinbangashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
344.	Toki Izumi no kami 土岐和泉守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/12/5	
345.	Toki Shimotsuke no kami 土岐下野守	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the hundred-man brigade (<i>hyakuningumi gashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
346.	Toki Tanba no kami 土岐丹波守	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the bodyguards (<i>shoinbangashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/4/22	
347.	Tokugawa Minbu Kyōdono 徳川民部卿殿	Tokugawa Yoshihisa; shinpan	Hitotsubashi Tokugawa cadet branch (<i>gosankyō</i>);	-	Travels to Nikkō after the shogun's return
348.	Tokugawa Uemon no kamidono 徳川右衛門監 殿	Tokugawa Yoshiyori; shinpan	Tayasu Tokugawa cadet branch (<i>gosankyō</i>)	-	Travels to Nikkō after the shogun's return
349.	Tokunaga Iyo no kami 徳永伊豫守	shogunal direct retainer	page of the Middle Interior (<i>nakaoku koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
350.	Tomida (Tonda) Ōkura 富田大内蔵	shogunal direct retainer	military commander (<i>mochigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
351.	Torii Ichijūrō 鳥居十郎	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal food taster (<i>zenbugyō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
352.	Tōyama Kinshirō 遠山 金四郎	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
353.	Toyofuji Shōgo 豊藤省吾	shogunal direct retainer	junior superintendent of works, rank equivalent to superintendent of tatami (<i>tatami bugyō kaku sakuji shitabugyō</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) →1842/3/8	
354.	Tsuchiya Iga no kami 土屋伊賀守	shogunal direct retainer	captain of the inner guards (<i>koshōgumi bangashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
355.	Tsuchiya Uneme no kami 土屋采女正	Tsuchiya Tomonao, daimyo of Tsuchiura (Hitachi); fudai	-	Nikkō patrol (<i>Nikkō kinban</i>) → 1842/5/18, replaces Sakai	

				Wakasa no kami	
356.	Tsuda Ukyō 津田右京	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal direct retainer (<i>yoriai</i>)	keeper of Motoyanagiha ra bridge (<i>rusu</i>)→ 1843/3/16	
357.	Tsurumi Shichizaemon 鶴見七左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	equerry (<i>umaazukari</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
358.	Tsuzuki Chōsabrō 都築長三郎	shogunal direct retainer	inner secretariat (<i>okuyūhitsu</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) →1842/2/19; official duties (<i>goyō</i>) →1842/5/4, replaces Tanaka Kyūzō; replaced by Tatsuta Rokusuke →1842/5/4	
359.	Uchiyama Shichibei 内山七兵衛	shogunal direct retainer	captain of falconers (<i>takajōgashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
360.	Udono Jinzaemon 鵜 殿甚左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
361.	Uekura Hikozaemon 上倉彦左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	inner secretariat (<i>okuyūhitsu</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) →1842/2/19	
362.	Uemura Dewa no kami 植村出羽守	Uemura Ienori, daimyo of Takatori (Yamato); fudai	-	Nikkō patrol (<i>Nikkō kinban</i>) → 1842/8/8, replaces Matsudaira Ichi no kami	
363.	Uragami Onoichirō 浦上 斧市郎	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the inner guards' unit (<i>koshōgumikumig ashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
364.	Usui Uneme 臼井采女	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
365.	Watanabe Yamashiro no kami 渡邊山城守	shogunal direct retainer	chief of pages (<i>koshōtōdori</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
366.	Yakushiji Chikuzen no kami 薬師寺筑前守	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>koshō</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
367.	Yamakawa Yasuzamon 山川安左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	body guard (<i>shoinban</i>)	supervisor of lodgings (<i>ōshukuwariy aku</i>) → 1842/4/16	

368.	Yamamoto Gorōzaemon 山本五郎左衛門	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
369.	Yamamura Jinjūrō 山村甚十郎	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the Inner Guards' unit (<i>koshōgumikumig ashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
370.	Yamauchi Tōtōmi 山内遠江守	Yamauchi Toyokata, daimyo of Kōchi Shinden (Tosa); tozama	-	Appointed rusu 1843/4/6	
371.	Yamazaki Sōan 山崎宗安	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal physician of the Western Enceinte (<i>nishinomaru okuishi</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
372.	Yanagisawa Hachirōemon 柳澤八郎右衛門	shogunal direct retainer	captain of foot soldiers (<i>kachigashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
373.	Yanagisawa Isaburō 柳澤伊 三郎	shogunal direct retainer	chief of the inner guards' unit (<i>koshōgumikumig ashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
374.	Yashiro Jinzaburō 屋代甚三郎	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal direct retainer (<i>yoriai</i>)	Fire patrol at the residences of shogunal princess Kiyohime (<i>osumai hinoban</i>) →1843/3/16	
375.	Yasuda Denjirō 安田傳次郎	shogunal direct retainer	finance official (<i>kanjō</i>)	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) →1842/3/8	
376.	Yoda Den'nosuke 依田傳之助	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
377.	Yoda Kazuma 依田數馬	shogunal direct retainer	page (<i>konando</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
378.	Yoda Yōnosuke 依田耀之助	shogunal direct retainer	bodyguard (<i>shoinban</i>)	appointed to ōshukuwariya ku on 1842/4/16	
379.	Yonekura Ōkura 米倉大 内藏	shogunal direct retainer	captain of New Guards (<i>shinbangashira</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/22	
380.	Yoshida Hideaki 吉田秀哲	shogunal direct retainer	shogunal physician (<i>okuishi</i>)	attendant (<i>gubu</i>) → 1842/3/27	
381.	Yoshigiwa Genzō 吉際源藏	shogunal direct retainer	junior superintendent for public works	official duties (<i>goyō</i>) → 1842/3/8	

			(fushinkata shitabugyō)		
382.	Yoshikawa Ichigaku 吉川一學	shogunal direct retainer	page (konando)	attendant (gubu) → 1842/3/27	

Based on: *Tokugawa Reitenroku vol. 2*

Table 4 – Status and appointments of the daimyo hosting shogun Ieyoshi during his journey to Nikkō in 1843

Name	Shogunal office	Relationship to the Tokugawa clan	Kokudaka	Office and court rank	Appointment
Doi Toshitsura Ōi no kami; Daimyo of Koga	Senior councilor	Fudai	80.000	Junior fourth rank lower grade → 1834/4/11; Chamberlain (<i>jijū</i>) → 1837/5/16.	Receives his appointment from the shogun in the Gozanoma
Ōoka Tadakata Shuzen no kami; Daimyo of Iwatsuki	Junior councilor	Fudai	20.000	Junior fifth rank lower grade → 1816/12/16	Receives his appointment from senior councilors in an antechamber, then meets the shogun for an audience in the Gozanoma
Toda Tadaharu Hyūga no kami; Daimyo of Utsunomiya	Sōshaban cum magistrate of temples and shrines	Fudai	77.850	Junior fifth rank lower grade → 1824/12/16	Receives his appointment from the senior councilors in the Fuyōnoma

Table 5 - Status and presents: list of shogunal retainers receiving gifts from the shogun on 1843/4/11

Name	Shogunal office	Relationship with the shogunal clan	Kokudaka	Office and court rank	Gift received
Ii Naoaki Kamon no kami	Former Great Councilor, tamaritsume daimyo	fudai	350,000	Senior Fourth Rank, Upper Grade → 1827/5/18	Shogun's personal haori from shogun's hands
Matsudaira Katsuyoshi Oki no kami	Tamaritsume	shinpan	150,000	Junior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade	Shogun's personal haori
Mizuno Echizen no kami Tadakuni	Chief Senior Councilor	fudai	70,000	Junior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade → 1825/5/15	Shogun's personal haori and hakama

Hotta Bicchū no kami Masayoshi	Senior Councilor	fudai	110,000	Junior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade → 1837/5/16	Shogun's personal haori and hakama
Hori Yamato no kami Chikashige	Grand Chamberlain	fudai	20,000	Junior Fourth Rank, Lower Grade → 1841/12/15	Shogun's personal haori and hakama
Hotta Settsu no kami Masahira	Junior Councilor	fudai	16,000	Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade → 1804-1818	Seasonal robes and haori
Endō Tajima no kami Tanenori	Junior Councilor	fudai	20,000	Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade → 1811/12/11	Seasonal robes and haori

Table 6 – Territories traversed by the shogunal procession to Nikkō in 1843

Post-town or village	Current location	Province and district	Domain
1. Komagomeshita	Tokyo, Bunkyo-ku	Musashi, Toshima	Denzuin temple
2. Nakazato	Tokyo, Kita-ku	Musashi, Toshima	Tokugawa land (administered by Seki Yasuemon)
3. Nishigahara	Tokyo, Kita-ku	Musashi, Toshima	Tokugawa land (administered by Seki Yasuemon)
4. Takinogawa	Tokyo, Kita-ku	Musashi, Toshima	Hatamoto domain (Noma Chūgorō)
5. Ōji	Tokyo, Kita-ku	Musashi, Toshima	Ōji shrine
6. Jūjō	Tokyo, Kita-ku	Musashi, Toshima	Kan'eiji temple
7. Inetsuke	Tokyo, Kita-ku	Musashi, Toshima	Kan'eiji temple
8. Kamiakabane	Tokyo, Kita-ku	Musashi, Toshima	Kan'eiji temple
9. Shimoakabane	Tokyo, Kita-ku	Musashi, Toshima	Denzuin temple
10. Iwabuchi post- town	Tokyo, Kita-ku	Musashi, Toshima	Tokugawa land (administered by Seki Yasuemon)
11. Motogō	Saitama prefecture, Kawaguchi	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Seki Yasuemon)
12. Shiwasuda	Saitama prefecture, Kawaguchi	Musashi, Adachi	Kan'eiji temple
13. Hinotsume	Saitama prefecture, Kawaguchi	Musashi, Adachi	Hōfukuji temple
14. Nikenzaike	Saitama prefecture, Kawaguchi	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Seki Yasuemon)
15. Maeda	Saitama prefecture, Kawaguchi (Hatogaya)	Musashi, Adachi	Kan'eiji temple
16. Nakai	Saitama prefecture, Kawaguchi (Hatogaya)	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Seki Yasuemon)

17. Hatogaya post-town	Saitama prefecture, Kawaguchi (Hatogaya)	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Seki Yasuemon)
18. Uradera	Saitama prefecture, Kawaguchi (Hatogaya)	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Aoyama Kyūhachirō)
19. Nishiarai-shuku	Saitama prefecture, Kawaguchi	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Ōkuma Zentarō)
20. Ishigami	Saitama prefecture, Kawaguchi	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Ōkuma Zentarō)
21. Shinmachi	?	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Ōkuma Zentarō)
22. Kitahara	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Urawa)	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Aoyama Kyūhachirō)
23. Totsuka	Saitama prefecture, Saitama	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Ōkuma Zentarō)
24. Daimon post-town	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Urawa)	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Ōkuma Zentarō)
25. Genbashinden	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Urawa)	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Aoyama Kyūhachirō)
26. Ōsaki	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Urawa)	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Aoyama Kyūhachirō)
27. Nakanoda	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Urawa)	Musashi, Adachi	Hatamoto domain (Kasuga Nakatsukasa)
28. Tsuji	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Urawa)	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Aoyama Kyūhachirō)
29. Daiyama	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Urawa)	Musashi, Adachi	Hatamoto domain (Fushimi Inosuke)
30. Terayama	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Urawa)	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Aoyama Kyūhachirō)
31. Kaminoda	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Urawa)	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Aoyama Kyūhachirō); Hatamoto domain (Fushimi Inosuke)
32. Someya (Shinsomeya)	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Urawa)	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Aoyama Kyūhachirō)
33. Hizako	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Ōmiya)	Musashi, Adachi	Tokugawa land (administered by Aoyama Kyūhachirō)
34. Miyashita	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Ōmiya)	Musashi, Adachi	Hatamoto domain (Miyazaki Gengorō, Tōyama Katsunojō, Sugenuma Ainosuke)

35. Kakura	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Iwatsuki)	Musashi, Saitama	Iwatsuki domain
36. Iwatsuki post-town	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Iwatsuki)	Musashi, Saitama	Iwatsuki domain
37. Tsuji	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Iwatsuki)	Musashi, Saitama	Iwatsuki domain
38. Ueno	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Iwatsuki)	Musashi, Saitama	Tokugawa land (administered by Hiraoka Bunjirō)
39. Kokaba	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Iwatsuki)	Musashi, Saitama	Tokugawa land (administered by Hiraoka Bunjirō)
40. Noda (Kaminoda, Shimonoda)	Saitama prefecture, Shiraoka	Musashi, Saitama	Iwatsuki domain
41. Ainohara , Shiya	Saitama prefecture, Saitama (former Iwatsuki)	Musashi, Saitama	Hatamoto domain (Hori Tetsutarō)
42. Okaizumi	Saitama prefecture, Shiraoka	Musashi, Saitama	Iwatsuki domain
43. Kumehara, Kokunō	Saitama prefecture, Miyashiro	Musashi, Saitama	Hatamoto domain (Toda Shigenojō, Takaki Zen'nosuke, Morikawa Fusanosuke)
44. Wado	Saitama prefecture, Miyashiro	Musashi, Saitama	Tokugawa land (administered by Hiraoka Bunjirō); Hatamoto domain (Yamamoto Sakingo, Sakakibara Hyakunosuke)
45. Shimono	Saitama prefecture, Sugito	Musashi, Katsushika	Hatamoto domain (Suzuki Tōzaemon, Yamataka Shin'emon)
46. Kamitakano	Saitama prefecture, Satte	Musashi, Katsushika	Hatamoto domain (Toki Shimotsuke no kami)
47. Satte post-town	Saitama prefecture, Satte	Musashi, Katsushika	Tokugawa land (administered by Hiraoka Bunjirō)
48. Takasuka	Saitama prefecture, Satte	Musashi, Katsushika	Tokugawa land (administered by Hiraoka Bunjirō)
49. Biyabashi	?	Musashi, Katsushika	Hitotsubashi domain
50. Kurihashi post-town	Saitama prefecture, Kuki (former Kurihashi)	Musashi, Katsushika	Tokugawa land (administered by Hiraoka Bunjirō)
51. Nakada Shinden	Ibaraki prefecture, Koga	Shimōsa, Katsushika	Koga domain
52. Koga post-town	Ibaraki prefecture, Koga	Shimōsa, Katsushika	Koga domain
53. Nogi post-town	Tochigi prefecture, Nogi	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Koga domain
54. Matsubara	Tochigi prefecture, Nogi	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Koga domain

55. Tomonuma	Tochigi prefecture, Nogi	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Koga domain
56. Otome	Tochigi prefecture, Oyama	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Tokugawa lands (administered by Hōjō Yūnosuke)
57. Mamada post-town	Tochigi prefecture, Oyama	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Utsunomiya domain
58. Sendazuka	Tochigi prefecture, Oyama	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Sekiyado domain
59. Kurinomiya	Tochigi prefecture, Oyama	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Yūki domain
60. Shitotonoya	Tochigi prefecture, Oyama	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Yūki domain
61. Oyama post-town	Tochigi prefecture, Oyama	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Utsunomiya domain
62. Kizawa	Tochigi prefecture, Oyama	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Tokugawa lands (administered by Hōjō Yūnosuke)
63. Shinden post-town	Tochigi prefecture, Oyama	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Sakura domain
64. Koganei post-town	Tochigi prefecture, Shimotsuke (former Kokubunji)	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Tokugawa lands (administered by Hōjō Yūnosuke) ¹
65. Shimoishibashi	Tochigi prefecture, Shimotsuke (former Kokubunji)	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Tokugawa lands (administered by Hōjō Yūnosuke)
66. Ishibashi post-town	Tochigi prefecture, Shimotsuke (former Ishibashi)	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Tokugawa lands (administered by Hōjō Yūnosuke)
67. Koyama Shinden	Tochigi prefecture, Shimotsuke (former Ishibashi)	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Hatamoto domain (Nakajō Yamashiro no kami, Hotta Chikara, Kosaka Rikigorō, Mizuno Wajūrō, Uchikoshi Kin'nosuke)
68. Sayadō	Tochigi prefecture, Kaminokawa	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Sekiyado domain
69. Mobara	Tochigi prefecture, Utsunomiya	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Sekiyado domain
70. Suzumenomiya post-town	Tochigi prefecture, Utsunomiya	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Tokugawa lands (administered by Hōjō Yūnosuke)
71. Daimachi Shinden (Daishinden)	Tochigi prefecture, Utsunomiya	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Utsunomiya domain

¹ In 1843 Koganei was a “satellite land” of Sakura domain. Nonetheless between 1787 and 1798, Koganei was administered by shogunal intendants and therefore it is likely that the compiler of this report mistakenly recorded Koganei as belonging to Tokugawa lands.

72. Utsunomiya post-town	Tochigi prefecture, Utsunomiya	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Utsunomiya domain
73. Terauchi	?	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Utsunomiya domain
74. Nozawa	Tochigi prefecture, Utsunomiya	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Utsunomiya domain
75. Tokujirō post-town	Tochigi prefecture, Utsunomiya	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Utsunomiya domain
76. Shimotokujirō	Tochigi prefecture, Utsunomiya	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Utsunomiya domain
77. Nakatokujirō	Tochigi prefecture, Utsunomiya	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Utsunomiya domain
78. Kamitokujirō	Tochigi prefecture, Utsunomiya	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Utsunomiya domain
79. Kamiishinada	Tochigi prefecture, Utsunomiya	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Tokugawa lands (administered by Hōjō Yūnosuke)
80. Koike	Tochigi prefecture, Utsunomiya	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Tokugawa lands (administered by Hōjō Yūnosuke)
81. Yamaguchi	Tochigi prefecture, Nikkō (former Imaichi)	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Utsunomiya domain
82. Ōsawa post-town	Tochigi prefecture, Nikkō (former Imaichi)	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Nikkō domain
83. Mizunashi	Tochigi prefecture, Nikkō (former Imaichi)	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Nikkō domain
84. Moritomo	Tochigi prefecture, Nikkō (former Imaichi)	Shimotsuke, Kawachi	Nikkō domain
85. Imaichi post-town	Tochigi prefecture, Nikkō (former Imaichi)	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Nikkō domain
86. Hatsuishi post-town	Tochigi prefecture, Nikkō	Shimotsuke, Tsuga	Nikkō domain

Based on: *Edo yori Nikkō Hatsuishishuku made shukushuku muramura goryō oshihai gochigyōsho torishirabe moshiaagechō*, Sanada Monjo, National Institute of Japanese Literature.

Table 7 – Interactions between the central government and the peripheries: a chronological outline of the preparations for Ieyoshi's pilgrimage in Kawanago village (Mibu domain)

Date	Item	Order coming from/Inspection conducted by	Content	Primary source
1842/2	Shogunal order		Kawanago is ordered to prepare an inventory of the trees planted along the stretch of the <i>Nikkō dōchū</i> traversing the village.	NSKS 1:18 (119-120)

1842/3/7	Circular letter	Gorozaemon (Koganei's <i>toiya</i>) and Tarōbei (Koganei's Elder)	Kawanago is ordered to conduct a survey of masterless samurai (<i>rōnin</i>) dwelling in a radius of 1.3 miles (20 <i>chō</i>)	NSKS 1:20 (121)
1842/3/11	Shogunal order	Akiyama Suzunosuke, Yōse Shōemon, Okano Sōshirō, Mizushima Dansuke (Shogunal Intendant's Assistants)	Kawanago is ordered to submit a report containing information such as: 1) name and borders of the village; 2) annual rice yield and domain to which it belongs 3) names of temples and shrines visible from the road; 4) names and rice yield of peasants whose families have suffered great damage in the recent past; 5) location of notice boards (<i>kōsatsu</i>); 6) side roads and cul-de-sacs; 7) location of water supplies to be used for cooking/drinking; 8) location of stables and warehouses; 9) location of canteens; 10) name and address of houses hosting shogunal attendants; 9) other details about investigations conducted in the previous occurrences of the Nikkō pilgrimage.	NSKS 2:2 (65-67)
1842/3/19	Shogunal inspection	Akiyama Suzunosuke, Yōse Shōemon, and Okano Sōshirō (Shogunal Intendant's Assistants)	Inspection and amendment of the content displayed on road signs.	NSKS2:2 (72-75)
1842/4/3	Shogunal inspection	Mizushima Dansuke (Shogunal Intendant's Assistants)	Inspection of the road and of the restrooms for shogunal attendants (<i>secchin</i>).	NSKS2: 2 (84)
1842/4/6	Shogunal inspection	11 shogunal officials including Masuda Kingorō (Head of the Finance section); Okamoto Gen'nojō (Finance Official); Haruyama Tarōzaemon (Managing Accountant); 5 supervisors of constructions, and 3 intendant's assistants. Officials from Mibu domain also attendant the inspection.	Inspection of the road and of road signs. On 4/4 Kawanago's Elder Den'emon and Mibu domainial inspector Ishizaki travelled to Koga to submit a map of the Kawanago and a report on infrastructure that the village was planning to build for the pilgrimage such as road signs, horse-washing facilities, water drains etc. Expenses for these facilities are covered by Mibu domain.	NSKS 2:2 (84-89)

1842/4/19	Shogunal inspection	Akiyama Suzunosuke and Suda Motosaburō (Shogunal Intendant's Assistants)	Inspection of the facilities and road signs.	NSKS2:2 (97)
1842/4/23	Shogunal inspection	Ogino Kan'ichi (Managing Accountant); Iso Masunosuke (Supervisor of Public Works); and Okano Sōshirō (Shogunal Intendant's Assistants)	Inspections of the road	NSKS 2:2 (99, 101)
1842/4/26	Official inspection (<i>honkenbun</i>)	More than 50 shogunal officials including Hajikano Nobumasa (Inspector General); Atobe Yoshisuke (Superintendent of Finance); Ikeda Nagahiro (Superintendent of Public Works); Hori Toshikata (Superintendent of Works); and Sasaki Sanzō (Inspector). Officials from Mibu domain also attend the inspection.	According to the <i>Tokugawa Jikki</i> shogunal officials had left Edo on 4/1 to conduct inspections throughout the shogunal route to Nikkō.	NSKS 2:2(103-106)
1842/5/23	Shogunal inspection	Akiyama Suzunosuke, Mizushima Dansuke, Yamazaki Kan'ichirō, and Sakamoto Yanagisaemon (Shogunal Intendant's Assistants)	Inspections of the road and planning for the construction of shogunal facilities (<i>otoritatemono</i>). Kawanago submits a report containing information about the village's annual rice yield, population divided by gender, number of horses and oxen.	NSKS 2:2 (108-110)
1842/6/8	Shogunal inspection	Akiyama Suzunosuke (Shogunal Intendant's Assistants)	Inspection of road signs (<i>kashofuda</i> , sign indicating the length of the road passing through the village, the name of the domain lord, the name village, the village's annual rice yield etc.) and the pickets marking the borders between villages (<i>sakaikui</i>)	NSKS 2:5 (171)
1842/7/14	Shogunal inspection	Ishikawa Sadanojō and Kimura Jinbei (Supervisor of Public Works), and Ikeda Taizō and Mochigasa Shōemon (Shogunal Intendant's Assistants)	Inspection of road signs	NSKS1:41(155-157)
1842/8/8	Shogunal inspection	Nomura Hikouemon (Shogunal Intendant) and Nishikawa Shōnosuke (Shogunal Intendant's Assistants)	Inspection of the road	NSKS2:4 (145)
1842/8/10	Passage of top-ranking shogunal officials through Kawanago	42 officials including Mizuno Tadakuni (Senior Councilor); Hotta Masahira (Junior Councilor); Hajikano Nobumasa (Inspector General); Atobe	-	NSKS2:4 (148-50, 152-53)

		Yoshisuke (Superintendent of Finance); Sasaki Sanzō (Inspector) pass through Kawanago on their way to Nikkō		
1842/8/14	Shogunal inspection	Hōjō Yūnosuke (Shogunal Intendant)	On 8/13 Hōjō stops in Koganei and prompts neighboring villages to get ready for the official inspection conducted by Superintendent of Finance Atobe. On 8/14 Hōjō inspects the Kawanago's <i>sotomichi</i> , narrow roads running parallel to the main street (beside the roadside trees) built expressly for the shogunal pilgrimage.	NSKS2:4 (154)
1842/8/15	Shogunal inspection	Seki Yasuemon (Shogunal Intendant) and his assistants	-	NSKS 2:4 (154)
1842/8/18	Shogunal inspection	Matsuno Shigeichirō and Nagaoka Hikohachirō (Shogunal Intendant's Assistants)	Inspection of the road	NSKS 2:5 (174-75)
1842/8/19	Official inspection	Atobe Yoshisuke (Superintendent of Finance); Sutō Ichizaemon (Head of the Finance section); Genta Keiemon (Finance Official); Mori Chikanosuke and Ōkuma Zentarō (Intendants); Mori Tōjūrō and Hayashi Kinzō (Supervisors of Public Works). Officials from Mibu domain also attended the inspection.	General inspection	NSKS2:4 (146-48)
1843/2/18	Shogunal inspection	Mori Chikanosuke (Shogunal Intendant)	Amendment of road signs, pruning of the sideroad trees; inspection of fences surrounding the restrooms	NSKS2:3 (131)
1843/2/26	Shogunal inspection	Akiyama Suzunosuke, Nakazawa Ryōemon, Taku Kanzō, and Higuchi Naozō (Shogunal Intendant's Assistants).	Inspection of the road	NSKS2: 3 (136)
1843/3/10	Shogunal inspection	Inspection conducted by Atobe Yoshisuke (Superintendent of Finance); Seki Yasuemon (Intendent); Tsuru Kojurō (Head of Finance Section); Genta Keiemon (Finance Official)	According to the inspection's notification (<i>sakibure</i>), to facilitate the inspection Kawanago was requested to place notice boards:1) near areas that were covered with gravel (<i>tamajari</i>); 2) near bridges that had been repaired; 3) near water stations for	NSKS1:65 (222); NSKS2:3 (141-42)

			shogunal attendants; 4) near horse-washing facilities; 5) and near restrooms.	
1843/3/20	Shogunal inspection	Mori Chikanosuke (Shogunal Intendant)	Inspection of the road	NSKS1:67 (222-23)
1843/4/8	Shogunal inspection	Raijū Waichirō (Shogunal Intendant's Assistant)	Raijū checks the quality of water in the wells and prompts the village to get ready for the inspection of 4/1.1	NSKS2:7 (212-13)
1843/4/11	Shogunal inspection	Okayama Kakuzaemon (Finance Official) and Mori Chikanosuke (Shogunal Intendant)	Final inspection of the road: adjustment of road signs. Order to remove fences from around the wells; order to clean foliage on the ground; instruction on the placement of ceremonial sand-piles (<i>morizuna</i>) and on how to clean the road before the arrival of the shogun.	NSKS2:7 (216, 218-219, 221)

Based on Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, ed. *Nikkō shasan kankei shiryō 1*, Kokubunjimachi: Kokubunjimachi, 2001 and Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, ed. *Nikkō shasan kankei shiryō 2*, Kokubunjimachi: Kokubunjimachi, 2002. Numbers in the “Primary source” column refer respectively to the volume number, document number, and page number.

Table 8 – Shogunal long-term rest areas (*yasumidokoro*): chronological outline of the preparations at Jigenji temple (1842/2/28 to 1842/9/9)

Date	Item	Notes	Primary source
1842/2/28	Sakura domain informs Jigenji that, following precedent (<i>kyūrei o motte</i>), the temple might serve as long-term rest area (<i>yasumidokoro</i>) for Ieyoshi's pilgrimage to Nikkō in 4/1843.		NSKS2:1(13)
1842/3/1	An official notice comes from Konshōin informing Jigenji that the temple might serve as a rest area for the shogun. Jigenji is therefore ordered to draw two sets of maps and to bring them to the office of the superintendent of temples and shrines in Edo. ²	Konshōin was a Shingon temple located in Edo serving as “liaison temple” (<i>furegashira jiin</i>), i.e. an intermediary between the shogunate and temples. The shogunate appointed a liaison temple for each Buddhist school to transmit orders to minor temples belonging to the same school and to communicate requests coming from the	NSKS2:1(13-14)

		temples to the central government. ³	
1842/3/2	Jigenji's prominent parishioners and Koganei post-town authorities gather to discuss the possibility of Jigenji serving as rest area and the drawing of the temple's maps. Jigenji's abbot, Hōinseijun, who at that time was studying in Yamato province (modern Nara prefecture), is contacted and asked to return to Koganei.		NSKS2:1(14)
1842/3/9	Maps are completed. Saburōemon, head of Jigenji's parishioners (<i>dantō</i>) and one Koganei post-town's elders, is asked to travel to the domain's headquarters in Sakura and then to Edo to deliver the maps to the domainal and to the shogunal authorities.		NSKS2:1 (14-15)
1842/3/10	Saburōemon departs from Koganei. Jigenji provides him with 1 gold <i>ryō</i> and 1 <i>bu</i> to cover travel expenses.		NSKS2:1(15)
1842/3/22	Saburōemon returns to Koganei.		NSKS2:1(16)
1842/3/24	Jigenji's abbot returns to Koganei.		NSKS2:1(16)
1842/3/25 and 26	Jigenji is inspected by Sakura officials: Gamō Kyūzō (Domainal Intendent, <i>daikan</i>), his assistant Sakurai Shigejirō, and scribe Kōjima Rikizō. Saburōemon serves as a guide.		NSKS2:1(16-17)
1842/4/6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal inspection: Katō Gunbei (Construction Accountant, <i>sakujikata kanjōyaku</i>) conducts an informal inspection of Jigenji (<i>nainai no kenbun</i>). Shogunal inspection: officials do not enter Jigenji's facilities, but they simply observe them from the outside after the building's paper doors have been opened (<i>sotodōri gokenbun</i>). 		NSKS2:1(18)
1842/4/12	Shogunal inspection: Atobe Noto no kami (Superintendent of Finance, <i>kanjōbugyō</i>) stops by Jigenji on his way to Nikkō. Jigenji sets up benches and the superintendent takes a brief rest near the temple's Sanmon gate.		NSKS2:1(19)
1842/4/12	<p>Circular letter from the shogunate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> villages and post-towns must keep repairs as simple and frugal as possible. costs deriving from the restoration of shogunal facilities will be covered by the shogunate. temples located along the Nikkō highways must make essential 		NSKS2:1(19)

³ Fumio Tamamuro, "The Development of the Temple-Parishioner System," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 36, no. 1 (2009): 11-26.

	repairs even if a final decision about what temples will serve as rest areas has not been made yet. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • shogunal inspections will occur thereafter 		
1842/4/6	Circular letter issued by the shogunate and delivered by Konshōin to three of the four long-term rest areas (Shakujōji, Jigenji, and Ryūzōji) plus 34 other temples located along the Nikkō roads: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • even though a decision about what temples will be serving as rest areas will be made after conducting inspections, temples which have served in the past as rest areas are likely to be re-appointed. 		NSKS2:1(20)
1842/4/14	Jigenji submits an estimate to Sakura domainal intendant, calculating that 486 <i>ryō</i> will be necessary for the temple's refurbishment. Jigenji offers to provide 30 <i>ryō</i> and asks Sakura to provide the remaining 456 <i>ryō</i> . In addition to Jigenji's headpriest, the estimate also bears the name of Koganei post town authorities to as a sign of support.	Even though the shogunate covered the costs of construction and/or renovation of facilities directly used by the shogun, temples were expected to refurbish the rest of their buildings at their expense. The estimate submitted by Jigenji refers to the costs of renovation/construction not covered by the shogunate.	NSKS2:1(21)
1842/4/16	Jigenji confirms its availability to serve as long-term rest area to Konshōin.		NSKS2:1(22-23)
1842/4/19	Domainal inspection: Aoki Andayū (district superintendent, <i>kōri bugyō</i>).		NSKS2:1(23)
1842/4/21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shogunal inspection: Akiyama Suzunosuke (Intendant Mori Chikanosuke's assistant), Suda Taizaburō (Intendant Yamamoto Daizen's assistant), Sugiyama Ryōnosuke (Supervisor of Constructions, <i>fushinyaku</i>). • Domainal inspection: Okaga Ichirōbei (Domainal Manager, <i>tōdori</i>), Aoki Andayū (District Superintendent,), Gamō Kyūzō (Domainal Intendant) 		NSKS2:1(24)
1842/4/23	Shogunal inspection: Hagino Kan'ichi (Financial Administrator, <i>shihai kanjō</i>).		NSKS2:1(24)
1842/4/24	Shogunal inspection by nine construction officials (<i>sakujikata</i>).		NSKS2:1(24)

1842/4/25	Shogunal inspection: installation of notice boards and creating the seating arrangement for the shogunal dining hall (<i>gozashiki</i>).		NSKS2:1(25)
1842/4/26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal inspection of the dining hall by construction officials. Domainal inspection: officials encourage Jigenji to complete the construction before the shogunal full-scale inspection scheduled for 1842/9. Domainal officials also inform Jigenji that the temple is expected to provide 50 or 60 <i>ryō</i> for its renovations and that domainal carpenters will conduct the constructions. 		NSKS2:1(27)
1842/4/30	Domainal inspection: Sakura officials Aoki Andayū (District Superintendent), Okaga Ichirōbei (Domainal Manager), Gamō Kyūzō (Intendant), and Sakurai Shigejirō (Intendant's Assistant) visit Jigenji to prepare a new estimate for the temple's refurbishment.		NSKS2:1(27)
1842/5/1	Jigenji's abbot visits Koganei to negotiate with Sakura officials about the money Jigenji has to provide for its refurbishment. He is asked to submit a formal request.		NSKS2:1(27-28)
1842/5/2	Jigenji's request is rejected. The abbot submits a second letter.		NSKS2:1(28-29)
1842/5/4	Jigenji's second request is rejected. The abbot accepts the deal offered by Sakura domain: Jigenji will pay 50 <i>ryō</i> and the domain will cover the rest of the expenses.		NSKS2:1(29)
1842/5/8	Jigenji's abbot goes to Koganei to thank the Sakura domainal intendant and district superintendent for supplying funds for renovations.		NSKS2:1(30)
1842/5/15	Jigenji consults with parishioners and Koganei's authorities and decides to apply for a 35 <i>ryō</i> loan and to ask parishioners to chip in order to shoulder the refurbishment costs.		NSKS2:1(30)
1842/5/17	Jigenji asks neighboring villages to donate (<i>kishin no tsumori wo motte</i>) additional resources including horses and laborers.		NSKS2:1(32)
1842/5/23	Shogunal inspection: installation of notice boards, fixing of the rope used to demarcate the layout of shogunal facilities (<i>nawahari naoshi</i>).		NSKS2:1(33)
1842/6/1	Sakura carpenters start roof repairs (construction ends on 1842/6/25)		NSKS2:1(33)
1842/6/24	The shogunate starts sending construction materials for the shogunal facilities.		NSKS2:1(35)
1842/6/28	Shogunal inspection: Suzuki Genshichi and Nakamura Zengorō (Master Carpenter, <i>daikutōryō</i>) visit Jigenji		NSKS2:1(37)

1842/7/1	Sakura domainal intendent Gamō Kyūzō arrives at Jigenji and drops in for a short visit.		NSKS2:1(37)
1842/7/2	Jigenji concludes negotiations for the loan of 35 <i>ryō</i> from Uemura Jūzō of Kōmura village. Jigenji will have to return the loan by 1844/8 with an interest fee of 15 <i>ryō</i> and 1 <i>bu</i> . Jigenji pledges some of its territories as security for the loan.		NSKS2:1(37-38)
1842/7/4	Jigenji pays 50 <i>ryō</i> to Sakura.		NSKS2:1(38)
1842/7/11	Shogunal inspection: Sano Jinnai and Hirai Ikutarō (Construction Officials' Assistant, <i>koyaku</i>) visit Jigenji.		NSKS2:1(39)
1842/7/12	Jigenji's abbot summoned in Edo by the superintendent of temples and shrines to be officially appointed to long-term rest area. The abbot returns to Koganei on 1842/7/25.		NSKS2:1(39)
1842/7/13	Konshōin communicates the names of the shogunal officials in charge of renovating and building shogunal facilities at Jigenji: Morita Kinzō (Construction Low-level Bureaucrat, <i>hikan</i>), Katō Gunbei (Construction Accountant), Sano Jinnai (Construction Official's Assistant), Matsuzaki Chūemon, Iwasa Tomouemon, Hirai Ikutarō (Construction Petty Officials, <i>fushin dōshin</i>), Heinouchi Ōsumi (Chief of Master Builders, <i>daitōryō</i>), and Tsujiuchi Eizaburō (Master Carpenter).		NSKS2:1(40)
1842/7/16	There is talk (<i>uwasa kore ari</i>) that Jigenji's full-scale inspection by senior councilors will take place on 1842/8 instead of 1842/9 as originally planned.		NSKS2:1(41)
1842/7/24	Domainal inspection: Aoki Andayū (District Superintendent) and Yamada Heimon (Construction Low-level Bureaucrat).		NSKS2:1(42)
1842/7/26	Shogunal inspection: Koike Kōjirō (Assistant Inspector of the Comptrollers of Finance, <i>kanjōginmikata aratameyaku</i>) and Suzuki Tōsaku (Associate Inspector, <i>kachimetsuke</i>).		NSKS2:1(42)
1842/7/29	Shogunal inspection: Suzuki Tōsaku (Associate Inspector).		NSKS2:1(43)
1842/7/30	Shogunal carpenters complete the construction of their temporary office inside Jigenji's precincts, so they won't need to use the abbot's residence (<i>genkan</i>) any more. Menials are hired for serving tea and tobacco to shogunal officials conducting the renovations of Jigenji, hence the abbot won't have to take care of it any longer. Jigenji's abbot reports that he feels relieved by these changes (<i>anshin tsukamatsuri sōrō</i>).		NSKS2:1(44)
1842/8/1	Shogunal inspection: Koike Kōjirō (Assistant Inspector of the Comptrollers of Finance), Suzuki Genshichi (Master Carpenter).		NSKS2:1(44)

1842/8/2	Shogunal inspection: Toyofuji Shōgo (Chief of Carpenters, <i>daikugashira</i>).		NSKS2:1(44)
1842/8/3	Domainal inspection: carpentry officials visit Jigenji.		NSKS2:1(44-45)
1842/8/4	Shogunal inspection: Miura Tomojirō (Associate Inspector) and others.		NSKS2:1(45)
1842/8/5	Shogunal inspection: Kaneda Yuejūrō (Associate Inspector)		NSKS2:1(45)
1842/8/6	20 Tokugawa officials entrusted with the organization of lodging for shogunal attendants (<i>oshukuwari</i>) come to Koganei. Jigenji provides “hospitality”: sand-piles and buckets are placed in the proximity of the temple’s gates and near the abbot’s residence; fire for the tea is prepared, water in the washbasins located in the restrooms is changed, etc...		NSKS2:1(47)
1842/8/8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal inspection: Nomura Hikouemon (Intendant) Domainal inspection: Aoki Andayū (District of Superintendent) 		NSKS2:1(48)
1842/8/10	Formal inspection by shogunal officials: Mizuno Echizen no kami (Senior Councilor); Hotta Settsu no kami (Junior Councilor); Hajikano Kawachi no kami (Inspector General); Atobe Noto no kami and Kajino Tosa no kami (Superintendents of Finance); Hori Iga no kami (Superintendent of Works); Ikeda Chikugo no kami (Superintendent of Public Works); Sasaki Sanzō and Sakakibara Kazue no kami (Inspectors); Nemoto Zenzaemon (Comptroller of Finance, <i>kanjō ginmiyaku</i>); Sutō Ichizaemon (Head of Finance Section); Toyofuji Shōgo (Chief of Carpenters); Takamine Mondo (Junior Superintendent of Works, <i>sakuji shitabugyō</i>); Yoshigiwa Genzō (Junior Superintendent of Public works, <i>fushin shitabugyō</i>); Koike Kojirō (Assistant Inspector of the Comptrollers of Finance).		NSKS2:1(50-51)
1842/8/12	Domainal inspection: Okaga Ichirōbei (Domainal Manager) and Aoki Andayū (District Superintendent).		NSKS2:1(53)
1842/8/15	Shogunal inspection: Koike Kojirō (Assistant Inspector of the Comptrollers of Finance)		NSKS2:1(54)
1842/8/19	Shogunal inspection performed by some of the officials that had visited Jigenji on 1842/8/10. Officials are travelling back to Edo.	Senior Councilor Mizuno and Junior Councilor Hotta do not pass through Koganei on their way back to Edo.	NSKS2:1(55)
1842/8/20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shogunal inspection: Associate Inspectors Domainal inspection: Gamō Kyūzō (Intendant) 		NSKS2:1(55)

1842/8/24	Domainal inspection: Morita Kinzō (Construction Low-level Bureaucrat)		NSKS2:1(56)
1842/8/25	Shogunal inspection: Heinouchi Ōsumi (Chief of Master Builders)		NSKS2:1(56)
1842/8/26	Shogunal inspection: Takatsu Giichirō and Inoue Heinojō (Supervisor of Constructions).		NSKS2:1(56)
1842/8/28	Shogunal inspection: Suzuki (Secretary of the Comptroller of Finance, <i>kanjō ginmi kata shitayaku</i>).		NSKS2:1(56)
1842/8/29	Shogunal inspections: Kaneda Yuejūrō (Associate Inspector), Gotō Sōdayū (Supervisor of Construction).		NSKS2:1(56)
1842/9/6	Shogunal inspection: Koike Kojirō (Assistant Inspector of the Comptrollers of Finance), Suzuki Tōsaku (Associate Inspector).		NSKS2:1(57)
1842/9/8	Jigenji and Sakura post-town's authorities issue a thank you letter to Sakura domainal lord for his 345 <i>ryō</i> donation (<i>gōriki</i>) for the refurbishment of the temple. The letter describes the donation as “an act of exceptional benevolence” (<i>kakubetsu no gojihi wo motte</i>).		NSKS2:1(57)
1842/9/9	Most of the construction projects for the shogunal facilities at Jigenji have been completed. Shogunal officials Koike Kojirō (Assistant Inspector of the Comptrollers of Finance), Suzuki Tōsaku (Associate Inspector), Yamada Heiemon (Construction Low-level Bureaucrat), Sano Jinnai (Assistant of Construction Official), Kimura Daihachi (Assistant Inspector, <i>kobito metsuke</i>), Hirai Ikutarō (Construction Petty Official), Satō Mansaku (carpenter, <i>tedaiku</i>), Suzuki Genshichi (Master Carpenter), Nakazawa Heinojō (Intendant's Hōjō Yūnosuke's Assistant) gather at Jigenji. Carpentry officers hand over shogunal facilities at Jigenji to the intendant's assistant (<i>hikiwatashi</i>). Koganei post-town is entrusted with the protection of the shogunal facilities at Jigenji until the projects resume.		NSKS2:1(60)

Table 9 - Military system charts adopted on the occasion of 1843 shogunal pilgrimage to Nikkō⁴

⁴ Numerical figures in red are based on shogunal proclamations (*furegaki*) issued on 1842/4/7, 1842/4/13, and 1842/4, See, BFS2. Numbers in green are those found in the military charts included in the *Tokugawa Reitenroku*, an account in three volumes describing some of the most important rituals of the Tokugawa clan that was compiled in 1882 by three former shogunal retainers (hereinafter *Reitenroku*). See, TR2:675-77. Numbers in blue were extracted from the first volume of the *Tenpō Nikkō omiya gosankei Ikkendome* (NA manuscript). When data from these three sources match, I report only the numbers found in the shogunal proclamations.

Annual Rice Yield (<i>kokudaka</i>) ⁵	Banners	Firearms	Mounted men	Spears	Bows	Attendants
From 100,000 <i>oku</i> up	2	45	17	30	15	
From 50,000 <i>oku</i> up	2	30	13	25	15 10 10	
40,000 <i>oku</i>	2	25	10	20	7 5 7	
30,000 <i>oku</i>	2	17	7	20 15	5	
20,000 <i>oku</i>	2	12	5	10	5	
10,000 <i>oku</i>	1	2 5 5	2	7	2	
9,000~8,000 <i>oku</i>	1	3	1	3	1	
7,000 <i>oku</i>	1	3 2 3	1	2	1	
6,000 <i>oku</i>	1	2	1	2	1	
5,000 <i>oku</i>	1	1	1	2	1	
4,000 <i>oku</i> ⁶	/7 / /	1	1	2	1 2	
3,000 <i>oku</i>	/	1	1	2	1 2	
2,000 <i>oku</i>		1		2	1	
1,990~1,600 <i>oku</i>		1 ⁸	1	1		14
1,590~1,000 <i>oku</i>		1	1	1		10
990~600 <i>oku</i>			1	1		8
590~300 <i>oku</i>			1	1		7
Retainer with a <i>Hoi</i> status (1,000~1,990) <i>oku</i>		1	1	2	1	14
Retainer with a status lower than <i>Hoi</i> (500 <i>oku</i>)			1	1		10

⁵ The *kokudaka* was an estimate of the rice produced by a land in one year, and it was measured in *oku*. One *oku* was equivalent to about 180 liters, the quantity of rice considered necessary to feed one person for a year.

⁶ BFS has two distinct categories for 3,000-*oku* lords and 4,000-*oku* lords. On the contrary, the TR and the NA lump them together in the same group.

⁷ According to the BFS, the TR, and the NA within this category of retainers only the Captains of the Two Guards (*ryōbangashira*) were allowed to carry one banner.

⁸ According to the BFS, the TR, and the NA retainers with a rice yield of 1,000 *oku* or above were also allowed to carry one additional musket and one spear.

Table 2 - Breakdown of the retainers, laborers, soldiers, and expenses of the 1843 pilgrimage according to extant sources

Source	Total number Attendants (daimyo and shogun's procession)	Horses	Laborers	Ordinary soldiers	Expenses
<i>Ukiyo no arisama</i> (1)	133,000	325,940	260,830	623,900	223,000 ryō ⁹ (180,000 expenses for <i>hatamoto</i> ; 43,000 allowance for <i>gokenin</i> retainers)
<i>Ukiyo no arisama</i> (2)	Over 170,000	/	140,000~150,000	/	/
<i>Bunshūroku</i>	133,000	322,940	230,830	623,906	180,000 ryō (general expenses), 43,005 ryō (allowances)
<i>Nikkō gosankei...</i>	159,000	425,540	360,830	823,560	508,973 ryō (general expenses), 43,500 ryō (allowances)
<i>Tokugawa Jikki</i>	More than 140,000	/	/	/	/

⁹ A ryō was a gold currency unit in early modern Japan.

A

B

14 Banner poles (leather cases with gold crests)	1 mounted messenger (with retinue)	Associate inspectors
3 chests for banners	* 1 mounted inspector (with retinue)	Assistant inspectors
14 Banner poles (leather cases with gold crests)	* 1 Captain of the footsoldiers (mounted)	

(scabbard decorated with tiger fur)
25 spears
Semin battalions saterandins (<i>doshin</i>)
Semin battalions saterandins (<i>doshin</i>)
25 spears
(scabbard decorated with tiger fur)
I Captain of the Semin Battalion
(mounted)
1 samurai
1 spear bearer
1 servant for footwear
1 servant for horse footwear
2 grooms for bridle
*
I Superintendent of Spears
(mounted)
3 samurai
1 spear bearer
1 servant for footwear
1 servant for horse footwear
2 grooms for bridle
* * *
3 Spare Palangquin
(3 lading turns) Spare horses

345

3 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	5 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	1 samurai 1 spear bearer footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	3 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	5 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle
Chief of the Bodyguard Unit (mounted)	* *	Mounted captain of the Bodyguards (mounted)	* *	Chief of the Bodyguard Unit (mounted)
		Bodyguards (mounted)		Mounted Captain of the Bodyguards (mounted)

(same retinue as on the right)

1 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	3 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	5 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	1 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	3 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle
Mounted Bodyguards		Chief of the Bodyguard Unit (mounted)	* *	Mounted Captain of the Bodyguards (mounted)
		Bodyguards (mounted)		Chief of the Bodyguard Unit (mounted)
Mounted Bodyguards (same retinue same as on the right)		Bodyguards (same retinue as on the right)		Bodyguards (same retinue as on the right)

5 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	1 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	3 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	5 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	1 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle
Captain of the Inner Guards (mounted)	* (mounted)	Chief of the Inner Guard Unit (mounted)	* (mounted)	Captain of the Inner Guards (mounted)
	(same retinue as on the right)			(same retinue as on the right)

3 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	5 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	1 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	3 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	5 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle
Chief of the Inner Guard Unit (mounted)	* (mounted)	Captain of the Inner Guards (mounted)	* (mounted)	Chief of the Inner Guard Unit (mounted)
		Inner Guards (same retinue as on the right)		Inner Guards (same retinue as on the right)

1 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	1 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	1 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	1 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	1 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle
* (mounted)	* (mounted)	Chief of the Inner Guard Unit (mounted)	Mageki Matetokurō (same retinue as on the right)	shogunal horse trainer
Inner Guards (same retinue as on the right)				shogunal horse trainer

3 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	2 samurai 1 long sword bearer 1 servant for the medicine box 6 palanquin bearers 1 servant for horse footwear	3 samurai 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	10 samurai 2 spear bearers 2 servant for footwear 2 travelling chests 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle
Inspector- s assistant (mounted)	Assistant Inspector (mounted)	Shogunal doctor	1 Mounted shogunal attendant * * *
Inspector	Attendants- Inspector (same retinue as on the doctor)	Shogunal surgeons (same retinue as on the doctor)	Hotta Lord of Settsu

1 samurai on foot (<i>wakato</i>) 1 spear bearer 1 servant for footwear 1 servant for horse footwear 2 grooms for bridle	Samurai on foot Travelling chest Rain gear	1 samurai on foot Travelling chest Rain gear	1 samurai on foot Travelling chest Rain gear
Hotta- s retainer (1 mounted)	* * * 2	Rear foot soldiers	Diseiki
		Rear samurai- s attendants	
		Samurai on foot Travelling chest Rain gear	
		Samurai on foot Travelling chest Rain gear	
		Samurai on foot Travelling chest Rain gear	

Superintendent of the Equipment (appointed from among the <i>gōdan</i> guards)	Spears Bows Muskets Ceremonial horses	<div>C</div>	Mizuno Lord of Echizen 2 Mounted men 5 long-handle spears 2 bows 5 muskets Plus other men carrying muskets, bows, and spears.	Mizuno s retainers 2 banners 25 spears 10 bows 30 muskets 13 mounted men and others
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Hori, Lord of Yamato- s retinue	Hotta Lord of Settsu- s retinue	Matsudaira Lord of Chikugo- s	retinues	Matsudaira Ichi no Kami
2 banners	1 banner	Makino Lord of Iyo- s		2 banners
10 spears	7 spears	Shirasu Lord of Kai- s		20 spears
5 bows	2 bows	Matsudaira Lord of Hida- s		5 bows
12 muskets	5 muskets	Shinmi Lord of Iga- s		17 muskets
5 mounted men and others	2 mounted men and others		1 banner	7 mounted men and others
			2 spears	
			1 bow	
			1 musket	
			1 mounted man and others	

Matsudaira Lord of Ōki:¹⁶
 2 banners
 30 spears
 15 bows
 45 muskets
 17 mounted men
 and other men

¹ 2 *chō* (about 720 feet).

² Unmounted shogunal guards equipped with muskets.

³ 2 *ken* (about 120 feet).

⁴ The *sakitegumi* (vanguard units) were shogunal guards units carrying muskets and bow that served in the front line of the

main body of the procession.

⁵ *Mochizutsu* refers to firearms owned individually by warriors. In this case it indicates the shogunal arsenal carried by his

troops.

⁶ *Mochiyumi*. Refers to troops carrying shogunal bows.

⁷ *Sennin* (lit. thousand people) is a unmounted shogunal guard equipped with spears.

⁸ A helmet or an umbrella put in a bag and carried at the top of a pole.

⁹ A portable stove for boiling water and preparing tea while on a journey.

¹⁰ A lunchbox that was carried attached on the waist when riding a horse.

¹¹ See footnote 5

¹² Trainer of shogunal horses

¹³ Trainer of shogunal horses

¹⁴ A generic term that refers to the retainers of shogunal pages and attendants

¹⁵ According to the diagram 20 or 30 *ken* (about 110~180 feet)

¹⁶ Rear guard (*Ōosae*)

APPENDIX 4: TOPICS RELATED TO THE *NIKKŌ SHASAN*

1. Historical overview of the Edo or Tokugawa period

The Edo or Tokugawa period (1603-1867) indicates the era during which Japan was ruled by the military government of the Tokugawa clan. This period roughly corresponds to Japan's early modern era. Tokugawa Ieyasu, the clan's founder, emerged as Japan's supreme military ruler in 1600, when, after defeating a coalition of hostile warlords in the Battle of Sekigahara, he was able to unify the country under his leadership and to put an end to the social upheavals and civil conflicts that had ravaged Japan since the mid-fifteenth century. In 1603, when Emperor Go-Yōzei appointed him to the position of *shōgun* (lit. "barbarian-quelling generalissimo"), Ieyasu established the seat of his regime, also known as *bakufu* ("government of the tent") or shogunate, in the city of Edo (modern Tokyo). After the Osaka Campaigns of 1614-15, during which Ieyasu defeated the regime's last enemies, Japan entered an almost uninterrupted period of peace and political stability that lasted until the collapse of the shogunate at the end of the 1860s.

The political system established by the Tokugawa was based on the alliance between the centralized government of the shogun, who controlled the largest portion of land in Japan, and the semi-autonomous domains (*han*), which were under the authority of local lords (*daimyō*). This system is generally known as *bakuhan taisei* (shogunate-domain system). The number of daimyo changed over time, but generally speaking about 260 domains occupying about three-quarters of Japan existed during the Edo period. Under the Tokugawa, daimyo were categorized according to their relationship with the shogunal clan in three main groups, namely *shinpan* or Tokugawa-related houses, *fudai* or hereditary lords, and *tozama* or outside lords. The Tokugawa also had about 6,000 middle-ranking samurai who were under their direct control (*hatamoto* or *gokenin*).

Access to shogunal offices was, in principle, reserved to *fudai* and *shinpan* daimyo as well as to the direct retainers.

The Tokugawa put into place numerous mechanisms to curb local domains' autonomy, including regular inspections of daimyo's territories by shogunal officials, centralized taxation, and a system that forced both hereditary and outside daimyo to travel every other year from their domains to Edo as part of their military duties (system of alternate attendance). To consolidate their position, the Tokugawa also made sure to limit the political authority of the imperial court and to relegate the emperor, who resided in Kyoto, to a purely ceremonial role.

Diplomatic and commercial exchanges with other countries were very limited during the Edo period. After persecuting and banning Christian missionaries, the Tokugawa government expelled all European traders, with the exception of the Dutch, who were confined on the artificial island of Dejima (Nagasaki). Official exchanges with other Asian countries were limited to the Ryūkyū Kingdom (modern Okinawa) and Korea. Tokugawa subjects were barred from traveling abroad. This state of self-imposed isolation is often referred to as *sakoku* ("closed country").

As part of their plan to preserve social stability, the Tokugawa devised a status system (*mibun seidō*), inspired by Confucian philosophy, that organized society into four traditional groups (warriors, peasants, artisans, and merchants) ranked according to their contribution to society. Warriors were at the top of the hierarchy and the privilege of governing was reserved to them. Farmers followed next, because of their task of feeding the realm. Artisans, responsible for producing everyday items, ranked third. Merchants were located at the bottom of the hierarchy because they were viewed as merely making profit off other classes' labor. At the beginning of the Edo period the prestige of each class was proportional to its economic power, but gradually a profound discrepancy came to exist between the social position of an individual in the official

status system and his real economic leverage. Warriors' primary source of income was a fixed stipend that depended on the agricultural production of their territories. Nonetheless, agriculture did not develop as much as trade. As a consequence, by the mid-nineteenth century it was not rare for merchants to be wealthier than warriors.

To preserve the hegemony of the military class, the shogunate enacted several reforms during the late 18th and 19th centuries, but none of these attempts proved successful enough to solve the warriors' chronic financial issues. From the 1830s the shogunate had also to cope with other internal problems including famines, peasant protests, and samurai unrest as well as with the growing threat of Western encroachment. In 1854, the shogunate was forced to sign a treaty with the U.S. government, bringing to an end Japan's long self-imposed isolation. By the 1860s many demanded the return to the emperor's direct rule as a means of solving the prevailing problems. The Tokugawa sought an alliance with the imperial court (*kōbu gattai*), but the lack of unity among the different political actors involved led to the failure of this policy. In the name of protecting the imperial institution and expelling foreigners, the outside daimyo of Chōshū and Satsuma, two powerful domains located in the southwestern part of Japan, led an anti-Tokugawa coalition and in 1867 finally brought about the overthrow of the last shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu. The following year the Meiji emperor was restored to supreme power, bringing to an end the Tokugawa military regime.

2. Status in Tokugawa Japan: significance and determining factors

Defining the concept of “status” in premodern Japan, Kasaya Kazuhiko distinguishes between the ideas of *mibun* and *kakushiki*. Both terms relate to the concept of “status,” however, while the former refers to the theoretical notion of a person’s social standing, the latter indicates the concrete social rules and formalities enacted on the basis of a person’s position in the social hierarchy. In this sense, it can be said that the treatment reserved to retainers during formal audiences was one of the many instances of *kakushiki*.¹

In the context of Tokugawa Japan, a retainer’s status was based on three factors: a) his political relationship with the shogunal clan; b) the annual rice yield of the Tokugawa territories under his administration (*kokudaka*), and c) his court office and rank (*kan’i*). The relationship of a clan to the shogunal family was predicated on the role played by said clan in the formation and consolidation of Tokugawa authority in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Accordingly, retainers were divided into three categories: Tokugawa-related lords (*shinpan*, *kamon*), hereditary lords (*fudai*), and outside lords (*tozama*). In principle, retainers designated as *fudai* had pledged allegiance to the Tokugawa clan before the Battle of Sekigahara (1600) and, as a reward, were granted access to governmental positions after the establishment of the shogunate in 1603. *Tozama* lords, instead, had submitted themselves to the Tokugawa after Ieyasu’s victory at Sekigahara, and, because of their more opportunistic behavior were denied access to shogunal offices. There were, however, numerous exceptions to this rule. For instance, certain daimyo joined the ranks of *fudai* retainers after 1600, and in several cases *tozama* clans were granted *fudai* status. Moreover, by the late Edo period, not only did *tozama* daimyo hold key-positions in the government (for example,

¹ Kazuhiko Kasaya, “Bushī no mibun to kakushiki,” in *Nihon no rekishi 7. Mibun to kakushiki*, ed. Naohiro Asao (Tōkyō: Chūō kōronsha, 1992), 207.

Senior Councilor Sanada Yukitsura), but they also had intimate ties with the shogunal clan (for example, shogun Iesada's legal wife, Tokugawa Atsuhime, was the daughter of Satsuma domainal lord Shimazu Nariaki, a powerful *tozama* daimyo). In light of these exceptions, the notion that the shogunate rigidly relied on the *tozama-fudai* dichotomy to discriminate among domains has been largely discarded. Historians believe, instead, that while differences between *tozama* and *fudai* were marked at the beginning of the Edo period, in time they became increasingly blurred. The "annual rice yield" - the second criterion on which status was assessed - did not reflect the actual amount of rice harvested in one year, but it was a fixed value assigned by the shogunate to a retainer on the basis of an estimate of a domain's overall economic output converted into units of rice. The main unit used to assess a territory's formal rice yield was the *koku*, which corresponded to roughly 150 liters of rice, the quantity deemed sufficient to feed a person for one year. Generally speaking, retainers whose lands produced at least 10,000 *koku* of rice per year were considered *daimyo* (about 260 retainers held this title by the end of the Edo period). All the others were, instead, shogunal direct retainers (*bakushin*). Both domainal lords and direct retainers governed their lands on behalf of the shogun and could lose their privileges at any time; however, the former category of retainers enjoyed a larger degree of political autonomy. Domains (*han*) were regarded by the regime as de facto semi-independent political units with considerable autonomy in areas such as fiscal, economic, and judiciary administration. Retainers with the highest status in terms of *kokudaka* were the so-called *kunimochi* daimyo ("province-holding lords"), i.e. lords whose domains corresponded to an entire province or who administered a contiguous domain equivalent in size to a province. While direct shogunal retainers were often enfeoffed with lands (*chigyō*), some of them did not administer any domain. Nevertheless, since they received a stipend in rice from the central regime, it was still possible to rank them in terms of *kokudaka*. As the only

indicator of status based on the output of a domain, *kokudaka* was undoubtedly the most accurate reflection of a retainer's economic might. For this reason, as discussed in chapter 3, the amount of military resources that each retainer was expected to supply to the central government was determined on the basis of *kokudaka*. Moreover, of the three criteria on which a retainer's status was assessed, *kokudaka* was also the most flexible. As a matter of fact, the shogunate could entrust new territories to a retainer (thus increasing his formal *kokudaka*) as an acknowledgment of meritorious actions. Conversely a retainer who misbehaved could also have his lands reduced in size, transferred (*tenpō*), or even attainted (*kaieki*).²

In 1615 the Tokugawa shogunate officially adopted the imperial court's system of ranks and offices (*kan'i*) to classify its retainers. This system - which was modeled over the one used in Tang China (618-905) and had been in place in Japan since the late Asuka period (593-710) – was articulated in 9 macro-ranks or *ikai* (divided in 30 sub-categories ranging from “senior first” down to “junior initial lower”) that came with a specific office attached (*kanshoku*) to it. Needless to say, the shogun occupied the first rank and the highest office (*daijin* or “chief minister”). Below him came the *dainagon* or “major counselor,” an office reserved to the shogunal heir apparent or some of the members of the Tokugawa cadet branches (Owari and Kii). The third rank and its correspondent offices (*chūnagon* or “middle counselor,” *sangi* or “associate counselor,” and *chūjō* or “middle captain of the Inner Guard”) were granted to top-ranking daimyo such as the Maeda of Kaga, the Echizen Matsudaira, the Aizu Matsudaira, the Shimazu of Satsuma, and the Date of Sendai. The fourth rank comprised the offices of *shōjō* or

² Marius B. Jansen, ed. *Warrior Rule in Japan* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 220; Mark Ravina, *Land and Lordship in Early Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999): 18-23.

“junior captain of the Inner Guard”, *jijū* or “court chamberlain”, and *shihon* “fourth rank imperial prince,” which were reserved to province-holding daimyo (*kunimochi*) and fudai daimyo appointed to the post of shogunal senior counselor (*rōjū*) and Kyoto caretaker (*Kyoto shoshidai*). The fifth rank – to which the majority of domainal lords and the top-ranking direct retainers (*hatamoto*) belonged – came with the title of *shodaibu* (lit. “all dignitaries”). Retainers of the sixth rank were given the title of *hoi*, from the name of the linen garment associated with their status. The *hoi* officials were the last group of retainers who were granted the privilege of shogunal audiences (*omemie*). Several other ranks of little political consequence were placed below the *hoi* status. At the bottom of the hierarchy were the so-called *mui*, i.e. retainers with no rank. To be sure, the offices that were associated with rank were purely nominal and did not reflect the specific political duties assigned to a military retainer. Furthermore, in order to avoid confusion, as early as 1619, the shogunate removed the names of the members of the warrior aristocracy from the imperial court’s records of appointments to public office (*kugyō bunin*), thus creating a parallel and independent system of offices and ranks. While in theory the appointment to a certain rank and office was carried out by the emperor, a request for promotion had to be first approved by the shogunate. During the reign of the fourth shogun Ietsuna, the Tokugawa system for office and rank was further crystallized by predetermining the highest rank to which a retainer could achieve during his public career (*gokkangoi*).³

³ See Ōishi, ed., *Edo bakufu daijiten*, 857-58. For a discussion of the imperial court’s system of ranks and offices, see Robert Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 9-22.

3. Tokugawa retainers' status and seating arrangement in Edo Castle

According to Kasaya Kazuhiko main Tokugawa retainers were organized in seven categories, based on the room of the Exterior (Edo Castle) to which they were assigned on regular occasions: 1) Ōrōka (Great Corridor): daimyo with the highest status such as *gosanke*, Maeda, and Echizen Matsudaira; 2) Ōhiroma (Great Hall): *tozama* and Tokugawa-related daimyo of the fourth rank such as Shimazu, Date, Hosokawa, and branch houses of the *gosanke*; 3) Yanaginoma Hall: daimyo whose *kokudaka* was less than 100, 000 *koku*; 4) Tamarinoma Hall: so-called *tamaritsume* daimyo, retainers who served as key shogunal counselors for state affairs such as the Ii clan of Hikone, the Matsudaira of Aizu, the Matsudaira of Takamatsu; the Matsudaira of Oshi, the Sakai of Himeji, the Matsudaira of Matsuyama, the Matsudaira of Kuwana, as well as daimyo who had served as senior councilors; 5) Teikannoma Hall: old *fudai* daimyo associated with the Matsudaira/Tokugawa territories in Mikawa province; 6) Karinoma Hall: so-called *tsumeshū* daimyo, they were new *fudai* such as the Inoue, the Doi, the Andō, the Inaba, the Abe, the Kuse, and the Itami. They were also known as *oyakuke*, because many of them held shogunal offices; 7) Kikunoma Hall: *fudai* daimyo with less than 20,000 *koku* territories and no castle. Heirs apparent of *karinoma* daimyo, and shogunal guards (*ōbangashira*, *shoinbangashira*) sat in the Kikunoma proper, while other retainers sat in the veranda.⁴

⁴ Kasaya, "Bushī no mibun to kakushiki," 195-97.

In addition to these rooms, retainers serving as shogunal officials were assigned offices, which were also located in the Exterior. Seat assignments for extraordinary events such as the congratulatory rituals for the new year (*nenshi gyōji*) or monthly audiences (*tsukinami*) did not always match the regular sitting arrangement.⁵

4. Tokugawa thoroughfare system and the establishment of the Nikkō highways

The Tokugawa highway system comprised five major thoroughfares collectively known as *gokaidō* (“the five roads”): the Tokaidō (303 miles), which ran along the Pacific coast and connected Edo to Kyoto; the Nakasendō (310 miles), which ran through the mountains of central Japan and also connected the shogunal and the imperial capitals; the Kōshū kaidō (86 miles), which connected Edo to Kai province (modern Yamanashi prefecture); the Nikkō kaidō or Nikkō dōchū (91 miles), which connected Edo to Nikkō; and the Ōshū kaidō (488 miles), which connected Edo to Mutsu province (originally up to present Fukushima prefecture and in the latter part of the Edo period further north to Aomori prefecture). Sections of different highways overlapped at times, as in the case of the Ōshū kaidō and the Nikkō kaidō, which shared the same post stations between Edo and Utsunomiya. Numerous minor roads (*waki ōkan*) also connected various parts of the country. The “five roads” were under the direct control of the shogunate since the beginning of the Edo period. Initially, the senior councilors were in charge of their administration; however, in 1659 the shogunate entrusted that task to an ad hoc superintendent (*dōchū bugyō*). Besides the management of highways and post stations, superintendents of the roads were also responsible for overseeing the *sukegō* system and arbitrate disputes between

⁵ For a discussion of seating arrangements for special occasions, see Masaumi Fukai, “Shōgun ken’i to denchūgirei.” In *Fūzoku shigaku: Nihon Fuzōku Shigakkaishi* 35, (January 2007): 2-27.

assisting villages and post-towns. Minor roads were also controlled by the shogunate, but they were placed under the jurisdiction of the superintendents of finance (with the exception, starting from 1764, of certain roads such as the Nikkō Reiheishi kaidō and the Honzakadōri, which were managed by superintends of roads).

Like other main Tokugawa highways, the Nikkō kaidō had existed in some form before the Edo period, but it was after the 1600s that it became an official road directly controlled by the central regime. As early as 1602, in exchange for maintaining packhorses and porters, Utsunomiya post station was exempted from paying land taxes to the Tokugawa. In 1612 shogunal intendant Ina Tadatsugu conducted surveys and inspections in villages located along the Nikkō kaidō. Historians have interpreted these facts as indications that by the late Keichō period (1596-1615) a centralized relay system was coming together. According to the *Nikkō dōchū ryakki*, a history of the Nikkō kaidō compiled in 1843, post stations such as Mamada, Oyama, Koganei, Suzumenomiya, and Utsunomiya were established during the Genna period (1615-24). Historians, however, are skeptical of this source, because it was composed centuries after the establishment of said post-towns. In any case, from 1617, the shogunate referred to the post-towns along the road connecting Senjū to Imaichi as “Nikkō dōchū.”⁶

⁶ Kokubunjichōshi hensan iinkai, *Kokubunjichōshi tsūshihen*, 400-05.

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