level. After all, students had studied the subject for years at school, and the Japanese History section of most university entrance exams looks pretty daunting. I was surprised, however, to find that basic knowledge – such as the implications of the bakufu’s sakoku policy - were lacking. While all students study Japanese history in primary and middle school, it becomes an elective subject during the last three years at high school. University entrance exams generally permit a choice between World History and Japanese History, and with many believing that “kokusaika” 国際化 holds the key to Japan’s future, students often opt for the former. The result is that they might know the date of the French Revolution, but not that of the Meiji Restoration. But even those who do study Japanese History in their three years of high school often lack fundamental knowledge about the broader issues. The problem here is that at high school history is studied purely for the purpose of passing university entrance exams. Since these exams are marked by computer, questions must be of the “multiple choice” type, a format which favors examining knowledge of facts and figures, but makes it difficult to test the understanding of broader issues. For those with enough dedication, NHK educational television has some excellent programs that could fill the gap, but, like x-rated movies, these are usually shown after 11 p.m., and I am yet to meet someone who shares my enthusiasm for them. Maybe it requires the shock of seeing foreigners being more enthusiastic about Japanese history than the Japanese themselves, – as I believe was once the case with wood block prints – until the subject becomes popular again as a serious discipline of study, rather than the basis for soap opera plots of the NHK Forty-seven rōnin variety.

Book Reviews  書評


Perhaps the most arresting visual image in Constantine Vapori’s detailed study of the early modern Japanese network of travel and transport is Felix Beato’s photograph of the Tōkaidō near Kanagawa from the 1860s. This picture captures a wide, tree-lined, dirt road that could be mistaken for the path leading to a shrine or temple anywhere in Japan today, if not for the presence of nearly a dozen travelers and vendors in various postures of rest or mobility, and a lone samurai staring directly into the camera. The photograph is particularly powerful because of the juxtaposition of temporalities it represents: a scene from Japan’s pre-modern age is captured using a technology that is intimately associated with the mechanical reproduction of modernity. Another of Beato’s photographs is used to open the Edo-Tokyo Museum’s catalog on the system of alternate attendance, again bringing the modern Western lens to bear on the fading landscape of Tokugawa authority. This image, "Panorama of Yeddo from Otagayama [sic.].” (愛宕山) catches a 135-degree view of the tiled Edo rooftops, dotted by trees, fire watchtowers, and storehouses, but above all dominated by the long walls of the daimyō yashiki 大名屋敷. The photograph captures with mechanical accuracy a scene that no longer exists, emphasized by the diagram below the image that explicates Edo buildings in the picture as well as the location of contemporary landmarks: we learn that the Tamura family’s upper yashiki for example, was located near the location of the current JR Shimbashi Station. Anyone who has visited Shimbashi station, however, knows the landscape in the

knows the landscape in the photograph has completely disappeared, which only increases the power of the image as a record of an age, and a place, otherwise confined to descriptions in history books.

As the Edo-Tokyo Museum catalogue under review demonstrates, however, there is a wealth of visual and material source material for the study of the system of alternate attendance that has heretofore been largely ignored by historians. The catalogue, published to accompany an exhibition held at the Edo-Tokyo Museum between February 11 and March 23, 1997, looks at the relationship between the system of alternate attendance and the growth of the city of Edo, with particular focus on the daimyō who moved back and forth between the city and their home domains via the network of early modern highways. The book is rich in maps, photographs, paintings, documents, and models. The 170 pages of images and text are organized around fourteen brief articles in English and Japanese, supplemented by seven longer articles in Japanese, and a range of charts, graphs, and chronologies. Though containing little in the way of groundbreaking research, the catalogue brings together a wide variety of sources to illuminate a period and place that is, despite the numerous monographs and articles devoted to its contours, exceedingly difficult to visualize in all its complexity. The genre of the museum catalogue does not fit into one of the standard categories of historical monographs or reference books, but works such as the volume under review often contain valuable sources and important research that is otherwise not easily available.

The first section of the catalogue, "Sankin kōtai to kyodai toshi Edo 参勤交代代制と巨大都市江戸 [The system of alternate attendance and the Edo megalopolis]," outlines the basic details of the establishment of the system in 1635, the resulting construction of various mansions by the approximately three-hundred daimyō families who made the city their sometime residence, and precedents for this system in the administrative castle towns of the late sixteenth century. One of the most useful entries in this section is a large color reproduction of the Buke shohatto 武家諸法度 [Laws for the military houses] from 1635, next to a transcription of the text and a brief explanation. The original is clearly written, and would make an ideal introductory text for a graduate student seminar on early modern history, or could be shown as a slide in a discussion of extant documents and bakufu proclamations.

Another short document that is reproduced in both original and transcribed form is the 1721 Ninzu kōtei hōrei 人数規定法令 [Ordinance restricting the number of retainers in processions], an ideal text for illustrating changing bakufu policies vis a vis the domains, as well as an accessible source for the study of the language of central authority in the eighteenth century.

Travel to and from Edo was of course the center of the system of alternate attendance, and the second section, "Daimyō gyōretsu to kaidō 大名行列と街道 [Daimyō processions and highways]," deals with the structure of these large processions of warriors and attendants, as well as the routes used and costs incurred. The procession itself is the subject of several scrolls and screens reproduced in the catalogue, including a four-page, fold-out representation of the procession of Matsudaira Naritaka on his return to the Tsuyama domain from Edo. Printed directly below the painting is a diagram detailing every figure portrayed in the original, indicating titles and functions. Another scroll provides similar information for a Morioka domain procession with 650 members. A map supplements this scroll, indicating the route taken from Morioka, post stations encountered, and distance traveled each
day. The pages that follow are filled with photographs of extant examples of procession regalia, from lance-heads, arrows, scabbards, and sheaths, to mudguards, saddles, and equipment boxes. This section also reproduces a range of documents and other information to address the ways in which the system of alternate attendance served to control the daimyō both through forced expenditure on travel, and through elaborate rituals of attendance, gift-giving, and leave-taking.

Another major daimyō expenditure was the maintenance of multiple residences in Edo, a subject addressed in the catalogue's third section, "Edo no daimyō yashiki 江戸の大名屋敷 [Daimyō residences in Edo]." Here maps, models, and souvenir doroe 泥絵 are used to illustrate the differences between upper residences, located closer to Edo Castle to facilitate interactions with the bakufu and shogun, and the more spacious middle and lower residences located farther out from the center. In an interesting technique employed several times throughout the catalogue, doroe representations of daimyō residences are displayed next to recent photographs of the same locations, from roughly the same perspective. The contrast created by this display could potentially be a good resource for the study of the transformation from Edo to Tokyo, and an instinctively interesting visual comparison for students with little background in the changing landscape of early modern and modern Japan.

Another topic addressed in this section is the phenomenon of daimyō purchases of land from peasants to supplement their bakufu-granted holdings, a system implemented in 1685, banned in 1717, and reinstated in 1785. These residences and refuges, known as kakae yashiki 拠屋敷, were built in villages outside of the original boundary of Edo city, and contributed, the catalogue argues, to a drastic expansion of the Edo suburbs. Numerous maps, paintings, and documents are used to illustrate this, including a chart of the distribution of kakae yashiki throughout surrounding communities. Paintings and photographs are again used to great effect to illustrate the lavish gardens and tea houses that dominated residences both in and outside of Edo.

The fourth section, "Edo no tsutome to kurashi 江戸の勤めと暮らし [Working and living in Edo]," focuses on the duties of daimyō and their various functionaries in Edo, jobs ranging from providing security for Edo Castle to involvement with fire prevention. A range of texts and maps documenting the duties of the Komuro domain daimyō are displayed, including a reference book for the operation of a guardhouse, and various plans for gate duty. A picture scroll illustrates a procession of the Yonezawa daimyō and his retinue in full fire-fighting regalia. A series of picture scrolls is also used to show family retainers at work and play in their Edo residences, particularly the jōfu 定府, retainers who stayed in Edo maintaining and managing the daimyō yashiki while the lord had returned to the domain. These paintings are important for their various portrayals of activities from daily life, and their intimate "inside look" at the lives of one sector of Edo citizens. In one image a doctor and an acquaintance eat, drink, and gesture in the midst of a lively discussion; another shows a tea gathering with four participants. Chess games, drinking parties, poetry exchanges, and solitary study are also shown.

Perhaps the most interesting topic addressed in this section is that of the rusui 留守居, the domain retainers who resided in Edo, negotiated with the bakufu, and gathered information. The catalogue reports that these diplomatic officers were granted powers above and beyond their status as mid-level warriors, such as the right to move freely in and out of resi-
dences, and to obtain outside lodging. More importantly, they formed associations that grew increasingly powerful as the period progressed, organizations that were to some extent outside the boundaries of daimyō and bakufu authority. Even from the brief review of rusui-related materials presented in the catalogue, it seemed to me that this topic is a dissertation waiting to happen. Sections from a variety of sources from the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries are reproduced, ranging from satirical political texts written with rusui-supplied information, to diaries and activity logs. A study of the rusui and the particular intersection of domain and national politics they represent, not to mention the larger landscape of the increasingly literate urban society they inhabited, would be a major contribution to the field.

The catalogue’s fifth section, "Edo kara Tōkyō e 江戸から東京へ [From Edo to Tokyo]," briefly considers the impact of the end of the system of alternate attendance on the city of Edo, and the subsequent transformation of Edo into the capital city Tokyo. Meiji, Taishō and early Shōwa photographs of daimyō residences appropriated for government administration are displayed, as are prints and photographs showing the remains of Edo extant in Tokyo today. This section is followed by two essays, one of which is an interesting summary of the system of alternate attendance by Yamamoto Hirobumi 山本博文, "Sankin kōtai no jittai to igi 参勤交代の実態と意義 [The reality and significance of the system of alternate attendance]." Yamamoto argues that though it is often said that the system of alternate attendance served to squeeze the daimyō financially into submission to Tokugawa authority, this was not the reason the system was established. Rather, it served the purpose of ritually enforcing the allegiance of regional rulers to the bakufu. Yamamoto also argues that because daimyō were born and raised in Edo, they felt an intimate connection to the city that could not be replaced by their later activities in the domains that were nominally their real homes.

This raises one of the problems with the catalogue, the fact that the authors center entirely on the movement towards Edo with little attention to the movement away from it. The unique role of the city as a center for the consumption of goods and resources from all corners of the nation is addressed, but the spread of culture, technology, and information back to the domains, and the subsequent adaptations and reinventions that took place at the local level, are lost under the shadow of "the Edo megalopolis." It is perhaps unfair to expect a single catalogue to address the whole range of affects and effects of a system as complex as the system of alternate attendance, particularly from a museum that explicitly focuses on the Edo-Tokyo phenomenon. But it seems increasingly clear that to understand the makeup of Edo and its diverse inhabitants, we must also examine the multidirectional links with domain capitals, cities such as Osaka and Kyoto, and the defining peripheries of the early modern state, Ezo and Ryūkyū.

In the end, however, it is more effective to evaluate this collaborative work for what it is than to criticize it for the many things it is not. The book efficiently approaches a major topic -- the relationship between the growth of Edo and the system of alternate attendance -- and provides an impressive collection of primary texts, visual sources, and material objects to illustrate several basic but important points in the history of early modern Japan. The catalogue has great potential as a pedagogical resource, providing high-quality reproductions of maps, charts, scrolls, photographs, and other information not easily available elsewhere in one volume. The mix of various media also provides an opportunity for teachers and researchers of
history to experiment with reading and interpreting material and visual sources in addition to the documentary sources that are considered the heart of the historical enterprise. The same care must be exercised in reading objects as is required in reading a text, of course, and it is important to avoid fetishizing the various relics of the past portrayed in this book's pages as more honest or authentic simply because they are old. These precautions aside, this catalogue, along with numerous other recent museum publications in Japanese history and culture, should be a standard tool in the research and pedagogical arsenal of any scholar of early modern Japan.

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The cover drawing of Esenbel's Even the Gods Rebel depicts a Japanese farmer carrying a spear and clad in traditional protest garb. For many readers, the drawing will evoke the image of a desperate peasant on the verge of a vengeful, destructive act against those who have engineered his exploitation. Indeed, the uprising described by Esenbel in this book—the 1871 Nakano uprising—was intensely violent and destructive: in addition to razing over five hundred residences and commercial establishments in the town of Nakano, bands of villagers set fire to the prefectural office compound and brutally murdered two government officials. Government reprisals were also harsh: over a hundred protestors were imprisoned or exiled, and twenty-eight were executed. Culling information from confessions and other first-hand accounts, Esenbel reconstructs the narrative of this uprising and recaptures the sense of drama, expectation, anger, and betrayal that surrounded it.

However, Esenbel's account of the uprising itself comprises only about one-fourth of the book. The remainder is devoted to a detailed description of Takaino, the village that led the uprising. In particular, Esenbel focuses on the integration of Takaino into the commercial market, exploring the impact of that integration upon the economic and political life of the village during the century preceding the 1871 uprising. And for much of that period, Takaino was at peace. In fact, the pervasive image of the Takaino villager in Esenbel's book is not that of a defiant, spear-toting rebel, but a calculating, prosperous farmer with a hoe in one hand, an abacus in the other, and a considerable wad of cash in his pocket. While Esenbel's narrative of the uprising is gripping, it is this "background" discussion of commercial development in Takaino that provides the forum and the evidence for Esenbel's main arguments, and enables her to connect the details of the uprising to the larger debates in the historiography of Tokugawa and Meiji Japan.

The first such debate concerns the impact of the commercial market upon the Japanese farm household and village community. Esenbel takes issue with scholars who see this impact in terms of impoverishment and social dissolution. Employing the argument of Samuel Popkin (and also echoing the scholarship of Susan Hanley and Kozo Yamamura on Tokugawa economic development), Esenbel depicts Takaino villagers as "rational peasants" who freely sought out the opportunities provided by the commercial market in search of surpluses not available in a subsistence economy. She finds evidence of certain trends often cited as proof of rural immiseration—for example, high rates of tenancy and the decreasing size of landholdings by the majority of villagers. However, she argues that in Takaino, these