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Understanding the Bukan (武鑑)

Sources of Japanese heraldry

Lilian CAILLEAUD

Abstract

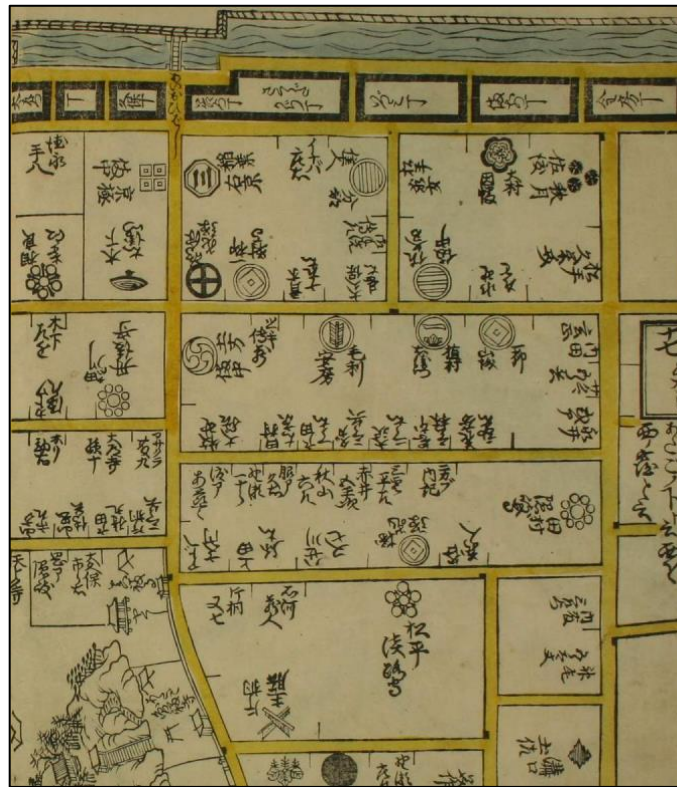
Among the primary sources available to scholars, the bukan are probably the most compelling and attractive to read due to their format which gave an important place to gorgeous illustrations. Their structure could seem daunting to modern people but made absolute sense to the Japanese mind of the 17th century. The bukan is a list of the military vassals, including daimyo as well as hatamoto, supplemented with various information needed to identify them. Bukan came to exist directly because of the sankin kotai and the associated need to rank, recognize and organize the vassals of the bakufu. Unfortunately, this source of Japanese heraldry has been seldom studied by western scholars and for the most part its potential for the study of Edo era Japan is mostly ignored. The purpose of this article is to present the daimyo bukan which forms the first part of a series of three articles devoted to this type of document.

Résumé

Comprendre le Bukan. Aux sources de l'héraldique japonaise

Parmi les principales sources dont disposent les chercheurs, les bukan sont probablement parmi les plus fascinantes et les plus attrayantes en raison de leur format qui accordait une place importante aux magnifiques illustrations. Leur structure peut paraître incompréhensible pour l'esprit moderne, mais elle était tout à fait logique pour l'esprit japonais du XVII^e siècle. Le bukan est une liste des vassaux militaires, comprenant les daimyos ainsi que les hatamoto, complétée par diverses informations nécessaires à leur identification. Le bukan est né directement du sankin kotai et du besoin associé de classer, reconnaître et organiser les vassaux du bakufu. Malheureusement, cette source de l'héraldique japonaise a rarement été étudiée par les chercheurs occidentaux et son potentiel pour l'étude du Japon de l'ère Edo est en grande partie ignorée. L'objet de cet article est de présenter le daimyo bukan ; il constitue la première partie d'une série de trois articles consacrés à ce type de document.

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1. Detail from of a map of Edo showing daimyo palaces
and centered on the Hitotsuyanagi family
(*Edo hōgaku anken zukan* / 江戸方角安見図鑑, 1680)

INTRODUCTION

Many in the western world are captivated by the beauty of the Japanese *mon*¹. Most are intrigued by what they see as emblems like coat of arms but unique outside of Europe and its sphere of influence. Often the same people have very little knowledge of the history related to the *mon*. Except for some very short introductions in English or in German, Japanese heraldry is almost unknown outside Japan. There are very good reasons for this. The first is that accessing primary or secondary sources in Japanese can be daunting since Japanese is not as simple to access for westerners as English or romance languages. The second is that beyond reading the said sources, it is also very difficult to find them, not because they are not referenced or accessible in libraries but because the language is again an obstacle and because there is still a deficit in knowledge about the available databases. Primary sources outside of Japan are not abundant but they can be found with a bit of luck and if librarians have knowledge of Japan and heraldry. Another obstacle is that most people will stop at the aesthetical aspect of the *mon* which, though undeniable, is limited in the context of academic research if not related to its societal role. To access the wealth of information provided by the study of Japanese heraldry, one must not only look at the

1. See the glossary at the end of the article.

design but also dive into Japanese history, culture, and language. In essence the same overarching knowledge necessary to understand western heraldry and its impact on society is needed to grasp the many meanings of Japanese heraldry.

Among the primary sources available to scholars, the *bukan* (武鑑) are probably the most compelling and easiest to use due to their format, which is based on an organization which could seem daunting to modern people but made absolute sense to the Japanese mind of the 17th century. The *bukan* is a list of the military vassals, including *Daimyo* (大名)² as well as *Hatamoto* (旗本)³, supplemented with various information needed to identify them. *Bukan* came to exist directly because of the *Sankin Kotai* (参勤交代)⁴ and the associated need to rank, recognize and organize the vassals of the *bakufu* (幕府)⁵. Through the reading of sources, it appears that the organization of knowledge in the *bukan* has influenced the organization and presentation of information in other types of printed documents which are also concerned with ranking and offering information about people and sometimes things. For instance, the format of the *bukan* as well as, to some extent, the information is replicated for the imperial court in the *Unjo benran / unjo meikan*⁶.

The purpose of this article is to present the first part of the *bukan*, also known as the *daimyo bukan*, and explain what information is provided and how to understand it. It will also show, with examples, how the information provided by the *bukan* spreads to other kinds of publications⁷. It would be a disservice to the reader to omit mentioning that the *bukan* were not only used by the military but by all those who were able to read, whatever their station is life⁸. Moreover, *mon* were not used only by the military or the imperial court, though some edicts tried to restrict their use to the said classes, but also by many from other classes who sometimes had been given the right, as unenforceable as it was, to use a *mon*. Edo⁹ era Japan should be seen as a society of symbols and signs vying for the attention of the passerby. An equally interesting study of merchant's marks¹⁰, mason's marks, merchant sails emblems, to name but a few, would also yield information useful to better grasp and understand the life of the Japanese in the Edo era.

2. Reads as the "great names", the feudal baron empowered during the 15th and 16th era of turmoil. After 1600, they were rulers of domains with a minimum assessed income of 10 000 *kokus*. The *daimyo*'s situation varied greatly from domain to domain.

3. *Hatamoto* were originally banner men, the men sitting at the foot of the banner. They were vassals of *daimyo* and during the *bakufu* they were attached to the shogunal ruling apparatus and administration.

4. The *sankin kotai* was the rule of alternate attendance of *daimyo* at the *shogun*'s court formalized in the mid 17th century. Its purpose was to make *daimyo*'s incur so much expense during travel and during their stay at their residence in Edo that they would not be able to foment a coup.

5. The *bakufu* is the military government of the *shogun*, literally behind the military curtain (called *maku*).

6. 雲上明覧 / 雲上明鑑 were books which showed *kuge* (aristocrats of the imperial court) houses and their emblems as well as those of the imperial court. It could be translated as a list of the people above the clouds.

7. Other types of documents will be cursorily introduced at throughout this article but will have to be studied separately.

8. See FUJIZANE Kumiko excellent book on the subject : *Edo no buke meikan: bukan to shuppan kyōsō*, Tokyo, 2008.

9. Edo is the former name of Tokyo. The city had its origins in a modest village which became the seat of power of the Tokugawa family since the end of the 16th century.

10. See Lilian CAILLEAUD, « On Japanese Merchant's Marks (*ie jirushi*) », *RFHS – Études en ligne*, 2022-2 ; avril 2022, 27 p.

I. DEFINING THE *BUKAN*

Bukan have been used as references to study certain aspects of the *bakufu*, but their content has never been explained in depth to readers outside of the Japanese academia. Many sources similar in nature or reproducing the *bukan* such as the *Unjo Benran taizen* and *Unjo Meikan* have been left unused by most scholars, merely receiving a cursory mention. A lone article¹¹ published in English offers a study of the *Unjo Benran taizen*, however it only focuses on the succession of emperors and members of the imperial family while providing extra information about the various courtly institutions without ever showing the pages and explaining how information is arranged. In all these cases, the most striking parts visually are left out of the analysis, when not dismissed as mere *vanitas* by authors who do not, or cannot, want to dwell on their meaning, use and importance.

After all, why should *bukan* be studied? They often have errors¹² and are but snapshot linked to a rapidly changing administrative landscape¹³. They are, in a way, the embodiment of the *bakufu* on paper. They give a corporeal reality to a phenomenon which still needs to be properly understood, as recorded by Conrad Totman who wrote one of the most important work, in a western language, concerning the ins and out of the *bakufu* administration¹⁴. George Tsukahira, in his seminal work about the *Sankin Kotai*¹⁵, writes about the Gift exchanged between the *daimyo* and the *shogun*. Thanks to the *bukan*, we can read and see what specific gifts each *daimyo* gave and received.

Furthermore, it could be argued that *bukan* have influenced other types of publications in the portrayal of information relative not only to the *buke* (武家), the warrior class, but also to the other *stratas* of society in the Edo era. In a literal sense, they provide a reflection of the *bakufu* and Japan at large for the period. Interrogating and understanding the many categories of information offered to the reader invariably leads to asking why the information is given and how it matters. In this sense, studying Japanese heraldry through *bukan* really brings forwards the necessary framework to understand why so many symbols are used by the military class and how they permeate society in an altered form but with equal pregnancy. Be it merchant signs, firefighters' standards, or courtesan's *mon*. The ultimate paradox of the *Bukan* lays in the fact that it brings to the fore the martial class during the time of the most peaceful era in Japanese history.

11. See Hamish TODD, « A Glimpse Above The Clouds: The Japanese Court In 1859 », *The British Library Journal*, t. 17-2, 1991, p. 198-220. The value of this study lies actually in the information it provides regarding various roles and positions among the Imperial family. It does not however address the courtiers, nor the way each information is arranged on their page. The specific book in Mr Todd's study is split in two parts corresponding to two books. The first part covers the Imperial family and its branches as well as the imperial temples called *Monzeki*. The second book was about the *kuge* family, comprising the imperial court.

12. So much so that the *Bakufu* had a dedicated team of civil servants working to correct the mistakes for their own record. They were called *bugen chyou aratame yaku* (分限帳改役). About the *bugen chyo*, see : WAO Seiichi *et alii*, « 116 : Bukan » dans *Dictionnaire historique du Japon*, t. 2, 1970. Lettre B. p. 58-59.

13. At least in the case of the *Hatamoto Bukan*.

14. Conrad Davis TOTMAN, *Politics in the Tokugawa bakufu, 1600-1843*, Harvard East Asian Series vol. 30, Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1967.

15. The *sankin kotai* was a mandatory period of attendance on alternate years designed to increase *Daimyo* spending and reduce the capital available to plan mischief. It was coupled with a system of hostage residing yearlong at the *Han* palace in *Edo*.

1. Translating the word *bukan* (武鑑)

If we refer to a Japanese-English dictionary, the most common translation is « book of heraldry ». Strangely, heraldry is translated as *bukan* in some English-Japanese dictionaries. Although these terms do not look much different, there is quite a gap between heraldry, which is the science that studies armorial bearings and symbols, and a book of heraldry, which is a book written about the science itself. To make the matter even more confusing, scholars in the field of Japanese studies sometimes translate the word by « military mirror ». In the end, we find ourselves with words that encompass different meanings, changing with the person who uses them. I believe that the best thing to do in this case is to go back to the root of each translation and assess if it matches the reality of what the original word is, as well as the purpose of the thing it defines.

I would like to first look at the translation given by some authors¹⁶ using the terms « Military mirrors ». They chose that terminology likely because the exhaustive nature of the *bukan* seems to bring it to a level comparable to that of an encyclopedic compendium. In general, a « mirror », in the western sense, is a book that was written for the benefit of the reader to educate him or her, sometimes to offer a moral advice and, later, as a sort of survey of a field of study. The *Miroir des Princes* was such a book. It was written with the view of telling the prince how to best rule. Other mirrors provided an almost encyclopedic overview of a subject, for instance the *Speculum Historiale*, which is part of the *Speculum Maius*¹⁷ written in the 13th century, summarized the known history of the western world up to that time. However, I believe that military mirror does not quite match the definition of *bukan*. If we look at the word *bukan* itself, we can see that the *kanji* used to write it is made of two characters : 武 / *bu*, which means military or warrior, and 鑑 / *kan*, which can mean 1) a list, book, compendium, 2) a sign – such as in the word *inkan* 印鑑, a seal – 3) appraisal, to identify. The character 鑑 / *kan*, also read *kagami*, is classified as a homophone of 鏡 / *kagami*, which means mirror but not as a synonym or a homonym¹⁸ of it. This could explain why *bukan* has been translated as « military mirror ». However, it is hard to imagine why the original translator would make that choice. I believe some clues lay in the German translation given by Dr. Lange, a great expert on Japan but not on heraldry. His study of Japanese *Mon* was the most accurate when it was published at the turn of the 20th century, and it may have influenced writers from many countries.

The term military mirror suggests that the book covers a wide spectrum of military matters. It is not the case for the *bukan*. The reason why *bukan* was translated as « military mirror » seems to stem from the fact that the families presented are of 武家 *buke* / warrior status¹⁹. The information recorded is very mundane: rice income, titles, and palaces in and out of Edo among others. Nothing like troop maneuvers, equipment, military tactics or else. Moreover, books identical to the *bukan* were published at the same time. The *Teibo Edo Kagami* (丁卯江戸鑑), for instance, was published in 1687 (fig. 2) and contains the same information as contemporary volumes of *bukan*. While its title is read differently, its

16. Who agree on what is presented in the *bukan* but not on how to translate the word and what it represents. There is no consensus among them, even less between scholars of different countries and different periods. Dower, Tsukahira and Vaporis give « Book of heraldry », Tsukahira and Berry « military mirror », Milloué « Liste officielle », Lange and Ströhl « Spiegel des Kriegerstandes » which can be translated as « mirror of the warrior class ».

17. Written by Fra François de Beauvais.

18. Jack HALPERN, *The Kodansha Kanji learner's dictionary Tōkyō*, New York, 2001.

19. There are books however which do just that, such as the *buke chohoki* (武家重寶記), printed in 1694. It could be translated as the *Record of the treasures of the military families*.

contents are the same as those in the *bukan*²⁰. It is difficult to say that the word *bukan* must be translated as « military mirror » when identical books, but with a different name, are not translated the same way or at all. The reality of the content of the book is what should drive the translation, to achieve consistency. It is believable that the expression has been used to convey a perceived meaning by western scholars instead of following the reality of the Japanese situation.



2. Excerpt from the *Edo kagami*, 1687

Let's turn now to heraldry and book of heraldry. Heraldry is a science centered on the study of armorial bearings and symbols. Being books, *bukan* cannot be translated as « heraldry » since they can't be both object and subject of the printing (no more than cookbooks are cooking). A perfectly good word exists for heraldry in Japanese : it is *monshyou gaku* (紋章学), heraldry in general, as opposed to *Nihon monshyo gaku* (日本紋章学) which is the study of Japanese heraldry²¹. While elements represented in the book such as *mon*, *matoi*, *hanten* and *yarijirushi* (which will be further developed in this article) are undoubtedly of heraldic nature, they do not qualify the book in which they are printed as book of heraldry, since there is no direct will to analyze them. Books very similar to the *bukan* existed, and still do in libraries, in Europe, that were called armorials. They usually displayed coat of arms with the name of their owner and occasionally their function. However, the quantity of information provided in the *bukan* makes them more akin to *compendia* such as Burke's and Debrett's peerage. A book of heraldry would usually study the use, science, arts and other subject related to heraldry. Such is not the case with the *bukan* since it describes things like pedigrees, period of attendance, temple patronage and such²². The first books which started to study Japanese heraldry and its symbolism in Japanese, dates back to the first half of the 20th century, most prominently with *Numata Raisuke* (沼田 頼輔) who wrote what many consider the first book about Japanese heraldry, titled *日本紋章学* (*nihon monshyou gaku* / *Japanese Heraldry*).

20. We could also add the *Honcho Bukei Tokan* (本朝武系当鑑) published in 1689, both books can be compared with the *Genroku juroku nen daimyo bukan* (元禄十六年大名武鑑), published in 1703.

21. The reader then easily understands that *monshyou* (紋章) can be translated roughly as « arms » in the western sense, which should not be confused with *mon* (紋).

22. I will broach upon the subject in more details further down.

I believe a closer, yet longer, translation for *bukan* could be « illustrated pedigree of the military families ». However, that would be too simple since we can also find handwritten *bukan* which contains no pictures at all ²³. So, a better candidate would be « pedigree/list/directory of the military families »²⁴. The only reservation to that title is that it does not consider several aspects of the *bukan*, amongst which are the administrative structure of the *bakufu* showed in what is referred as the *hatamoto bukan*.

2. Characteristics and printing of *bukan*

The name *bukan*, associated with a type of books intended a specific set of information, appears for the first time in 1686. Prior to this date, books called *Edo kagami* (fig. 2), *Gomon zukusi* or *mon zukusi* had the same purpose as the *bukan*. The names of the different editions of *bukan* usually refers to the year of publication, which can be refined with the year of printing indicated on the last leaf of the book, making the dating of each set is relatively simple. In the unlikely event where no dates are visible, it is still easy to figure the year of a print of a volume, or of a set of books, by comparing the name of known *hatamoto* with the years they were in position.

The first *Mon zukushi* published in 1658 (Meiwa 4) was only 41 double pages long. Pages were printed on one side then folded and stitched, not at the fold but on the edge, and the page number is written on the fold. Therefore 41 actual numbered pages result in 82 pages from a western point of view (which would then be doubled if both sides were printed). It is important to note that the *bukan* kept growing as the years went by. With 115 pages for a single volume, the *honcho bukei tokan*, published in 1689, manages to present more than 200 *daimyos* and all the positions of importance of the *bakufu*. The *Ansei bukan* of 1856 stands at 3 volumes of more than 160 pages each and some editions have 2 additional volumes of 40 pages.

The format²⁵ and size of the *bukan* varied a lot over time (fig. 3). Some books were more geared toward portability and were therefore more concise. They could be called the short form *bukan*. Larger books provided more information and had more illustrations. They can be called the long form version.

Since the word *bukan* really refers to the list of names with specific information, rather than books it could be printed as posters or sometimes even be manuscript with blazon, or description, of *daimyos Mon*. The *bukan* could also be part of larger volumes such as encyclopedias or local city and provincial guides.

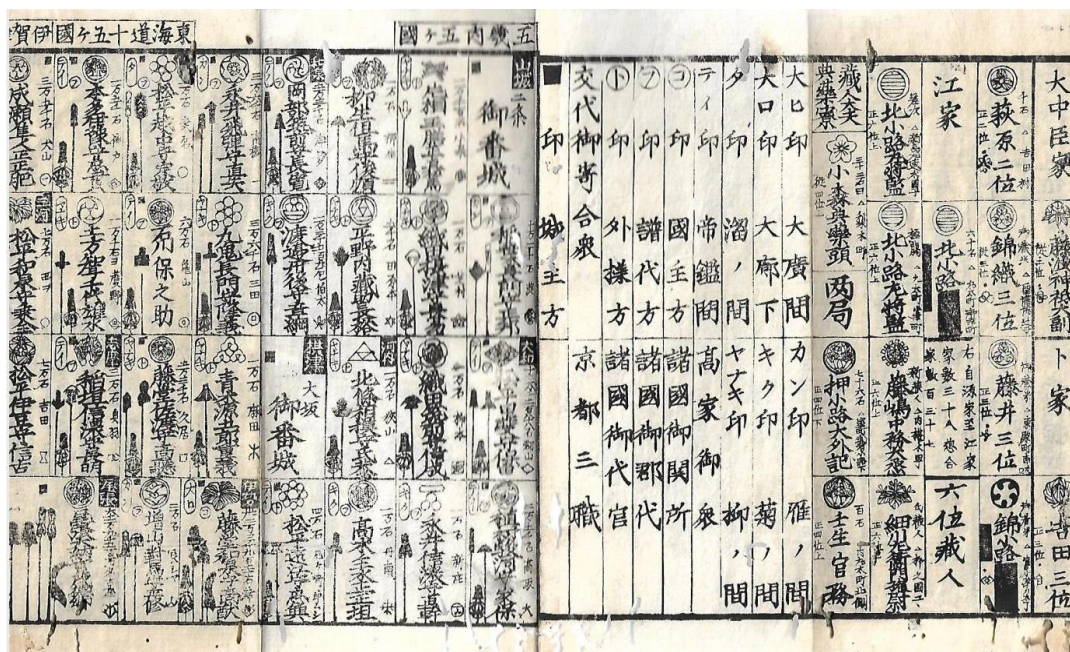
23. *Shodaimyo monki* (諸大名紋記) by Koderu Gyokucho (小寺 玉晁).

24. See TSUKAHIRA Toshio George, *Feudal control in Tokugawa Japan: the Sankin Kotai system*, Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1966, p. 188 n. 8. However, he gives the choice between « military book of heraldry and directory of the military families ». To make matters more difficult he translates the *Dai bukan* as the « Great military mirror ».

25. See FUJIZANE, *Edo no buke...* (see n. 8), p. 9 for an overview of the different sizes.



3. *Different sizes of bukan* (author's collection)



4. *Folding list of daimyos and member of the imperial court* (改正公武鑑) with the *Daimyos* on the left and the *kuge* on the right (author's collection)

The *bukan*, like all printed books in the Edo era, were wood block printed. While metal printing presses were known since the second half of the 16th century with the arrival of Christian missionaries, they were neither convenient nor cheap enough to meet the demands associated with the Japanese syllabaries and art. Moreover, an important woodblock printing industry with specialized jobs existed (*fig. 5*). This enabled production of a relatively large number of prints in a short amount of time²⁶. There were no less than, according to Fujizane Kumiko, nine specialized artisans involved between the design and publication of the book²⁷.



5. Detail of the wood block carvers
的中地本間屋, 1802

3. Printing quality

Paper (mulberry) was of different quality, going from good to low, sometimes showing bark splinters incrustated and printed over. The stitching was done in what is known today as Japanese binding.

The quality of the printing expressed by sharpness of lines and cleanliness of the pages could vary a lot. The drawing of images looks less refined in the 17th and 18th centuries

26. See Peter KORNICKI, *The Book in Japan*, Leiden, 1998 and FUJIZANE, *Edo no buke...* (see n. 8).

27. FUJIZANE, *Edo no buke...* (see n. 8).

bukan, yet they retain a vitality and freshness which feels lost over time and especially in the latter part of the *Edo era*. Some books have crisp pages while others have really smudged ones. In some cases, it is possible to have crisp pages alternating with smudged one. Fujizane Kumiko explains that likely, some *daimyos* paid to make sure that the block used for « their » page was always in good condition to have crisp prints and reflects well on the *daimyos*²⁸. Fading occurred because of the wear happening to the woodblock overtime after multiple printing but also because the printing could be done at a fast pace, which recalls the fleeting nature of these books. In some cases, we can see smudges caused by paper moving on the block.

There were new editions, at times more than once a year, which shows the constantly changing order of the *bakufu*, where political fortunes could fall as rapidly as they rose. The *hatamoto bukan* were subject to more modifications because of the administrative changes within the *bakufu* whereas the *daimyo bukan* were more stable especially since the 18th century. Some families disappeared and others appeared, in relation to their position within the *bakufu*. But the composition of the *bukan* remained stable over the more than 200 hundred years of its existence.

The quality degradation for the latter prints of the *bukan* can also be taken as a reflection of the turmoil during the *bakumatsu* (literally the end of the *bakufu*). To make matters slightly more complicated, some positions in the *hatamoto bukan*²⁹ changed name while others disappeared or were created following new reforms or changes in power dynamics within the government.

Most *bukan* were sold by two publishers, *Suwaraya Mohee* and *Izumoji Manjirou*, who had progressively taken over their smaller competitors³⁰. However, more localised version of *bukan*, such as the *naniwa mokuroku*, were published by local dealers. In the of the case of the *naniwa mokuroku*, it was printed by *Kawauchi ya Tasuke* (河内屋太助).

4. Evolution of content over time

While I have referred to both *Daimyo* and *hatamoto bukan*, I will only study the former in this article. I have chosen to use mainly the Hitotsuyanagi (一柳) family to illustrate this book because, apart from an initial reverse of fortune which saw the family go from a comfortable *kokudaka* (see below) of 68,000 kokus to an assessed income of 10,000 kokus, barely qualifying the family as fit for *daimyo* rank, it is one of the most stable houses of the *Edo era*. The Hitotsuyanagi were low ranking *Tozama* lords which never had any issues to find heirs. They never went up or down in rank and can be consistently found in the last part, or last pages, of the *daimyo bukan*. This family was split in two branches which are situated in two domains also called *han* (藩)³¹ by modern historians. The *Ono* (senior branch) and *Komatsu* (junior branch) fiefs were located near Himeji for the former and in Shikoku for the later, on each side of the Seto inland sea. This choice helps in understanding the practice of cadencing among the warrior families. It is also possible to see family relatives serving the *bakufu* in different positions as *hatamoto*.

Unlike European medieval armorials, which tended to be manuscript, rare and expensive, *bukan* were common and very popular, considering the number of prints

28. Read her interview at <http://www.mizu.gr.jp/kikanshi/no41/04.html>

29. *Hatamoto bukan* also show information about vassals of the *bakufu* who had official positions in service of the *shogun*. I will study these documents in an upcoming article.

30. See FUJIZANE, *Edo no buke...* (see n. 8) for an explanation of the process of amalgamation of the printing in their hands.

31. See below part II. 2 as well as notes 36 and 37 for an explanation for the concept of *Han*.

available at any given time. As argued in a previous paragraph, *bukan* belonged more to the ephemeral printed material in the sense that it attempted to provide a snapshot of the *bakufu* at a given time. In their respective books, Fujizane Kumiko and Takasawa Hitoshi explain the role of a sort of professional physiognomist called *gezami*³².

In essence the *gezami* fulfilled a niche position directly resulting from the process of having the alternate attendance, or *sankin kotai*, system. Whenever *daimyos* were coming to Edo, they had to show the proper decorum to each other, but they also had to be shown the proper courtesies by each one on the road as well as when they arrived at the *shogun*'s court. As the *daimyos* were arriving at the gate of Edo castle, the *gezami*, a minor official, had to call the right name. He would have to rely on his knowledge as well as on the accuracy of the *bukan* in his possession. Comparing *gezami* to western herald is tempting. Western heralds, like the *gezami*, were specialized in recognizing knights and other people of importance through their arms and emblems. However, this would be a very limiting definition of the duties of the heralds. It does not cover their essential relationship with the development and study of coats of arms in Europe, which did not fall in the purview of the Japanese *gezami*. Heraldic studies are absent from the Japanese context, where recognising who is who was the most important function. The ceremonial matters which became part of the duties of European heralds were, in the context of *Tokugawa* Japan, the purview of the Master of Ceremonies, called *Soushaban* in Japanese. Fujizane Kumiko also explains how in some cases *bukan* were used as vanity gifts to show friends someone's new position in the *bakufu*³³.



6. *Irohabiki mon shyou*, circa 1840 (author's collection)

Bukan are very different from *moncho iroha*, which were a sort of catalogue of the available shapes to be drawn on kimono or objects (fig. 6). Although some *mon* descriptions are taken from the name of a *daimyo* family, for example the *Hitotsuyanagi kuginuki* (the nail extractor of the *Hitotsuyanagi*), it – that is to say the *moncho Iroha* – would have been of very little use to tell to whom a certain *mon* belonged, for the simple reason that no family names were attached to the descriptions of the *mon*. Therefore, the *moncho iroha* could not and still can't be used for identification purposes. Simply put, not all family using the *Watanabe Hoshi* (three stars and the *kanji* for number one) are Watanabe or even related to the Watanabe family and, conversely, not all Watanabe in Japan use the *Watanabe hoshi*.

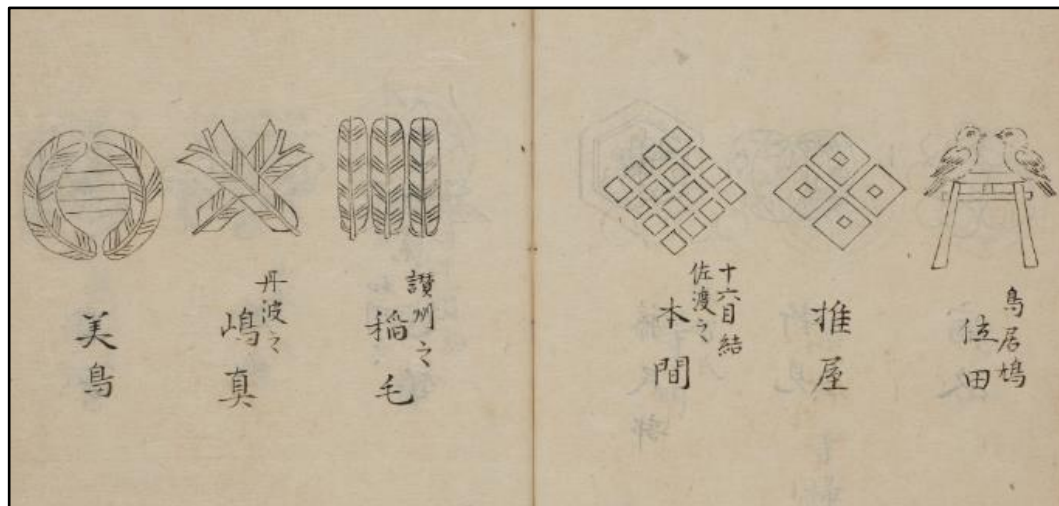
Oftentimes, it was implied that the *mon* were designed by the forebears of the bearer, and when no sources existed, the family would casually invent a back story, and at some

32. FUJIZANE, *Edo no buke*... (see n. 8). TAKASAWA Hitoshi, *Kamon no jiten*, 2008.

33. FUJIZANE, *Edo no buke*... (see n. 8).

time have it drawn by a skilled person or even a craftsman (called *Uwa e shi* 上絵し) whose job was, for a lack of a better definition, to draw *mon*. It could be said that this creation process is not unlike early western medieval heraldry.

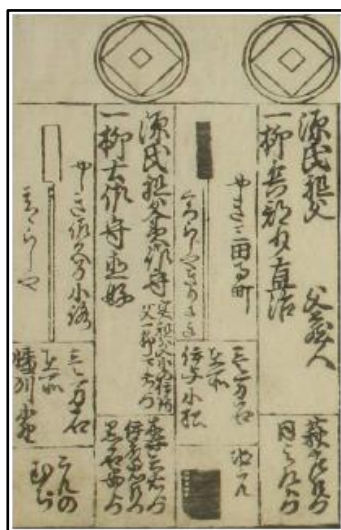
The organization of information in the *mon zukushi* is original and marks the advent of a new type of publication. However, it was not the first time that *buke's mon* had been collected together : some historical records, like the *Taikoki*, give descriptions of the *Mon* of celebrated warriors of the mid-14th century ; later, during the second half of the 15th century, the *Kenmon syou kamon* shows the *mon* of more than 300 families, with blazon of certain *mon* next to them (fig. 7). However, the form and purpose of the book was not yet like the one observed in the second half of the 17th century in what will be called *bukan*. That is to say that in the *Kenmon syou kamon* serves only as a repository of family names and *mon* without further information³⁴.



7. Two pages from the *Kenmon syou kamon* 見聞諸家紋
(author's collection)

The contents of what we now call *bukan* books and related prints, whether they are called *bukan* or not, got more varied over time. The quantity of information increasing for certain kinds of *bukan* (mainly the *long form books*). On the other hand, smaller books got also more frequent with only what was deemed essential information. The following examples need not be explained. It is clear at first glance that the contents changed according to the era and the type of documents. Moreover, there was always a cohabitation between the long form which had dozens of categories of information and the shorter more condensed one which had as little as 8.

34. For a presentation of this important book, see TAKASAWA, *Kamon...* (see n. 32).



8. details from the *Edokagami* 1687 *Hitotsuyanagi Family*, *Komatsu and Ono Han* (Right to Left)
(author's collection)



9



10



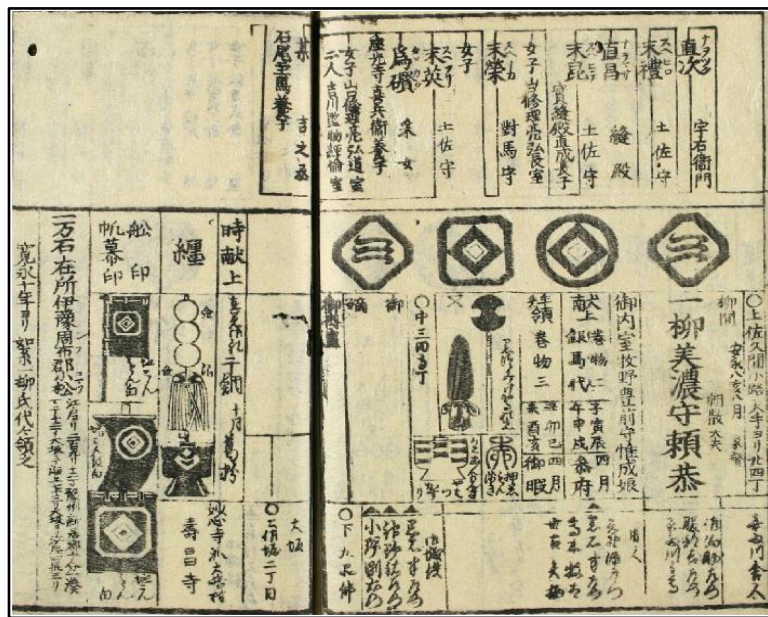
11

9. *Bukan* from 1732 *Ono han* (author's collection)

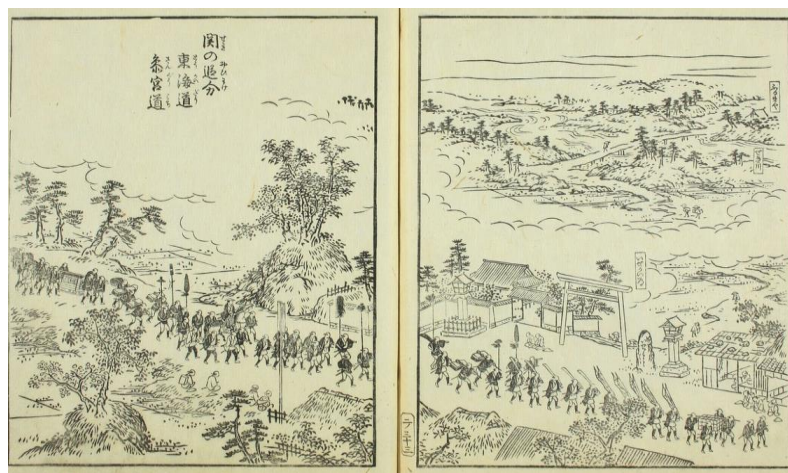
10. *Bukan* from 1732 *Komatsu han* (author's collection)

11. *Ono han* from the "*Eitai setsuyo mujinzo*" 1864 (author's collection)

The *Eitai setsuyo mujinzo* was an encyclopedia in which a *bukan* is also printed as part of multiple information as diverse as how to play Go, who the hundred worthies were, where the three marvels of Japan could be seen, etc...



12



13

12. Long form Bukan circa 1781-1789 Komatsu Han.

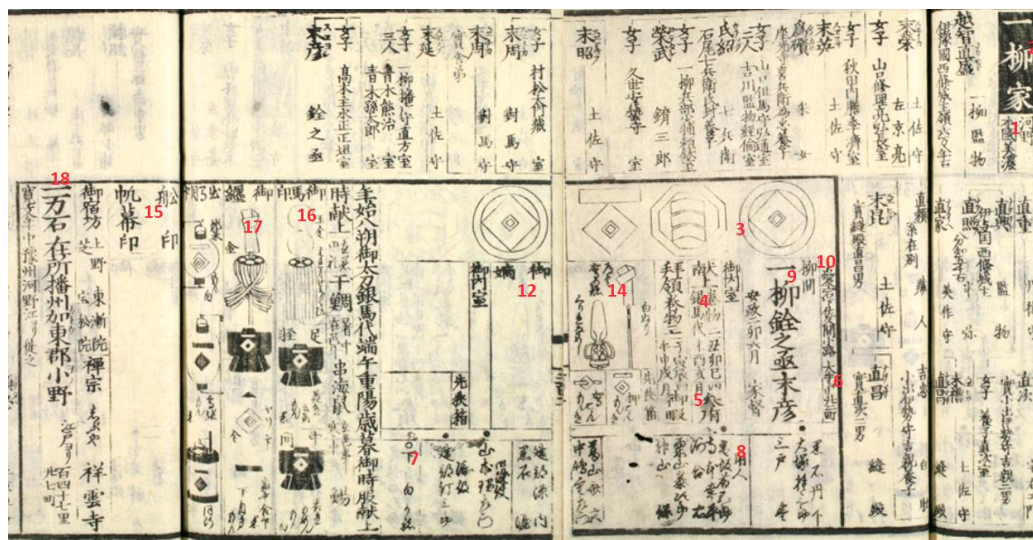
Note the presence of naval emblems on the far left of the illustration.

13. 伊勢参宮名所図会 Ise sangū meisshō zue Volume 2 p 36. Example of a daimyo's procession.
(author's collection)

The organisation of information changed over time. For instance, the *Kyoho bukan* printed in the late 17th century is organized by province while other *bukan* are arranged by *kokudaka*. We can also observe examples of geographical organisation according to the road taken to accomplish the *sankin kotai*, especially towards the end of the *bakufu*. In other cases, such as the *Naniwa Maru Komoku*, the information is more based on the administrative function and in the second part about *daimyo* and where they lived in relation to Osaka. There are in fact many different configurations as illustrated by the pictures above (fig. 12-13). The order followed below does not necessarily reflect that of any form of *bukan*. What is presented here is the type of information which one would expect to find in all or in parts.

II. TYPES OF INFORMATION RELATED TO *DAIMYOS* (大名)

In this part, I will mainly use examples related to the Hitotsuyanagi family and its two branches. Except for cases where it was more practical to use a different *daimyo* family, all the illustration are from sections of the *bukan* representing the *Ono* or *Komatsu Han*.



14. The numbers in red correspond to the subheadings in this chapter.

Since I chose this illustration, it is possible that some subheadings are not represented, such as with naval emblems (15), since this branch of the Hitotsuyanagi family did not travel by boat, nor could it afford it (author's collection)

1. Place of origin of the family : *honkoku* (本国)

This section details the place of origin of the family which could be different from the place where the *daimyo* held their fief. In the case of the Hitotsuyanagi family, the place of origin of the founder was in the Mino region (美濃) which was situated near Gifu in a very mountainous area of Central Japan. The 2 branches of the family had fiefs in Shikoku and Near Himeji which are situated much farther south than their ancestors' seat.

2. Family name and genealogy

The genealogy given at the beginning of each section of a new family was there to show how the ancestors connected to the current holder of the *daimyo* title. Sometimes an important ancestor was connected to the imperial court and sometimes the connection was less obvious though printed. Only the male line was illustrated in these genealogies ; the lone occasion where daughters were given some consideration was if the new husband's family was of some importance. Otherwise only the *kanji* for « daughter » was indicated. The family name was situated on the top right corner. As will become clear a little later, family names and *han*³⁵ names did not always match. Many authors refer to the Japanese

35. Family is written 家 (*ie*) in Japanese, whereas the fiefdom or domain is written 藩 (*han*).

houses and families as clans. The definition of a clan is a group of people claiming shared kinship between person of different class³⁶, which was at the origin of a vertical relation between the clan head and the members of his family. In Japan there were no such thing. Lords, be they of the imperial court or of the *daimyo* or *samurai* families, had servants and retainers which were very well-defined group which did not claim a shared name or ancestors with them. In many ways the concept of family applicable to the *kuge* and *buke* is a lot more like what was found in 15th century France. Most of the some 200 *kuge* families of the imperial court could claim common ancestors as well as many *buke* families³⁷. However, the appearance of shared ancestors did not guarantee cooperation between families as shown by the successive wars pitching opposite sides of families. The Minamoto-Genji and the Taira-Heike both had an imperial ancestor which, though different, made them at the very least cousin. Therefore, I will never use the word clan since it is unrelated to the periods of Japanese history covered in this article.



15. Doi family genealogy from the Ansei bukan of 1856 (author's collection)

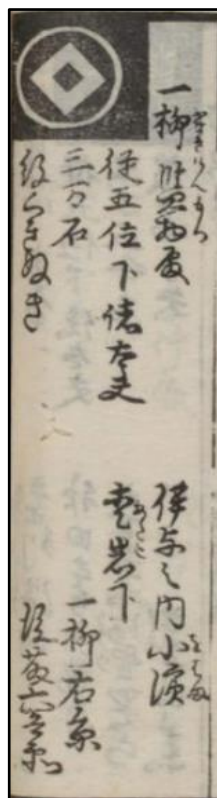
Sometimes the family name and the *daimyo*'s name did not match. In more than a dozen family, the *Matsudaira* (まつだいら/松平) name was given as an honour to reward services to the head of the fief. *Matsudaira* was the name of the *Tokugawa* family before its rise to power under the leadership of the man who would become *Tokugawa Ieyasu*.

36. See Thomas INNES OF LEARNEY, *Scott's Heraldry*, Baltimore, 1971 (rééd.), p. 2 for the definition of a clan. « [...] every members springs from the founder of the clans, and that the chief, the chieftains, the duine-vasal (i.e. those who actually trace their descent to the chiefly line), and the body of the clan, are all of the same kin [...] ».

37. See John Whitney Hall explanations on « clan » as an inadequate proxy for *han* in « The ikeda house and its retainers in Bizen », *Studies in the Institutional History of Early Modern Japan*, ed. John Whitney HALL, Marius B. JANSEN, Princeton, 1968, p. 79-88. He shows that the term clan was used as a western scholar construct to try to convey the family structure of Japan. I would also recommend reading John Withney Hall discussion about the challenges associated with the translation of terms and concept related to Japanese medieval history. His definition for *Han* is thus : « *Han*. A *daimyou* domain. The term came into official use after the Meiji Restoration. The translation "clan" is most inappropriate ».

3. *Mon* (紋)

The *mon* were important as a means of identification, and they were at the beginning the sole illustration needed and associated with the *daimyo*. In this example (fig. 16), taken from the 1658 *Mon zukushi* (紋尽), only the principal *mon* (hereafter *jomon*) is shown.



16. Detail from *Mon zukushi* of 1658

Daimyo could have more than one *mon* and would use alternative/secondary *mon* (hereafter *kae/fuku/betsu mon*) for different occasions. In the case of the *Komatsu* and *Ono han*, 3 *mon* were shown, 4 if we count the fact that the *jomon* was repeated once, in the long form *bukan*, while only one was shown in the more condensed versions. There are some known cases of blazoned *mon*, in manuscript *bukan* as well in some occasions in the *hatamoto bukan*. However, the illustration is left to speak for itself unlike the western equivalent which had, for western peerage books at least, both an illustrated and blazon of the arms³⁸. Through the example presented above, we can observe that sometimes the *Jomon* of both *Ono* and *Komatsu han* appear identical in some *Bukan* and different in others. These discrepancies can be troublesome ; however they do not preclude one another. According to Takazawa Hitoshi, the fact that in some cases the *Mon* of one family is in plain black, which one would assume is meant as a means of differentiation, and not the other, is unimportant. What matters is the charge/figure itself. Thanks to the *bukan*, we can see how in some cases the *daimyo* families differentiated their branches. It is worth

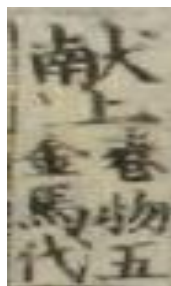
38. See *Burke's peerage* for instance.

remembering that differentiation practiced by the warrior families is nowadays common among the families using a *Mon*, although they may not be aware that cadencing had taken place. There were no fixed ways to differentiate from one branch of the family to the other. The idea was to change in one way or another, with a detail, adding a bordure, modifying the configuration of elements of the *mon*, or any way permitting to show the connection to the family genealogy. The *bukan* are extremely precious to see the inventiveness of the Japanese to reach this goal and it is made gloriously evident with the Tokugawa family and its many branches.

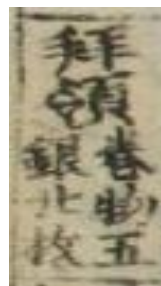
4. Gifts

In the *bukan* we can read what type of gifts were given on the occasion of the *Sankin Kotai* as well as what types of gifts were received when the *Daimyo* were leaving Edo to return to their fief. The gifts were not indicated in every type of *bukan* but only in the long form ones, that is to say the ones with the more developed information. The gifts were not spur of the moment choices but they were carefully planned and elaborated to match the status of the *daimyo* and the *kotai yoriai* (illustrated in the *hatamoto bukan*). The gift offered was equal in value to the gift received. The *Sampu kenjo* (参府献/献上) was the gift offered by the *daimyo* to the *shogun* whereas the *hairyo mono* (拝領物) was the gift received by the *daimyo* from the *shogun*³⁹.

Gifts received and given were always the same being prescribed by the *bakufu* which was at the origin of a large artisanal industry to provide goods for this specific purpose.



17



18

17. We can read in this illustration “Kenjo” (献上): in this case, it consists of 5 bolts of silk and one piece of gold offered instead of a horse, which is read as 金馬代 or *kin madai*. Gold pieces were offered by *daimyos* of a higher status. Lesser *daimyos* would offer a piece of silver 銀馬代 or *gin madai*.

18. In this example, the “hairyo” (拝領), the gift from the *shogun*, consists of 5 bolts of silk and 20 pieces of silver.
Details from the *Tenmei Bukan* (1787)

Some long form *Bukan* also provide information about the 時献上 (*toki kenjo*) which was a seasonal gift for the *shogun*. This mandatory gift could be vegetables, a coin of silver or gold in lieu of a horse, or any other thing required by the office of the *Shogun*.

39. TSUKAHIRA, *Feudal control...* (see n. 24), p. 64, provides the best explanation for the process.

5. Date of alternate attendance

The « raison d'être » of the *Bukan* was to provide an easy to access list of *daimyo* walking the pathways to and from Edo. As mentioned before the dates were set up firmly to prevent *daimyos* with neighbouring estates from developing affinities or to draw plans to overthrow the *Bakufu*. Moreover, certain families did not have to go back and forth since they were required to stay permanently in Edo. The *bukan* provides easy to access information about the dates of arrival and departure which are indicated under the gift received and given by the *bakufu*.

An important aspect dictating the schedule of attendance was to maintain a proper ratio of *tozama/fudai daimyo*⁴⁰ in the province to guarantee against any surprise uprisings by turbulent *daimyos*.

The Hitotsuyanagi family's two branches' palaces, though separated by only a block (fig. 19), never had corresponding *sankin kotai* dates of attendance ; in fact when one lord was arriving in Edo, the other was departing. This is not to say that they were prevented from having relations since there are records of them helping each other in times of need.



19. The Hiotsuyanagi palaces on the map of Edo are shown in red for the senior branch (Ono han) and in black for the junior branch (Komatsu han). Detail from 芝愛宕下絵図 / *Edo kirie zu* (1862) / Union Catalogue Database of Japanese Texts

An important element of the alternate attendance was that important *Daimyos* were greeted by the *Shogun* or, more accurately, one of his representatives, on arrival⁴¹ and for

40. See part 11 about the different categories of *damyo*.

41. TSUKAHIRA, *Feudal control...* (see n. 24), p. 63.

those warranting it at departure. As with everything else the relative importance of the *Daimyo* could be judged by the person sent to offer the *shogun's* greetings. *Daimyo* from the *Komatsu* and *Ono han* were very near the bottom of the pecking order and as *tozama Daimyo* with a *kokudaka* well below 100 000 *koku*, which was the cut limit for deferential treatment, they did not warrant any special considerations for their arrival or departure.

6. Distance from the main residence to *Ote Mon* gate (大手門)

The distance to the seat of power is a good representation of the position of the *daimyo* among his peers relative to the *shogun*, or the one governing in his stead. The closer the *daimyo's* *kami yashiki* (main residence in Edo) was to the *Ote mon* (大手門), the higher was the status, in regards to his relationship with the *shogun* and his government. Of course, in many cases this residence had been granted for generations to the same *han* and it could not necessarily reflect a current state of relation. Some *han* were moved to different residences according to their fortunes and status with the *bakufu* but by the second half of the 18th century, important moves across the capital were rare.



20. *Ote Mon* (大手門), the main gate of Edo castle
玄猪諸侯登城大手下馬ノ図 (<https://bit.ly/3AN2gB9>)
Chikanobu Youshuu, 1898

The *Ono* and *Komatsu han* main *yashiki* were located near the *Tora no mon*, on the outside of the secondary moat surrounding Edo castle. The *bukan* tells us it was 24 *cho* (or 2600 m) away from the *Ote* gate. Which is to say, in terms of their relation to power, at the back end of the city.

7. Residence / *Yashiki* (屋敷) 上 (かみ) 中 (なか) 下 (しも)

Most *daimyos* had three or more *yashiki* residences, which represented important maintenance cost for the smaller domains. The *kami yashiki* was the lord's main residence, the *naka yashiki* was usually for his heir and the *simo yashiki* was used by the retired *daimyo* if there was one. The multiple *yashiki* were a sort of necessity to meet the challenges of destroying fires. If the *kami yashiki* was destroyed, the lord would retreat to one of his other residences. The *yashiki* were an expensive means to an end. Though they necessitated a lot of investment, they were far more affordable than renting lodgings and all the *han* soldiers, whether visiting with the lord for his prescribed attendance or attached to the residence permanently, were saved burdensome expenses by living in the housing units in the *yashiki*. Size and adornment were dictated by the status of the *daimyo* as determined by his official *kokudaka*. In the case of the Ono *Han*, the *bukan* showed only two *yashiki* whereas the Komatsu *han* had three. Bigger, some would say richer, *han* could have up to ten *yashiki*, while three was the official limit.

Contemporary maps of *Edo* show those residences with specific signs for the purpose of identifying which *yashiki* type it is. The *kami yashiki* was indicated by the presence of the *Mon*, the *kokudaka* and sometimes the *yari jirushi* for the more substantive *han*. The middle and lower *yashiki* were indicated only by a simple dot or a square next to the family name and the domain seat.

Some of the *han* also had residences in Osaka where they would store the rice they would sell on the market for additional revenues. There were also extra living quarters in Kyoto to maintain relationships with the imperial courts and the most refined place in Japan.

8. Retainers (用人) ようにん

The *daimyo* never exercised absolute power on his own, though it may be tempting to imagine him as the single source of rule in his domain. The *daimyo* was always assisted by retainers who would advise him and hold position not at all different from the one occupied by servants of the *bakufu*. Sometimes the same advisors were doubling as the eyes and mouth of the shogunate within the *han*, ensuring that the course was always maintained within the proper confines set by the *bakufu* offices. In practice these senior retainers formed a council whose sole purpose was the continuity of the *han*. In a few cases, this sort of council of *han* elders communicated with the *bakufu* to relieve a *daimyo* of his authority. In other cases, they would help select the new heir and not necessarily by order of primogeniture.

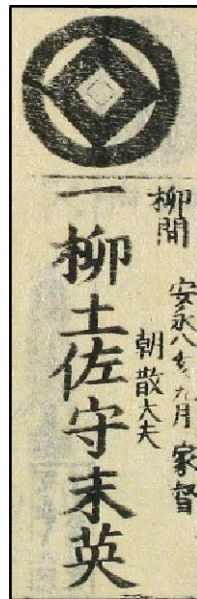
These names were most of the time indicated under the *daimyo*'s name in a specific section. We can read Younin and Karo and keeper of the castle (fig. 14). Some of these retainers had revenues sometimes well within *hatamoto* or even *daimyo* range⁴².

9. *Daimyo* name

One of the characteristics of the *samurai* class, beyond the fact that they were the only ones allowed to bear two swords, was that they also had a family name. Officially, commoners were not allowed this privilege, at least until the Meiji restoration. When reading the names of the *daimyos* or any name in the *bukan*, the information provided will

42. See TSUKAHIRA, *Feudal control...* (see n. 24) and TOTMAN, *Politics...* (see n. 14).

start from top to bottom with the family name followed by the courtesy title (lord of xx) and then the first names. The family name should not be confused with the *han* name and the seat of power. In the case of the illustration below (fig. 21), we can read the family name Hitotsuyanagi followed by the lordship (Lord of Tosa) and his first name (Suefusa) : 一柳土佐守末英 (*hitotsuyanagi tosa no kami Suefusa*)⁴³. The seat of this fief is in Ono near Himeji. Although the lordship is for Tosa, the reality was that all the income for the Ono *han* was derived from the land in Ono. It may seem confusing, but the moniker Lord of Tosa is used at the same time by the Yamanouchi family. Lordship should be perceived more like a courtesy rank than anything. What really mattered was the *ie* (家) and the *han* (藩) of the *daimyo*.



21. Detail showing Hitotsuyanagi Suefusa's name and mon (Tenmei Bukan, 1787)

10. Audience room

According to their ranking, the *daimyo* were given a specific place of audience which reflected their theoretical relationship with the *shogun* and more largely with the government. This indication was usually placed on the top right corner of the cartouche used for the *daimyo* name. Looking again at Suefusa's page (fig. 21), we can read Yanagi (no) ma (柳間). This room was reserved exclusively to the lower ranked Tozama *daimyos* such as the ones from the Ono and Komatsu *han*. There were six rooms reflecting the various level of closeness mentioned above. By order of increasing importance, the audience rooms were the following ones⁴⁴:

43. After the third *daimyo* Suehiro (一柳 末礼) all the *daimyos* of this branch have their first name starting with the *kanji* for Sue (末). This naming practice can be observed in most *daimyo* families.

44. TSUKAHIRA, *Feudal control...* (see n. 24), p. 26-27.

菊間（きくのま） *Kiku no ma* : lesser *fudai*
 雁之間（がんのま） *Gan no ma* : lesser *fudai*
 柳間（やなぎのま） *Yanagi no ma* : for *Tozama daimyos* exclusively
 帝鑑間（ていかんのま） *Teikan no ma* : cadet branches of the Echizen house and middle ranking *fudai*, plus four *kotai yoriai* families
 大広間席（おおひろま） *Obiroma* : for *kokushu* and *jun kokushu daimyos* as well as some important collateral houses
 黒書院溜之間（くろしょいん たまりのま） *Tamari no ma* : for five of the main *kamon* and six *fudai*
 大廊下席（おおろうか） *Oroka* : three main cadet houses.

11. Types of *Daimyos*

The *daimyo* could be classified in roughly three different groups. The closest consisting of *daimyo* with family ties of varying nature with the *shogun*'s family was called the *shinpan*. Amongst them were the *Sanke*, the *Sankyo* and the *Kamon* families⁴⁵. They were placed at the beginning of the *bukan* and in order of declared *kokudaka*. Then came the *Fudai daimyo* or the *daimyo* who were lieges of Tokugawa Ieyasu before the battle of Sekigahara. Finally the *Tozama daimyo* were those who recognized Ieyasu's suzerainty after Sekigahara. The *fudai daimyos* were the one who had the biggest role to play in the *Bakufu* administration while the *tozama*, for the most part, were relatively left outside. The *Shimpan daimyo* were both the main allies and the biggest troublemaker of the *bakufu* due to their very proximity to the reigning *shogun*. Totman and Tsukahira provide some of the best analysis of the very complex relation between the *shogun* and the *daimyos* and I would heartily recommend reading their book to appreciate the political atmosphere surrounding the *shogun*'s court⁴⁶.

As far as *bukan* are concerned, the indication of belonging to either of these groups could be made very simply with conventional signs placed in the descriptions. *Fudai Daimyo* were indicated with the *kanji* for *fu* and *Tozama daimyo* with the *Kanji* for *To*. As far as I can tell, it was mostly in the short form *bukan* that these indications were shown. The multi volume editions seldom point out this information. I have not yet figured why this was the case. It certainly is not because abbreviations are not used. The quality of the *daimyo* pertaining to his being a castellan, a province holder, or a quasi-castellan or province holder is indicated often enough. These qualifiers were as important as the *kokudaka* in terms of prestige and ranking in the *daimyos* hierarchical structure.

The illustration below (fig. 22) shows how abbreviations were organized inside the *bukan*. From left to right we can see the sign for the *Koku shu*, the *tozama daimyos*, the *fudai daimyo*, the *joshu* or castellan, the *joshu nami* or quasi castellan, and the sign for a *daimyo* entitled to display his *mon* on a *hasami bako* followed in the same column by the inscription stating the right to display a *mon* on a *hasami bako* in gold. This specific example is taken from one of the shorter form of *bukan*. If we had the longer form, the *tozama* and *fudai* signs would be removed as well as the reference to the type of holding in some cases.

45. However, the *Sankyo* families and many the *Kamon* families were not represented in the *daimyo bukan* because they were not properly vassals of the *Shogun* and were not supposed to occupy any functions in the *Bakufu* administration. They were instead placed in the *hatamoto bukan*.

46. TSUKAHIRA, *Feudal control...* (see n. 24) and TOTMAN, *Politics...* (see n. 14).

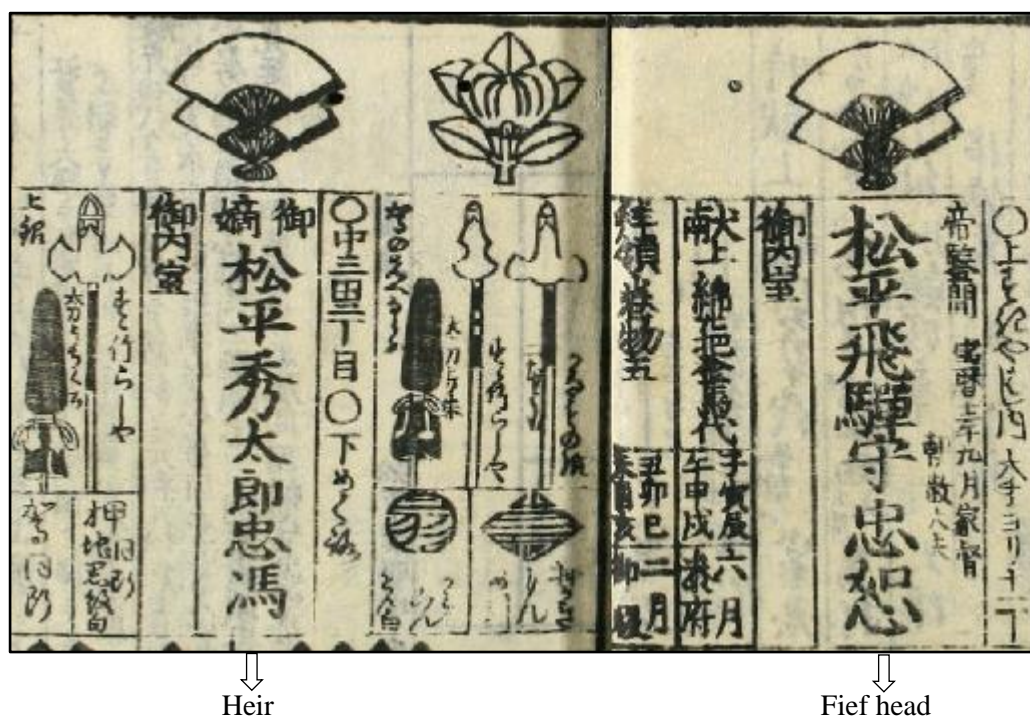


22. Detail from the short form Shuchin bukan (1824)
author's collection

12. Heir / yotsugi (嫡)

In some *bukan*, there are extra places left, on the left of the *Daimyos* name, for his heir. In many cases this field is left empty but it is marked *O yotsugi* (御嫡). The main goal of the *daimyo* and his *han* administrators was to perpetuate the line, no matter who or what was necessary to do. As well as for the Imperial family and the *kuge*⁴⁷, adoption was a very common practice in the Japanese society. The approach of each family was extremely practical and, as long as the objective was met, it would not raise a single eyebrow. When an heir was illustrated, he would bear a name slightly different to the *han* head as well as different *yarijirushi*. The *mon* would be the same as the one used by the *han*'s head.

47. These provisions were laid out in the *Kuge sho hatto* devised by Tokugawa Ieyasu to keep the imperial court in check.



23. Tenmei bukan showing the daimyo's name on the right, and his heir's on the left.

In this illustration taken from the Tenmei *bukan*, we can see the Matsudaira (深溝) fief head on the right with his heir on the left (fig. 23). The *daimyo*'s name is Matsudaira Tadahiro Lord of Hida (read *Matsudaira Hida no Kami Tadahiro* 松平飛騨守忠恕), his heir's name is Matsudaira Hidetaro Tadayori (松平秀太郎忠馮). We can observe that the *yarijirushi* for each are somewhat different and that Tadayori has one less than his father.

13. Haori (羽織)

The *daimyo*'s servants were easily identifiable thanks to the patterned *haori* they wore during their service to the lord. The *haori* is a sort of jacket worn over the kimono which was very much like the liveries seen in Paris or London. In the long form *bukan*, we can see up to three different types of emblems per *daimyo* for their retinue and servant. These were the *haori* for the *kobito* (the porters) and for the *daimyo* firefighters⁴⁸. The first two were usually placed below the *Dogu* and the last one among the firefighters' emblems.

48. See below in the section 18 for firefighters.



24. Details of actors acting as servants wearing haori and recreating Yoritomo's hunting party, by Torii Kiyonobu (1708)



25. Example of kobito haori of the Tokugawa house.
In white, the place where the *mon* would be
(南紀徳川史 Nanki tokugawa shi)

14. Procession emblems / *gyouretsuo dougu* (行列道具)

The term *gyouretsuo dougu* – literally procession tools – was given to para heraldic implements carried by the members of the *daimyo* procession. They were unique to each *daimyo* and made him instantly recognizable. All the *daimyo* had spears with decorated sheaths which were called *Yari jirushi* (槍印)⁴⁹ and which were considered like marks of honor. The number could vary between 1 and 7, a maximum which was a prerogative of the *San ke* families. Each type of spear had a very specific name but the whole family of sheathed spears were known as *dougu* 道具 (literally tools) ; there was also the *uchimono* (打物), also known as *naginata* (長刀), a glaive like polearm, which was limited to a few *daimyo*, the *dai gasa* (大傘), a rain helmet on a pole covered in velvet and fastened with a velvet rope, which was reserved to the highest *san ke daimyos*, the *tate gasa* (立傘) or *tsuma ori gasa* (爪折傘), which was an umbrella in a velvet cover also fastened with a velvet rope. These were only for show and never used as weapons or rain implements.



26. Procession emblems. From left to right : *dai kasa*, *tate kasa*, four *yari* and *naginata/uchimono* for the Kii family (紀州家), one of the *San ke*.

From right to left, it is possible to read vertically : purple (二本共黒らしや 中ゆい紫), both sawn feathers (二本共白鳥毛), spotted like a tiger skin (柄太刀打ろいろ), mother of pearl (上青貝), silver (中ゆい銀) and folded / *tsume ori* (二本共 黒びらうど 爪折).

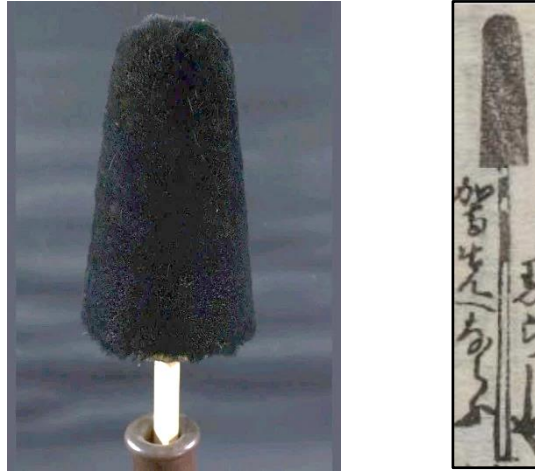
(*Tenmei Bukan*, 1787)

The texture describing the spear decorative sheath may seem puzzling, but there are examples still existing today and looking at them helps in understanding their construction and use. There is a very good collection shown in a catalog for an exhibition held in 1996⁵⁰.

49. Technically it should be called *Yari saya jirushi*. *Saya* is a sheath, similar in use to the one for swords. In this specific case the *saya* is given further power as an emblem due to its uniqueness and the fact that it was one of the hereditary emblems of warrior families.

50. The exhibition *Edo no yari saya collection* / 江戸の槍鞘コレクション, was held in Tokyo in 1996.

The texturing was visible on the sheaths and could be as diverse as there are *daimyo* and *hatamoto*.



27. On the left, an example of a “yari jirushi” made of bearskin, looking conical. We can observe the tridimensional aspect of the spear sheath and compare it with its two-dimensional paper depiction on the right. Those illustrations are not related to the same family. (picture from an auction and details from the *Tenmei Bukan*, 1787)

15. Naval emblems / *Ho jirushi*, *Funa jirushi*, *Maku jirushi* (帆印, 船印, 幕印)

Daimyos would come to Edo to fulfill their *Sankin Kotai* obligations from all over Japan. Travelling by sea and land in journeys which could take up to a month or more. The *daimyo* living in the farthest corner of the Japanese Islands had the opportunity to travel some or all the way by boat which were also adorned with specific emblem helping in demonstrating who was sailing to the Shogun’s capital. They are present in long form *bukan* and are split in three types.

Sail emblem / *ho jirushi* (帆印) : the sail emblem may reproduce or not the *mon* of the *daimyo*. In certain cases, lines were used and in other cases, the whole sail was of a different color. Contrast was the primary concern in order to optimize the recognition at long distance. We know the colors not only because they would be represented in manuscript fully coloured but also because the *bukan* indicates which colours the sail and the curtain are.

Ship emblem / *funa jirushi* (船印) : the *funa jirushi* is very much similar in principle and function to the *ko uma jirushi*. It can be in the shape of a flag but also of a *nobori* or as with the *O uma jirushi* shaped after an auspicious emblem

Curtain emblem / *maku jirushi* (幕印) : the curtain is present to separate and mark the presence of the *daimyo* on the boat. Its purpose is very similar to that of the *maku* on the battlefield which was used to imitate a wall protecting the person of the warlord.

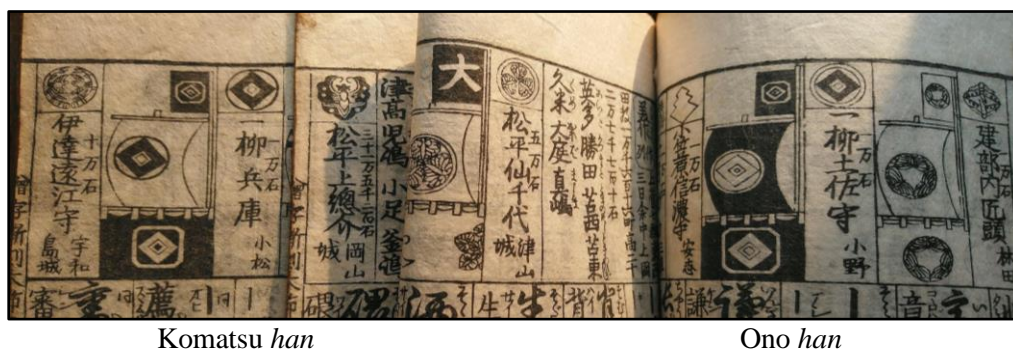
These emblems are exclusively presented for *daimyo* who have to travel such long distance that land travels are impractical. Most *daimyo* with ships coming from western

Japan would sail to Osaka and then take the Tokaido land route to Edo. Sometimes these emblems are shown independently like in the illustrations below (fig. 28 and 30).



28. This illustration shows the sail and curtain emblems and how they would be used. The sail emblem reproduces, in this specific case, the Mon of the Ono Han, the elder branch of the Hitotsuyanagi family. It is however missing a *funa jirushi*, or ship emblem.
(*Saikoku daimyo O fune* / 西國大名御船印, 1712)

The illustration from an encyclopedia printed in 1801 below (fig. 29) shows the Ono Han emblems at sea. It seems however that the *maku* ascribed to the *han* differs from the one illustrated in the *Saikoku Daymyo O fune* which was published 90 years prior. The explanation for such a variation on the *mon* used on the *maku* is unclear.



Komatsu han

Ono han

29. Ono Han emblems at sea.
(増字新刻大節用 / *Zoujishinkokudaisetsuyou*, 1801. Author's collection)

In the example above, the three emblems can be seen. Since this image is taken from a book printed in 1801, it can be inferred that at least at this time both Hitotsuyanagi *han* were using boats with the *proper* emblems. The reason why the Ono appears to stop using boats and emblems seems to be linked to their financial situation and the cost incurred for keeping a boat not only for the *daimyo* but possibly also for his retainers travelling on the Sankin Kotai. The most likely reason was that the *Han* council decided to do away with this expanse when fiscal rigours became needed and since the domain was on *terra firma* and could very well join the *Tokaido* on foot, it was deemed an unnecessary expenditure. The Komatsu *han* on the other hand was located on Shikoku which meant that at any rate the *daimyo* would have to take a boat.

Nevertheless, these are interesting examples since the Ono *han* is almost never shown with any boat related emblems in the various *bukan* I have been able to read. Not even in the *Naniwa Maru Komoku*, which focuses on Osaka and the *daimyos* going through the city from other regions who also had warehouses and residences in the city.

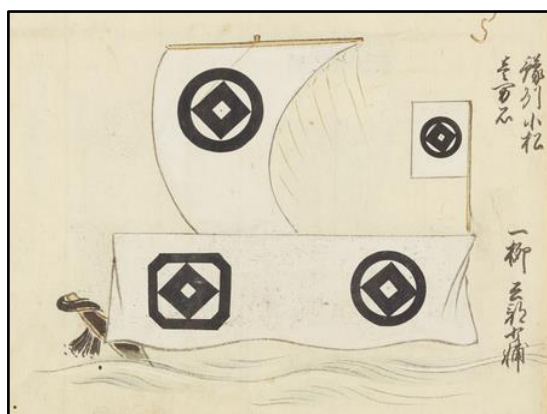
The illustration below is for the Komatsu *Han*, the younger branch of the Hitotsuyanagi family (fig. 30). It appears that in this specific depiction of the various emblems used at sea by the *han*, the author has made some original choices. When comparing with the following illustrations found in the longer form *bukan* (1809), where these emblems are situated at the end of the family information sheet close to the *Kokudaka*, there appears to be some very obvious differences in the *maku* and *fune jirushi*. It is hard to say whether the difference is the result of an error or of a modification wished by the Komatsu *han*. Contemporary *bukan* do not give a description of the emblems used on boats.



30. Naval emblems of the Komatsu Han
(*Saikoku daimyo O fune* / 西國大名御船印, 1712)



31



32

31. We can read on the top from left to right “fune jirushi” (船印), then “ho maku jirushi” (帆幕印). This specific example is for the Komatsu *han* of the Hitotsuyanagi family. Here the background of each emblem is indicated as navy blue(紺) and the *mon* white (白).
(Tenmei Bukan, 1787)

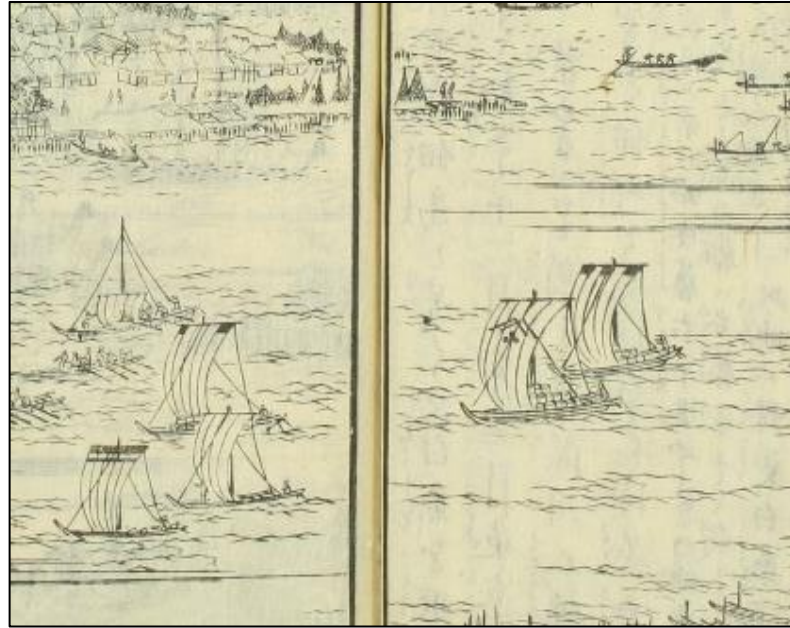
32. A manuscript version of same emblems, but with colours reversed.
It might be or not a mistake.

(西国御大名船印 / Shikoku O daimyou funa jirushi, Tokyo National museum)



33. Ship under full sail with all emblems and accompanying a Korean embassy to Japan.
In this specific case, the boat shows the emblems of the Tokugawa shogun.
(朝鮮人來朝物語 / Chōsenjin raichō monogatari, 1763)

These emblems were extremely important to identify the ships entering the harbors (fig. 33). Moreover, during *sakoku* only certain *Daimyo* ships could sail the opens seas around Japan. The fishermen and the merchants had to stay close to the coast. However, all were forbidden to go abroad except for a very few lords who were in contact with foreign nation such as the lords of *Tsushima* with Korea and *Shimadzu* with the Ryukyus and China.



34. Merchants used to decorate the sails of their boat to tell who they were.
Detail from the *Meisho zu e* (江戸名所図会)

16. Standard / *Umajirushi* 馬印

First seen in *bukan* in 1763 it then disappeared and reappeared in 183651. *Uma jirushi* were used on the battlefield by daimyo and *hatamoto* to identify themselves and their troops during the Sengoku and Momoyama eras. These standards are well known and have often been consigned to handwritten scroll and even printed books. They were declined in *O-uma* (high standards) and *Ko-uma* (lesser standards).

The *uma jirushi* displayed in the *bukan* was sometimes an ancestral design and sometimes a modern one. The emblem chosen may be a tri dimensional representation of the family mon or completely unique design based on auspicious reasons. As mentioned in the *matoi* section *Uma-jirushi* and *matoi* are related, which is evident when they are placed side by side. However, there are many cases where *matoi* and *uma jirushi* are completely different. It can nonetheless be said that as a category of emblem *uma jirushi* are clearly the predecessor and inspired *matoi*.

51. See FUJIZANE, *Edo no Buke...* (see n. 8), p. 98-101. She groups *matoi*, and *uma jirushi* under the same category of Firefighter's emblems.



35. This illustration shows the section of a “bukan”
on Yonekura Masakoto, last “daimyo” of the Mutsuura han
Taisei Bukan (大成武鑑), 1867. Author’s collection

17. *Matoi*, *hikeshi hanten* (纏, 火消半纏)

The *matoi* can be described in Japanese exactly the same way as the *mon*. In a sense a *matoi* is sometimes a *mon* represented in three dimensions.

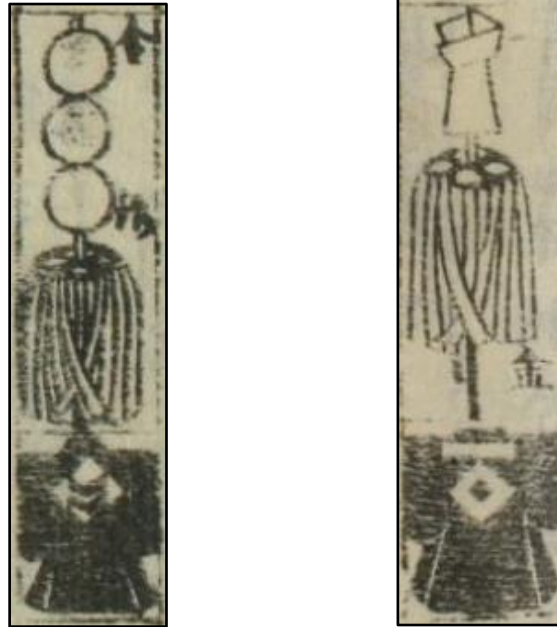
The *matoi* were used to show which brigade was on duty at the fire, the place where the fire was and finally as a tool to catch the embers flying in the face of the *matoi mochi*, or standard bearer, with humidified strips, called *Baren*, falling from the top of the *matoi*. The tri dimensional emblem, called *dashi*, sat on the top of the pole. The *matoi* was also an emblem used to indicate to which *daimyo* or *hatamoto* a firefighting unit belonged and served as a direct representation of the lord. The *matoi*, as an emblem, can trace its origins to the *uma jirushi* which were used on battlefields to show where a *daimyo* was.

The *dashi* could be votive or a pun on a name or taken from the *mon* or any symbol used by a warrior because of its relationship with good omens. *Matoi* were emblems in their own right and when not used for firefighting were kept in the headquarters of the firefighting units. During the Edo era, fighting fire was one of the few occasions in which the *Matoi* would be used in a “war like” fashion.

It is still possible to see *matoi* in use nowadays by volunteers’ firefighting units but also by any group of people wanting to be federated around a common emblem. Schools, police units and departments, even companies will have sometime a *matoi*.

In the *bukan*, *hikeshi hanten* are specifically referenced and positioned near the *matoi*. The *hanten* was a coat of heavy cotton that would be doused with water to protect the person wearing it. It was always decorated with the *mon* of the lord to whom the firefighters were attached. It is very similar in concept to what European would call a livery (*livrée*).

In this specific example (fig. 36), the standard bearer's *hanten* are adorned with their lord's *mon*.



36. *Hanten* (below the *Matoi*) of Komatsu Han (left) and Ono Han (right)
(*Tenmei Bukan*, 1787)

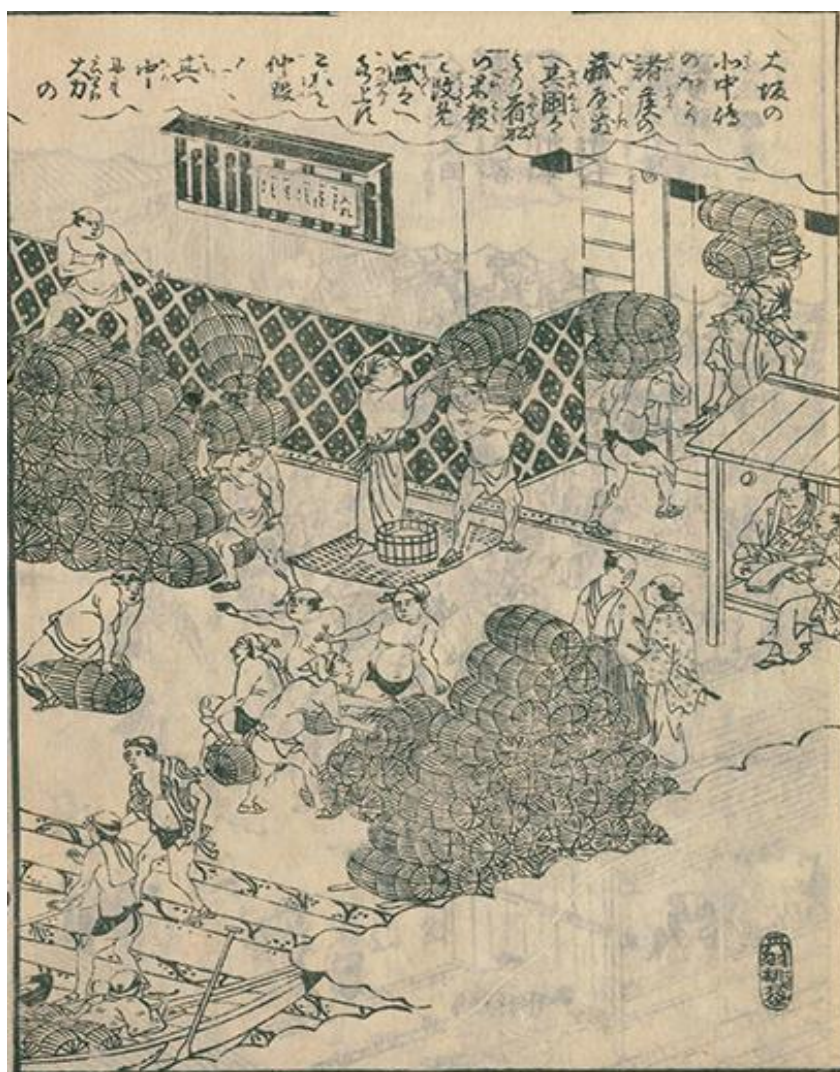
18. *Kokudaka* (石高)

The *kokudaka* is the estimated rice yield expressed in measures of rice, the measurement unit being called the *koku*. A *koku* corresponded to the amount of rice necessary to feed one man for a year (it corresponded roughly to 150 kg or 180 l.). Most of the assessed yield of each *daimyo* remained the same during the whole Edo era, which does not reflect the reality of the situation in the various domains⁵². The amount of rice was used as an indication of rank between *daimyos*. The minimum amount to be considered a *daimyo* and benefit from the status attached to the name was 10,000 *kokus*. The *kokudaka* of each *daimyo* was based on an assessment done during the leadership of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Of course, a few updates to the yields were made through time but for the most part the basis of each indicated *kokudaka* was the amount calculated by Hideyoshi's surveyors.

In some instances the *kokudaka* could be raised to show favour to a special friend or ally of the shogun. But the *kokudaka* could also be lowered, sometimes as a form of punishment for some offences or when *daimyos* were allowed to split their domains, which was very uncommon and discouraged. In the case of the Hitotsuyanagi, it is possible to see a drastic change in the *kokudaka* of the Ono *han*. In the *Mon zukusi* the *han Kokudaka* was 28,000 *koku* and by the end of the 17th century merely 10,000 *kokus*.

Certain offices needed a minimum rank indicated by a qualifying income and these offices tended to remain among the same families which were close to the *bakufu*.

52. See for instance TOTMAN, *Politics...* (see n. 14).



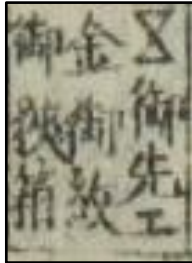
37. The rice stock exchange in Dojima, Osaka, circa 1798.
Each bale of rice weighed roughly 60 kg and was called a *Hyo*.
2.5 *Hyo* were needed to make a *Koku* which was about 150 kg -180 L.
(*Setsu meisho zue* / 摂津名所絵図)

Rice was a commodity which was exchanged for money to pay for the need of the *han*. The main exchange was in Osaka which was known for its numerous warehouses protecting the rice coming from all over Japan. However high the domanical incomes was, it was never enough for the disbursement incurred for the *Sankin Kotai* and the living costs in Edo and at home. So the *daimyos* were chronically out of money. Moreover, the *Kokudaka* was an indication of the theoretical productivity of the land held by the *daimyo*. In practice the *daimyos* income was much lower and, according to Totman, fluctuated at between 30 and 40 percent of indicated yield.

In the *bukan*, the *Kokudaka* was usually indicated at the end of the *daimyo* information. However, according to the type of *bukan* considered the position could vary. Most of the time to the left of the procession spears but not always.

19. Hasami bako (挟箱)

Hasami bako are translated today as pencil cases, but in the Edo era they were boxes carried on shoulder pole for the transportation of *daimyo*'s items. It was a sign of favour to be granted the right to have the *hasami bako* decorated with a mon.



38. This text indicates the right to have a gold mon on *hasami bako* :
O-sakie kin go mon o hasami bako / 御先工金御紋御挟箱
(*Tenmei Bukan*, 1787)

This box description appears to be present only for the highest-ranking *daimyo*. Otherwise, the right to the *hasami bako* with *mon* is indicated by the sign with two opposed vertical triangles, as shown in the pictures above and below (fig. 38-39). Tsukahira notes that only the 20 most powerful *daimyos* would have had the right to display their Mon in gold⁵³. The *bukan* shows that small *tozama Daimyo* from the Ono and Komatsu *han* were given the Honor of having the right to a *hasami bako*. A rapid survey of the second volume of the *Tenpo bukan* reveals that there are well over 30 *daimyos* granted with this honor. Families with more than one *han* could see one granted the honor and not the others.

However, they were not allowed to display their *Mon* in gold. The *bukan* also shows that some relatively high ranking *fudai* did not have the right to have a *hasami bako* (fig. 39)



39



40

39. In this illustration of the “dogu” of the Ono han, it is possible to read from left to right the colour of each of the vexilloids and its component.

The spear sheath (*yari shirushi*) is designed like a piece of folded paper, described as white (白ぬり / 駕の跡 / *ga no ato*) and the shaft is chestnut coloured (くり色なめし).

The double triangle symbol in the upper right corner indicates that the *daimyo* was allowed to have a *Hasami bako* but without a gold *mon*.

(*Tenmei Bukan*, 1787)

40. Hitotsuyanagi, Komatsu Han (黒つミけ駕の先), “*hasami bako*” sign
(*Tenmei Bukan*, 1787, Center for Open Data in Humanities)

53. TSUKAHIRA, *Feudal control...* (see n. 24).

The two illustrations above show the double triangle sign indicating the right to display a *hasami bako* during the trip to Edo (fig. 39-40). The Hitotsuyanagi family *hans* are some of the smallest *Tozama daimyo* but they have the right to display their *mon* in silver on a *hasami bako*, which indicated that their family had an important privilege compared to other richer *daimyos*, be they *shimpan*, *fudai* or *tozama daimyos*. However this double triangular sign is not always shown in the *bukan*. It could be because an edition is giving less information but if we compare two Tempō (1830-1844) *bukan* and one Genji (1864-1865), there is barely 20 years of difference yet in one case it is shown and not in the other. And the right to *hasami bako* has not disappeared.



41. Detail from a woodcut by Chikanobu Toyohara showing the Uesugi "mon" in gold on a "hasami bako"
1897, 將軍宣下為祝賀諸侯大礼行列ノ図

APPENDIX

Glossary

Bakufu (幕府) : military government of the shogun, literally “ behind the military curtain ” (called *maku*).

Buke (武家) : the warrior class, the samurai.

Daimyo (大名): reads as the “great names”, the feudal baron empowered during the 15th and 16th era of turmoil. After 1600 they were rulers of domains with a minimum assessed income of 10 000 *kokus*. The *daimyo*’s situation varied greatly from domain to domain.

Kuge (公家): about 200 aristocrat families of the Imperial court, all located in Kyoto. They served exclusively the Emperor.

Edo (江戸) : former name of Tokyo. The city had its origins in a modest village which became the seat of power of the Tokugawa family since the end of the 16th century.

Hanten (半纏) : the heavy jacket worn by firefighters.

Hatamoto (旗本): originally banner men, the men sitting at the foot of the banner. They were vassals of *daimyo* and during the *bakufu* they were attached to the shogunal ruling apparatus and administration.

Matoi (纏) : the standard used by firefighters.

Mon (紋): technically mon means patterns whereas *kamon*/家紋 is the family emblem, also knows as *mondokoro*/紋所, similar to heraldic arms.

Monzeki (門跡): monzeki were temple priests who were originally from Imperial stock and progressively from higher ranking family. The term monzeki was also used to described such temples which had these priest at their head and who received imperial patronage.

Sankin Kotai (参勤交代): rule of alternate attendance of *daimyo* at the shogun’s court formalized in the mid 17th century. It’s purpose was to make *daimyo*’s incur so much expense during travel and during their stay at their residence in Edo that they would not be able to foment a coup.

Tokaido (東海道) : One of the main roads of Japan. It started in Nippon bashi, close to the Shogun’s palace and connected Edo to Kyoto.

Unjo Meiran / unjo meikan (雲上明覧 / 雲上明鑑): books which showed *kuge* houses and their emblems as well as those of the imperial court. It could be translated as a list of the people above the clouds.

Yarijirushi (槍印) : the yarijirushi was the sheath of a pike, unique to each lord. Not all samurai were allowed to have a yarisjirushi. This emblem was hereditary and carried both prestige and established rank.

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* *

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