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Popularization and Commercialization of Tourism in Early Modern Japan¹⁾

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INTRODUCTION

Dr. E. Kaempfer, who was a medical doctor stationed at the branch office of the Vereenighde Oost Indische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company) in Nagasaki which was the sole place opened for the world during the Japan's isolated Edo period, traveled to Edo (Tokyo), the capital, accompanying the director in order to salute the Shogun. He went to Edo twice, in 1691 and 1692, and recorded in his diary how lot of Japanese at the time were traveling [KAEMPFER 1977 (1779): 49].

There are incredibly so many people traveling on the main roads in this country, and in several seasons roads are flooded with the people just as in the big cities of Europe. ...There are at least two reasons why so many people traveling in this country. Firstly, because of the big population of this country, and secondly because of the people's fondness for travelling compared with the peoples of the other countries.²⁾

Dr. Kaempfer surprised by the large number of the Japanese traveling on the main roads. We have a supporting evidence for his surprise. It is the written record of the numbers of the ferryboats crossing the Lake Hamana on the Tokaido, which was the most important road between Edo (Tokyo) and Kyoto. Most people

1) This is a considerably revised version of the paper which I read at the symposium. I am greatly indebted to Prof. Nelson Graburn, who is Professor of Anthropology at the University of California (Berkeley), for his painstaking reading of my draft and for his valuable comments on several points. He has been a Visiting Professor at the National Museum of Ethnology since March 1989, while I was rewriting the earlier draft. Needless to say, all responsibility for the contents of this paper is mine.

2) All translations from Japanese are by the author.

traveling the Tokaido needed to take the ferryboats at the lake because there were no bridges. It was recorded in 1702 that the ferryboats crossed the lake 44,764 times in the year [OOYAMA 1967]. It is estimated that nearly a million people crossed the lake in a year with the assumption that about 20 persons went aboard each time. This estimate excludes the numbers of samurai who were going to Edo (Tokyo) or returning to their home countries on the occasions of their formal stays in the capital, and also the numbers of the people who did not take the ferryboats and walked along the road round the northern part of the lake. It means that at least one-thirtieth of the population travelled on the Tokaido each year, since the population of Japan at that time was estimated thirty million. Considering that the people who traveled outside their home country at that time must have had to have a permit and a certificate, which functioned much like a present day passport, and they spent a large amount of money, such travels in the Edo period can be regarded as the overseas travel in the present day. It was in 1979 that nearly one-thirtieth of the population travelled abroad. This indicates how often the Japanese in the Edo period travelled widely.

Under the feudal system the people were not allowed to travel freely, so they needed to acquire permissions for the purposes of visiting shrines and temples for religious worship or visiting hot springs for healing illnesses. Even though the people were magnanimously allowed to go travelling for ostensibly religious and medical purposes, they actually enjoyed travelling for pleasure at the destination and on their way to the destination. There already existed well developed facilities for entertaining the travellers in Japan since the middle of seventeenth century.

We have enough evidence how the Japanese in the Edo period enjoyed travelling for pleasure even under the strict feudal system. The book entitled *Kyokun Manbyo Kaishun* (Teachings for Recovering from All Kinds of Illness), which was published in the 8th year of Meiwa era (1771), tells us that many people went travelling for pleasure [SEIHOKU 1771].

Recently an unbelievable infectious illness is widely prevailing. There are so many people who are going to travel for pleasure every year, owing to freedom of time and money, though the nominal purpose of travel is for visiting hot springs for medical treatment. Not only men, but also many women, who asked their husbands to stay at home and to beg a big amount of money for their travel expenses, went travelling widely for pleasure

Kiyuushoran (A Catalogue of Pleasure, Play, and Fun), which is an encyclopedic book published in the 13th year of Bunsei era (1830), also suggests how nominal the travel for worship was [KITAMURA 1929 (1830): 176].

Nowadays people[living around Edo] are fond of going to tour Kyoto, Osaka, and Nara, but they never go to visit the Kashima Shrine [which is one of the famous shrines in the vicinity] for worship. They are going to visit many shrines and temples, but it is only the nominal purpose. The true aim of the travel is absolutely for pleasure. They, of course, visit the Ise Shrine, only

because it is just in the route of the popular tour to Kyoto, Osaka, and Nara (phrase in brackets added by the author).

Other historical sources also suggests that the popularization of tourism started in the Genroku era (1688-1704), and many people travelled for pleasure while nominally visiting shrines and temples for worship or visiting hot springs for healing illnesses.

1. A BRIEF HISTORY OF TOURISM IN JAPAN

Travels for pleasure dates back to ancient times in Japan's history, when only the ruling class could afford it. For instance, in the late seventh century the Empress Jito made more than 30 trips to Yoshino where the resort palace was existed, and also made frequent trips to hot springs such as in Arima for pleasure and healing. However, during the Nara period (710-793), travels for pleasure were mostly destined to the suburbs of the capital.

In the Heian period (794-1191), especially in the height of the Fujiwara family's regime, travels for pleasure to comparatively remote places, such as Mt. Koya and the Kumano Shrine, started. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the ex-emperors such as Shirakawa, Toba, Goshirakawa and Gotoba seized power, they made a total of 97 trips, once a year on average, to the Kumano Shrine for worship and pleasure. A round trip from Kyoto to Kumano took about a month and covered 600 kilometers, and a group of a thousand people including guards and porters for carrying necessities was required to support the trip.

In the Kamakura period (1192-1333), visits to the Kumano Shrine by the samurai of the eastern provinces became popular, since the government was established in Kamakura by Yoritomo Minamoto. However, travels for pleasure by the common people were still very rare. During the Muromachi period (1333-1568) when economic conditions for commoners had greatly improved due to the increase in agricultural production caused by the cultivation of two crops a year, the wealthy farmers started to travel for pleasure destined for the shrines and temples in the Kinki district, such as the Kumano Shrine and Mt. Koya, following the tradition of the ruling class. This does not necessarily mean that farmers all over the country could afford travel for pleasure. At the time, cultural and economic conditions differed from area to area in Japan, and only the wealthy farmers in the Kinki district could afford to travel for pleasure since it was most developed in the agricultural production.

Entering the Muromachi period, travels for pleasure by the common people, mostly in the Kinki district, became more popular. One of the great changes in tourism in this period was that the Ise Shrine became the most popular destination for worship and pleasure instead of the Kumano Shrine. The Ise Shrine, which enshrines the nation's highest God, attracted many people for worshipping. A popular belief, which recommended the people to go to worship the Ise Shrine in

order to acquire the efficacy of the highest god, diffused for the first time in the Kinki district and gradually throughout the country. Diffusion and propagation of this popular belief were stimulated by the activities of priests from the Ise Shrine, and eventually the mutual aid association called "*Ise kō*", branches of which were established in almost every village in rural Japan. As a religious organization it promoted to believe in the god of the Ise Shrine, and as an economic organization it raised funds for sending the representatives to Ise for worship.

Travels for pleasure and worship were getting popular among the common people in the Kinki district, but the people living outside Kinki still could not afford to travel widely because of the unfavourable conditions for long distance travels. For instance, road networks were not developed and also accommodation facilities were not easily available, and travellers were often attacked by bandits and pirates. Moreover, civil wars in the late Muromachi period worsened the conditions for traveling, so that few people tried to travel for pleasure.

In the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1568-1602) after the civil wars when Hideyoshi Toyotomi succeeded to unify the country, peace and order were restored and travels for a long distance became feasible. Most of the checkpoints, which bothered travelers by requiring them to pay a clearance fee, were abolished by the Toyotomi government. For instance, the Yodo River, which functioned as the most important route linking Kyoto and Osaka by ship, had 660 checkpoints, or one every 100 meters, and the Ise Kaido, which was the main road to the Ise Shrine bypassing the Tokaido, had more than 60 checkpoints in the distance of 15 kilometers between Kuwana and Hinaga. As a result of abolition of the checkpoints all over the country, people were no longer levied heavy clearance fees, and long distance travels became easier and safer.

In the early Edo period (early seventeenth century), conditions for the long distance travel were further improved. The road networks were highly developed and accommodation facilities along roads provided meals, so that travellers no longer had to bring their own food. In addition, economic development leveled off regional differences and raised the economic standard of the common people, resulting in a nationwide traveling boom.

However, there still existed very strict restrictions on travel, because freedom of movement was not allowed for the people under the feudal system. All the travellers inevitably necessitated to possess "*ōrai kitte*" (traffic stamp) and "*sekisho tegata*" (checkpoint pass) while travelling. People was not permitted to leave their place of residence and to travel without such passport-like certificates. The traffic stamp was a kind of identification card issued under the joint signature of the monk of the temple to which the one belonged and a landowner or a village chief. The checkpoint pass was issued by the feudal lord or the governmental magistrates, and was necessary for passing through the checkpoints. Women leaving Edo (Tokyo) were especially required to carry a checkpoint pass with detailed specifications. As the proverb, "Incoming guns and outgoing women" suggests, the Tokugawa government severely prevented the womenfolk of lords from leaving

the capital for their home provinces. They were a kind of hostage for the central government and were obliged to reside in Edo in order to prevent uprising against the government. The Tokugawa government also was very keen to prevent the importation of weapons into the capital since they were liable to be used for rebellions.

All kinds of travel required permission in the form of traffic stamps and check-point passes, and if the purpose of a travel was simply for pleasure or sightseeing, it was certainly not permitted. However, there are at least two exceptional cases for the common people to be allowed to travel a long distance. They were travel to shrines and temples for worship, and to hot springs for healing illnesses. The applications for long distance travel were submitted nominally under these headings, even though the actual purpose were just for pleasure and sightseeing. Visiting shrines and temples for religious worship, and visiting hot springs for medical treatment were so reasonable and persuasive that no government officials could refuse these applications, notwithstanding that the actual purpose were just for pleasure and sightseeing.

In the Genroku era (1688–1704), the popularization and commercialization of tourism in Japan, which surprised Dr. Kaempfer, reached a first peak, backed up by economic prosperity. Later, in the Bunka and Bunsei eras (1804–1829), the diversification of tourism outside the home region developed and entered into a new stage. The number of visits to shrines and temples is estimated to three million in a year [SHINJO 1982].

Two tendencies may be found in the history of tourism in Japan. Firstly, in the ancient and medieval ages, only the ruling class enjoyed travels for pleasure while in the early modern age tourism became more popular among the common people. The travel for pleasure was basically a luxury, which required a great amount of expense. Economic development in the early modern age provided the common people, especially the merchant instead of the samurai, with sufficient economic power to afford such a kind of luxury. For the poorer farmers the “*kō*” institutions functioned as economic organizations for mutual aid to raise funds for travels. Secondly, tourism in Japan evolved with visiting shrines and temples for worship, but in the early modern age pleasure seeking and nominality of worship replaced the earlier religious significance of traveling. In other words, the purpose of travels changed from “worship” to “pleasure”, as Nelson Graburn lucidly analyzed the cultural structure of Japanese domestic tourism in his book entitled, *To Pray, Pay and Play* [GRABURN 1983].

2. COMMERCIALIZATION AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF TOURISM

Tadao Umesao suggests that civilization should be understood as a system consisting of the people, infrastructure and institutions [UMESAO 1981, 1984]. Tourism is a complex phenomenon, which is hardly feasible unless a civilization is developed to some extent. The popularization of tourism in the Edo period was realized by the development of the Japanese civilization at the time which had com-

plex elements in both infrastructural and institutional sub-systems.

One of the most important elements of the infrastructure, which contributed to the development of tourism in the Edo period, was the improvement and expansion of road networks. In Japan the construction of road networks had been started in ancient times, but most of the remarkable expansion of roads occurred during the early Edo period. In the 12th year of Kanei era (1635) the Tokugawa government decided that all the feudal lords would be obliged to reside in Edo (Tokyo) at least one year in every two years term. This obligatory institutional device propelled the improvement and expansion of the road network throughout Japan since nearly 300 lords, from all parts of Japan, each with a huge group of subordinates, had to travel to and from Edo at least every two years.

The five main roads leading to Edo, the Tokaido, Nakasendo, Nikkodochu, Ohshudochu and Koshudochu, were administered by the Ministry of Transportation, and other supporting roads by the Ministry of Finance, since the administration of roads was so important for maintaining the feudal system [TOYODA and KODAMA(eds.) 1970]. Roads were widened and straightened, while bridges and tunnels were built. As a result, more than one million people annually traveled the Tokaido in the Genroku era.

Along the main roads many relay stations, which was called "*shukuba*" or "*shukueki*", offering accommodation facilities were established and developed. For instance, there were fifty-three stations on the Tokaido, sixty-seven on the Nakasendo, forty-four on the Koshudochu, twenty-one on the Nikkodochu, and twenty-seven on the Ohshudochu (seventeen of which were shared with the Nikkodochu). It should be noted that such relay stations were designed to establish in the distance of a day's walk by ordinary adults since most of the travelers walked with the exception of those having a ride in a "*kago*" (palanquin) or a horse. Every main station had an officially appointed formal inn for lords, supporting inns for the lords' subordinates, inns for ordinary travelers, and restaurants. Such an infrastructural element as a relay station had existed in ancient times though it was far smaller in size, but it was only available for ruling class people and not for the common people who had to sleep in the open field. Charitable facilities to accommodate poor travelers were built by some buddhist monks, but the numbers of those were limited so that only a few persons could stay. In medieval times, some inns were built along such main roads as the Tokaido, though most inns were of poor quality and travelers had to bring their own food.

In the middle of the Edo period inns began to serve meals for the first time. It was a radical change for the traveler since they no longer needed to bring any food. The introduction of meal service at inns contributed the development of travel for pleasure. The introduction of serving meals at inns inevitably entailed the development of prostitution which was one of the important aspects of tourism. Every "*shukuba*" (station) had some brothels, and many male travelers visited there for female attraction. In the second year of Manji era (1659), the government decided to abolish the brothels at "*shukuba*" in order to control of people's morals. Since

that time, waitresses at inns played a very important role not only in serving meals but also in serving as night mates for male customers [MIYAMOTO 1965]. The availability of such services at inns was most welcomed by many male travelers in non-ordinary playful setting. In the Genroku era the numbers of these waitresses greatly increased in accordance with the booming of tourism. The prevalence of prostitution at "*shukuba*" (station) by waitresses naturally brought controls by the police in the third year of Kyoho (1718). The government proclaimed that the number of the waitresses should be limited to 2 persons per inn.

Lodging facilities, called "*oshi*" or "*shukubō*", provided by the famous shrines and temples also contributed the development of tourism in Japan. The visitors' lodgings at the Ise Shrine, specially called "*onshi*", played a significant role in attracting many visitors by offering well organized comfortable accommodations. The number of the Ise Outer Shrine visitors' lodgings increased rapidly in the Edo period and reached its peak in the Kyoho era (1716–1736), numbering 615 lodgings in the 9th year of Kyoho era (1724) compared with 145 lodgings in 1594 and 391 in 1671 [SHINJO 1982: 758]. The growth of lodgings in the Ise Shrine provided further important evidence for the popularization of tourism in the Edo period. However, the number of the Ise Outer Shrine visitors' lodgings declined after the middle of the Edo period, numbering 553 lodgings in 1743, 479 in 1776, 357 in 1792, when other tourist attractions such as the Zenkoji Temple, the Shinshoji Temple at Mt. Narita, and the Konpira Gongen Shrine were started to develop [SHINJO 1982: 758]. Tourism in Japan at that time entered into a second stage with more diversified tourist attractions, while in the first stage only the Ise Shrine attracted most tourists. In accordance with the diversification of tourist attractions visitors' lodgings in the other areas, such as the Shinshoji Temple and the Konpira Gongen Shrine also were getting popular.

The development of visitors' lodgings resulted in towns forming around temples and shrines. Such towns called "*monzenmachi*" developed around the big shrines and temples. For instance, Ujijamada for the Ise Shrine and Nara for the Kofukuji and Todaiji Temples were the most famous "*monzenmachi*", and towns also formed around the Atsuta Shrine, the Iwasimizu Hachiman Shrine, the Zenkoji temple, the Itsukushima Shrine and so on. Such towns consisted of visitors' lodgings, theaters, restaurants, souvenir shops, and brothels, which obviously indicates that visits to shrines and temples was more for pleasure than for religious purposes. It is said that there were 70 brothels with a thousand prostitutes in Furuichi town between the Inner and Outer Shrines of Ise [NISHIGAKI 1983: 178–179].

Some institutional elements also contributed the development of tourism in early modern Japan. Firstly, institutional devices encouraging visits to shrines and temples for worship, called "*miyamairi*" or "*teramairi*", must have been the most important factors in the development of tourism. It is said that the imperial family, especially retired ex-emperors, initiated the custom of visiting shrines and temples for worshipping in the medieval age [SHINJO 1982: 9]. Thus the affluent leisured class established such religious customs, which later began to be practiced

more widely by the common people in the early modern age. Under the feudal system traveling was not allowed for the common people.

Apart from nominal visits to shrines and temples, Japan had the long tradition of purely religious visits to some shrines or temples, which was called "*junrei*" or "*henro*", both meaning a pilgrimage. Pilgrimages ("*junrei*") in the Edo period could be divided into three kinds. Firstly, "*honzon junrei*", which was a pilgrimage to visit shrines and temples where the very object ("*honzon*") of specific gods or Buddhist images are deified, was known as thirty-three *kwannon junrei* and forty-eight *amida junrei*. Secondly, "*soshi junrei*", which was a pilgrimage to visit temples founded or occupied by priests of a given sect in order to worship founders ("*soshi*"), was known as the pilgrimage to the eighty-eight sacred places in Shikoku or to the twenty-five sacred places related to Saint Honen. Thirdly, "*meiseki junrei*", which was a pilgrimage to visit "*meiseki*" (famous religious places), was known as the pilgrimage to the seven big temples in Nara or to the twenty-one temples of the Nichiren sect. Among these three, the first and second ones were more purely religion-oriented while the third is more tourism-oriented. In the middle of the Edo period the pilgrimage of the third kind became popular because of its tourism-oriented nature.

Another important institution which contributed to the development of tourism was "*shidan seido*", which was the priest-parishioner institution, especially in the Ise and Kumano Shrines. Under this institutional system, the parishioners of a district contracted permanently with a specific priest who was responsible to arrange a group tour to visit the shrine. The priest send the tour guide or representative, who was called "*sendatsu*" or "*daikan*", to lead a group of parishioners to visit the shrine. After arriving at the destination this priest offered comfortable accommodation facilities and arranged for worship at the shrine, and also took care to guide his parishioners to the theatres, souvenir shops, restaurants, and even brothels. The prevalence of the visits to the Ise Shrine in the Edo period became feasible through such an institutional device. Historically, the Kumano priests were more active in the medieval age, but in the Edo period they were replaced by the Ise priests who gained strong commercial power and prosperity through their success in attracting such huge numbers of people to the Ise Shrine. Other big temples at Mt. Fuji, Mt. Koya, Mt. Tateyama, Dewa Sanzan, Mt. Hakusan and Zenkoji Temple adopted this priest-parishioner institution, which was invented initially by the priests of the Kumano and Ise Shrines. Such priests and guides were the forerunners of travel agents in Japan, and they greatly contributed to the development and the structure of tourism in early modern Japan.

In accordance with the development of activities by the priests to attract visitors to the shrines and temples, mutual cooperative association called "*kō*" were established in the villages [SAKURAI 1962]. This association had two principal aims. It functioned as a religious association to promote worship at specific shrines and temples, and also as an economic association to raise fund for visiting the specific shrine or temple for worship. Travels normally took a long time and at

great expense which most people could not afford. The "kō" institution played an important role in lessening the economic burden required for a long pleasure travel, and in giving many people chances to go traveling. The members of a "kō" association paid in installments and once in several years some of them were chosen by lot to visit the specific shrine and temple for worship on behalf of the members who should stay in the village.

The Ise "kō" association, which was the most popular one among this kind of association, was aimed to bring people to visit the Ise Shrine, and many similar "kō" associations were organized for visiting other specific shrines and temples. There was a special "kō" association for visiting hot springs. Most of these "kō" associations, except for the ones for the Ise and Kumano Shrines, were established in the early modern age in accordance with the development of tourism. Such religious and economic institutions as "kō" associations contributed to the development of tourism in Japan. On the contrary, it should be noted that there were no such associations for pilgrimages to Saigoku, Shikoku and Chichibu. This fact indicates that a pilgrimage was a purely religious act performed with as little expense as possible, whereas other travels to visit famous shrines and temples were mostly for pleasure, and required great expenditures which the common people could not afford, so that the people tried to share the expense by organizing such mutual aid associations.

The "kō" associations undoubtedly contributed to the development of tourism in the Edo period. However, since the membership of the association was limited only to the family heads who were normally elder males, the other members of the family who were women, children and other dependants, were not eligible for the privileges of the association. Exclusion from the membership of the "kō" association naturally meant that most members of the family had no chances to visit shrines and temples for worship or to travel for pleasure. Under these circumstances secret visits were attempted by those who had no such chances without formal permission and certificates such as traffic stamps and checkpoint passes. Such secret visits were called "nukemairi", which literally means "escape for worship". They increased in number in the Genroku era when the popularity of visiting the Ise Shrine reached to the peak.

Those secret visits had some special characteristics. Firstly, secret visits were limited to the Ise Shrine, because there was a popular belief during the Edo period that everyone should visit the Ise Shrine at least once in their life. Those who traveled without official permission were normally punished severely, but those who went for secret visits to the Ise Shrine were not punished on their return. Moreover, on their way to and from the Ise Shrine they were welcomed by the rich people serving meals and alms, so that anyone could make a secret visit without having money. It was believed that giving alms to the poor "secret visitors" would be one of the best means to cultivate or accumulate virtue for wealthy people.

Secret visits were originally undertaken on individual basis, but several massive and collective visits were recorded in the Edo period. The first one was attempted

in the third year of Keian era (1650), followed by several other collective visits at every 50 or 60 years intervals which roughly equivalent to the length of the human life span. The secret visits in the second year of Houei era (1705), for instance, numbered 3,620,000, and then there were 2,070,000 in the 8th year of Meiwa era (1771), and 4,270,000 in the 13th year of Bunsei era (1830) [SHINJO 1971: 197-198]. Japan's population at that time is estimated to have been around thirty million, so that the above figures indicate that more than 10 percent of the population made secret visits to the Ise Shrine. Most of the visits were made during the few months that farmers were free from their agricultural tasks. Such visits to the Ise Shrine were called "*okage mairi*", which literally means "thanks visits", because of the favour given by the god and also by those people who gave various alms on the way.

The development of the service industry also played a significant role for the development of tourism. Owing to the introduction of serving meals at inns, competition for these services occurred and finally caused various troubles with travelers, for instance, demanding unreasonable charges for the services. Then in the first year of Bunka era (1804) some reliable inns organized an association called "*Naniwa Kō*", which functioned the same role as the present day Approved Hotel Association is taking, in order to offer more reliable service to travelers [OOSHIMA 1969]. The member inns hung out the signboard of the association, so that the travelers could select the reliable inn and stay there with a reasonable tariff. Such reliable inns belonged to the association were listed in the travel guide books of the period such as the *Gokaido Saiken*, which literally means "A Guide to the Five Main Roads".

With the development of a nationwide system of credit, travelers no longer needed to carry all their cash with them. Travelers also were freed from carrying heavy loads with the development of a cargo transportation system. Travelers from the eastern provinces usually made a round trip, visiting the Ise Shrine, the Hase Temple, Asuka, Yoshino, Mt. Koya, Osaka and Kyoto. When they left Ise they consigned all the unnecessary items and souvenirs to a courier service, and then those parcels would be picked up at their reserved inn in Kyoto on their way back to their home villages. Thus service industries related to travel and tourism were highly developed in the Edo period.

The publication of travel guidebooks also contributed to the development of tourism. Japan has a long tradition of travel literature. In the ancient age, travel literature was mostly written in the style of "*nikki*" (diary), such as *Tosa Nikki*, *Kagero Nikki*, and *Sarashina Nikki*, though the circulation was very limited. In the medieval age this genre of literature was diversified and flourished because of the acceleration of social mobility. However, practical travel guidebooks on famous places appeared in the Edo period, especially in the Genroku era (1688-1704). For instance, *Kyo Suzume* (Kyoto Sparrows) was published in the fifth year of Enho era (1677). This kind of guidebook, which indicated shops, routes, streets, distances, samurai residences and so forth, appeared mostly during the Genroku era at the first peak of tourism and they were popular till the Kyoho era.

In the Horeki and Meiwa eras (1751–1772) the more practical travel guidebooks, such as the *Ise Sangu Saiken Taizen* (Complete Guide to the Ise Shrine) published in the 13th year of Horeki era (1763), were appeared and utilized. This was the pocket guide book describing the stations on the way, the distances, fares for the horse and the palanquin, tariffs of the inns, the names of places and names of famous sights along the road. Another popular travel guidebook was the *Ryoko Yojin Shu* (Cautious Guide for Traveling) which was published in the seventh year of Bunka era (1810) and which remains one of the best sources of knowledge about travel at the time [KATO 1982].

One of the most interesting publications related to tourism at the time was the illustrated book of famous places, which was called “*meisho zue*”, literally meaning “famous place” (*meisho*) and “illustrated book” (*zue*). The first book of this genre was the *Miyako Meisho Zue* (Illustrated Book of Famous Places in the Capital), which was published in the ninth year of Anei era (1780). This book contained many illustrations as well as detailed descriptions of famous and historical places in Kyoto. It was most welcome to the readers and four thousand copies of the book were all sold out in a year. It was eventually reprinted several times. The success of that book naturally stimulated the publication of the same kind of the illustrated books about various other famous places. Between the Kansei and Bunsei eras (1789–1830) at the second peak of tourism more than a hundred different illustrated books of famous places throughout Japan were published, which indicates that the places of tourist attractions diversified in the latter part of the Edo period.

A series of travel novels by Ikku Jippensha became popular and contributed to arousing the people's interest in traveling widely in Japan. The first edition of his famous *Tokaidochu Hizakurige* (A Travel Story of the Tokaido) appeared in the second year of Kyowa era (1802), and was followed by eight editions totaling seventeen volumes by the sixth year of Bunka era (1809), which many people enjoyed reading. The travel novel series continued describing travels to the other famous places of tourist interests, such as Konpira, Miyajima, Kiso, Zenkoji Temple, Kusatsu hot spring in Jyoshu province, and so on.

The Kabuki play entitled *Dokudochu Goju-san Tsugi* (Traveling Alone the Fifty-three Stations) by Nanboku Tsuruya was staged at the Kawarazaki Theater in Edo in the tenth year of Bunsei era (1827). *Ukiyoe* prints were also closely related to the development of tourism. The first *ukiyoe* which illustrated some scenic views on the Tokaido was drawn by Moronobu Hishikawa and published in the third year of Genroku era (1690). Hokusai Katsushika, however, was the first to draw the every typical scenic views of the fifty-three stations on the Tokaido in the first year of Bunka era (1804). Hiroshige Utagawa (Ando) started a series of *Tokaido Goju-san Tsugi No Uchi* (Fifty-three Stations of the Tokaido) in the fourth year of Tenpo era (1833), and finally established the genre of landscape prints in *ukiyoe*.

3. COMPARISON WITH TOURISM IN BRITAIN

There are some interesting differences in the development of tourism in Britain and Japan in the early modern age. At that time in Britain travels for pleasure were mostly undertaken by the ruling class and other people had very limited chances to go traveling, while in Japan popularization of travel for pleasure even by ordinary people was realized during the eighteenth century. In England, as in Japan pilgrimages and visiting hot springs had been undertaken since medieval times. Canterbury had been the most sacred place, visited by great numbers of pilgrims from the late twelfth century on, though it declined when the Reformation started in the sixteenth century, while visiting hot springs continued till the sixteenth century when hot springs became social gathering places for the upper class. Under Queen Elizabeth I, Buxton in Derbyshire became a fashionable hot springs resort. In the seventeenth century Bath with its hot springs, a three-day trip from London by carriage, attracted visitors, becoming a health resort as well as a well-known social gathering place. Travels for pleasure, however, were not so common, at a time when, as Dr. Kaempfer recorded in his diary, more than a million Japanese traveled on the Tokaido. The popularization of tourism began in the middle of nineteenth century in England when the network of railways was established.

There must be some reasons why pleasure travel by the masses was not achieved until the completion of industrial revolution in Britain. In comparison to the case in Japan, means of transportation played an important role. It was in the middle of sixteenth century in England that the carriage became the most important means of travel, and stage coaches were widely used in the seventeenth century, but they were not suitable for mass transportation because roads were still in poor condition. Mostly for the military purpose, the nation-wide road networks started construction and greatly improved by 1770, though such newly built roads were mostly toll roads, so that travels by carriage were possible only for the wealthy. Moreover, inns on the main roads were mostly built in the distance of a day's travel by a carriage, too far apart for a traveler on foot who would have to sleep in the open field. Travel on foot was so dangerous that travelers were often attacked by bandits and outlaws. On the other hand, in Japan such means of transportation had not been developed during the Edo period because the Tokugawa government did not allow the lords to use carriages which might be used in mobile operations to attack the capital. The Tokugawa government also banned the construction of the bridges for the main roads over the big rivers and the building of the big ships, to prevent the lords from undertaking mobile operations against the government in the capital. Paradoxically the underdeveloped status of transportation contributed the popularization of tourism in Japan, since most of the travelers walked on the roads, except for those riding in a "*kago*" (palanquin) or on horse back. Needless to say, it was possible for ordinary persons, even for the poor persons, to walk on the roads. The stations on the roads were built at intervals of a day's walk for the convenience of the ordinary travelers.

It should be noted that the British people developed the overseas tourism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while the Japanese people developed the domestic tourism in the same centuries because of the closure of the country to the outside world in the middle of seventeenth century. Sons of respectable families in Britain went to Europe, mostly to France and Italy, where they stayed for several years, receiving social education and traveling widely in Europe. Such a travel was called the "grand tour", and considerably influenced the life of the British upper class [BLACK 1985]. However, of course, only the upper class could afford the grand tour and ordinary people were entirely excluded from such a venture. As in Britain, Japan employed a policy to expand foreign trade from the middle of the sixteenth century under the Oda and Toyotomi regimes, and many Japanese went overseas to built Japanese towns in the Southeast Asia. However, the Tokugawa government finally decided to close Japan to the world in 1641. Japan remained closed for two centuries until in 1854 when she concluded a peace treaty with the United States. Paradoxically again, the closure of the country contributed the development of domestic tourism in Japan, since no one was allowed to go overseas. Britain made a success in the development of overseas tourism mostly by the people of the upper class, while Japan realized the development and popularization of domestic tourism.

The popularization of tourism in Britain waited until the industrial revolution completed in the middle of the nineteenth century. The industrial revolution drastically changed the means of transportation and travel by trains became popular with the completion of nation-wide railway networks. Travel entrepreneurs such as Thomas Cook, by the invention of such institutions as classes of hotels and trains, timetables and travelers cheques, also contributed the popularization of modern tourism. The Great Exhibition held in London in 1851 was the symbolic event marked the beginning of modern tourism by trains, mostly arranged by Thomas Cook, selling 165,000 tickets to London. He also arranged group tours to the World Exhibition in Paris in 1855, and the following year he organized the first group tour to Europe.

Changes in life style caused by the industrial revolution, such as the development of rational recreation and the need for leisure, were related to the popularization of tourism in Britain [BAILEY 1978; CUNNINGHAM 1980]. The rational recreation movement advocated the improvement of the quality of life by reading books, playing musical instruments, and taking a walk, as opposed to such traditional pleasures as drinking and gambling. Healthy and intellectual recreation was encouraged as a replacement. In any case the popularization of tourism in Britain waited until the industrial revolution had radically changed the life style of the common people in the middle of nineteenth century.

CONCLUSION

In concluding the paper I would like to present a hypothesis that in Japan the

popularization of tourism achieved by the early Edo period (during the seventeenth century), which must have been the earliest in the modern world. Historical background factors, such as peace and order during the Edo period, the closure of the country, and economic prosperity of the common people, must not be neglected. Moreover, many elements in infrastructural and institutional systems in the Japanese civilization contributed the development and popularization of tourism in Japan.

Highly developed road networks during the Edo period and comfortable accomodation facilities were essential elements in the development of tourism. Paradoxically, however, the underdevelopment of the means of transportation stimulated the popularization of traveling. Most travelers had to walk, except for those riding a "kago" (palanquin) or a horse. In addition, one of the most important institutions which encouraged travel for pleasure was the "kō" association in the villages which economically enabled poor farmers to travel for a long distance, while the priest-parishioner institution functioned effectively to make the long distance travels easier and safer. Such priests and guides must have been the forerunners of the present-day travel agents in Japan. Secularization of visits to shrines and temples contributed a great deal to the popularization of tourism in Japan.

Moreover, information brought by the travelers was highly evaluated in the Edo period. Mass media was not developed at the time, so that face to face information fulfilled most important role. Those who went traveling to the cities and came back to the village were called "monoshiri", literally meaning a "knowing person". The village people eagerly anticipated the acquisition of knowledge from cities and tried to follow the changes in life styles because they regarded the cities as the centers and sources of standards in fashions and life styles. A traveler who visited the cities, as a "knowing person", told what he saw and experienced there when he got back home. Such anxiety and eagerness for knowledge brought from cities encouraged the village people to travel widely. Since travel was always related to the acquisition and transmission of information, the popularization of tourism contributed to the diffusion back to the hinterlands of information about what was happening in the capital and other important cities like Kyoto and Osaka. Traveling also contributed to the diffusion of agricultural techniques and special local products, and to the expansion of markets which favoured economic prosperity. Owing to the development and popularization of tourism Japan could cope with the radical changes at the end of the Tokugawa regime and after the Meiji Restoration.

Finally, in the comparison between Japan and Britain, we can see how the development of tourism was related to the larger issues of the national and international history of the two nations. The mass development of tourism in Japan was related to the unification, indeed the creation of Japan as a modern nation [YOKOYAMA 1976]. Tourism used the same roads and infrastructural institutions that aided and reinforced the growth of the economic unification of Japan. Internal trade, which brought on both prosperity and internal unification used the same network as

internal tourism, so that their growth was synergistic. On the other hand, Britain underwent two major changes in her historical development, both during the same period. Britain lost the common rationale for pilgrimages that had characterized the Catholic Church, with the Reformation and the change to protestantism, change which encouraged a more direct relationship to God and which made unnecessary the dependance on visits to shrines and saints' tombs and remains. At the same time, Britain developed her international trade and exploration in an international direction, punctuated with wars overseas in Europe and later in the colonies. The common people of Britain often partook in overseas travels for trade and warfare, sometimes even against their own will, and probably many lost a taste for travel under these circumstances. The desire for travel among Japanese commoners of the same period was whetted rather than stunted, but had to be satisfied within the national sphere. However, the burgeoning development of the British Grand Tour, during this period before the Industrial Revolution, allowed men of the upper and upper-middle classes to indulge their more comfortable travel desires, using some of the same infrastructures already developed in other international endeavours. Thus tourism can be one of the most appropriate themes for the comparative studies of civilizations to interpret various aspects of historical processes in the wider perspective.

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