

The “Spatial Vernacular” in Tokugawa Maps

MARCIA YONEMOTO

AS KEY COMPONENTS OF THE “peculiar metaphysic of modernity,” geographers in nineteenth-century Japan began to remap the world in the name of science and “civilization” (Mitchell 1991, xii).¹ What is often overlooked in this equation of the map with modernity, however, is Japan’s history of mapmaking before the modern period. Although the earliest imperial governments in Japan practiced administrative mapmaking on a limited scale beginning in the seventh century, it was only during the reign of the Tokugawa shogunate (1603–1868) that comprehensive land surveying and mapmaking by the state were standardized and regularized.² The Tokugawa ordered all *daimyo* to map their landholdings in 1605; these edicts were repeated numerous times, such that by the early nineteenth century the bakufu had organized five countrywide mapmaking and surveying projects, and produced from those surveys four comprehensive maps of Japan.³

More significant for the present study, however, is the development of commercial mapmaking in the Tokugawa period. By the late seventeenth century, the growth of the market economy, urban commoner culture, and commercial publishing conspired to encourage the production of maps, atlases, and geographical writings of various kinds, including travel accounts, guidebooks, and compendia of “famous places” (*meisho*). By the time the Tokugawa bakufu set out to take stock of the range of available geographical writings in Japan in 1821, it was able to compile a

Marcia Yonemoto is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Colorado at Boulder, Boulder, Colorado. She would like to thank Carolyn Cartier, Ruth Mostern, Kären Wigen, Greg Levine, and the anonymous readers for the *JAS* for their comments on and criticisms of previous drafts of this article, and all the participants in both phases of the “Spatial Identities in Asian History” project for their help in shaping the arguments presented here.

¹By the late 1880s, European-educated Japanese geographers like Inagaki Manjirō (1861–1908) claimed for Japan the status of an “oceanic civilization,” as conceived by the British historian John Robert Seeley and the German geographer Carl Ritter; see Korhonen 1998, 89–93.

²Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) and especially Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) administered cadastral surveys in lands under their control, but only Hideyoshi seems to have attempted to map his lands. Few of Hideyoshi’s maps survive. On Hideyoshi’s mapmaking efforts, see Kawamura 1984, 22; see also Unno 1991. On Hideyoshi’s land surveys, see Berry 1982.

³For a concise survey of the history of Japanese cartography in English, see Unno 1994, 346–477, and Nanba, Muroga, and Unno 1972; in Japanese, see the comprehensive compilations of premodern maps by Akioka 1971 and Unno, Oda, and Muroga 1972–75; for discussions of Tokugawa administrative mapmaking, see Sugimoto 1994 and Kawamura 1984.

The Journal of Asian Studies 59, no. 3 (August 2000):647–666.

© 2000 by the Association for Asian Studies, Inc.

representative list of over 900 titles, the majority of which were not manuscript or archival sources but commercially printed and published texts (Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 1972). The very ubiquity of these published maps and geographical texts, unprecedented in the history of Japan, suggests a significant transformation in spatial consciousness in the Tokugawa period. In other words, even though Japan did not experience what we might call a scientific or cartographic revolution at this time, it did undergo a revolution in the understanding and representation of space.

This essay examines one aspect of this shift in consciousness: the development of what I have metaphorically labeled the “spatial vernacular.” The notion of a vernacular—a common spoken, written, and/or visual language particular to a certain social or occupational group, or to a place or culture—aptly describes both the common usage of and variation in forms of spatial representation in Japan well before the advent of standardized modern geographical practices.⁴ Mapping in the Tokugawa period was a diffuse cultural practice, for unlike in early modern European states, neither the Tokugawa government nor the elite monopolized geographic knowledge. Rather, it was a diverse group of artists, writers, craftsmen, and publishers who were largely responsible for transforming spatial information into accessible, printed form. The commercially printed and published maps of artisan-mapmakers like Ishikawa Ryūsen (active c. 1680–1720), which will be discussed in detail below, made space comprehensible and usable to the reader by visually decoding cities, roads, and the Japanese archipelago itself. At the same time, commercial maps also defined urban life and culture. For example, the maps Ishikawa Ryūsen made of the city of Edo were paired with book-format directories listing the street addresses where readers might procure various services and products, ranging from medical aid to clothing to musical performance. Maps did more than convey information; they cultivated spatial sensibilities and skills in their largely urban, commoner readers, skills they could then put to use in their daily navigation of the natural and built environment. This article attempts to understand maps as part of a larger mapping process, one that was imbricated in the growth of urban culture. Understanding mapmaking within this broad-based but urban-centered “mapping culture” compels us to understand that “all maps, indeed all representations, can be related to [historical] experience, and instead of rating them in terms of accuracy or scientificity, we should consider only their ‘workability’—how successful they are in achieving the aim for which they were drawn—and what is their range of application” (Turnbull 1993, 42). Only by resituating mapping in this broader field of inquiry can we begin to understand how maps “worked” to form the roots of a new spatial language in the Tokugawa period.

Ishikawa Ryūsen, His Maps, and Their Milieu

To better understand how map language became “vernacularized” in the early Tokugawa period, I will focus on the work of the artist and mapmaker Ishikawa Ryūsen. Ryūsen’s maps were published in large numbers and widely circulated both within and outside of Japan in the early modern period. They established an important

⁴My notion of the “spatial vernacular” differs considerably from John B. Jackson’s concept of the “vernacular landscape” in the contemporary American context. Jackson’s vernaculars are “synthetic” spaces, man-made vistas consisting of trailer parks, shopping malls, and cultivated farmlands. These lived and worked spaces are “a portion of the earth’s surface that can be comprehended at a glance” (Jackson 1984, 3–8).

template for later mapmakers, and constituted an important phase in the construction of an archetypal map language. Moreover, Ryūsen himself, his career, and his published works provide a good example of how mapmakers and their trade resisted easy categorization or specialization in the Tokugawa period, for in Japan at the turn of the eighteenth century mapmakers were not specialists. Although certain individuals acquired skills and reputations as mapmakers, maps usually constituted only one facet of their creative output. Instead, mapmakers moved easily between the worlds of literature, scholarship, and scientific inquiry, and they tended to be members of an intelligentsia that, by the mid-eighteenth century, was only loosely constrained by hereditary status and place of origin.

The literature on early modern cartography treats Ishikawa Ryūsen exclusively as a Genroku-period (c. 1688–1702) ukiyō-e artist-turned-mapmaker, whose maps privileged aesthetics over “accuracy.” Ryūsen’s maps were, however, among the most durable and influential cartographic depictions of early modern Japan and its cities, and were a direct influence on the earliest cartographic depictions of Japan in European sources. The German physician Engelbert Kaempfer, who resided in Japan for two years, took three of Ishikawa Ryūsen’s maps of Japan to the Netherlands when he returned there in 1693. Ryūsen’s maps of Japan and of the city of Edo were clearly models for Kaempfer’s cartographic illustrations in his *History of Japan* (first published in 1727), perhaps the most important study of Japanese history and culture in early modern Europe (Yonemoto 2000 [forthcoming]; Walter 1994a; Walter 1994b; Suntorii Bijutsukan 1993; Kaempfer 1906). But Ishikawa Ryūsen was not solely a mapmaker; he also wrote fiction, and eventually acquired a significant reputation as a writer. As an artist, he was a disciple of Hishikawa Moronobu (d. 1694), the foremost ukiyō-e printmaker of the Genroku period and a major innovator in woodblock-printing style and technique. Ryūsen used these skills to produce scenes of the pleasure quarters both as single-sheet prints and as illustrations for his own and for other writers’ books. He also illustrated guidebooks and gazetteers such as Isokai Sutewaka’s *Nihon kanoko* (Fawn-Dappled Japan), a twelve-volume guide to famous places first published in 1691, as well as two guidebooks for travel along the Tōkaidō road, *Tōkaidō chū annai ki* (Guidebook to the Tōkaidō, undated) and *Tōkaidō ekirō no ki* (Record of Stations and Roads on the Tōkaidō, c. 1688–1702) (Yamaguchi 1976, 168).

At the same time that Ryūsen’s career as an artist and writer was taking off, mapmaking was developing into a distinct niche for commercial publishers. Detailed city maps, primarily of castle towns, were commissioned by the bakufu beginning in the early seventeenth century. Commercial printed versions of these official maps began appearing around the same time, and were revised and reprinted through the late Tokugawa period. Likewise, a printed atlas-style version of the Tokugawa bakufu’s early-seventeenth-century provincial maps was published in 1666 (Unno 1994, 411–12). The Jesuits used copies of Matteo Ricci’s world maps to teach geography at their academy in Kyoto from 1605, and by 1645 printed copies of Ricci’s 1602 world map were being published in Nagasaki (Nanba, Muroga, and Unno 1972, 169–71). As for maps of Japan, the first woodblock-printed sheet map of the country appeared in 1624, and depicted the archipelago surrounded by the image of a serpent, an image that was thought to be a charm to ward off earthquakes. Maps of the entire archipelago, however, did not take off as a genre of commercially printed maps until the late seventeenth century (Unno 1994; Unno 1993).

As the first type of printed map to gain widespread publication and use, maps of cities set the precedent for the production and dissemination of cartographic

information. They also form a good example of how mapped knowledge moved easily from official to commercial realms. This was especially noticeable in the case of the shogunal capital of Edo, which grew tremendously in size and in population over the course of the seventeenth century, exceeding the one million mark sometime around the year 1700. The city's constant expansion was chronicled in the making of highly detailed large-scale maps, first by the shogunal government, and later by artisan-mapmakers like Ishikawa Ryūsen. The oldest surviving printed map of Edo dates from 1632, but it was in 1657 that significant changes were made in the way the city was mapped. In that year, the third year of Meireki, a disastrous fire engulfed the capital, and in a matter of days nearly two-thirds of Edo was destroyed. In the aftermath of the conflagration, the bakufu assigned the task of surveying and remapping the entire city to Hōjō Ujinaga (1609–70). Hōjō held the high bakufu office of *ōmetsuke*, and was an expert on military affairs. He also had experience as a surveyor. By 1658 Hōjō was able to produce and submit to the bakufu a manuscript map in five sheets, one sheet for Edo proper (i.e., the city's central district, referred to as the *gofunai*), and four sheets for the outskirts of the city. In Hōjō's map of central Edo, the castle appears as a blank adorned only by the shogun's ivy-leaf crest, a convention that was followed rigorously on all castle-town maps for security reasons. The daimyo estates (*yashiki*) fan out around the castle to the east and north. Roads, rivers, canals, ponds, and reservoirs were depicted and labeled, as were the regular rectangular blocks that formed commoner neighborhoods.

Map knowledge did not, however, long remain the sole property of the shogunal government. Soon after their production, the bakufu granted special permission to reprint and publish the maps, a task that fell to one of Hōjō's aides, Fujii Hanchi.⁵ Under the pen name Ochikochi Dōin, Fujii revised Hōjō's manuscript map to produce the first woodblock-printed and published map of Edo based on surveying, known as the *Kanbun go-mai zu* (*Five-Page Map from the Kanbun era* [1661–1673]) (Yamori 1992, 107). In the wake of Ochikochi Dōin/Fujii Hanchi's printed versions of the bakufu map, multiple printed and published variations of the *Kanbun go-mai zu* began to appear. In this way Hōjō's "official" maps, far from being considered state secrets, became the bakufu-authorized template for many subsequent commercially published maps of Edo. Some, like Ochikochi Dōin's *Shinpan Edo ō-ezu* (*Newly-published Large Map of Edo*, 1671) hew fairly closely to the *Kanbun go-mai zu*'s unornamented and highly detailed depiction of the city space.⁶ Slightly smaller in size than the manuscript map, the *Shinpan Edo ō-ezu* carries a table listing place names that marked the outer boundaries of the city: Itabashi to the north, Meguro to the south, Kameidō to the east, Hyakunin-chō to the west. Another table lists traveling distances within the city measured from the official city center at Nihonbashi. The map also bears a legend that explains the map symbols to the reader, and gives the date of publication and the names and seals of author and publisher.

Ishikawa Ryūsen's maps of Edo, however, departed significantly from the Hōjō/Ochikochi Dōin model. In 1689, Ryūsen made a single-sheet version of the *Kanbun* map entitled *Edo zukan kōmoku, kon* (*Outline Map of Edo, Part I*) (Ishikawa 1689b), (Figure 1). This map differed from its predecessors in several ways. First, unlike the *Kanbun go-mai zu*, in Ryūsen's map the space of Edo is densely layered with text. Every

⁵Daidōji Yūzan, a student of Hōjō Ujinaga's, kept a detailed account of the making of the various early Edo maps. See Daidōji Yūzan, "Edo ō-ezu no koto," in *Ochiboshū* (1728); quoted in Yamori 1974.

⁶For a reproduction of the *Shinpan Edo ō-ezu*, see Unno 1987, 420.



Figure 1. Ishikawa Ryūsen, *Edo zukan kōmoku, kon*, 1689.

space on the map is labeled and marked, from large daimyo *yashiki*, which are labeled with the names of their occupants, to the commoner quarters whose streets and neighborhoods were named and numbered. In the map's lower left corner, in the space where Edo Bay should be, is a large table listing 240 daimyo, arranged in order of political status (gauged by the daimyo's relationship to the Tokugawa house) and by wealth (in *koku* of rice; one *koku* equals 5.1 bushels). Beginning at the top right-hand corner of the table and reading in vertical columns right to left, each rectangular section of the table lists the name of the daimyo, including his official title, followed by the value of his lands in rice, the name of his domain, and the location of his residence in the capital. By perusing this table, one learns, for example, that high-ranking daimyo like "Owari *dainagon* Mitsutomo" (Tokugawa Mitsutomo [1625–1700], who held the office of *dainagon*, or senior councillor) was lord of the domain of Nagoya, possessed lands valued at 209,000 *koku*, and maintained a residence in Edo at Ichigaya. Further down on the list is "Kuroda Kai no kami Nagashige" (Kuroda Nagashige [1659–1710], daimyo in the province of Kai), who controlled the domain of Akitsuki; his lands were valued at 50,000 *koku*, and he maintained his Edo residence at Shiba. Lesser daimyo like "Oda Yamashiro no kami Nagayori" (Oda Nagayori, daimyo of Uda in the province of Yamashiro), rounded out the bottom rungs of the

list; Oda's lands were valued at 31,200 *koku*, and he maintained his residence in the capital at Shitaya (Ishikawa 1689b).⁷

This sort of detailed information at first seems anomalous on a map intended for a largely commoner audience. But the information found in the tables on Ryūsen's Edo maps was of the sort readily available in the *Bukan*, published registries of the military families, which were printed, updated, and reprinted numerous times and in numerous forms throughout the early modern period. First published in the Kan'ei era (1624–1644), the *Bukan* was subdivided into sections for daimyō, *batamoto*, and other bakufu officials or workers. Each entry in the *Bukan* gave the daimyo's family name, traced the recent family genealogy in chart form, listed the fief lands, and gave the location of the daimyo's Edo residence. Accompanying illustrations depicted the family crest and forms of distinctive weaponry or symbols used by the clan in warfare. By the late 1650s, variations on the *Bukan* began to appear, and variations on the *Bukan* theme proliferated in the Genroku period. Like other sorts of guidebooks and gazetteers, these vast compendia seemed to have appealed to an audience outside the warrior class, where they drew the interest of readers curious for details about the families and fortunes of the elite. The *Bukan* format had become so familiar that in 1769 a faux *Bukan* replacing warriors and their houses with actors and their theatres was censored by the bakufu as inappropriate political satire.⁸ The commercial appeal of published encyclopedic texts such as the *Bukan* suggests a readership with an active curiosity about the powerful in early modern society. In the case of the *Edo zukan kōmoku*, the rendering of such information on the map linked power to place in a cogent visual form. And within the densely populated shogunal capital, mapped information in the *Edo zukan kōmoku* was not abstract or strictly "official." It was usable spatial and political knowledge, applicable to the "practices of everyday life."⁹

The spatial practices of the everyday found more concrete expression in Ishikawa Ryūsen's mapping of the sites of play and leisure. *Edo zukan kōmoku* draws the reader's attention to sightseeing and pilgrimage sites in the city, including the pleasure quarters at Yoshiwara and other "famous places," which are enlarged and prominently labeled on the map. While Ochikochi Dōin's *Shinpan Edo ō-ezu* simply listed the notable sites in the city, Ryūsen depicts them graphically, in enlarged detail. A popular pilgrimage site like the temple at Asakusa is illustrated prominently, as are the city's main bridges at Nihonbashi, Edobashi, and Ryōgokubashi, which served as landmarks, gathering places, markets, and staging grounds for popular entertainments. Important points on the local road system, such as the post station at Itabashi, which was the northwestern boundary of the metropolis on the Nakasendō highway, are also emphasized. The newly built commoner areas in Honjo, on the eastern bank of the Sumida river, are depicted in an inset detail map at center bottom;

⁷Later versions of this map contain further embellishments, such as the family crests (*mon*) for all daimyo listed in the table at lower left, and a table stretching along the map's bottom edge, which lists, by location, all the temples and shrines in the city. See the version of *Edo zukan kōmoku* reproduced in Walter 1994, pl. 88.

⁸See Nishiyama 1994, 470–71; see also Fujizane 1996.

⁹The term is Michel de Certeau's; it is used here to evoke de Certeau's ongoing concern with the spatial dimension of culture, especially "popular" culture. In characteristically evocative fashion, he invokes culture, vernacular (or "ordinary") language, and space in his statement that "The 'anyone' or 'everyone' is a common place, a philosophical *topos*" de Certeau 1984, 2; see also his "Spatial Stories," in *ibid.*, 115–30.

Ryūsen notes in the colophon that the reader may want to consult his recently published large-scale maps of Honjo for a more detailed view.¹⁰

Despite the map's heavy use of both text and illustration, it was not meant to stand alone as a guide to Edo. To aid the reader in the use of the map, Ryūsen provided a supplementary text, bound in book format, which was meant to accompany the single-sheet map. This volume, entitled *Edo zukan kōmoku, ken* (Outline Map of Edo, Part II) begins with several regional maps situating the Japanese archipelago in relation to its immediate neighbors (Ishikawa 1689a). Following these maps are some twenty pages of text listing, by name and location, hundreds of "experts"—teachers, craftspeople, merchants, even artists and musicians—whose services a cultured Genroku Edoite might have reason to consult (Figure 2). With the help of the directory, the reader could learn where to find authorities on a wide range of subjects: Confucian scholars, acupuncturists, and dentists are listed beside experts in *haikai* composition, *gō* teachers, flower arrangers, art appraisers, woodcarvers, *sutra*-chanters, doll makers, and the like. A separate section lists the names and locations of merchants and their specialities: swords, incense, ink, clothing (with a separate entry for those large concerns offering discounts to customers paying in cash), books, dyed goods, foreign goods, writing brushes, and so on. Finally, for those interested in entertainment, the last section of the text lists performers in various genres of the arts—*kabuki*, *nō*, *jōruri*—and the names and locations of their theatres. It also lists individual performers, such as flute players, drummers, and chanters of *kyōgen*. Each entry gives a specific street or neighborhood address, coordinated to the labels on the single-sheet map.

The content of Ishikawa Ryūsen's two-part map suggests a target audience quite different from that of Ochikochi Dōin's *Kanbun go-mai zu* and its predecessor, Hōjō Ujinaga's manuscript map. Instead of an educated or official class concerned with accurately mapping a new political and geographic order, Ryūsen's audience was the commoner elite, the literate urban merchant class whose wealth and tastes shaped the culture of the Genroku period. Unlike bakufu officials, they were not interested in measuring or administering urban space, but in locating discrete places, goods, and services of interest or of potential usefulness. That Ishikawa Ryūsen aimed his maps at a commoner rather than at an official audience is made clear when Ryūsen overtly criticizes the concerns with surveying and measuring that occupied Ochikochi Dōin and his bakufu mentors. In the foreword to the urban directory part of *Edo zukan kōmoku*, he is surprisingly frank about this matter, writing: "I say that maps that are drawn at [a scale of] one *bu* to ten *ken* and so forth [and claim to be] comprehensively surveyed are worthless" (Ishikawa 1689a). He goes on to state that it is adequate simply to indicate the location of shrines and temples, and to demarcate *bushi* residences from commoner ones. Depicting major roads by using thick lines, he writes, is sufficient to convey their importance.

The emphasis conveyed in the text and on the face of the map itself is that the map's function is to help people find their way, in the city itself as well as in city life. To what degree did Ryūsen make these arguments in genuine opposition to the model of mapmaking as an officially sanctioned and guided enterprise? To what degree were his statements rhetorical bluster intended to differentiate his own maps from those of his predecessors and rivals in a competitive and insular publishing market? The

¹⁰When Ryūsen's maps of Edo were copied by European mapmakers, who could not read the colophon, this inset map was misinterpreted such that the Honjo area was shown as if the inset were a peninsular protruberance extending south into Edo Bay.

<p>三川町 真瀬英兵衛 四丁目 高麗春澤法眼 五丁目 余語吉菴法眼 六丁目 平井肖菴法眼 三川町 罷了菴法眼 同本 箕浦奇元法眼 近江町 平田道有 近江町 佐藤慶南法眼 近江町 元康宗嶺 水戸様子 榎尾正宅 小川孝栄 後在意伯 念本亮 真宗柳 念本三郎 南通三丁目 念本三郎 いらい 竹田法印</p>	<p>真瀬英兵衛 片山宗老 磯城高安 寄 澁菴 松井景菴</p>	<p>三小兒方 望月宗菴 白月仲菴 吉田龜菴</p>	<p>四外科 因本伯典 長生院 真宗印 川嶋周菴 服於不伯</p>
<p>三川町 森 仙菴 高岡竹 長谷道仙 奥山立菴</p>	<p>津悦意仙 苗谷仙安 得悟意春 坂本忠穩 坂本養菴法眼 佐藤忠南 依藤孝庵 酒井不琢 白月甫庵 坂本長貞 西 玄甫</p>	<p>五針醫 坂 壽三 坂 秀庵 山本安益 坂 立聖 依田玄川 里平太信 海津 祐貞</p>	<p>人見玄信 東宗雲 小嶋圓社 木下道玄 廣井宗菴</p>

Figure 2. Ishikawa Ryūsen, *Edo zukan kōmoku, ken*, 1689; page from the urban directory listing various types of medical practitioners. Courtesy of the George H. Beans Collection, University of British Columbia Library, Map Special Collections Division.

answers to these questions are not clear. It is likely that he was motivated by both sentiments. What is clear, however, is that whatever his true reasons might have been, Ishikawa Ryūsen meant for his maps to be seen, read, and used to navigate the multiple worlds—physical, political, and social—in which Edo commoners lived.

In the evolution of Edo maps from Hōjō Ujinaga's 1658 five-page map of Edo to Ishikawa Ryūsen's 1689 single-sheet map and its accompanying guidebook, we can see how official texts were "vernacularized" and transformed into new and ever-changing views of urban space. In this manner, maps were essentially ephemeral, for as the city changed, so did the map's content and its potential usefulness. Readers wanted up-to-date information, and it was up to the mapmaker to provide it, consistently and repeatedly. Ishikawa Ryūsen himself seems to have realized this, for in the years following the appearance of *Edo zukan kōmoku*, he produced neighborhood maps of the new settlements that began to appear to the east of the Sumida River, as the commoner population spread from its base in the flatlands in the central-eastern part of the city. In each case, Ryūsen seems to have considered his maps to be fleeting visions of a city in constant change; in the afterword to the directory part of *Edo zukan kōmoku*, Ryūsen claims no authoritative vision. Instead, he states that he has collected various types of information and "hearsay" and has presented "this assemblage of thin learning" in the hope that it might prove to be beneficial to the reader (Ishikawa 1689a).

Just as printed maps phrased Edo's spatial and cultural identity in visual terms, a set of representational conventions characterizing Japan also emerged in published maps from the late seventeenth century on. Ishikawa Ryūsen made two versions of maps of Japan, *Honchō zukan kōmoku* (*Outline Map of Our Empire*, first published in 1687) (Figure 3) and *Kaisan chōriku zu* (*Map of the Seas, Mountains, and Lands*, first published in 1689), both of which were reprinted numerous times and in considerable number well into the eighteenth century.¹¹ As in the case of his maps of Edo, Ryūsen relied on previous map models to produce both his maps of Japan. Although it is sometimes claimed that Ryūsen used as his model the first bakufu map of Japan, which was compiled in the early seventeenth century, this seems unlikely. Instead, the model invoked by the mapmaker himself is a much older, more conventionalized one—the maps of "Great Japan" (*Dai Nihon*) attributed to the legendary eighth-century priest Gyōki (668–749).¹² Although no maps made by Gyōki himself survive, several maps supposedly made in imitation of his originals exist in several variations.¹³ Generally speaking, Gyōki-style maps showed the three main islands of Japan (Ezo is excluded) divided into sixty-six provinces, each represented by a bubble-shaped oval.

¹¹It is very difficult to know exactly how many copies of Ishikawa Ryūsen's maps were printed in the Tokugawa period. Edo-period publishers' records, though quite complete in other ways, do not list the number of copies printed of any given work. Some idea of the number of Ryūsen maps that were originally produced can be judged by the fact that dozens of copies of his maps are extant in library and archival collections inside and outside of Japan. Both the Mitsui Collection at the University of California, Berkeley and the George H. Beas Collection at the University of British Columbia contain multiple copies of Ryūsen's maps of Edo and of Japan. Ryūsen maps are also in the Sloane Collection at the British Library, the von Siebold Collection at the University of Leiden, and the National Museum of Ethnography, also in Leiden, the Netherlands.

¹²Gyōki traveled throughout Japan in the early eighth century at the behest of the imperial court, in order to collect alms to build the temple Tōdaiji. On Gyōki-style maps see Unno 1994, 366–71; on Gyōki's life and role as a mendicant priest, see Goodwin 1994.

¹³Reproductions can be found in Unno 1994, 368–69.

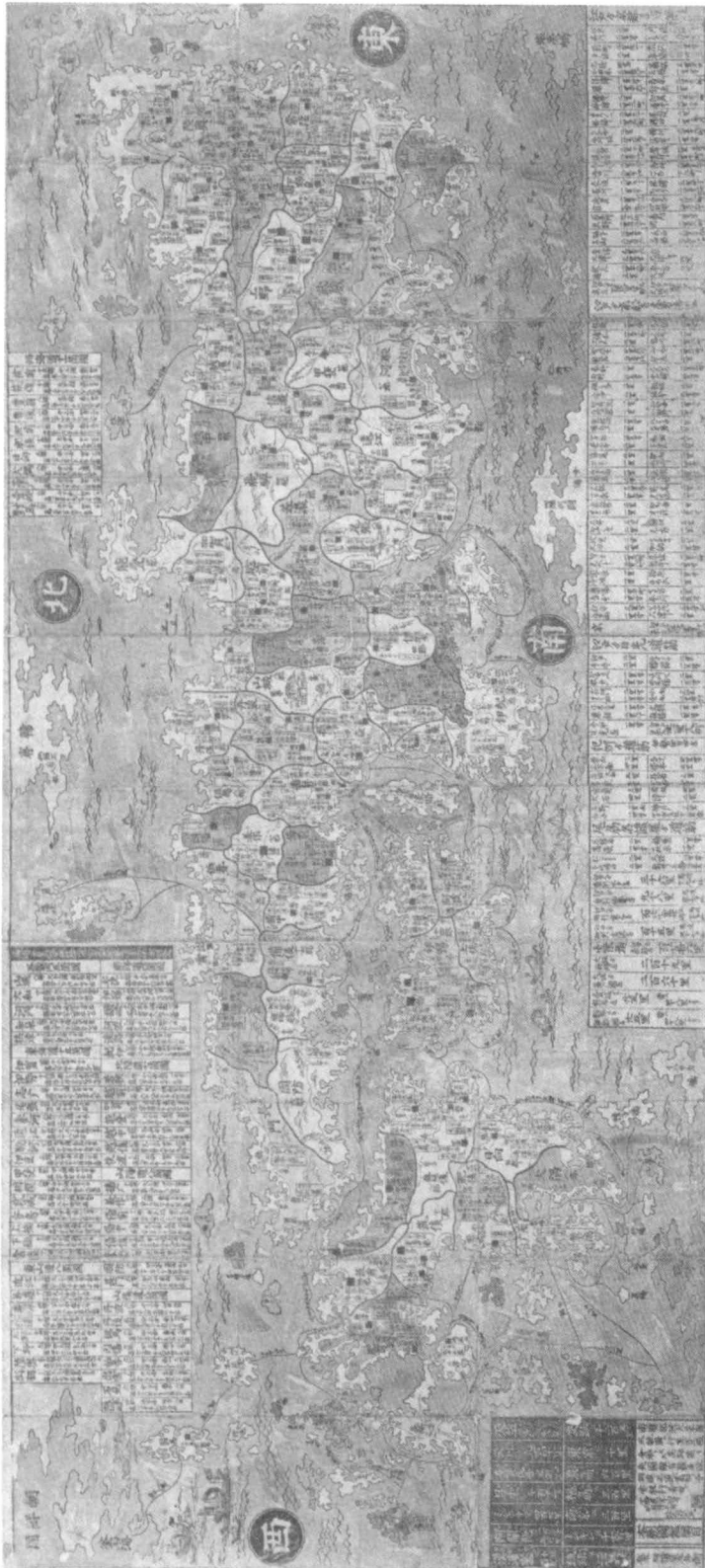


Figure 3. Ishikawa Ryūsen, *Honchō zakan kōmoku*, 1687. Courtesy of the Takahagi Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, Takahagi City, Ibaraki Prefecture.

A network of clearly marked roads leads back to the imperial capital of Kyoto. Neighboring lands are hinted at, but not represented in any detail.

The notion of "our realm" in Ishikawa Ryūsen's maps of Japan hearkens back to an idealized view of Japan as an integrated polity. It did so, however, in a way that did not simply indulge a yearning for past imperial glory, but played with new ways of depicting the mapped space of the realm itself. Like Gyōki-style maps, the *Honchō zukan kōmoku* condenses the archipelago to fit a rectangular space. In the colophon in the lower left corner, Ryūsen explains the map's structure. He acknowledges his debt to the map (attributed to Gyōki) entitled *Nansembushū dai Nihon koku shōtō zu*, which appeared in a seventeenth-century printed version of the medieval encyclopedia *Shūgaishō*. Ryūsen writes in the colophon that he has "emended" Gyōki's map by correcting its inconsistencies and publishing it. Like Gyōki-style maps, the main visual geographical divisions in Ryūsen's map are those of the province, each of which is clearly demarcated by thick lines, and often also by color.¹⁴ The two tables along the upper border of the map describe the general conditions and wealth (in *koku* of rice) of all the provinces. An explanation accompanying the table states explicitly that the provinces correspond to the classical divisions of five central provinces and seven circuits established under the Emperor Yōmei (r. 585–587), and the division into sixty-six provinces executed under Emperor Bunmu (r. 697–707). The citation of such imperial precedents reinforces the idea of a country unified under central rule, subject to a single ruler and a singular culture—clearly a nod to the Gyōki model, and an intriguing comment on the divided nature of Tokugawa politics.

In fact, Ryūsen's pointed acknowledgment of Gyōki also serves to highlight the ways in which his map is fundamentally different from Gyōki's, and draws attention to things Ryūsen himself has added. These changes, however, are much more than an "emendation"; they amount to a full-scale transformation of the timeless Gyōki map into a time-specific Genroku-period map of Japan. For example, as in his maps of Edo, on the *Honchō zukan kōmoku* Ryūsen lists the names and the value of the lands (in *koku*) of individual daimyo. This information appears in rectangular labels on the face of the map (Figure 4). The information in these labels, like the table that appears on Ryūsen's maps of Edo, were updated in later reprintings of the map. The visual juxtaposition contrasts the familiarity of the province as durable cartographic motif with the changeable nature of early modern politics.

Another difference between Ryūsen's maps and the Gyōki-style model he references is the conspicuous absence in the Ryūsen's maps of a visual center. In Gyōki's maps there is a clear emphasis on the imperial capital, but in Ryūsen's maps, all roads do not lead to Kyoto or to Edo. Instead of giving central status to a single city, the map lacks a center. Instead, it guides the reader's attention to Japan's roads. The road network made movement to and from multiple "centers" possible, and in this way, the map captures the growing interest in and necessity of travel in the late seventeenth century. In addition to marking innumerable towns along each of the roads depicted, Ryūsen fills three charts on the map's borders with information relevant to travelers. The first lists distances between major destinations on the various trunk roads, such as the Tōkaidō between Edo and Kyoto, the road between Edo and Nikkō (location of the shrine to Tokugawa Ieyasu), and between Ise (the Great Shrine

¹⁴In most copies of Ryūsen maps, each province appears in a different color. Although many of Ryūsen's maps were printed in black and white and hand-colored, and while color schemes are not identical from map to map, color usage consistently emphasizes the provincial divisions.



Figure 4. Ishikawa Ryūsen, *Honchō zukan kōmoku*, 1687; detail of Nagato domain in Nagato province. The rectangular label reads “Matsudaira Nagato, 369,000 *koku*,” and indicates that the daimyo of Nagato domain, who was of the Matsudaira family, possessed lands valued at 369,000 *koku* of rice.

at Ise) and other locations on the Kii peninsula. Traveling distances are expressed incrementally as the number of *ri* (one *ri* equals 2.5 miles) between each way station along the various roads. None of this sort of information appears on Gyōki-style maps. By taking the map of the solitary wandering monk and transforming it into a guide for popular travel, Ryūsen highlights the contrast between Gyōki’s solitary travel and his experiences and the mass phenomenon of travel and mobility in Ryūsen’s own world.

Ryūsen also plays off the idea of travel and experience by offering information of little practical use but perhaps higher curiosity value for the early modern map reader:

the distances between Japan and a number of foreign countries. A table in the lower left corner of the map adjoining the colophon lists distances of 12,500 *ri* (30,000 miles) to Holland, 1,112 *ri* (2,660 miles) to Russia, 300 *ri* (720 miles) to Nanjing, 1,700 *ri* (4,000 miles) to Tonkin, and so on. Because international travel was forbidden, this information could not have been of any instrumental use to the average reader, but it is presented in a table similar to the one listing actual traveling distances within Japan; this table is distinguished visually by the reversal of the colors so that the text is white on a black background. The contrast here displays knowledge of the distant foreign land while denying visual access to it (much in the way that the bakufu itself strictly controlled access to foreign goods and information).

The play on visible versus "knowable" geographic entities in Ryūsen's map is at its strongest in the depiction of neighboring foreign lands. These were places in the East Asian region with which Japan had frequent contact, such as Korea, the Ryūkyū islands, and the northeastern island of Ezo, which was not entirely controlled by the Tokugawa bakufu.¹⁵ These places, though formally characterized as "foreign" in the Tokugawa diplomatic lexicon, had longstanding trade, and in some cases, diplomatic relations with Japan.¹⁶ Koreans and Ryūkyūans were frequent visitors to Japan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and relations with the northern island of Ezo were supervised by the daimyo of Matsumae. In other words, these were Japan's "familiar" foreigners. These geographically near but culturally distant entities are notably untouched by any of the cartographic markers used to describe Japan: roads, towns, cities, and sightseeing locales. Instead, these blank "other" places serve as a visual frame for the dominant image of the Japanese archipelago, their marginally visible status on the map mirroring their status within an idealized hierarchy of political relations.

A different order of foreignness pertains to places such as "*Rasetsu koku*," the land of benevolent female deities (the *rakshasas* of the Lotus Sutra), a mythical place also known as the "Island of Women" (*Nyōgogashima*). To the north of Japan is "*Kari no michi*," a northern no-man's land alluded to in the Chinese classics. These places were depicted in some Gyōki-style maps, and it is unclear to what degree late-seventeenth-century map readers considered them to be actual places. Nevertheless, in placing them so close to the archipelago, Ryūsen seems to suggest that these imaginary lands were as close (and perhaps as familiar) as verifiably "real" countries such as Korea and China. Like Yōnosuke, the hero of Ihara Saikaku's *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* (The Life of an Amorous Man) who at the tale's end sails off to the Island of Women on a boat loaded with aphrodisiacs, Ryūsen allows the imagination free rein by visually equating the "real" with the "imagined" within the constructed frame of the map.

In these many ways, Ishikawa Ryūsen's *Honchō zukan kōmoku* condenses in a single image of Japan an idealized imperial past, a politically fragmented present, vaguely mythic "other" lands, and veritably foreign countries. It makes strong analogies to the classical vision of the unified state, but it is also, quite simply, a road map. And as a road map, its meanings were predicated on its readers' real mobility, their sense of curiosity about other places, their willingness to indulge in a certain amount of idle speculation—in short, their knowledge-seeking and pleasure-seeking impulses. The power and meaning of the map relied upon the connections readers made between

¹⁵On the early modern construction of cultural and geographic boundaries in the northeast, see Howell 1994 and Morris-Suzuki 1994.

¹⁶On Tokugawa diplomatic relations, see Toby 1984, and Arano, Ishii, and Murai, eds., 1993.

points on the map and places with which they were familiar, either through travel, or through tales, myths, humor, and hearsay. One can read the *Honchō zukan kōmoku* for cultural and geographical information, but one could also, and perhaps more profitably, read the map as an example of a visual/verbal play on meanings familiar to early modern readers. The mapmaker brings together elements from past and present, near and far, and displays them side by side for contrastive, potentially playful value.

Through the visual language of his maps of Edo and of Japan, Ishikawa Ryūsen involved his readers in the collective reconstruction of ideas about place, space, and identity at both the individual and collective levels. Edo maps spoke a local dialect full of references to an urban world as visibly manifest to the visitor or inhabitant of the capital. Maps of Japan, by contrast, gave map language a “foreign” accent. In addition to designating and labeling more or less familiar territory within Japan, these maps hinted at, but did not depict in detail, far-flung and mythical lands to which the reader had no access. In this manner, maps were part of a wider epistemological and cultural shift in the perceptions of self and other, and for discerning the difference between places in “our realm” and places distant, unknown, and perhaps unknowable, but nonetheless intriguing. These diffuse mapped messages worked in concert with the geographical information the maps conveyed. Together, they comprise what Robert Rundstrom has called a “process cartography” that “situates the map artifact within the mapmaking process and . . . places the entire mapmaking process within the context of intracultural and intercultural dialogues occurring over a much longer span of time” (Rundstrom 1991, 6). It is to both the “intracultural” and “intercultural” aspects of map culture that we will turn in conclusion.

Re-reading the Map: Pleasure and the Cultivation of Spatial Knowledge

On a round ball
A Workeman that hath copies by, can lay
An Europe, Afrique, and an Asia,
And quickly make that, which was nothing, *All* . . .
—(Donne 1985 [c. 1633], 85)

The spatial imagination took many forms in many parts of the early modern world. For John Donne and his English and continental European contemporaries, maps documented the mastery of global space—they embodied knowledge itself and all of its possibilities. While Donne’s poetic imagery often borrowed the technologies of exploration as metaphors for the more circumscribed adventures of intimacy, at the same time, as Richard Helgerson argues, the mapped image of England worked metonymically, to signify early modern English culture as a whole. According to Helgerson, Elizabethan cartographic imagery “wrote” nationhood in much the same way that the era’s literature and drama did (Helgerson 1992, 107–47).

The integration of culture and cartography was common in the nation- and empire-building states of early modern Europe. To perhaps an even greater degree than the English, the Dutch self-consciously integrated maps into cultural practice. As Svetlana Alpers shows, seventeenth-century Dutch painting was an “art of

describing" the rich material and natural world of Holland in its golden age of empire. The repeated images of maps themselves or of maplike views in the great works of Rembrandt, Vermeer, Huygens, and others—what Alpers refers to as a "mapping impulse" in the art of the period—erase the boundaries between art and map: "Cartographers and art historians have been in essential agreement in maintaining boundaries between maps and art, or between knowledge and decoration. They are boundaries that would have puzzled the Dutch. For a time when maps were considered to be a kind of picture and when pictures challenged texts as a central way of understanding the world, the distinction was not firm" (Alpers 1986, 126).

In the East Asian context, a similarly syncretic mapping impulse emerged for very different reasons. As mentioned above, the concept of what Joseph Levenson called the "amateur ideal" (Levenson 1968) was pervasive among Chinese intellectuals in the early modern period, such that cartography never developed as a discipline separate from other artistic and literary pursuits. Moreover, under the Chinese imperial state, the ordering of territory through mapping and the writing of gazetteers went hand in hand with cosmic ordering of the heavens discerned through astronomy and astrology. As Cordell Yee points out, Chinese mapmaking was linked not only to "sciences," such as astronomy, but to ritualistic astrology, trends in historical and philological scholarship, and the visual arts (Yee 1994). And as Mark Elliott's article in this issue shows, the Qing imperial government also used maps to consolidate the political *and* cultural boundaries of its empire. As they were used by the Chinese state, maps fused political power to spatial understanding via the study of cartography, astronomy, and astrology. Far from being a form of visual representation inherently different from other forms of narrative, in the early modern era Chinese maps were but one aspect of a culture that prized the pictorial, and fluently integrated text and image, place and space (Clunas 1996; Clunas 1997). Insofar as the Chinese model deeply influenced the development of mapping traditions in Korea, Japan, and parts of Southeast Asia, this patterning of geocultural consciousness is crucial for understanding the development of mapmaking, not only in Japan but in much of East Asia.

Clearly, there were significant differences in the nature of maps and of mapmaking practice in early modern East Asia and early modern Europe. But I would argue that there is a quality common to all the cases cited above. In each, the goal of mapmaking was not simply to gather and categorize information. Though maps were, of course, useful informational documents with many practical uses, in many parts of the early modern world, maps were also objects of display. They inspired reflection, admiration, and contemplation of a world of possibilities. Whether hung on the wall of a Dutch painter's studio or placed on the *tatami*-matted floor of an Edo merchant's house, one cannot disregard a less practical function of the map: to stimulate the cultivation of knowledge. For urban commoners at the turn of the eighteenth century, learning was an eagerly pursued endeavor, one to which numerous urban institutions catered, from storefront schools to personal tutors. Nothing shows this more explicitly than Ishikawa Ryusen's urban directories. But appreciating and cultivating knowledge was not only utilitarian, for one might argue that knowledge-seeking was, in a word, pleasurable.

Understanding geographic or mapped knowledge as pleasure is not to dwell on the frivolous. Rather, it returns us to the linguistic metaphor—that of the vernacular—with which I began this essay. Like words, spaces and places had to be *comprehended* in order to become enjoyable. As Alain Corbin has shown, early modern Europeans found the sea threatening and unappealing until it was charted, mapped, and tamed; only then could people enjoy a visit to "the shore" (Corbin 1995). The

Japanese, too, regarded the Pacific Ocean with fear and suspicion before the modern period, when exploration and mapping decoded vast and incomprehensible ocean spaces (Yonemoto 1999b). Japan's landed territory was well traversed before the Tokugawa period, but the dramatic increase in trade and communication networks and in travel in the seventeenth century vastly increased the need for and interest in geographic information. Maps and geographical writings filled this need, and in doing so they not only constructed a shared spatial vocabulary, one which allowed for previously unachievable access to physical space, but they also created a more uniform collective vision of space and place. It was this very accessibility and familiarity that stimulated the spatial imagination. By consulting Ishikawa Ryūsen's maps and guidebooks, viewers would not only know where to go and how to get there, but why they would want to go in the first place: to see certain sights, acquire certain goods, to learn certain skills, and to pursue certain pastimes, each in a specific place. By looking at maps of Japan, even the foreign became more familiar. And once a set of stable meanings had been assigned to certain places (neighborhoods, sightseeing venues) and to abstract spaces (Edo, Japan), those meanings were open to embellishment, revision, and inversion—they were open, in short, to various forms of play. As maps like Ishikawa Ryūsen's became more commonly seen, used, and understood, map metaphors became meaningful and, to return to David Turnbull's term, more "workable"; by the late Edo period, maps and map images had become the vehicles and objects of satire in popular literature. Depictions of the Yoshiwara, the Edo pleasure quarters, mapped in the form of the Japanese archipelago and described in the minutely detailed language of the guidebook, poked fun at the map's structure and at its role as vehicle of knowledge (Unno 1985). Pleasure and play were linked to erudition in the map form, and like other forms of pleasure in the early modern period, maps were highly commodifiable; printed, published, and marketed to a reading and consuming audience, the pleasure of knowledge and its pursuit was one factor motivating the circulation of geographic and cartographic texts and ideas.

To link map knowledge and pleasure may seem to be neither historical nor spatial in its significance. But if we are to see maps as part of a larger cultural process, we need to adopt a broader understanding not only of how maps worked, but why they began to work in Japan in particular ways beginning in about the late seventeenth century. Of course it is impossible to understand exactly how Tokugawa-period readers understood maps; discerning the levels or types of understanding possessed by innumerable voiceless readers is a dilemma familiar to historians of culture in various times and places. Combining close readings of Ishikawa Ryūsen's maps with contextual analyses of the culture of mapping in the Tokugawa period can, however, allow us to better understand the multivalent nature of Tokugawa printed maps. Ishikawa Ryūsen's maps of Edo show how the map functioned as a form of serious play, simultaneously borrowing, manipulating, and embellishing geographical information in ways that not only appealed to a reading audience, but allowed that audience to participate in and to shape social, economic, and cultural life. And when commoners acted on geographical knowledge, they exercised (sometimes unwittingly) a particular kind of power. Villagers faked pilgrimages to go on sightseeing tours; wealthy commoners patronized the pleasure districts; graffiti artists repeatedly challenged city officials by posting messages ridiculing government policies in Nihonbashi, in the heart of Edo (Yonemoto 1999a). The common threat of these sorts of activities was amorphous but nonetheless acute; it was also place-specific. Maps like Ishikawa Ryūsen's perhaps had a particular appeal to a commoner audience because they allowed commoners access to the city both spatially and culturally, and thus

facilitated the construction of an ideal, if not the reality, of a commoner-centered city. Like the advent of vernacular languages in the strictly linguistic sense, printed maps allowed for new forms of expression and constituted new channels of agency for the common people who used them.

By elaborating this notion of the spatial vernacular and its pleasure-seeking impulses, I do not mean to discount the more concrete economic, political, and intellectual forces that shaped the proliferation in mapmaking in the early modern period. Certainly mapmaking and publishing were enabled and sustained by the growing economic forces of the market and the rise of the merchant class. The Tokugawa government permitted the relatively free reproduction and circulation of map images within Japan, which contributed to the wide dissemination of printed maps.¹⁷ And the combined influence of Western science (*rangaku*) and Chinese "practical learning" (*jitsugaku*) lent an empiricist quality to intellectual inquiry in the eighteenth century, one which transferred readily to the mapmaking process. Maps did not "trump" other forms of knowledge; they were one epistemological strategy among many in a process of cultural and political exchange, debate, and contestation.

In contrast, then, to the teleological view of the map as a text whose usefulness and importance is predicated on notions of scientific accuracy, a process-oriented analysis of Tokugawa maps moves in the direction of understanding what Matthew Edney has called "cartography without progress" (Edney 1993). Understanding the cultural dynamic of maps and mapping forms part of a new kind of map history, one which not only allows us to better understand early modern mapping as a cultural and intellectual phenomenon within Japan. It also compels us to revisit the issue of the importation of Western cartographic practices to Japan in the Meiji period. Unlike the confrontation between modern Euro-American geographies (whether imperialist or global capitalist) and indigenous geographies as described in several of the articles in this issue, the spatial vernacular in Japan represented and constructed the physical environment in ways that were only peripherally influenced by the West.¹⁸ Tokugawa-period printed maps and geographical writings articulated what Arjun Appadurai would refer to as multiple "territorial tropes" that preceded, but did not directly contest, the modern "commonsense of the nation" (Appadurai 1996, 53).¹⁹

¹⁷The maps reproduced here were published by guild-licensed publishers and thus were not subject to individual scrutiny by Tokugawa bakufu censors. Even if one includes unlicensed publishers, however, there is little evidence that the bakufu interfered significantly in the circulation of maps within Japan. The single notorious case of map censorship in the Tokugawa period is that of the German physician Franz Philip von Siebold, who attempted in 1830 to take numerous maps and other documents back to Europe. Though Englebert Kaempfer had taken printed maps and hand-drawn diagrams back to Europe with him in 1693, Siebold's actions a century later were offensive to the bakufu for several reasons: he had obtained recently produced survey maps of the Japanese coastline that the bakufu considered to be of strategic importance, and he had concealed from bakufu inspectors these and other materials and specimens he had collected during years of medical practice in Japan. The bakufu placed Siebold under house arrest for several months and subsequently banished him from the country. In the end, however, he was allowed to take back with him the majority of his supposedly controversial maps and documents, the majority of which can be found in Leiden, the Netherlands, in the National Museum of Ethnology. See Walter 1994c; Nagasaki Prefectural Art Museum and Sichtung Siebold Council 1990; and Yonemoto 2000 [forthcoming].

¹⁸This is perhaps another way in which Tokugawa mapping might be understood as "vernacular," or localized and self-referential, in nature.

¹⁹Western geography and cartography displaced but did not eradicate early modern spatial vernaculars in the late nineteenth century, for maps and other geographical texts dating from the mid-Tokugawa period continued to be produced well after the Meiji introduction of "mod-

As Kären Wigen's article in this issue shows, in the Meiji period geography was put to work in new ways—the Meiji government remapped Japan's new imperial capital, its new prefectures, districts, and towns. In this context, Japan's geocultural boundaries became more firmly established than ever before in the minds of both the state and the people. More importantly, the act of boundary-making took on a fundamentally different valence in the context of the late-nineteenth-century global rush for international status through colonial territorial gain. It is clear that Meiji cartography would not have been possible without Tokugawa mapping. My reasoning, however, does not stem from the logic of technological progress. Rather, I would argue that the ubiquity and variety of maps in the early modern period show that maps mattered in the early modern period, but in ways quite different than geography matters in ours.²⁰ The legacy of Tokugawa mapping was not solely its definition of cartographic authority, it was also its dissemination of a flexible spatial sensibility—a familiarity with map language and its possibilities. Tokugawa and Meiji forms of mapping were not incommensurable. They came to be interdependent, and yet they were distinct. The difference, in the end, was perhaps one of inflection rather than of language per se, for in early modern Japan, maps and map readers made and remade space and place, but they did not, in Donne's words, "make that, which was nothing, All." In order to do the latter, maps had to be reinvented in ways both mythic and modern.

List of References

- AKIOKA TAKEJIRO, ed. 1971. *Nihon kochizu shūsei*. Tokyo: Kajima Kenkyūjo Shuppankai.
- ALPERS, SVETLANA. 1986. *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- APPADURAI, ARJUN. 1996. "Sovereignty Without Territoriality: Notes for a Postnational Geography." In *The Geography of Identity*, edited by P. Yaeger. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- ARANO YASUNORI, ISHII MASATOSHI, and MURAI SHŌSUKE, eds. 1993. *Ajia no naka no Nihon shi. Vol. 5: Ji'ishiki to sōgo rikai*. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.
- BERRY, MARY ELIZABETH. 1982. *Hideyoshi*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- CLUNAS, CRAIG. 1996. *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- . 1997. *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- CORBIN, ALAIN. 1995. *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World, 1750–1840*. Translated by J. Phelps. London: Penguin Books.
- DE CERTEAU, MICHEL. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven Rendell. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- DONNE, JOHN. 1985. "A Valediction of Weeping." In *The Complete English Poems of John Donne*, edited by C. A. Patrides. London: Everyman's Library.

ern," Western cartography. Whereas Appadurai calls for a "postnational geography" for a globally interconnected world, I would propose, in Japan's case, a focus on "prenational" geography.

²⁰For an analysis of the function of "metageography," see Lewis and Wigen 1997, 205.

- EDNEY, MATTHEW H. 1993. "Cartography Without 'Progress': Reinterpreting the Nature and Historical Development of Mapmaking." *Cartographica* 30 (2–3):54–68.
- FUJIZANE KUMIKO. 1996. "Bukan no shuppan to shomotsu shi Izumodera." *Edo bungaku* 16:108–23.
- GOODWIN, JANET R. 1994. *Alms and Vagabonds: Buddhist Temples and Popular Patronage in Medieval Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- HELGERSON, RICHARD. 1992. *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- HOWELL, DAVID L. 1994. "Ainu Ethnicity and the Boundaries of the Early Modern Japanese State." *Past & Present* 142:69–93.
- ISHIKAWA RYŪSEN. 1689a. *Edo zukan kōmoku, ken*: George H. Beans Collection, University of British Columbia Library, Map Special Collections Division #G7964 E3 168918.
- . 1689b. *Edo zukan kōmoku, kon*: George H. Beans Collection, University of British Columbia Library, Text Special Collections Division #G7964 E3 168918.
- JACKSON, JOHN BRINCKERHOFF. 1984. *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- KAEMPFER, ENGLEBERT. 1906. *The History of Japan*. 3 vols. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons.
- KAWAMURA HIROTADA. 1984. *Edo bakufu-sen kuniezu no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Kokon Shoin.
- KORHONEN, PEKKA. 1998. *Japan and Asia Pacific Integration: Pacific Romances 1968–1996*. London and New York: Routledge.
- LEVENSON, JOSEPH. 1968. *Confucian China and its Modern Fate: A Trilogy*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- LEWIS, MARTIN L. and KÄREN E. WIGEN. 1997. *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- MITCHELL, TIMOTHY. 1991. *Colonising Egypt*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- MORRIS-SUZUKI, TESSA. 1994. "Creating the Frontier: Border, Identity and History in Japan's Far North." *East Asian History* 7:1–24.
- NAGASAKI PREFECTURAL ART MUSEUM and SICHTING SIEBOLD COUNCIL. 1990. (*Nagasaki Dejima kara no tabi*) *Yōroppa ni miru Nihon no takara: Shiiboruto Korekushon*. Nagasaki: Bungei Shunju and Sighting Siebold Council.
- NANBA MATSUTARO, MUROGA NOBUO, and UNNO KAZUTAKA, eds. 1972. *Old Maps in Japan*. Translated by Patricia Murray. Osaka: Sogensha.
- NISHIYAMA MATSUNOSUKE, et al, eds. 1994. *Edogaku jiten*. Tokyo: Kōbunkan.
- RUNDSTROM, ROBERT A. 1991. "Mapping, Postmodernism, Indigenous People and the Changing Direction of North American Cartography." *Cartographica* 28 (2): 1–12.
- SUGIMOTO FUMIKO. 1994. "Kuniezu." In *Iwanami kōza Nihon tsūshi*, edited by Asao Naohiro, et al. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- SUNTORII BIJUTSUKAN, ed. 1993. *Seiyōjin no egaita Nihon chizu*. Tokyo: OAG, Doitsu Tōyō Bunka Kenkyū Kyōkai [Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens].
- TOBY, RONALD P. 1984. *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- TOKYO DAIGAKU SHIRYO HENSANJO, ed. 1972. *Henshū chishi biyō tenseki kaidai*. Vol. 11, Pt. 1–6, *Dai Nihon kinsei shiryō*. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.

- TURNBULL, DAVID. 1993. *Maps are Territories, Science is an Atlas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- UNNO KAZUTAKA. 1985. "Tawamure no chizu." In *Chizu no shiwa*. Tokyo: Yūshōdō Shuppan.
- . 1991. "Government Cartography in Sixteenth-Century Japan." *Imago Mundi* 43: 86–91.
- . 1993. Maps of Japan Used in Prayer Rites or as Charms. *Imago Mundi* 46:65–83.
- . 1994. "Cartography in Japan." In *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, edited by D. Woodward and J. B. Harley. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- UNNO KAZUTAKA, ODA TAKEO, and MUROGA NOBUO, eds. 1972–75. *Nihon kochizu taisei*. 2 vols. Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- WALTER, LUTZ, ed. 1994. *Japan, A Cartographic Vision: European Printed Maps from the Early 16th to the 19th Century*. Edited by Lutz Walter. Munich: Prestel.
- WALTER, LUTZ. 1994a. "A Typology of Maps of Japan Printed in Europe (1595–1800)." In *Japan, A Cartographic Vision: European Printed Maps from the Early 16th to the 19th Century*. Edited by Lutz Walter. Munich: Prestel.
- . 1994b. "Englebert Kaempfer and the European Cartography of Japan." In *Japan, A Cartographic Vision: European Printed Maps from the Early 16th to the 19th Century*. Edited by Lutz Walter. Munich: Prestel.
- . 1994c. "Philipp Franz von Siebold." In *Japan, A Cartographic Vision: European Printed Maps from the Early 16th to the 19th Century*. Edited by Lutz Walter. Munich: Prestel.
- WOODWARD, DAVID, and J. B. Harley, eds. 1987. *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*. 2 vols. Vol. 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- YAMAGUCHI OSAMU, ed. 1976. *Edo jidai zushi*. Vol. 14: Tōkaidō (1). Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō.
- YAMORI KAZUHIKO. 1974. *Kochizu to fūkei*. Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- . 1992. *Kochizu e no tabi*. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha.
- YEE, CORDELL D. K. 1994. "Cartography in China." In *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, edited by D. Woodward and J. B. Harley. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- YONEMOTO, MARCIA. 1999a. "Nihonbashi: Edo's Contested Center." *East Asian History* 17/18:49–70.
- . 1999b. "Maps and Metaphors of the 'Small Eastern Sea' in Tokugawa Japan (1603–1868)." *Geographical Review* 89(2):169–87.
- . 2000 [forthcoming]. "Envisioning Japan in Eighteenth-Century Europe: The International Career of a Cartographic Image." *Intellectual History Newsletter* 22.