



Urban Maps in Nineteenth-Century Japan

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One of the topics in the history of cartography of Japan on which knowledge has advanced dramatically since 2010 is primary research on cartographic materials brought by Siebold from Japan to Europe. The most advanced study on this topic had been that of Funakoshi (1997), but thanks to surveys of primary sources in Leiden University Library, the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden and the Brandenstein-Zeppelin Family Archives funded by Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japanese Government (KAKEN) and carried out by the National Institute of Japanese Literature and the National Museum of Japanese History, the complete picture of the geographical materials brought by Siebold is emerging.¹

On the other hand, international research on historical Japanese maps has also been advancing, as exemplified by the 2016 publication of a major dedicated volume.² In the same year, researchers from around the world gathered at the Sainsbury Institute for Japanese Arts and Cultures in Norwich for the symposium “Isles of Gold Revisited”, which re-evaluated the influential collection of Sir Hugh Cortazzi from the point of view of the social background of map production and comparative cultural history. The exhibition *Mapping Japan* shown at SieboldHuis in Leiden the following year is one more important result of this recent surge in international research on Japanese historical maps.³

In this context, this contribution aims to analyse the publication history of urban maps published during Siebold’s stay between 1823 and 1829 with reference to the maps collected by Siebold himself. Siebold writes in *Nippon* that only maps of Edo, Osaka, Kyoto and Nagasaki were being published in Japan⁴, and indeed urban maps were printed only in a few cities. Besides general surveys of such urban maps,⁵ there have also been detailed studies of maps of Edo,⁶ Osaka⁷ and Kyoto.⁸ As for urban maps in the Siebold collection, they have been partially introduced but their role within the larger history of urban maps has not been discussed.

1 Funakoshi 1997, Oda 2013, National Institute of Japanese Literature 2014, Aoyama 2016a, Onodera et al. 2016.

2 Wigen et al. 2016.

3 Leca 2017a.

4 Siebold 1977, 279-81.

5 Yamori 1974, Uesugi 2012.

6 Iida and Tawara 1988.

7 Wakita et al. 2015.

8 Ôtsuka 1981.



1. Maps of Edo

Bunken edo ōezu 分間江戸大絵図 (cat. 28) is a map of Edo published in 1825 (fig. 1). It is assumed that Siebold obtained it on the occasion of his visit to Edo in 1826, and his route through the city is inscribed on the map. It is an important document for understanding concretely Siebold's use of maps.

At a width of almost two meters, this map is an example of the largest format among printed maps of Edo, and was sold by Suharaya Mohē. This publisher started to manage the printing of maps of Edo starting with the middle of the eighteenth century. In the 1817 *Edozu kabuchō* 江戸図株帳 ('Register of Rights over Maps of Edo') Suharaya is listed as having woodblocks, and by extension publishing rights, of thirteen types of maps of Edo, making him the biggest publisher of maps of Edo at the time.⁹ Out of these, the *Bunken edo ōezu* was one of Suharaya's flagship maps, and was revised yearly to reflect changes within the city.¹⁰ Siebold obtained the 1825 edition, and considering that he visited Edo in the spring of 1826, this means he was able to consult the latest information on the interior of the city.



Figure 1 – 分間江戸大絵図 *Bunken edo oezu* (Ser. 315c)]

⁹ Yamori 1974, 155-56.

¹⁰ Yamori 1974, 155.

The Siebold collection also contains the 1825 *Bunken kaihō oedo ezu* 分間懷宝御江戸絵図 (Ser. 317), a medium-sized map with a length of almost 90 cm. This map also bears annotations possibly in Siebold's hand, and the possibility that it was used by Siebold has been pointed out before.¹¹

2. Maps of Osaka

The production of maps of Osaka can also be confidently attributed to a limited number of publishers. There had been various publishers in Osaka producing maps of the city in the eighteenth century, but from the 1780s onward, Harimaya Kyūbē 播磨屋九兵衛 started to acquire ownership of woodblocks, and by 1800 had established a monopoly over the publishing of maps of Osaka.¹² At this time, maps of Osaka came in large, medium and small sizes that adjusted to the depicted content and the different uses of maps. Harimaya took control of the sale of all these different map sizes (fig. 2).

The Siebold collection includes the *Sesshū Ōsaka zenzu* 撰州大阪全図 ('Complete Map of Osaka in Settsu Province') (Ser. 347), published in the ninth month of 1825, and thought to have been collected by Siebold during his stay in Japan (fig. 2).¹³ This is a medium-sized map of Osaka of around 90 cm, which Harimaya had not published before and was launching on the market at that time. It became a successful product, with numerous reprints. Siebold was in Japan at the very time when the first edition of this map appeared, and promptly acquired one.

One interesting detail on the map obtained by Siebold and now in Leiden University Library is an example of a place name corrected with paper pasted on top of the original printed characters and then corrected by hand (fig. 3). This correcting paper is also present on copies of the same map in the Library of Congress and in the Osaka Municipal Central Library, which means that it was not the buyers but the publisher who was correcting mistakes in the woodblock of this first edition of the map. There are also states of the map in Kyoto University Library and Kobe Municipal Museum where the toponym had been corrected on the woodblock itself. Therefore, the Leiden map is one of the maps to which was applied the first aid procedure of correction by handwritten paper.¹⁴ If we consider the probable scenario that Siebold acquired his map on his visit to Osaka during the 1826 court visit, more likely on the return trip to Nagasaki, this means that at this time hand-corrected maps were still in circulation.

Another characteristic of this map is that it bears annotations by either Siebold himself or someone closely associated such as his travel companion Heinrich Bürger. Of particular interest are the two intermittent lines drawn in black and in red pencil that seem to indicate Siebold's actual route through the

¹¹ Ozaki 2016, 85.

¹² Onoda 2015, 13.

¹³ Narumi 2016, 91.

¹⁴ Uesugi 2015, 139.

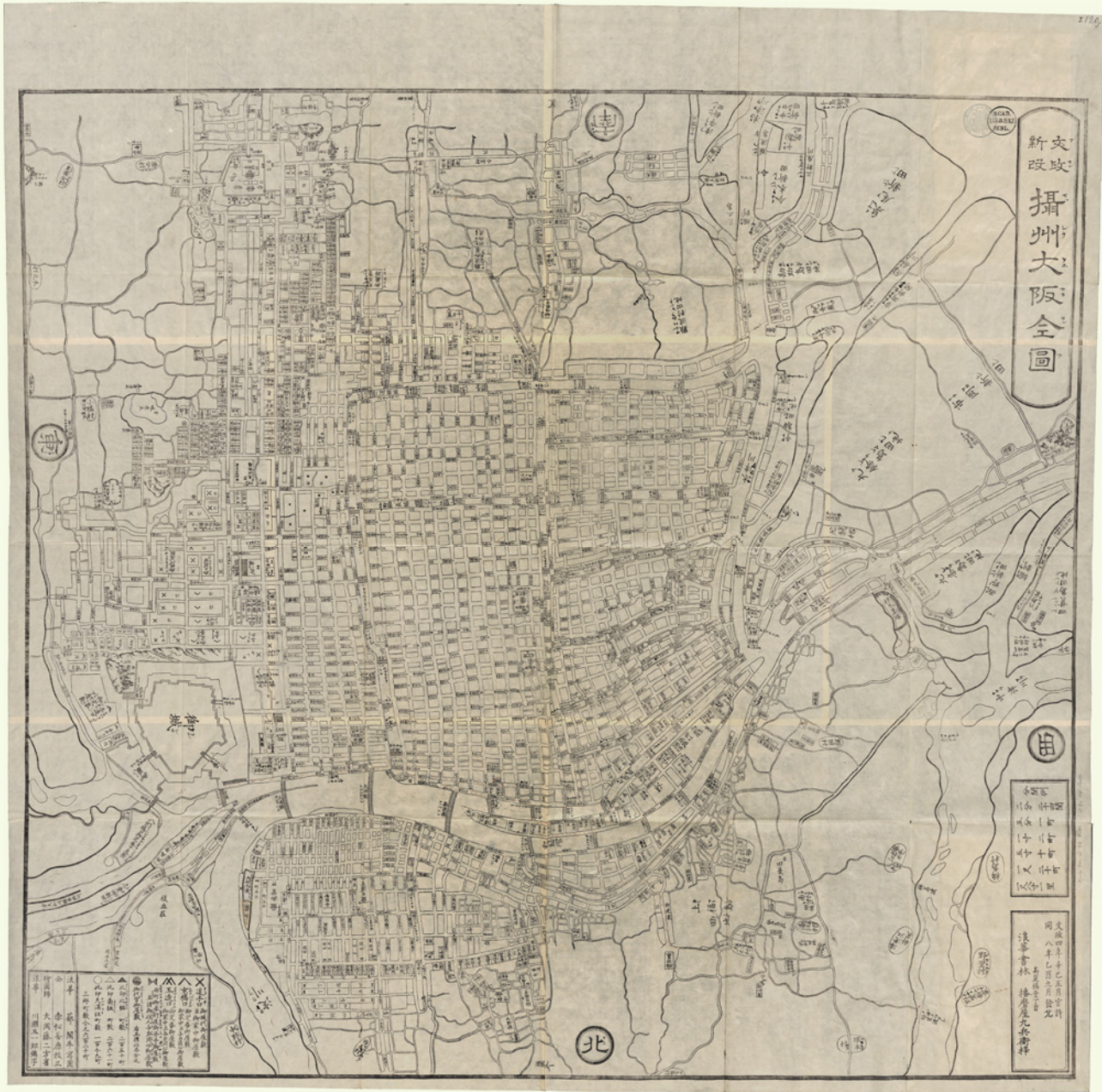


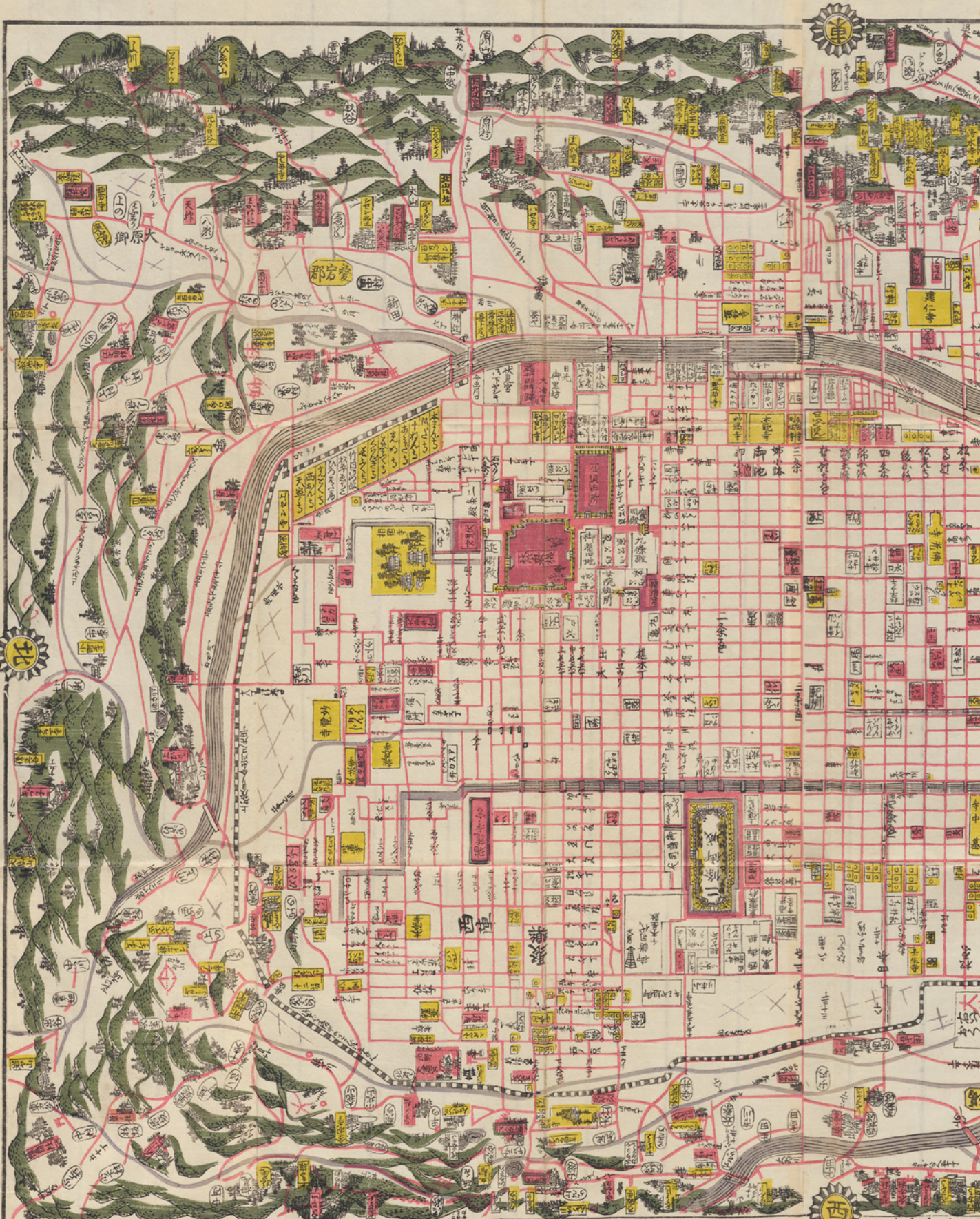
Figure 2- 攝州大阪全圖 *Sesshu osaka zenzu* (Ser. 347)



Figure 3 – Detail of 摂州大阪全図 *Sesshu osaka zenzu* (Ser. 347)]

city. They correspond with Siebold’s journal description of his visit to the city on his way back from Edo. On 10th June, Siebold visited a few temples in the south of the city after crossing Shinsai 心齋 bridge, which is indeed crossed by the dotted line in black pencil. The first temple visited was Sumiyoshi 住吉 which is outside the boundaries of this map, but a pencil inscription above the directional marker for South 南 says: “nach Sumijosi” (‘towards Sumiyoshi’). The tour continued with the grand temple Tennōji 天王寺, indeed marked by the route in pencil. Siebold climbed with Bürger to the fourth floor of the temple’s pagoda and glanced back at the city: “Below spread a nice view over the flat landscape, where at that time everything was swarming with people: townsmen visiting the temple, as well as farmers busy harvesting.”¹⁵ The pencil route then shows a detour towards a plot of land marked “hortus” (‘garden’). The route in red pencil seems to indicate Siebold’s route through Osaka on the way to Edo. However, red pencil is also used to circle the location of the Dōza 銅座 (‘Copper Agency’), which would correspond with Siebold’s journal entry for

15 Original text: “Oben bietet sich eine herrliche Fernsicht auf die ebene Landschaft, wo gerade alles von Menschen wimmelte, teils von Städtern, welche die Tempel besuchen, teils von Landleuten, die mit der Ernte beschäftigt sind.” Siebold 1897, 221. Japanese translation in Siebold 1967, 242.



赤 跡八町道節又八所ノ一ノ道節アリ
 此ノ八寺号書子乃本寺ナリ
 郡御所街門跡 神社権閤 村名 名所旧跡

文化八年壬午
 同文十年酉

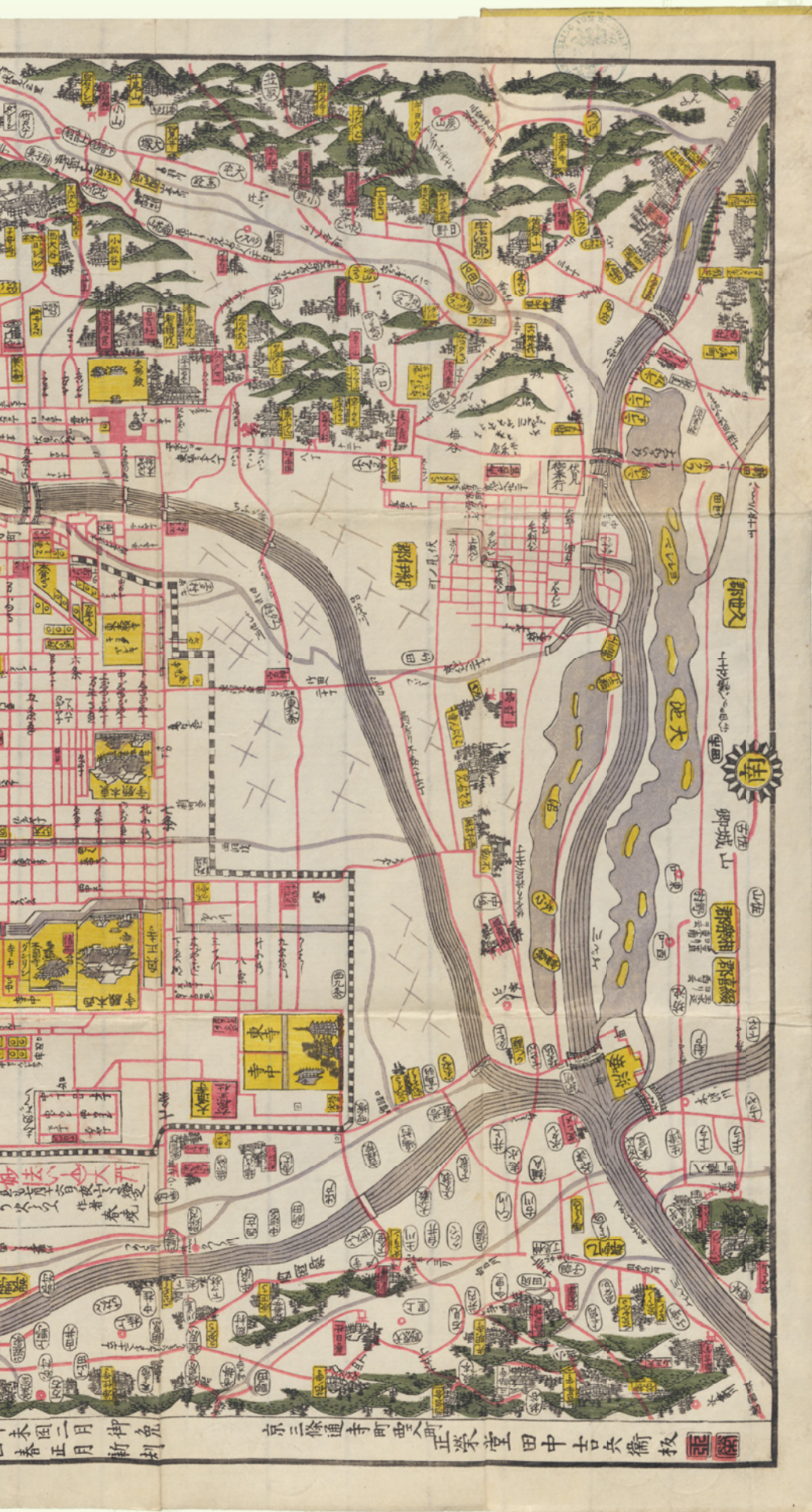


Figure 4 – 新增細見京絵図 Shinzo saiken kyo ezu (Ser. 310)

11th June, where he describes meeting “the merchant who supplies the copper for the Dutch and Japanese trading posts” who explains to him the stages of copper processing.¹⁶ Together, these annotations point to a strong possibility that Siebold himself made use of this map while visiting Osaka.

On the other hand, the Leiden University Library collection also includes copies of the 1797 *Ōsaka shishō zu* 大坂指掌図 (cat. 38) and the 1806 *Sesshū Ōsaka chizu* 摂州大阪地図 (Ser. 346), both also published by Harimaya Kyūbē. The former is a small-size map that carries on its verso a map of the course of the Yodogawa river that runs through Osaka. The map features a characteristic rectangular grid that helps measure distances. The latter map is of the largest size among printed maps of Osaka, and carries a wealth of detail. Although these two maps are now in the Siebold collection, they are stamped with a seal reading “Uit de Verzam COCK BLOMHOFF”, indicating that they were originally collected by the Dejima chief factor Jan Cock Blomhoff.¹⁷ Siebold sourced the documentation that he could not obtain himself from the collections brought from Japan by Blomhoff and also by the East India Company employee Johan Frederik van Overmeer Fischer. In this way, Siebold had access to all the available sizes of maps of Osaka published by Harimaya Kyūbē.

3. Maps of Kyoto

So far we’ve established that Siebold acquired the latest versions of both maps of Edo and of Osaka. The situation is different, however, for maps of Kyoto. Thus, there is not even one map of Kyoto published between 1823 and 1830 in the Siebold collection. This does not mean that Siebold did not try to acquire the latest map of Kyoto. Actually, the Siebold collection contains the 1813 *Shinzō saiken kyō ezu* 新增細見京絵図 (Ser. 310) (Fig. 4, see page 100), which at the time was the most recently published map of Kyoto. After 1813 there was a lull in the publishing of maps of Kyoto, which would not resume until after Siebold’s departure in 1830.

This blank period of almost twenty years is also due to a generation change among publishers of maps of Kyoto. The publishers of pre-1810 maps of Kyoto - Shōhonya Kichibē 正本屋吉兵衛, Noda Tōhachi 野田藤八, Kikuya Chōbē 菊屋長兵衛 – gradually gave way to the monopoly of the publisher Takehara Kōbē 竹原好兵衛 over the publishing of maps of Kyoto. Siebold arrived in Japan during this period of transition from a market shaped by multiple publishers to that dominated by one publisher. However, since no map was published for almost twenty years after 1813, and the exact date when Takehara Kōbē established his commercial monopoly is not known, it has been difficult to assess this change in the publishing market.

¹⁶ Siebold 1897, 222; Japanese translation in Siebold 1967, 242.

¹⁷ Oda 2016, 95-97.

This is where the maps of Kyoto collected by Siebold during his return trip from Nagasaki to Edo in 1826 offer important clues. Their importance lies in their publisher: that of *Shinzō saiken kyō ezu* 新增細見京絵図 is Shōhonya Kichibē. The same is true for the 1812 *Kyoto shishō zu* 京都指掌図 (Ser. 309) and the 1774 *Kaihō kyo ezu* 懷宝京絵 (Ser. 307), also collected by Siebold. Shōhonya Kichibē is also listed among the publishers of a gorgeous panoramic view (cat. 45). This means that at the time of Siebold's visit in 1826, Shōhonya Kichibē was still handling maps of Kyoto.

This is an important finding for the history of the cartography of Kyoto. It had been known that the woodblocks owned by Shōhonya Kichibē were at some point bought off by Takehara Kōbē. For example, there are versions of *Shinzō saiken kyo ezu* and of *Kyoto shishō zu* that differ only in the fact that the name of the publisher was changed to that of Takehara Kōbē. If the woodblocks had changed hands before Siebold's visit, then at least one map published by Takehara would have found its way to Siebold. Since this is not the case, it can be surmised that Takehara Kōbē established his monopoly over the publication of maps of Kyoto after 1826.



Figure 5 – 花洛一覽図 *Karaku ichiran zu* (Ser. 390)

4. Maps of Nagasaki

The publication of maps of Nagasaki started in the 1690s.¹⁸ At that time publishers from Kyoto also dabbled in maps of Nagasaki, but the situation soon changed to one in which only publishers from Nagasaki released maps of that city. A representative case is that of Ōhata Bunjiemon 大畠文次右衛門 who started publishing maps of Nagasaki from the 1760s onward. Among these is the 1778 *Hishū nagasaki zu* 肥州長崎図, an example of which was acquired by Overmeer Fischer and then engulfed in the Siebold collection (Ser. 359).¹⁹



Figure 6 – 肥州長崎図 *Hishū nagasaki zu*, 1802 (Ser. 359a)

¹⁸ Yamori 1974, 176-79.

¹⁹ Leca 2017a, 52-3.

Siebold himself acquired a print of a map with the same name: *Hishū nagasaki zu* (cat. 23). Instead of Ōhata, however, this map was published by Bunkindō 文錦堂. This was a prolific nineteenth-century publisher of maps of Nagasaki, drawing heavily on Ōhata's maps for their design and depicted range. Starting from 1802, Bunkindō printed many editions of the *Hishū nagasaki zu*. Although the Siebold collection contains both a 1802 and a 1821 edition, only the latter bears Siebold's stamp.²⁰

The points of interest of maps of Nagasaki are the various foreign ships, among which Dutch ships are depicted as the largest. Besides Deshima that housed the employees of the Dutch East India Company and the Chinese quarter with its diverse population of merchants from ports along the South China coast, there are also depictions of numerous warehouses of import goods. At the same time, maritime defense installations are also highly visible. This conveyed the message that as the only port that received foreign ships, Nagasaki's landscape was special both in economic and in military terms.

Conclusions

At the time of Siebold's first visit to Japan in the 1820s, the market for urban maps was dominated by a small number of publishers. This was conspicuous in the case of Suharaya Mohē for Edo and Harimaya Kyūbē for Osaka. A similar monopoly would be secured by Takehara Kōbē for Kyoto in the 1830s, but in the 1820s several publishers still shared the market for maps of Kyoto. This situation was reflected in the maps collected by Siebold during his trip: they included publications by Suharaya Mohē and Harimaya Kyūbē, but instead of editions by Takehara Kōbē he obtained those of Shōhonya Kichibē.

Moreover, after returning to the Netherlands, Siebold complemented his own collection with those of Blomhoff and Overmeer Fischer. This resulted in a roster of several maps of each major city, including editions published well ahead of Siebold's time. Maps were therefore part and parcel of Siebold's encyclopaedic interest. This also explains the central role of maps in the knowledge exchange with Mogami Tokunai and Takahashi Kageyasu. The collection and exchange of maps had been part of eighteenth-century Japanese intellectuals' encyclopaedic interest,²¹ and although Siebold operated on a different temporal and spatial scale, both in Japan and in the Netherlands, his activity shows a kindred intellectual interest.

The urban maps of the Siebold collection offer engaging insights both from the perspective of Siebold's endeavours and from that of the history of cartography. I anticipate that further research on an international level will yield even deeper insights.

²⁰ National Institute of Japanese Literature (ed.) 2014, 123.

²¹ Uesugi 2010.