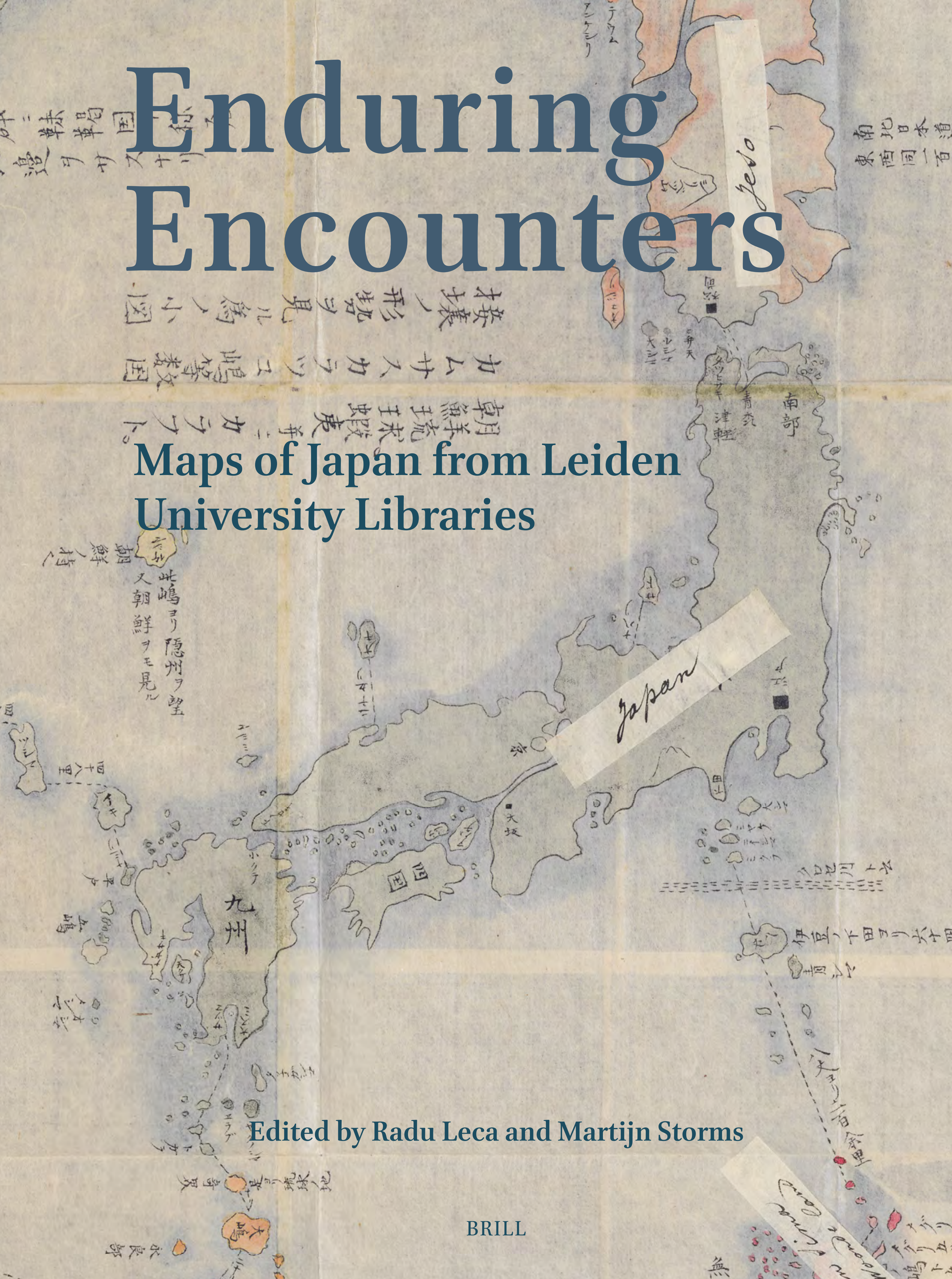
Enduring Encounters

Maps of Japan from Leiden University Libraries

Edited by Radu Leca and Martijn Storms



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Cover illustration*: Hayashi Shihei* 林子平*, Chōsen Ryūkyū Ezo narabini Karafuto Kamusasuka Rakkojima nado sūkoku setsujō no keisei wo miru tame no shōzu* 朝鮮。琉球。蝦夷并ニカラフト。カムサスカ。ラツコ嶋。等数国接壌ノ形 勢ヲ見ル為ノ小圖 (*Ser. 187a: 1* (*1*)).

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

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Note on transliterations and translations

Romanisation of Japanese words follows the modified Hepburn system, with the exception of quotes from authors writing about Japan before the standardisation of phonetic transcription. The suffix 兵衛 for personal names is transcribed as a long vowel ē, though other possible transcriptions are ei or e'e. All Japanese and Chinese names are given in standard order of surname followed by given name. Macrons for terms and toponyms that have acquired standard usage in English, such as shogun and Tokyo, are omitted.

All translations are by the editors, unless otherwise noted.

Introduction: Vehicles of Complex Encounters

Radu Leca

This volume stems from an existing relationship between SieboldHuis and the Leiden University Libraries. Since 2017, the permanent exhibit of the SieboldHuis includes a map cabinet with items from the special collections of Leiden University Libraries. Until 2016, the museum even had a separate map room where maps and topographical images were on display. This implied an integral connection between Siebold's collection and mapmaking. The full implications of that connection were then developed in the exhibition Mapping Japan from 16th September to 26th November 2017, on the top floor of the sixteenth century house in which SieboldHuis is located.[1] The exhibition's co-curators and editors of this volume stem from different backgrounds: one is a historian of cartography with expertise on Dutch collections who has studied maps from the perspective of human geography, the other is a historian of Japanese art who has studied maps as part of the history of visual and material culture. Their combined expertise reflects the unique focus of this volume, which is a further exploration into the role of maps in the interactions between European and Japanese agents. Therefore, rather than separate examinations of Japanese and of European maps, this volume highlights the multiplicity of encounters between transcultural actors with the common goal of increasing knowledge of geography.

In a previous study on a selection of maps from this catalogue I have defined maps as knowledge vehicles.[2] With this volume we are making a larger claim: that maps were vehicles of a wide range of encounters whose inflections are discussed below. The goal is to unpack the intertwined agencies of maps as artefacts, as images and as vehicles.[3] To tackle their complexities, this volume focuses on maps with annotations and other signs of use, modification and improvement: in other words, maps as palimpsests.[4] This reflects a recent emphasis in cartographic history on mapping as a process rather than on maps as finished states.[5] These maps as objects, or cartifacts, were mutual gifts, indexes of place names, texts to be translated, sources of historical information and journals of meetings and itineraries.[6] In Japan, maps

1 The exhibition had 7251 visitors. A previous exhibition of Japanese maps from the Serrurier Collection of Leiden University Libraries is documented in Breugelmans 2000.
2 Leca 2019.
3 Woodward 2001, 36.
4 Burke 2014, 19.
5 Wood 2002, Kitchin and Dodge 2007.
6 I use the term 'cartifact' to mean any object bearing cartographic elements (by extension any map being a cartifact) as discussed in Brückner 2011b.

emerged as contemporary tools for thinking about a continually changing perception of the Japanese archipelago among "myriad countries." And in the West, Japanese maps contributed to a better knowledge of Japan and to the establishment of its academic study through the work of Johann Joseph Hoffmann, whose engagement with maps deserves even further study.

The history of European and Japanese cartography has often been written as separate. However, recent studies demonstrate the mutual influences of Western and Eastern cartographic traditions, as well as inter-Asian interaction in surveying and mapping, among others reflected in the symposium Mapping Asia, held in Leiden in 2017.[7] Geographic and cartographic knowledge was intensively exchanged between East and West, particularly in the case of Japan and Europe. Thus, in parallel to the transnational expertise of the two curators/editors, this volume foregrounds three concept terms in the relationship between European and East Asian knowledge: encounter, translation and cultural hybridity.

1. Cartographic Encounters

It is worth unravelling the multiple valences of this first term. Firstly, it can refer to a physical encounter: a site of social exchanges determined by specific historical factors. The maps included in this volume are mainly the result of a 'long encounter' at the institutional level between the Dutch East India Company (and its successors) and the Japanese polity during the seventeenth through the nineteenth century. The core of the collection of Japanese materials at Leiden University Libraries, as well as that of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, are the multi-stratified accretions of this long encounter.[8] Within this institutional frame, the specific maps exchanged are the direct result of individual encounters of employees of the Dutch East India Company with Japanese translators and other enthusiasts of foreign knowledge. The maps included in the catalogue were chosen for the insights they bring to such translations of intellectual and social knowledge alongside geographical information.

Such encounters occurred in two overlapping types of privileged sites: on the one hand, certain geographical sites formed the loci of physical encounters, such as the island of Deshima in the port of Nagasaki or the urban centres whose maps are discussed in Uesugi's study in this volume, or of intellectual encounters such as the overlapping interest in the geographical "reality" of the territories to the north of Japan, discussed in the contribution by Boyle. Nagasaki Bay was the most active 'contact zone' and 'site of mediation' for knowledge between Japan and Europe (cats. 21-23).[9] But it was not the only one: exchanges occurred also through the North with Russian knowledge, and later increasingly in and through Yokohama.

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7 Storms et al. 2019.

8 For a detailed study of the history of these collections see Effert 2008.

9 For another perspective on Nagasaki as a 'contact zone' in the mid-nineteenth century see the recently acquired archive of a local clan charged with the defence of Nagasaki bay: Leiden University Libraries, Hideshima Archive of the Nabeshima han 1854 -1863, Or. 27.750.

Customised map-mediated communication solutions were thus intertwined with 'practices of place'.[10]

Within the 'network revolution' of early modern Japan, encounters were enabled by specific social protocols often dictated by a specific informal network of interpreters and inquisitive intellectuals.[11] Dutch East India Company employees had to acquire the skill of negotiating these protocols in order to gain access to information about Japan. The mutual need for corroborating knowledge was facilitated by the horizontal nature of informal social networks within Japan that encouraged the appreciation of various points of view. Cartifacts circulated in an intermediary zone of civility where different modes of knowledge could be literally put side by side. Many of the maps thus display a phenomenon of convergence.[12] Accordingly, this volume shows that, besides being exchanged in privileged sites, maps themselves constituted privileged sites of encounter: as cartifacts, their material characteristics, be it signs of wear and tear or annotations and modifications, allow a reconstruction of the 'material arrangements' and social practices to which they were active participants.[13] Their physical and intellectual endurance is celebrated and continued in this volume.

Cartographic encounters were not restricted to Japan: maps of Japan could also mediate the relationship between a Dutch university professor and his patron (cat. 1), or that between a Japanese diplomat and a Leiden professor (cat. 39). The latter encounter is contiguous with a more recent and still ongoing 'long encounter' at the institutional level, featured mainly in section five: that between an Europe of nation-states and the Japanese nation-state on a rapid path to modernisation.

A shared interest in geography formed at the intersection between diverse systems of knowledge: on the one hand, evolving Western ideas about science and the knowledge of nature; on the other hand, local advances in the knowledge of the geography of Japan based on repeated surveys. Epistemological encounters were intertwined with those between cultural attitudes: European scholars produced maps as a form of participation in an 'encyclopaedic field of knowledge production'.[14] In this they relied on the compilation of diverse sources, and they would often appreciate and acknowledge the value of Japanese maps. The intellectual curiosity of Western agents about Japan was paralleled by that of scholars within Japan who had been trained in the Neo-Confucian tradition but were looking to update it, as well as that of enthusiasts of European ideas who were collectively called the Rangaku 蘭学 ('Dutch studies') school. Besides geography, their curiosity was also applied to other areas of knowledge such as medicine and warfare. They were agents in Japan's intellectual culture that continued an 'open' tradition of appropriation.[15] Chinese culture provided the scientific paradigm for which Western knowledge was a new

10 Livingstone 2003, 5.
11 Ikegami 2005, 10-12.
12 Burke 2014, 16-17, which discusses another relevant term: 'rapprochement'.
13 Brückner 2011a, Ikegami 2005, Schatzki 2017.
14 Huigen 2010, 2; Edney 1997, 104.
15 Burke 2014, 70-72.

branch of a millennia-old corpus. In terms of social interaction, the paradigm was that of Chinese literati culture, where penmanship and learned references were appreciated. This wider transcultural encounter is highlighted in the first and last sections of the volume, thereby wrapping the specific story of Dutch-Japanese geographic exchanges within the larger dynamic of early modern cultural contact and exchange.

The interest in foreign knowledge in early modern Japan was multifaceted. From the mid-eighteenth-century onward, Western knowledge had a novelty value, materialised in anecdotes, wondrous machinery and exotic iconography. This was soon accompanied by an effort to reform or update Neo-Confucian tradition with all available data. At this point, from the 1770s onwards, cartographic information and technology became one of the main foci of attention within 'Dutch studies'. This turned into a pragmatic goal from the 1790s onwards, when increasing visits from foreign ships and concrete threats by the Russian empire over the Northern territories were among the reasons for the increased need for geographical information.

These diverse facets could overlap within a single publication – for example, while Suzuki Kinkoku's book (cat. 10) states its goal as providing comprehensive data on foreign ships for use by officials charged with defending the coasts, it also takes delight in the chromatic possibilities of multicolour woodblock printing to provide an exhaustive assembly, or tsukushi. This is a rhetorical strategy originating in a literary tradition that relies on the skill of an ad-hoc enumeration of objects within the same category, without the claims at a systemic pursuit of knowledge. Nevertheless, it may be compared to the Wunderkammer tradition in the sense of a curated accumulation of objects. It can also be argued that the collation of multiple maps of the same area onto a single sheet is also a form of tsukushi (cat. 17).

Similar patterns of bringing together diverse sources are also visible on European maps such as cat. 2. This means that the process of collating sources was a characteristic of the endeavour of studying geography, whether in Europe or in Japan. In these ways, the 'language of maps' of Japanese and European intellectual traditions could be equivalated.[16] This is not to say that this endeavour was not influenced by cultural factors, since the practice and object of geography were changing constantly. Indeed, the similarity of mapping principles indicates at the least that knowledge techniques in Europe and Japan were compatible, and at the most that the process of mapping itself was culturally hybrid.

16 Edney 1997, 96-7.

2. Vehicles of Translation

The exchange of cartographic knowledge was an active process of translation in which information and objects were taken out of their initial context and retrofitted within a different frame of knowledge and cultural attitudes. This process was polyphonic and heteroglossic, part of a 'crossed history' (histoire croisée) between Europe and Asia, both at the institutional and at the individual level.[17] It was often manifested on a design level with the translation in media from woodblock to copperplate and vice versa, as well as adjustments in orientation (cats. 4, 5).

While the main language of this volume is English, the prominent insertion of Japanese characters and phonetic transcription for names of persons and places serves two purposes: the first is to recreate the atmosphere of multilingual inquiry conjured by many of the maps in the catalogue. In this sense, the first two catalogue items display a willingness to accept the visual and epistemological authority of original place names even with an author such as Reland who had a very limited knowledge of the Japanese language. The second purpose of this volume's multilingualism is to curb the tendency of English-language writings on the history of cartography to domesticate foreign sources into their phonetic English-language equivalents. Such phonetics are subject to historical change, but also conceptually the message of the volume is that geographic knowledge customarily assumed to belong to different scientific traditions can be placed in a horizontal power relationship and investigated as such. This is connected to the task of translation, in which there is always a lingering tension between the initial term and its translation. Maps in particular expose the wide variations in epistemological approaches to the underlying geographical 'reality'. Thus, the tension between various phonetic and scribal identities of the same object of knowledge were often featured upfront on maps. The design choices in this very volume are consciously engaging with this tradition.

3. Hybridity as the Norm of Cartographic Design

Each of the above modalities of encounter and translation lead to forms of cultural hybridization that include cartographic design. The first three maps in the catalogue demonstrate the range of such visual assemblies. Both maps reproduce the original ideograms of the names of Japanese provinces. In this they already perform a linguistic and visual hybridity. Nevertheless, other details of their assemblies differentiate the vectors of their hybridization: Reland's work (cat. 1) retrofits the map of Japan with the ambitions of the Dutch East India Company through the addition of a Latin paean. The visual program is not exceptional, as it had been applied to countless other maps of non-European spaces. The difference in this case is that the Dutch position in Japan was precarious at best: the Tokugawa polity was as far

17 Bakhtin 1981, 259-422; Werner and Zimmerman 2003, 16-19.

from being under the political control of the Dutch polity as could be imagined. This creates a lingering tension within the image, buttressed by the inscrutable ideograms within the map. Moreover, the map is shaped by plural allegiances: it is also dedicated to Jean-Paul Bignon, a French ecclesiastic, statesman and member of the Academie royale des inscriptions et medailes.[18] An encounter is simulated here between Reland as professor and Orientalist and Bignon as representative of the Republic of Letters.

Engelbert Kaempfer's maps of Japan used similar devices for the accumulation of 'native' information tethered around geographic knowledge in Japan (cats. 2, 3). One influence on Kaempfer's methods is the tradition of the Wunderkammer that relied on a spectacular accumulation of objects from various locations and cultures allowing the study of the workings of nature and of the human mind.[19] The title of another of Kaempfer's works, the Amoenitatum exoticarum ('Exotic Tidbits'), references directly the collecting and display value of such data. However, while Reland's map is chiefly concerned with the integration of data into the European system of knowledge, Kaempfer's maps give equal attention to the local specificity and practices of the object of their study.

The maps discussed above are examples of European maps of Japan also in their inclusion of figurative elements that amplified their persuasive force. Their complex visual formats created a paradoxical mental space: on the one hand, the cartographic content proclaimed the uniform 'reality' of Japanese territory as a result of scientific investigation. On the other hand, the illustrations juxtaposed otherwise incoherent iconographic elements. Although this visual package aimed at an illusion of comprehensiveness, it also proclaimed the uniqueness of Japan as a semi-imaginary territory, not fully knowable. A similar process was at work in Japanese cartifacts (cats. 8, 10). What emerges from the first section of the catalogue is that Japan and Europe had mutual images of alterity. This lead to the dismissal of the other cultures, but also to curiosity towards its realities and alternative reasonings. This mutual alterity was tempered by the horizontal exchange between European and Japanese individuals in connection to geographic knowledge. We see here an overcoming of the vectors of mutual alterity, converging towards compatible objects of inquiry.

The complexities of that convergence are prominent in the activity of Philipp Franz von Siebold. While in Japan between 1823 and 1829, Siebold constructed his own privileged site of encounter at Narutaki in the hills of Nagasaki, and also made contact with a wide variety of intellectuals during his visit to Edo. The traces he left on the maps in his collection testify to meticulous study, a desire for comprehensive knowledge of Japan, and an understanding of the importance of cartographic materials. One of the highlights in the collection of Japanese maps at Leiden University Libraries are the little-known drafts and

18 Hubbard 2012, 283.

19 An example of such a collection accumulated through VOC networks is that Nicolaas Witsen, mayor of Amsterdam, whose map of Asia is discussed in Boyle's contribution to this volume. Witsen's collection of Asian objects was intimately linked to his public image, such that a French visitor to his Amsterdam house in 1671 reports that one could not distinguish "whether the repository serves as an ornament to the house, or the house to the repository." Subrahmanyam 2010, 61.

proofs of Siebold's map of Japan that help recover the intimate processes through which the 'geography of science' was reconfigured in the early modern period.[20] Their significance is discussed in the contributions by Aoyama and Storms.

Sections four and five of the catalogue show how events in the mid-nineteenth century enabled a return to mutual images of alterity mediated through diplomatic exchanges between modern nation-states. Representative for this later phase of Dutch-Japanese relations is the activity of the scholar and diplomat Johann Joseph Hoffmann. This volume shows how Hoffmann's use of maps was shaped by his two main activities: he was foremost an employee of the Dutch Consulate for the translation of Chinese and Japanese. In that capacity he engaged with maps in two ways: he translated them, and he received them as gifts from the 1862 Japanese embassy. On the other hand, from 1855 he became Professor of the Chinese and Japanese at Leiden University, and used Japanese maps, some of them the same obtained in his work as translator, to study the language, history and geography of the Japanese islands. Among others, Hoffmann translated Sekisui's map of the Netherlands which was itself a translation of an European map, thereby achieving a form of 'cultural circularity' that often occurs in knowledge exchange (cats. 4, 5, 6).[21]

20 Livingstone 2003, 14-16.
21 Burke 2014, 26. Another case of such circularity is mentioned in the 'Ezo in Tartary' section of Boyle's contribution to this volume.

Conclusion

Are maps a universally understandable medium or do they speak different languages? Historical maps offer a vivid record of previous generations' mental landscapes. They can help us understand the nature and characteristics of other cultures' knowledge of the world. For instance, Japanese and Western cartography are often thought to be separate traditions, but maps of Japan kept in Leiden University Libraries often show a commonality of purpose and method. Japanese geographers were just as disciplined in their search for knowledge, and were keen to share and compare their results with their fellow geographers, whether Dutch or Russian. The expulsion of Philipp Franz von Siebold from Japan might seem to indicate otherwise, but the norm was for friendly exchanges of scientific knowledge.

Siebold arrived in Japan during a tumultuous time at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This period of Japanese history is usually discussed in antagonistic terms between a struggling administration and various foreign incursions. In this context, cartographic knowledge was at the forefront of national security. Nevertheless, this was a period of collaboration and exchange: cartographic knowledge circulated through manuscript copies and woodblock prints, as evidenced by the material traces on the maps in the collections of Leiden University Libraries. These unique documents testify to shared topics of interest and collective effort towards increasing knowledge. Although technologies have changed, we are still dependent on maps to understand our place in the world. This volume shows how maps formed vehicles of knowledge exchange and social intercourse, making possible global connections which are continuing until today.


Polowinnaia
Maimakan
Maiskoe
Maia R.
Amga
Onia
Goin
Babizika
Aldan R.
Aim
Malaia Aim
Tchitchakim
Moniké
Touhuru R.
Lokra
Nar
Bolszaia Aim
Okluckoe
Aldagia
Czokur
Werchotura
Asserni
Uczur R.
Muchan
Ujam
Nianja
Szamei
Chaine de Montagnes
Kanom
Saiam
Uda
Silimpi di Sekim
Algam
Pinoui
Poma
Tomma
Hinkan ou
Imilé Pira
Ustium
Arghi
Eulghé
Nelghi Subi
Pira
Henkan Pira
Mogai
Giliukan
Gilliu R.
Dziltu Ra
Unen
Taldisha Alin
Enguri
Urkan
Kimtu
Nonni
Yamni
Silimpi di
Henkonni Sek Sim
Yam Alin
Hatahul Pira
Szalonna
Arbiur
Remleu
Nara
Ormolho
Tozo mi
Elghé
Ulanzu
Tchakiri Ula
Onghé Pira
Kerin
Poronda
Piran
Silimpi di
Amur R.
HUMARI
Tosé Hata
Tcholanki
Nieu man
Ouanda Alin
Kurru Pira
Uelekè
Kuen
Tien
Thamo
Kinmi Ouetchi
Pitchan Ouetchi
Voanda Alin
Pæitom
Cudin
Aay-hom place détruite
Sappam
Kimnin
Horolo
Calor
Odo
Elahishen
Tchamco
Sahalien-Ula Hotun
Kompia
Eyur
Tevoen
Teldeni
Poumghede
Nieman Pira
Hara
Colur
Commu
Tchutchun
Ajectar
Hetu
Tchah
Nonni R.
Isken
Kanni
Ladune
Kuma
Song
Sahalien-Ula
Tobcur
Okeng
Horeul
Hoyur
Kan
Merghen
Lulaka
Tchem
Corin
Ouy
Kiari
Fu
Tchay
Kium
Cartin
Silpata
Aulemi
Poren
Tul
Utuki
Urguhu Alin
Noro
Noro
KALAN-HALA
Sirahi
Tecteng
Uton
Fulghien
Alanda
Suzu
Amba
Fenghi
Eyend
Imara
Kamnica
Ilaca
Nemer
Nunin
Pira
Keri
Nierghi
Oldo
Laha
Nimnien
Tbon Oueki
Tbon omo
Musun
Ho
Itchun
Tramhu
Hata
Iza
Auken
Paren
Okia Alin
Alha Quetchi
Camtu
Alin
Pothun
Ussuri
Kallar
Ishahun
Murun
Irhon

Mapping Japan's North: Material Traces of an Enduring Encounter

Edward Boyle

The exhibition held at SieboldHuis in Leiden in 2017[1] bore witness to the history of an enduring encounter between Japan and the Netherlands. Considered solely as an institutional arrangement between the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the Tokugawa shogunate, the spaces within which actual encounters between representatives of the two nations occurred were tightly circumscribed. These largely took place on the artificial island of Deshima in Nagasaki, and were supplemented by the restricted journeys of certain members of the VOC mission to that city and its hinterlands, and through the annual delegation of members of the Company's mission to the Shogunal capital of Edo, modern Tokyo. As the range of maps in the exhibition suggests, however, the importance and influence of this encounter vastly exceeds the restricted physical locales within which it occurred. This is corroborated by the vast volume of research which has been done on the role of the Dutch in the transmission and translation of knowledge about the outside world to the Japanese, as well as the transfer of information about Japan that headed in the other direction, back to Europe.[2]

The process through which geographical information was exchanged had a profound effect on both Japanese and European understandings of the lands to Japan's north, at the other end of the country from the VOC's compound on Deshima. Although physically distant, the material exchange taking place in Nagasaki was to have a tremendous impact upon Japan's mapping of its own northern reaches, which were referred to in this period as Ezo 蝦夷. This term referred to a distinct people living beyond the authority of the Japanese state[3] and to the land which they inhabited. In the medieval era, the "thousand islands" of Ezo were thought of as being beyond the boundaries of Japan, but by the sixteenth century, the trade occurring between the Ezo and the Japanese was managed by a group of the latter under the leadership of the Matsumae 松前 family, who inhabited the southern coast of the main island of Ezo.[4] Geographical

1 Leca 2017a.
2 Early examples include Krieger 1940, Boxer 1950. A more recent and regularly updated work that seeks to provide a holistic overview is Goodman 2000. The ideas of Svetlana Alpers on the importance of vision, instrumentation and optics are developed in Screech 2002, while Wolfgang Michel has focussed particularly on medical exchange, see for example Michel 2010 among many other publications. For early cartographic exchange see Lutz 1994, for the Dutch influence on Tokugawa-era cartography see the overview provided in Unno 1994, 432-43. On the uses of Japan back in Europe, see for instance Mervart 2009.
3 Identified with the indigenous Ainu population today. The term 'Ezo' is pejorative, connoting barbarity; it is used here because it reflects the understanding of the region deployed by both the Japanese and others, and primarily serves as a geographic designation.
4 As this contribution makes clear, the meaning of Ezo was not stable, but it will be broadly understood as referring to the sweep of islands encircling the Okhotsk Sea, those of the Kuril Islands, Hokkaido and Karafuto (Sakhalin).

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understanding regarding the extent of Ezo beyond this was decidedly sketchy for both the officials of the Matsumae domain and for the Japanese in general. Nevertheless, awareness of Ezo had come to be comparatively widespread by the sixteenth century, as shown by the fact that a Japanese from Kagoshima, who travelled to Goa in the 1540s, reported to the Jesuits there the existence of a 'Gsoo' (Ezo) north of Japan, overflowing with gold and inhabited by huge bearded natives. Ezo therefore became a place mentioned in European reports on Japan before Europeans had actually set foot on the Japanese archipelago itself.[5] Both in Japan and Europe, however, the relation of Ezo to Japan as well as its geographical extent remained contentious issues. These questions would only come to be resolved with the Meiji government's assertion of authority over the new administrative territory of Hokkaidō 北海道 in 1869, and the repeated re-divisions of the region between Japan and Russia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This chapter will consider the geographical knowledge produced about Ezo by both the Japanese and Dutch as representing the material traces of an enduring encounter, through which this region came to be mapped by assembling geographic knowledge about Ezo drawn from both European and Japanese sources. I will do so by drawing upon the work of Bruno Latour, who argued for maps as constituting the "cartographic traces" of encounter.[6] Attention to the ways in which particular understandings of the world circulated the globe makes clear that the maps of Ezo which emerged must be understood as "cross-cultural productions" of knowledge.[7] A focus on cartographic traces does not necessarily privilege them over other modes of communication. These could be "spoken, verbal utterances, a broken conversation, intermittent references to a vocabulary list, [or] the imaginative use of body gestures",[8] all of which would have been evident in the restricted spaces of physical encounter between Japanese and Dutch. Nevertheless, it is the material traces left upon maps accessible to us today which define our effort to reconstruct the exchanges that brought them into being. Through examining such traces, we are able to reconstruct the way in which the circulation of particular pieces of geographical knowledge between Japan and Europe came to influence the mapping of Ezo.

5 Boscaro & Lutz 1994, 84.
6 Latour 1987, 1990.
7 Bravo 1999, 231.
8 *Ibid*, 229.

1. Europe's Ezo

European awareness of Ezo, as communicated to them by Japanese informants, was quickly reflected on maps. Bartolomeu Velho's *Carta General do Orbe* ('General Chart of the Globe') of 1561 showed Japan as being formed of the three islands of Honshu, Kyushu and Shikoku, and positioned to their north a large island described as abundant in gold and silver.[9] A 1589 map of the Pacific Ocean by Abraham Ortelius also indicates the presence of an island to Japan's north, identified as an 'Island of Silver'.[10] This northern island would come to be referred to by variants of Ezo ('Jezo', 'Jedso', 'Yesso', and so forth) on published maps of Japan, although it was often granted a marginal presence that reflected its place on the mental maps of the Japanese themselves. Ezo's location outside of the traditional understanding of Japan's geography meant that it served to "enframe" the main body of the Tokugawa realm on the map.[11] This is clear in a number of European maps based on the Japanese originals of Ishikawa Ryūsen, including those of Adriaan Reland (1676-1718). Reland utilized the third version in Ryūsen's distinctive series of maps, the *Nihon kaisan chōrikuzu* 日本海山潮陸図 ('Map of the Seas, Mountains and Lands of Japan') first published in 1691, and copied its representation of Japan's sixty-six provinces and surrounding islands.[12] In the top-right corner of the map is the partial representation of an island, indicating that for Ryūsen, and therefore Reland, Ezo extended beyond the margins of Japan's world. Reland's map nevertheless succeeds in foregrounding the presence of Ezo within European conceptions of Japan, for while the Japanese characters labelling this land on his version of the map are those for 'Matsumae' 松前, this is rendered by Reland as 'Jedso' (cat. 1) (fig. 1).

Japanese uncertainty about Ezo similarly finds reflection in the recollections of the man who would largely define the country's study in Europe until well into nineteenth century. Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) served for the years 1690–92 as physician to the VOC trading post on the island of Deshima in Nagasaki, and is best-known for his study of Japan, published posthumously in 1727. In it, Kaempfer admitted that with regards to Ezo, "I could not gather anything positive, neither from the accounts I had from the Japanese, nor from the Maps, I met with in the country, they differing much from each other".[13] The differences between these various maps were reflected in the cartography produced for Kaempfer's work by the young Swiss scholar Johann Caspar Scheuchzer (1702-1729), who translated Kaempfer's study into English for publication (cat. 2). Scheuchzer based his rendition of northern Japan upon an earlier

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9 The *Carta General do Orbe* is conserved at the Accademia di Belle Arti in Florence, see Oka 2016.

10 The *Isla de Plata* on Ortelius' *Maris Pacifici*; see Broecke 2011, 102-04 (Ort12). The 1592 version is viewable online at https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/15584/maris-pacifici-quod-vulgo-mar-del-zud-ortelius [last accessed 25 August 2023].

11 I draw this from "framing" as used in Yonemoto 2016, p. 34.

12 Yonemoto 2016. Reland is far from the only European mapmaker of significance, for further examples see Lutz 1994, Hubbard 2012. Ryūsen's map is viewable online through the Meiji University Library. See http://www.lib.meiji.ac.jp/perl/exhibit/ex_search_detail?detail_sea_param=9,101,0,b (accessed 25 August 2023)

13 Kaempfer 1906, 107.

Figure 1 – Hadriano Relando (Adrian Reland), 'Empire of Japan' (Imperium Japonicum), 1715. COLLBN Port 178 N 38 (cat. 1). Detail from the top-right hand corner of the map, showing the island of Ezo to the northeast of Japan's main island of Honshu. Although the Chinese characters are those for 'Matsumae', the domain that controlled Ezo on behalf of the Tokugawa shongunate, Reland anyway notes the land as 'Jedso', indicating the greater interest that there was in the latter, largely mythical, place in Europe at the time.

Ryūsen map entitled the *Honchō zukan kōmoku* 本朝図鑑綱目 ('Detailed Map of Our Country'), originally published in 1687. On this map, the area to Japan's north mistakenly shows a small island of Matsumae off the coast of the larger island.[14]

Scheuchzer was aware of the arbitrariness of his decision to adopt this representation, noting in his Introduction to Kaempfer's text that "Some maps place between Japan and Jesogasima another small Island called *Matsumai*. Several of these maps, which were brought out of the Country by Dr. Kaempfer himself, and which I have follow'd in the map annexed to this History".[15] His decision was likely influenced by the description of Ezo's geography given in Kaempfer's text, which noted that the island of Jeso was currently governed by the "Prince of Matsumai" of "a neighbouring Island".[16] As with Ryūsen's original map, though, this understanding also reflected the insularity of political conceptions of territory. The distinction mapped between Japanese Matsumae and barbarian Ezo islands was the product of a division between the area of direct Japanese rule and that part of Ezo left under the authority of its indigenous inhabitants, and is visible in other maps circulating at the time.[17]

Nevertheless, not all Japanese maps chose to represent this political division as a geographical one in their representation of the mysterious world to Japan's north. The lack of clarity regarding this issue in Japan meant that Japanese uncertainty over Ezo's geography came to be reflected in the indeterminacy of Europe's own map of Ezo. This is shown on the map made for Kaempfer's *History*, where to the main map based on Ryūsen's *Honchō zukan kōmoku* of 1687 Scheuchzer added two cartouches that offered very different interpretations for the lay of the land between northern Honshu and Ezo (fig. 2).

The first of these was based upon a 1678 map, the *Shinsen Dai Nihon Zukan* 新撰大日本図鑑 ('Revised Map of Great Japan').[18] This is the map which Kaempfer himself had intended to use to illustrate his work, as shown by various draft maps based upon it that are found within his papers.[19] The map's rendition of the relative positions of Honshu and Ezo, although distorted, provides a much better representation of the area's topography than on Ryūsen's map. Scheuchzer's decision to offer this alternative representation in a cartouche emphasized the uncertainty that existed in Japan, and consequently in Europe, over Ezo's geography.

14 This appears to have been the earliest of Ryūsen's maps. A version is viewable online through the National Diet Library Digital Collection, see http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1286174 [last accessed 25 August 2023].
15 Scheuchzer 1906, lii.
16 Kaempfer 1906, 106.
17 Such as on the *Fusō kuni no zu* 扶桑國之圖 ('Map of an Eastern Country') of 1662, which showed two separate islands, called Matsumae and Ezo-no-chishima, as located along the map's right (eastern) border. See http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2542558 [last accessed 25 August 2023].
18 For this map, see Unno, Oda & Muroga 1974, 56-57, also pl. 34 in Cortazzi 1983.
19 See on this Massarella 1995 and Lutz 1994, pls. 74-76a.

Figure 2 – Engelbert Kaempfer, 'The Japanese Kingdom', 1729. COLLBN Port 178 N 40 (cat. 2a). Detail from the top-left corner of the map, showing the two alternate cartouches added by Scheuchzer to the main map drawn from Ryūsen's *Honchō zukan kōmoku* of 1687. On the right is "the northern Japanese islands and the southern shore of the neighbouring island of Ezo, taken from another Japanese chart", the *Shinsen Dai Nihon Zukan* 新撰大日本図鑑 of 1678. It was this map upon which Kaempfer had intended to base his own map. The second cartouche on the left, of "Kamtschatka, known by the Japanese as *Oku Jeso*, is from a new map of the Russian Empire", equates Ezo with the Kamchatka peninsula, and notes the "Kurilski" inhabiting its southern end as being a colony of the Japanese. This latter map seeks to position Japan and its Ezo within a broader regional geography.

The second cartouche, taken "from a new map of the Russian Empire", conflated 'Oku Jezo' 奥蝦夷 (outer or anterior Ezo) with 'the Country of *Kamschatka*' and showed that Peninsula as being equivalent to Ezo north of Honshu. In his introduction, Scheuchzer notes that this map was "made according to the latest informations, the Russian Court had from those parts" and that "[Kamchatka] seems to be the very same with that, which the Japanese call *Oku-Jeso*, or Upper-Jeso, and of which they know little more, but that there is such a Country".[20] As the Japanese maps in Kaempfer's collection "fall far short of our European ones, the Eastern Geographers being not skilled enough in Mathematicks and Astronomy for that",[21] Scheuchzer was seeking to incorporate these "latest discoveries of the Russians"[22] into the map of Japan. In doing so, he was also intervening into a debate then taking place in Europe over "whether or no the Empire of Japan is contiguous to the neighbouring Country of Jesso, as the Japanese call it".[23]

Scheuchzer's second cartouche is particularly significant in the context of this study, for it shows the different challenges that existed in representing Ezo on European rather than Japanese maps. In Japan, although there remained considerable confusion regarding Ezo's geography, the place that it occupied was stable for much of the eighteenth century. For the Japanese, Ezo existed at the ill-defined edges of Japan's own map. On the other side of the world, however, there was a desire to incorporate maps of both Ezo and Japan into more expansive geographies. This would occur, as Scheuchzer's work shows, through the assembly of a variety of cartographic traces into new maps that sought to offer a better fit with contemporary understandings of the world.

2. Ezo in Tartary

On European maps made of Japan, which in the majority of cases were, like the maps of Reland and Scheuchzer, literally traced from Japanese material, the final products largely reproduced Japan's own understanding of Ezo's place in the world.[24] There was also, though, other cartographic material that was more interested in situating Ezo in a broader context. A keen proponent of this was Nicolaes Witsen, Mayor of Amsterdam and collator of European knowledge about Asia. In the late seventeenth century, Witsen drew up a new map of Asia on the basis of his research and correspondence with many people, notably in the VOC, as well as Russian statesman and foreign scholars in Russian service. First made in 1687, the map represented the great mass of northern and eastern Eurasia known at the time as Tartary. While the term's etymology remains unclear, it is most likely that it ultimately stems from the Chinese *dada* 韃靼,

20 Scheuchzer 1906, liii.
21 *Ibid*, lii.
22 *Ibid*, li.
23 *Ibid*, l.
24 This is visible in earlier material, such as Blancus' map of Japan, see Hubbard 1994. Plate 27 in Lutz 1994, appears to be an earlier manuscript map displaying similarities with Blancus' version. This same representation of Yezo is then traced onto maps by Ginnaro (pl. 29), Cardim (pl. 30), Briet (pl. 32), Bouttats (pl. 33), Sanson (pl. 34), and Tavernier (pl. 35).

used to refer to northern nomadic peoples. In the West, "in later centuries the name was indiscriminately applied by the members of sedentary populations in both Europe and East Asia to nomads of north and central Asia, from Turkey to Siberia."[25] It was the expansion of the Russian state beyond the Urals and into the lands of many of these nomads that was responsible for the increase in information regarding this vast continental expanse, and in 1689 Witsen dedicated his map to Peter the Great.[26]

The map was accompanied by an encyclopaedic volume entitled *Noord en Oost Tartarie* ('North and East Tartary'), which was intended to explain how Witsen had come to draw the map and justify his choices in doing so. Information regarding Ezo formed a significant part of this text, which was largely a compilation of various sources, including from the maker of perhaps the earliest European map of Ezo, the Italian Jesuit Girolamo de Angelis.[27] Witsen was also in possession of a number of Japanese maps,[28] whose efforts to represent this area to Japan's north he was critical of:

> The Japanese maps, which can be found in large manors, and also in *Symmi* or other temples in these regions, show *Jeso* bordering on *Daats*, and show its eastern shores lying more than fifteen degrees further east than *Japan*. They also show, between this land and *America*, a sea strait (*Fretum Anian* or *Strait de Vries*), but – as is the case with all other maps – this was done carelessly and without the mention of degrees. Thus, these maps cannot be relied on: especially those in which the names have been written only on the basis of their sound and in *Canna*, based on the alphabet, and drawn up in such a way that the entire work reflects only oral descriptions.[29]

It is not entirely clear which maps Witsen was referring to, but his understanding that these were based on "only oral descriptions" was essentially correct, and, as Kaempfer confirms, the Japanese were indeed "unsure about precise conditions in this land and about its size and shape".[30] This lack of surety consequently extended to Witsen himself. The information contained in his compendium offered a number of possible Ezos, and perhaps for this reason, his original map of Tartary had only represented continental Asia, including Korea and an 'Amoers Eiland' at the mouth of that river. Later publishers of Witsen's map would frequently added an island of Ezo to the eastern coast of the continent, in accordance with a general understanding regarding Ezo's location as being in the vicinity of Tartary. Pieter van der Aa's *La Grande*

25 Elliott 2000, 625-26.

26 Regarding this map, see Keuning 1954. Witsen's work was influential; "The President of the Royal British Society compared the publication of this map to the discovery of America by Columbus", De Graaf & Naarden 2007, 207.

27 The chapter on 'Eso' is from pages 128-157 of the 1705 edition, with de Angelis' report at 143-5. The preceding sections on the Niuche (Jurchens, later Manchus) and Dauria (the Amur region) also refer to Ezo, see De Graaf & Naarden 2007, 209.

28 Only noting that such Japanese maps were numerous and made by a variety of mapmakers, Keuning 1954, 101.

29 Witsen *Noord en Oost Tartarye* (1705), p. 63, in De Graaf & Naarden 2007, 212. 'Daats' is another name for Tartary, see Kaempfer 1906, 63, 149. This probably derives from the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese characters for *dada*, which is *dattan*.

30 Witsen *Noord en Oost Tartarye* (1705), p. 63, see also Keuning 1954.

Tartarie Suivant les Nouvelles Observations of 1713, for instance, is an unattributed reproduction of Witsen which adds a partial representation of a Terre d'Yeco to the eastern edge of the map.[31]

That Witsen was determined to make sense of these conflicting reports on Ezo is shown in two maps that were not included in the first two editions of *Noord en Oost Tartarie*, and are therefore considered to have been drawn up between 1705, when the second edition was published, and Witsen's death in 1717. These two maps, the *De nieuwe Lant-kaarte der Tartars van Niuche* ('New Map of the Tartars of Manchuria') and *Lant Kaarte van't Oost –Tartarie* ('Map of Eastern Tartary'), would be posthumously published in the 1785 edition of *Noord en Oost Tartarie* (fig. 3).

Within twenty years, these maps were circulating in Japan too, having entered the country through the tightly circumscribed material exchange that occurred in Nagasaki. A century after they were drafted by Witsen, traces of these maps would continue to be both drawn and drawn upon in Japan as part of an ongoing discussion regarding the place of Ezo in the world.

3. A Global Ezo

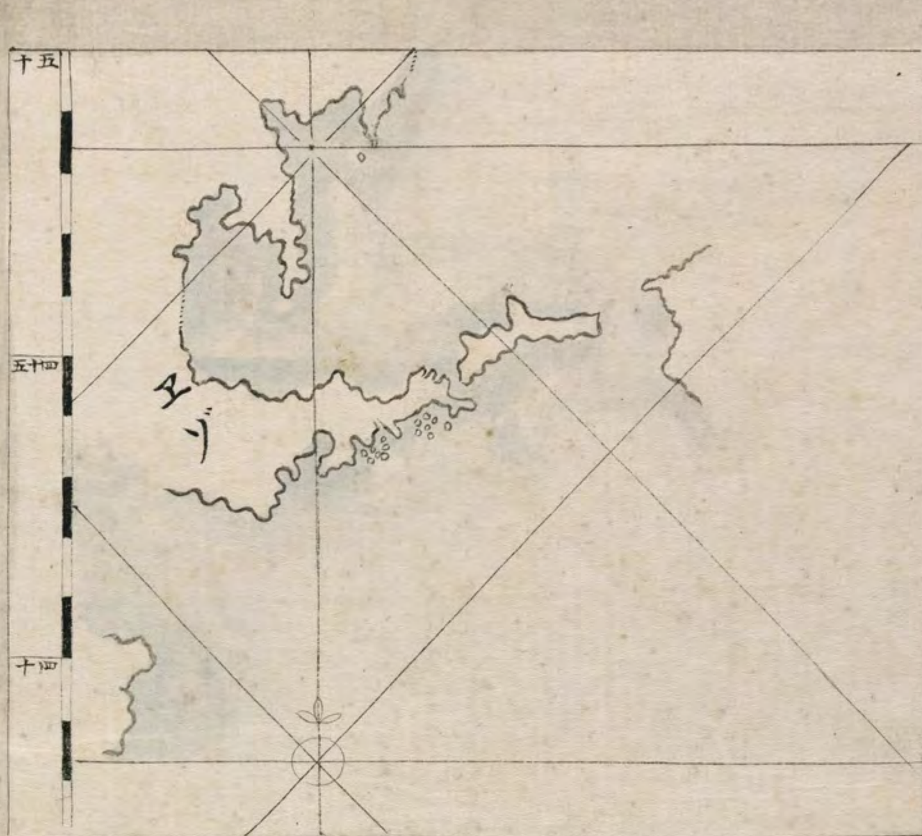
Witsen's frustration with Japanese maps for failing to make "mention of degrees" stemmed from his inability to bring his various sources into line. Nevertheless, European material that sought to fix the lands of Ezo on a global grid did exist, most notably at the initiative of the VOC itself. In 1643, the ships *Castricum* and *Breskens*, under the command of Maerten Gerritsz. Vries, were ordered to explore the coast of Tartary to the North of Japan and nearby Ezo, that mysterious group of islands reputedly rich in silver and gold. The expedition was a failure on those terms, with the ships separated, no precious metals found and Tartary beyond reach, while ten unfortunate crewmembers of the *Breskens* were captured after landing in Nambu, northeastern Honshu.[32] But the *Castricum*, Vries's flagship, discovered and charted eastern Ezo, three Kurile islands and southeastern Sakhalin, although without being aware of what they were.[33] Many details regarding the expedition could only be found in *North and East Tartary*, as the reports of various members of the crew disappeared into Witsen's study, where they would be incorporated in Witsen's work but lost to

31 Pieter van der Aa was the official printer to Leiden University from 1694. This map of Tartary initially appeared for van der Aa's *Nouveau theatre du monde* (1713), see https://exhibits.stanford.edu/blrcc/catalog/115-4562 [last accessed 25 August 2023]. The map was updated and incorporated in van der Aa's *Nouvel Atlas* of 1729. Following his death in 1733, the Amsterdam firm of Covens & Mortier acquired the plates and reproduced van der Aa's maps in their own atlas (see below), again without attributing either van der Aa or Witsen.

32 They were interrogated in Edo while bearing witness to the brutal torture and apostasy of Portuguese Catholics, before being repatriated via Nagasaki. See Hesselink 2002.

33 Vries's official chart remained undisturbed in the Hague until 1858, when the journal of the first navigating officer, Cornelis Jansz. Coen, was discovered by chance and published, see Leupe 1858. Philipp Franz von Siebold would contribute to this text, supplying maps, pictures, "geographic and ethnographic notes" and a seaman's guide of the Ezo region, as well as notes on "the language and products of the aino countries". Siebold's contribution was also published separately as the *Aardrijks- en volkenkundige toelichtingen tot de ontdekkingen van Maerten Gerritsz. Vries, met het fluitschip Castricum A° 1643* that same year. See also Robert *Voyage to Cathay, Tartary and the Gold- and Silver-Rich Islands East of Japan*. Leupe's volume incorporated a coloured reproduction of Vries's chart, the original of which today is in the Nationaal Archief, Den Haag.

原圖庚



一千七百八十五年上梓蘭書所収載野作地圖

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posterity. Vries's chart, however, came to be rapidly reflected on a string of maps of Asia published in the Netherlands, such as the one here from Johannes Janssonius (fig. 4).

For this map, Janssonius, or Jan Janszoon, merely added Vries's survey of Ezo to a map from earlier in the century, that of 1606 by Hondius, Janssonius's father-in-law. Vries had charted the Kuril Island of Iturup reasonably accurately, and named it Staaten Eyland, in honour of the States General of the Netherlands. In the fog, however, Vries mistook the next island north in the chain, Uruppu, as being the edge of a vast land, which he prudently named for his immediate employer, as Compagnies Landt. The sightings he made of the Kuril Island of Kunashir and the Capes of Aniwa and Patience on Sakhalin (Karafuto) were all combined together with Hokkaido to form one vast 'Landt van Eso'. The absence of definitive information in Europe regarding this region is clear from the way the coast of this Landt gives out on Janssonius's map. The dependence of such representations solely on Vries's survey is even more apparent on the maps of Frederick de Wit, where the coastlines shown on Vries's chart float entirely unencumbered by insular territories, adrift in the ocean north of Japan.[34]

Figure 3 – Yamada Ren, *1785-nen Jōji Ransho Shoshūsai Ezo chizu* 一千七百八十五年上梓蘭書所収載野作地図並原圖 ('A Map of Ezo Taken from a Dutch Book Published in 1785, and the Base Map), Maps 7 & 8 in the *Hokueizusetsu Shūranbikō* 北裔図説集覧備攷 (Materials for Reflecting upon Ezo), 41 x 25cm approx. Japanese paper, bound. Courtesy of the National Diet Library, Tokyo, Japan (を二-12). Ren's reproduction of a section of the *Lant Kaarte van't Oost –Tartarie* from the 1785 edition of Witsen's text, available here, http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retrofiles/witsen/images/5.jpg [last accessed 29 December 2018). On the original map, as with Janssonius's map below (Fig. 4), Ezo's relation to the continent is only speculatively indicated, but suggests that Ezo may well form a part of the continent. Ren's reproduction here narrowly focusses on this Ezo area.

34 See Wit's *Magnae Tartariae, Magni Mogolis Imperii, Iaponiae et Chinae, Nova Descriptio*, in Carhart 2016, 200-202 (Map 15).

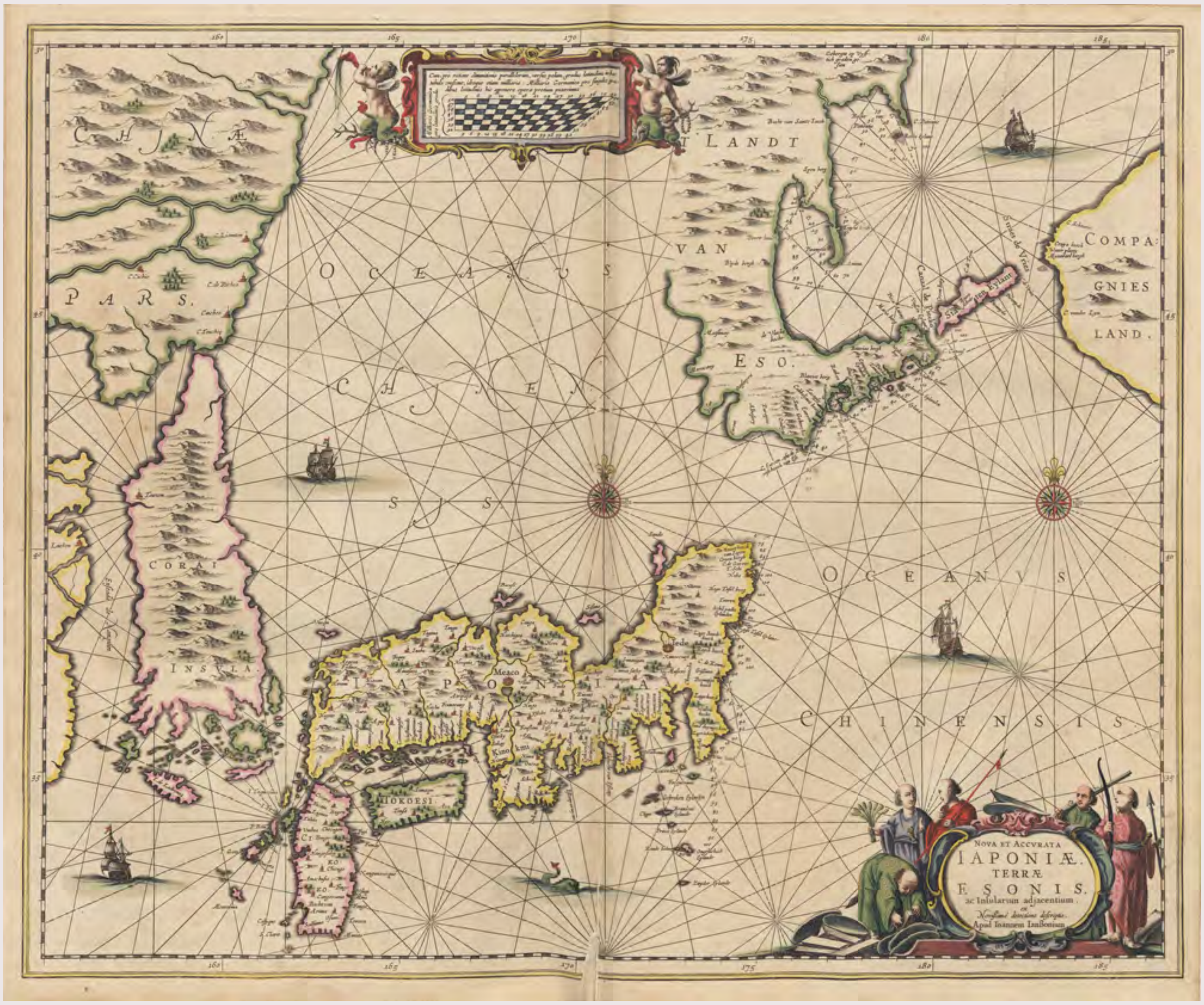

Figure 4 – Johannes Janssonius, *Nova Et Accurata Iaponiae Terrae Esonis Ac Insularum…*, initially 1650, Courtesy of Leiden University Library, COLLBN Port 178 N 32. Janssonius incorporated the results of Vries's survey to a map made by Hondius in 1606. As with Witsen's map (Fig. 3), this left opaque the exact relation of Ezo to the continent.

The representation of Ezo stemming from Vries's voyage would come to be redeployed and recombined in various ways over the eighteenth century, as the main island of Ezo, the Kuril Islands, and Capes Aniwa and Patience were reinterpreted in the light of subsequent material. In the early 1730's, Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville produced the maps for the Jesuit historian Jean-Baptiste du Halde's compendium of the discoveries of the Jesuit mission in China, entitled the *Description geographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* and first published in 1735. These included the tenth sheet of Chinese Tartary, which represented the mouth of the Amur River and an island known as Sakhalin (cat. 15) (fig. 5).

Figure 5 – Jean Baptiste Bourguinon d'Anville, *Xe feuille de la Tartarie Chinoise, contenant le Pais de Ke-Tching l'embouchure du Saghalien Oula Dans la Mer Orientale, et la grande Isle qui est au dedans*, 1737. COLLBN Atlas 197, map 28 (cat. 16). Close-up on the eastern end of this map, showing d'Anville's adoption of a representation of Sakhalin drawn from the Kangxi atlas.

Subsequent maps sought to incorporate other European geographical knowledge regarding Japan and Northeast Asia, including knowledge from Vries's survey, into this representation of Tartary and Northeast Asia provided by the Kangxi Jesuit map. About a decade later, Vries's speculative charting of Staaten Eyland and a vast Compagnies Landt was transformed through Russian exploration, most notably following Bering's voyages. The Atlas of Russia and its "Complete Map of the Russian Empire" was produced in Russian, French and Latin versions by the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg in 1745. It was intended to showcase Russia's exploratory achievements to Europe, and incorporated material from Bering's expeditions together with a representation of Sakhalin drawn, like D'Anville's map, on the basis of the Kangxi-era surveys of the Qing. Both the Complete Map and the more detailed map examining the area to the south of the mouth of the Amur amended the received geography of these islands, with the Kuril Islands leading up to Kamchatka being located some distance from an island of "Matuszma" immediately to the north of the main island of Japan (fig. 6).

This publication, and the material shipped back to Paris by Joseph-Nicolas Delisle, resulted in a lively debate over the status of Sakhalin, the Kurils, and the American continent.[35] The material was incorporated in an enormously influential map from, once again, D'Anville in 1753, who sought to bring these new Russian discoveries in the east into line with the sightings of Vries. In order to do so, D'Anville extended the bottom of the island of Saghalien-ula Hata south so that it accorded with Vries's Cape Patience, while he located Cape Aniwa on the continent. He also tried to maintain Vries's rendition of Staaten Eyland and Compagnies Landt in the Kurils, while noting that the Russians had referred to the latter as 'Nadezda' and shown the former as a number of islands (fig. 7).

The three maps associated with the cartographic activities of Witsen, the Russian Academy of Sciences, and D'Anville would subsequently be reproduced in the *Nieuwe Atlas* of Covens and Mortier, where they provided competing representations of this area to the north of Japan.[36] In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a copy of this atlas, printed and published in Amsterdam, would arrive at the VOC's mission at Deshima, in time to provide a series of cartographic traces able to be drawn upon during another discussion over the geography of Ezo, this time taking place within Japan itself.[37]

35 Breitfuss 1939. In the context of Japan specifically, see also Yamada-Komeie 2007.

36 This is the Dutch name (*Atlas Nouveau* in its French editions) of an atlas assembled by the Amsterdam publishers Covens and Mortier, initially in 1730, which included maps from Sanson, Jaillot and others, and expanded rapidly from 43 maps in its original 1730 format to 138 by 1774.

37 A later version, thought 1783, of this atlas in two volumes is preserved today in the Aoi Collection of the Shizuoka Prefectural Central Library, at AN 284, J. Covens en C. Mortier, *Nieuwe atlas inhoudende de vier gedeeltens der waereld*. Amsterdam. This work preserves the Japanese transliterations of place names on the maps, which were glued into the Atlas on strips of paper. These transliterations match the ones given in a text called the *Oranda Zensekai chizushoyaku* 阿蘭陀全世界地図書訳 ('Translation of Dutch Maps of the World'), a work ordered by Matsudaira Sadanobu and conducted by the Nagasaki translator Motoki Yoshinaga in 1790.

Figure 6 – "The lands to the south of the mouth of the Amur River with the various islands situated in the ocean between Kamchatka and Japan", 1745 Atlas of Russia, Map 19, Russian version. Courtesy of the MacLean Collection Map Library. The atlas is often attributed to Joseph Nicholas de L'isle, but this remains contested. Reproduced here is the last of the 6 maps of Siberia from the *Atlas Rossiiskoi*, or first Atlas of Russia, which was published in Latin, Russian, French and German in 1745 by the Academy of Sciences. The maps of Asiatic Russia (Siberia) are at a scale of 1: 3,444,000, or 82 versts to the inch. Together with 13 maps of European Russia, these showed the lands represented on the Complete Map of the Russian Empire in more detail. The atlas brought together many surveys and maps compiled in the early eighteenth century, including those from Bering's voyages. The island in the center of the map, towards the top, is Sakhalin, not visited by members of the Expeditions and drawn on the basis of the Kangxi Atlas. The Kuril Islands running southwest from Kamchatka are based on the surveys and reports of members of Bering's Second Voyage. The green island partially shown at the bottom of the map is labelled 'Matsumae', with the red one even more partially shown to its east 'Japan'. The resultant geography was very different from that of Vries and his successors.

Figure 7 – Third part of Asia D'Anville 1753. Courtesy of Leiden University Library. Detail from the bottom-right hand corner of the map, showing approximately the same geographical area as in Figure 6. In this later map, D'Anville sought to mediate between the conflicting representations of this part of the world, incorporating the Russian discoveries while retaining the results of Vries' survey of 1643. The map had a crucial role in the unsettling of Japan's Ezo in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

4. Ezo Unsettled

While these particular representations of Ezo were fixed upon the pages of the *Nieuwe Atlas*, the part of the world that they represented would be repeatedly rewritten as their cartographic traces were imported into Japan. This was because the conditions under which Ezo had been allowed to merely "enframe" the main body of Japan, serving as an ill-known and ill-defined appendage, were coming under pressure due to increasing awareness over the intrusion of the world into Ezo itself, and most immediately in the form of a Russian advance down the Kuril Islands. It was efforts by Japanese to discern the motivations of the Russians and the significance of their approach which made apparent the insufficiency of Japan's knowledge regarding the geography of the region. These investigations by, initially, private individuals incorporated both trips to Ezo itself and the collating of geographical information from overseas. One of the earliest examples of this late-eighteenth century "boom in northern literature"[38] was by Kudō Heisuke, a physician from the Sendai domain but primarily resident in Edo, who had a wide circle of acquaintances that included the *rangaku* 蘭学 scholars Maeno Ryōtaku and Yoshio Kōsaku. In his *Aka-Ezo fūsetsu kō* 赤蝦夷風説考 ('Report on the Land of the Red Barbarians'),[39] Kudō sought to establish the truth regarding rumours of a Russian invasion. In this text, Kudō combined information from Dutch geographic texts with snippets of information gathered from soldiers and administrators of the Matsumae domain, and advocated learning from the Russian process of colonization.[40] Perhaps unsurprisingly, given its sensitive nature, this text was never printed, but it circulated widely in manuscript, including at the highest levels of government.[41]

Concern regarding the "unsettled" nature of Ezo, and consequent threat of Russian settlement, was magnified by the similarly unsettled nature of the region's geography. Japan's knowledge of Ezo, which by the eighteenth century was broadly understood as a region composed of a main island, today's Hokkaido, with another island of Karafuto to the north, and a scattering of Kurils to the east,[42] was now being undermined by the variety of alternative representations circulating in the period. These included not just geographical texts and maps, but also the results of the government's own surveys of Ezo, the first of which was despatched in 1785.[43] That same year, Kudō Heisuke's fellow Sendai scholar, Hayashi Shihei, published a tract describing the areas bordering Japan from which foreign threats could emerge.

38 As discussed by Wada Tōshiaki in his introduction to Hirasawa 1979.

39 *Aka-ezo fūsetsu ko* is a compilation of two texts written by Kudō, with the first in the manuscript written in 1783, while the second half was written earlier, in 1781, see Iwasaki 2006.

40 Mitani 2006, p. 5.

41 One of the two best-preserved examples is in the Matsudaira Sadanobu collection at Tenri University Library. Matsudaira, mentioned in note 34 above, was the dominant figure within the Tokugawa administration from 1787-1793, and remained highly influential even after his retirement as Chief Councillor.

42 On the development of this understanding in official cartography, see Boyle 2018.

43 The Tenmei expeditions of 1785 and 1786, which were the first large-scale government expeditions that sought to investigate conditions there in preparation for "opening" the country.

The *Sangoku tsūran zusetsu* 三国通覧図説 ('Illustrated Outline of the Three Countries') is a famous text, with its notoriety assured by subsequent events, as Shihei's next publication, 1791's *Kaikoku heidan* 海国兵談 ('On the Defense of a Maritime Nation'), was controversial enough to attract official censure. As a result, the printing blocks of both texts were destroyed.[44] The extent of Shihei's influence remains unclear, but it is known that copies of the maps and text continued to circulate in manuscript form, like the ones now present in Leiden (fig. 8).[45]

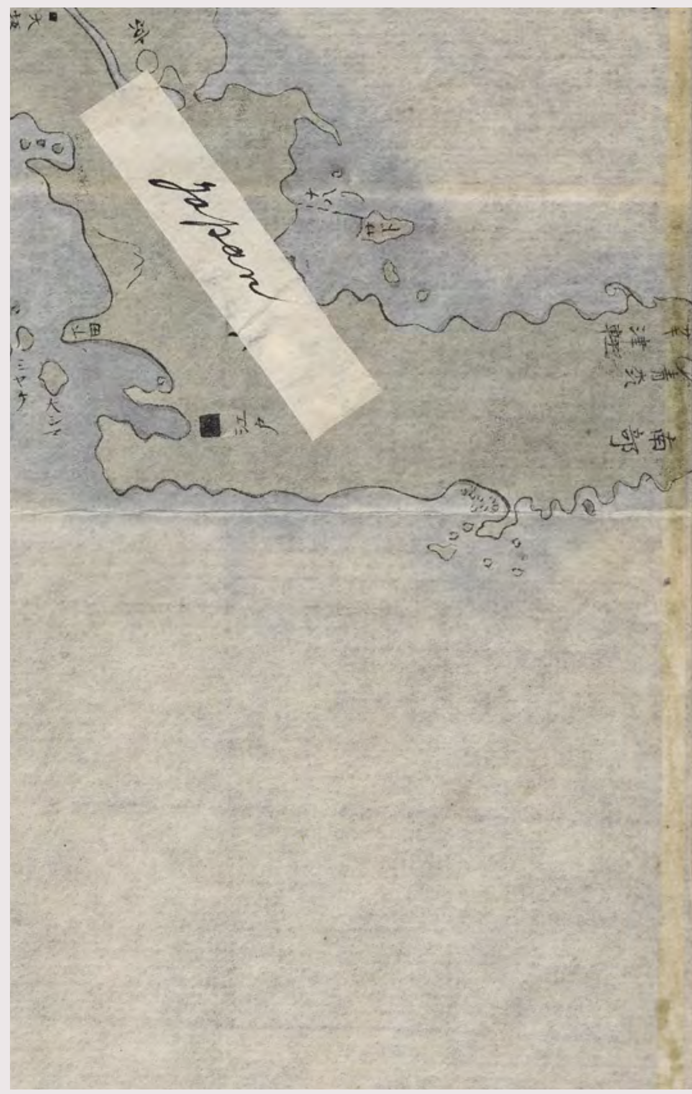

Figure 8 – Hayashi Shihei, 'Illustrated Description of The Three Countries', 1786, Ser. 187A (cat. 11a). Orientated to the east. The outline map accompanying Shihei's text, in which he sought to emphasize the danger to Japan due to the approach of foreign powers. The main island of Ezo is to the left (north) of Japan near the center of the map. The precariousness of Japan's position there is shown by the maps colouring, with only a small section of the south of the island shown as under Japan's control. The remainder of Ezo, including the Kuril Islands and Karafuto, is open to foreign invasion. Karafuto is northwest of the main Ezo island, attached to the continent although separated by a mountain chain. The red area to the north of the Amur and Kamchatka is the Russian Empire, which was emerging as a threat during the period in which Shihei was writing.

44 In printing *Kaikoku heidan*, Hayashi Shihei fell foul of the Tokugawa government's prescription on certain topics being discussed in public. He was placed under house arrest in 1791, and died the following year. This seems likely to have increased the cachet of his works.

45 As was common of sensitive material in this period, see Kornicki 2006.

In Shihei's tract, the individual maps of the three countries of Ezo, Korea and the Ryukyus, as well as of the uninhabited Bonin Islands, are contextualized by a final map, the *Sangoku tsūran yochi rotei zenzu* 三国通覧輿地路程全図 ('Outline Map of Lands and Routes of the Three Countries'). This 'Outline Map' emphasized Shihei's concern that the three borderland regions of Ezo, Korea and the Ryukyus could be utilized as stepping stones for foreign powers to approach Japan.[46] The distinctive representation of Ezo adopted by Shihei reflects this aim, with its extended north-south orientation appearing to invite both the Russians from Kamchatka and the Qing via Karafuto, now represented as part of the continent, to menace Japan's position at the southern end of Ezo.[47]

46 Recent scholarship has taken the reference to 'three countries' literally, as indicating the Ryukyus, Korea, and Ezo, which appears the intuitive explanation, see for instance Yonemoto 2003. However, Takakura notes how the notion of "three countries" also refers to the Buddhist world view associated with the lands of Tenjiku (India), Kara (China), and Japan itself, and so is used as a shorthand to indicate the world as a whole, Takakura 1987, pl. 14, pp. 33, 35. Shihei's work therefore cleverly plays on this ambiguity, as the map's title can also suggest it shows the map of the lands and routes connecting Japan with the world.

47 While the text is concerned with each of Japan's 'borderland' areas, it is worth stressing that the section on Ezo accounts for by far the bulk of the text, and Shihei's work forms a good-sized piece of shrapnel in the northern literary boom noted above.

This confusion over the status of Karafuto was representative of the uncertainty engendered by the increasing volume of, and focus on, foreign cartographic material arriving in Japan. Neither the maps collected in the *Nieuwe Atlas*, nor the Russian material now being exchanged with the Matsumae in Ezo, showed any indication of an island of Karafuto. As a result, while the Japanese state's map of Ezo had considered Karafuto an island for the past century, in this atmosphere of crisis, a new understanding of Karafuto as being part of the continent rapidly became geographic orthodoxy. In 1792, the head of the Tokugawa government, Matsudaira Sadanobu, armed with his translated Dutch atlas,[48] was noting that "Karafuto adjoins Manchuria, Santan and Tartary. The idea that Karafuto is a separate island is archaic, in truth it's not".[49] The increasing circulation of apparently incompatible cartographic representations of Ezo towards the end of the eighteenth century resulted in a series of efforts to re-establish Ezo's geography and the extent of its borders.

5. Ezo Reclaimed

The effect of these discordant cartographic traces was to encourage opening "up a direction back from the documents to the world they portray"[50] in order to once again bring the world and its representation into line. A series of expeditions to Karafuto in the 1790s and first decade of the nineteenth century sought to re-map this region and make it once again comprehensible to Japan. Through exploring the Ezo settlements of the southern half of Karafuto island, which had long been involved in a trade that connected Matsumae with the continent, officials led the establishment and representation of a much greater degree of Japanese control over Karafuto's southern end. Nevertheless, the question of whether Karafuto was an island or was connected to the continent, was not able to be resolved solely through such measures. This is clear in the maps prepared by the two administrators, Takahashi Jidayū 高橋次太夫 and Nakamura Koichirō 中村小市郎, following their expeditions in 1801.[51] While Mogami's copy of this map held at Leiden, shown here, has Karafuto as an island, separated from the Asian continent in the top-right corner of the map, this was one of two possible geographies shown on Takahashi and Nakamura's original map. The alternative was displayed via a flap of paper able to be folded down and used to represent Karafuto as part of the continent (fig. 9).[52]

48 See note 39.

49 唐太は満州、山丹、韃靼と地界が続いている。唐太も離島であるという説は古い説であって、実はそうではない, Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信, *Ezochi Osonae Ikken* 蝦夷地御備一件 ('On Preparedness in Ezo Lands'), 1792.

50 Häkli 2001, 414.

51 The former held the rank of *okobito-metsuke* 御小人目付 and the latter *fushin-yaku* 普請役.

52 A reproduction of Takahashi and Nakamura's map, held by the Hokkaido University Northern Studies Collection, is found in Walker 2007, 304-5.

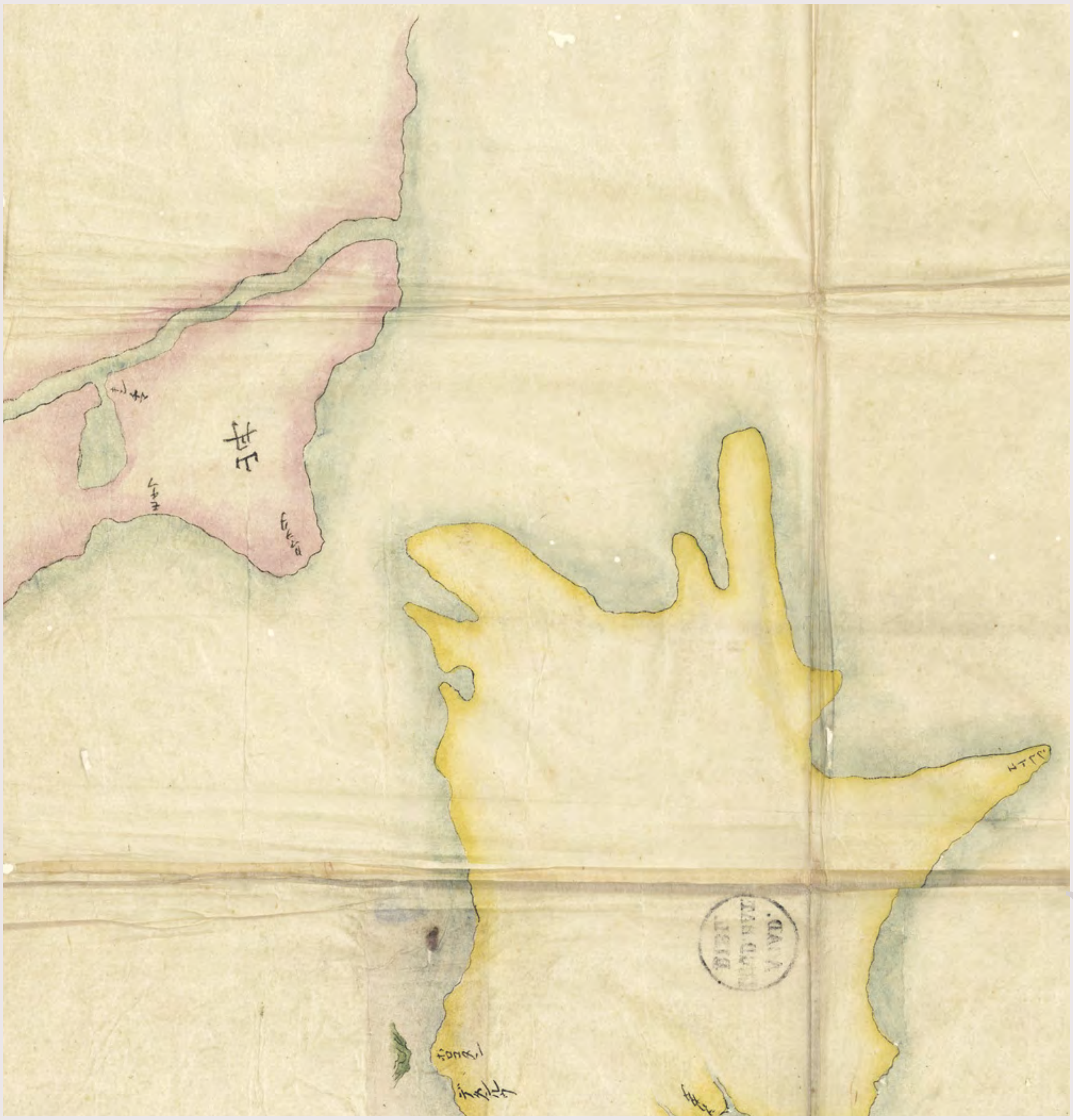

Figure 9 – Mogami Tokunai, 'Map of Sakhalin Island', early nineteenth century. Ser. 214, cat. 14. Detail of the channel separating the northern end of Sakhalin Island from the coast of Tartary. A copy of the map made by Takahashi Jidayū and Nakamura Koichirō following their 1801 expedition. Their original map had provided two distinct representations of the northern end of Karafuto Island, through the use of the fold-down flap whereby Karafuto could be shown as connected to, rather than separated from, the continent.

The same device was adopted by the explorer and administrator of Ezo, Kondō Jūzō, when he produced a general map of Ezo, the first version of which probably emerged the following year.[53] Kondō subsequently sought to resolve the ambiguity over Ezo's borders and the status of Karafuto in a text entitled *Henyō bunkai zukō* 辺要分界図考 ('Reflections on our Remote Frontiers'). In it, Kondō compared twenty maps, together with Chinese and European writings, in order to clarify the geography of these border regions. In addition to three maps supplied to the Japanese by Karafuto's indigenous inhabitants, six from traditional Chinese geographies, and some more recent Russian material, he made use of several maps acquired from the Dutch, including two noted as being from 'Morchiiru'. 'Morchiiru' refers to Cornelis Mortier, who together with Johannes Covens formed the Amsterdam publishing house of Covens & Mortier, which had published the *Nieuwe Atlas* imported into Japan through Nagasaki towards the end of the eighteenth century.

The literal tracing of the cartographic material incorporated in this *Nieuwe Atlas* enabled Kondō to incorporate the maps produced by the Russian Academy of Science in 1745 (Figure 6) and D'Anville in 1753 (Figure 7) into his own speculations regarding Karafuto and Ezo's borders. Kondō concluded that "With regards to how the interior of Karafuto relates to the borders of Manchuria and Santan, whether it is contiguous or a separate island, the Ezo and Santan peoples have various views, but I think that Karafuto is connected to Manchuria and Santan".[54] Nevertheless, the method demonstrated by his text, which sought to assemble the region's geography by combining various layers of cartographic traces and then comparing them against surveys of the region, led to the eventual resolution of the question of Karafuto's insular nature. Kondō's two cartographic successors, the Confucian scholar Yamada Ren and the Tokugawa Shogunate's Official Astronomer Takahashi Kageyasu, had access to a greater volume of map material. It was the former's *Ishū Hokueizusetsu Shūranbikō* 彙輯北裔図説集覧備攷 ('Collection of Materials for Reflecting upon Ezo') which reproduced Witsen's two maps from the 1785 edition of *Noord en Oost Tartarie* (Figure 3).[55] The cartographic traces of Witsen's own efforts to understand the geography of Ezo and Northeast Asia were themselves traced into a similar project taking place in Japan a century later.

53 The map's preface is dated 1802, although certain details on the map suggest these versions were made later on that decade. Copies of this map at both the Hokkaido University Northern Studies Collection and Hakodate Central Library are available to view online. See https://www2.lib.hokudai.ac.jp/hoppodb/contents/map/l/0D0011700000000000.jpg and http://archives.c.fun.ac.jp/fronts/detail/id/4f0ab744ea8e8a08d2000087 [last accessed 25 August 2023]

54 カラフトの極奥、満州、山丹と界を接する所、或は地続と云、或は海を隔るとも云、夷人・山丹人の説所区々也、守重考之に、カラウトの奥地は、満州山丹と地続也, see Kondō 1905, 9.

55 The sections of Witsen's work that related to Ezo were also translated around this time by Takahashi Kageyasu's collaborator, the Nagasaki interpreter Baba Sadayoshi, as the *Tōhoku dattan shokoku zushi Ezo zakki yakusetsu* 東北韃靼諸国図誌野作雑記訳説 ('Translation and Explanation of Miscellaneous Information on Ezo from *Noord en Oost Tartarie*'). This text has never been published, but various manuscript copies exist, including that held at Waseda University, see http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko08/bunko08_c0273/index.html [last accessed 25 August 2023].

Figure 10 – Philipp Franz von Siebold, *Nippon, Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutzlandern* (Leiden, 1832), vol. 1, pl. I ("Japan mit seinen Neben und Schutzlandern"). Courtesy of Leiden University Library, COLLBN 20073 C 1 (cat. 13). The first plate that Siebold used to illustrate his compendium upon Japan was his copy of a map made by the Tokugawa shogunate's official astronomer, Takahashi Kageyasu, in 1809. Siebold makes his debt clear by retaining Kageyasu's original title, *Nihon henkai ryakuzu* 日本邊界略圖, at the top of the map, as well as the prime meridian running through Kyoto. This map makes clear the change in the understanding of Ezo and Japan's wider place in the world that had occurred by the early-nineteenth century.

The increase in the quantity of "cartographic traces", and ability to compare such material against the surveys of Karafuto conducted by Mamiya Rinzō and Matsuda Denjūrō in 1808 and 1809, ultimately provided the basis for Takahashi Kageyasu's *Nihon henkai ryakuzu* 日本邊界略圖 ('Outline Map of Japan's Frontiers').[56] This map would be acquired by Siebold, and in the latter's hands would be transformed into the first plate for his volume on Japan, where it would succeed in tracing out Japan's new understanding of 'Jezo' as being both a part of Japan and located upon a global grid for a European audience (fig. 10).[57]

56 See for instance the version in the Ashida Collection, Meiji University Library, at http://www.lib.meiji.ac.jp/perl/ashida/search_detail?-detail_sea_param=loc,4,84,2 [last accessed 25 August 2023].
57 "Japan mit seinen Neben und Schutzlandern", plate 1 of volume 1 in *Nippon*.

6. Tracing Ezo: Reassembling Cross-Cultural Cartographic Productions

The maps in the Siebold collection offer the perfect example of the importance of 'cartographic traces', with the actual maps themselves having been frequently copied, or traced, by Siebold or his Japanese collaborators from extant maps circulating within the Japanese cartographic milieu. This finds its most dramatic example, of course, on a particular night in 1828, which sees Siebold's frantically tracing the maps he has acquired while in Japan, seeking to copy them before Tokugawa officials appear to confiscate his precious collection.[58] In 'tracing' such material, Siebold was seeking to literally reproduce the material at hand, providing him with the means to both reflect upon and publicize his collection once the 'original' material was no longer in his possession. It was these 'traces' which were then transferred back to Europe, and which remain for us to reflect upon in the present.

Nevertheless, we should be aware that the import of 'cartographic traces' extends beyond the mechanical copying of material, as it provides a means of 'drawing in the world', re-combining and re-assembling it anew. In that respect, Latour's original focus on the ontological content of these "traces" is fundamentally correct. Ontological content means that the "traces … have an existence, but no meaning until it is assigned or attributed to them".[59] The meaning of these cartographic traces is granted through their deployment within a given framework,[60] and it is this process of deployment which defines the epistemological content of the actual material object.

In this chapter, the meanings assigned to these varied traces of Ezo, produced over a long span of time in a variety of circumstances, were being shaped by a situation in which Japan was experiencing intense uncertainty regarding both its own relation to Ezo, and the geography of Ezo itself. By tracing the deployment of these cartographic traces, we are also able to examine the role of such traces in resolving this uncertainty, which was the product the changing global context of the late-eighteenth century. Japan's enduring encounter with the Netherlands at Nagasaki provided it with a means through which to attempt to make sense of this transformation. The Dutch "rarely balked at answering geographically oriented questions and sought to manage their relations with the Japanese through the gifting of maps".[61] While this perhaps reflects the fact that the Dutch were long "accustomed to treating maps as commodities",[62] the concept of geographical knowledge serving as a medium of exchange was not unique to them. This is amply demonstrated in the materials held by Leiden University Libraries today.

58 Leca 2017b.
59 Bravo 1999, 228.
60 Bravo's emphasis on "commensurability" also accords with the focus Yulia Frumer places on the "long conceptual process prior to the actual inscription … rooted in a set of practices and communal conceptual development" in mapping this region. Frumer 2018, 147, n. 360.
61 Roberts 2015, 29.
62 *Ibid.*

Acknowledgements

This chapter was written while a Map Fellow at the MacLean Collection Map Library, Illinois. I would like to thank everyone associated with the MacLean Collection for the opportunity provided by the Fellowship and their generosity in hosting me, and would particularly like to acknowledge the Director of the Map Library, Richard Pegg. The sterling work done by A.J. Reading and Lily Pegg in scanning and photographing a great deal of material from the Collection, including that reproduced here, was vital. Also, many thanks to Yulia Frumer for sending me her Doctoral thesis, which has since been published by the University of Chicago Press as *Making Time: Astronomical Time Measurement in Tokugawa Japan*. This chapter has been greatly improved through the comments and suggestions of Radu Leca, Martijn Storms and Ed Pulford. Responsibility for any remaining errors lies solely with its author.

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VAN IESO
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Maps of Japan in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection

Martijn Storms

1. Maps of Japan at Leiden University Libraries

Around 120,000 map sheets and 5,000 atlases are kept in the collections of Leiden University Libraries. A large part of these cartographic collections is related to Asia, estimated circa 35,000 to 40,000 map sheets. However, at least 70% of these Asian maps concern the Indonesian archipelago, and date especially from the colonial period of the Netherlands East Indies. These are largely kept in the collections of the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT) and Royal Netherlands Institute for Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV), incorporated in the collections of Leiden University in 2013 and 2014, respectively.[1] Apart from overview maps of Asia and East Asia, circa 700 maps are concerned with Japan. The largest and most important collection of Japanese maps in the library is the so-called Serrurier collection, one of the foci of this publication. This collection of Japanese books, manuscripts and maps is generally referred to as 'Siebold Collection' but has been put together by various employees at Deshima, among which Jan Cock Blomhoff, Johannes Gerard Frederik van Overmeer Fischer and Philipp Franz von Siebold. The geographical section of the Serrurier Collection consists of more than 250 bound volumes and 500 sheets of maps and other topographical images of Japanese origin, largely dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The second largest collection on maps of Japan is the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection. In this collection, about 120 maps of Japan are kept. These maps date from the seventeenth to twentieth century. The largest part of this collection is a bequest of the Leiden map collector Johannes Tiberius Bodel Nijenhuis in 1872. After the bequest, however, other maps were added to this collection. The collections of the former libraries of the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT), the Royal Netherlands Institute for Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) and the East Asian Library of Leiden University together have another circa seventy maps of Japan, mostly from the twentieth century. In this contribution the maps of Japan in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection will be analysed, as well as the relationship between Bodel Nijenhuis and Siebold (fig. 1).

1 Storms 2018.

Figure 1 – Portrait of Johannes Tiberius Bodel Nijenhuis, drawing by Jacobus Ludovicus Cornet, ca. 1840 (Leiden University Libraries, PK-T-2633).

2. Bodel Nijenhuis and the Collecting of Maps of Japan

2.1 Maps from Books and Atlases

Several groups of maps can be identified within the collection of maps related to Japan in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection. Over seventy maps are taken from books and atlases. No less than thirty-eight of these maps are taken from various editions of *The History of Japan* by Engelbert Kaempfer. The work was first published in 1727 in London.[2] Besides eight maps from this original edition, maps of the Dutch and French translation, both published in The Hague by Pierre Gosse and Jean Neaulme in 1729, are kept in the collection as well as some later derivatives.[3] For the maps in the French edition, the copper plates of the Dutch edition were used. French translations of the titles and other textual information were added to the copper plates. The maps in Kaempfer's work include an overview map of Japan, city plans of Nagasaki, Miako (Kyoto) and Edo (Tokyo), and a series of seven maps showing the route from Nagasaki to Edo. This was the course of the yearly *Hofreis*, the journey to the Japanese court in Edo that the Dutch employees undertook to maintain good relations with the shoguns. Bodel Nijenhuis owned three sets of these maps: two from the Dutch edition (both uncoloured and coloured), and one from the French edition (more heavily coloured and printed on larger sheets). It is most likely that the maps from the English edition are not part of Bodel Nijenhuis's bequest but acquired later by Leiden University. These plates differ slightly from their Dutch/French counterparts but rely on the same designs by Johann Gaspar Scheuchzer. The English edition has less sheets with route maps, which are compressed to only three sheets(figs. 2a-c).

2 Masarella 1995.

3 On a copy of the overview map of Japan, Bodel Nijenhuis made a note of these different editions: "De Engelese uitgave is van 1727, de Fransche uitgave is van 1729." (Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 178 N 39).

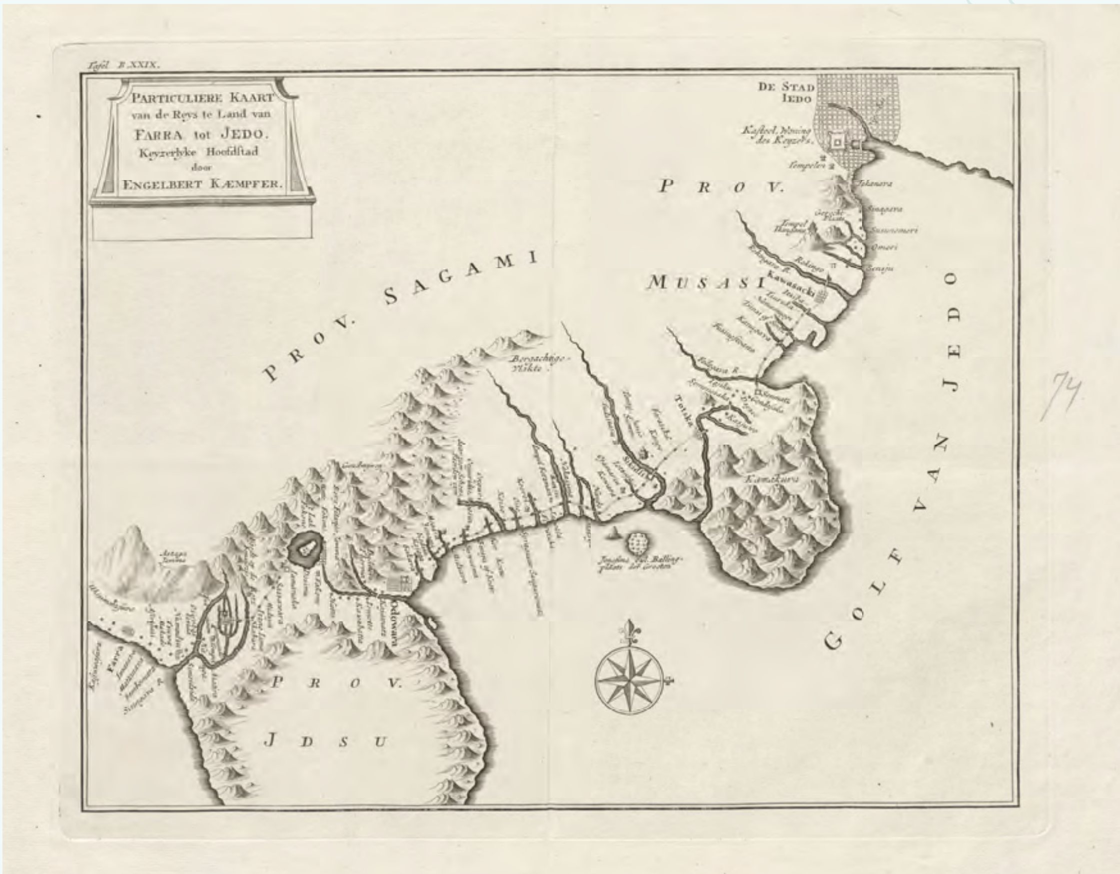
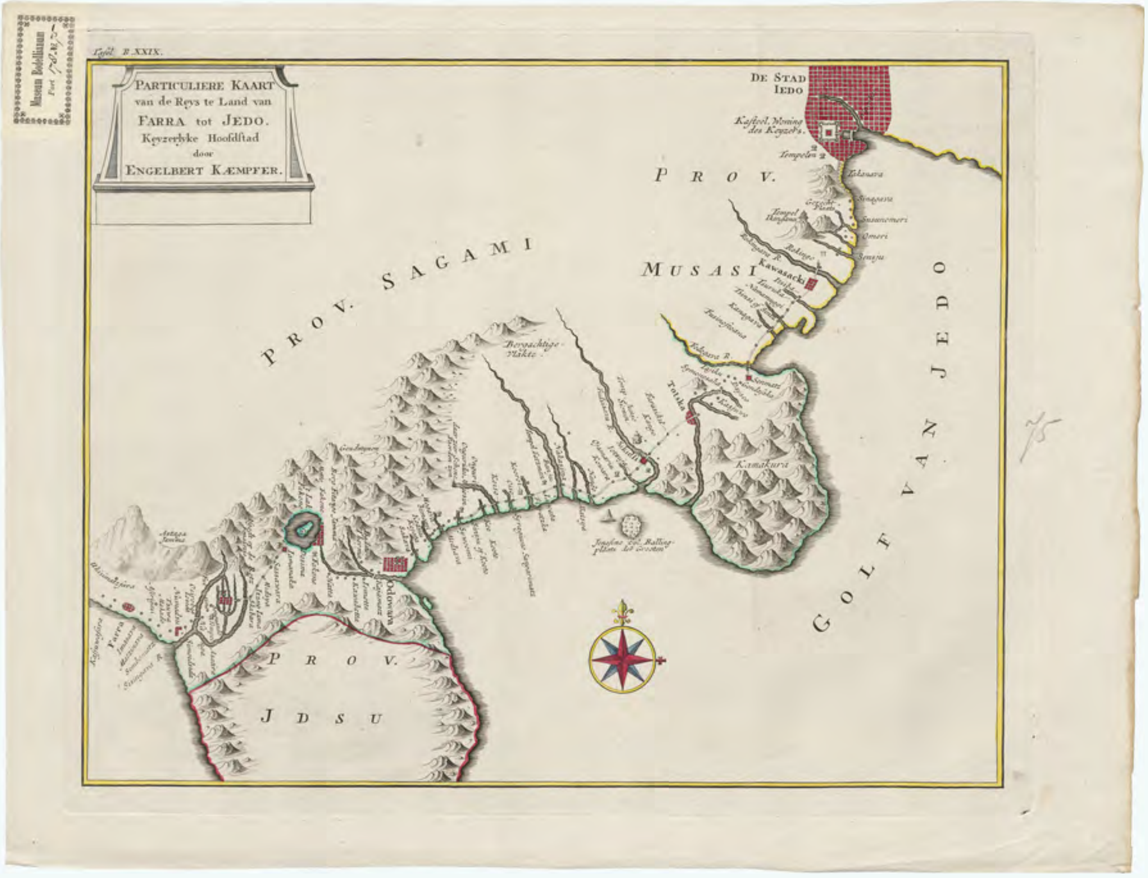


Figure 2a-c – Engelbert Kaempfer, *Particuliere kaart van de Reys te Land van Farra tot Jedo, Keyzerlyke Hoofdstad.* The Hague, Pierre Gosse & Jean Neaulme, 1729. Three copies from the Dutch edition and French edition (Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 178 N 74-76).


Particuliere Kaart
van de Reys te Land van
Farra tot Jedo.
Keyzerlyke Hoofdstad
door
Engelbert Kæmpfer.
De Stad
Iedo
Prov.
Musasi
Prov. Sagami
Kawasacki
Kamakura
Golf van Jedo
Prov.
Jdsu
75

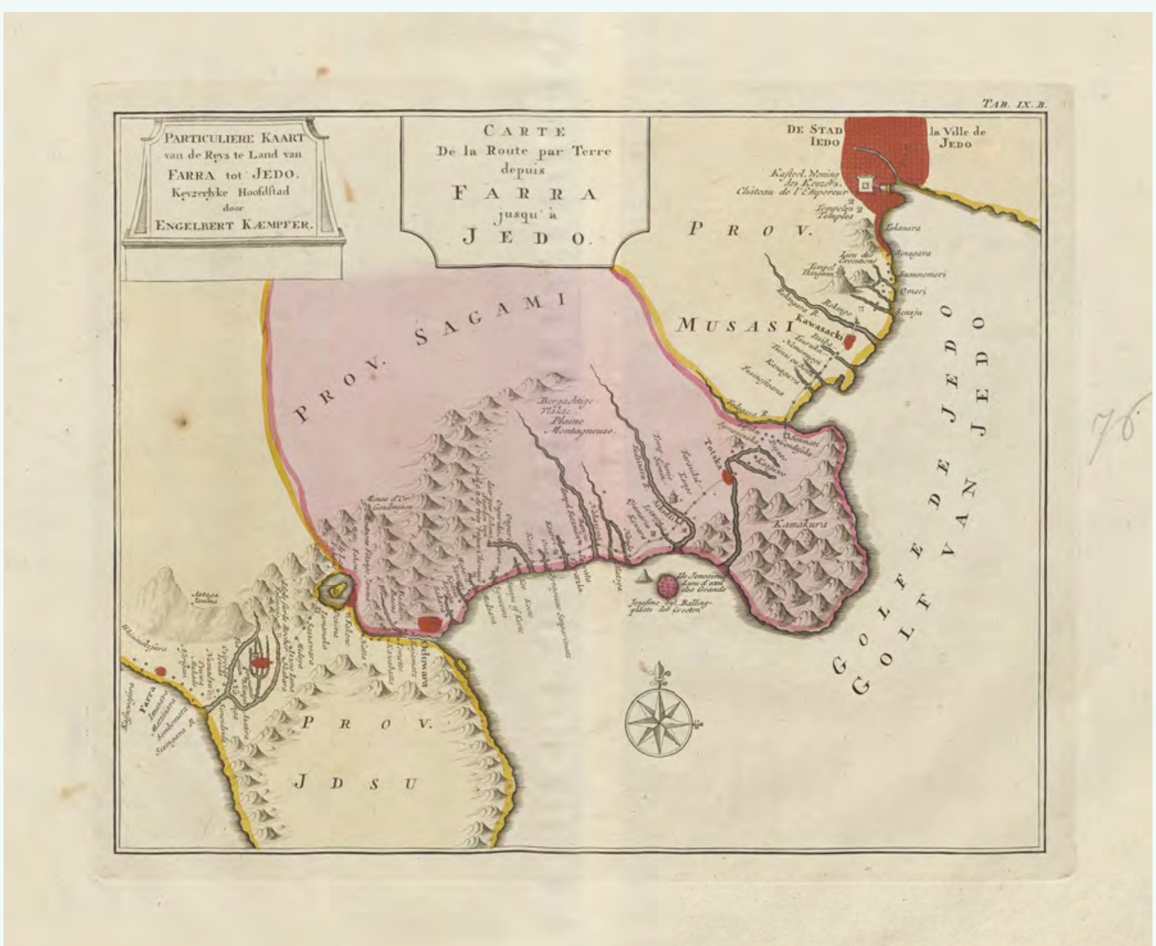
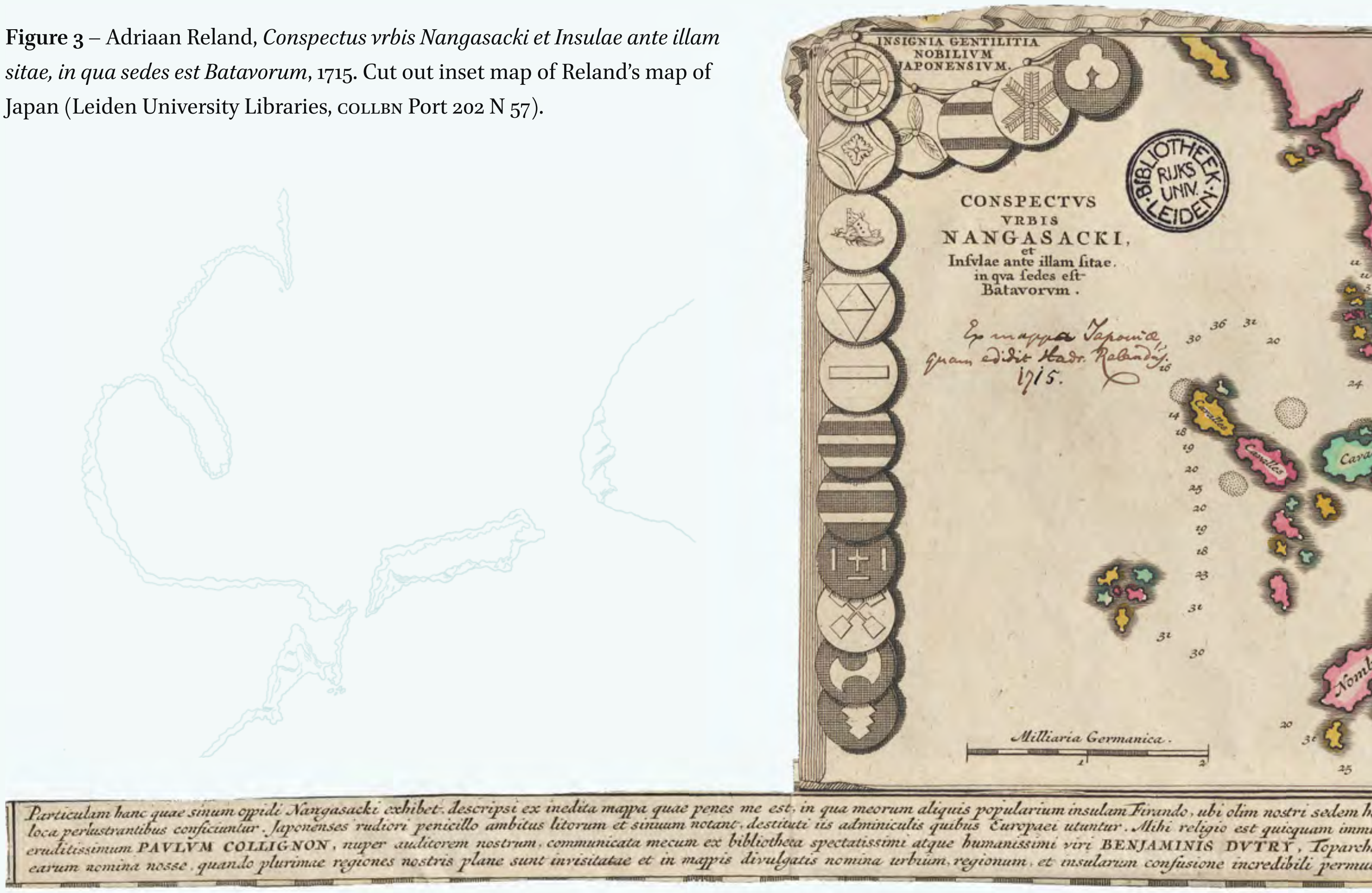

Tab. IX. B.
Particuliere Kaart
van de Reys te Land van
Farra tot Jedo.
Keyzerlyke Hoofdstad
door
Engelbert Kæmpfer.
Carte
De la Route par Terre
depuis
Farra
jusqu'à
Jedo.
De Stad
Iedo
la Ville de
Jedo
Prov.
Musasi
Prov. Sagami
Kawasacki
Kamakura
Golfe de Jedo
Golf van Jedo
Prov.
Jdsu
76

Figure 3 – Adriaan Reland, *Conspectus vrbis Nangasacki et Insulae ante illam sitae, in qua sedes est Batavorum*, 1715. Cut out inset map of Reland's map of Japan (Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 202 N 57).

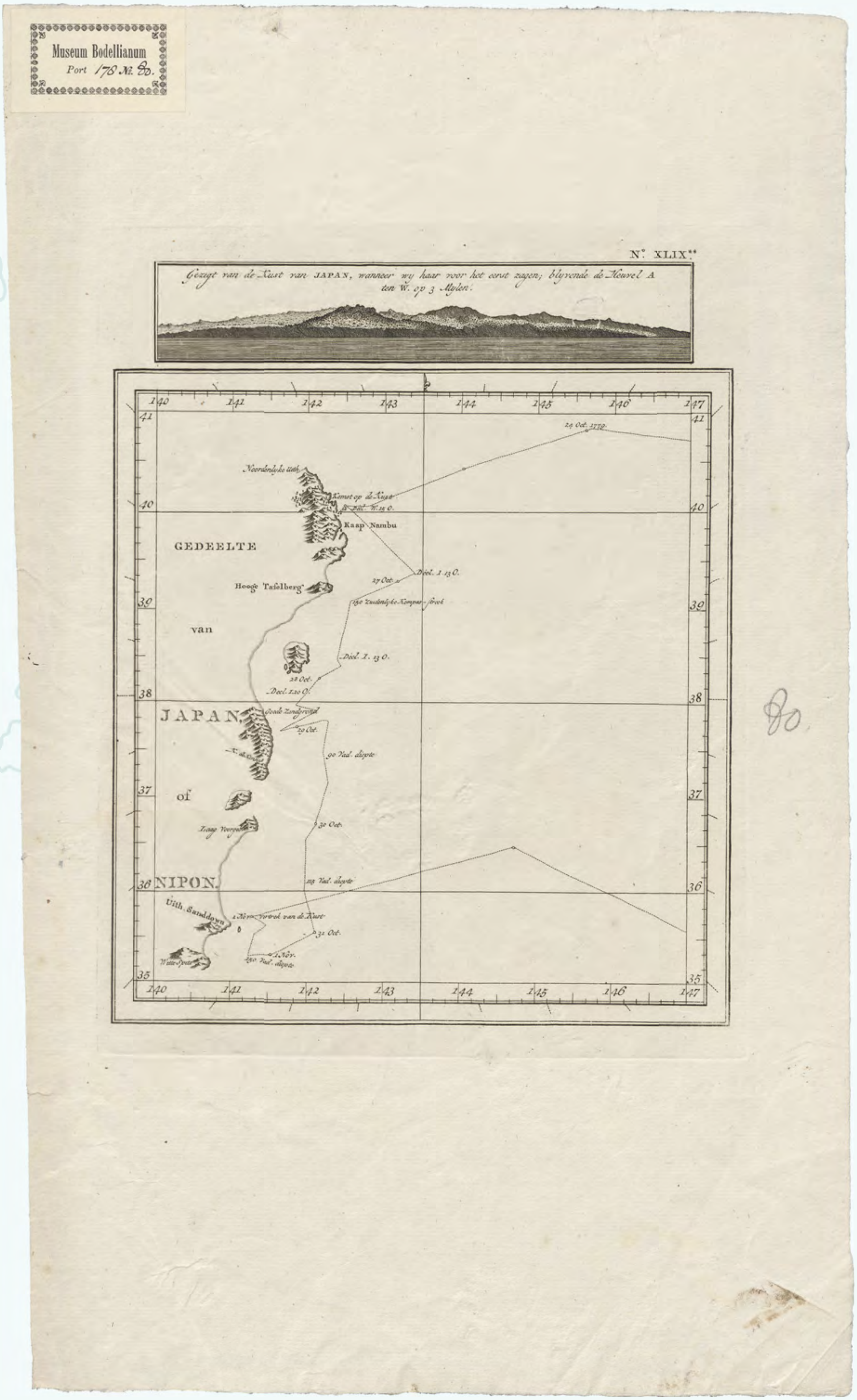


Most maps in the collection that are derived from books and atlases are overview maps of Japan. These include maps from Dutch and French atlases by Jodocus Hondius, Joan Blaeu, Johannes Janssonius, Willem Albert Bachiene, Nicolas Sanson, Zacharias Châtelain, Isaac Tirion and Steven van Esveldt. Of the iconic map of Adriaan Reland no less than five copies are kept in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection: two of the 1715 edition, published by Willem Broedelet in Utrecht, and three of the later state of circa 1740 with the imprint of Reinier and Josua Ottens.[4] Again, uncoloured and hand-coloured copies are kept of both states. A sixth Reland map is a cut out of the inset map of Nagasaki and surroundings, *Conspectus vrbis Nangasacki*. On this cut out Bodel Nijenhuis noted in Latin: "Ex mappa Japoniae quam edidit Hadr. Relandus, 1715." This cutting of map sheets on which more than one cartographical image are depicted is characteristic for the collecting practices of Bodel Nijenhuis: the inset of Nagasaki had to be stored with other maps of Nagasaki. At least in this case, he had five other copies of the maps that he did not damage (fig. 3).

4 Hubbard 2012, cats. 68.2, 68.5.

One of the maps in the collection taken from a book is the map of Japan from the famous overview work on the history of the Dutch United East India Company by François Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, published in Amsterdam by J. van Braam and G. onder de Linden in 1724. Three copies of this map are kept in the collection, of which two are differently coloured. Other maps from books include overview maps of Japan from Jean-Baptiste Tavernier's *Les Six Voyages* (1682 or later edition), George Psalmanazar's *Beschryvinge van het Eyland Formosa* (Rotterdam: Pieter van der Veer, 1705), various maps by Jacques-Nicolas Bellin from Antoine-François Prévost's *Histoire Générale des Voyages* (The Hague: Pierre de Hondt, 1747 and later editions) and finally some charts in relation to discoveries in the north-eastern part of Asia. These include a map of the northern coast of Hokkaido and of the 'Staten Eylant', taken from Nicolaes Witsen's work *Noord en Oost Tartarye* (Amsterdam: François Halma, 1705)[5] and a chart of the north-eastern coast of Honshu, taken from the last volume of the Dutch translation of the voyages of James Cook (Leiden, Amsterdam and The Hague: Honkoop, Allart & Van Cleef, 1803) (fig. 4).[6]

5 Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 178 N 152.
6 Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 178 N 80; COLLBN Port 178 N 145.



Museum Bodellianum
Port 178 Nr. 80.
N°. XLIX.**
Gezigt van de Kust van JAPAN, wanneer wy haar voor het eerst zagen; blyvende de Heuvel A ten W. op 3 Mylen.
GEDEELTE
van
JAPAN
of
NIPON.
Kaap Nambu
Hooge Tafelberg
Uith. Sanddown
80

Figure 4 – *Gedeelte van Japan of Nipon / Gezigt van de Kust van Japan, wanneer wij haar voor het eerst zagen; blyvende de Heuvel A ten W. op 3 Mylen.* Leiden, Amsterdam & The Hague: Honkoop, Allart & Van Cleef, 1803. Chart of the north-eastern coast of Honshu from the Dutch translation of the voyages of James Cook (Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 178 N 80).

Bodel Nijenhuis did not only collect old maps but also contemporary maps that were published during his life. Apart from some maps taken from early nineteenth century German and French atlases, these include an early facsimile[7] of a chart by Maarten Gerritsz. Vries of which the original is kept in the National Archives in The Hague. The facsimile belonged to the 1858 edition of Vries' voyage by Leupe, with a contribution by Siebold. Bodel Nijenhuis had a copy of this book in his personal library (see § 2.4). According to the auction catalogue of Bodel's library,[8] the map was lacking in his copy. He must have taken the map from his copy, to store it with the other maps of Japan (fig. 5a-b).

Another interesting contemporary map is a large map in four sheets, titled *Map of the islands of Japan, Kurile &c. with the adjacent coast of the Chinese dominions and a sketch of the river Amour and the Baikal Lake including the trading posts of Russia and China and their relative situations with Peking*, published in London by Aaron Arrowsmith in 1827. According to a note on the verso the map was bought for f 9,-[9] at the auction of the collection of Andries Stadnitski, collector of travel accounts and prints who lived in Leiden.[10] The handwritten number '24A' on the verso corresponds with the auction lot number: 24 in the atlases and maps section. The handwriting of the annotations on the verso seems to differ from Bodel's handwriting, so it is uncertain that this map belonged to Bodel Nijenhuis's bequest. However, the auction took place in 1839 so it is not unlikely that the map was purchased by him.

7 *Gedane coursen door den schipper commandeur Marten Gerritsen Vries met het fluytschip Castricum A° 1643.* Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 178 N 146. Note by Bodel Nijenhuis in upper left margin: "uit Reize van Maarten Gerritsz. de Vries in 1643 naar Japan, uitgeg. door P.A. Leupe, Amst., bij Muller, 1858."

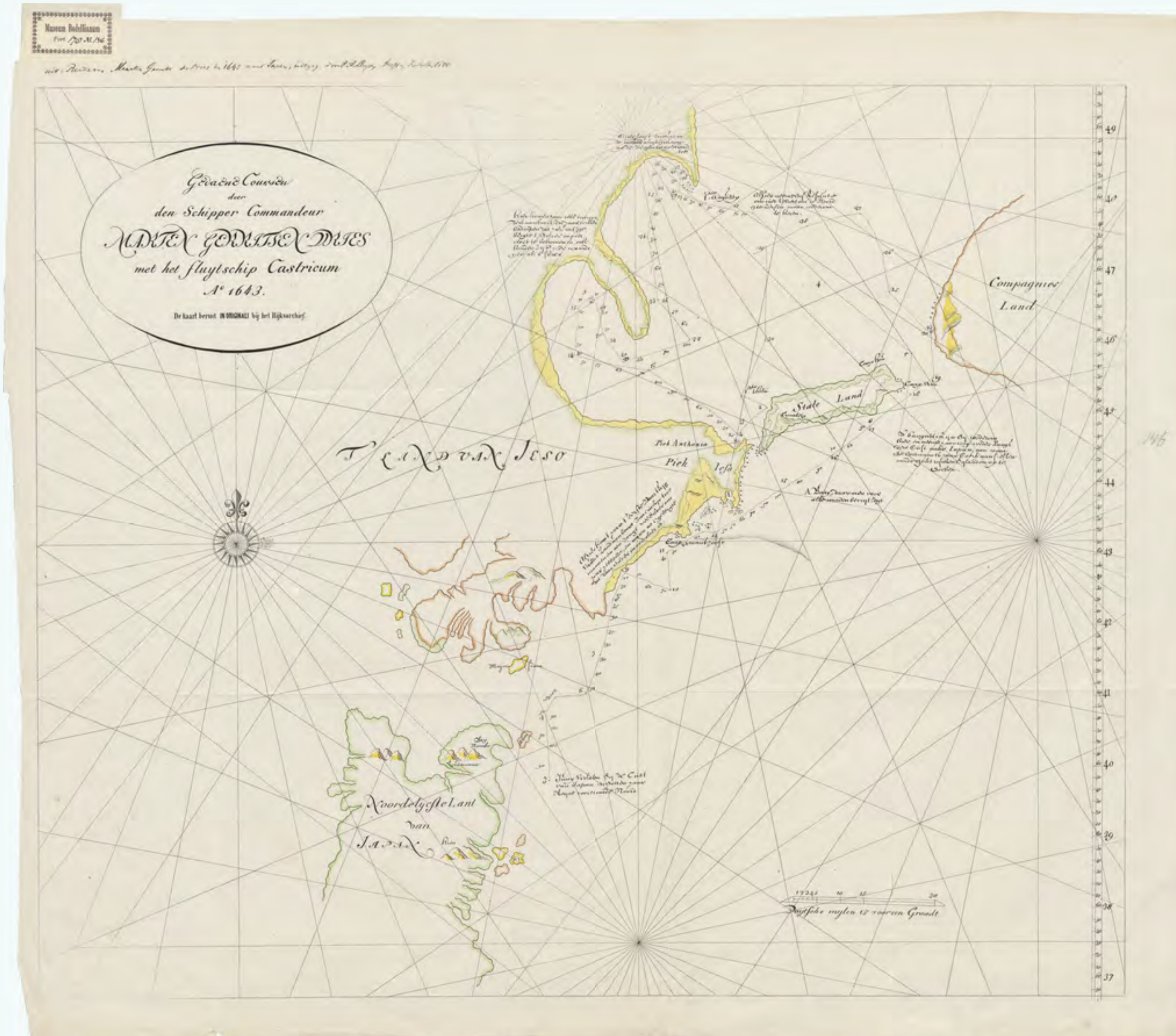
8 *Catalogue des collections étendues historiques et artistiques formées et délaissées par feu Mr. Bodel Nijenhuis. Première division. Bibliothèque. Première partie: Histoire et géographie.* (*Les Pays-Bas excepts.*) *Histoire des religions. – Histoire de la civilisation.* Leide: E.J. Brill / Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1873, lot nr. 1141, p. 59: "Vries, M. Gz., Reise naar Japan in 1643, uitgeg. d. P.A. Leupe. Amst. 1858. Av. facs. 8°. - Manq. la carte."

9 According to the calculator of the International Institute of Social History (IISG) f 9,- (guilders) in 1839 corresponds with €196,67 in 2018.

10 Jeronimo de Vries, Albertus Brondgeest, Engelbert Michael Engelberts & Cornelis François de Roos, *Catalogus van eene uitmuntende en keurig geconditioneerde verzameling voortreffelijke boeken, in de Fransche, Engelsche, Hoog- en Nederduitsche talen; en bestaande in de voornaamste en nieuwste reisbeschrijvingen, historische, letter- en dichtkundige werken.* Amsterdam: G. Lamberts, 1839, p. 81; Atlassen en kaarten, cat.nr. 24: "Map of the Islands of Japan, Kurille etc., by A. Arrowsmith. Lond. 1827. in 4 bladen.".

Figure 5a – Maerten Gerritsz. Vries, *Kaart van Noord-Oostelyk gedeelte van Japan en Jeso, het Statenland, Compagniesland enz. waarop de trek der reis van den Commandeur Fries met de Castricum in 1643*. Original VOC-chart of Vries (Nationaal Archief, 4.VEL 284).

Figure 5b – P.A. Leupe, *Gedaene Coursen door den Schipper Commandeur Marten Gerritsen Vries met het Fluytschip Castricum Ao. 1643. De kaart berust in originali bij het Rijksarchief*. Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1858. Facsimile of Vries' map of 1643 from the 1858 edition of Vries' voyage (Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 178 N 146).



2.2 Manuscript and Proof Fragments of Siebold's Map of 1840

Most of the contemporary maps collected by Bodel Nijenhuis during his life are related to the work of Philipp Franz von Siebold. Unique is the set of manuscript drafts and proof prints of fragments of Siebold's *Karte vom Japanischen Reiche*, printed in Leiden by Arnz. & Comp. in 1840.[11] Two manuscript fragments have survived (fig. 6). One large sheet covers the left half of the map, lacking the inset of the northern tip of Honshu and southern Hokkaido. In the lower left corner a small piece of paper is attached depicting

11 The copy at Leiden University Libraries (COLLBN Port 202 N 53), has 'Gedruckt bei Arnz & Comp. in Leiden.' in the lower right corner. On other known copies of this map this printer's address is lacking, so there are at least two states of the map.

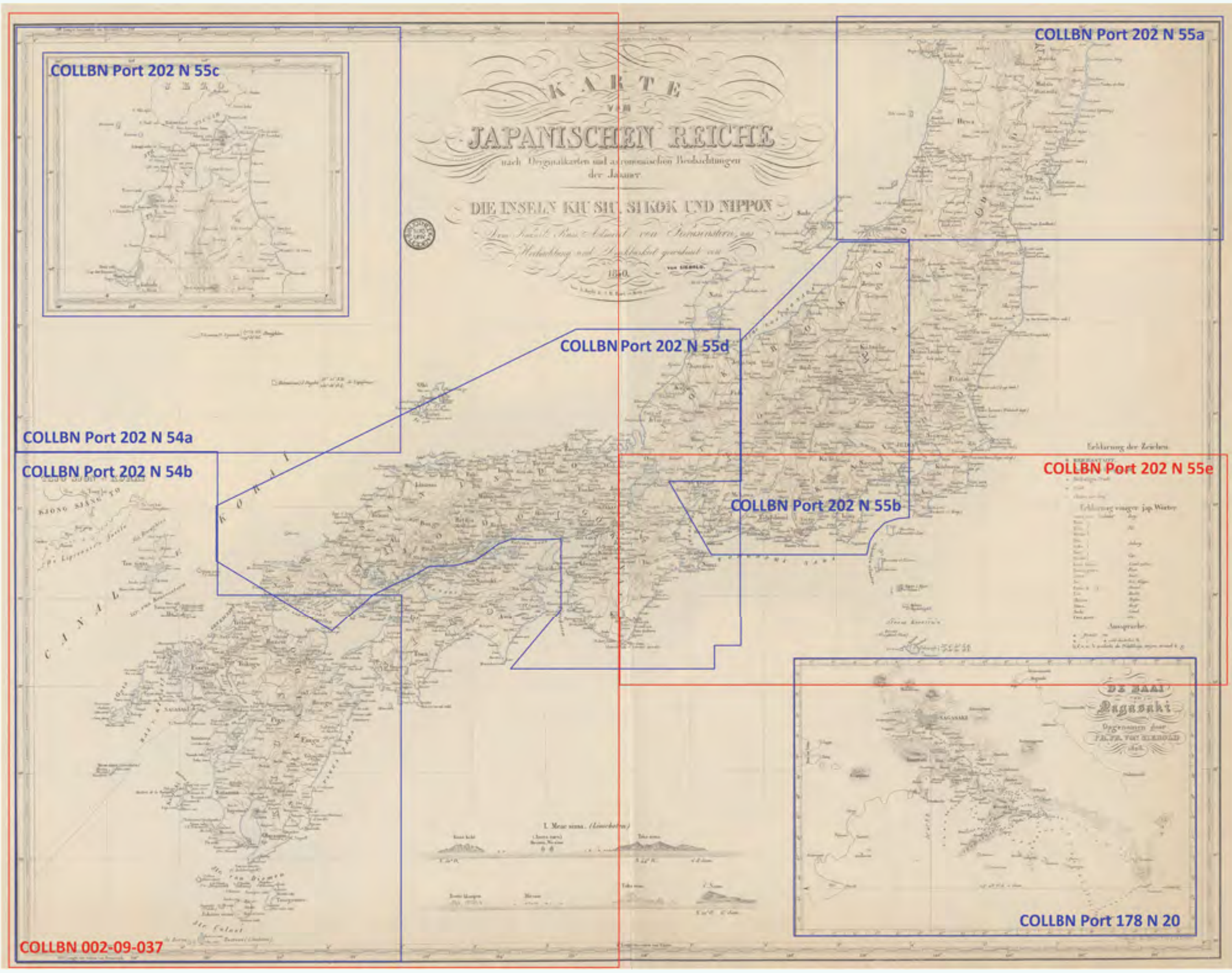


Figure 6 – Overview of the manuscript and proof print fragments, kept in the collections of Leiden University Libraries.

the Tokara islands. In Dutch these islands are indicated as 'Linschoten archipel' and in the final map as 'De Zeven Zusters' (The Seven Sisters). The southernmost group of these islands, below the line of 30° northern latitude, is not indicated on the final map because it is located outside the map frame. The second manuscript fragment is a relatively small section of the right half of the map, covering the south-eastern part of the island of Honshu. According to Gommans and Van Diessen these two fragments "are two sets of corrections on the earliest stage of the printed lithograph, where only the topography had been applied to the stone and printed."[12] However, in my opinion the map is completely drawn by hand, both the topography, i.e. the coastlines, rivers and relief hachuring, as well as the grid of the lines of longitude and latitude. Close comparison of the manuscript and final printed edition clearly shows small differences. Some of the lines of latitude on the smaller manuscript fragment were drawn incorrectly and are later corrected

12 Gommans & Van Diessen 2010, 254-55.

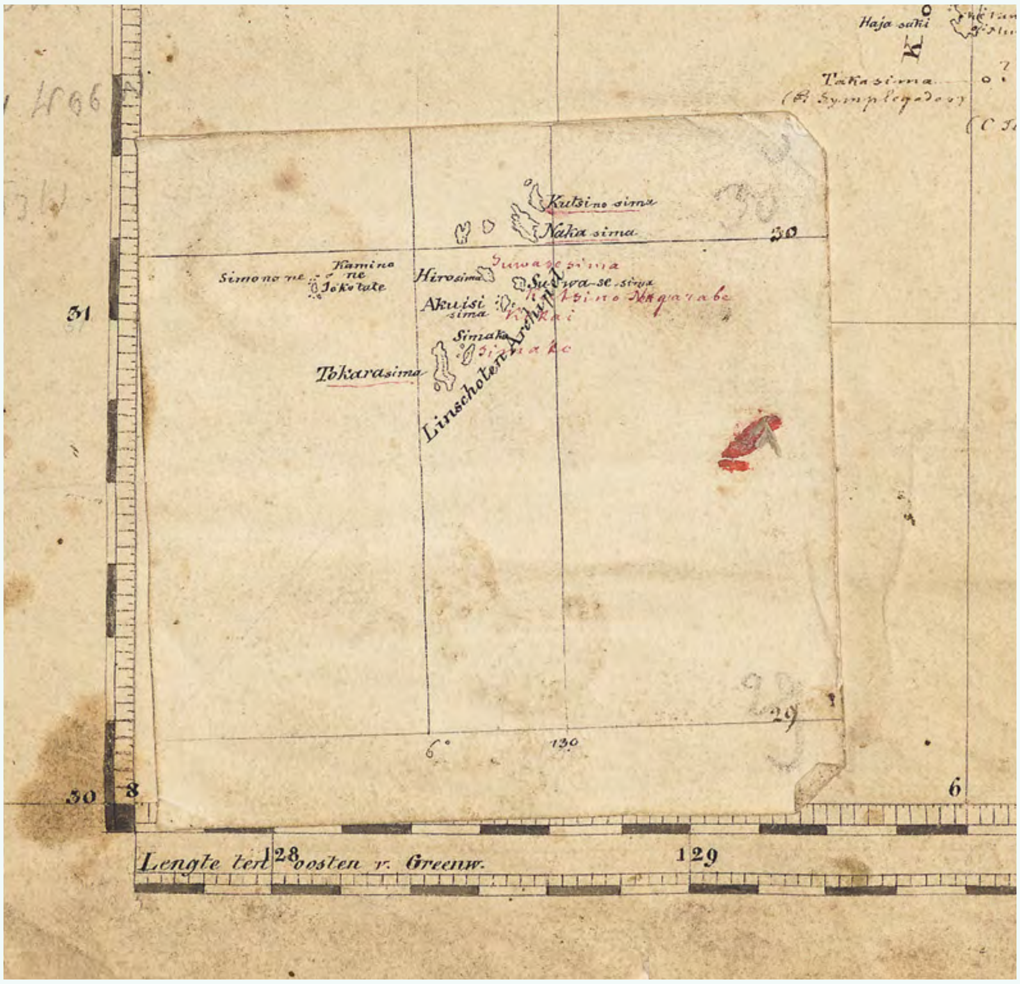


Figure 7 – Depiction of the Tokara islands, piece of paper attached to the western sheet of the manuscript version of Siebold's map of Japan (Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN 002-09-037, detail).

in pencil. Moreover, the left sheet suggests that the original designed map was higher than the final map. There would have been enough space to depict the northern part of Honshu on its right place in upper right corner. However, it was decided to decrease the map's size, probably to spare paper, and to place an inset of northern Honshu in an inset map in the upper left corner in the empty Sea of Japan (fig. 7).[13]

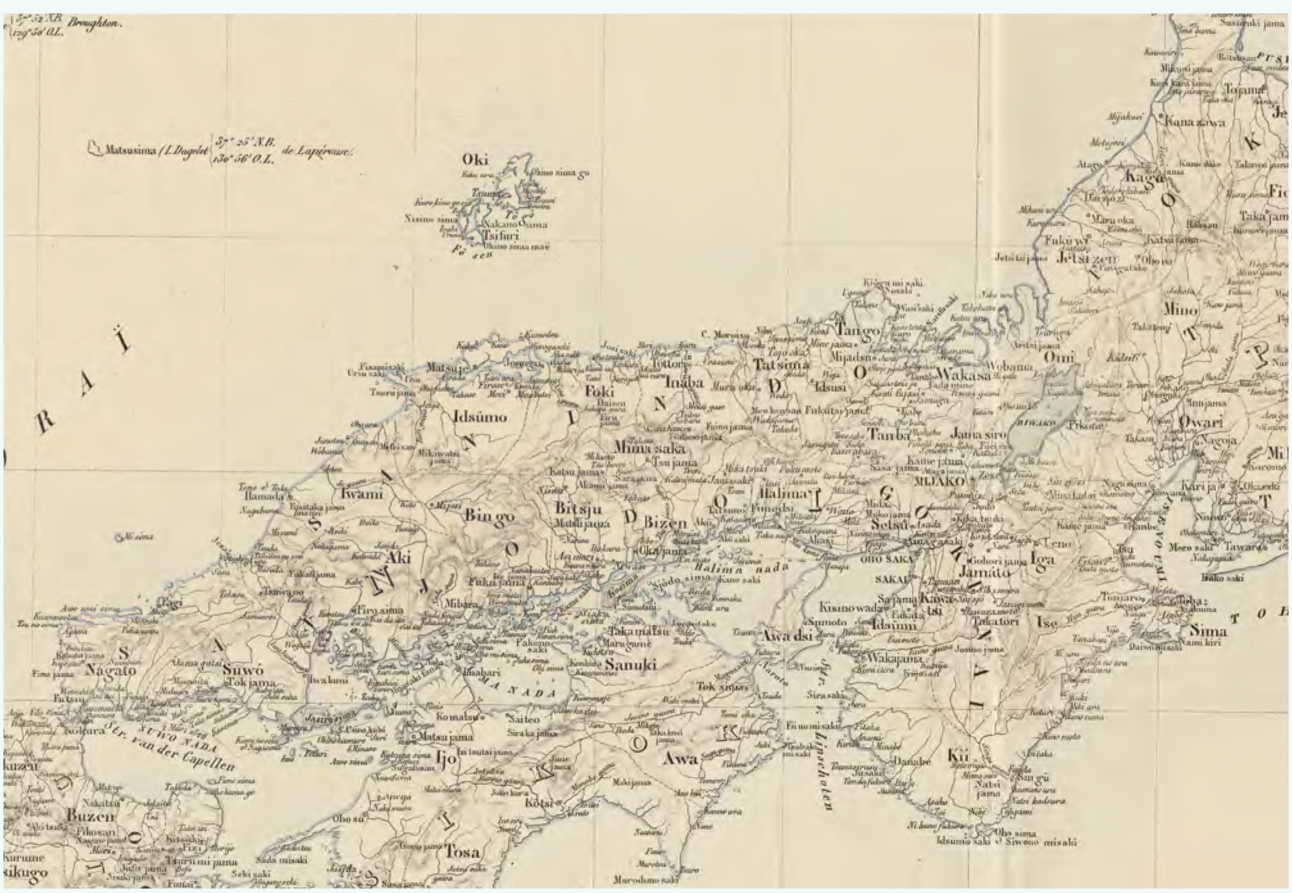
Besides the above, the collection has seven annotated fragments of proof prints of the map. Six of these proofs were already known as such.[14] There are two fragments of the inset of the northern tip of Honshu from different stages of the proof correction process. The other fragments hardly overlap and together cover most of the map image. Parts of the map of which a proof fragment is lacking are the eastern coast of Honshu from Jedo (Tokyo) to Nakamura, the island of Shikoku, Noto peninsula and Sado island

13 See the parallel discussion of this issue in the contribution by Aoyama to this volume.
14 Adema, Fazio & Patodia 2008, 126-29.; Gommans & Van Diessen 2010, 252-57; Leca 2017a, 67-73.

along the northern coast and furthermore some smaller islands off the coast. Recently, a plan of the bay of Nagasaki was recognised as a proof version of the lower right inset on Siebold's map of 1840 (cat. 25). This fragment has far less annotations than the others and therefore did not easily stand out as a proof fragment. However, the coastline northwest of Nagasaki in the lower right corner (east is on top of this inset) is corrected in more detail in pencil (figs. 8a-c).

Figure 8a-c – Details of central Honshu from the manuscript, proof and published version of Siebold's *Karte vom Japanischen Reiche* (Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN 002-9-037; COLLBN Port 202 N 55d; COLLBN Port 202 N 53).


Tango
Tatsima
Wakasa
Inaba
Idsûmo
Iwami
Bingo
Bitsju
Bizen
Mima saka
Halima
Aki
Suwô
Nagato
Oomi
Owari
Mino
Jetsi zen
Kaga
Kana zawa
Sima
Klippen um Sima!


Broughton
Matsusima (I. Dagelet
de Lapérouse
Oki
Tango
Tatsima
Wakasa
Inaba
Idsûmo
Iwami
Bingo
Bitsju
Bizen
Mima saka
Halima
Aki
Suwô
Nagato
Setsu
Jamato
Iga
Ise
Kii
Awa
Sanuki
Tosa
Buzen
Oomi
Owari
Mino
Jetsi zen
Kaga
Kana zawa
Sima
Str. van der Capellen

2.3 Other Maps Related to Siebold

Bodel Nijenhuis also kept some loose maps from Siebold's magnum opus *Nippon* in his collection. However, not all maps and topographical prints from this work are included. From the auction catalogue of Bodel's library we know that Bodel Nijenhuis owned a copy of *Nippon* (figs 9a-b). When it comes to maps of Japan, only eight are found in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection. It is likely that Bodel Nijenhuis received the maps from *Nippon* from the author, the printer or the publisher, and that he didn't cut the maps out of the book himself. There is evidence that Bodel Nijenhuis received one of the maps directly from Siebold. This map has a pencil note in Latin in the lower right corner: "Donum Ph. F. von Siebold, n.n. peritissimi", which can be translated as "Gift by the expert Ph. F. von Siebold". This map, titled *Japan mit seinen Neben und Schutzländern nach einer ursprünglich Japanischen Karte* (fig. 10), is based on an original printed Japanese

Figure 9a – Philipp Franz von Siebold, *De baai van Nagasaki.* Cut out proof of the inset map of the Bay of Nagasaki from Siebold's map of Japan, 1840 (Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 178 N 20). Note the pencil correction of the north-western coast on the left side.

map from 1809 by Takahashi Kageyasu, kept in the Serrurier collection.[15] Four other maps from *Nippon* are a chromolithographed series of regional maps of Japan titled *Insularum Japonicarum tabulae geographicae secundum opus Nippon Jo Tsi Ro Tei Sen Tsu*.[16] This series is derived from a 1811 edition of the famous map of Japan by Nagakubo Sekisui, first published in 1779. On one of the sheets, *Tab. III Insulae Nippon Partem Orientalem Repraesentans*, Siebold attached a transparent piece of paper on which he drew a different depiction of the island of Hachijō, pasted just below the image of that island on the map (cat. 35). Since this map has an attached piece of paper in Siebold's handwriting, Bodel Nijenhuis must have received this map from Siebold. Although we have no proof, it seems logical that the other maps from *Nippon* were given by Siebold as well. However, *Nippon* contains maps of other regions, among which Strait Bangka, Muntok, Palembang and the island of Bangka (all nowadays in Indonesia), Taiwan, Korea as well as the island of

Figure 9b – Philipp Franz von Siebold, *De baai van Nagasaki*. Inset of Siebold's *Karte vom Japanischen Reiche*, 1840 (COLLBN Port 202 N 53, cat. 33).

15 Leiden University Libraries, Ser. 228.
16 Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 178 N 26-29.

Sakhalin. Some of these maps are kept in Bodel's collection as well, such as a map of Korea copied after a Japanese original.[17] Apart from the maps from *Nippon*, there are other maps connected to Siebold in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection. The Amsterdam publishing house Van Keulen, in this period led by the widow of Gerard Hulst van Keulen, was specialised in nautical charts and reissued some of the charts in *Nippon* in 1835. These include the earlier mentioned charts of Indonesian waters, from which he started his first journey to Japan, as well as two maps of the bay of Nagasaki on different scales. Siebold was involved with the survey of the bay and its soundings in 1828 and incorporated the smaller scale map of the entire bay also as an inset to his map of Japan from 1840.

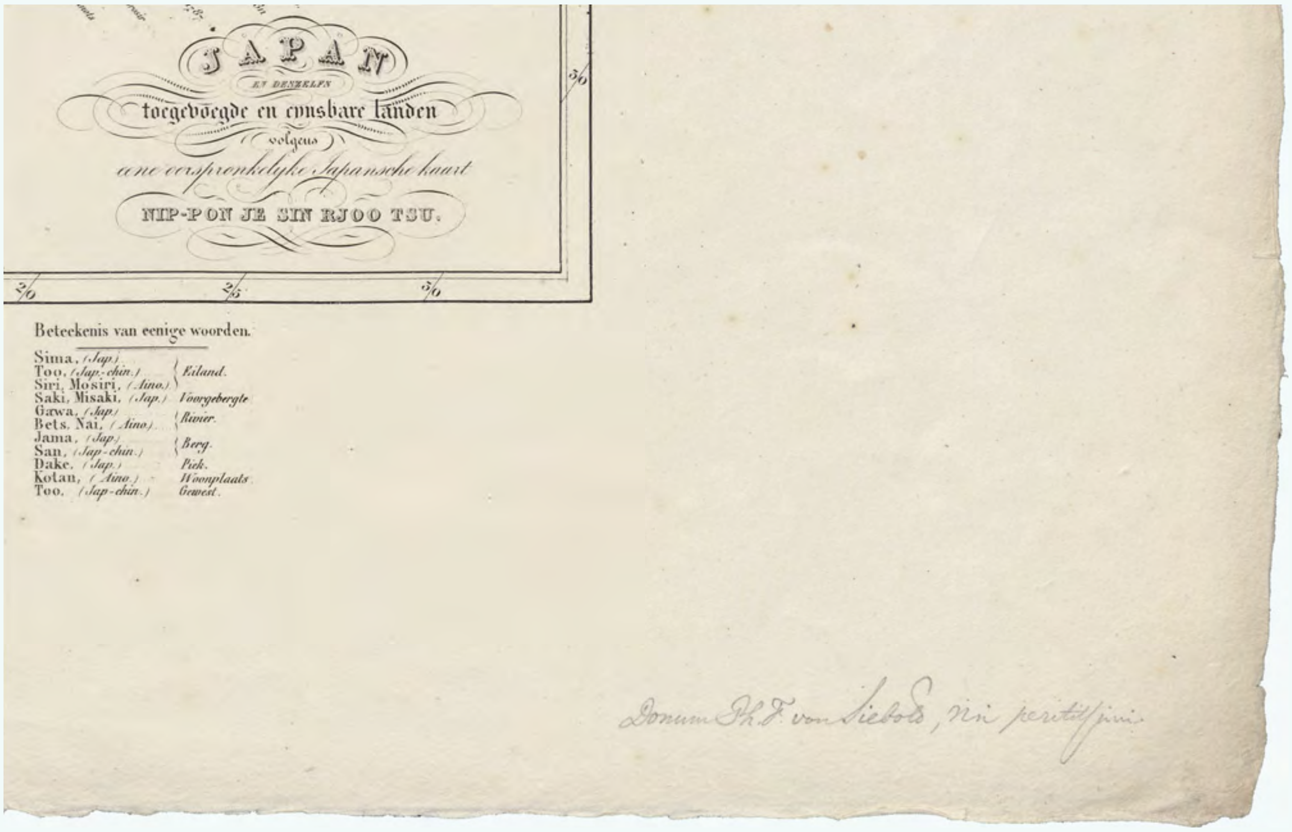


Figure 10 – Inscription 'Donum Ph. F. von Siebold, n.n. peritissimi' on Siebold's map titled *Japan mit seinen Neben und Schutzländern nach einer ursprünglich Japanischen Karte* (Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 178 N 30).

17 Philipp Franz von Siebold, *Koorai Verdeeld in acht Kreitsen, volgens de oorspronkelijke Kaart Tsiô-Siên P'hal To Dsi To = Koorai mit seiner Eintheilung in acht Kreise, nach der ursprunglichen Karte Tsiô-Siên P'hal To Dsi To*, [1852], Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 177 N 113.

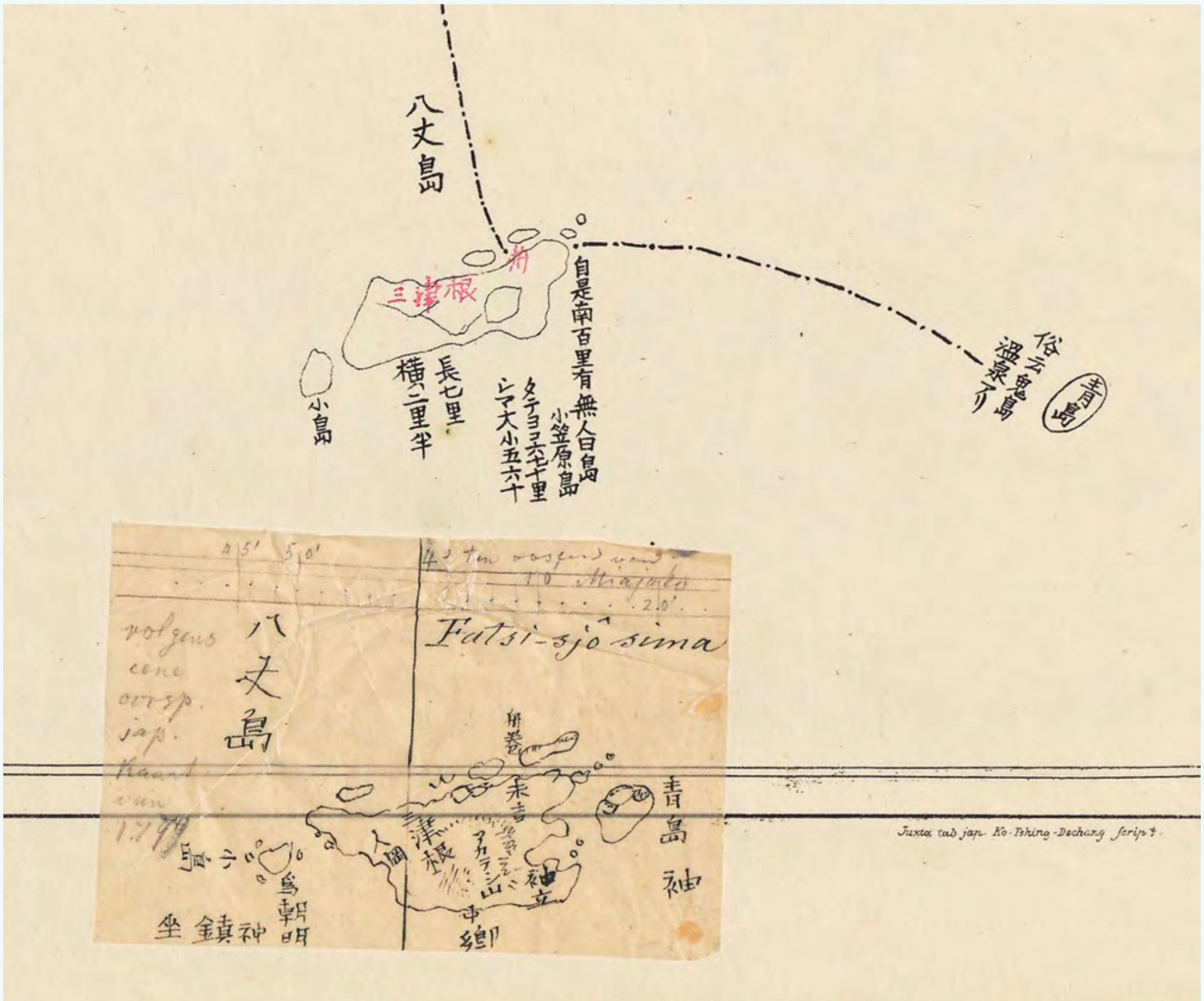


Figure 11 – Attached transparent piece of paper on which is drawn a different depiction of the island of Hachijō, pasted below the image of the same island on the map. *Tab. III Insulae Nippon partem orientalem repraesentans*, from Siebold's *Nippon* (Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 178 N 27, cat. 35).

Finally, there is a manuscript map of the northern starry sky in the collection.[18] The map was drawn by Siebold around 1845. Japanese names in Siebold's handwriting are added in red ink. He copied this map from the map titled *Der nördliche gestirnte Himmel* in the *Hand-Atlas* über *alle Theile der Erde* by Adolf Stieler, published in Gotha by Justus Perthes, ca. 1820. A loose copy of this map in the collection has annotations in Japanese.[19] Both maps are probably not part of Bodel Nijenhuis's bequest (12a-b).

18 Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN 009-06-005.
19 Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN 009-06-019.

Figure 12a – Manuscript map of the northern starry sky by Philipp Franz von Siebold (Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN 009-06-005).


Spica
200
210
220
230
240
270
300
Marcab

Figure 12b – Ludwig Hess, *Der nördliche gestirnte Himmel*. Taken from Adolf Stieler's *Hand-Atlas über alle Theile der Erde*. Gotha: Justus Perthes, ca. 1820, with annotations in Japanese (Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN 009-06-019).


Sternbezeichnungen:
1ste 2te 3te 4te 5te
Größe
Comet v. 1811.
Uranus
Ekliptik
Aequator
Spica
Denebola
Vindemiatrix
Arctur
Gema
Antares
(lamda)
Wega
Deneb
Altair
Jan. 1812.
Aequator
Ekliptik
190
200
210
220
230
240
250
260
270
280
290
300
310
320
330

2.4 Later Additions to the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection

Finally, about fifteen maps of Japan in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection were published after 1872, the year Bodel Nijenhuis died. These maps were added to the collection afterwards and vary from late nineteenth-century maps of Japan to city plans of Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka and other places from the 1990's.

Many atlases in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection contain one or more maps of Japan. However, atlases specifically devoted to Japan are hard to find in the collection. The only Japanese atlas in the collection is a collection of hydrographic charts published in the period 1873-1878 by the Hydrographic Office of the Japanese Navy Department directed by Yanagi Narayoshi (1832-1891).[20] The atlas can not have been part of Bodel's bequest since the maps were published after his death. Moreover, on a dedication written on a loose piece of paper we can read:

> "To E. Heighton Esqr., Chief of the Observatory, Leyden. From N.Y. Yanagi Captain & Hydrographer Japanese Navy"

Probably, Yanagi made a mistake because no E. Heighton is known in relation to the Leiden Observatory. In the period 1872-1908 the observatory was directed by Henricus Gerardus van de Sande Bakhuyzen. Nevertheless, via the observatory the atlas ended up in the university library and was later added to the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection. Another copy of this atlas was donated to the library by KITLV.

2.5 Books

Apart from maps and atlases, Bodel Nijenhuis also amassed a vast private library. Contrary to his cartographic collection, his books were auctioned off after his death. Three auctions were organised over seven days to bring the 6814 lots of Bodel's library under the hammer.[21] The largest part of Bodel's library was devoted to Dutch history and geography. The first book auction, which took place on March 24-26 in 1873, was devoted to foreign history and geography and consisted of 2232 lots. Only 155 of these lots were related to Asia, of which the largest part was concerned with the Netherlands East Indies. Only nine lots, containing 15 titles, are books on Japan[22]:

F. Caron, *Beschrijvinghe van het machtigh koninghrijcke Japan*. Amsterdam, 1652.

H. Doeff, *Herinneringen uit Japan*. Haarlem, 1833.

L.C.D. van Dijk, *Zes jaren uit het leven van Wemmer van Berchem, gevolgd door iets over onze vroegste betrekkingen met Japan*. Amsterdam, 1858.

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20 Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN, Atlas 96; another set from the National Archives of Japan is available from https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/pickup/view/category/categoryArchivesEn/0200000000/0405000000/00 [last accessed 5 June 2020].

21 Vries 1989, 14; Van der Lem 2008, 63.

22 *Catalogue des collections étendues historiques et artistiques formées et délaissées par feu Mr. Bodel Nijenhuis. Première division. Bibliothèque. Première partie: Histoire et géographie.* (*Les Pays-Bas excepts.*) *Histoire des religions. – Histoire de la civilisation.* Leide: E.J. Brill / Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1873, lot nrs. 1137-1145, p. 59.

G. Lauts, *Japan in zijne staatkundige en burgerlijke inrigtingen en het verkeer met Europesche natiën*. Amsterdam, 1847.

P.A. Leupe (& Ph.F. von Siebold), *Reize van Maarten Gerritsz. Vries in 1643 naar het noorden en oosten van Japan*. Amsterdam, 1858.

J.H. Levyssohn, *Bladen over Japan*. The Hague, 1852.

G.F. Meylan, *Geschiedkundig overzigt van den handel der Europezen op Japan*. Batavia, 1833.

A. Montanus, *Gedenkwaerdige gesantschappen der Ooost-Indische Maatschappy in 't Vereenigde Nederland aen de kaisaren van Japan*. Amsterdam, 1669.

A. Montanus, *Ambassades mémorables de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales des Provinces Unies vers les empereurs du Japon*. Amsterdam, 1680.

Ph. F. von Siebold, *Nippon. Archief voor de beschrijving van Japan*. Leiden, 1832 (2 vols.).

Ph. F. von Siebold, *Open brieven uit Japan*. Deshima, 1861 (2 copies).

C.P. Thunberg, *Verhandeling over de Japansche natie, haare zeeden, gebruiken en haare munten.* Amsterdam, 1780

B. Varenius, *Descriptio regni Japoniae*. Amsterdam, 1649.[23]

Without exception, the Japan-related books in Bodel's library are written and published from a Dutch perspective with attention to the Dutch exploration of and presence in Japan. It can be concluded that Bodel Nijenhuis did not hold a special interest in Japan. His interest was in Dutch history and exploration, which included the relationship with Japan. It is known that Bodel Nijenhuis cut maps and plates out of books to add these to his cartographic and topographic collection. For his books on Japan, it is mentioned once in the auction catalogue that the map in a book is missing. This is the case in the book on the voyage of Maarten Gerritsz. Vries in 1643.

As a (former) publisher, Bodel Nijenhuis was obviously well aware of the latest publications, at least in the Netherlands. He had a vast network of publishers, printers, lithographers, mapmakers et cetera. The collection bears evidence that these contacts donated maps and proofs of maps to Bodel Nijenhuis. An example of the fact that he kept track of newly published works can be found in a note that mentions a publication on Japan, attached to the related map of Kyushu by Siebold and H.O. Wichers in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection (cat. 36):

23 One title is unknown, since of lot number 1137 only four names of authors were given in the auction catalogue, while this lot contained five volumes.

> "At W.P. van Stockum came from the press: 1 February 1861 (maybe published earlier) W.J.C. Ridder Huyssen van Kattendyke, extract from his diary, during his stay in Japan, 1857-59. With a map of Kyushu and Japan à f 2,80."[24]

In this case, it is not clear whether the map was given to Bodel by the publisher. However, that is not unlikely. According to the auction catalogue, the book by Huyssen van Kattendyke was not in Bodel's library. He probably purchased or received only the loose map and wrote the note to make clear to which publication it belonged. His primary interest was in the map, not in the book.

3. Two Map Collectors on Rapenburg: Bodel Nijenhuis and Siebold

Johannes Tiberius Bodel Nijenhuis was born in 1797 and moved from Amsterdam to Leiden in 1799 after his mother died. Bodel Nijenhuis lived almost his entire life at Rapenburg 69 in Leiden, the building where the Luchtmans publishing company was located. Philipp Franz von Siebold (fig. 13), born one year and nine months earlier, lived at Rapenburg 19 only for a short period. Soon after returning from Japan he settled in Leiden. In 1832 he rented Rapenburg 19 from owner Adriana de Wit and lived there for a while, together with two servants. He used the building to exhibit his collection of Japanese objects. Siebold bought the house in 1836. Having moved his collection to the first floor, he opened to the public in 1837. Meanwhile, the student society Minerva was housed on the ground floor, and another part of the building was let. Siebold now lived most of the time in Germany and in his other house in Leiden just outside the city walls: 'Huize Nippon' at Lage Rijndijk. In 1844 Minerva moved to Breestraat and Siebold rented the house to the German professor Caspar Georg Carel Reinwardt, to whom he sold the building in 1847 (fig. 14).[25]

Although Siebold (partly) lived at Rapenburg for fifteen years, the question is how well he and Bodel Nijenhuis knew each other. At the very least, Bodel Nijenhuis certainly knew Siebold's work. As we have seen, he kept several maps by Siebold in his map collection and he owned two volumes of *Nippon* and a copy of the edition of the voyage of Maarten Gerritsz. Vries of 1643, edited by Leupe and Siebold. In an annotation by Bodel Nijenhuis on a map by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier from 1682[26] we read:

"It's the [map] which Von Siebold mentions of Tavernier, 1677 (see also T[avernier]'s map of Cochinchina). Tav[ernier]'s Dutch edition has no maps."

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24 Philipp Franz von Siebold, *Kaart van de Westkust van Kiusiu en Japan uit de kaarten en opnemingen van Jhr. F. von Siebold : benevens de opmetingen van de Nederl. Zee-Officieren gedurende jaren 1858-1859 in Japan gedetacheerd bijeenverzameld en in kaart gebragt.* 's-Gravenhage: W.P. van Stockum, 1860 (Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 178 N 23). Original Dutch text on the attached note: "Bij W. P. v. Stockum, 's Hage, is van de p[er]s gekomen: 1 febr. [18]61 (misschien al vroeger verschenen) W.J.C. Ridder Huyssen v. Cattendijke, uittreksel uit zijn dagboek, gedur[ende] zijn v[er]blijf in Japan, 1857-59. Met kaart van Kiusiu en Japan à f 2,80."

25 Lunsingh Scheurleer et al. 1986, 270-71.

26 "Is die welke von Siebold van Tavernier noemt, 1677 (zie ook T's kt. van Cochinchina). Tav.'s neêrd. uitgave heeft geene kaarten." Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Carte des isles du Iapon esquelles est remarqué la route tant par mer que par terre*. [Paris, 1682], Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 178 N 34; Hubbard 2012, 230-31.

Figure 13 – Photo of Philipp Franz von Siebold by Franz Hanfstaengl, München, ca. 1865. This photo was among the collection of portraits that Bodel Nijenhuis donated to the Society of Dutch Literacy (Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde) in 1867 (Leiden University Libraries, 20023 3-10, BN MNL 675).

Figure 14 – The addresses where Philipp Franz von Siebold (north) and Johannes Tiberius Bodel Nijenhuis (south, next to the Academy Building) lived, indicated on the *Nieuwe Kaart der Stad Leyden* by W.J. van Campen, 1850.

Bodel Nijenhuis refers here to Siebold's publication on the history of European discoveries in the coastal areas of Japan, published in the first section of *Nippon*.[27] Siebold refers to Tavernier's map in relation to the indication of Korea as an island on this map, while most European maps at that time already indicate Korea as a peninsula. This note suggests that Bodel Nijenhuis not only had a copy of *Nippon* on his shelves but also carefully read and used this work as a reference for his map collection.

Since Bodel Nijenhuis probably received the maps from *Nippon* and the manuscript fragments and proof prints of the map of Japan – directly and/or indirectly – from Siebold, the possibility arises that both map collectors knew each other quite well. However, up to now little evidence of their relationship has come to light. We know only of the existence of one short letter that Siebold wrote to Bodel Nijenhuis (cat. 37). The letter concerns a book in Chinese or Japanese that Bodel Nijenhuis had sent to Siebold for viewing and for further analysis. Siebold answered that he handed the book to Hoffmann, who "can now be considered an authority in everything concerning the Japanese or Chinese language."[28] It is unknown which book Bodel sent to Siebold, but from the phrasing of the letter we can surmise that it was a multi-volume reference work.

27 Siebold 1832-52, vol. I, fascicle 1, 89.
28 Leiden University Libraries, BPL 3655.

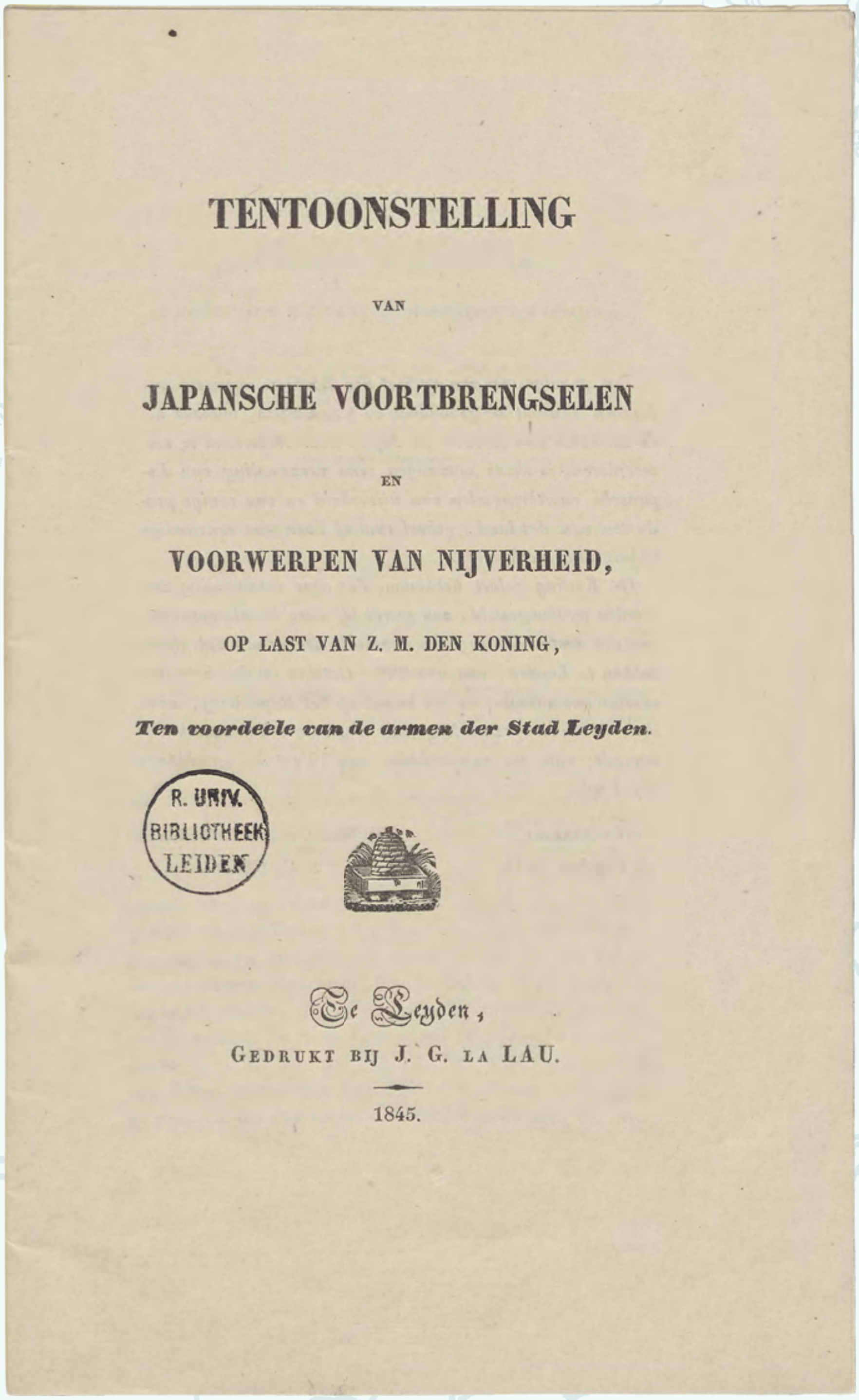
An unusual item among the maps of Japan in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection is a small exhibition catalogue from 1845 titled: *Tentoonstelling van Japansche voortbrengselen en voorwerpen van nijverheid*.[29] Although Siebold's collection was already opened to the public in 1837, this was the first official exhibition of Siebold's collection of Japanese products, collected during his first stay in Japan between 1823 and 1829. The exhibition was organised by order of King Willem II. Siebold's collection was purchased by the Dutch government in 1838.[30] Since the booklet is lacking any note by Bodel Nijenhuis and the shelfmark suggests that is was later added to the collection, it is not unlikely that it was not part of Bodel's bequest but incorporated later. On the other hand, Bodel Nijenhuis must have been aware of this exhibition which took place on the same street where he lived. The catalogue contains a small plan of Deshima which could have been the reason that he, or someone later, added it to the collection. At the end of the booklet, Siebold writes that he is willing to give verbal explanations of the exhibited items, and this is the closest we can come so far to imagining a conversation between the two map enthusiasts on Rapenburg.[31]

Figure 15 – Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Carte des Isles du Iapon esquelles est remarqué la route tant par mer que par terre que tiennent les Hollandois pour se transporter de la Ville de Nangasaqui a Iedo, demeure du Roy de ces mesmes Isles. [Amsterdam: weduwe Johannes van Someren, 1682] (Leiden University Library, COLLBN Port 178 N 34).

29 Philipp Franz von Siebold, *Tentoonstelling van Japansche voortbrengselen en voorwerpen van nijverheid, op last van Z.M. den Koning, ten voordeele van de armen der stad Leyden*. Leiden: J.G. la Lau, 1845 (Leiden University Libraries COLLBN Port 178 N 52a).

30 Ishiyama & Kobayashi 2016, 214-15.

31 Siebold, 1845, 23.



TENTOONSTELLING

VAN

JAPANSCHE VOORTBRENGSELEN

EN

VOORWERPEN VAN NIJVERHEID,

OP LAST VAN Z. M. DEN KONING,

Ten voordeele van de armen der Stad Leyden.

Te Leyden,

GEDRUKT BIJ J. G. LA LAU.

1845.

Figure 16a – Title page of Siebold's exhibition catalogue *Tentoonstelling van Japansche voortbrengselen en voorwerpen van nijverheid, op last van Z.M. den Koning, ten voordeele van de armen der stad Leyden*. Leiden: J.G. la Lau, 1845 (Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 178 N 52a).

Conclusion

During his life, Bodel Nijenhuis gathered a considerable amount of maps of Japan. Because it is impossible to ascertain for every single map whether it is part of Bodel's bequest, the number of maps of Japan from Bodel Nijenhuis's possession is estimated at eighty to one hundred. Compared to his entire collection, which is estimated at around fifty thousand maps, the maps of Japan form only a very small part. The same picture emerges from the number of books in his library. When he died, he only owned fifteen books of Japan. Most maps and books from his collection were published in the Netherlands and were related to Dutch voyages and activities in Japan. Dutch history overseas was his main interest and shaped his collection. The most interesting items in his collection of maps of Japan are the manuscript and proof print fragments of Siebold's map of Japan which was published in 1840 in Leiden. Such intermediary cartographic documents that give insight in the map production process are a second major area of interest which captured Bodel Nijenhuis's attention. A question that is still not answered satisfactorily is how well the two map collectors Bodel Nijenhuis and Siebold knew each other. Whereas Siebold was mainly concerned with Japanese history and culture, Bodel Nijenhuis was mainly interested in Dutch history. However, their interests met in cartography and map history. Hopefully, future research will shed more light on the relationship between these gentlemen.

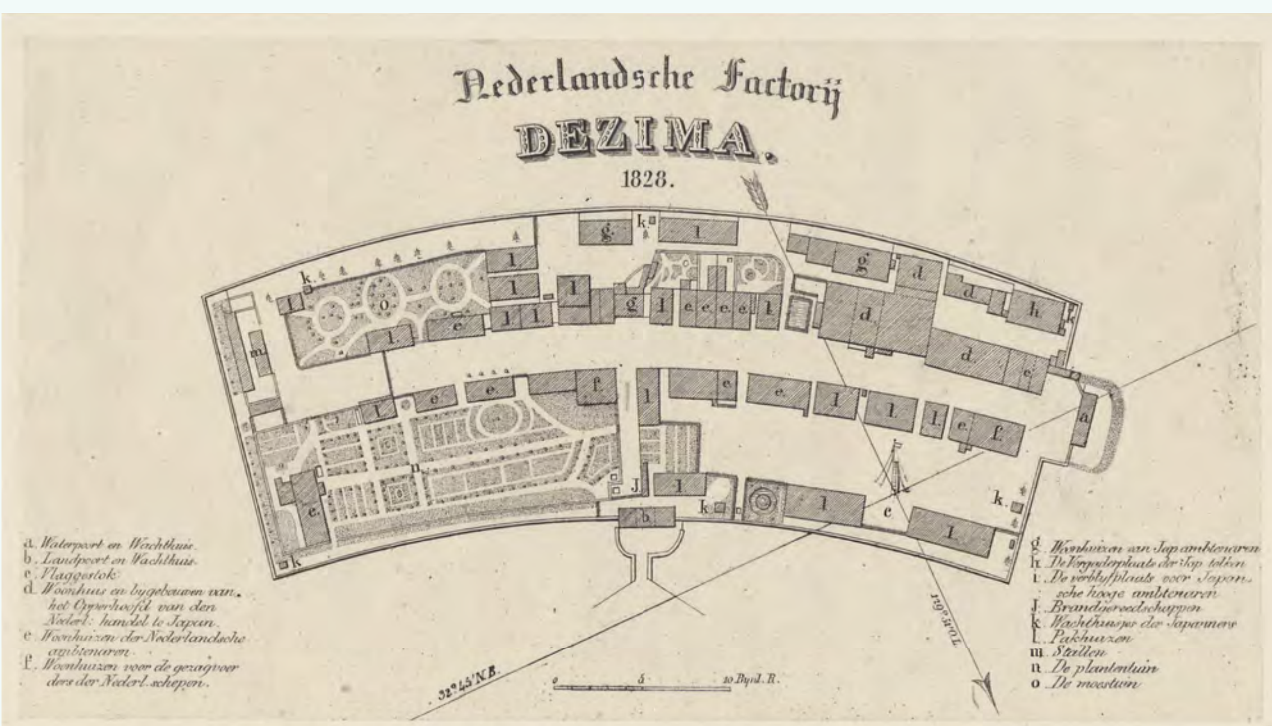
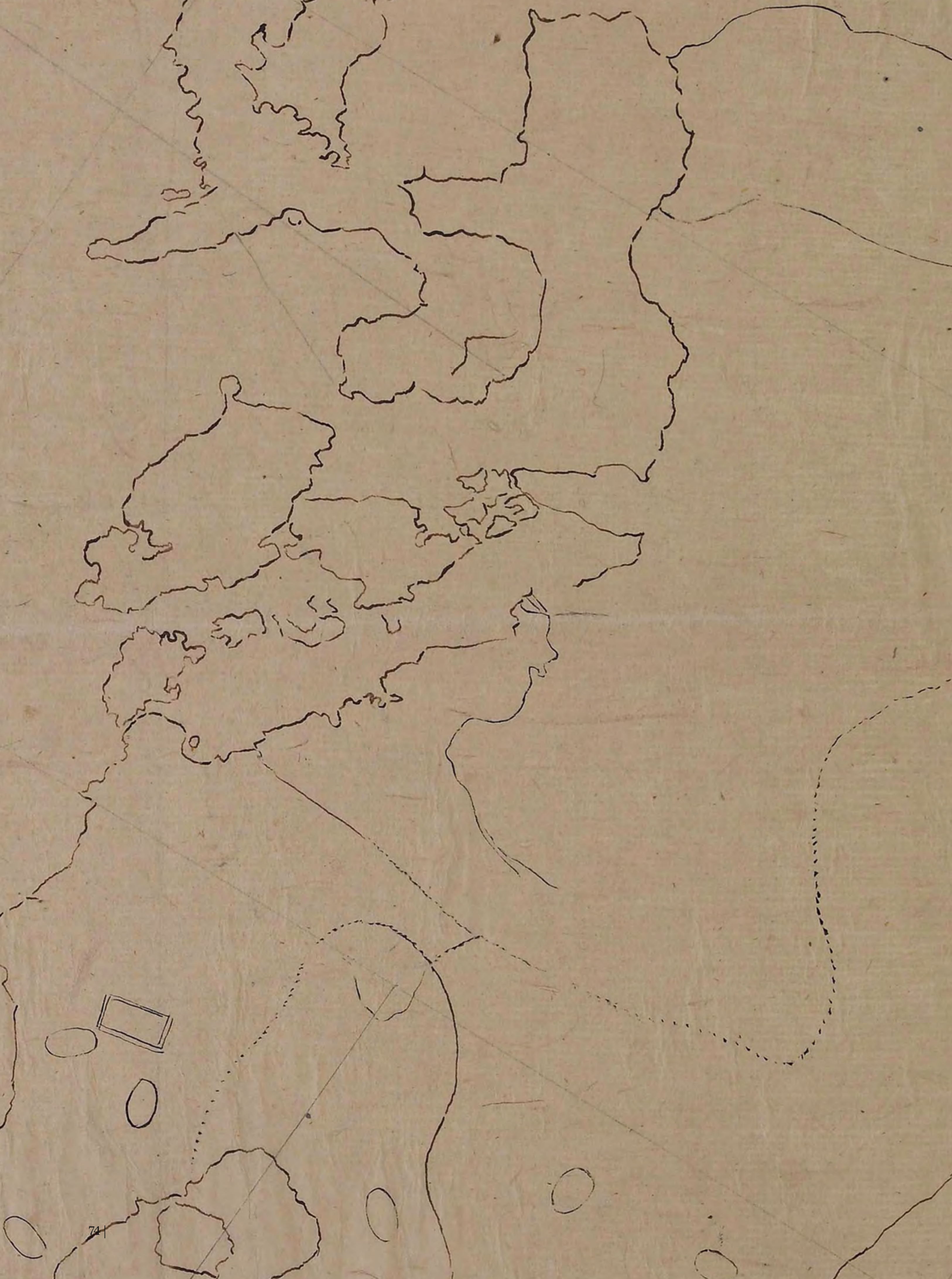


Figure 16b – Plan of Deshima in Siebold's exhibition catalogue (Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 178 N 52a).



Siebold's Mapping of Japan

Aoyama Hiro'o

1. The Space of Japan in the Time of Siebold

Philipp Franz Balthasar von Siebold (1796-1866) began his research on Japan at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a time when interest in the land to the north of Japan had increased both inside and outside Japan. The shape of most land on the earth had become known after expeditions in the second half of the eighteenth century by explorers such as James Cook (1728-1779). However, the land to the north of Japan had remained largely *Terra Incognita*. This led to a focus on gaining knowledge about this region through exploratory surveys carried out by various European countries through Jean-François de La Pérouse (1741-1788), William Robert Broughton (1762-1821), Adam Johann von Krusenstern (1770-1846) or Vasily Mikhailovich Golovnin (1776-1831), as well as by Japan through Mogami Tokunai (1755-1836), Kondō Jūzō (1771-1829) or Mamiya Rinzō (1780-1844).

On the other hand, in this period the Tokugawa government assumed direct control over Ezo (present-day Hokkaido) to counter Russia's southward expansion, while at the same time authorizing the surveying of Ezo by Inō Tadataka (1745-1818).[1] This was the starting point of a complete survey of the archipelago that resulted in the 'Complete Maps of Japan's Coastal Area' (from now on Inō maps) as well the 'Surveying Record of Japan's Coasts', submitted to the shogunate in 1821. Siebold arrived in Japan two years later, in 1823.

Amidst this growing interest in the space of Japan and the associated revision of geographical knowledge, Siebold, who had been entrusted the mission of completing a report on Japan, vigorously collected a variety of maps with the latest cartographic and geographic knowledge that could be trusted to establish the correct location and shape of Japan's territory. One of the characteristics of Siebold's study of Japan was the use of maps as a method to describe Japan's space.

As discussed in the previous paper, when using Japanese maps for the production of his own maps, Siebold was particularly aware of lines of longitude and latitude as well as the necessity for the map to be oriented with north at the top.[2] This often meant orchestrating the conversion of 'indigenous' Japanese

1 Boyle's contribution to this volume refers in more detail to Tokugawa actions in Ezo. For an extended study of this process in English see Walker 2001.

2 Aoyama 2015, 306-12.

doi:10.1163/9789004424692_005

maps that did not traditionally carry latitude and longitude markers and were not necessarily oriented with north at the top into maps according to Western standards.

The aim of this contribution is to elucidate in concrete terms the editing process of the most representative of Siebold's maps of Japan, the *Karte vom Japanischen Reiche...* (cat. 24, from now on Siebold's Japan map), and thereby reflect on the meaning of Siebold's mapping of the space of Japan. The materials under investigation belong to two collections: the Brandenstein-Zeppelin Family Archives[3] and the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection in Leiden University Library.[4] They have been recently revealed to be related to Siebold's Japan map.

3 Miyasaka 1998.
4 Leca 2017, 68-73.

Figure 1 – *Kana-gaki Inō tokubetsu shōzu* カナ書き伊能特別小図 ('Special small-scale Inō maps with phonetic script'), National Diet Library, composite of three scans from the NDL website.

2. The Editing Process of Siebold's *Karte vom Japanischen Reiche…*

2.1 The Rediscovery of Related Sources

Siebold's Japan map was published in Leiden in 1840 and also distributed later as an appendix to his major work *Nippon*. This map's depiction of the shape of the Japanese archipelago was considerably more accurate than its European predecessors, and thus constitutes one of Siebold's greatest achievements in the history of cartography. Recent research has established with certainty that the source of this map is a group of three sheets (Western, Eastern and Northern Japan) of Special small-scale Inō maps with phonetic script (from now on small-scale Inō maps), *Kana-gaki Inō tokubetsu shōzu* (fig. 1), produced from the original Inō maps.[5]

5 Aoyama 2018, 30-2.

Five hand-drawn copies of these small-scale Inō maps have been preserved in the collection of Siebold's descendants, the von Brandenstein-Zeppelin family in Germany. The whereabouts of Siebold's copies of Inō's maps and of related materials had not been known in the past, and therefore this discovery makes it possible to prove with certainty the direct relationship between Siebold's Japan maps and the Inō maps.

Also, in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection of Leiden University Library there are nine drafts and printer's proofs of Siebold's Japan map. These were discovered during preparations for the exhibition 'De verzamelingen van Bodel Nijenhuis,' and exhibited there for the first time at Leiden University Library in 2008.[6]

These fourteen maps were made during the process of converting small-scale Inō maps into the final form of Siebold's Japan map. This is why they are important materials for understanding how Siebold's Japan map was produced.

In order to place these fourteen maps within the different stages of the editing process from source map to final design, I will focus on spatial setting and on the depictions of various elements in the maps. More specifically, for the former I will take as parameters projection techniques (especially the lines of longitude), scale and orientation, and for the latter the shape of the coastline, the depiction of mountains and the presence or absence of Japanese characters. It is also important for the editing process to consider whether the source material is hand-drawn or printed.

6 Except for the map of Nagasaki bay, they are included in Gommans and van Diessen 2010, 254-7.

Figure 2 – Item no. 22, Brandenstein-Zeppelin Family Archives.

2.2 The tracing, Verification and Investigation of Source Maps

The five sheets of traced maps in the Brandenstein-Zeppelin Family Archives are partial maps of Western Japan and registered under numbers 22 to 26 (figs. 2-5). Since nos. 23 and 24 are originally from the same sheet, this means there are four types of sheets. All of them are manuscripts, and besides minor changes resulting from repeated tracing (no. 25) they are faithful hand-drawn copies of the source map.

Regarding the maps' projection techniques, the longitude lines in nos. 22, 23-24, and 26 follow the same Sanson-Flamsteed projection as the source map (detailed discussion below), while no. 25 has rectangular coordinates for latitude and longitude lines according to the Mercator projection. Likewise, regarding the scale, all maps except no. 25 have the same scale 1:864000 as the source map, compared to no. 25 with a half-size reduced scale of 1:1728000. This means that compared to the other maps that have the same projection and scale as the source map, no. 25 has fundamentally a different spatial setting, and should therefore be placed later in the map editing process.

When considering orientation, specifically the placement of the northern direction, nos. 23-24 and 26 are oriented with north at a clockwise inclination of approximately 30° as in the source map, while nos. 22 and 25 have the north straight at the top. The inclination in the source map was simply more convenient, and nos. 23-24 and 26 that reproduce this inclination should be placed in the initial stage of the editing process. Likewise, the depictions of mountains in nos. 23-24 and 26 are different than in nos. 22 and 25. While the side of the mountains is depicted pictorially in nos. 23-24 and 26, as in the source map, nos. 22 and 25 show mountains with European-style hachures.

On the other hand, there are differences between nos. 23-24 and 26 when it comes to the presence or absence of kanji (ideograms). These differences are also seen in how many rectangular frames carrying province names and oval-shaped frames carrying county names have been copied. On nos. 23 and 24 there is barely one example in Yakushima 屋久島, while on no. 26 the frames appear eighteen times in provinces such as Satsuma 薩摩国, Ōsumi 大隅国 and Hyūga 日向国. Judging from this, no. 26 can be considered as closer to the source map.

The above investigation makes it possible to establish the sequence of the tracing within the editing process as no. 26, followed by 23-24, 22 and 25, as shown in table 1. However, as detailed below, that process involved more than just tracing.

When examining notations on each map, on all except no. 25, one finds detailed scale markings drawn on lines of longitude and latitude (nos. 22, 23-24, 26), azimuth lines drawn from Cape Sata 佐多岬 and from Shimonoseki 下関 to various locations (nos. 23-24, 26), and areas with mesh grids distinct from latitude and longitude lines (nos. 22, 23-24, 26), which are remnants of various map-bound activities. Especially prominent on no. 22 are remnants of the verification of source map and the comparison with other sources: lines correcting deviations in longitude and in orientation that are peculiar to the source map, annotations recording the length of latitude lines for each degree of latitude, the Japanese and Western names of main capes and islands, their coordinates and the sources thereof, as well as the coordinates of main cities.[7]

The above discussion makes clear that the editing process consisted not only in the tracing of source map, but also in their verification and investigation. This is not contradicted by the fact that map no. 25, which has been established to be the last in the sequence, bears almost no remnants of those activities. These maps show that Siebold held the source map in high regard, and verified and investigated them thoroughly at different stages.

7 Aoyama 2018, 30-6.

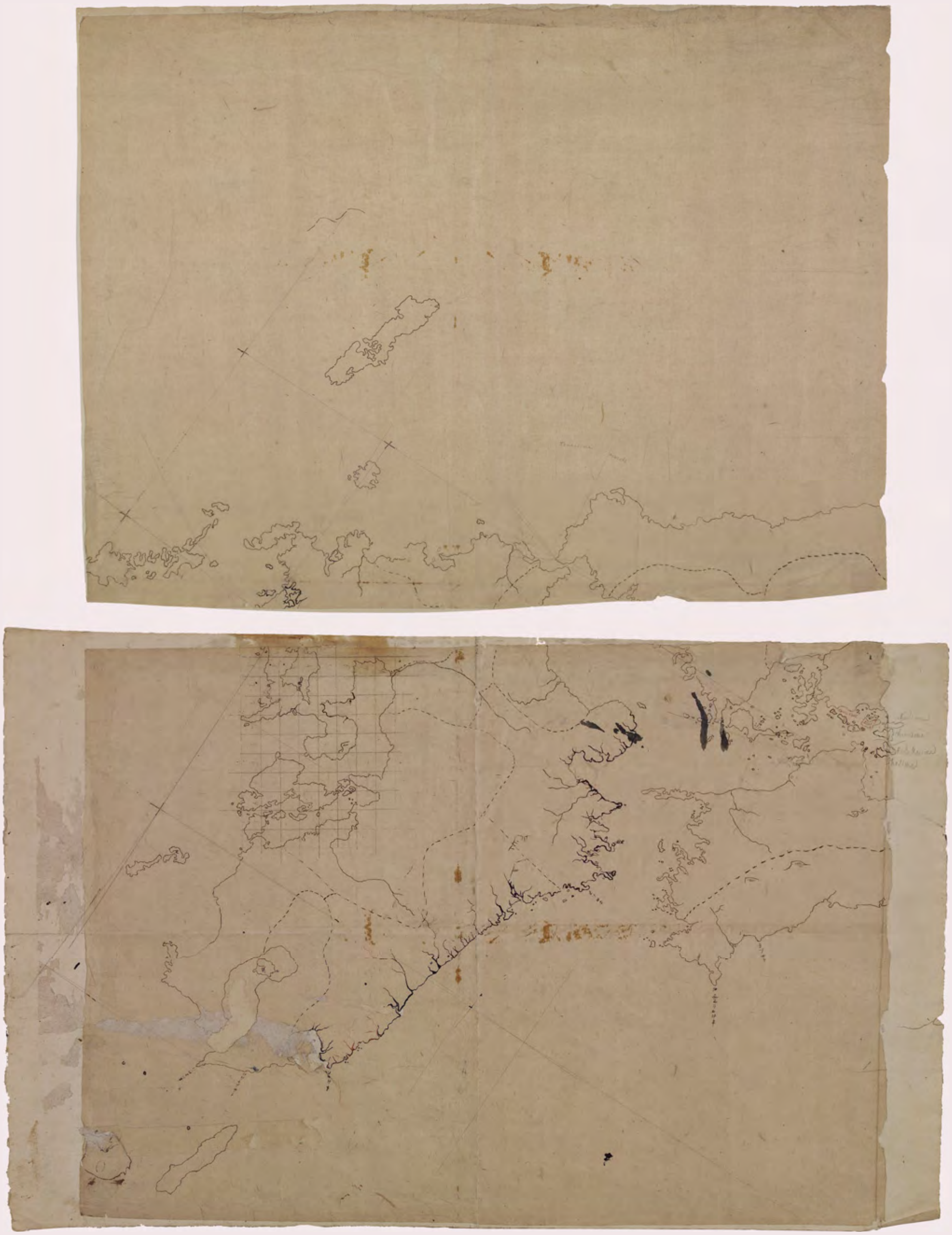


Figure 3 – Items no. 23 (below) and no. 24 (above), Brandenstein-Zeppelin Family Archives.

Figure 4 – Item no. 25, Brandenstein-Zeppelin Family Archives.

Figure 5 – Item no. 26, Brandenstein-Zeppelin Family Archives.

2.3 Drafts and Proofs

Among the nine drafts and proofs held in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection at Leiden University Library, eight items concern the map of the Japanese archipelago that forms the main part of the Siebold's Japan map. The remaining item relates to the map of Nagasaki Bay, which was included as an inset map in the lower right-hand corner of the Siebold's Japan map. This is COLLBN Port 178 N20 (fig.6, from now on map 20), which can be thought of as a proof map of the inset map of Nagasaki Bay on Siebold's Japan map, based on its characteristics discussed below. Firstly, map 20 includes hand-drawn corrections of the printed coastline and additions of harbour symbols, and these corrections and additions are consistent with the features of Nagasaki Bay in the inset map. Secondly, while map 20 is framed by a graticule indicating the latitude and longitude of Nagasaki Bay, outside that frame are visible longitude and latitude lines of the map of Japan, particularly on the upper side (east side).[8] This feature can be attributed to the fact that map 20 was originally an integral part of the map of Japan, but was later detached from it. Thirdly, a lightly stained area, which seems to have been printed by mistake, matches the corresponding area on the final inset map.

However, in the sequence of the editing process, map 20 does not immediately precede the final inset map. For example, five place names north of Fukudasaki printed in the final inset map are not present on map 20. This means that there was a further drafting stage during which these place names were added. On the other hand, the 1835 fascicle of *Nippon* includes a stand-alone map of Nagasaki Bay as illustration IV in volume 1.[9] A comparison of map 20 and this 1835 map shows that the printed topographical features such as coastlines and town descriptions are identical on both maps, while the degrees of latitude and longitude on the outer frame and the directional symbols are not. Specifically, the latitude and longitude graticule marks every 30 seconds in map 20 and every 5 seconds in illustration 1-IV, and the symbols indicating 16 azimuths are only found in the latter. In other words, 1-IV is not a direct source of map 20. Based on the above, it must be assumed that there were at least three stages in the editing process of the inset map of Nagasaki Bay, including one stage before and one after map 20.

No reliable primary sources have been found so far to determine how the editing process of the inset map of Nagasaki Bay relates to the editing process of the map of Japan, discussed below. Nevertheless, I would like to point out the importance of the relationship between the Siebold's Japan map and *Nippon*. As mentioned above, the inset map of Nagasaki Bay in Siebold's Japan map is a revised version of illustration 1-IV in *Nippon*. During the more than twenty-year period in which *Nippon* was compiled, some maps were completed and published together with the book, while undergoing further editing in parallel. While connected to the *Nippon* project, Siebold's Japan map underwent a continuous process of editing.

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8 The visible meridian notations are 4, 5, 6 and 7, with Kyoto as the prime meridian; the third meridian is not visible because of the label pasted on top.

9 A similar but smaller-scale map of Nagasaki bay, issued as illustration VI of volume 1, is reproduced in this volume as catalogue number 24.

Figure 6 – COLLBN Port 178 N 20, Leiden University Libraries, Bodel Nijenhuis Collection.

As already mentioned, the other eight items relate to the map of the Japanese archipelago in the Siebold's Japan map. Of these, only one item is complete, while the rest are fragments (figs. 7-14). The only complete item COLLBN 002-09-037 (from now on map 037) depicts western Japan to the west of the 135°40' east meridian passing through Kyoto. Map 037 pairs with COLLBN Port 202 N 55e (from now on map 55e), which is a fragment stretching east of 135°40' and from approximately 32.5° to 35.5°north, covering the area roughly between the eastern part of Kii peninsula and the southern part of the Kantō region. Since both of these are manuscript maps with the scale and coastline shape identical to Siebold's Japan map, together they can be considered part of the draft for the Japan map.

Since map 037 is complete in its depiction of western Japan, it follows that a corresponding large sheet of eastern Japan would have been made. However, only map 55e now survives from that sheet of eastern Japan. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the first draft of Siebold's Japan map originally consisted of two sheets divided by the 135°40' east meridian passing through Kyoto.

There is one more noteworthy characteristic of the initial draft: its depicted north-south range. In the final published map, the northern extremity is at 40° latitude while the northern part of the Tōhoku

Figure 7 – COLLBN 002-09-037, Leiden University Libraries, Bodel Nijenhuis Collection.

region is placed in an inset map in an otherwise blank area on the upper left. However, map 037 has 42° as its northern extremity. This latitude allows the depiction of the entire island of Honshū to its northern extremity, that is the northern part of the Tōhoku region. So Siebold originally conceived the map to show the entire stretch of the islands of Kyūshū, Shikoku and Honshū.[10]

On the other hand, the other six maps are printed. However, since all of them carry hand-written annotations, they can be considered proof maps. Each of these are purposefully cut up fragments depicting the following areas: COLLBN Port 202 N 54a (from now on map 54a) shows the northern part of the Tōhoku region and environs, COLLBN Port 202 N 54b (from now on map 54b) the Kyūshū area and environs, COLLBN Port 202 N55a (from now on map 55a) the central part of Tōhoku region and environs, COLLBN Port 202 N55b (from now on map 55b) the Chūbu region and environs, COLLBN Port 202 N 55c (from now on map 55c) the northern part of the Tōhoku region and environs, and COLLBN Port 202 N 55d (from now on map 55d) the central and western part of Honshū island.

Out of these, maps 54a and 54b carry a small amount of annotations, while 55a-d are literally covered in annotations, including many on bits of paper pasted to the initial sheets. More specifically, the four

10 The same conclusion is discussed in Martijn Storms' contribution to this volume.

55 maps feature detailed proofing in the form of additions of place names, corrections of their spelling, additions of ports and harbours, of small islands and rocks along the coast. Furthermore, maps 55a and 55c carry hand-drawn corrections of the eastern coastline of the Tōhoku region which correspond in content and notation style across the two maps. Therefore, in terms of proofing content and level of detail, these four maps can be assigned to approximately the same stage in the proofing process.

On the other hand, it is difficult to establish whether the two 54 maps were produced during the same stage of the proofing. However, as detailed in the analysis below, these two maps were printed after the maps in the 55 group (excluding 55e), and so for convenience they were both placed in table 1 after the 55 maps.

Figure 8– COLLBN Port 202 N 54a, Leiden University Libraries, Bodel Nijenhuis Collection.

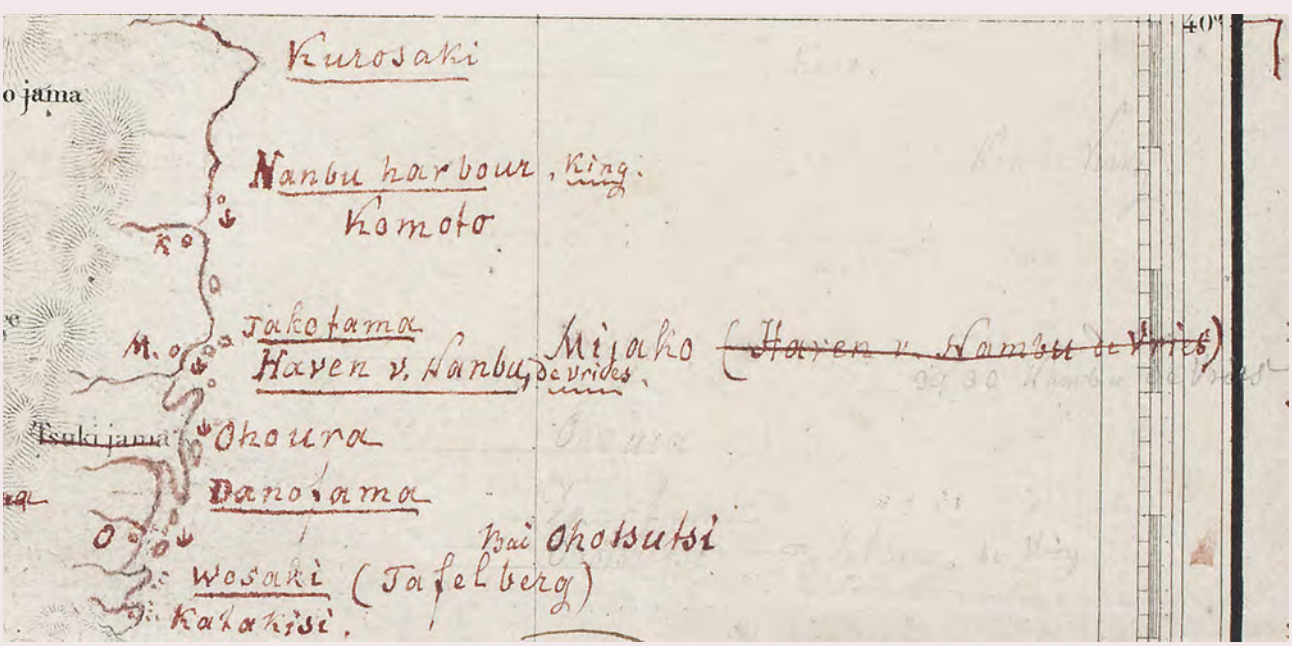


Figure 9 – COLLBN Port 202 N 54b, Leiden University Libraries, Bodel Nijenhuis Collection.

Figure 10 – COLLBN Port 202 N 55a, Leiden University Libraries, Bodel Nijenhuis Collection.

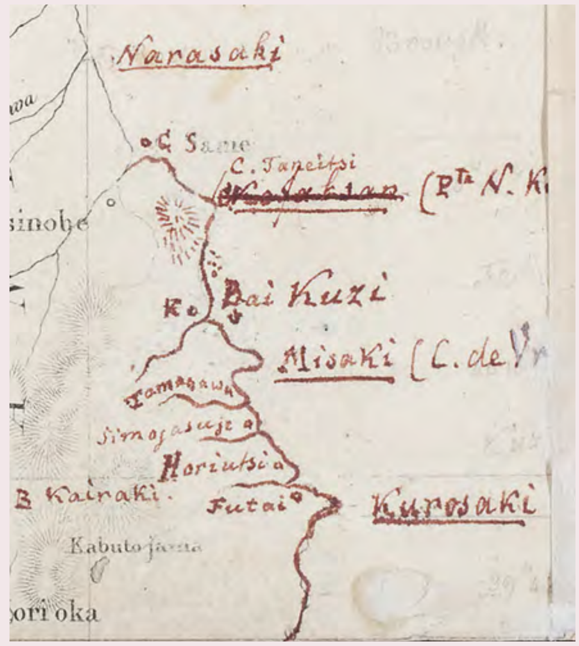


Figure 11 – COLLBN Port 202 N 55b, Leiden University Libraries, Bodel Nijenhuis Collection.

Figure 12 – COLLBN Port 202 N 55c, Leiden University Libraries, Bodel Nijenhuis Collection.

Figure 13 – COLLBN Port 202 N 55d, Leiden University Libraries, Bodel Nijenhuis Collection.

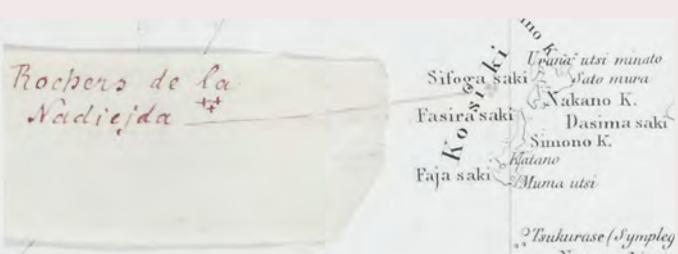


Figure 14 – COLLBN Port 202 N 55e, Leiden University Libraries, Bodel Nijenhuis Collection.

Both 54a and 55c are proofs of the inset map eventually printed in the upper left corner of Siebold's Japan map. When comparing the two, one notices toponyms and islands which are not present in 55c but which have been printed in 54a. Additionally, while in 55c the longitude is printed wrongly, in 54a its corrected form has been printed. Therefore, when considering only the sequence of the printed content, 55c should be placed before 54a.

However, if we focus on the hand-drawn annotations, it is those on map 55c which are reproduced on the final printed map. In particular, the shape of the eastern coastline of the Tōhoku region in 54a is close to that in the source map, while in 55c it has been corrected and matches the shape in the final version. The corrections in 55c are therefore definitive for the final form of the printed map.

Furthermore, maps 54b and 55d overlap in the depiction of the western part of the Seto Inland Sea. When comparing these two maps, one notices that the sea route followed by Siebold himself on the way to Edo in 1826 is added by hand in 55d, while in 54b it is printed. There are also names of seas and of islands that do not appear on 55d, while in 54b they are printed. Regarding the stage of the printing, from these we can gather that 55d was made before 54b. Also, there are overlaps between 55b and 55d in the depiction of Aichi prefecture, and between 55a and 55b in the depiction of central Niigata prefecture, but these do not help in establishing their printing order.

Summing up the above discussion, the drafts and proofs can be ordered in the following sequence within the editing process of the map of the Japanese Archipelago in Siebold's Japan map: 037, 55e→ 55a, 55b, 55c, 55d→54a, 54b. However, although 54a and 54b are the last in the printing sequence, 55a-d play an important role when it comes to proofing.

2.4 The Shape of the Coastline and the Conversions of Projection Techniques during the Editing Process

In the previous section, we elucidated a part of the editing process from the small-scale Inō maps to the final form of Siebold's Japan map by analyzing the fourteen items. The maps in the Brandenstein-Zeppelin Family Archives revealed the faithful reproduction of the source map and the thorough work of repeatedly verifying and investigating them, while the maps in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection showed the fact that the map we see today is different than that originally designed, and is a result of multiple print proofs and careful corrections after many twists and turns. These two groups of primary sources enable a reconstruction of the entire process of editing Siebold's Japan map, from the source map to its tracing, then their verification and investigation, then the draft, print proofs and corrections, and finally to the completed map.

Of course, other sources, such those on the geography of the territory inside the Japanese archipelago, were indispensable for the production of the map. Most of the documents and maps used for that purpose are now in the Leiden University Library. However, if we are to consider the transmission of the correct shape of the Japanese archipelago to Europe as one of the greatest of Siebold's achievements in the history of cartography, then the small-scale Inō maps which constituted the source maps have a decisive role. How was this aspect treated during the editing process of Siebold's Japan map?

During the production of his Japan map, Siebold paid special attention to the shape of Japan's coast in the small-scale Inō maps. This fact is recorded by Siebold himself in his own atlas: "The configuration of the coastline in this map[11] is copied as faithfully as possible from a source map of which we were informed in Edo by the chief astronomer Takahashi Sakuzaemon [...]."[12] The concrete work to achieve this was none other than the tracing which was observed on the items nos. 22-26.

There were, however, sections which underwent changes as a result of Siebold's verification and examination. For example, one of the sections that differs the most between the source maps and Siebold's Japan map is the eastern coast of Kyūshū. As visible in no. 22, this difference resulted from the comparative examination of capes, islands and other features as well as their respective degrees of latitude and longitude with Krusenstern's measurements, which led to the latter source being used.[13] Moreover, as discussed above, the eastern coast of the Tōhoku region is corrected by hand in maps 55a and 55c. Although the precise source of the corrections is not known, it should be pointed out that the corrected coastline is similar to that of Nagakubo Sekisui's *Kaisei nihon yochi rotei zenzu* 改正日本輿地路程全図 ('Revised Route Map of Japan') (cat. 6) that Siebold made frequent use of. Nevertheless, overall the coastline of the small-scale Inō maps was reflected in Siebold's Japan map. This means that even after such revisions, the source maps were judged to be reliably accurate.

Siebold used the Mercator projection in order to position the coastlines properly on the earth's surface and produce a map. At that time, he converted the projection of the source maps while relying on their longitude lines. However, this resulted in distortions in Siebold's Japan map, because of the special characteristics of the small-scale Inō maps.

At first glance, the source maps appear to have been produced using the Sanson-Flamsteed projection. However, the map including the coastlines was not actually drawn together with the longitude lines.[14] The map itself was compiled through repeated downscaling and collation of large-scale survey maps, and did not follow any particular projection. On the other hand, the longitude lines, added to the map afterwards, are the result of calculation and their length varies with each degree. When these lines were then added to the map, the meridian crossing Kyoto was set as the prime meridian, making the lines west of that bend progressively eastward, and the lines east of that bend progressively westward, thus eventually resulting in similar lines to the Sanson-Flamsteed projection.

11 Siebold's Japan map.

12 The 'source map' is the Special small-scale Inō maps with phonetic script compiled by Takahashi Kageyasu from the Inō maps. Takahashi Sakuzaemon is Takahashi Kageyasu. Original text: "Bei der vorliegenden Karte, welche, was die Configuration der Küsten betrifft, eine möglichst treue Copie der uns vom Hofastronomen Takahasi Sakusajemon zu *Jedo* mitgetheilten Originalkarte ist." Siebold 1852, 125.

13 Aoyama 2018, 33-4.

14 Hoyanagi 1974, 21-4.

Because of these characteristics, there are discrepancies between the map and the longitude lines in the source maps. If one is not aware of this and converts the maps to the Mercator projection, the resulting map will be distorted in direct proportion to the distance from the prime meridian. This is one of the reasons why in Siebold's Japan map the Tōhoku region, lying furthest away both in latitude and longitude from Kyoto, is the most problematic.

3. The Significance of Siebold's Japan Map in the History of Cartography

To produce his own map of Japan, Siebold used small-scale Inō maps compiled from the first complete survey maps of the Japanese archipelago. During the editing process, he put a great value on the maps made by Japanese in Japan, traced them faithfully, based his thorough verification and examination on the reliability of the source maps and produced a detailed draft which he repeatedly and painstakingly revised, thereby obtaining a map of Japan showing a significantly more accurate shape of the archipelago than previous European maps of the same area.

Since direct contact between Europe and Japan was established in the late sixteenth century, a number of maps of Japan were produced in Europe from Japanese source maps. An early example is that of Ignacio Moreira (c. 1538-year of death unknown) who gathered geographical information and made his own longitude measurements during the approximately two years of his stay in Japan, and then used Japanese maps as sources for his own map of Japan. Then in the eighteenth century Ishikawa Ryūsen's *Nihon kaisan chōriku zu* 日本海山潮陸図 ('Map of the Seas, Mountains and Lands of Japan') was translated by Adrian Reland (cat. 1),[15] while *Shinsen dainihon zukan* 新撰大日本図鑑 ('Newly Compiled Map of Japan') and *Shinpan nihonkoku oezu* 新板日本国大絵 ('Newly Published Pictorial Map of Japan') were compiled by Johann Caspar Scheuchzer for his map of Japan (cat. 2). The compiled map was inserted as an illustration in Engelbert Kaempfer's *History of Japan*, having a big influence on posterity, including Siebold.

However, although the exact details are not known it appears that Moreira's longitude values were based on limited observation points, while both Reland and Scheuchzer made almost exact copies of maps made in Japan. It is important to note that the maps of Japan they were relying on did not depict the real shape of the Japanese archipelago. Unlike such earlier maps, Siebold was able to make use of source maps based on survey data, and precisely because of that he was able to assemble those maps into a shape of the entire Japanese archipelago that he was able to verify and investigate while taking into account latitude and longitude. From the point of view of Japan-Europe map cultural exchange history, as the first instance of a map that showed the real shape of the Japanese archipelago, Siebold's Japan map can be assessed as an epochal work. Moreover, it was the first time that the real shape of the archipelago had appeared in print domestically and abroad.

15 Yonemoto 2016.

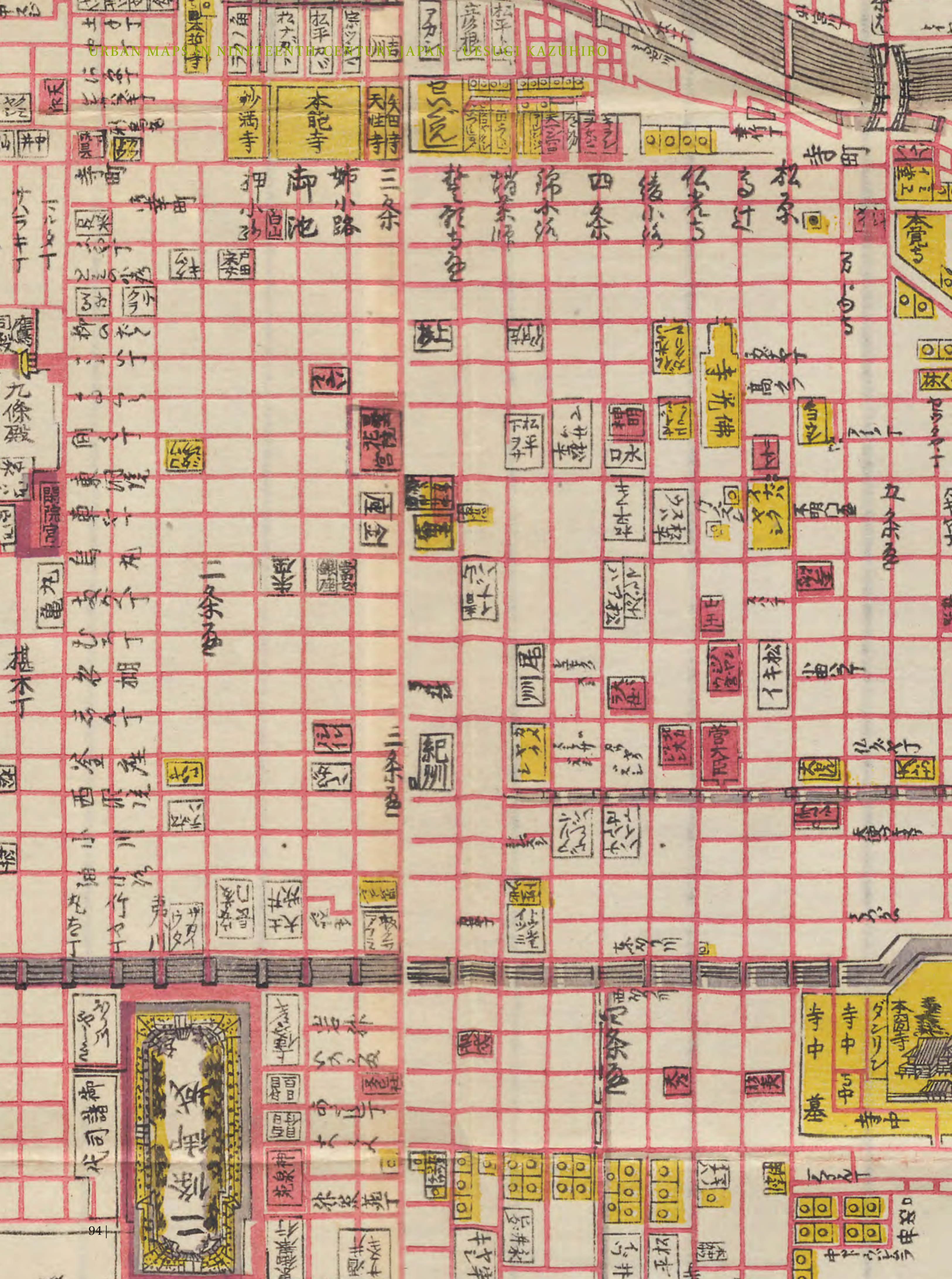
On the other hand, from the perspective of the history of Japan maps, it must be said that Siebold's Japan map has a transitional character with regard to survey maps. As discussed in the previous section, Siebold was not able to overcome the incongruities between the map and the longitude measurements in the source maps and establish the correct location of the Japanese archipelago in relationship to latitude and longitude. Siebold's intention was only realized by the British Admiralty map published in May 1863. Ironically, this was an updated naval chart that referenced Siebold's Japan map but corrected the specific data contained in the Inō maps with the use of the chronometer, thereby indicating for the first time the correct latitude and longitude of the Japanese archipelago.[16]

It should also be noted that Siebold's Japan map reflects the results of the survey of the Japanese archipelago only in its coastline. Although the location of some major cities was established using the data from the *Shoshū kei'i* 諸州経緯 ('Latitudes and Longitudes of Various Provinces', Ser. 234), essentially an abridged version of Takahashi Kageyasu's *Chisei teiyō* 地勢提要 ('Outline of the Geography of Japan'),[17] the location of the majority of inland places was not established through surveying. To be fair, this data did not exist at the time, and so Siebold should not be held accountable for that. That precision would only become possible after Japan had become a modern nation state in the Meiji period and a full-fledged archipelago-wide survey was initiated in the 1880s, resulting in topographic maps and their compiled versions that catalyzed map improvement projects.

16 Hoyanagi 1974, 207-12.
17 Aoyama 2018, 35-6.

Table 1 The editing process of the map of the Japanese archipelago in Siebold's Japan map

Criteria	Source map	Tracing, consultation and investigation				Drafts and proofs			Final version
Location	National Diet Library	Brandenstein-Zeppelin Family Archives				Bodel Nijenhuis Collection			
Map name	Small-scale Inō maps	No. 26	"No. 23 No. 24"	No. 22	No. 25	"037 N55e"	N55a N55b N55c N55d	N54a N54b	Siebold's Japan map
print/manuscript	manuscript	manuscript	manuscript	manuscript	manuscript	manuscript	print (with handwritten corrections)	print (with handwritten corrections)	print
map projection (lines of longitude)	pseudo-Sanson-Flamsteed	pseudo-Sanson-Flamsteed	pseudo-Sanson-Flamsteed	pseudo-Sanson-Flamsteed	Mercator	Mercator	Mercator	Mercator	Mercator
scale	1/864,000	1/864,000	1/864,000	1/864,000	1/1,728,000 (longitude 1°: 5cm)	longitude 1°: 4.65cm	longitude 1°: 4.65cm	longitude 1°: 4.65cm	longitude 1°: 4.65cm
Map orientation (North)	App. 30° right	App. 30° right	App. 30° right	Straight up	Straight up	Straight up	Straight up	Straight up	Straight up
Coastlines	Inō maps	Inō maps	Inō maps	Inō maps	Inō maps (with partial changes)	Siebold's Japan map	Siebold's Japan map	Siebold's Japan map	Siebold's Japan map
Mountain depiction	Lateral view	Lateral view	Lateral view	hachure	hachure	hachure	hachure	hachure	hachure
Japanese phonetic script	Yes	Yes (five examples)	Yes (six examples)	No	No	No	No	No	No
Frames with province and county names	Yes	Yes (eighteen examples)	Yes (one example)	No	No	No	No	No	No
Ideograms of province names	Yes	Yes (two examples)	No	No	No	No	No	No	No


本能寺
妙満寺
三条
姉小路
御池
押小路
蛸薬師
錦小路
四条
綾小路
仏光寺
高辻
松原
九條殿
尾州
紀州
佛光寺
本圀寺

Urban Maps in Nineteenth-Century Japan

Uesugi Kazuhiro

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 Japan[4], 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] Osaka[7] 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 Ōtsuka 1981.

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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.

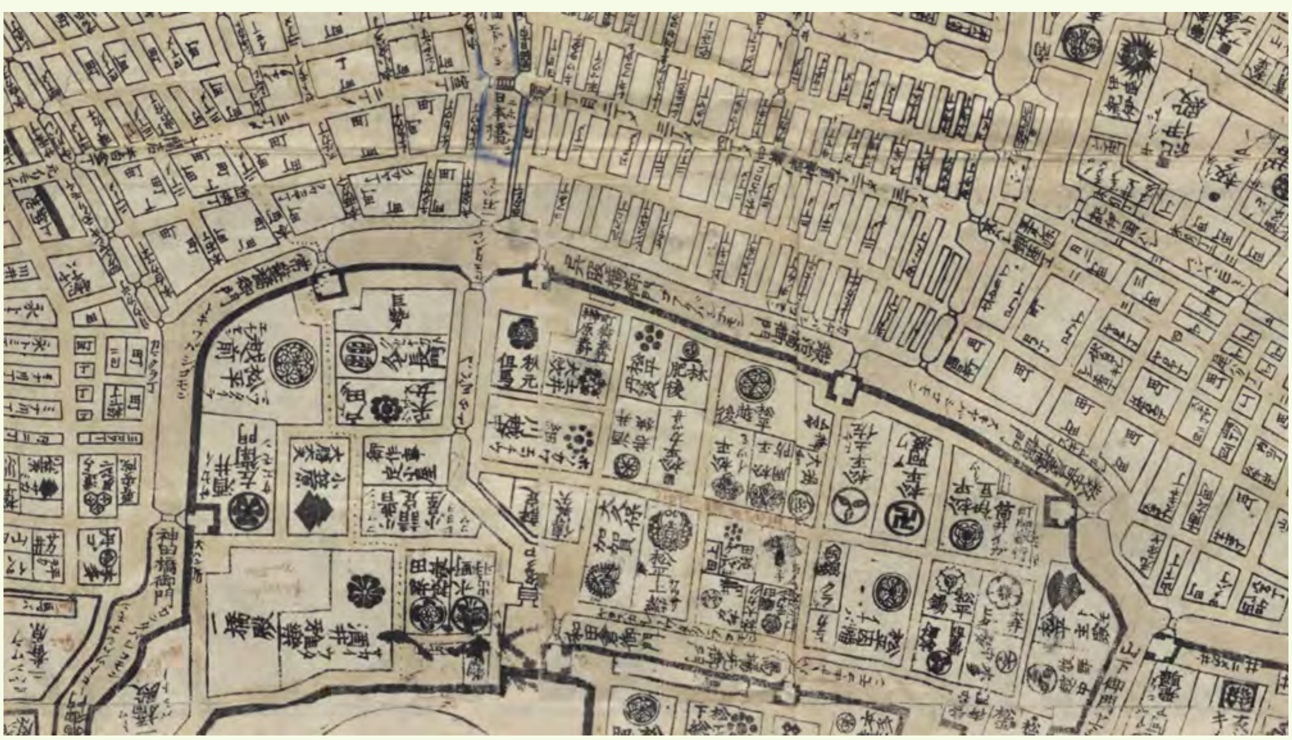


Figure 1 – 分間江戸大絵図 *Bunken edo oezu* (Ser. 315c)]

9 Yamori 1974, 155-56.
10 Yamori 1974, 155.

The Siebold collection also contains the 1825 *Bunken kaihō oedo ezu* 分間懐宝御江戸絵図 (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* 摂州大阪全図 ('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

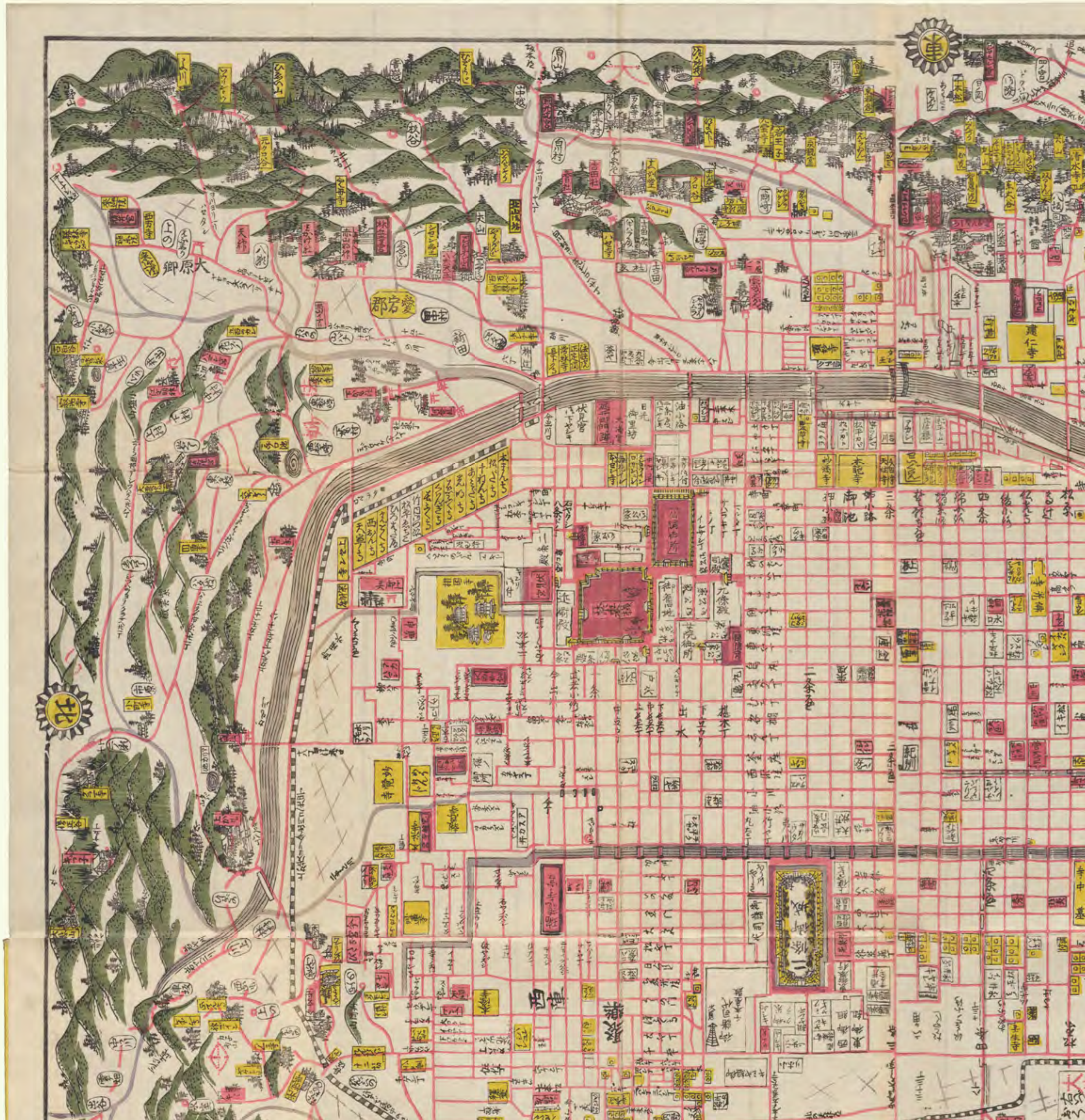
11 Ozaki 2016, 85.
12 Onoda 2015, 13.
13 Narumi 2016, 91.
14 Uesugi 2015, 139.

Figure 2– 摂州大阪全図 *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 心斎 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.



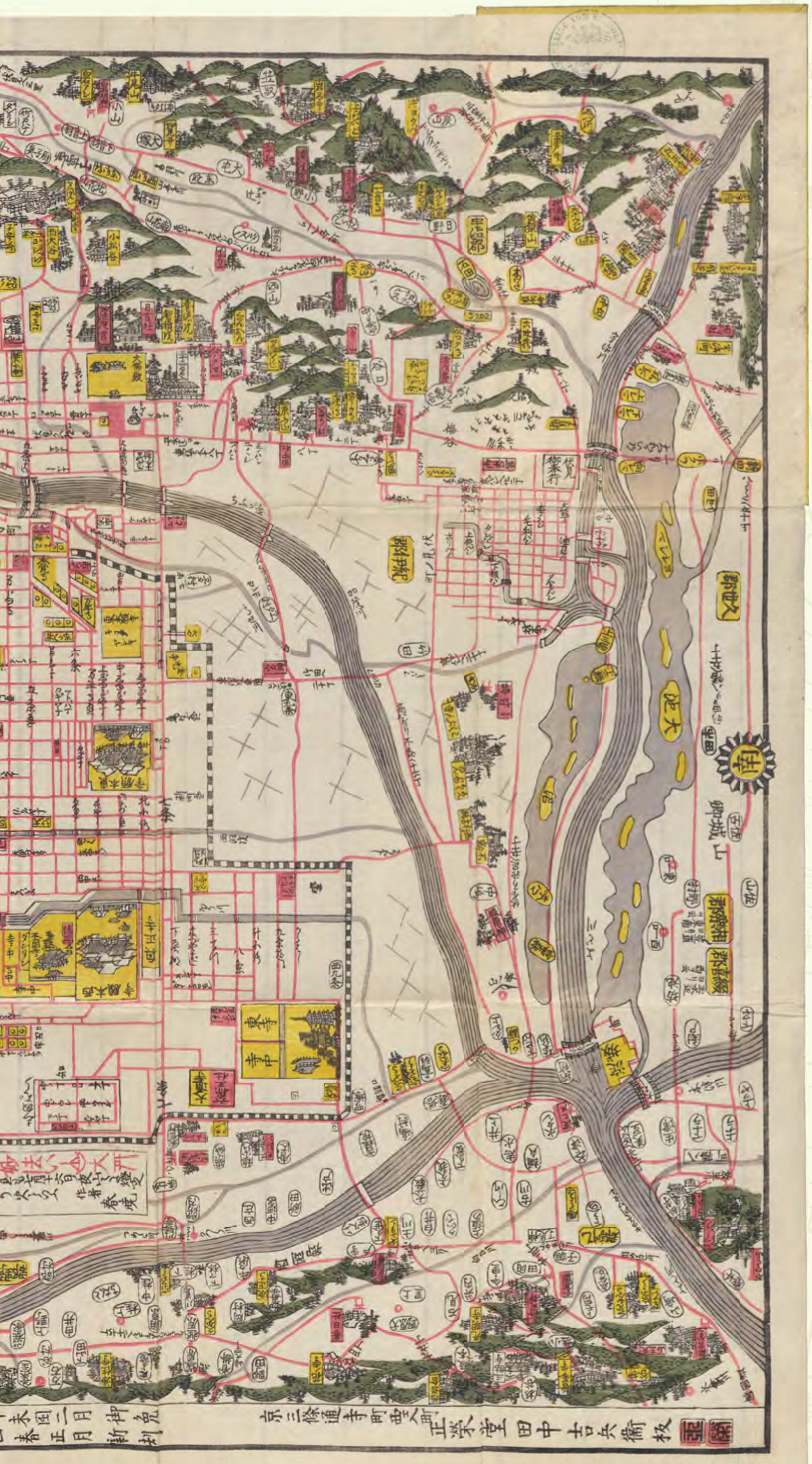


Figure 4 – 新増細見京絵図 *Shinzo saiken kyo ezu* (Ser. 310)

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* 新増細見京絵図 (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* 新増細見京絵図 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* 懐宝京絵 (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 *Shinz*ō *saiken kyo ezu* and of *Kyoto shish*ō *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 – 花洛一覧図 *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 *Hishu 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.

THEME 1

Mutual Interest in Geographic Knowledge

Because of its trade potential, Japan attracted interest in Europe, and Japanese maps were adapted by European engravers to different contexts. The interest was reciprocal: in late eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Japan, the proliferation of 'Dutch studies' together with recent contact with foreign ships brought about a renewed awareness of a 'home territory' in a wider international context. An informal network of 'Dutch knowledge' scholars were preoccupied both with updating information and with entertaining novelties. This led to a diversity of cartographic responses within Japan, which arguably reflected an anxiety with the role of Japan in the world.

A representative case is that of Nagakubo Sekisui, described in Siebold's book catalogue as 'a man in the service of Mito domain, who compiled books on geography, wrote travel guides and edited Dutch maps into Japanese versions.' Indeed, after having travelled to Nagasaki and observed Dutch and Chinese traders, Sekisui published the first map of Japan with a latitude and longitude system, as well as a historical atlas of China and a map of the world based on Matteo Ricci's sixteenth-century model.

1

Hadriano Relando
Imperium Japonicum Per Regiones Digestvm Sex et Sexaginta
'Empire of Japan Divided in Sixty-Six Regions'
Amsterdam: Reiner & Josua Ottens, c. 1740
Copperplate print, hand-coloured, 56 by 65.5 cm
COLLBN Port 178 N 38

The Utrecht University professor Adriaan Reland adapted a Japanese map obtained from the collection of Benjamin Dutry (1668-1751), director (*bewindvoerder*) of the VOC. The title acknowledges the Japanese origin of the source map, which was a copy of *Nihon kaisan chōriku zu* 日本海山潮陸図 by Ishikawa Ryūsen 石川流宣. In the text on the bottom, Reland qualifies Japanese woodblock-printed maps as less accurate because of their different technology: "they draw the outlines of the coastlines with a coarser pen, because they lack the European tools." Nevertheless, Reland stresses that he only used Japanese maps for place-name accuracy, although a quick glance reveals that phonetic transcriptions are haphazard.

In the lower right, an inset entitled *Conspectvs Vrbis Nangasacki, et Insvlae ante illam sitae in qua sedes est batavorvm* ('Plan of the City of Nagasaki, and the Islands Lying before it, Where Batavians Reside') mixes Portuguese place names (Cavalles, Amaxa) with Japanese toponyms, indicating the use of earlier Portuguese maps of this area.

The map was originally published in Utrecht, in the third volume of Jean Frederic Bernard's *Recueil de voiages*. It was thereafter reissued by Reland and Willem Broedelet in a larger format in 1715, for inclusion in folio atlases. The plates from the enlarged edition were purchased by Joachim Ottens in about 1720 but this fourth state came out in Amsterdam. It was widely circulated and included in many other eighteenth-century atlases.

References
Cortazzi 1983 pl. 77, Hubbard 2012 cat. 68; Yonemoto 2016.


IMPERIVM JAPONICVM
PER REGIONES DIGESTVM SEX ET SEXAGINTA ATQVE EX IPSORVM JAPONENSIVM MAPPIS DESCRIPTVM AB HADRIANO RELANDO.
MARIS JAPONICI PARS
VIRO PERILLVSTRI
JOHANNI PAVLO BIGNONIO
ABBATI S. QVINTINI
CONSPECTVS
NANGASACKI.
AMSTELODAMI Apud R. & J. OTTENS

1

2a

Engelbert Kaempfer & Johann Gaspar Scheuchzer
Het Koninkryk Japan, Verdeelt in Act en Zestig Provintien
'The Japanese Kingdom, Divided in Sixty-eight Provinces'
In: *De beschryving van Japan* ('The Description of Japan'), Tab. VIII
's Gravenhage: Pierre Gosse, Jean Neaulme; Amsterdam: Balthasar Lakeman, 1729
Copperplate print, 53 by 68.5 cm
COLLBN Port 178 N 40

Kaempfer was a German naturalist, physician and traveler who worked in Japan between 1690 and 1692 in the service of the Dutch East India Company. To illustrate his work originally entitled *Heutiges Japan* ('Contemporary Japan'), Kaempfer traced and translated a Japanese map from 1678. While preparing the posthumous 1727 English edition, the editor Scheuchzer reproduced his emphasis on primary sources when referring to the "original Japanese maps" that contributed to the "accuracy and carefulness" with which Japan was represented. However, Scheuchzer chose to trace another Japanese map from Kaempfer's collection, namely Ishikawa Ryūsen's 石川流宣 *Nihonkoku* ōezu 日本国大絵図 ('Large Map of the Country of Japan'). This retained the characteristic 'island' of Matsumai to the north of Honshū. Kaempfer's tracing of the initial source map was utilised only for the inset, including also *Kubiteshima* ('The Island of Dwarves'). Additionally, unlike the initial manuscript, Scheuchzer copied the names of provinces in the manner of Reland's map. The same plates were then used to illustrate the 1729 Dutch edition.

The inset showing Kamchatka "according to the most recent maps of the Russian Empire" was copied after a 1725 map entitled *Geographica Nova ex Oriente gratiosissima, duabus tabulis specialissimis contenta, quarum una Mare Caspium altera Kamtzadaliam seu Terram Jedso curiose exhibit* ('New Geographies from the Most Gracious East, Containing Two Specialized Tables, One showing the Particularities of the Caspian Sea and the Other of Kamtschatka and the Land of Ezo'), published by Johann Christoph Homann in Nuremberg. The inset gives a measure of the approximate nature of European knowledge of this area: Hokkaido and the Kurile island chain are compressed into a nameless archipelago between Honshu and a territory named 'Kamtschatka' that blends information about Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles.

Also included are Japanese distance measurements, an East Asian compass, rosaries and three gods of good fortune, amounting to a basic visual compendium of Japanese civilisation.

References

Walter 1994 63-64, cats. 72-76A; Massarella 1995, 99-100; Kaempfer 2001 vol. 1/1, 542-59, vol. 1/2, 164-66; Hubbard 2012 cat. 79; Kanzaki 2014.


HET KONINKRYK JAPAN,
Verdeelt in Acht en Zestig Provintien
in alle Naauwkeurigheid en Zorgvuldigheid
Beschreven en uytgegeven Volgens de Oorspronkelyke
JAPANSCHE KAARTEN,
als mede Volgens de Aanmerkingen van
den HEER KÆMPFER.
DE YS ZEE
JESOGA SIMA
SIKOKF
NOTO
DEWA
OSIU
KAGA
JETSIU
JETSINGO
FIDA
SINANO
MINO
OOMI
IGA
JAMAT
IDSUMI
KINOKUNI
ISIE
SIMA
KADSUSA
SIMOOSA
FITATS
BUNGO
FIGO
FIUGO
SATSUMA
OSUMI
CHIKUSEN
CHIKUNGO
BUSSEN
TSIKUSEN
EYL. LIQUEJO of RIUKU
Daikoku

2a

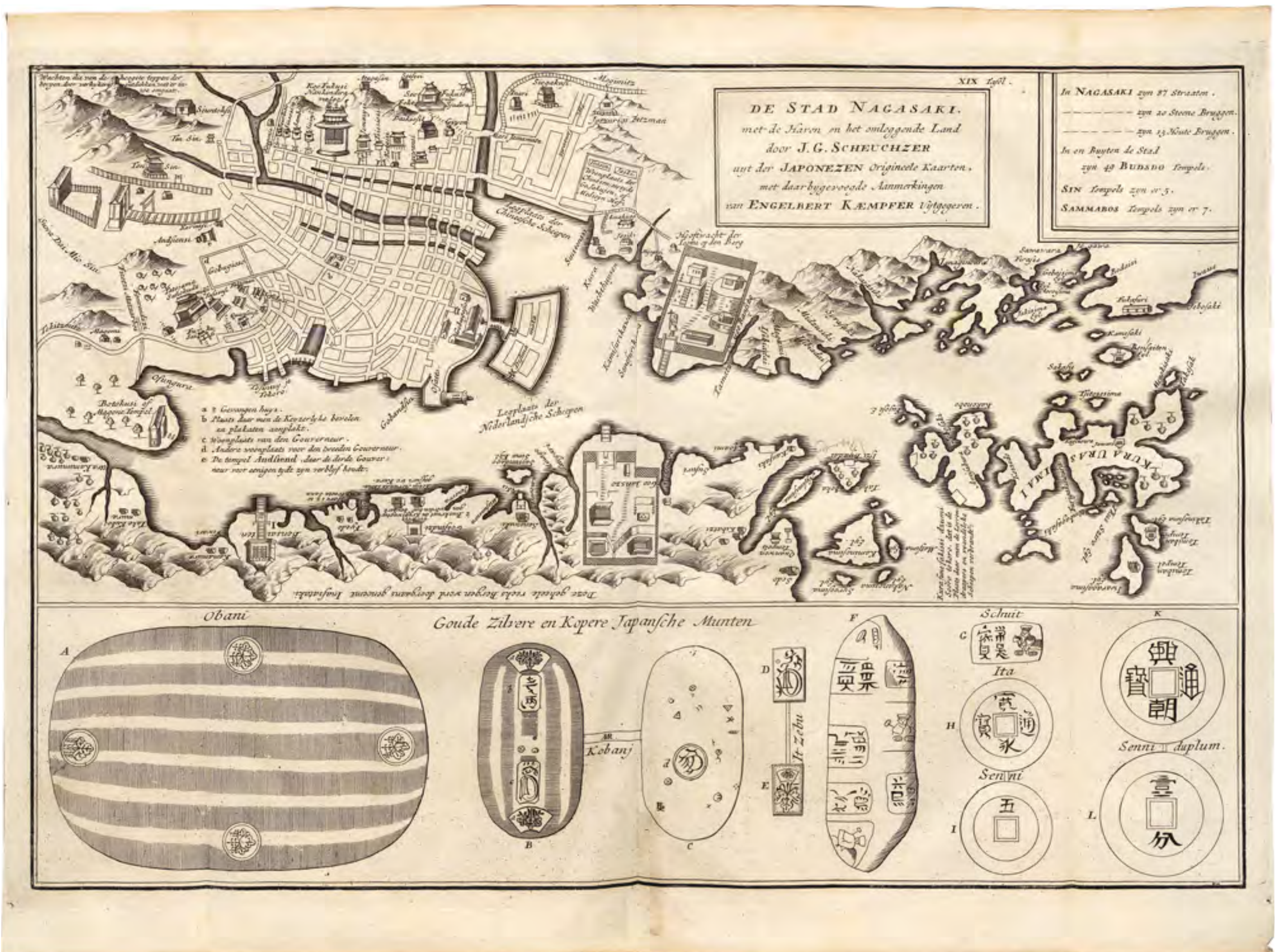
2b

Engelbert Kaempfer & Johann Gaspar Scheuchzer
XIX. Tafel. DE STAD NAGASAKI, met de Haven en het omleggende Land
'Table XIX. The City of Nagasaki, with the Bay and the Surrounding Area'
In: *De beschryving van Japan* ('The Description of Japan')
's Gravenhage: Pierre Gosse, Jean Neaulme; Amsterdam: Balthasar Lakeman, 1729
Copperplate print, 31 by 23 cm
372 A 15

Kaempfer's book also included a map of Nagasaki, the trading port originally developed by Jesuits at the end of the sixteenth century. The assortment of coins at the bottom underscores the importance of this port for Japan's economy: besides the modest trade with the Dutch East India Company through the fan-shaped island of Deshima, the commerce with South Chinese traders was an important source of income and information for the Japanese authorities. *Nagasaki ezu* 長崎絵図 ('Illustrated Map of Nagasaki'), the source map used by Kaempfer, had been printed before 1681 and therefore did not include the *Tōjin yashiki* 唐人屋敷 ('Chinese quarter') completed in 1689. Kaempfer thus updated the source map with this new area, but also recorded its former use as a medicinal garden. A further update on this particular copy of the map is the Dutch name for Takaboko island, Papenberg, which has been added in pencil in cursive Roman script.

References

Bodart-Bailey 1988, 28-29; Walter 1994, 65-66, cats. 97-99; Lee-Nagai 1996; Kaempfer 2001 vol. 1/1, 594-609, vol. 1/2, 729-30.


XIX Tafel.
DE STAD NAGASAKI.
met de Haven en het omleggende Land
door J.G. SCHEUCHZER
uyt der JAPONEZEN Origineele Kaarten,
met daar bygevoegde Aanmerkingen
van ENGELBERT KÆMPFER Uytgegeven.
In NAGASAKI zyn 87 Straaten.
zyn 20 Steene Bruggen.
zyn 13 Houte Bruggen.
In en Buyten de Stad
zyn 49 BUDSDO Tempels.
SIN Tempels zyn er 5.
SAMMABOS Tempels zyn er 7.
Obani
Goude Zilvere en Kopere Japansche Munten
Kobanj
Itzebu
Schuit
Ita
Senni
Senni duplum.

2b

3

Hashimoto Sōkichi 橋本宗吉

Oranda Shin'yaku Chikyū Zenzu 喎蘭新訳地球全図

'New Translation from the Dutch of a Complete Map of the Globe'

Kyoto: Ogawa Tazaemon 小川太左衛門; Edo: Kitazawa Yahachi 北澤伊八; Osaka: Asano Yahē 淺野弥兵衛, Okada Shinshirō 岡田新次郎, Kansei 寛政8 (1796)

Hand-coloured woodblock print, 93.2 by 55.6 cm

Ser. 168

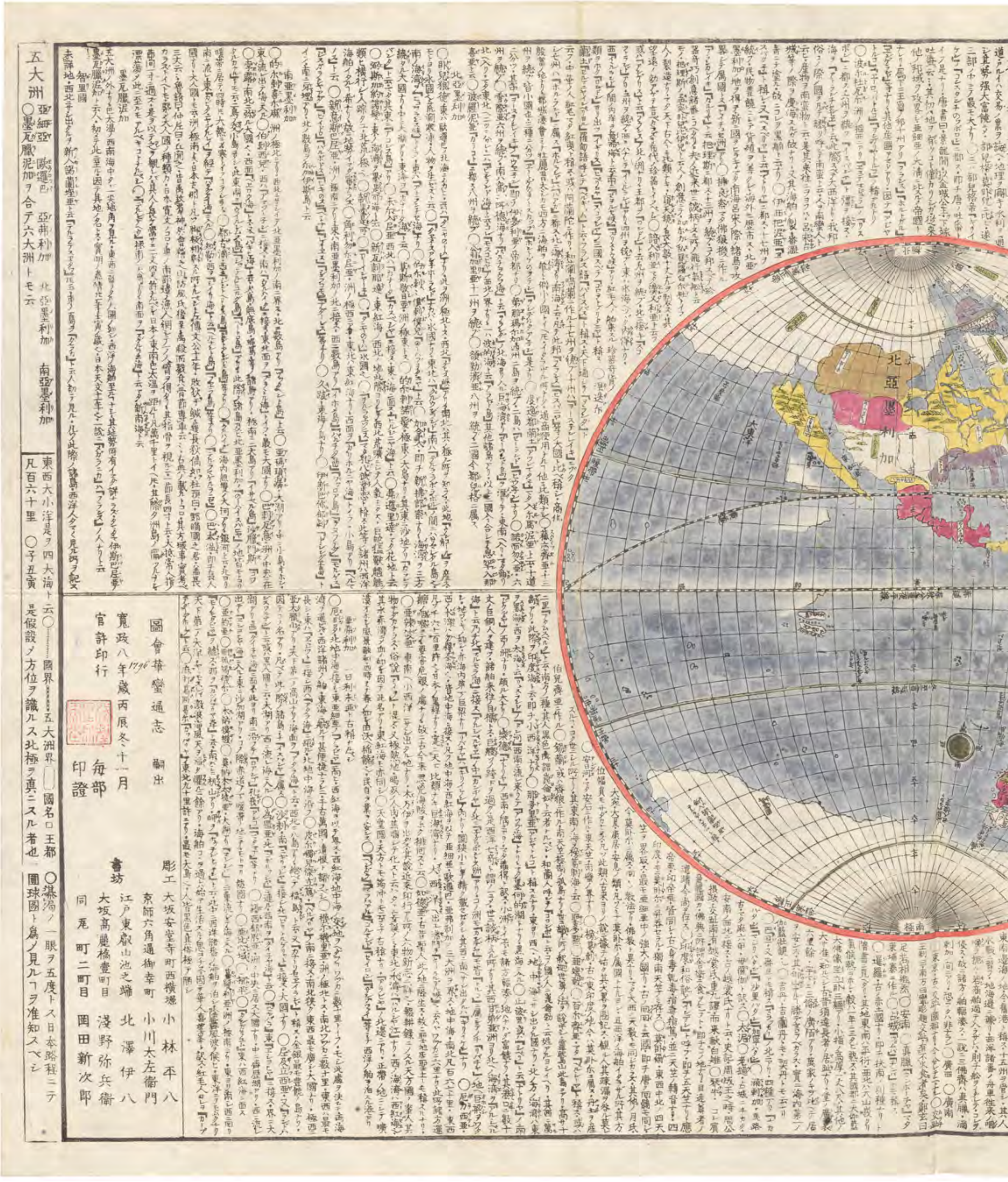
See page 116-117

On some known other copies of this map, the cover is embossed on both sides with the words *Algemeene Waereld Kaart*, 'General World Map' in Dutch, showing an interest in replicating the look and feel of a foreign map. Although the author is listed as the Osaka 'Dutch studies scholar' Hashimoto Sōkichi, the map was actually compiled by the Confucian scholar Sotani Ōsei 曾谷応聖 for the Osaka publisher Asano Yahē. It is also mentioned that 'Master Sekisui' supervised the compilation of the map, showing both Nagakubo Sekisui's renown and the commercial appeal of his authority in geographical matters.

This world map shows an updated view of the two hemispheres, accompanied by a colophon explaining general notions about the Earth's location within the solar system, climate zones and the five continents. The entry for Japan includes both the Latin and the Dutch spelling of the country's name, relativizing its place within a larger world view. The entry for France includes news of a 'flying ship' designed by the brothers Joseph Michel and Jacques Étienne Montgolfier and built by Jacques Charles and Jean-Baptiste Déveillon, a correct summary of the first air balloon flights in 1783. As for the Netherlands: 'it is called "Germania Inferior" and "Belgium" in Latin. In French its name is "Pays-Bas". All over the world it is called "Oranda". People of the Middle Kingdom call them "Red-Haired Barbarians".'

References

Unno 2010, 459; Kawamura 2016.



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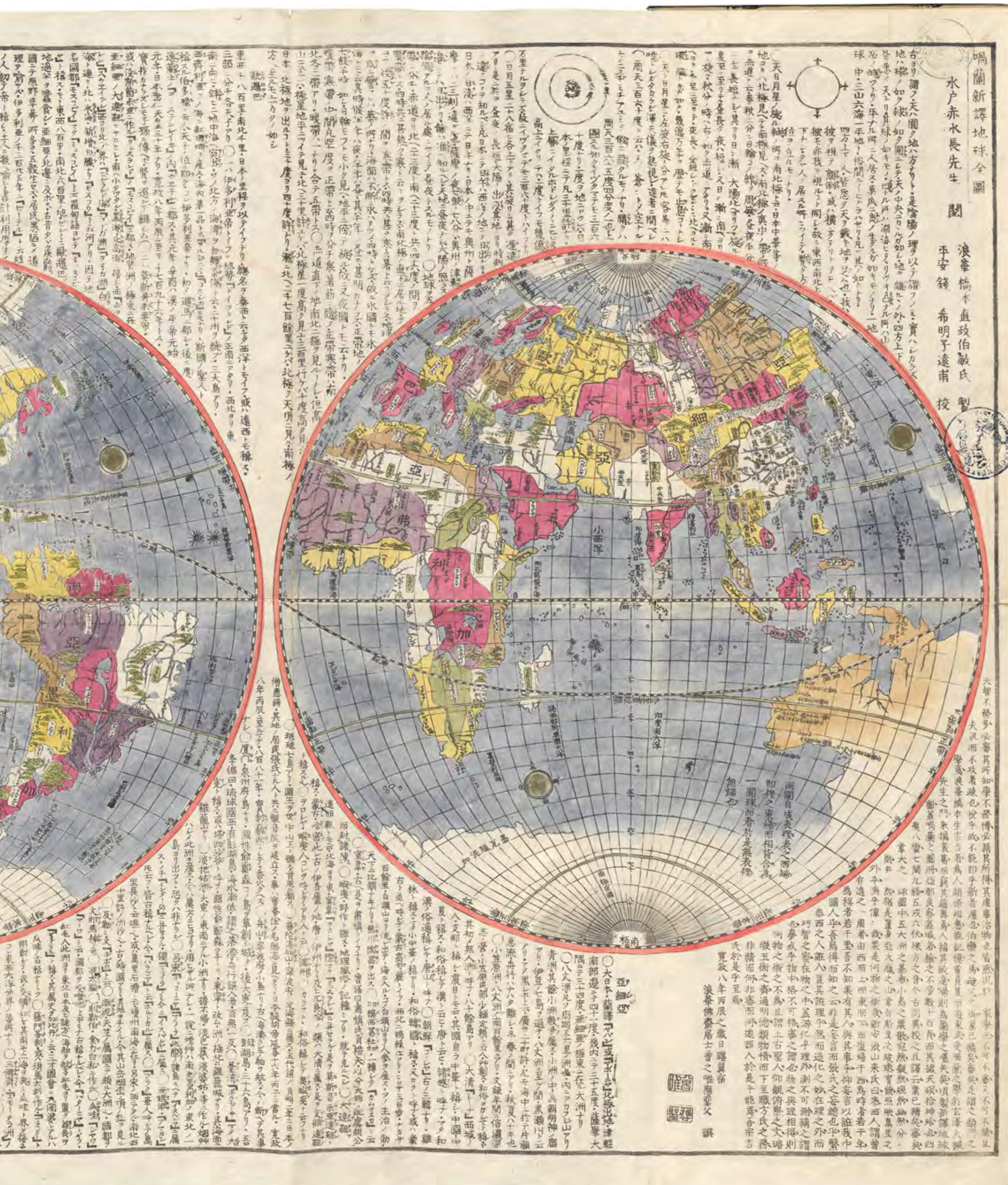

喎蘭新譯地球全圖
水戸赤水長先生 閲
浪華 橋本直政伯敏氏 製
平安 錢 希明子遠甫 校

4

Takami Senseki 鷹見泉石
Shin'yaku Orandakoku zenzu 新訳和蘭国全図
'Newly Translated Map of the Netherlands'
Edo: Yamashiroya Sahē 山城屋佐兵衛, Kaei 嘉永2 (1849)
Woodblock print, 90.8 by 60.5 cm
Ser. 175

Senseki was a high-rank samurai official of Koga domain interested in Dutch knowledge, he even used the name Jan Hendrik Dapper. He also published studies of snowflake shapes as well as a "Table of Post Stations and Distances along the Route from Edo to Nikko" measured with Western methods (Ser. 416, gifted to Siebold by Katsuragawa Hoshū 桂川 甫周). On the 'seventeenth day of the seventh month' of 1827, Senseki wrote in his diary: "I went to see Inomata [Genzaburō] from the Astronomy Bureau, who translated a map of Netherlands by Weygand as well as a diagram of the Sun in relationship to the Earth divided according to the twelve months, and I will soon make copies of these maps." After retirement, Senseki corroborated his copy of Weygand's map with more recent sources. Nevertheless, the map shows Texel island and Helder peninsula, which were altered in 1828 by The Great Amsterdam Ship Channel.

Senseki also added a colophon addressed at fellow enthusiasts of Dutch knowledge. It mentions Belgium's independence and the resulting eleven provinces of the Netherlands, which is coherent with the boundary lines on the map. The prominent scholar Mitsukuri Genpō 箕作阮甫 contributed a colophone in classical Chinese. The hachures of mountain areas in this woodblock-printed map reproduce the look of the copperplate-printed source map, showing the skill of the carver Takeguchi Teisai
竹口貞齋.

References

Hara 1944, 251-52; Breugelmans 2000, cat. 24; Isozaki 2005, 312-14; Ida 2013, 7.

4

5

Cornelis van Baarsel

Nieuwe Kaart van het Koningrijk der Nederlanden en het Groot – Hertogdom Luxemburg = Nouvelle Carte du Royaume des Pays-Bas et du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg

'New Map of the Kingdom of Netherlands and the Great Duchy of Luxemburg'

's Gravenhage: F. J. Weygand, 1824

Copperplate print, hand-coloured, 88 by 61,8 cm

COLLBN Port 2 N 54

The map is based on the first complete survey of the territory of the Batavian Republic, initiated in 1798 by Lieutenant-Colonel Cornelis Krayenhoff. Its publication was delayed by the gradual vassalisation and then occupation of Netherlands by Napoleon's troops between 1795 and 1813. Furthermore, in 1830 the Southern Netherlands [Belgium] declared itself independent, but it took until 1839 for this to be accepted by the Northern Netherlands.

This map was engraved by Cornelis van Baarsel, one of the leading Dutch engravers of the period who worked for various publishing houses, among which was Weygand, a publisher of atlases, maps, prints and music based in The Hague. The latest known edition of the Weygand map is dated 1837, a copy of which is kept in Amsterdam University Library.

References

Van Egmond 2009, 161-5.


NIEUWE KAART
VAN HET
KONINGRIJK DER NEDERLANDEN
EN HET
GROOT-HERTOGDOM LUXEMBURG,
Met aanwijzing der Nieuwe Postwegen.
Opgedragen aan den Hoog Wel Geb. Heer
BARON VAN PALLANDT VAN KEPPEL,
Directeur Generaal der Posterijen &c. &c. &c.
NOUVELLE CARTE
DU
ROYAUME DES PAYS-BAS
ET DU
GRAND-DUCHÉ DE LUXEMBOURG,
avec les Routes de Poste.
Dédiée à son Excellence le BARON DE PALLANDT DE KEPPEL,
Directeur Général des Postes
À LA HAYE chez
F. J. WEYGAND,
Marchand de Cartes Géographiques
de S.M. LE ROI DES PAYS-BAS.
NOORD
ZEE
ZUIDER
ZEE
ACAD. LUGD. BAT. BIBL.

5

6

Johann Joseph Hoffmann

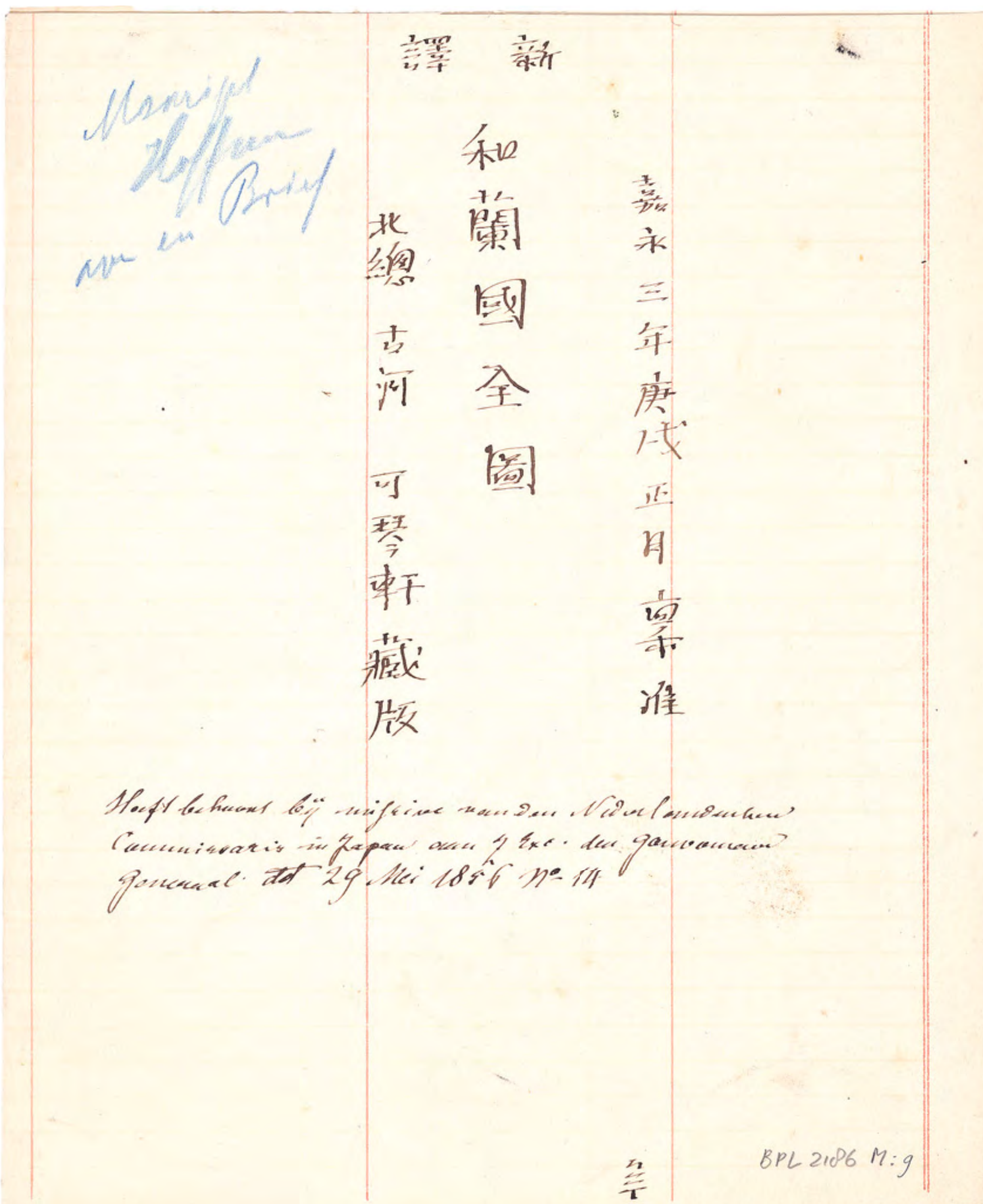
Transliteration and translation of the colophone of Senseki's 'Newly Translated Map of the Netherlands'

29 May 1856

Manuscript, 22.3 by 13.9 cm

BPL 2186 M:9

See page 124



6a

In his capacity as official translator, Hoffmann was asked to translate the colophone of Senseki's map (cat. 4) which was then attached to a letter from the Dutch Commissioner in Japan to the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, Charles Ferdinand Pahud, who had just assumed office on 22nd May.
Hoffmann begins by translating Sekisui's presentation of the aims of his map:

> It is now 250 years ago that the Dutch, pleased with the civilisation of Our Empire, came to us. However, there are only a few among us, who have a clear image of their country. Therefore, I have translated this map and it shows that it is a country, located by the sea, low of ground and rich of bays and rivers. Also it provides a suitable and easy overview because the provincial borders, capitals and villages, works of defence and postal routes are indicated. For the rest, I will wait until we receive new and comprehensive maps of every province.

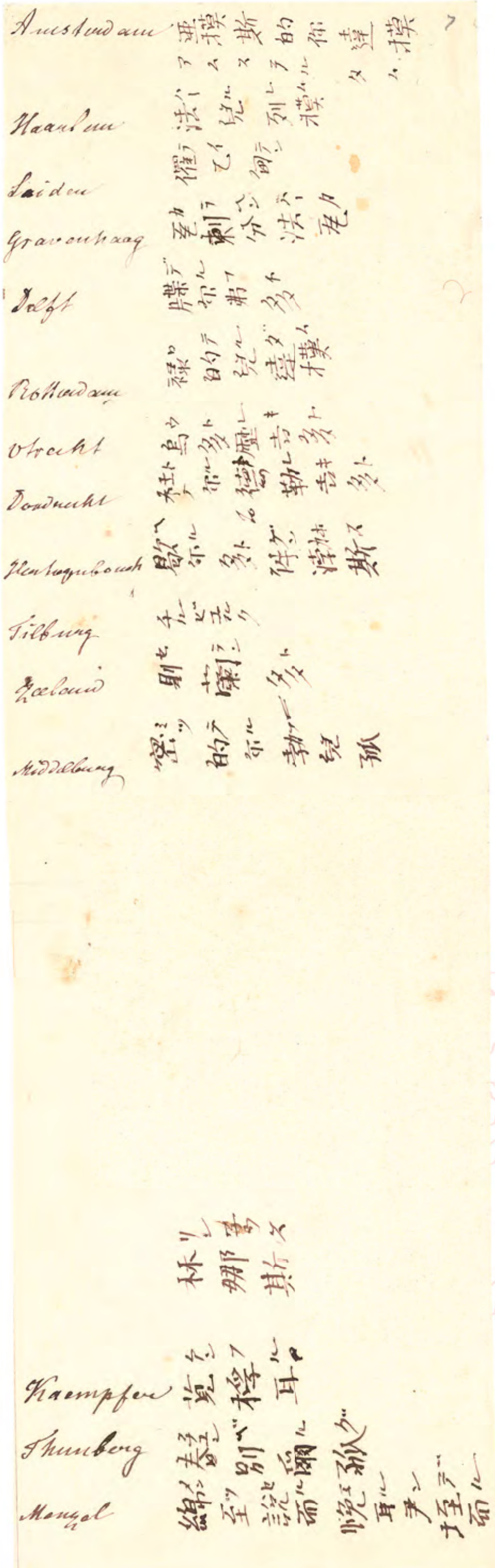
The interest in "a clear image of their country" was reciprocated by the Dutch, who turned however to a foreign version of their own country's map. Therefore, in this case the translation of the map did not originate in an interest in geography but in foreign attitude to Dutch trade.
Senseki's text included a laudatory note that must have pleased both the Dutch Commissioner in Japan and the Governor General for whom this translation was prepared:

> The inhabitants usually are very intelligent, skilled in astronomy, geography and science, and as seafarers they trade with all countries.

Hoffmann also translated the humble addendum by the senior compiler, paralleled in the activity of Hoffmann himself who was by now 51 years old.

> Because I am already old of age and I suffered of an eye disease whilst attaching (colpiing the map), I have to admit that I fear there are still errors in it, although I have revised the map to th smallest places two or three times with diligence and accuracy.

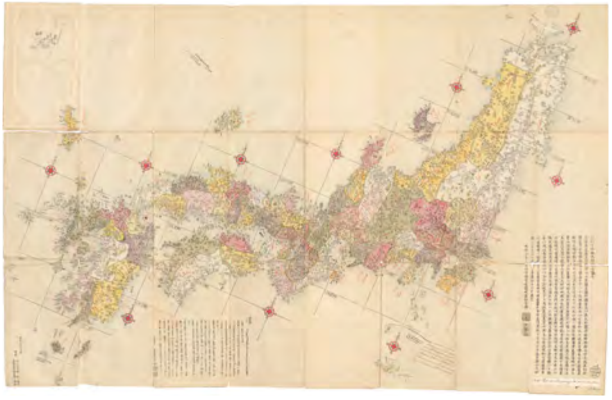
Hoffmann had never come across the name of Senseki, and with no other references to draw on, he chose to transcribe the Chinese pronunciation of the characters in Senseki's name: "Directed by Idsumi isi Takami Tsiu siao."


Amsterdam
Haarlem
Leiden
Gravenhaag
Delft
Rotterdam
Utrecht
Dordrecht
Hertogenbosch
Tilburg
Zeeland
Middelburg
Kaempfer
Thunberg

6b

7

Nagakubo Sekisui 長久保赤水
Kaisei Nihon yochi rotei zenzu 改正日本輿地路程全図
'Revised Complete Route Map of Japan'
Osaka: Asano Yahē 浅野弥兵衛, An'ei 安永8 (1779)
Hand-coloured woodblock print, 134 by 83 cm
Ser. 220a



See page 126-127

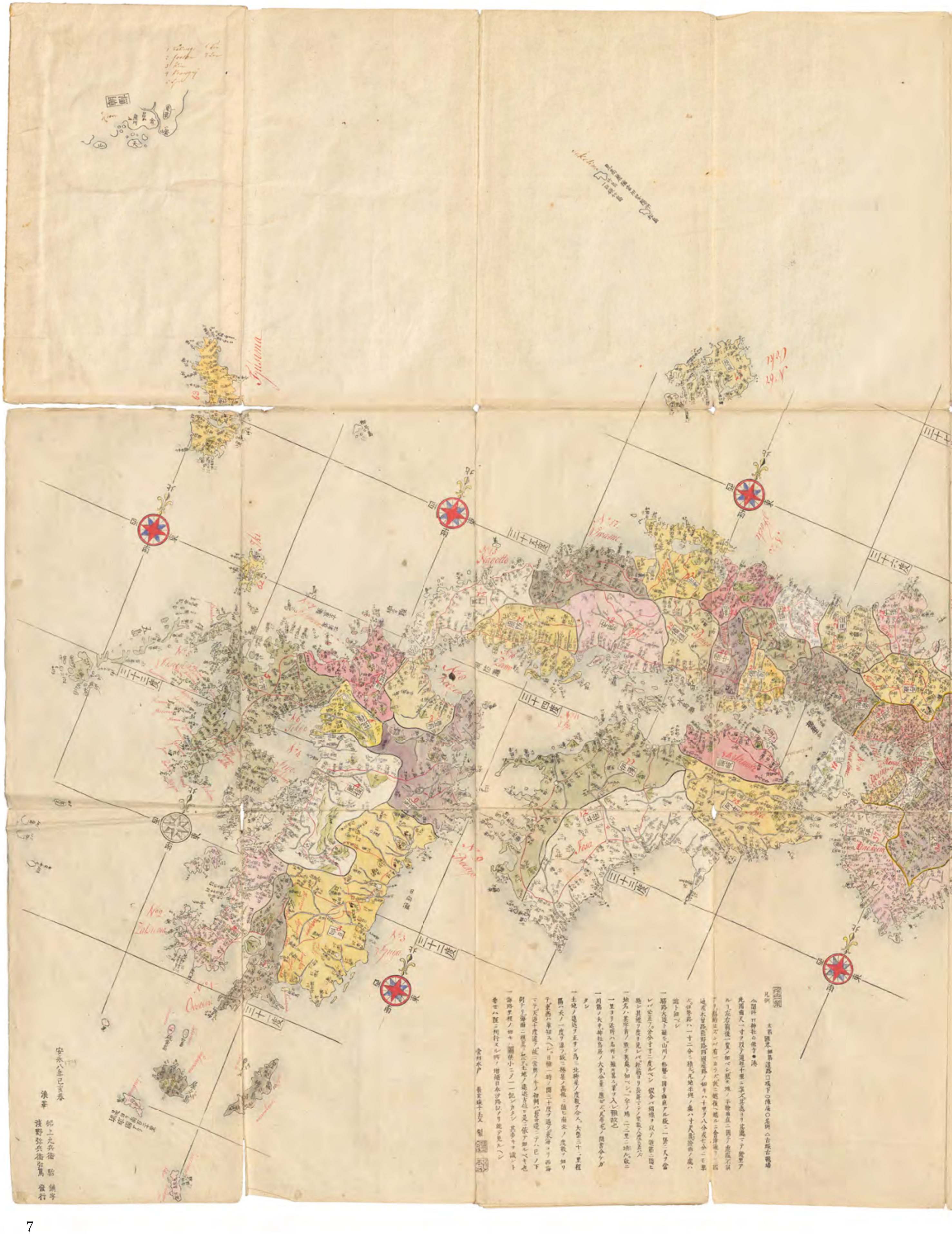
Sekisui's map is not the result of surveying, but of compilation of a previous land surveys. It is now celebrated as the first Japanese map of Japan to feature a geographical grid of latitude and longitude, the latter centred on the capital, Kyoto. Sekisui based his map on Mori Kōan's 1754 *Nihon bun'ya zu* 日本分野圖 ('Astronomical Map of Japan'). Sekisui's updated version was also the first map of Japan to feature a consistent scale, of approximately 1:1,300,000. It included five times more place names than Ishikawa Ryūsen's 石川流宣 map of Japan. It was ready by 1774, and the following year, the Confucian scholar Shibano Ritsuzan added a colophon that mentions that Sekisui has been gathering sources for this map for twenty years. The map would not be printed until 1779.

This particular copy is the one described by Isaac Titsingh, chief factor on Dejima, in a letter to his brother in 1792: "I also include in the same bundle of papers a new map of Japan, made by order of the daimyo of Moets and given to me as a present; the place-names of the different provinces are numbered and to be found in the explanation. The numbering of these place-names has cost me a lot of work." Indeed, the dense layer of numbers and transliterated place-names testify to the intense, time-consuming work. Notable is also the customized translation in Dutch of Lake Biwa 琵琶湖 as "'t meir" ('the lake'). An index (the "explanation" mentioned in the letter") of 4200 place-names originally accompanied this map as part of the manuscript of Titsingh's book on Japan, now kept in the *Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, the National Library of Netherlands.

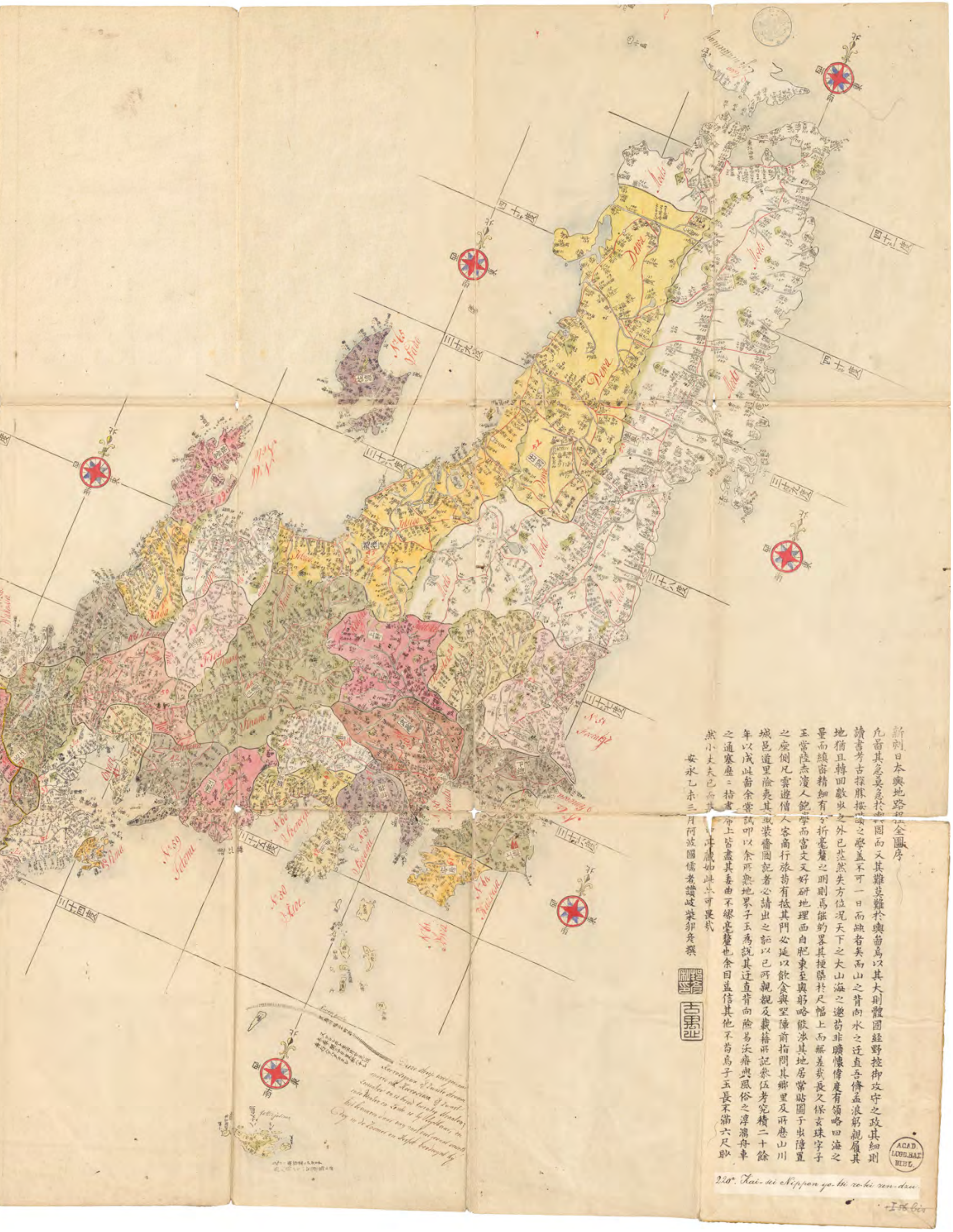
Titsingh's manuscript was published in French, Dutch and English. In the preface to the English edition, the scholar Abel Rémusat refers to one of the items he had acquired from Titsingh's collection: "the great map of Japan, published in 1779, several copies of which he brought with him, is certainly the most splendid monument erected beyond the limits of Europe to geographical science. It exhibits a prodigious number of names and situations, and according to all appearances, it is not less accurate than circumstantial. When it shall be translated and engraved, we shall be as well and even better acquainted with Japan than with certain parts of Europe."
After Klaproth's death in 1835, the map was acquired by baron Schilling von Canstadt, who then bequeathed it to Siebold.

References

Rémusat 1818, 229; Rémusat 1822, xiv-xv; Siebold 1852, 24-5; Unno 1994, 414-16; Yonemoto 2003, 35-40; Unno 2010 506-21; Matsui 2016, 42.



7


新刻日本輿地路程全圖序
凡啚其急莫急於輿圖而又其難莫難於輿啚爲以其大則體國經野控御攻守之政其細則
讀書考古探勝按蹟之學蓋不可一日而缺者矣而山之背向水之迂直吾儕孟浪躬親履其
地猶且轉回數步之外已茫然失方位況天下之大山海之邈苟非曠懷偉度有領略四海之
量而縝密精細有分析毫釐之明則焉能約畧其梗槩於尺幅上而無差哉長久保玄珠字子
玉常陸赤濱人飽學而富文又好研地理西自肥東至奥躬略渉其地居常貼圖于坐障置
之座側凡雲遊僧人客商行旅苟有抵其門必延以飲食與坐障前指問其鄉里及所歴山川
城邑道里險夷其或裝畫圖記者必請出之訂以己所親覩及載籍所記參伍考究積二十餘
年以成此圖余嘗試叩以余所熟地界子玉爲説其迂直背向險易沃瘠與風俗之淳漓舟車
之通塞歴歴指畫布上皆盡其委曲不繆毫釐也余因益信其他不苟焉子玉長不滿六尺耿
然小丈夫已而其中所藏如此亦可畏哉
安永乙未三月阿波國儒者讃岐柴邦彦撰
220ª. Kai-sei Nippon yo-tsi ro-tei zen-dzu.

8

Nagakubo Sekisui 長久保赤水

Hyōchū zuga Nagasaki kikō 標註圖書長崎紀行

'Annotated and Illustrated Diary of an Appointed Trip to Nagasaki'

Edo: Ogura Ninbē 小倉仁兵衛; Kyoto: Hayashi Ihē 林伊兵衛, Fuji'i Magobē 藤井孫兵衛; Osaka: Morimoto Tasuke 森本太助, Tamura Kyūhē 田邑九兵衛, Asano Yahē 浅野弥兵衛, Bunka 文化2 (1805)

Woodblock print, *fukurotoji* (bound-pocket binding), 26.5 x 34.5 cm

Ser. 302

Years before he would compile maps of China, Japan and the world, Sekisui travelled to Nagasaki and published this travelogue that includes detailed descriptions of the Chinese and Dutch quarters. He describes meeting the Deshima bookkeeper Rudolph Freudeman, a trusted VOC employee:

> The secretary bowed his head on the floor, then stood up again and sat down on the chair and pulled the table towards him. He then took the brush and wrote seven or eight pages with letters shaped like clouds. He began writing from the left and proceeded horizontally to the right. Were it not for the interpreters, I would not have known what it said. The paper was like the one we use for official purposes in this country. The brush was the stalk of a bird feather and looked like our stone brushes. They make a cut at the end and immerse it in a black liquid.

What caught Sekisui's attention was Freudeman's feather quill, the colours of his chair and clothes and the elaborate carving of the wooden table. The illustration exemplifies a wider interest in foreign knowledge and materiality.

The first edition appeared in 1768, and by the time of this second edition, Sekisui had become a household name, as visible in the multitude of publishers and the catalogue of twelve other works by Sekisui included before the impressum.

References

Yonemoto 2003, 70-81; Plutschow 2006, 48-9; Knoest 2015, 12-15.

8

9

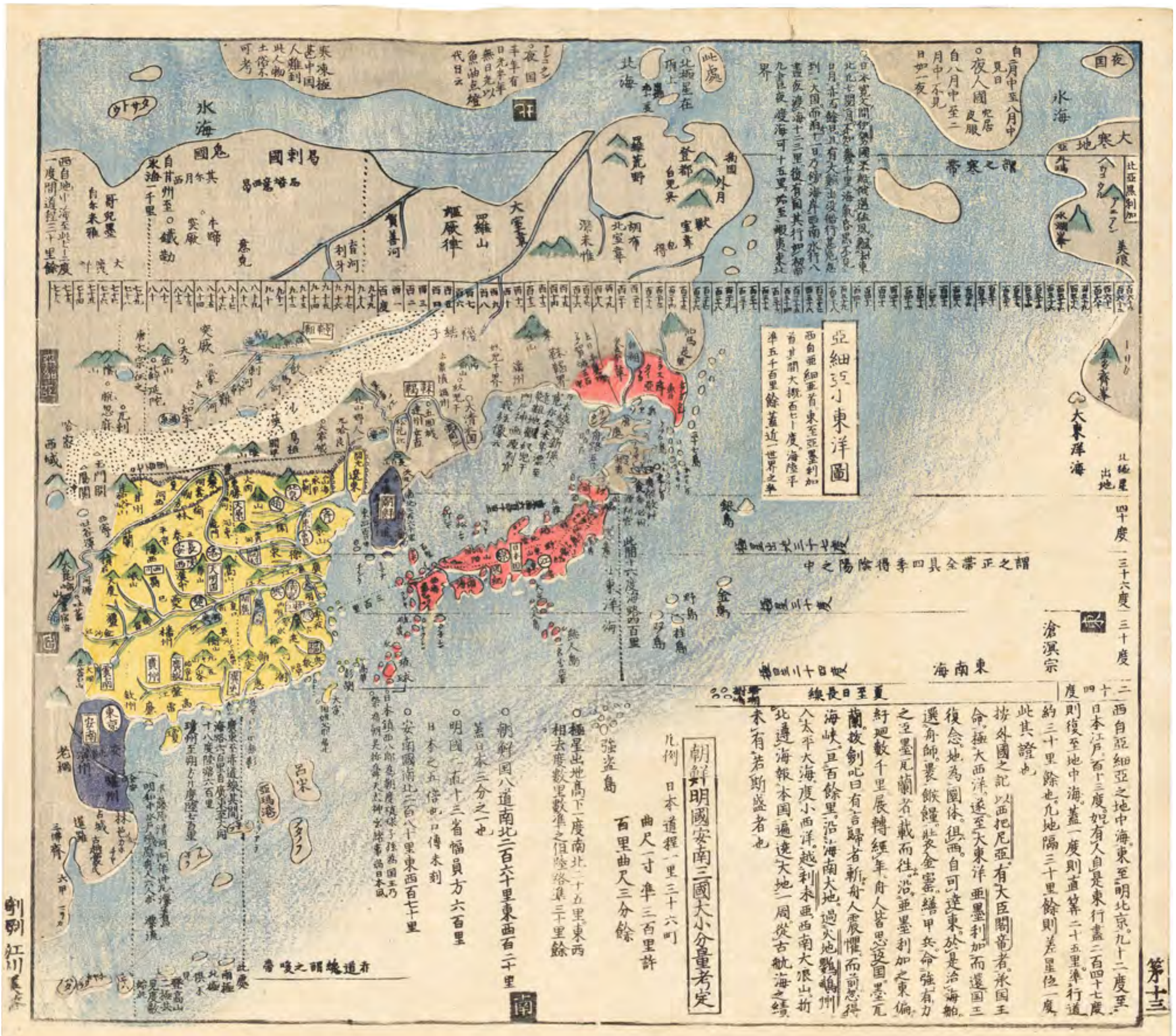
Nagakubo Sekisui 長久保赤水
Ajia kotōyōzu 亜細亜小東洋圖
'Map of Asia and the Small Eastern Ocean'
In: *Tōdo rekidai shūgun enkaku chizu* 唐土歴代州郡沿革地図
'Historical Atlas of China'
Osaka: Kawachiya Kihē 河内屋喜兵衛, Tempō 天保6 (1835)
Woodblock print, *orihon* (accordion-style binding), 36 by 40 cm (double-spread)
Ser. 182a

After publishing a one-sheet map of China in 1785, Sekisui was inspired to produce an atlas following a visit to the home of Kimura Kenkadō 木村 蒹葭堂 in Osaka in 1774 or 1775. There Kenkadō showed him a historical atlas of China by Nakamura Tekisai 中村惕斎. The first edition of Sekisui's atlas appeared in 1789 and included thirteen maps of the Chinese empire throughout history. These maps exemplify that geographical knowledge was a branch of Chinese learning. This learning was often outdated: for example, this map's northern part retains references the 'Country of the Night' from seventeenth-century Chinese maps. Moreover, although the atlas also includes a separate map of the Qing empire, this general map shows the long defunct Ming empire. Western knowledge was often considered no more than an update to this received body of knowledge.

This example comes from a newer edition of 1835, in which the explanatory text of the 1789 edition has been removed, highlighting the cartographic image.

References

Unno 2010, 530.



9

10

Suzuki Kinkoku 鈴木金谷

Bankoku kishō zufu 万国旗章図譜

'Illustrated Compendium of Flags of Myriad Countries'

Edo: Yamashiroya Sahē 山城屋左兵衛; Kyoto: Katsumura Jiemon 勝村治右衛門; Osaka: Kawachiya Kihē 河内屋喜兵衛, Kaei 嘉永5 (1852)

Polychrome woodblock print, *fukurotoji* (pouch binding), 24 by 31.5 cm

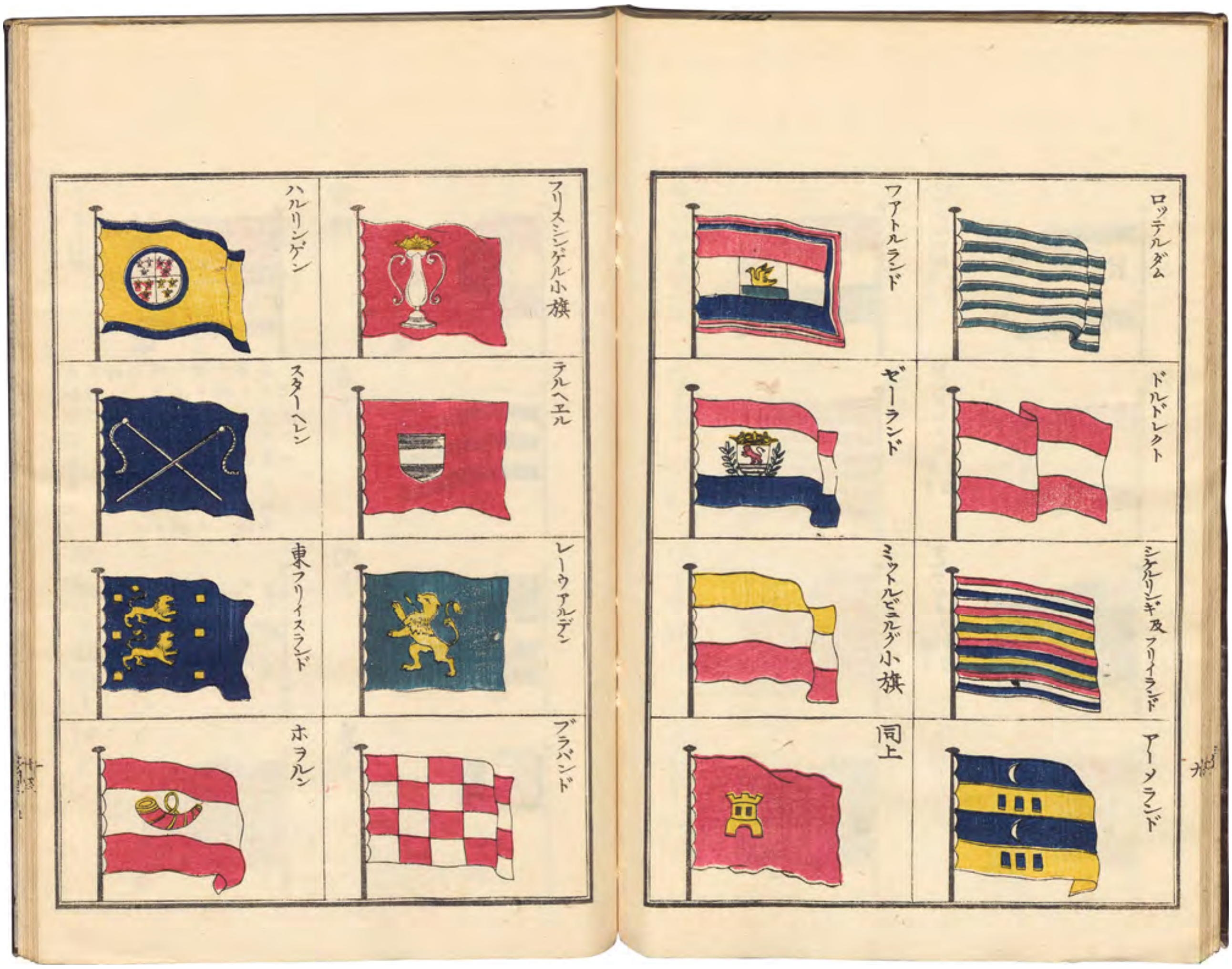
Ser. 179

This richly illustrated compendium of 291 naval flags includes those of Dutch port cities. It materializes an increased concern with the presence of foreign ships in the wake of news of the First Opium War in China. The author was a scholar of Dutch knowledge from the Mito domain. The postface claims that this book is indispensable to every official in charge of coastal defence throughout the country.

On the page shown here, the flags of Harlingen, Stavoren, West-Friesland (incorrectly indicated as East-Friesland), Hoorn, Vlissingen (also indicated as small flag of Zeeland), Veere, Leeuwarden, Brabant, Waterland, Zeeland, Middelburg (Beggar's flag), Middelburg, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Terschelling/Vlieland and Ameland are depicted, in the order per column from the left to the right. The information is probably derived from a Dutch or European book of flags or a so-called *vlaggenkaart* (flag map). The latter were copperplate prints both sold as individual sheets and included in pilot guides and sea atlases during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

References

Suzuki 2010, 93-5.


フリスシンゲル小旗
ハルリンゲン
テルヘエル
スターヘレン
レーウアルデン
東フリイスランド
ブラバンド
ホヲルン
ロッテルダム
ファトルランド
ドルドレクト
ゼーランド
シケルリンギ及フリイランド
ミットルビュルグ小旗
アーメランド
同上

10

THEME 2

Intersecting Interests in Northeast Asia

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Northeast of Asia including the islands of Hokkaido, Sakhalin, the Kuriles and the Kamchatka peninsula became the focus of interest for French and Russian expeditions. At the same time, Japanese authorities sent multiple surveying expeditions to what were then foreign territories, led by Mogami Tokunai 最上徳内, Mamiya Rinzō 間宮林蔵 and Inō Tadataka 伊能忠敬 among others. They did not reach further than South Sakhalin, but managed to draw maps of territories further north based on local informants. The Russian expeditions led by Adam Laxman (1792) and Nikolai Rezanov (1804) provided the Japanese with Russian maps of the area, which they copied, corroborated with their own surveys and circulated through friendly exchanges. The resulting Japanese maps of the area were therefore among the most accurate of the time.

11a

Hayashi Shihei 林子平

Sangoku tsūran zusetsu 三國通覽圖説

'Illustrated Examination of the Three Countries'

Edo: Suwaraya Ichibē 須原屋市兵衛, Tenmei 天明6 (1786)

Woodblock print, *fukurotoji* (bound-pocket binding), 26.7 by 19 cm

Ser. 187A

In this book, prefaced by the prominent 'Dutch studies' scholar Katsuragawa Hoshū, Shihei suggested a need for sharper awareness of Japan's relationship to its neighbours in Northeast Asia (the 'three countries' of Korea, the Ryukyu kingdom and Ezo). Shihei also argued that Japan's maritime defenses were insufficient and should be strengthened. These were considered "strange and unorthodox opinions" by the authorities, leading to Shihei's house arrest and his eventual death in 1793. This may have occurred because of the criticisms to Shihei's work included in *Tōyū zakki* 東遊雜記 ('Various Records of a Journey to the East'), the diary of the inspection of the northern provinces by the scholar and surveyor Furukawa Koshōken 古川古松軒:

> One should not believe in anyone whose views depend on the Tsuran Zusetsu. It is enough to look at a road map to know roughly about the northern lands. Why would one need anything more detailed? I dislike people, who neglect what is nearby in favour of something that is far away.

Shihei's book was also banned, though it circulated in numerous manuscript copies.

The book formed an important source for the handful of nineteenth-century scholars of Japan: Isaac Titsingh brought a copy back in 1796, later acquired by Abel Rémusat who used it for an article on the Bonin islands. In 1832, Julius Klaproth published a partial translation in French after a copy of Hayashi's work acquired in Irkutsk. This copy belonged to Johann Joseph Hoffmann, who used it as source for an article on the history of the Ryukyu kingdom (present-day Okinawa).

References

Rémusat 1817; Klaproth 1832; Hoffmann 1866; Breugelmans 2000, cat. 9; Plutschow 2006, 112-13; Kornicki 2006, 31-2.


三國通覽圖說 圖五枚附 全
(Japan.)
No 187.
San kok tsu ran.
Aperçu général des trois
royaumes.
1 vol.
1786.
Aan de Akad. Bibl.
aangeboden door
J. J. Hoffmann
1874
187. 三 國 通 覽 圖 記
San-kok' tsuu-ran dzu ki.
„Mémoire illustré contenant un aperçu général des trois royaumes" (la Corée, les îles Lieou-kieou et Yezo) M. S. En caractères chinois classiques et katakana. Par Hayasi Sihei. Préface de Katsuragawa Ho-siu. Avec plusieurs dessins représentant les habitants des différents pays et des objets ethnographiques. 1 vol. gr. in-8°. Yedo 1786. –

11a

11b

Hayashi Shihei 林子平

'The Bonin Islands' 無人嶋

Hand-coloured woodblock print; Ink and colour on paper, 64 by 27.3 cm, 71 by 26.5 cm, 76 by 26.5 cm.

Ser. 187a:4 (1-3)

See page 140-145

'Bonin' is a mispronunciation of *bunin* 無人 ('uninhabited') and refers to an archipelago in the Pacific that had been charted by a Japanese expedition in 1675. Then, in the late eighteenth century, its location became strategically important for the defense of the main islands of Japan. Shihei argues that the ten islands' tropical climate and flat terrain is suitable for agriculture and produces valuable exotic birds, and proposes its colonisation by a fleet of ocean-going vessels.

This set shows the circulation of maps from Shihei's book despite its ban. One of the maps is an unofficial print, while the others are handwritten copies. Two of the maps were in the collection of Nagasaki warehouse master and collector Van Overmeer Fisscher (1800-1848), and the other was in Siebold's collection.

The interest in the 'uninhabited' islands persisted among intellectuals interested in Western learning for the purpose of national defense. In 1839, Watanabe Kazan 渡辺華山 referred to the necessity of a trip to the islands. However, that passage will be later quoted against him as harbouring a desire to escape to foreign countries. This was among the charges that lead to his banishment.

References

Rémusat 1817; Siebold 1843; Keene 2006, 147, 153-60; Ruegg 2017; Kramer & Kramer 2020.

11C

Hayashi Shihei 林子平
Chōsen Ryūkyū Ezo narabini Karafuto Kamusasuka Rakkojima nado sūkoku setsujō no keisei wo miru tame no shōzu
朝鮮。琉球。蝦夷并ニカラフト。カムサスカ。ラツコ嶋。等数国接壌ノ形勢ヲ見ル為ノ小圖
'Small Map for the Purpose of Seeing the Shapes of the Numerous Bordering Countries of Korea, Ryukyu, and Ezo, as well as Sakhalin, Kamchatka, Sea-Otter Island, etc.'
Ink and colour on paper, superimposed paper strips, 54.1 by 79.1 cm
Ser. 187a: 1 (1)

See page 146-147

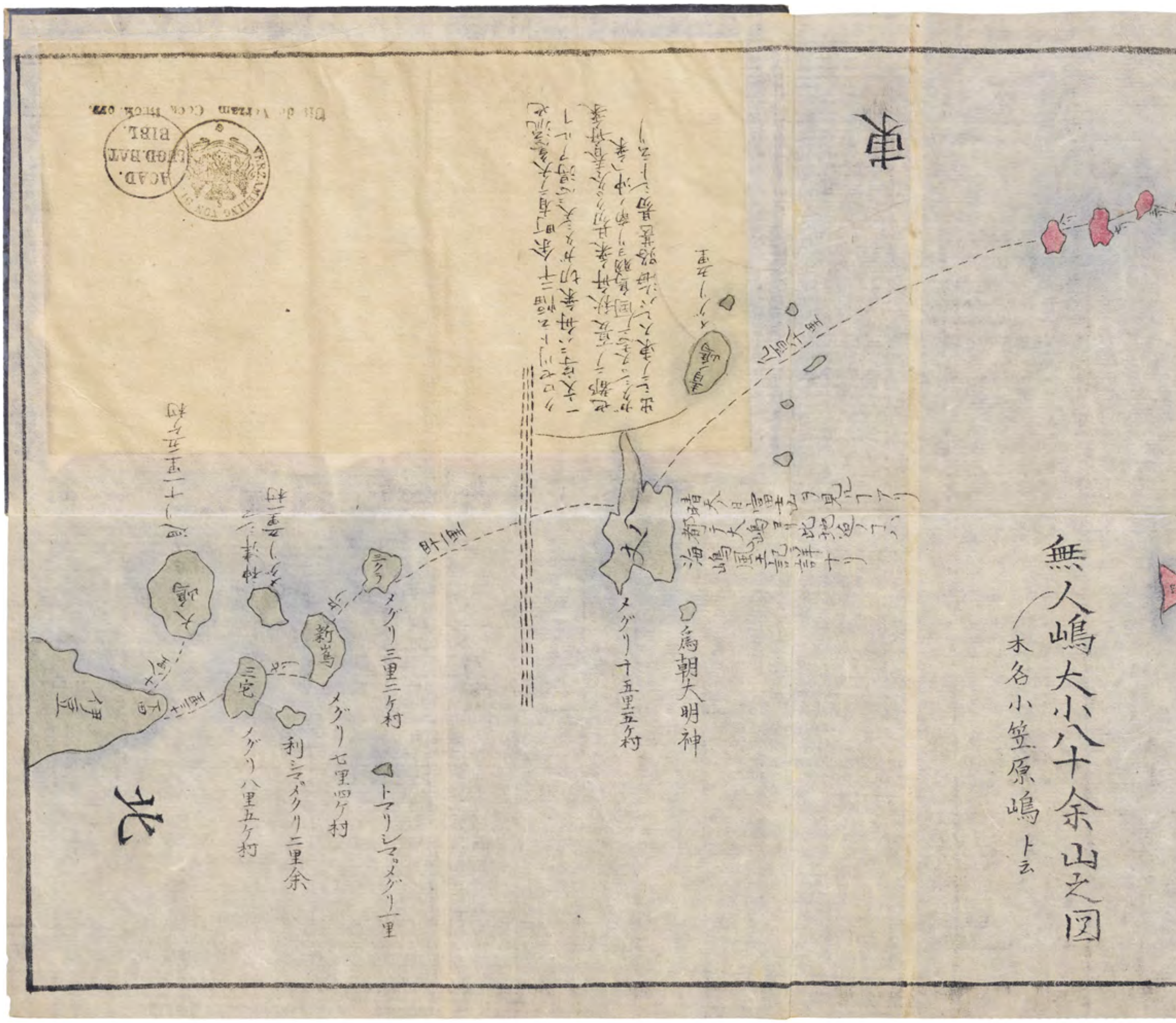
This map is the first attempt to define Japan's borders within Northeast Asia. This is most apparent in the colour-coding of the south of 'Jeso': the trading outpost of Matsumae 松前 is surrounded by the green pigment representing Japanese control, which bleeds into the light red representing the foreign *Ezo koku* 蝦夷國 ('Country of Ezo'). To the southwest, the limit of Japanese territory is Tokara island, and next to the next of island of Kikai 奇界 is stated unequivocally: "beyond here is Ryukyu territory."

This manuscript copy of Shihei's map of Northeast Asia was originally part of the collection of Cock Blomhoff, along with another two sets of maps from Hayashi's work.

Paper slips have been pasted on this map to indicate geographical and political entities of interest. They include "Formosa" for Taiwan 臺湾 and also "moenin Sima onbewoonde land" ('Moenin Sima uninhabited land') for the Bonin islands.

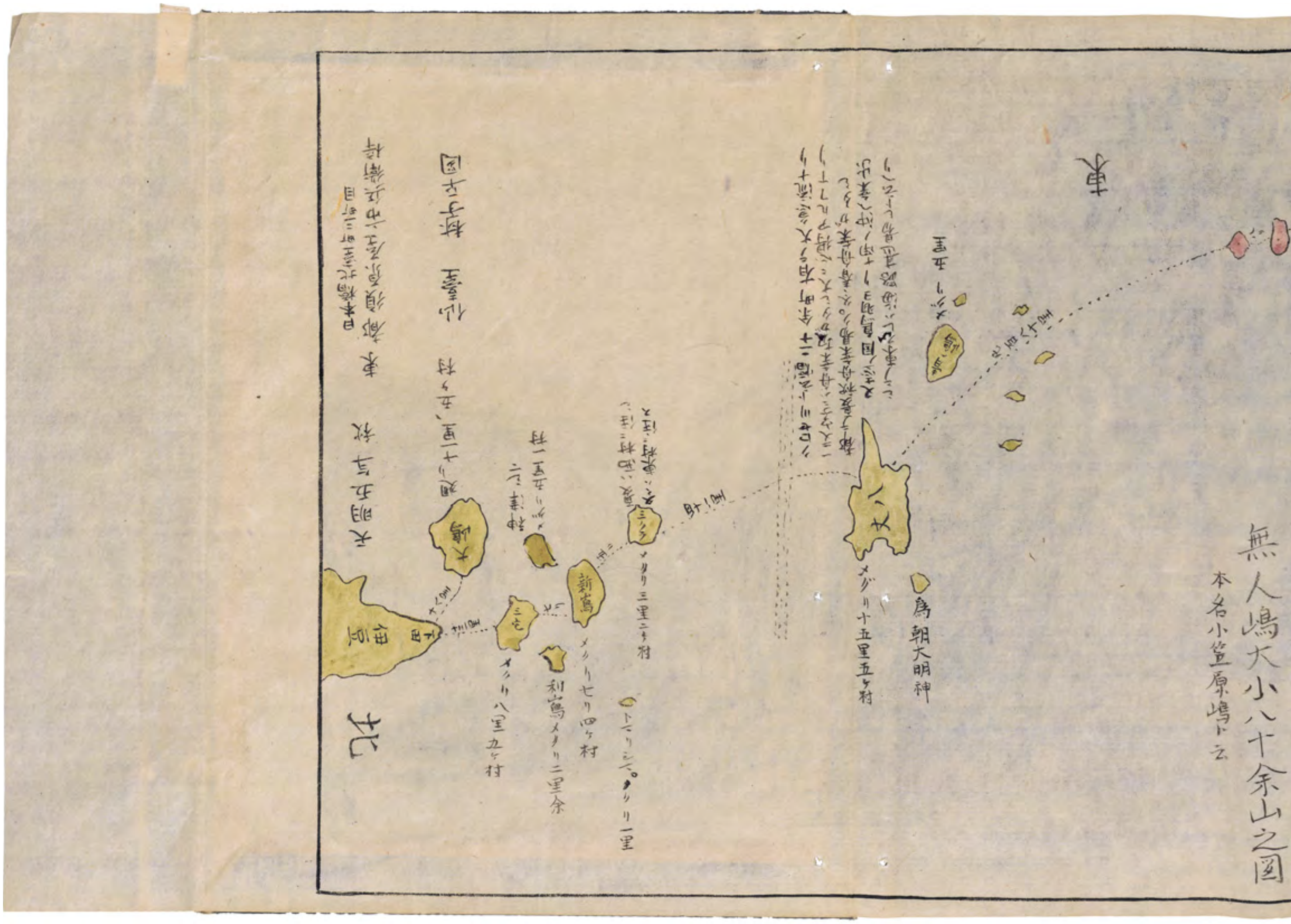
References

Kornicki 2006, 31-2; Toby 2016.

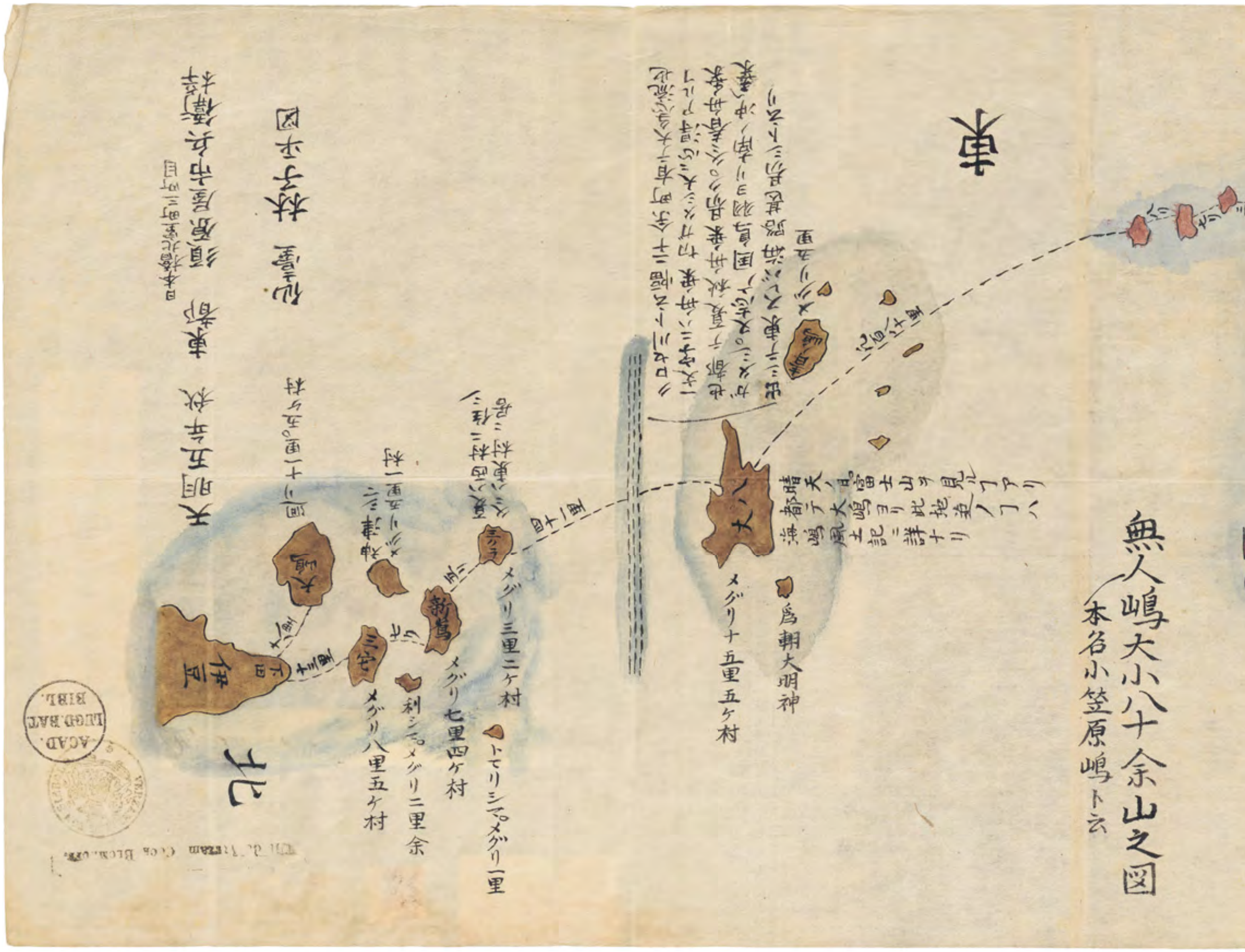

東
無人嶋大小八十余山之図
本名小笠原嶋ト云
為朝大明神
メグリ十五里五ケ村
メグリ三里二ケ村
メグリ七里四ケ村
利シマメグリ二里余
メグリ八里五ケ村
トマリシマメグリ一里
新嶋
三宅
伊豆
北

11b


南
西

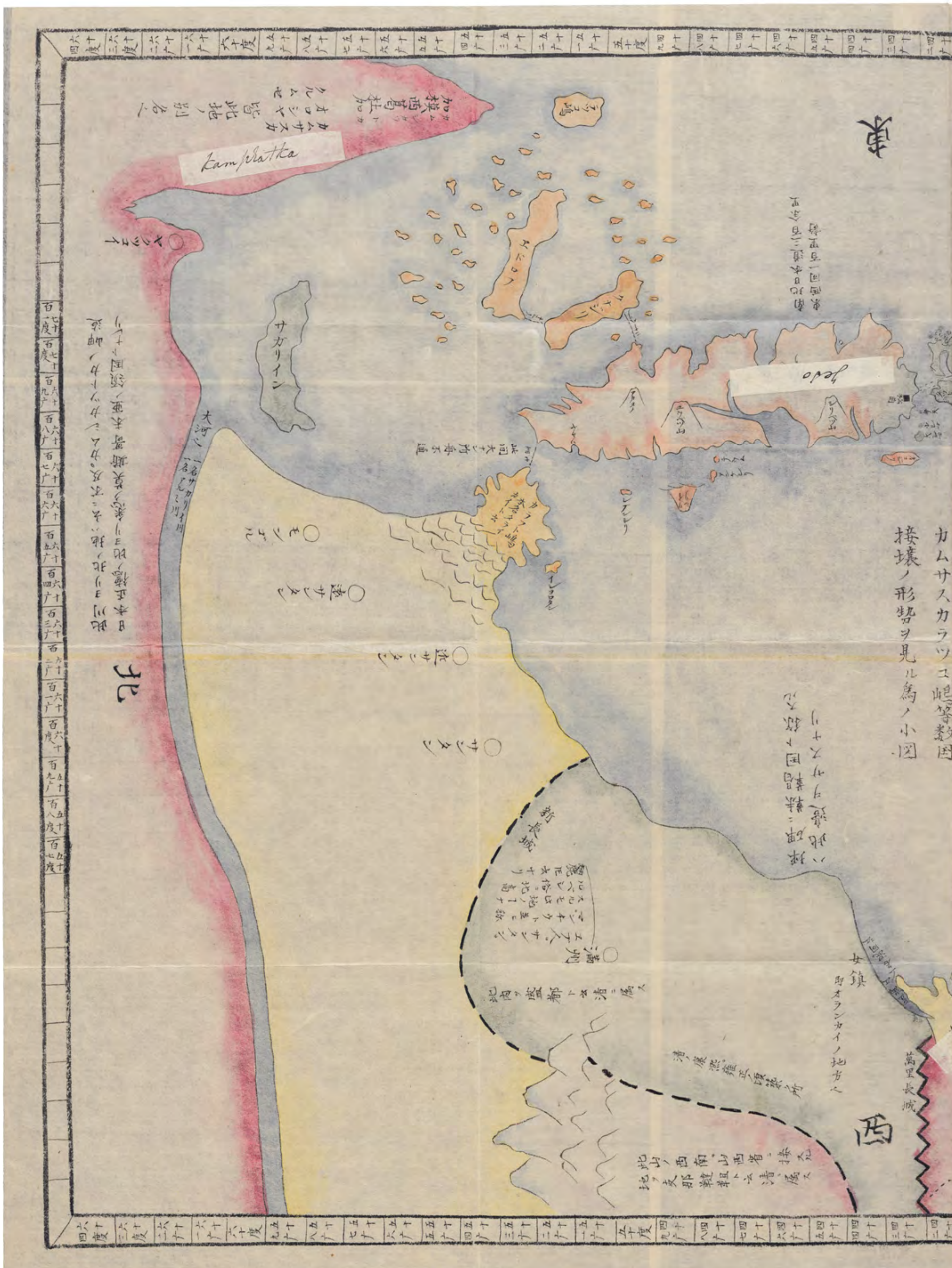

無人嶋大小八十余山之図
本名小笠原嶋ト云
東
北
伊豆
大嶋
新嶋
三宅
八丈
鳥
朝大明神
メグリ十五里五ヶ村
メグリ七リ四ヶ村
利嶋メグリ二里余
メグリ八里五ヶ村
メグリ三里二ヶ村
メグリ一里

11b

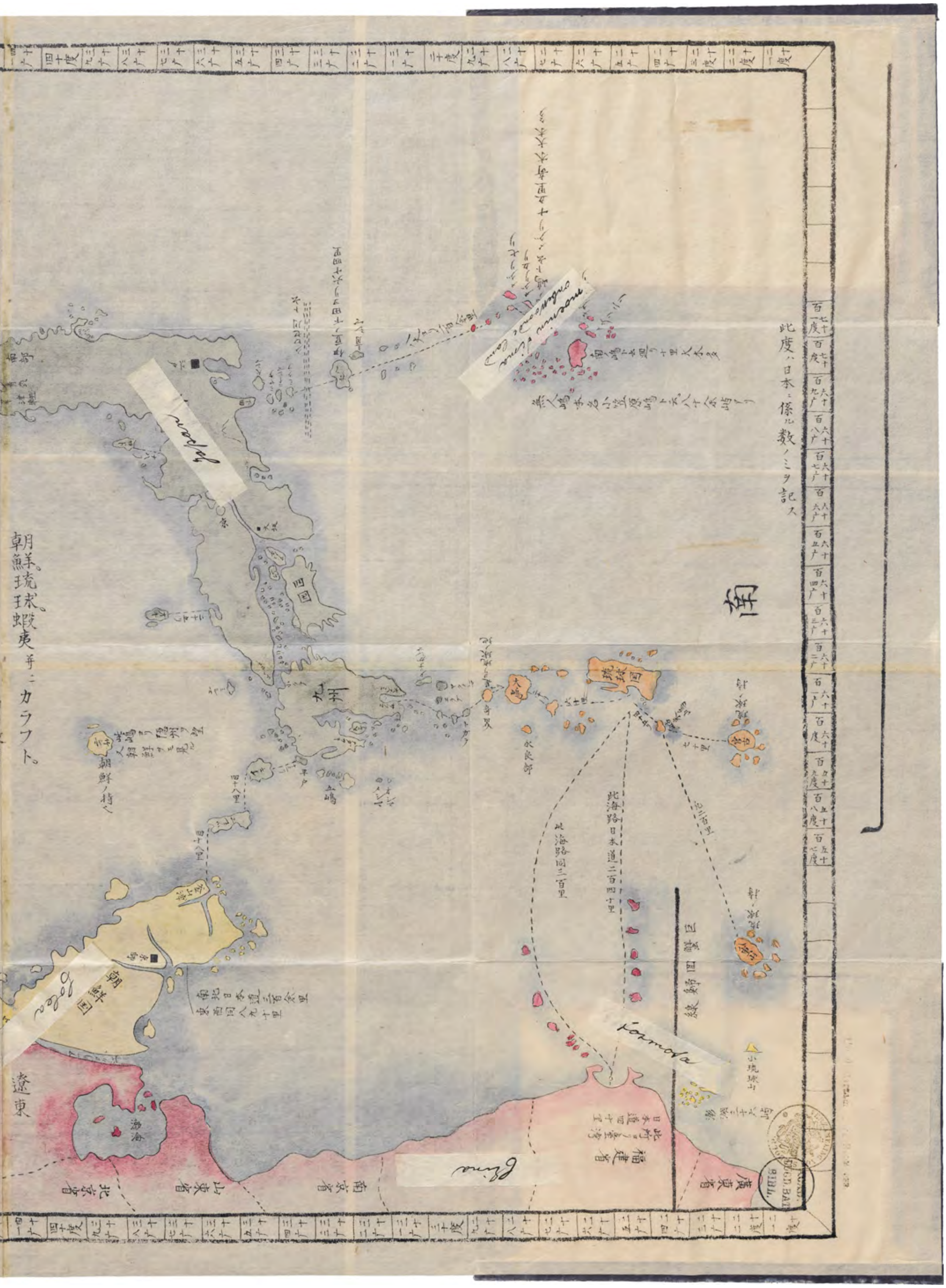

無人嶋大小八十余山之図
本名小笠原嶋ト云
東
北
メグリ十五里五ケ村
メグリ三里二ケ村
メグリ七里四ケ村
メグリ八里五ケ村
トヽリシマメグリ一里

11b


南
西
二十七度半
二十七度
二十里



11c


朝鮮琉球蝦夷并ニカラフト
此度ハ日本ニ係ル数ノミヲ記ス
九州
四国
Japan
Formosa
China

12

Takahashi Kageyasu 高橋景保

Nihon henkai ryakuzu 日本邊界略圖

'Abridged Map of the Seas Around Japan'

Bunka 文化6 (1809)

Hand-coloured copperplate print, 35.2 by 23.8 cm

Ser. 228

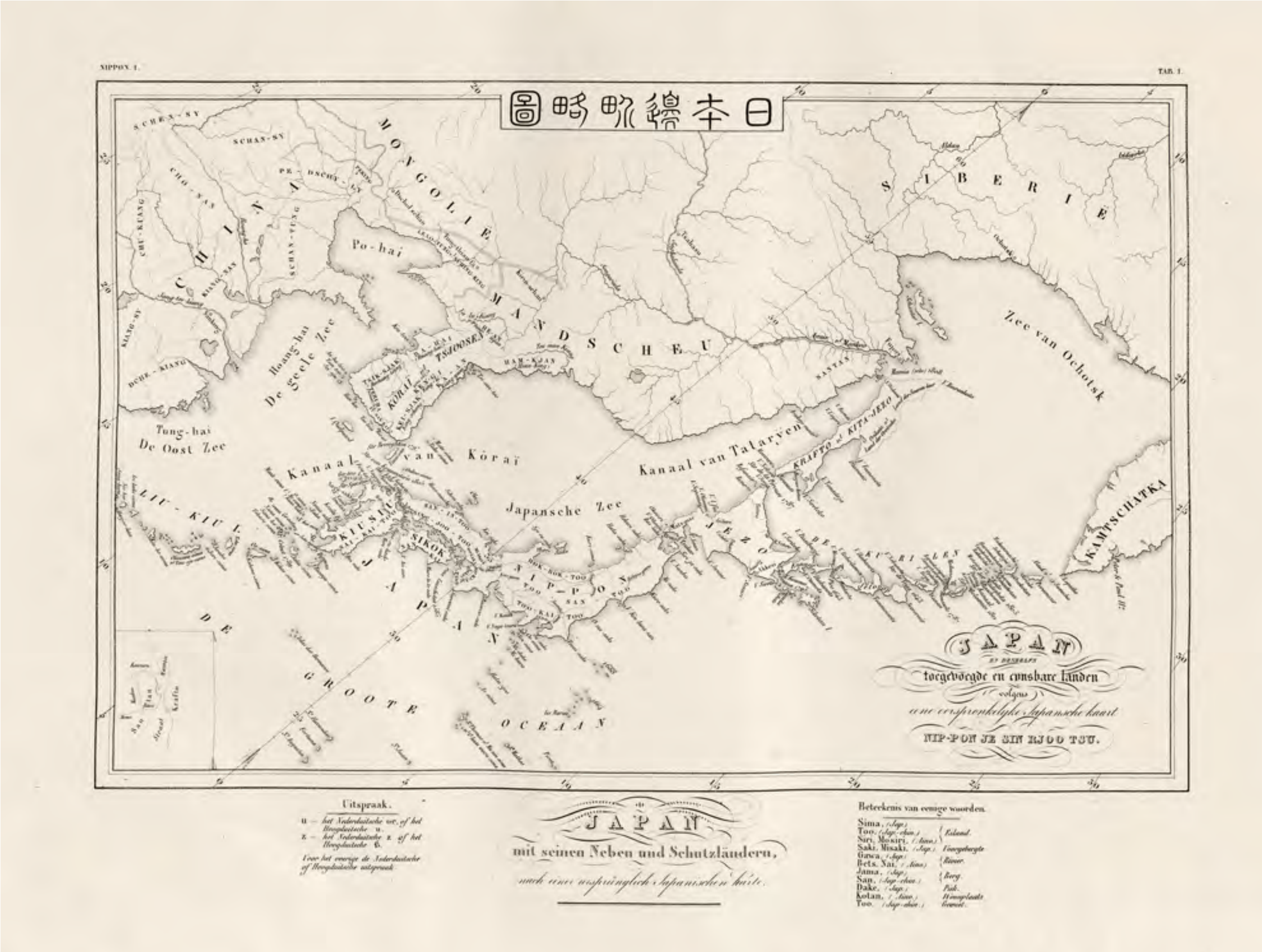
As Chief Astronomer, Takahashi Kageyasu was commissioned in 1807 by the shogunal administration to compile maps of Japan and of the world. Takahashi enlisted the services of the copperplate printer Aōdō Denzen 亜欧堂田善, and two years later produced this map together with the *Shinsen sōkai zenzu* 新鐫総界全図 ('Newly Engraved Map of the Entire World'). The preface points out that the depiction of the territories north of Japan integrates the latest surveys by Mamiya Rinzō 間宮林蔵 and Mogami Tokunai 最上徳内. Indeed, Sakhalin's west coast, which Mogami did not survey, is traced with a less certain dotted line. Notwithstanding, the depiction of this area on this map was the most geographically accurate at the time. Explorations by Western cartographers are also mentioned, and toponyms such as 'Kurilskaya' and 'Ohotsuka' betray Russian cartographic sources.

The colour-coding expresses Japan's proto-imperial ambitions: besides the main islands of the Japanese archipelago, pink outlines also surround half of Sakhalin, the Bonin Islands ("Westerners call it St. Thomas") and the Ryukyu archipelago. Pencil annotations have modified the shape of the coast of Sakhalin near the Strait, as well as the course of one of the affluents of the Amur river.

References

Unno 1994, 439-40; Funakoshi 1997, 93-6.

12



13

13

Phillip Franz von Siebold

Japan mit seinen Neben und Schutzlandern =

Japan en deszelfs toegevoegde en cynsbare landen

'Japan with its Neighbours and Protectorate Lands'

In: Nippon, vol. 1, Tab. 1

Lithography, 38 by 58.5 cm

COLLBN 20073 C 1

Siebold reproduced Takahashi Kageyasu's map of Northeast Asia with a few significant differences: Takahashi had called the ocean side of the Japanese archipelago *Dai nihon kai* 大日本海 ('Great Sea of Japan') while using the name *Chōsenkai* 朝鮮海 ('Sea of Korea') for the sea between the archipelago and the continent. Siebold chose to replace the latter with 'Sea of Japan'. Also added is an inset of the area around the strait between Sakhalin and the continent, very similar to the corresponding area in the 1808 map by Mamiya Rinzo Mamiya Rinzō 間宮 林蔵 reproduced in Tab. XXV of *Nippon* (cat. 18).

A few years after reprinting this map for his atlas, Siebold included a version of this map, with an additional border, at the end of a pamphlet arguing for the role of the Dutch and the Russians in the "opening of Japan."

References

Siebold 1854; Pelletier 2000, 290-3; Miyazaki 2007, 10-2; Aoyama 2016d; Frumer 2018, 104-8.

14

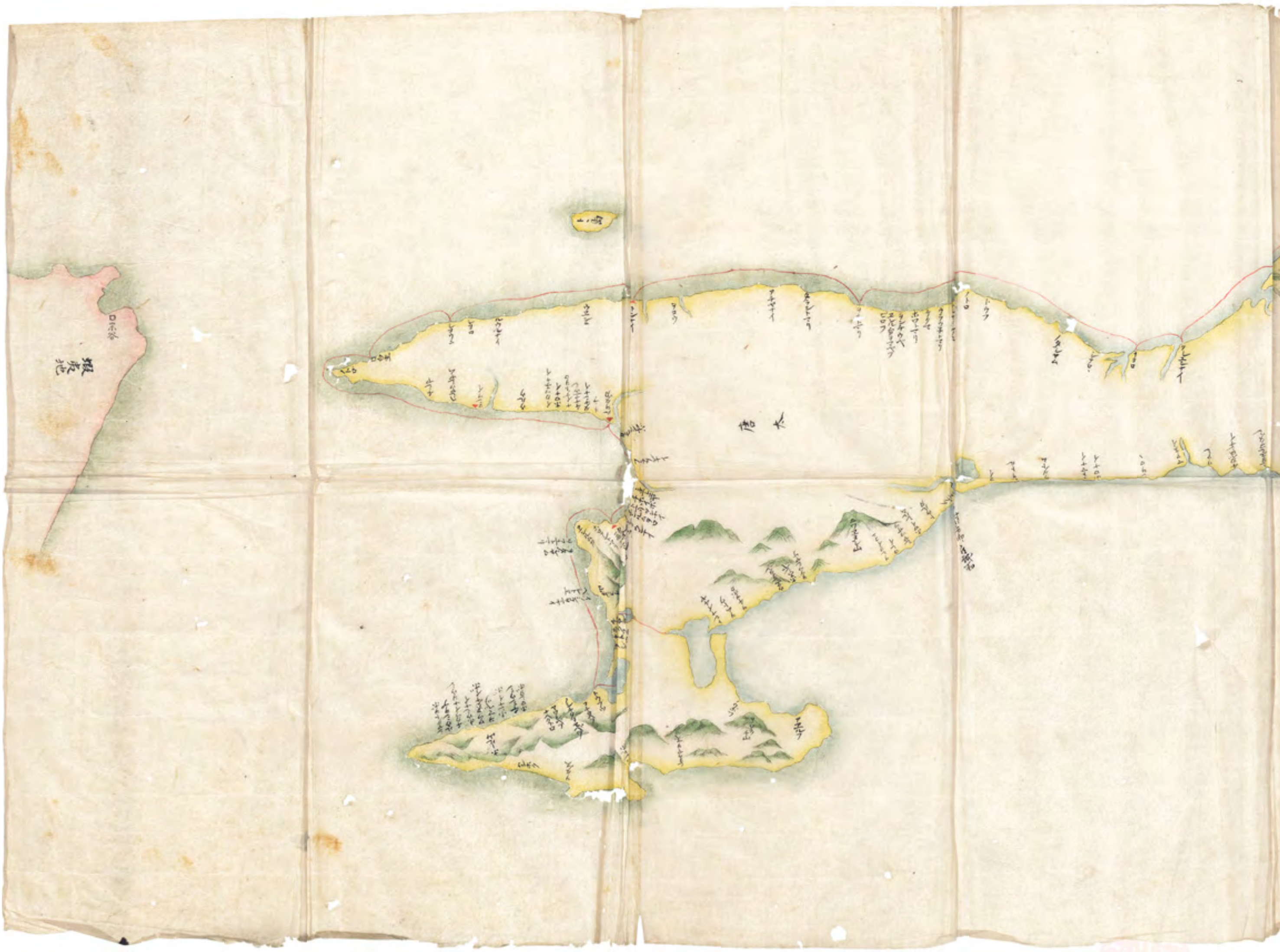
Mogami Tokunai 最上徳内
Karafutotō no zu 唐太島之図
'Map of Sakhalin Island'
early nineteenth century
Ink and colour on paper, 107 by 39 cm
Ser. 214

See page 152-153

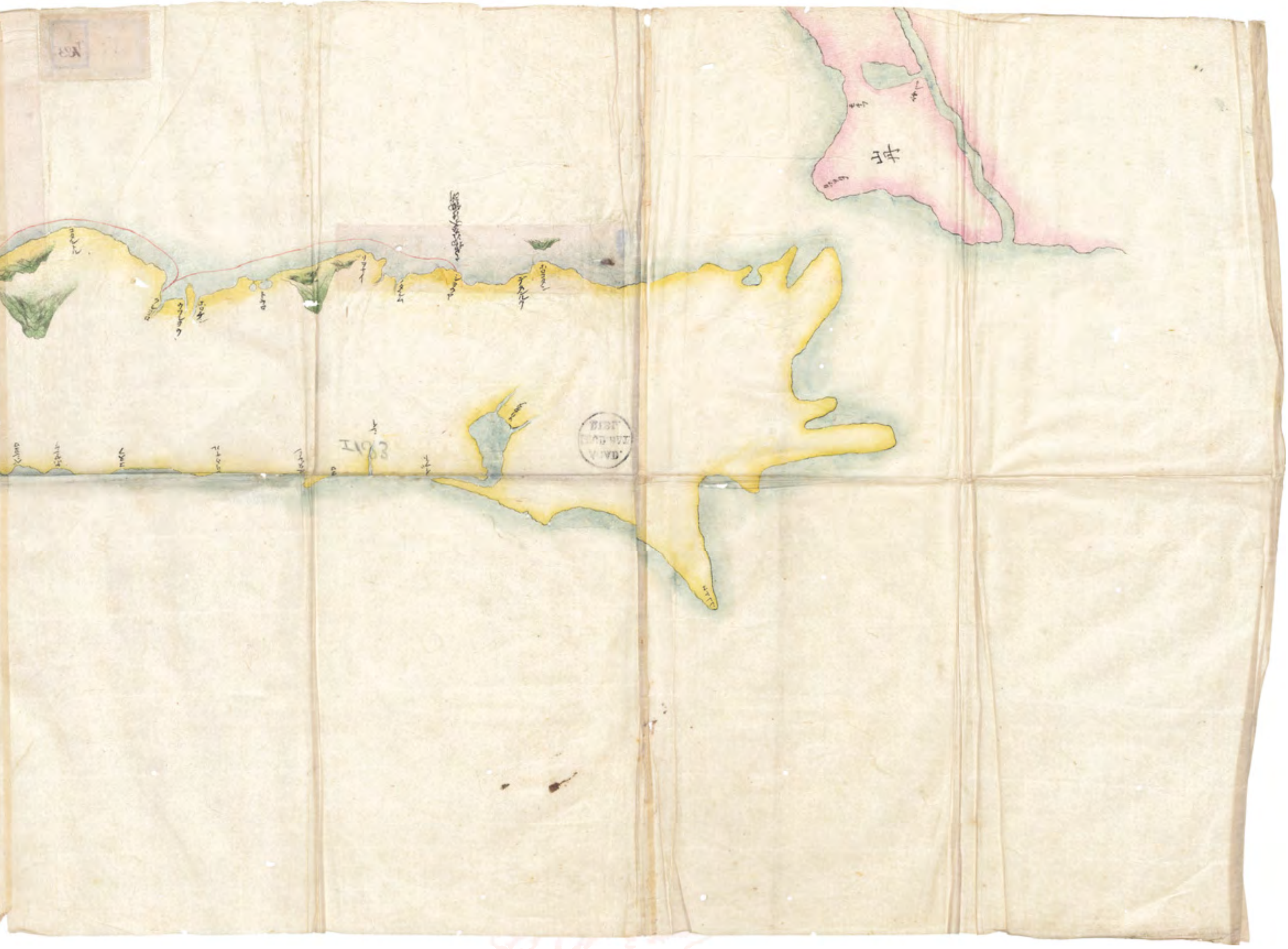
Red lines indicate coastal sailing routes, and the Ainu names of villages along the coast are written in phonetic transcription. The characters are oriented in all directions, therefore the map was meant to be read in the round. At the southern tip of the island, a rectangle marks the village of Shiranushi, where in 1790 the Japanese established a post for trading with the Qing empire through local intermediaries along the west coast of Sakhalin. The red triangles indicate guard posts manned by the Japanese. The explorer and map-maker Mogami Tokunai 最上徳内 travelled to Sakhalin in 1792 and 1808, but this map is his incomplete copy of the map documenting the visits by shogunal officials Takahashi Jidayū and Nakamura Koichirō in 1801.

References

Funakoshi 1997, 107-9; Dettmer 1997; Breugelmans 2000, cat. 5; Walker 2007, 302-4.



14



15

Mogami Tokunai 最上徳内
Sagarentō no zu 薩哈連島之図
'Map of Sakhalin'
1801
Ink and colour on paper, 54 by 36.5 cm
Ser. 213

In February 1801, on his way back to Edo, Tokunai visited the home of the collector and patron Kimura Kenkadō 木村蒹葭堂 in Osaka. Among the maps that Kenkadō proudly showed him, Tokunai noticed an imported Chinese map that had originated in a survey of China's territory during the reign of the Kangxi emperor. Tokunai made a copy of the northeastern part of the map - he was only interested in the territories north of Japan, including Sakhalin, that he had visited himself and which were perceived as under threat of Russian occupation. Besides its strategic importance, this copy provides a material witness of a social occasion where geographical information was exchanged according to the protocol of literati meetings. This exchange was reiterated when Tokunai gifted this map to Siebold upon their meeting in Edo in 1826.

References

Funakoshi 1997, 109-11.

15

16

Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville (1697-1782)
Xe feuille de la Tartarie Chinoise, contenant le Pais de Ke-Tching l'embouchure du Saghalien Oula Dans la Mer Orientale, et la grande Isle qui est au dedans

'Tenth sheet of Chinese Tartary, containing the land of Ke-Tching the mouth of Saghalien Oula [Amur River] in the Oriental Sea, and the great island which is therein.'

In: *Description Géographique, Historique, Chronologique, Politique, et Physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise*

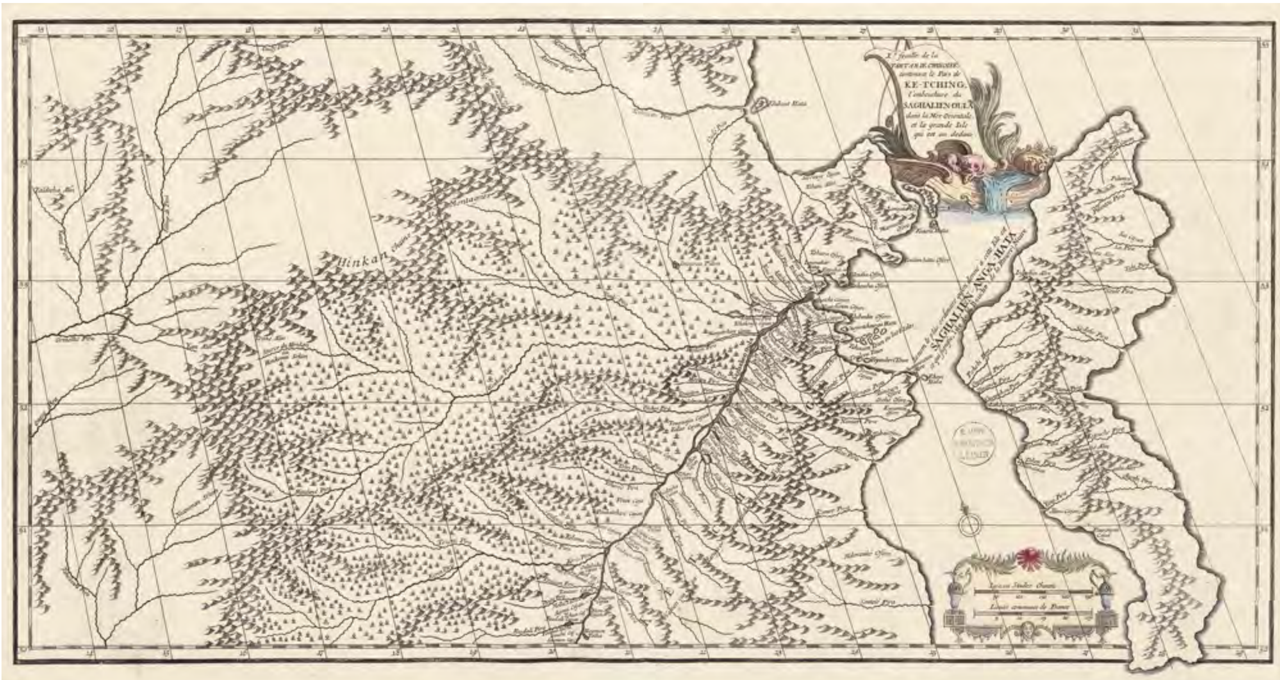
'A Geographical, Historical, Chronological, Political, and Physical Description of the Empire of China and Chinese Tartary'

The Hague: Hendrik Scheurleer, 1737
Hand-coloured copperplate print, 52 by 67 cm
COLLBN Atlas 197, map 28.

D'Anville was one of the most influential eighteenth-century French geographers. In the late 1720s, the French Jesuit historian Jean-Baptiste du Halde contracted D'Anville to make maps for his *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine* (Paris, 1735). The French copperplate maps were engraved in the Delahaye workshop in Paris and based on the copperplate-printed atlas *Huangyu quanlan tu* 皇輿全覽圖 ('Overview Maps of the Imperial Territories'). The source maps had resulted from a survey of the Chinese empire ordered by the Kangxi emperor in 1708. It was carried out by teams consisting of Manchu Qing officials and European missionaries, with the prime meridian passing through the Qing imperial capital of Beijing. The detail about the interior of China was far superior to any previous Western map or atlas. To the chagrin of D'Anville, an inferior but cheaper pirated edition, which also included the present map, became more popular than the original. D'Anville's work would remain a standard Western source for the geography of China and adjacent regions until well into the nineteenth century.

References

Cams 2014.


contenant le Pais de
KE-TCHING.
l'embouchure du
dans la Mer Orientale
et la grande Isle
qui est au dedans
Hinkan

16

17

Jean Baptiste Bourguignon D'Anville

Lettre de monsieur D'Anville geographe ordinaire du roy au R.P.Castel, jesuite. au sujet des pays de kamchatka & de jeco et response du R.P. Castel.

'Letter by mister D'Anville, common geographer to the king, to R. P. Castel, Jesuit, on the subject of the land of Kamchatka & of Jeso, and the response of R. P. Castel'

[Paris]: 1737

Copperplate print, 24.2 by 19.9 cm

This letter was part of a debate that originated with different depictions of Northeast Asia on maps by d'Anville for and by Jacques-Nicolas Bellin for Charlevoix's *Histoire et description generale du Japon*. The one who sparked the discussion was Louis Bertrand Castel, a Jesuit scholar based in Paris, who criticized both maps for their exaggeration of Russia's territory. Bellin then published his own critique of d'Anville's maps, accusing him of plagiarizing a map by the explorer Vitus Bering.
D'Anville replies that he merely reduced a map from a report of Bering's first Kamchatka expedition of 1725-30, and proceeds to argue for his further opinion that Kamchatka peninsula and Ezo island (present-day Hokkaido) are different territories.

D'Anville confesses that Ezo's location is harder to establish and 'caused me a sort of torture' (p. 11). He mentions among his sources a manuscript map resulting from De Vries's expedition as well as maps from Kaempfer's work and by Reland. To strengthen his argument, d'Anville points out that 'the Japanese who are navigators and are occupying more and more of this area, designate it precisely as an island, Ezo-ga-shima.' (p. 24). The debate shows the degree of uncertainty regarding Northeast Asia among European geographers, as well as the fact that Japanese maps were quoted as credible sources.

The map included with the letter is indeed close to the Kaempfer/Scheuchzer type in its depiction of the Japanese archipelago, and it differs significantly from Bellin's *Carte des Isles du Japon…* of 1736, although it retains the Terre de la Compagnie which had been erroneously reported by the expedition led by Maarten Gerritsz. Vries in 1643. Sakhalin island is indicated by a rare variant name: *Isle du Fl. Noir* ('Island of the Black River'), referring to its location near the mouth of the Amur river.

References

Crouch 2018, cat. 652; Verdier 2018, 251-59.


SIBÉRIE
Jakutska
Okhotski
KAMTCHATKA
Lena R.
Baykal More
Amour
Oudi R.
Nerzinsk ou Niptchou
Selingheski
Coulon
Isle du Fl. Noir
Bolkaya Reca
C. Patience
C. Schouten
TARTARIE CHINOISE
Cobi ou Désert de Sable
Tcitcicar
Songari Oula
L. Hinka
Port-Yland
C. Aniwa
Terre de la Compagnie
I. des Etats
Pic Antoine
JEÇO
C. Eroen
Détroit du Tessoi
Taal-Nor
Chinyam
La Grande Muraille
PEKIM
Kim-ki-tao
COREE
ISLES DU JAPON
O Jedo
JAPON
Meaco
Hoam-Ho
CHINE
Nankim
Nangasaki
Liqueo
MER ORIENTALE
Tan-choui
Isle Formose
Tay ouan
PAR LE Sr D'ANVILLE Géographe ordre du Roi

17

18

Philipp Franz von Siebold

Die Insel Krafto (Seghalien) und die Mündung des Mankô (Amur)

'The Island Karafuto (Sakhalin) and the Estuary of Mankō (Amur)'

In: *Nippon* VII, Tab. XXV

Lithography, 58.5 by 38 cm

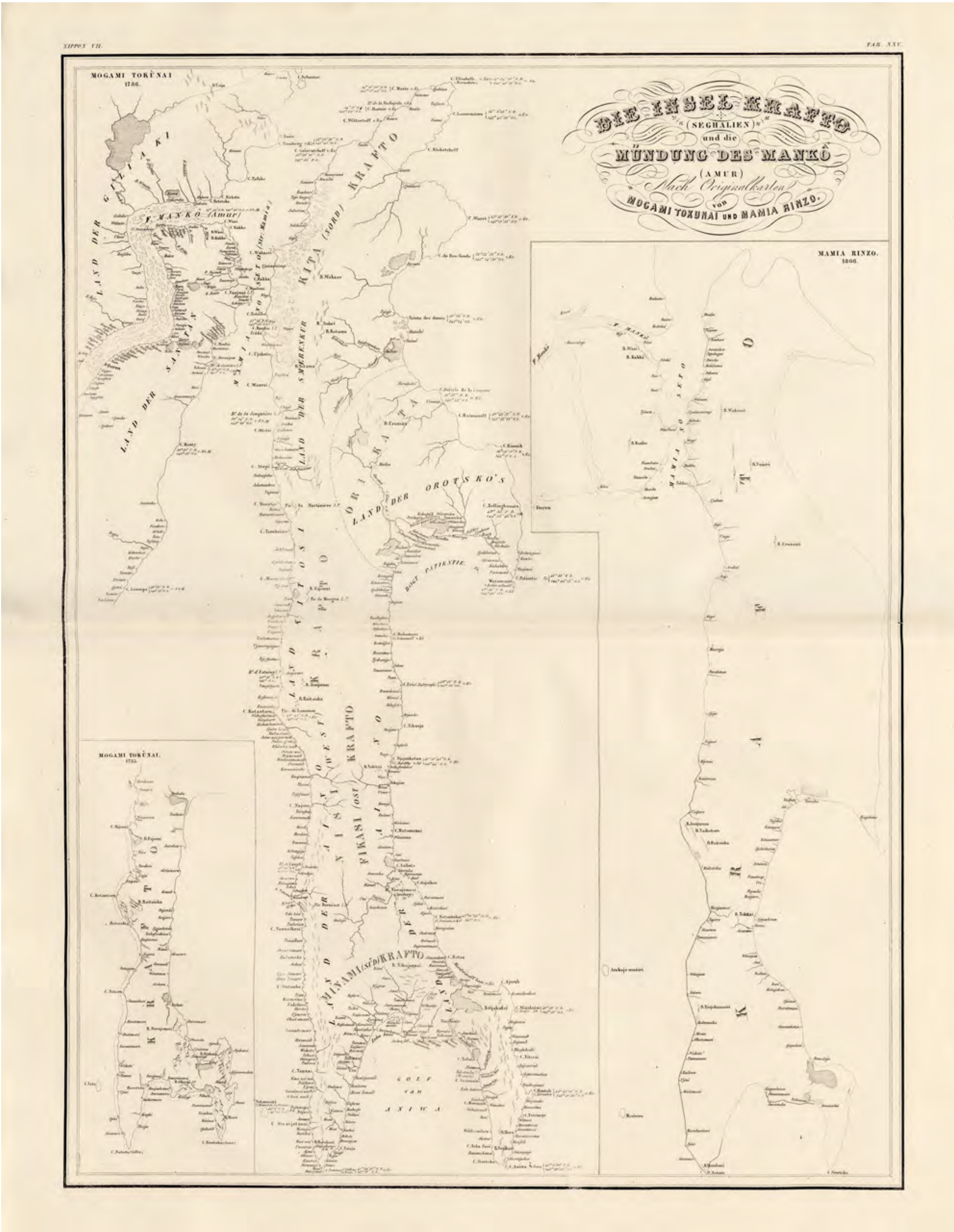
COLLBN 20073 C2

This is the accumulated record of expeditions by Mogami Tokunai 最上徳内, and later by Mamiya Rinzō 間宮林蔵. To honour the latter, Siebold gave the name 'Mamia' to the elusive strait between Sakhalin and the mouth of the Amur river (or Manko in the language of the Santan traders of Tungus ethnicity). Siebold is laying open his working method, remarkably similar to that of Japanese geographers, of assembling different maps of the same territory. This presentation format also exposes the practice of Western geographers of appropriating territories already inhabited by giving them Western names. For example, the main map shows De Langle Bay, so named by La Perouse's expedition, on Sakhalin's western coast. However, the bay's local name is transcribed in the reproduction of Mamiya Rinzo's 1808 map on the right: Tomarioro ('anchorage place').

This was among the maps lent by Siebold to Krusenstern in Saint Petersburg, upon which Krusenstern sent him an extended letter in which he singles out for praise the "map of Saghalien or Karafto, as you think this land must be called," and especially the unprecedented detail of its depiction of the mouth of the Amur River.

References

Walter 1994, 73-75; Walker 2007.


NIPPON VII.
TAB. XXV.
DIE INSEL KRAFTO
(SEGHALIEN)
und die
MÜNDUNG DES MANKÔ
(AMUR)
Nach Originalkarten
von
MOGAMI TOKUNAI UND MAMIA RINZO.
MOGAMI TOKUNAI
1786.
MAMIA RINZO.
1808.
MOGAMI TOKUNAI.
1785.
LAND DER OROTSKO'S
GOLF van ANIWA

18

19

Mogami Tokunai 最上徳内

Kamushasuka no zu 東察加之図

'Map of Kamchatka'

1804

Ink and colour on paper, 75.4 by 51.7 cm

Ser. 186

An inscription below the front title reads "the arrival of Rezanov, in the service of Russia, in the winter of 1804." Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov had been sent by the czar Alexander I as his official ambassador to Japan. He was mainly interested in opening trade relations with Japan to obtain supplies for the Russian America Company of which he was a majority stockholder. Sailing on a ship commanded by admiral Krusenstern, Rezanov arrived in Nagasaki in October 1804 and spent six months waiting for an official reply. The Japanese authorities ultimately refused, nevertheless accepting the Japanese castaways brought back by the Russian expedition. Upon leaving,

> After very urgent and repeated solicitations, the ambassador did at length obtain leave to make seven of the principal interpreters a trifling present in acknowledgment of the trouble we had given them; and the governors at length consented to accept, as remembrances, the little pocket globe, with some maps and sketches of the different nations that compose the Russian empire.

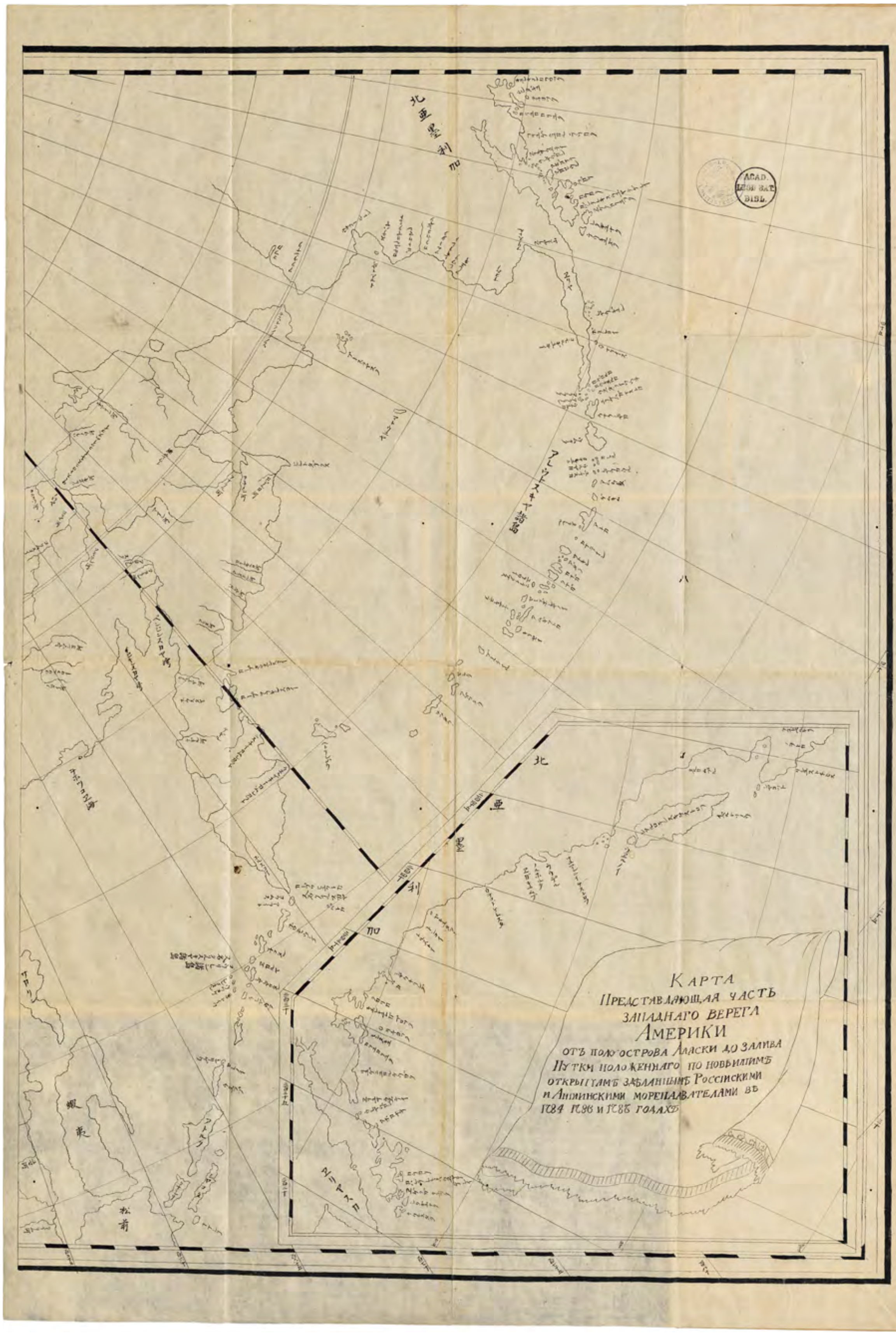
The present map is one of the many manuscript copies of those maps. The lack of a frame on the map's left side indicates that this is the right part of a larger map of the area. Tokunai copied only the right sheet of a three-sheet edition in Russian of a map of the Russian Empire by Aleksandr M. Vil'brecht. Of this map a French edition is known, with the title 'Carte générale de l'Empire Russie divisée en quarante-deux gouvernemens', published in 1793, probably in Saint Petersburg, an example of which is held in Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 159 N 88-90.

The inset shows the coast of Alaska and the description of the original map in Cyrillic. The translation of the title of this inset on the French map is 'Map of the Northwestern Coasts of North America from the Alaskan peninsula to the entrance of Nootka, after the discoveries of the Russians in 1784 and Portlok and Dixon in 1786 and 1787.' The Nootka sound is an inlet halfway the western coast of Vancouver island. Nathaniel Portlock and George Dixon led a British expedition to the Pacific in 1785-1788.

References

Langsdorff 1813, 265; Funakoshi 1997, 111-15; Breugelmans 2000, cat. 4.

19


北亞墨利加
北亞墨利加
蝦夷
松前
Карта
Представляющая часть
западнаго берега
Америки
отъ полуострова Аласки до залива
Нутки положеннаго по новейшимъ
открытиямъ зделаннымъ Россiйскими
и Англинскими мореплавателями въ
1784 1786 и 1788 годахъ

20

Mogami Tokunai 最上徳内

Hokkai Karta 北海 К А Р Т А

'North Sea Map'

Before 1808

Ink and colour on paper, 54.2 by 86.5 cm

Ser. 194

See page 166-167

The specific signature used by Mogami Tokunai 最上徳内 indicates a date of copying before 1808. The main map originates in *Hokusa bunryaku* 北槎聞略 ('Tales of a Northern Raft'), the 1792 report by Katsuragawa Hoshū of the adventures of Daikokuya Kodayu 大黒屋 光太夫, a shipwrecked sailor who reached Saint Petersburg before being brought back by Adam Laxman. The Russian title translates as 'Map of the Discoveries Made by Russian Sailors on Repeated Trips in the North of America and the Surrounding Areas.

Compiled by the Russian Academy of Sciences'. The source is the 1774 version of a map by Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705-1783), co-founder of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg. Widely circulated and translated in English and French, this map presented the newest information on Northeast Asia, relying on the maps produced from the survey of China during the Kangxi era. However, that survey had not covered Sakhalin island and the coastline south of the Amur River, and had instead compiled older existing sources, meaning that their shape was still not precisely rendered.

The attached map is a copy of a section of the main map. It shows Mogami's working process of corroborating Japanese explorers' maps with Russian and European maps to extract the best understanding of the area's geography.

References

Funakoshi 1997, 115-23.

21

Mogami Tokunai 最上徳内
'1. South-western part of Ezo'
c. 1825
Ink and colour on paper, 112 by 104,8 cm; 93.0 by 61.5 cm; 62.5 by 62.8 cm; 58.5 by 106.9 cm; 90.3 by 133.2 cm
Ser. 205a-e

See page 168-170

This set of maps was gifted by Mogami Tokunai 最上徳内 to Siebold during the latter's visit to Edo on 'the sixteenth day of the fourth month' of 1826. Siebold was thrilled by the meeting but understood that these maps were a sensitive issue. He wrote that day's journal entry not in the usual Dutch, but in Latin – a language which the Japanese interpreters could not decipher:

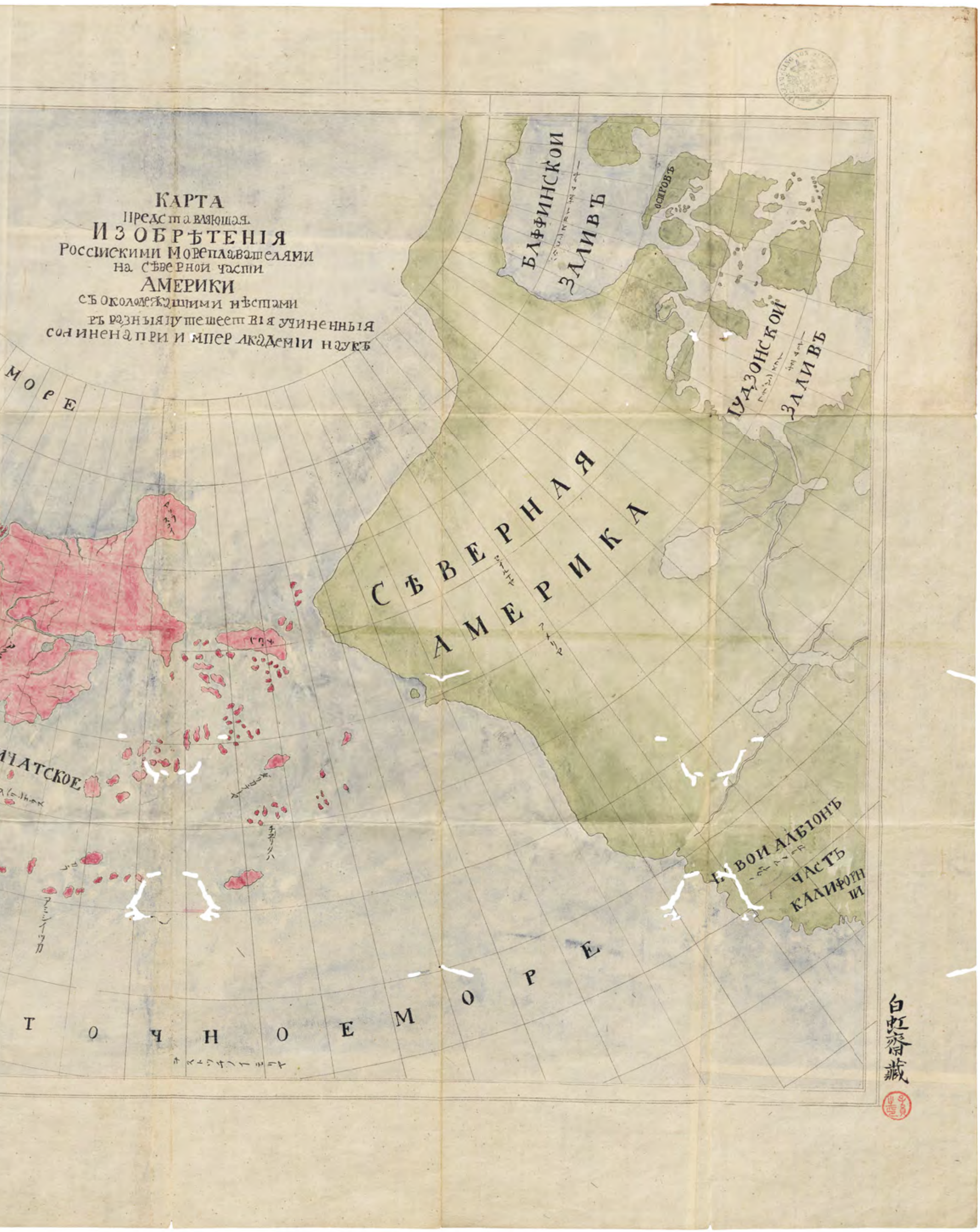
> *Dies sane calculo candidissimo notandus – Japonensis nomine Mogami Tokunai, per biduum nostram quasitus societatum se mathesi cetersque huic annexis scientiis exhibuit nobis eruditissimum virum. Expositis diversis proplematibus matheseos chinensis japonicae ac europaeae nobis sub sa[n]ctissimo sigillo silenti mappas quasdam oceanum Jezoensem, ac Insulae disputatae Karfto adperuit mihique per tempus aliquot ad usum praebuit, Thesaurum sane ditissimum.*
> Most happy day! A Japanese man named Mogami Tokunai had been asking to meet me for two days, and showed exquisite learning in mathematics and all branches of science. After discussing various Sino-Japanese as well as European mathematical issues, he showed me under sacred seal of silence maps that delineate the area of the Ezo ocean and Karafuto island and made them available for my use for a while – certainly a most precious treasure.

Among the maps exchanged then was a set of five maps of Hokkaido and Sakhalin islands. Mounted together these maps measure 4.7 m in length from the northern tip of Sakhalin to the southernmost point of Hokkaido. It contains many Ainu place names and, unlike other maps of the area, covers not only the coast, but also place names inland. The map was used by Siebold for insets to his larger map of this area annexed to vol. 7 of *Nippon*.

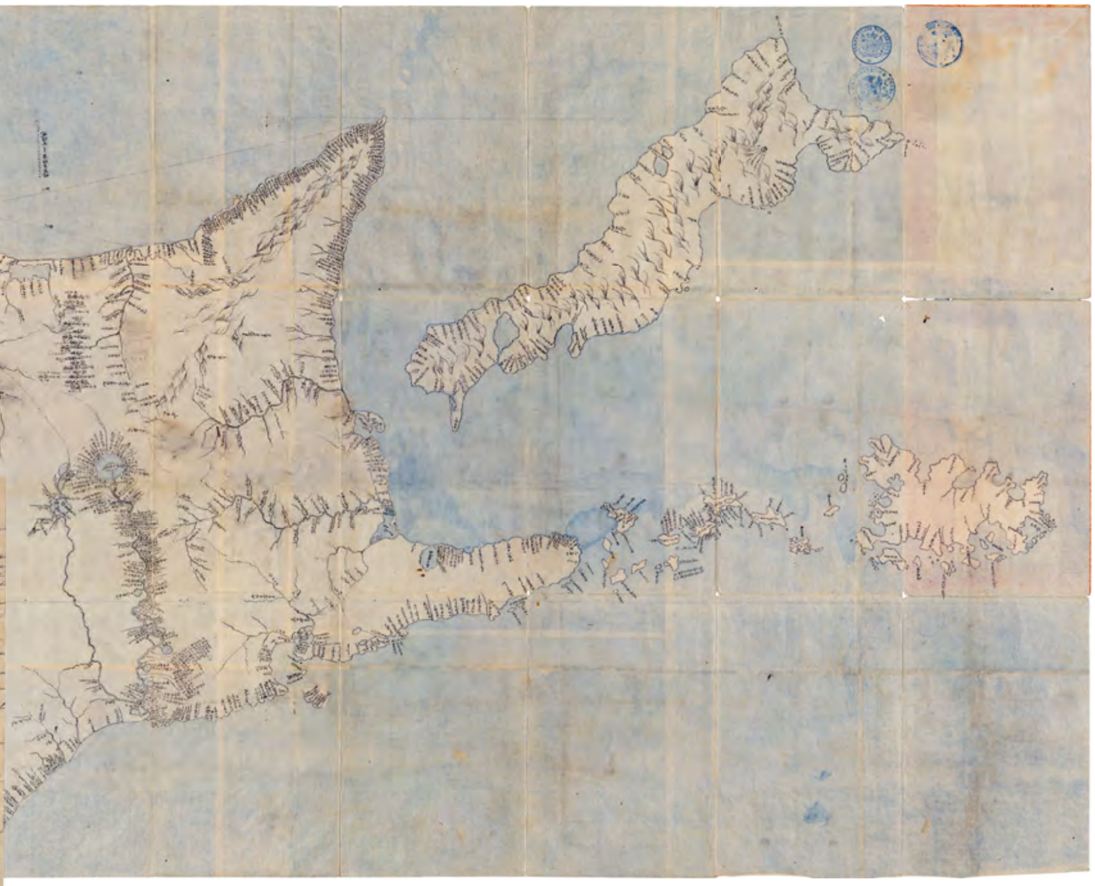
References

Siebold 1897, 186; Keene 1969, 137; Funakoshi 1997, 97-101; Breugelmans 2000 cat. 3.

20


КАРТА
Представляющая
ИЗОБРѢТЕНІЯ
Россискими Мореплавателями
на Сѣверной части
АМЕРИКИ
съ околлежащими мѣстами
въ разныя путешествія учиненныя
сочинена при Импер Академіи наукъ
МОРЕ
БАФФИНСКОИ ЗАЛИВЪ
ОСТРОВЪ
ГУДЗОНСКОИ ЗАЛИВЪ
СѢВЕРНАЯ АМЕРИКА
ЧАТСКОЕ
НОВОИ АЛБІОНЪ
ЧАСТЬ КАЛИФОРНИИ
МОРЕ
ТОЧНОЕ МОРЕ
白虹齋藏

21a, b, c



21d, e

22

Philipp Franz von Siebold
Die Insel Jezo und die Japanischen Kurilen
'The Island of Ezo and the Japanese Kuriles'
In: *Nippon* VII, Tab. XXIV
Lithography, 38 by 58.5 cm
COLLBN 20073 C2

See pages 172-173

This overview of the islands closest to the north of the Japanese archipelago is the result of extensive research by Siebold. The source is the set of maps from the previous catalogue entry, adapted laboriously by Siebold in the explanation of this map from his 1852 Atlas:

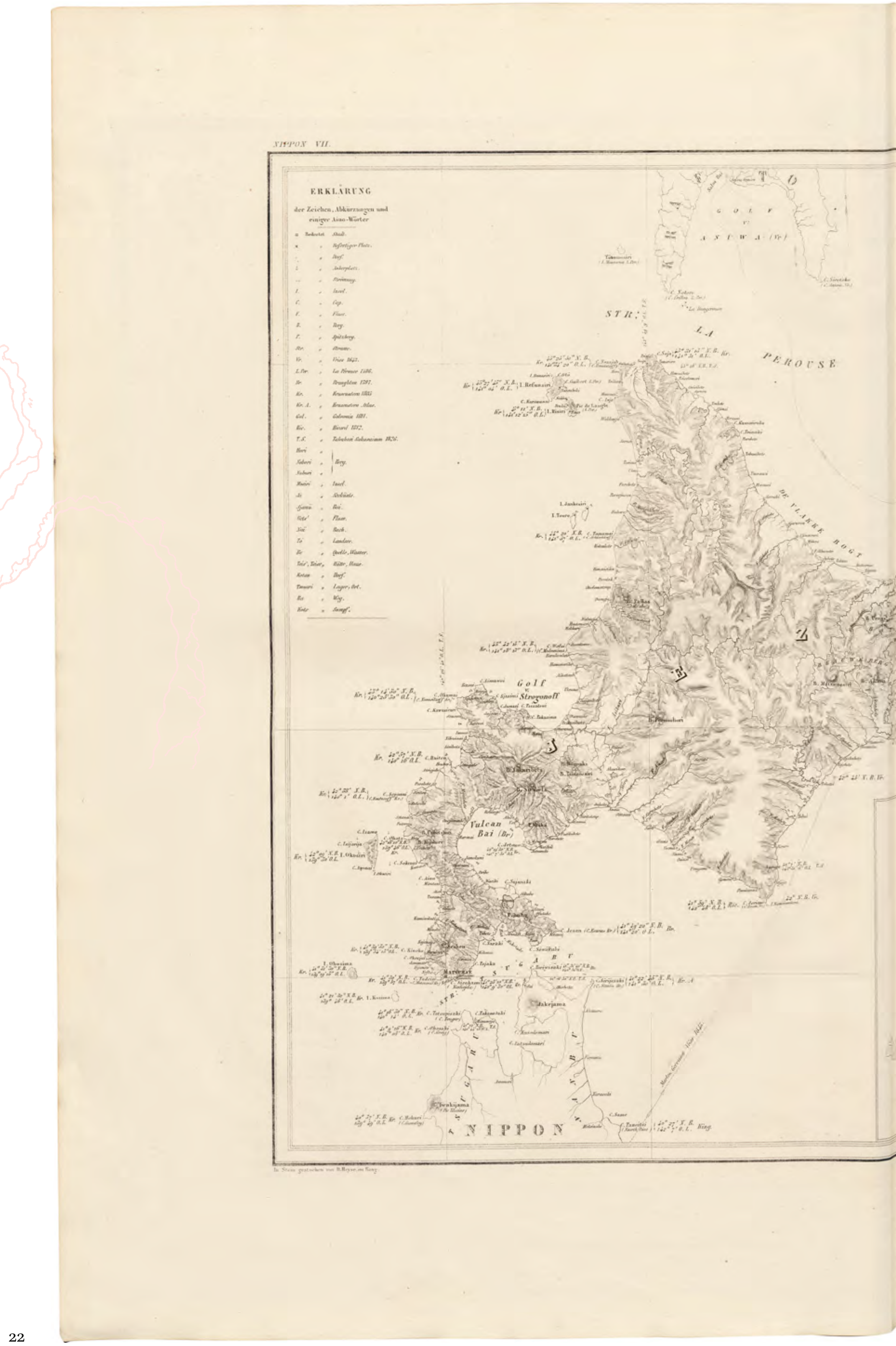
> On the original map, the features of the land, the elevation and the gradient of the slopes were colour painted very diligently, and the lighting was largely from the side and rarely taken perpendicularly. Following this pattern carefully was a much more difficult task for us, as it was foreign to us and given only one day and one night to return the original. The copy, reduced to half, was made by means of a laid-out mesh, and the slope of the terrain was indicated as precisely as possible with hatchings, while the illumination was rendered with ink.

The source map was supplemented with various western sources listed in the list at the top left, which also includes a mini-glossary of geography-related words from the Ainu language. The map is saturated with practical information with a focus on aiding navigation, such as the direction of the current through the strait between Ezo and Kunashiri.

Siebold also includes coordinates from Vries' journal: as part of his interest in the history of geographical knowledge about Japan, he had contributed to a critical study to Dutch and English editions of the journal of Vries's 1643 voyage to Japan. On a copy of this map now in Cambridge University Library, Siebold annotated the Japanese name for the island Daikokushima in the inset showing Akkeshi bay with the name given by Vries: Van der Lyns Eiland. This shows that Siebold considered his maps in need of continuous updates.

References

Siebold 1852, 137; Siebold 1859.


NIPPON VII.
ERKLÄRUNG
der Zeichen, Abkürzungen und einiger Aino-Wörter
STR: LA PEROUSE
Golf Stroganoff
Vulcan Bai (Br)
NIPPON
22


TAB. XXV.
DIE INSEL JEZO
und die
JAPANISCHEN KURILEN,
NACH EINER ORIGINALKARTE
von
Takahasi Sakusaimon,
Hofastronomen
zu
JEDO.
BAI VON ATKESI
nach
Mogami Tokunai
DIE STRASSE
TSUGARU
nach
einer karte
von
MOGAMI TOKUNAI
GOLF VON AWOMORI

THEME 3

A New Perspective on the Siebold Incident

On his visit to Edo as part of the Dutch trading delegation, Siebold exchanged maps with, among others, the shogunal chief astronomer, Takahashi Kageyasu, who had been bestowed the name Globius by Hendrik Doeff, previous Nagasaki chief factor. Siebold gifted Kageyasu a Dutch translation of James Kingston Tuckey's *Maritime Geography and Statistics*, in which he included a dedication to Globius, addressing him deferentially with Most Honourable Sir, as he would a fellow Dutch scholar. Kageyasu also received from Siebold a copy of Krusenstern's *Voyage Round the World in the years 1803, 1804, 1805, & 1806* that included maps of Japan and its neighbouring regions. In exchange, Kageyasu gave Siebold copies of Inō Tadataka's 伊能忠敬 comprehensive map survey of the Japanese archipelago as well as other maps of the islands north of Japan. This was officially prohibited, but had been allowed in practice.

The cartographic network into which Siebold entered probably provoked the Siebold incident. It is likely that an animosity between the cartographer and explorer Mamiya Rinzō 間宮林蔵 and Kageyasu led to the former denouncing Siebold as a spy in a letter to the authorities, even before some of the maps were discovered on a storm-damaged ship. Part of the confusion was due to the similarity between the spelling of Siebold's native land of Prussia with that of Russia, leading to a suspicion of espionage. The Japanese authorities did not fully grasp the nature of scientific exchange, and were bound to confuse it with spying. The Siebold incident was therefore not primarily related to maps but to the social relationships into which they were embedded. It was the result of the betrayal of trust and of miscommunication between a dynamic intellectual network and a cautious administration.

Upon his return to Leiden, Siebold made thorough use of Japanese maps for the compilation of his own maps of Japan, printed both as part of his book on Japan and as separate sheets.

23

Ōhata Bunjiemon 大畑文治右衛門 (publisher)

Hishū Nagasaki no zu 肥州長嵜図

'Map of Nagasaki of Hizen Province'

Nagasaki: Bunkindō 文錦堂, 1821 Bunsei 文政4 (1821)

Polychrome woodblock print, 65.9 by 88 cm

Ser. 359a

This map is oriented northwest and shows Nagasaki bay and the city of Nagasaki with the rectangular "Chinese quarter" - where most of the foreign trade took place – and the distinctive fan-shaped artificial island of Deshima, where the Dutch commercial factory was located. This is where Siebold arrived from Batavia on the 11th of August 1823. Arriving with him was the new chief factor Johann Willem de Sturler, who would later recommend Siebold to the governor of Nagasaki as "a famous doctor in Holland, well versed in surgery, ophthalmology, obstetrics, natural history and geography." Because of the popularity of his medical services, Siebold was exceptionally allowed to make house-calls, go on specimen-gathering excursions and eventually run a private school in a house inland in the Narutaki 鳴滝 area. He went there once a week to treat patients and meet his many Japanese students. He compared the Narutaki school to a university, and conferred medical diplomas to his students upon submission of a dissertation in Dutch.

This copy is layered by annotations: the ones in red ink were most probably added by a Japanese interpreter in Nagasaki. They are mostly phonetic transcriptions, but also more specific information such as the family name and official title of the daimyo of the Yanagawa domain (now in Fukuoka prefecture): Tachibana Hida タチハナヒダ, as well as additional information on infrastructure: the road to the port of Mogi 茂木道 is supplemented by a gloss with the characters *Tagami michi* 田上道, indicating a midway destination. Perhaps the most sensitive annotation is found in the lower right corner, next to the directional sign for East 東: it reads "towomi bansho" トヲミバン所, the phonetic transcription of *Tōmi bansho* 遠見番所, a lookout post for spotting foreign ships from the distance. The numbering and lettering of place names as well as two grids were probably added later by a European hand with the purpose of making the map compatible with the European coordinate system.

References

Boxer 1936, 87; McGovern 1960, 108; Breugelmans 2000, cat. 14.

23

24

Philipp Franz von Siebold
Haven en omstreken van Nagasaki
'Port and Surroundings of Nagasaki'
In: *Nippon* I, Tab. VI
Lithography, 38 by 58.5 cm
20073 C 1

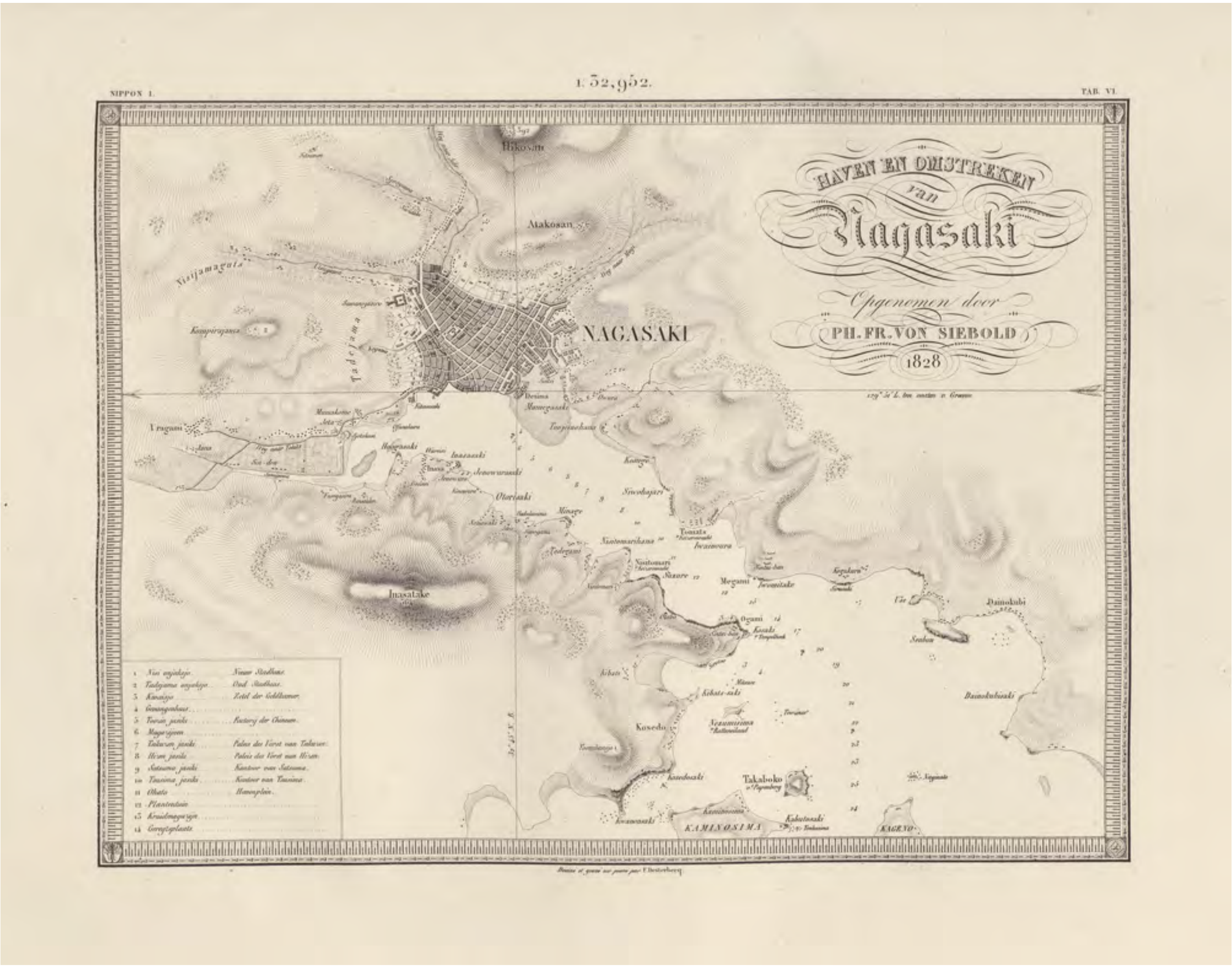
Having arrived in Nagasaki, Siebold started compiling topographical and bathymetric data from his own measurements with reports by the ship captain Ary Bezemer, who probably also provided depth measurements, and with the help of Deshima clerks Verkerk Pistorius and Manuel. The map's coordinates are centred on a location on the island of Deshima which was the starting point of Siebold's measurements. According to his own account he made 52 measurements with a chronometer, including the height of Mount Hiko.

Among the landmarks numbered in the table on the lower left is the residence of the lord of Hizen (no. 8), which corresponds with a pencil annotation on the preceding catalogue entry. Siebold's interest in botanical matters is also visible in the highlighting of the "plant garden" (no. 12). The Narutaki area is also depicted in detail. This map thus shows Siebold's extensive knowledge of the city where he spent most of six years.

This and some other nautical charts from *Nippon* were later, in 1835, reissued by the widow of Gerard Hulst van Keulen, and an example is held in Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN Port 178 N 22. From the late seventeenth century onwards, the Van Keulen family had run a leading publishing house in Amsterdam, specialised in nautical charts, pilot guides and instruments.

References

Siebold 1832-52 vol. I, fascicle 4, 46; Siebold 1852, 58, 170-83; Takenoshita 1998, 488.


1. 32,952.
NIPPON I.
TAB. VI.
HAVEN EN OMSTREKEN
van
Nagasaki
Opgenomen door
PH. FR. VON SIEBOLD
1828
NAGASAKI
Hikosan
Atakosan
Inasatake
Takaboko
KAMINOSIMA
Daiokubi
Kosedo

24

25

Philipp Franz von Siebold
De baai van Nagasaki
'The Bay of Nagasaki'
Copperplate print, 18,5 by 27 cm
COLLBN Port 178 N20

Just like the preceding catalogue entry, this map's longitude is determined from a location on Deshima island. Additionally, a pencil line runs from a mountain top in the upper right corner through the Narutaki area, indicating possible measurements by Siebold from his 'academy' in one of the valleys behind the city.

The coastline northwest of Nagasaki in the lower right corner (east is on top) is corrected in more detail in pencil. The correction corresponds to the shape of the coastline in the inset for Siebold's general map of Japan (cat. 33), which suggests that this is one of the proofs used in the production process of that map.

In 1860, when Siebold had returned to Nagasaki, he showed the British bishop George Smith 'his own lithographed map of the city'. In the same year, an updated edition of this map was being published in Paris by the Dépôt des Cartes et Plans de la Marine.

A larger version of this map was included in *Nippon* and subsequently reissued separately by the widow of Gerard Hulst van Keulen in 1835. In *Nippon*, the northwestern coastline is still in the uncorrected shape.

References

Smith 1861, 209; Crouch 2018, cat. 446.


Museum Bodellianum
Port 178 No. 20
DE BAAI
van
Nagasaki
Opgenomen door
PH. FR. VON SIEBOLD
1828.
20
NAGASAKI
Mitsjama
Hokwasan
Hikosan
Sarutajama
Kitawurasaki
Mogisaki
Sitsiwurasaki
Kawarajama
Inasatake
Iwajajama
Dainokubi
Wakimisaki
Fukudasaki
KOJAKI
Tansaki
Oosaki
Takahama
Nomosaki
127° 43' O.L. v. Green.
32° 43' N.B.

25

26

Ōsaka Kawaguchi yori Nagasaki made no senro 217 ri

大阪川口ヨリ長崎迄舟路二百十七里

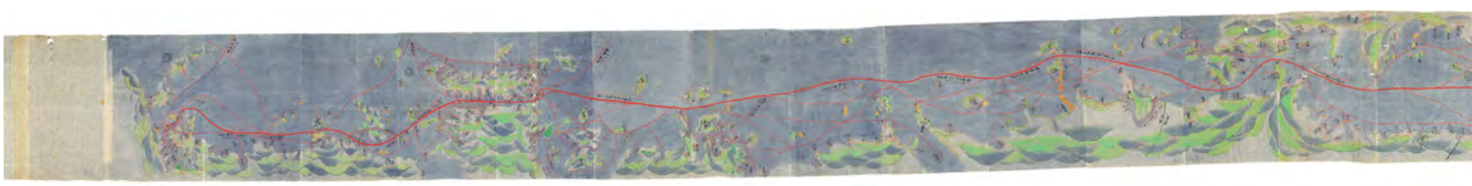
'Sea Route from Osaka to Nagasaki Over a Distance of 217 Ri'

c. 1825

Ink and colour on paper, 897.5 by 41 cm

Ser. 232

See page 184-185

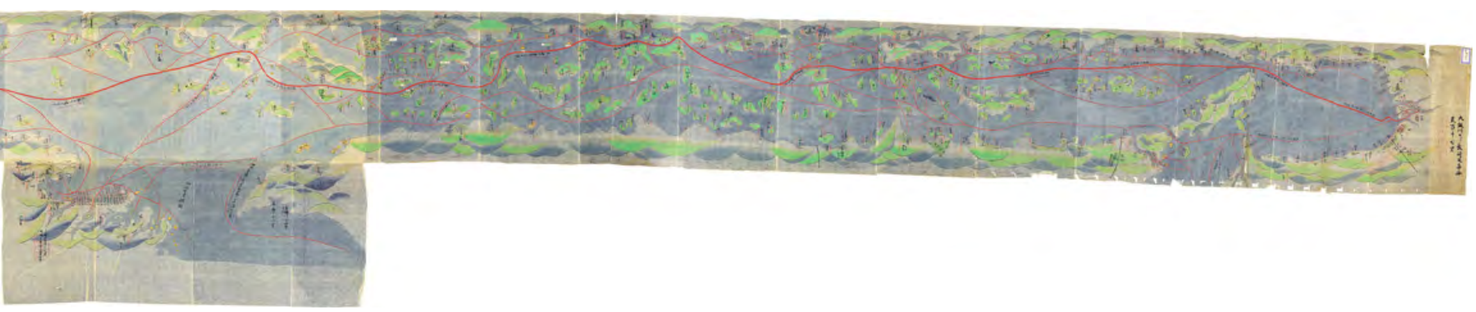


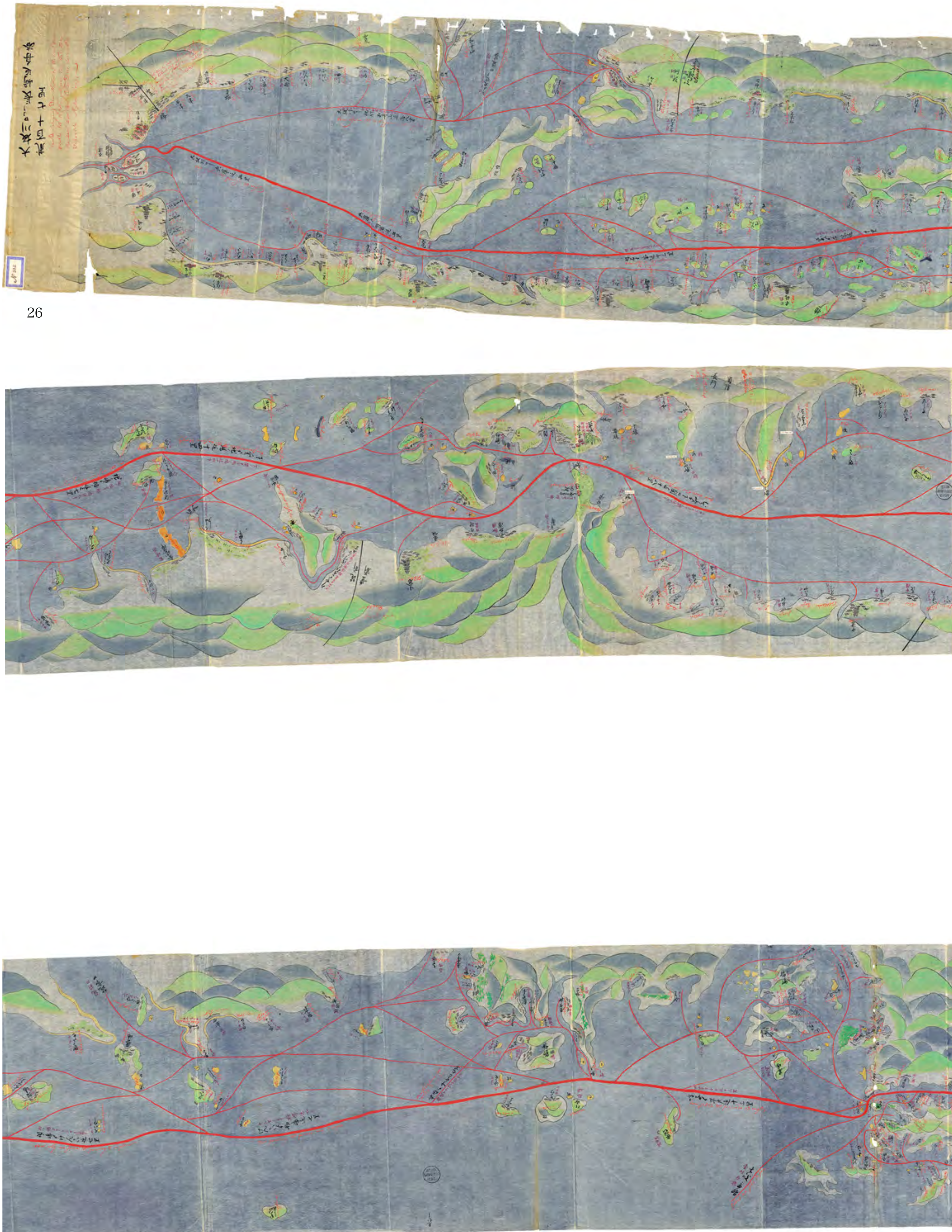
Knowledge about coastal sailing was widely available in Japan through bound printed books as well as manuscripts. This almost eight-meter long manuscript was probably acquired by Siebold prior to his participation in the court visit to Edo that would take him through this area. Siebold would have asked one of his Japanese informers to write for him the phonetic transcriptions of toponyms, which he then transcribed with Dutch phonetics. The thickened red line indicates the fastest route through the strait.

In *Nippon*, his later book on Japan, Siebold relates his use of this map: "Already before our departure before Deshima, I had designed a sketch of the canal for Japanese maps and travel guides, with the intention of investigating this road, which so far was so little known, important for geography and navigation on our journey..."

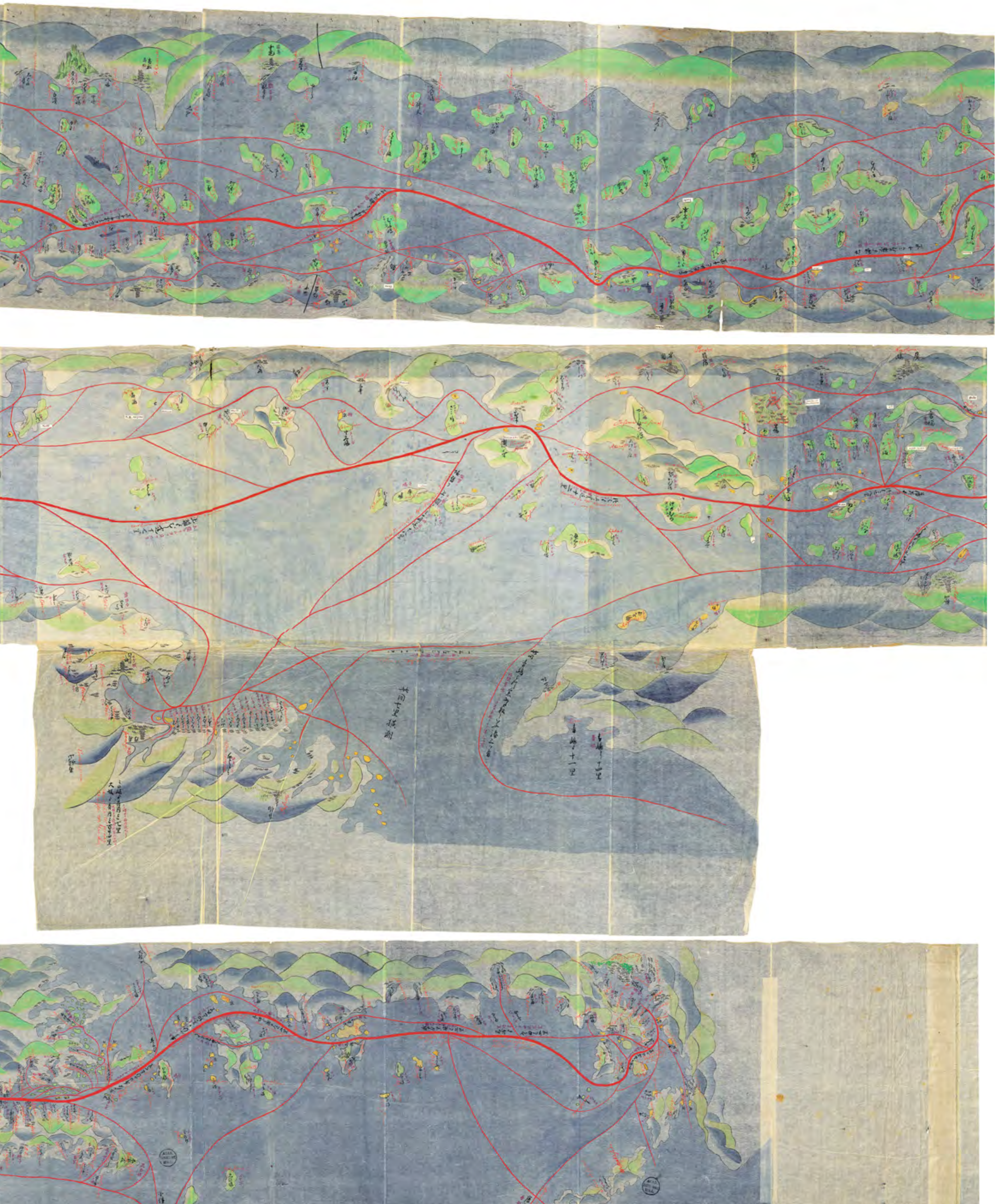
References

Siebold 1897, 106; Onodera 2016, 54-5.





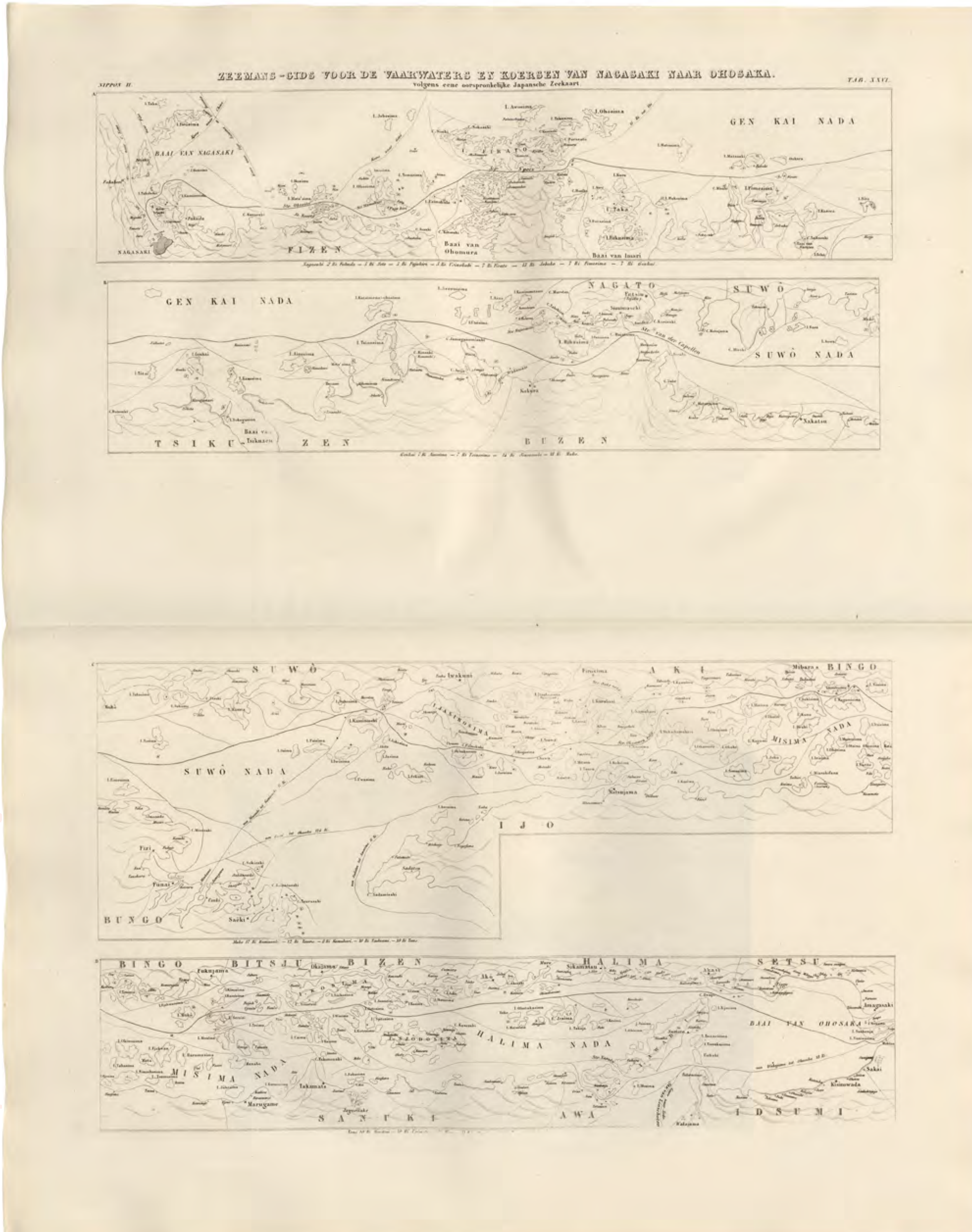
26



27

Philipp Franz von Siebold
Zeemans-Gids voor de Vaarwaters en Koersen van Nagasaki naar Ohosaka.
'Sailor's Guide for Waterways and Routes from Nagasaki to Osaka'
In: *Nippon* II Tab. XXVI
Lithography, 76 by 58.5 cm
20073 C 1

In the draft of this map, now in the Brandenburg-Zeppelin archives (Krt. 28), the red colour of the main sea route is preserved, while in the final printed version its visual importance decreases with the loss of colour. The original scroll (see previous entry), of which this sheet is a copy, was divided into four sections that would fit in the layout of Siebold's book. Relevant geographical features are translated and a degree of iconographic depiction is preserved, such as temples and a prominent cliff off Cape Kushisaki. The outlines of mountains are preserved only inasmuch as they suggests elevation. The monochromy is compensated by indicating rocky (crossed) versus sandy (dotted) islands in the Seto Inner Sea.

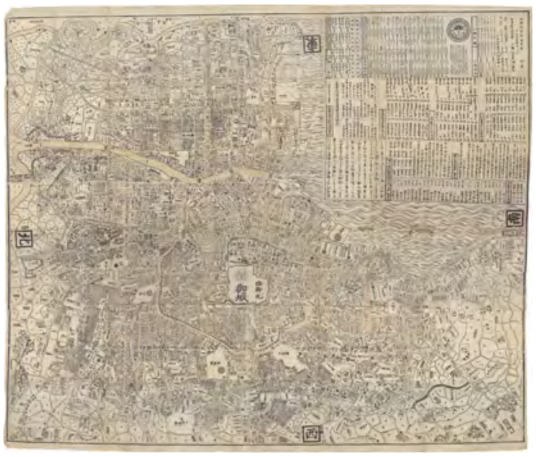

ZEEMANS-GIDS VOOR DE VAARWATERS EN KOERSEN VAN NAGASAKI NAAR OHOSAKA.
volgens eene oorspronkelijke Japansche Zeekaart.
NIPPON II.
TAB. XXVI.
GEN KAI NADA
BAAI VAN NAGASAKI
NAGASAKI
FIZEN
Baai van Ohomura
Baai van Imari
NAGATO
SUWŌ
SUWŌ NADA
TSIKU-ZEN
BUZEN
AKI
BINGO
IJO
BUNGO
BITSJU
BIZEN
HALIMA
SETSU
HALIMA NADA
MISIMA NADA
BAAI VAN OHOSAKA
SANUKI
AWA
IDSUMI

27

28

Kanamaru Hikogorō 金丸彦五郎
Bunken Edo ōezu 分間江戸大絵図
'Large Measured Plan of Edo'
Edo: Suwaraya Mohē 須原屋茂兵衛 Bunsei 文政8 (1825)
Woodblock print with hand-colouring and pencil and ink annotations, 167 by 196.5 cm
Ser. 315c

See page 190-191



This 'monthly updated' map of Edo is an extension of an original seventeenth century design by Ochikochi Dōin 遠近道印. It shows the urban sprawl of one of the largest cities in the world at that time. It includes charts with distances from Nihonbashi to major temples, orientations of major roads, urban pilgrimage circuits, visible constellations, tide levels and auspicious and inauspicious days throughout the year.

Siebold acquired this map on the occasion of his trip to Edo in spring 1826. Upon arriving on the 10th of April, he carefully marked in red ink his exact route through the city, across the bustling Nihonbashi bridge, underscored in blue, until reaching the Nagasaki-ya where the Dutch East India Company delegation was usually lodged. On the 1st of May, Siebold took part in the audience with the shogun, and his route from the Nagasaki-ya to the shogunal palace is marked in dotted black ink. Many names on the map, most of which indicate samurai mansions, are transcribed in Japanese phonetic script, along with some notations in German with red pencil, including the pleasure quarter of Yoshiwara.

References

Siebold 1897, 201-6.

29

Zōfu Edo meisho koseki jinja bukkaku hitori annaizu
増補江戸名所古跡神社佛閣獨案内記
'Edo's Famous Places, Historical Sites, Shrines and Temple Precincts - An Augmented Guide for the Lone Traveller'
Edo: Izumiya Shōjirō 和泉屋庄次郎, Tempo 天保2 (1831)
Polychrome woodblock print, 67.3 by 47.2 cm
Ser. 336

See page 192-193

The Tokaido road is given visual priority through its width and the yellow row of houses along its sides. The urban space is subdivided according to major shrines and temples are given short descriptions. The sacred landscape of the city is displayed for an outside visitor. Also included is a rare depiction of the interior of Edo castle and its access gates. Rather than accurate depictions of building layout, this map stresses the symbolic character of the shogunal capital: notice the crane and long-tailed tortoise, auspicious symbols of longevity. Numbers index the map, and additional bridges over the Sumida river are marked with the same red ink. This indicates first-hand knowledge of the city, suggesting that it was used by Siebold during his visit to Edo.

28


東
南
西

29


増補
江戸
名所
古跡
北
東
卯

30

Hiyama Tansai 檜山坦斎
Jingū Kōgō sesshō gannen seikan no zu 神功皇后摂政元年征韓圖
'Map of Empress Jingu's Conquest of Korea in the First Year of the Sesshō Period'
In: *Honchō kokugun kenchi enkaku zusetsu* 本朝国郡建置沿革図説
'Historical Atlas of Provinces of Our Realm'
Edo: Suwaraya Mohē 須原屋茂兵衛, Bunsei 文政6 (1823)
Polychrome woodblock print, 58 by 56.5 cm
Ser. 218

This book visualizes the configurations of imperial rule over the Japanese archipelago between the reigns of the legendary first Emperor Jinmu 神武天皇 and that of Emperor Junna 淳和天皇 (r. 823-833 CE). The succeeding double-spreads unfold the narrative of the growing reach of imperial authority - in yellow - extending towards Ezo and Edo. The term Ezo, later applied to present-day Hokkaido island, refers here to the north of Honshu island.

The double-spread reproduced here illustrates the belligerent expedition of the legendary Empress Jingu 神功皇后 to subjugate the Silla kingdom 新羅 in the Korean peninsula. The author visualized the narrative of conquest by tracing its route in the original woodblock design. The return route switches focus from the Empress to the 'ascent to the capital' of her newborn son who would become the legendary Emperor Ōjin 応神天皇. The equivalency with the contemporary political situation in Korea is stressed: while Empress Jingu's destination is given as Silla, a nearby colophone indicates its correspondence to the contemporary Choson kingdom's Gyeongsang province 慶尚道. This echoes the list, placed next to the map's title, that equivalates the first year of Empress Jingu's reign 皇后摂政元年 with the sixth year of the reign of Emperor Xian 獻帝 of the Late Han 後漢, the thirty-sixth year of Emperor Chogo 肖古王 of the Baekje 百濟 (jp. Kudara) Kingdom and the fifth year of the reign of Emperor Sansang 山上王 in the Goryeo 高麗 Kingdom.

The foldout section of the Korean peninsula shows the ingenuity of the publisher. Notice the extensive phonetic transcriptions and the translations in German of the information about Korean historical events.
Another double-spread from this book provided the base map for a lithographed map in Siebold's *Nippon* (III Tab. VI).

References

Breugelmans 2000, cat. 27; Aoyama 2015, 306-09; Leca 2020.

30

31

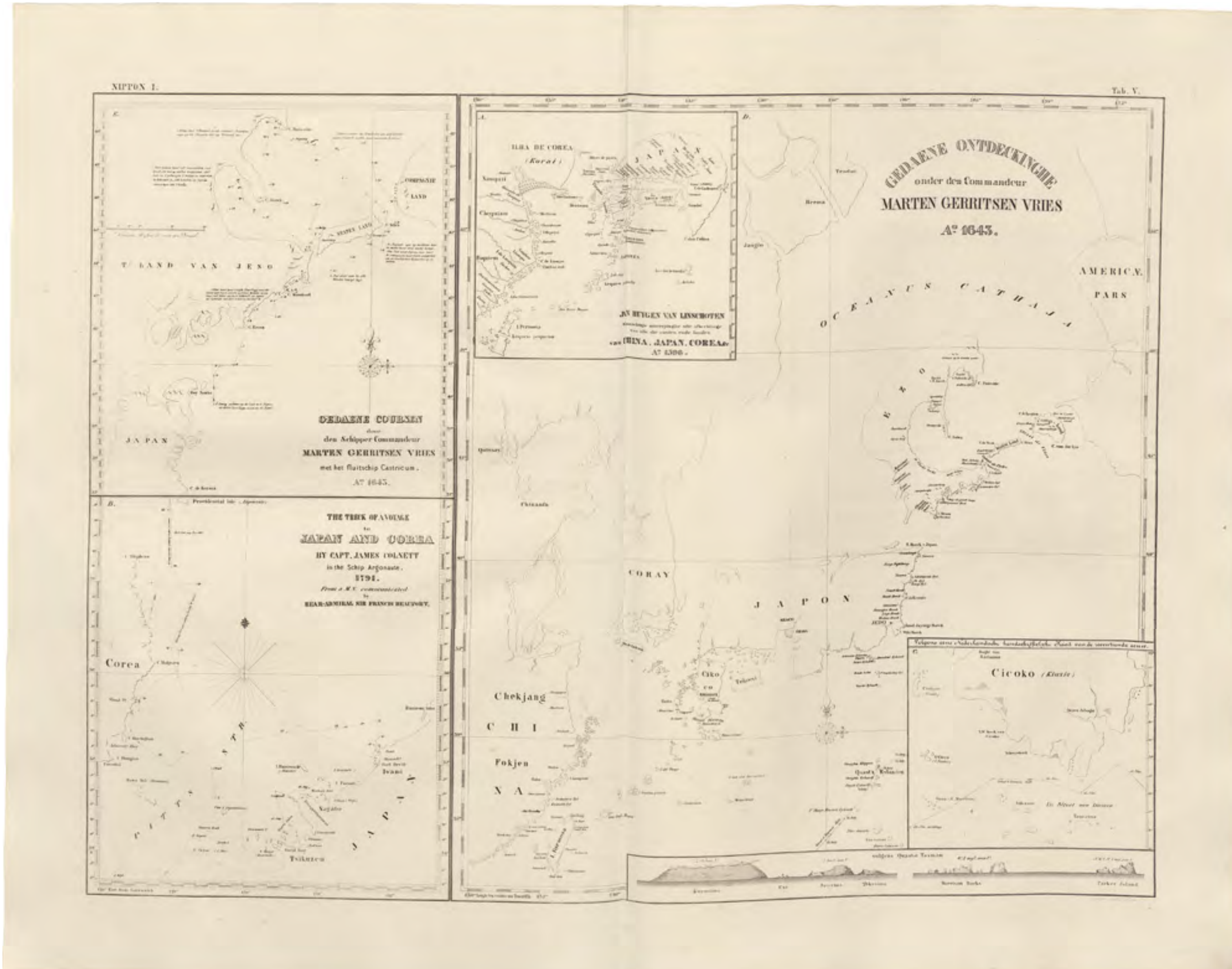
Philipp Franz von Siebold
Gedaene ontdeckinghe onder den Commandeur Marten Gerritsen Vries
'Discoveries under the Commander Marten Gerritsen Vries'
In *Nippon* I, Tab. V
Lithography, 76 x 58,5 cm
20073 C 1

This sheet from *Nippon* demonstrates the way in which Siebold used and compared cartographic information from different sources. This process of compilation is illustrative for Siebold's analysis of geographical history of discovery and charting. It brings forward the development of geographical knowledge of Northeast Asia, and puts its readers in the position to judge the value of the different sources themself. The largest part of the sheet (D) is a chart of Northeast Asia, covering the eastern coast of China, Taiwan (Formosa), Korea, Japan and the area northeast of Japan. It shows the discoveries by Maarten Gerritsz. Vries of 1643. In the upper left part (E), a more detailed chart of Vries' discoveries is depicted, copied after his manuscript chart in the VOC archives. An inset in the large map (A) is derived from the map of East Asia by Arnoldus van Langren (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz., 1595) and included in Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario* of 1596. Another inset (C) contains a detailed chart of the southern coast of Kyushu 'according to a Dutch manuscript map from the seventeenth century'. Moreover, in the lower right corner coastal profiles of the smaller islands south of Japan 'according Quast and Tasman' are included. Finally, a map of the sea between Korea and Japan, indicating the route of the voyage of captain James Colnett in 1791 with his ship Argonaute is added to the sheet in the lower left corner (B).

In his contribution to the printed edition of Vries' travel account of his voyage of 1643, published in 1858, Siebold considered Vries' voyage to Northeast Asia one of the most important of the seventeenth century. In his reconstruction of Vries' voyage, Siebold carefully analyses the available maps of Northeast Asia at that time, among which 'company's charts' of the previous voyage by Tasman and Quast and the map of from Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.

References

Sections by Aoyama and Storms in this volume.


NIPPON I.
Tab. V.
GEDAENE ONTDECKINGHE
onder den Commandeur
MARTEN GERRITSEN VRIES
Aº 1643.
GEDAENE COURSEN
den Schipper Commandeur
MARTEN GERRITSEN VRIES
met het fluitschip Castricum.
Aº 1643.
THE TRACK OF A VOYAGE
to
JAPAN AND COREA
BY CAPT. JAMES COLNETT
in the Schip Argonaute.
1791.
T' LAND VAN JESO
JAPAN
Corea
OCEANUS CATHAIA
AMERICA PARS
CORAY
JAPON
Chekjang
CHINA
Fokjen
Cicoko
ILHA DE COREA
CHINA, JAPAN, COREA
Aº 1596.

31

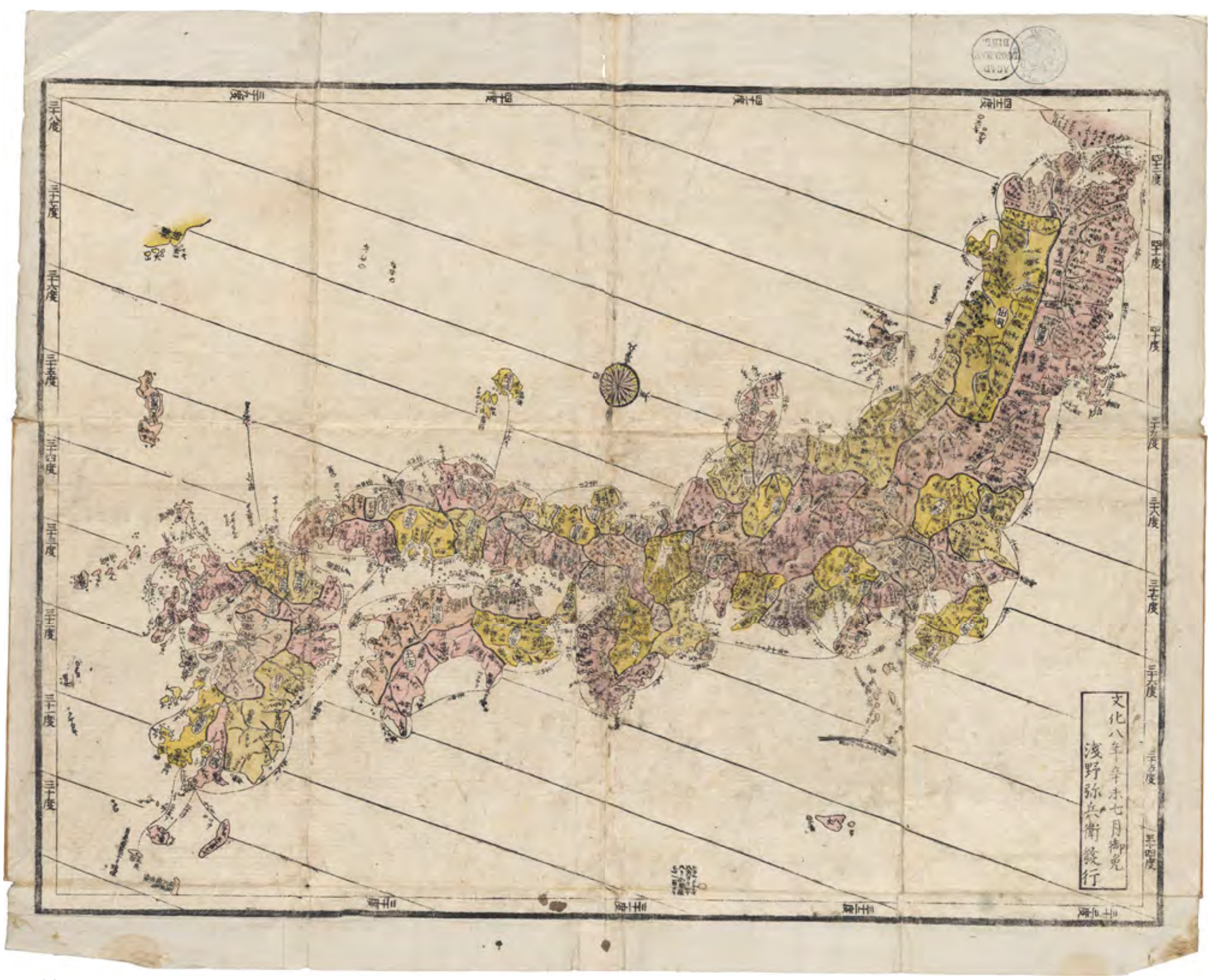
32

Nagakubo Sekisui 長久保赤水
Kaisei Nihon zu 改正日本図
'Revised Map of Japan'
Osaka: Asano Yahē 浅野弥兵衛, Bunka 文化8 (1811)
Woodblock print, hand-coloured, 46 by 57.5 cm
Ser. 222

This was a simplified version of Sekisui's 1779 map (cat. 7), testifying to its popularity. It includes coastal sailing routes with their distances. It was the base map used by Siebold for calculating the longitude of his map of Japan. Siebold drew in pencil a faint line through the central compass rose.

References

Miyoshi 2016.



32

33

Philipp Franz von Siebold
Karte vom Japanischen Reiche nach Originalkarten und astronomischen Beobachtungen der Japaner
'Map of the Japanese Kingdom from Original Maps and Astronomical Measurements of the Japanese'
Leiden: Arnz & Comp., 1840
Lithography, 66.5 by 92.5 cm
COLLBN Port 202 N 53

See page 200-202

The diversity of sources used for this map's compilation is visible from the languages of place names: Japanese, Korean, German, Dutch and even French. The map is dedicated to Siebold's most important Western source, admiral Krusenstern. That map had been modelled on another version of the map of Japan by Sekisui, a case of cartographic circularity. Siebold follows Sekisui's design in showing the Tsushima and Iki islands slightly enlarged, while the Broughton and Krusenstern straits indicate again the compiler's European sources.

The map's double coordinates mark longitude relative to Greenwich but also to the Japanese reference system centred on Miyako. This echoes Siebold's measurements on his return trip from Edo to Nagasaki in 1826, by which he concluded that the Japanese prime meridian passing through Kyoto is placed at 135 degrees 40 minutes longitude from Greenwich.

Siebold has marked his itinerary throughout Japan with a thin black line that starts in the ocean near 'Meacsima'. It then continues from Nagasaki over Kyushu through the Inland Sea, where different routes are marked for eastward and westward sailing – this is very much a mariner's map. The line then follows the Tokaido road until Edo.

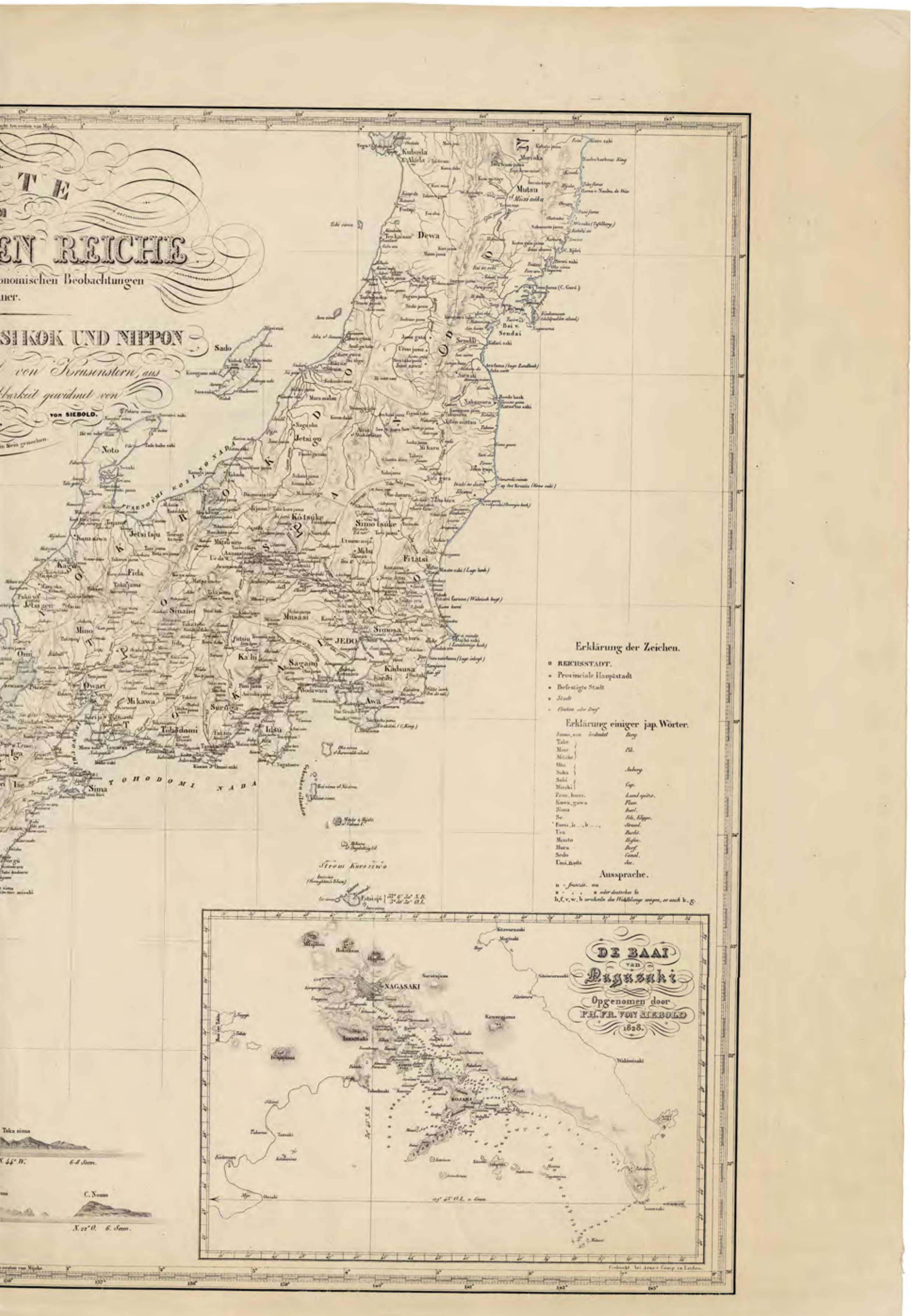
Siebold's attention to Japanese primary sources is indicated by the inclusion of a glossary of Japanese geographical terms and phonetical equivalents. Also included is a topographic and bathymetric map of the area around Nagasaki based on detailed on-site measurements compiled by Siebold (see cat. 25).

References

Walter 1994, cat. 131.


Museum Bodellianum
J E Z O
Oki
Idsumo
Iwami
Bingo
Nagato
Sanuki
Awa
Tosa
Bungo
Fizen
NAGASAKI
Satsuma
Ohosumi
Tanegasima

33


SIKOK UND NIPPON
VON SIEBOLD.
Sado
Noto
Dewa
Mutsu
Sendai
Simotsuke
Kôtsuke
Musasi
Simosa
JEDO
Kadsusa
Awa
Sagami
Idsu
Surga
Mikawa
Owari
Mino
Fida
Sinano
Jetsigo
Jetsi tsju
Iga
Ise
Sima
TOHODOMI NADA
Erklärung der Zeichen.
REICHSSTADT.
Provinciale Hauptstadt
Befestigte Stadt
Erklärung einiger jap. Wörter.
Aussprache.
DE BAAI van Nagasaki
Opgenomen door PH. FR. VON SIEBOLD 1828.
NAGASAKI
C. Nomo

34

Philipp Franz von Siebold

Manuscript and proof copies of *Karte vom Japanischen Reiche*, 32 by 35 cm; 32 by 24.5 cm; 26 by 15 cm; 25 by 14 cm; 15.5 by 27.5 cm; 21.5 by 35 cm; 17 by 47.5 cm; 75.5 by 55 cm

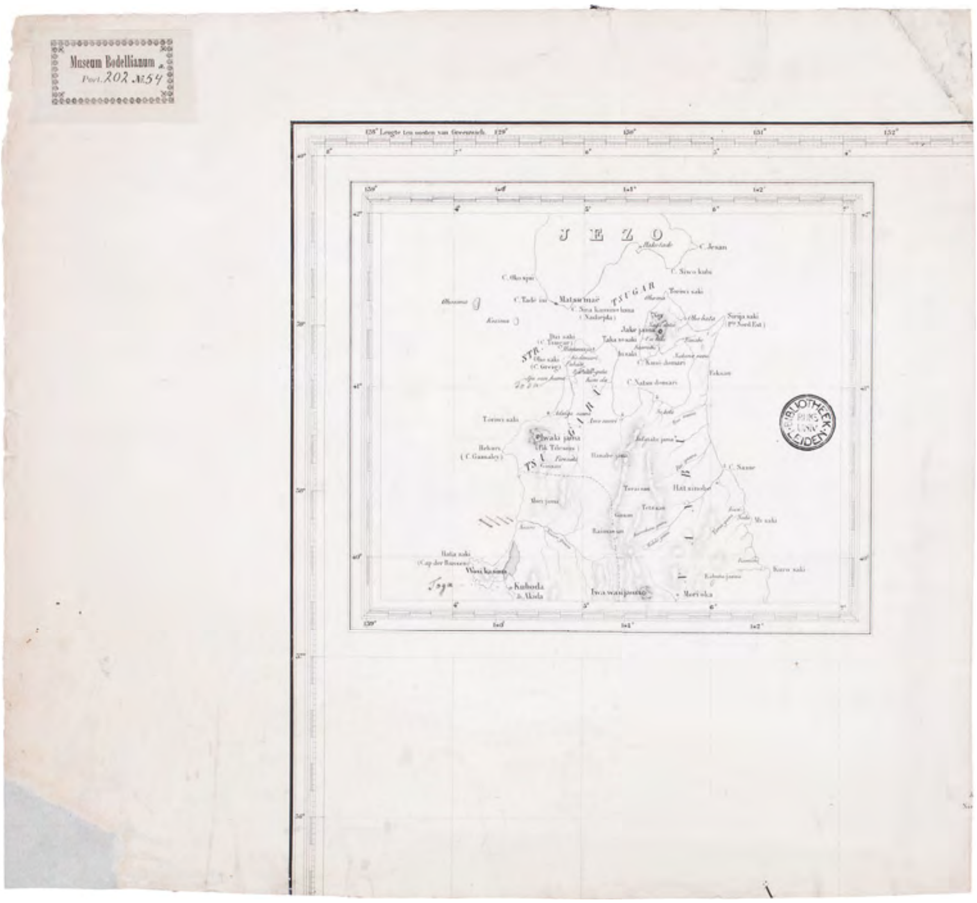
COLLBN Port 178 N 23, N27; Port 202 N 54 a-b ; COLLBN Port 202 N 55 a-e; 002-09-037

See page 203-207

These seldom preserved documents show the laborious process of compiling the dense layers of toponyms and pictograms, usually obscured in the final product. Siebold demands for toponyms to be scraped out, islands to be added, the status of Moroiso as a cape to be clarified. He is concerned with pointing out safe harbours and rock formations that might hinder sailing. When necessary, he overlays pieces of paper on the map's proof to increase clarity. He oscillates between Western and Japanese place-names, such as in the case of Oho-shima west of Izu peninsula, and finally decides to record all existing names of a geographical feature, regardless of origin. Siebold openly quotes his sources, and the languages of place names expose the diversity of sources used for this map's compilation: Japanese, Korean, German, Dutch and even French. For example, 'Rochers de la Nadiejda' is an echo of perhaps Siebold's most important Western source, Krusenstern's Atlas. Tsushima and Iki islands are slightly enlarged, following Sekisui's design, while the Broughton and Krusenstern straits indicate again the compiler's sources. These are blended with Siebold's own measurements on his return trip from Edo to Nagasaki in 1826.

References

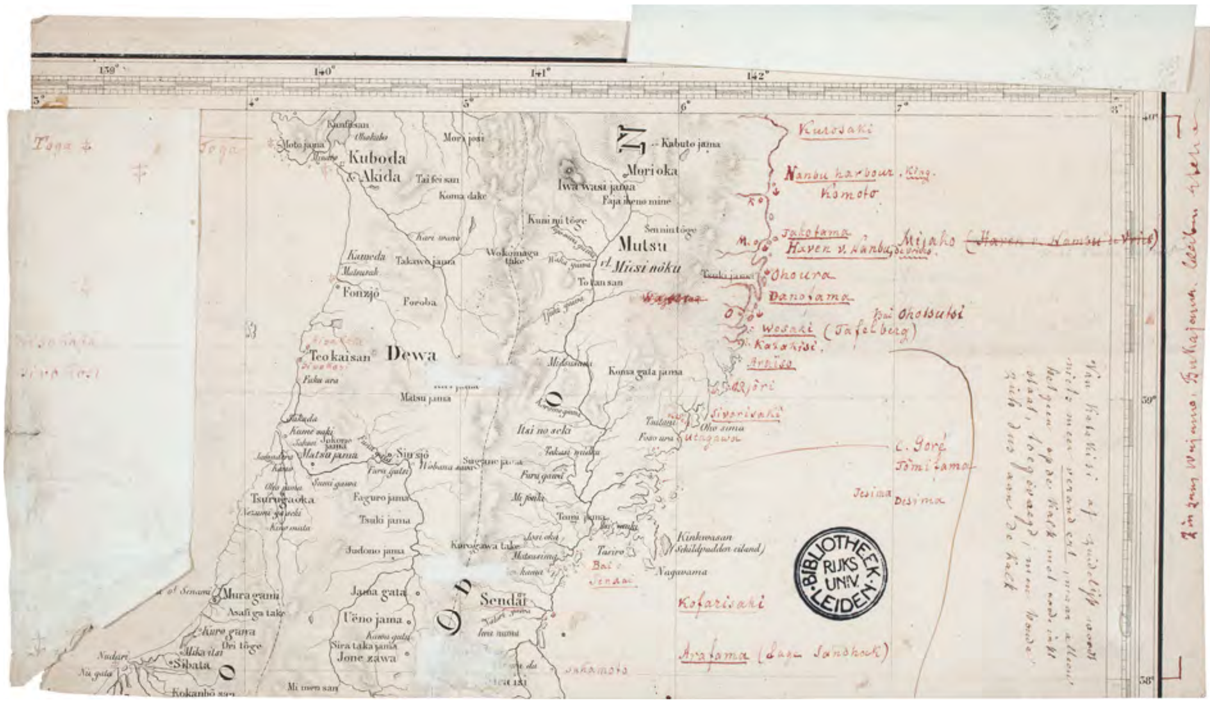
Storms 2008; Gommans & Van Diessen 2010, 254-5; Leca 2020, 158-60.


Museum Bodellianum
J E Z O

34a


KJÖNG SJANG TO
C A N A L
NAGASAKI
Satsuma
Bungo
Buzen
Figo

34b



34c

34d

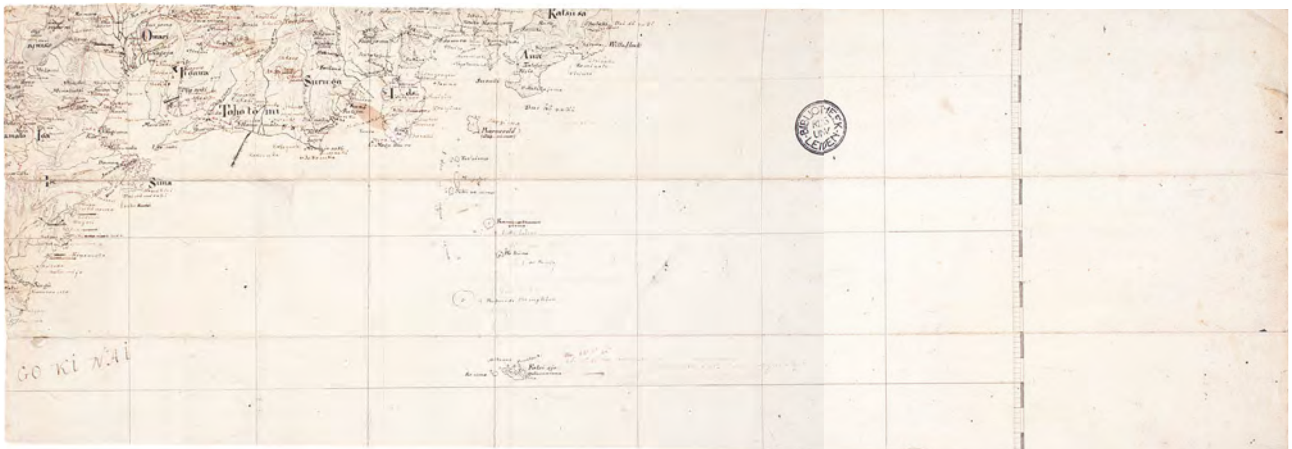

J E Z O
C. Jesan
C. Siwo kubi
C. Oko sjui
Matsumaë
TSUGAR
Toriwi saki
C. Tadé isi
C. Sira kamino hana
(Naciejda)
Sirija saki
(P^{te} Nord Est)
Jake jama
Taka no saki
C. Kusô domari
C. Natsu domari
Faksan
Toriwi saki
Iwaki jama
(Pik Tilesius)
Hekuri
Gamaley)
Ginsan
Mori jama
Fanabe jama
Torai san
Hatsinohe
Tetasan
Ginsan
Hata saki
(Cap der Russen)
Kuboda
& Akida
Iwa wasi jama
Mori oka
C. Nosiro
Narasaki
Bai Kuzi
Misaki
Kurosaki
Tomari
Piranuma
C. Nosiro
Toga

34e


Kanazawa
Kaga
Jetsizen
Mino
Owari
Oom
Wakasa
Tango
Tatsima
Inaba
Idsumo
Bingo
Bitsju
Bizen
Halima
Mima saka
Iwami
Aki
Nagato
Suwo
OHO SAKA
SAKAI
Toda
Sima
Klippen um Sima!

34f

34g



34h

35

Philipp Franz von Siebold

Insularum Japonicarum – Tabulae Geographicae Secundum Opus, Nippon Jo Tsi Ro Tei Sen Tsu, Tab. III Insulae Nippon Partem Orientalem Repraesentans

'Islands of Japan – Geographic Sheets of the Second Volume, Nihon yochi rotei zenzu, figure III Representing the Eastern Part'

In: *Nippon* I

1852

Chromolithography, 59 x 47,5 cm

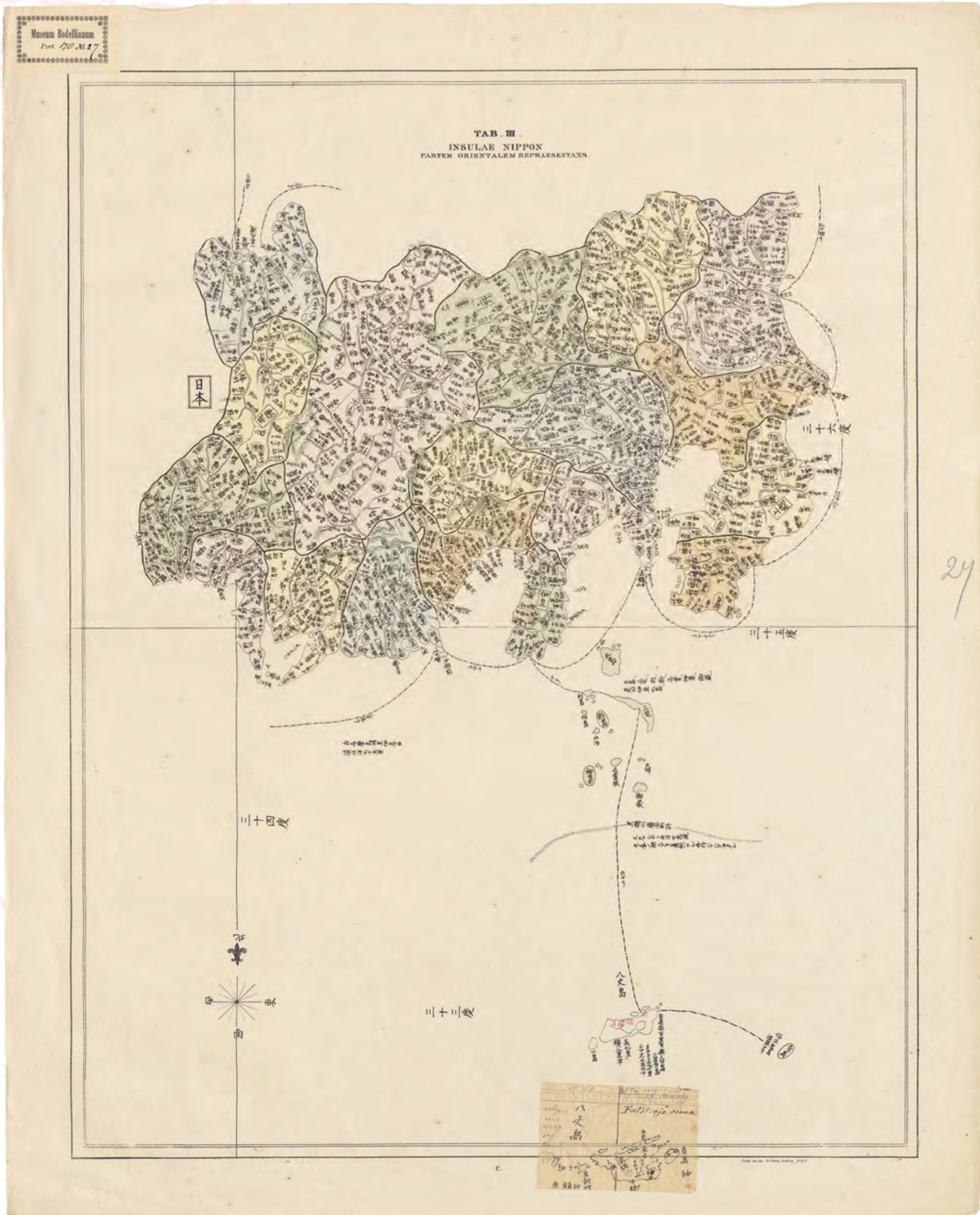
COLLBN Port 178 N 27

This map shows the provinces of Hitachi, Shimosa, Kazusa, Awa, Shimotsuke, Kōtsuke, Musashi, Sagami, Izu, Kai, Suruga, Shinano, Tōtōmi, Mikawa, Ecchū, Mino and Owari. It is part of a set of maps of parts of Japan that effectively reproduces an 1811 edition of this catalogue's entry no. 7 (Ser. 220c). On the lower right is an acknowledgement of the calligraphic skills of Siebold's assistant Guo Chengzhang 郭成章. Siebold wrote elsewehere about the process of transcribing this map: "No one who has inspected the work could deny that such an assignment would be outside the ability of even a well-trained European, and its completion is due to the hand of our most versatile Chinese friend."

Next to Hachijo island in the south, Siebold pasted a copy of another depiction of the island from the 1779 first edition of Senseki's map of Japan (cat. 7). This shows that even after having been printed, Siebold did not regard his maps as finished products but as working documents open to continuous improvement.

References

Siebold 1841, 8; Miyazaki 2017, 31-33.


Museum Bodellianum
TAB. III.
INSULAE NIPPON
PARTEM ORIENTALEM REPRAESENTANS
日本
三十六度
三十五度
三十四度
三十三度
八丈島
Fatsi-sjo sima

35

36

H. O. Wichers

Kaart van de Westkust van Kiusiu en Japan

'Map of the West Coast of Kyushu and of Japan'

In: Huyssen van Kattendyke, Willem Johan Cornelis. *Uittreksel uit het dagboek van W.J.C. Ridder Huyssen van Kattendyke, Kapitein-Luit. ter zee, gedurende zijn verblijf in Japan in 1857, 1858 en 1859*.

's Gravenhage: W. P. van Stockum, 1860

Lithography, 75 by 63 cm

COLLBN Port 178 N 23

This is an update of maps from Siebold's *Nippon* with measurements by Dutch navy officers stationed in Japan during 1858-9. It was included in a book reproducing part of the diary of Huyssen van Kattendyke, a Dutch naval commander. It is aimed at practical use by navigators, and is supplemented with insets of safe harbours and difficult straits, including Nagasaki and also the 'Strait of Van Capellen', which would soon become the site of bombardment of the coastal defenses of the Choshu domain by Western ships near Shimonoseki.

In a newspaper review, geographer and Indonesia specialist Robidé van der Aa was very critical of Huyssen Van Kattendyke's work: "The author is superficial, unreliable and inaccurate". About the map, Robidé van der Aa states:

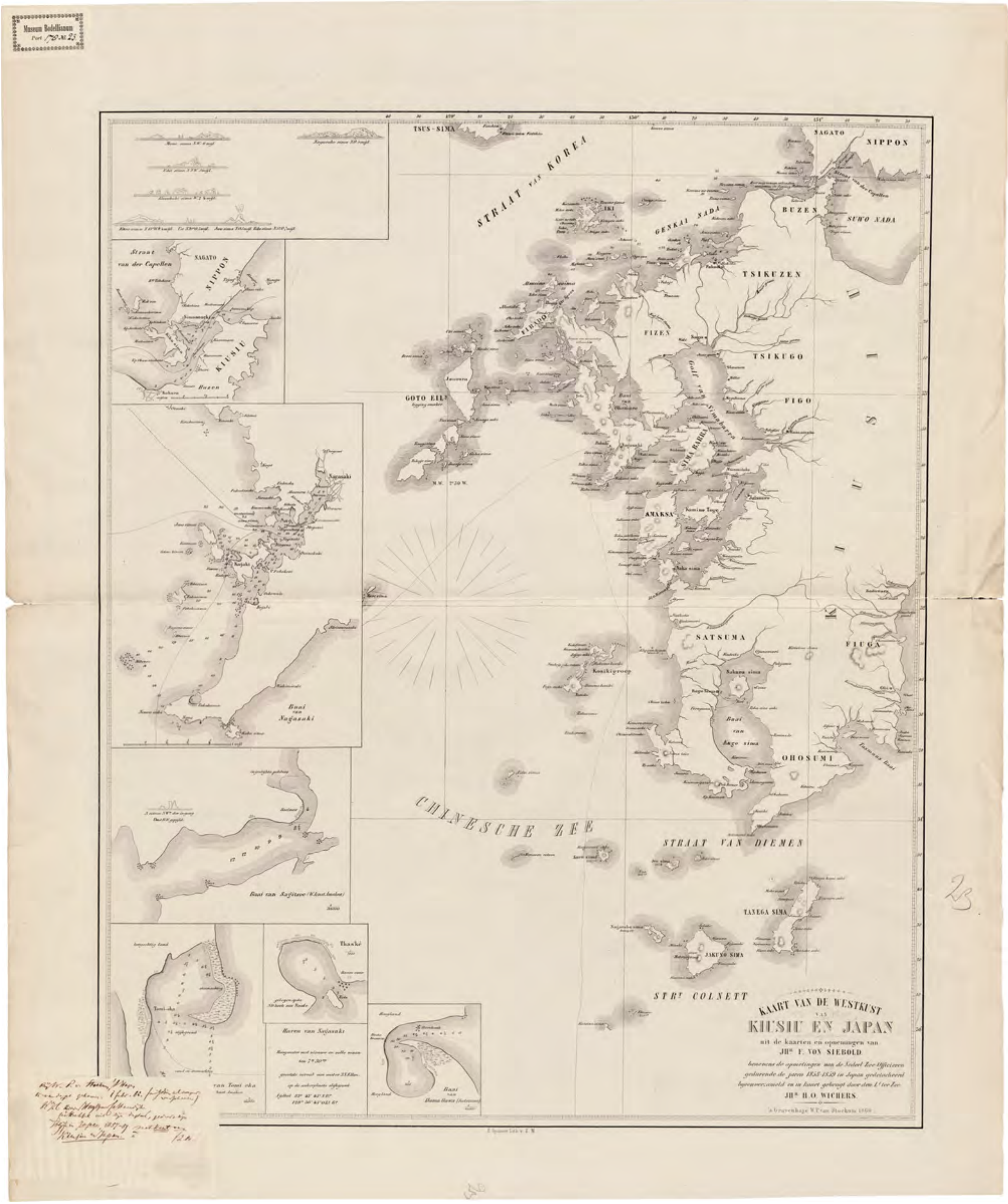
> It only leaves us to state that after the work a comprehensive map is added of the western coast of Kyushu. It is edited by lieutenant at sea knight H.O. Wichers and contains an inset map of the Bay of Nagasaki at a larger scale, as well as four other insets of bays which are accurately surveyed for the first time. However, it is a pity that only the southern part of Tsushima is mapped, since the visit to this island is especially noteworthy from a scientific point of view. The author has stated justly that his voyages in Japan were indeed voyages of discovery; the more we have to express our sorrows, that his reports on that, regardless how many important things they may contain, are so lacking overall.

The practicality of Siebold's maps had already been acknowledged in a 1856 report by Lieutenant Captain G. Fabius to Prince Hendrik of the Netherlands, after having circumnavigated a major part of the Japanese coast in the Dutch Navy steamship *Medusa*. Fabius writes: "the charts of Mister Siebold, which I received as a present from Your Royal Highness and which I have used, were by far the best and really have a lot of merit."

Collector Bodel Nijenhuis attached a small note to the map on which he wrote that Huyssen van Kattendyke's work 'came from the press on the 1st of February 1861 (maybe released earlier)' and was acquired for a price of fl. 2,80 (the equivalence of €21,13 in 2018, according to the guilder to euro equivalence tool on the website of the International Institute for Social History).

References

Robidé van der Aa 1861; Bernard 2017.


TSUS-SIMA
STRAAT VAN KOREA
IKI
GENKAI NADA
NAGATO
NIPPON
BUZEN
SUWO NADA
TSIKUZEN
FIZEN
TSIKUGO
FIGO
GOTO EIL.
HIRADO
AMAKSA
SATSUMA
FIUGA
OHOSUMI
CHINESCHE ZEE
STRAAT VAN DIEMEN
TANEGA SIMA
JAKUNO SIMA
STR. COLNETT
Straat van der Capellen
KIUSIU
Baai van Nagasaki
Haven van Nagasaki
KAART VAN DE WESTKUST
VAN
KIUSIU EN JAPAN
uit de kaarten en opnemingen van
JHR. F. VON SIEBOLD
JHR. H.O. WICHERS
Museum Boerhaave

36

37

Letter by Ph. F. von Siebold to Johannes Tiberius Bodel Nijenhuis
Manuscript, 20 by 13 cm
BPL 3655
Siebold and Bodel Nijenhuis were neighbours on Rapenburg. This letter, published for the first time, shows the direct connection between them. The letter is part of a collection of letters by and to Bodel Nijenhuis, from the library of Lodewijk Houthakker (1926-2008), which was donated to Leiden University Library in 2013 by M. Jonker.

12 augustus [18]36

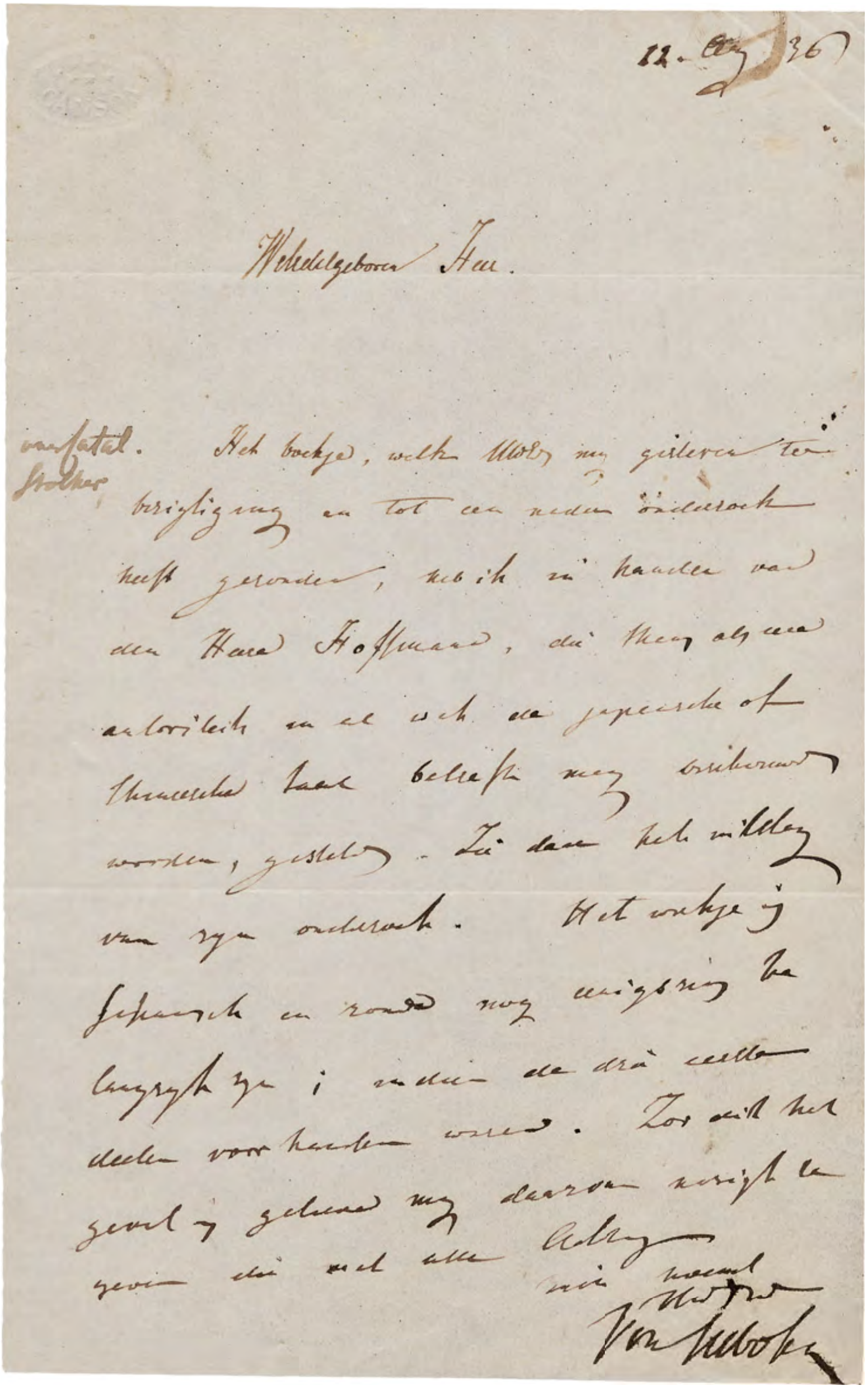
Weledelgeboren Heer,

Het boekje, welke ik U.Ed. [*U edele*] *mij gisteren ter bezigtiging en tot een nader onderzoek heeft gezonden, heb ik in handen van den Heere Hoffmann, die thans als eene autoriteit in al wat de Japansche of Chineesche taal betreft mag beschouwd worden, gesteld. Zie daer het uitslag van zijn onderzoek. Het werkje is schaarsch en zoude nog enigszins belangrijk zijn; indien de drie deelen voor handen waren. Zoo dit het geval is gelieve mij daarvan berigt te geven dit met alle achting.*
zich noemt
Uw d.w. [*dienstwaardige*]
Von Siebold

12 August [18]36

Honourable gentleman,

The booklet that your honourable gave me yesterday for observation and further research, I gave in the hands of mister Hoffmann, who now can be considered an authority in everything concerned with the Japanese and Chinese language. See there the results of his research. The work is rare and would be important to a certain extent if the three full parts were available. If this is the case, please let me know. This with all respect
names himself
Your obliging
Von Siebold



12. Oct 36

Weledelgeboren Heer.

Het boekje, welk UWelEd. mij gisteren ter bezigtiging en tot een nader onderzoek heeft gezonden, heb ik in handen van den Heer Hoffmann, die thans als een autoriteit in al wat de japansche of chineesche taal betreft mag beschouwd worden, gesteld. Zie daar het uitslag van zijn onderzoek. Het werkje is gebrekkig en zoude nog eenigszins te begrijpen zijn, indien de drie eerste deelen voorhanden waren. Zoo [illegible] het geval is, [illegible] mij daarvan [illegible] te geven die met alle achting zijn

[illegible]

Von Siebold

37

THEME 4

Johann Joseph Hoffmann (1805-78) and His Legacy

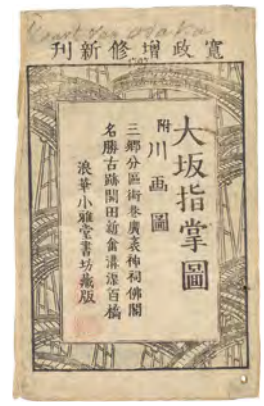
During the waning years of the Tokugawa shogunate, what had been an informal intellectual collaboration transitioned into diplomatic and academic activities. Hoffmann was a fellow German who became Siebold's assistant in Leiden and learned Chinese and Japanese from his Malay servant Guo Chengzhang 郭成章. Hoffmann would surpass Siebold's skills in the study of Japan, and in 1855 became the first professor of Chinese and Japanese languages outside Japan. He also became the official translator for Chinese and Japanese for the Dutch government. Thus, Hoffmann's interaction with Japanese maps occurred during all of the three phases of his interaction with Japanese primary sources: as Siebold's assistant he copied and translated maps as part of his work on the draft of the Korea section and for an unpublished lithography of a view of Kyoto in *Nippon* (BPL 2186 M 2, cat. 43). As professor, he used the maps collected by Siebold for his own studies (cats. 12a, 27, 35). And he received and translated maps through his role as official translator for the Dutch government (cats. 36a, 37).

Hoffmann played an active role in the 1862 visit of the first modern Japanese embassy to Europe. He expressly travelled to Paris and London to meet with the embassy, and then met them again in the Netherlands. Hoffmann also taught Dutch to the Japanese students Nishi Amane 西周 and Tsuda Mamichi 津田 真道 and arranged for them to study law in Leiden under professor Simon Vissering in 1863-65.

Although Hoffmann never travelled to Japan, he maintained active connections through which he would obtain Japanese books, now kept in the collections of Leiden University Library. Hoffmann's annotations and analysis effected the academic use of the maps that Siebold had only aspired to.

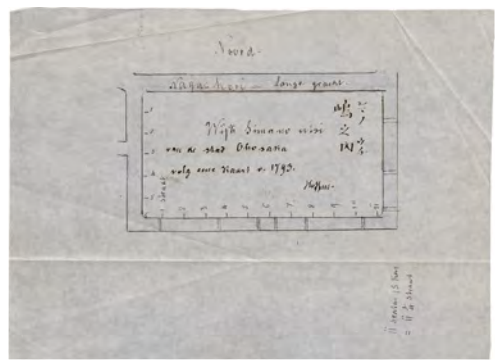
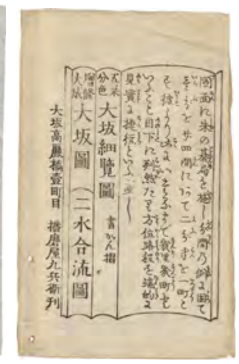
38

Okada Gyokuzan 岡田玉山 (illustrator), Harimaya Kyūbē 播磨屋九兵衛 (editor)
Ōsaka *shishō zu* 大坂指掌図
'Map of Osaka in the Palm of One's Hand'
Osaka: Harimaya Kyūbē 播磨屋九兵衛, Kansei 寛政9 (1797)
Polychrome woodblock print, 54.9 by 43.4 cm
Ser. 345



See page 217-221



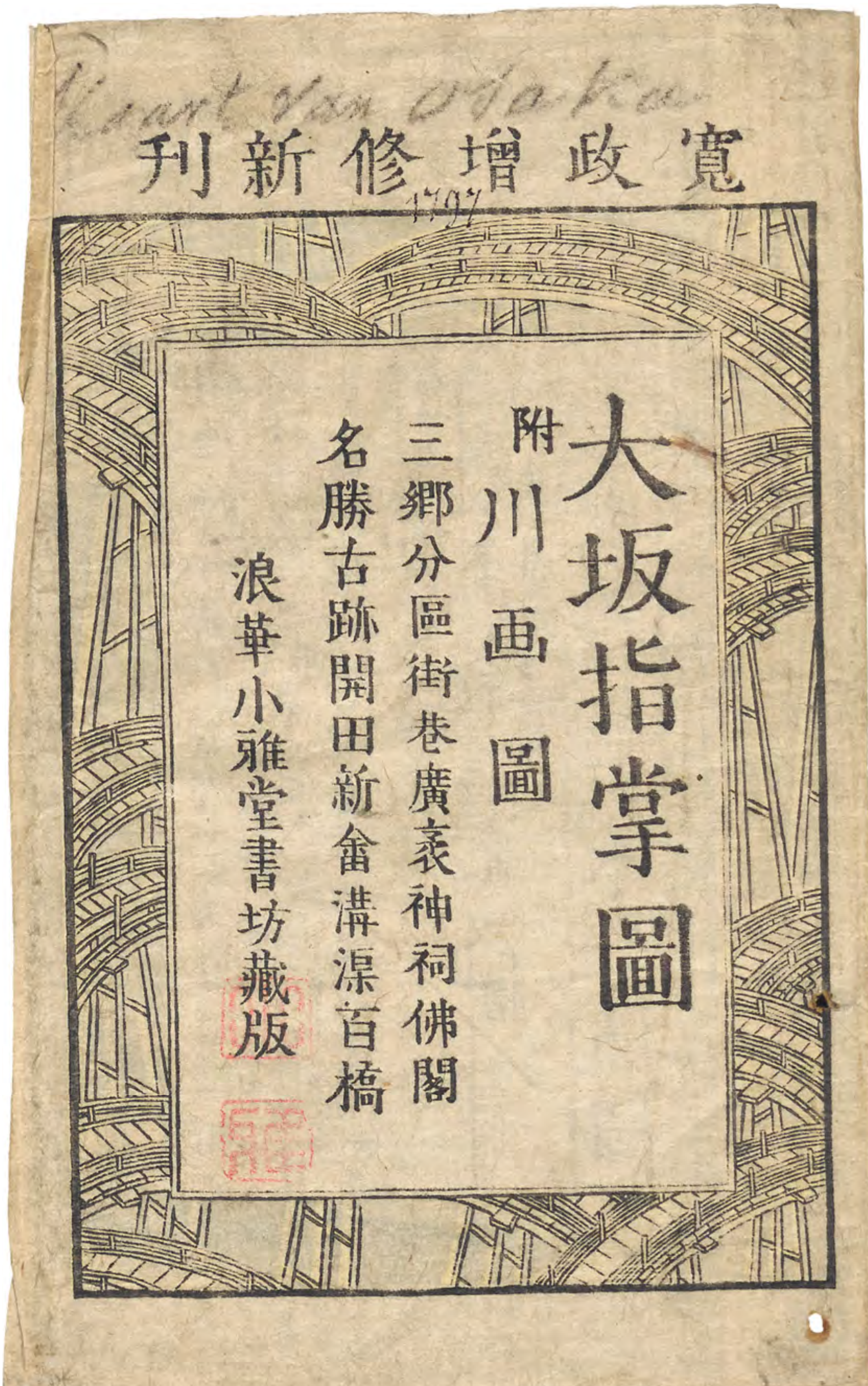
The seldom preserved wrapper carries the following blurb on the back: "A grid like that of the *go* board game has been traced in red ink on the surface of the map, and has been calculated according to the scale of one unit equivalent to twenty *ken* [or approx. 36 m] and two and a half units equivalent one *chō* [or approx. 109 m]. This makes it possible to see before one's eyes the exact distance between any two places on the map and establish very precisely the direction and itinerary for the shortest route."

On the verso is printed a map of the course of Yodogawa river oriented with east at the top, on which villages and roads are indicated with red dots and connecting lines. Also included is a list of products of the Osaka region and lengths of the twelve major bridges in the city. On the recto is printed a city plan of Osaka, on a scale of approximately 1:14,400.

The map belonged to Deshima chief factor Jan Cock Blomhoff and was then included in Siebold's collection. It then became a working tool for Hoffmann, who translated the distance measurements and made his own grids as well as a tracing of the central area of Shimanouchi.

References

Shimamoto 2015.



Kaart van Osaka

寛政増修新刊

1797

大坂指掌圖

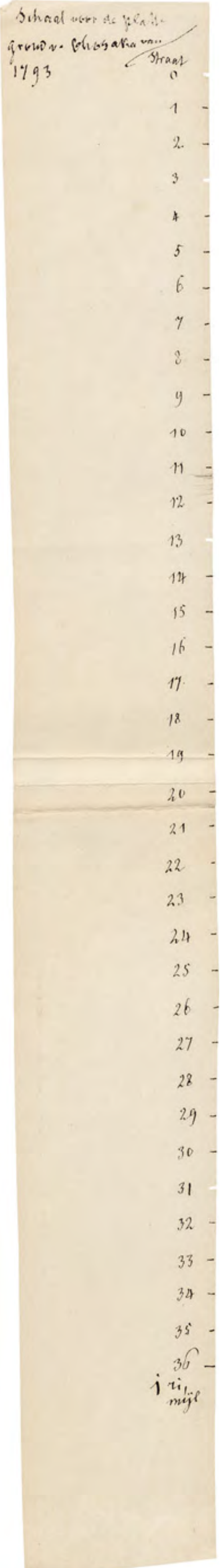
附川画圖

三郷分區街巷廣袤神祠佛閣

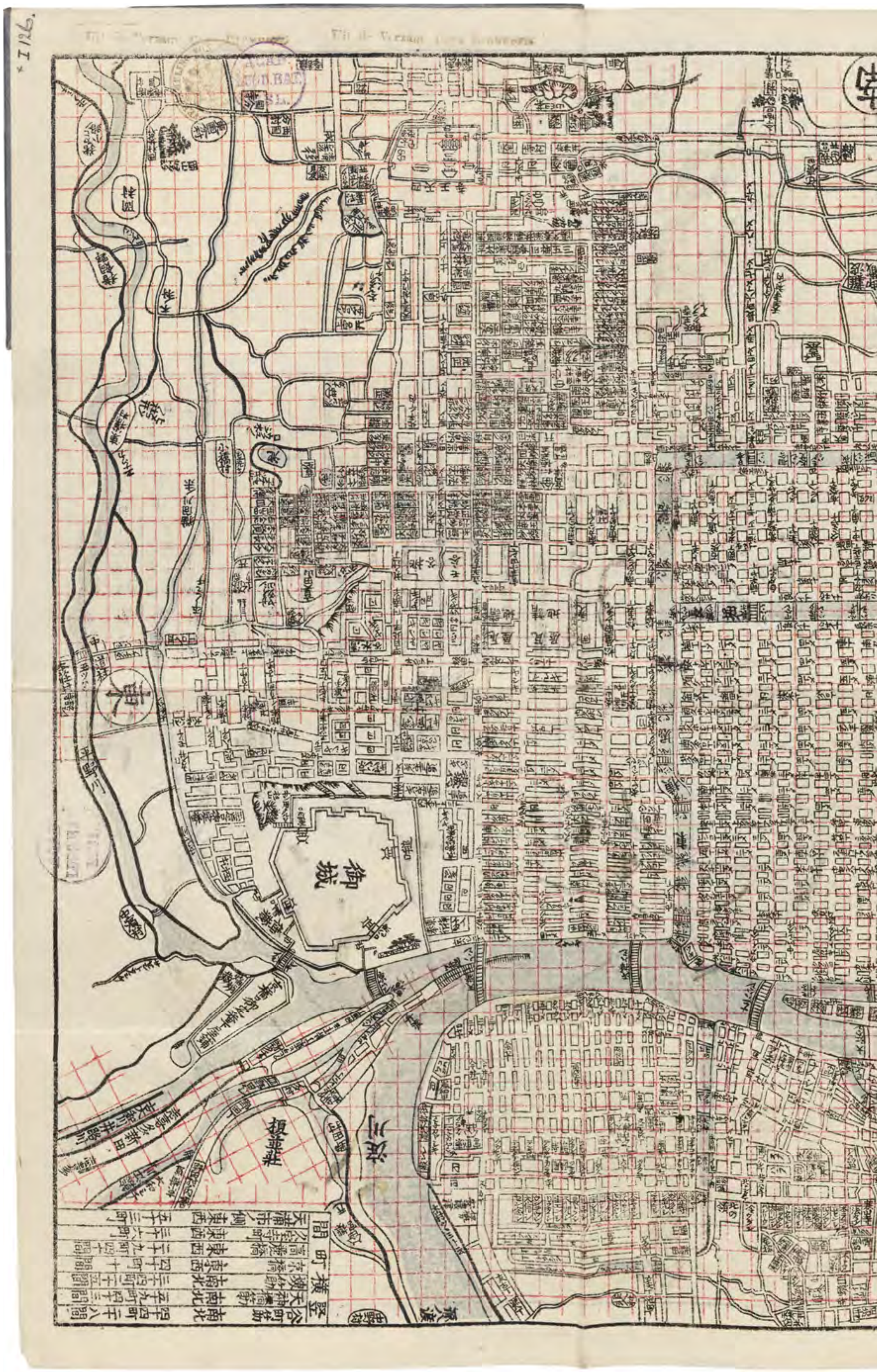
名勝古跡開田新畬溝渠百橋

浪華小雅堂書坊藏版

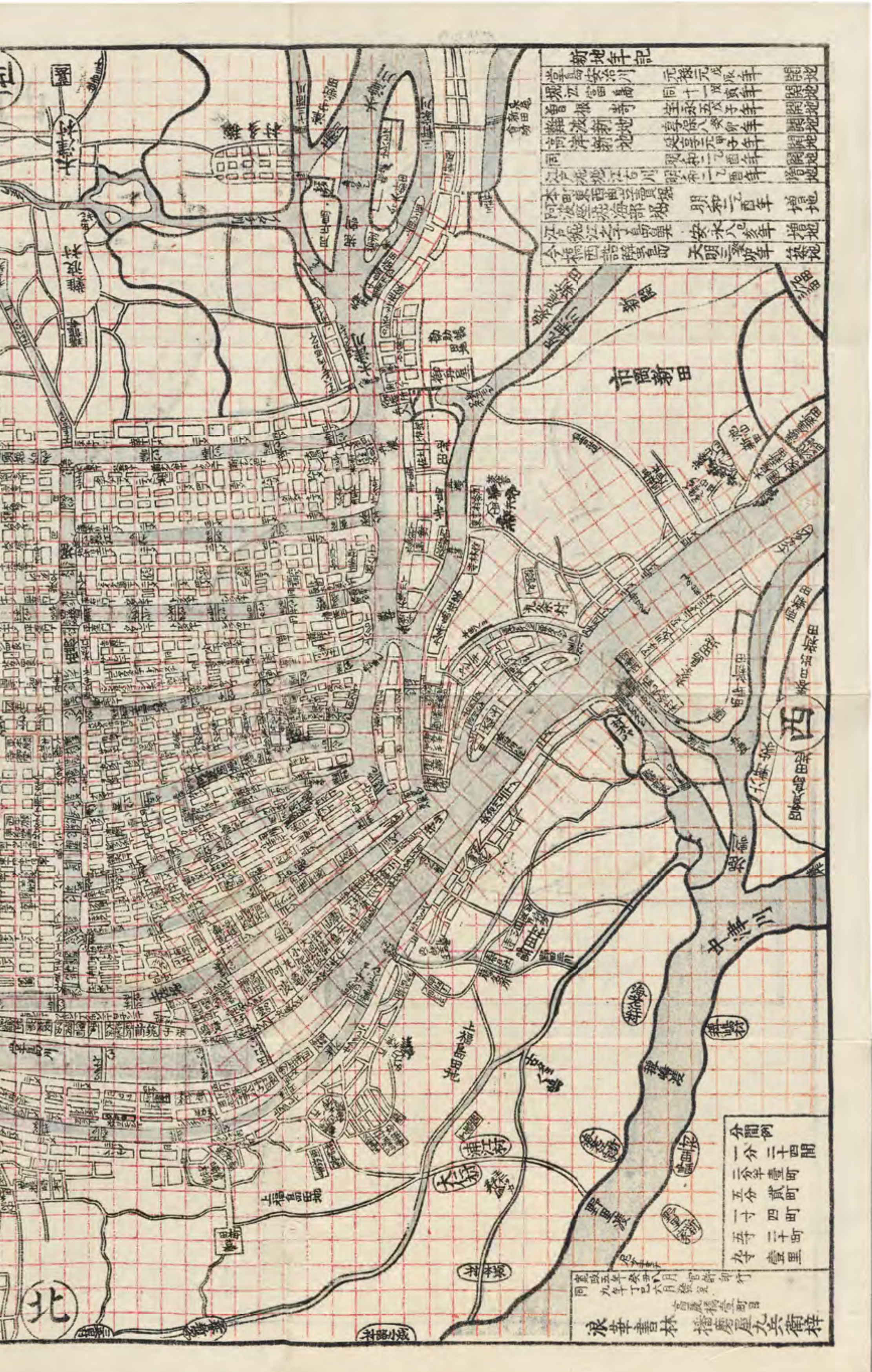
38a

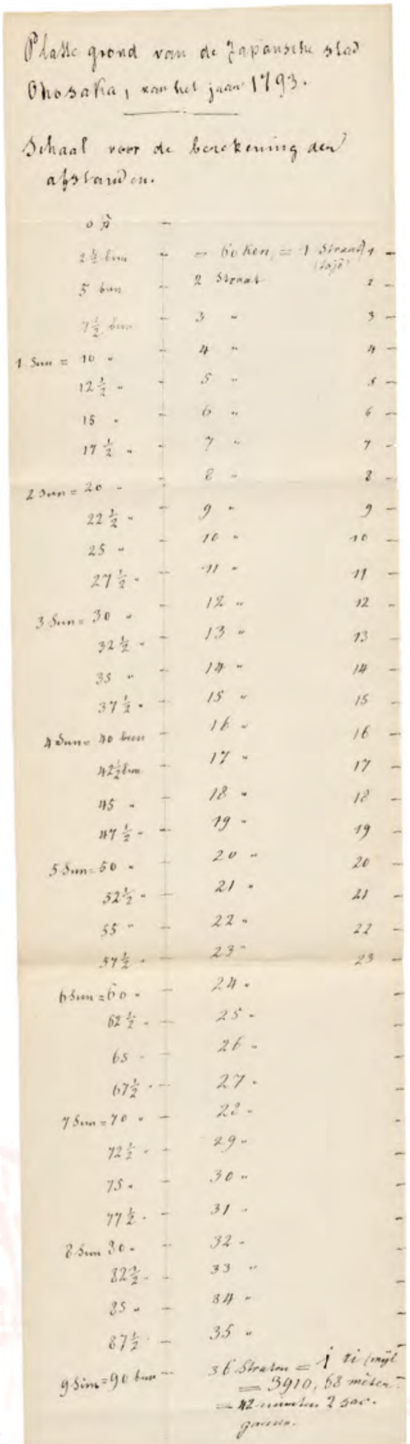


38h

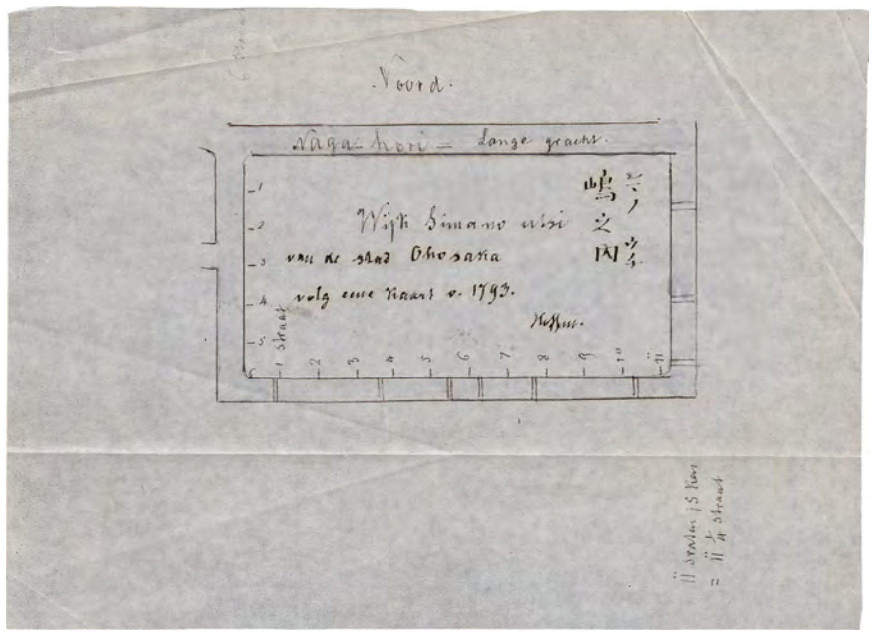


38c


西
北
中津川
市岡新田
播磨屋九兵衛


Platte grond van de Japansche stad Ohosaka, van het jaar 1793.
Schaal voor de berekening der afstanden.

38d


Noord.
Naga-hori = Lange gracht.
Wijk Simano uisi 嶋之内
van de stad Ohosaka
volg eene kaart v. 1793.
Hoffm.

38e

図面ハ朱の碁局を擬し縦横間乃例に図て
壱分を廿四間にあて二分まを一町と
を彼より此にいたるまで幾里幾町をも
いふこと目下に判然たり方位路程を端的に
見實に捷径といふべし

五采分色 大坂細覧圖 書かん摺

增修大成 大坂圖（二水合流圖）

大坂高麗橋壹町目 播磨屋九兵衛刊

38f

39

Takai Ranzan 高井蘭山
Edo ōezu 江戸大繪圖
'Large Map of Edo'
Edo: Izumoji Manjirō 出雲寺万次郎, Okadaya Kashichi 岡田屋嘉七, Man'en 万延1 (1860)
Polychrome woodblock print, red and black ink on superimposed paper strips, 130 by 118 cm
Utrecht University Library, Hoffmann archives, box 2, folder 1

This is a map of Edo which originates in a template originally carved in 1696. It depicts temple areas in purple and commoner areas in grey. Some names of property owners have been updated by the publishers by overlaying hand-written paper slips, as in the case of Honda 本多 of Mino 美濃 domain. Also included is a list of yearly events throughout Edo and a diagram of the directional locations of major sites.

See page 224-225

Hoffmann wrote a report on this map now kept among his papers in Leiden University Library (BPL 2186 J1):

> Mister N.C. Mulder 31 July 1860
>
> Today, I have sent back to his excellency the Minister of Colonies the map of Jedo provided to me for inspection, with the addition of some explanations that are not without importance for the Dutch Minister Resident in Jedo or the Dutch Vice C. [Consul] in K. [Kanagawa]. If it is considered desirable to send a copy of it to Japan, I am pleased to commit myself to make this.
>
> A topography in 20 volumes has enabled me to give some clarifications about the residences of the foreign legations in Jedo.
>
> In the third volume that I take the freedom to present to you for inspection, is depicted a panorama of the court of the temple Soziôsi in the proximity of which is located the building of the Dutch Consul. I have marked some of the most important sites with letters to make it easier to make a comparison of this panorama with the ground plan. Your very noble will have the goodness to return this volume to me.
>
> I would appreciate to receive three copies of the ground plan of Jedo from Japan, and until I have received these, freely may use this copy to work on the translation on a regular basis.
>
> I have wished not to receive only one, but more copies of the ground plan of Jedo were sent over from Japan, to use one to make a translation for which I am pleased to use my free time.
>
> If His Excellency appreciates, that this would be done by me, then I need the permission, for the ease of processing, to allow for the Japanese copy to be cut in sections and pasted on linen by a book binder.

Indeed, paper slips have been pasted on the present map with inscriptions either in black ink with Hoffmann's characteristic lettering or in red ink for letters and an associated index of the locations of foreign legations.

The temple 'Soziôsi' in Hoffmann's letter might refer to Zōjōji 増上寺, a Buddhist temple complex that included the tombs of the Tokugawa family and was therefore a famous sight of the area.

The practice of cutting up relatively large maps in smaller segments and pasting them to linen was common at the time, and made it easier to fold and carry such a map without further damage.

39a

39b

40

Shibata Shūzō 新発田収蔵
Daishin ittō zu 大清一統図
'Comprehensive Map of the Great Qing'
c. 1860
Polychrome woodblock print, 51 by 74 cm
Ser. 185

Although the title claims that the original compiler was German, the source map is most probably the "Map of the Chinese Empire" attached to the 1853 edition of Samuel Wells Williams's *The Middle Kingdom*. Williams was an American Christian missionary to China who also took up the study of the Japanese language. He sailed to Japan on the ship Morrison in 1837, and later worked as an official interpreter for the expedition to Japan led by Commodore Perry in 1853.

A Chinese version of Wiliams's map was sketched by Shibata Shūzō 新発田収蔵, a map-maker working for the Shogunal Institute for Western Studies. The sketch was posthumously carved by Takeguchi Ryūzaburō 竹口滝三郎, who skilfully reproduced the look of the copperplate print in woodblock. The insets show the ports open to foreign trade through the 1842 Treaty of Nanking: Shanghai, Canton, Ningbo, Amoy, Fuzhou. It shows Japan's interest in the Qing empire's situation after the First Opium War (1839-42). The map was also repurposed as a tool of international diplomacy: it was gifted to Hoffmann by Mitsukuri Shūhei Mitsukuri Shūhei 箕作秋坪, member of the 1862 Japanese embassy to Europe.

References

Nanba, Muroga and Unno 1975, cat. 30; Unno 2005, 125-32; Ida 2014; Moriyama 2016.

40

41

Mine Gensuke 峰源助
Provincial maps and letter to Rudger Jacob de St. Aulaire
June 30th 1864
Ink on paper, 28 by 20 cm
Ser. 292

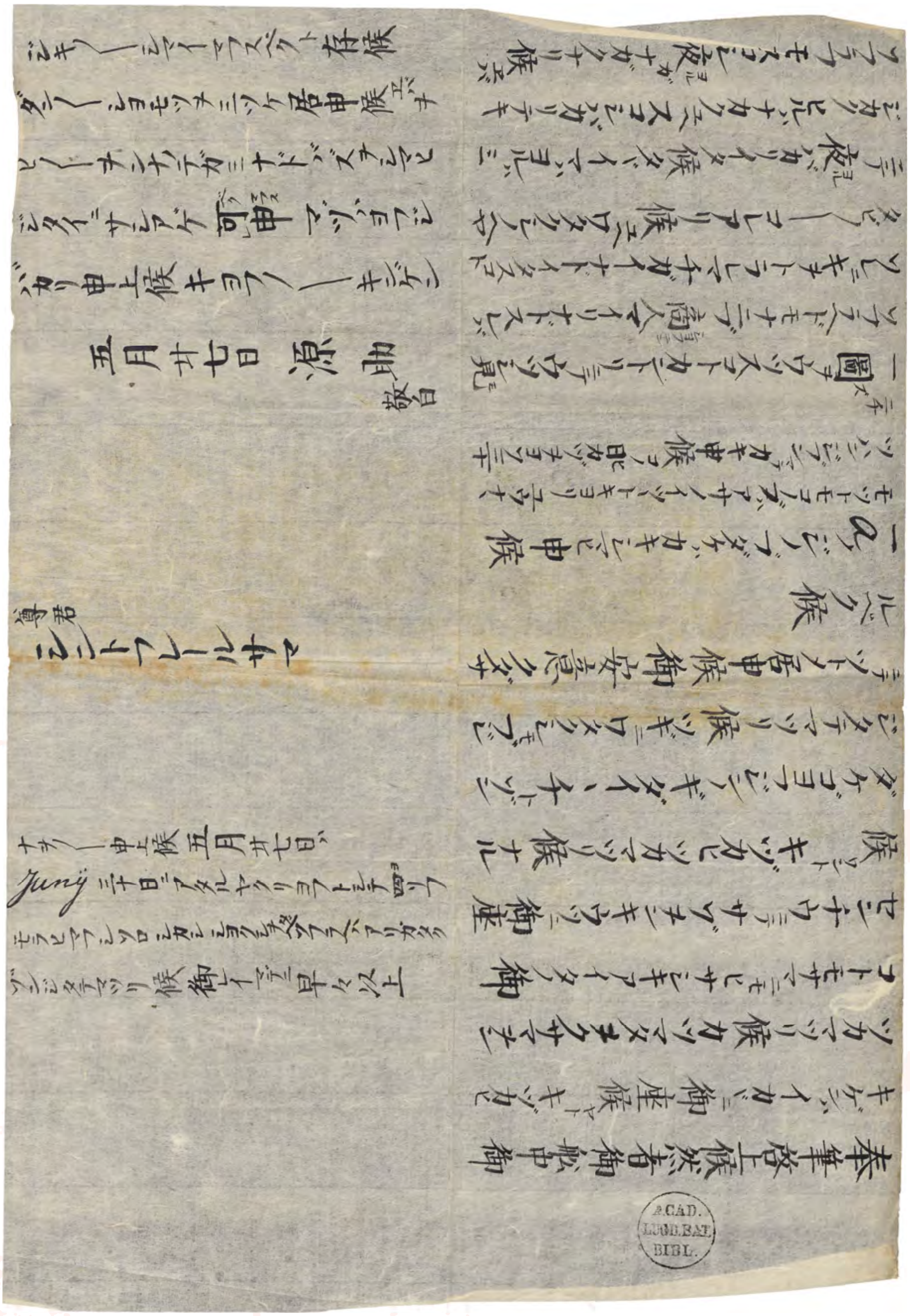
See page 229-231

Early autumn 1864: late at night under candlelight, the Omura domain topographer Mine Gensuke 峰源助 is making copies of provincial maps from a general reference work from 1834, *Dai nihon yochi benran* 大日本輿地便覧 ('A Practical View of the Territory of Great Japan'). He draws first the province's outline, then the internal subdivisions, the river outlines and the village and town cartouches. The skilled but hurried brush makes mistakes, blackened over and the correct place name written on the side.

Mine was copying these maps for Rudger Jacob de Saint Aulaire (1827-64), one of Hoffmann's students who was working as interpreter for the Dutch consulate in Nagasaki. We know this because of an accompanying letter in which Mine apologizes for not being able to make more copies, and asks about Saint Aulaire' wife and children. Saint Aulaire had indeed brought his family to Nagasaki – his youngest daughter was born on the arriving ship. Sadly, he died on the returning ship on 5th October 1864, and some of his collection was entrusted, through Hoffmann, to Leiden University Library.
This is a copy of Mine's letter in St. Aulaire's hand, a common technique at the time for language learning.

References

Kuiper 2001, 62-6; Okuda 2011, 27-9.

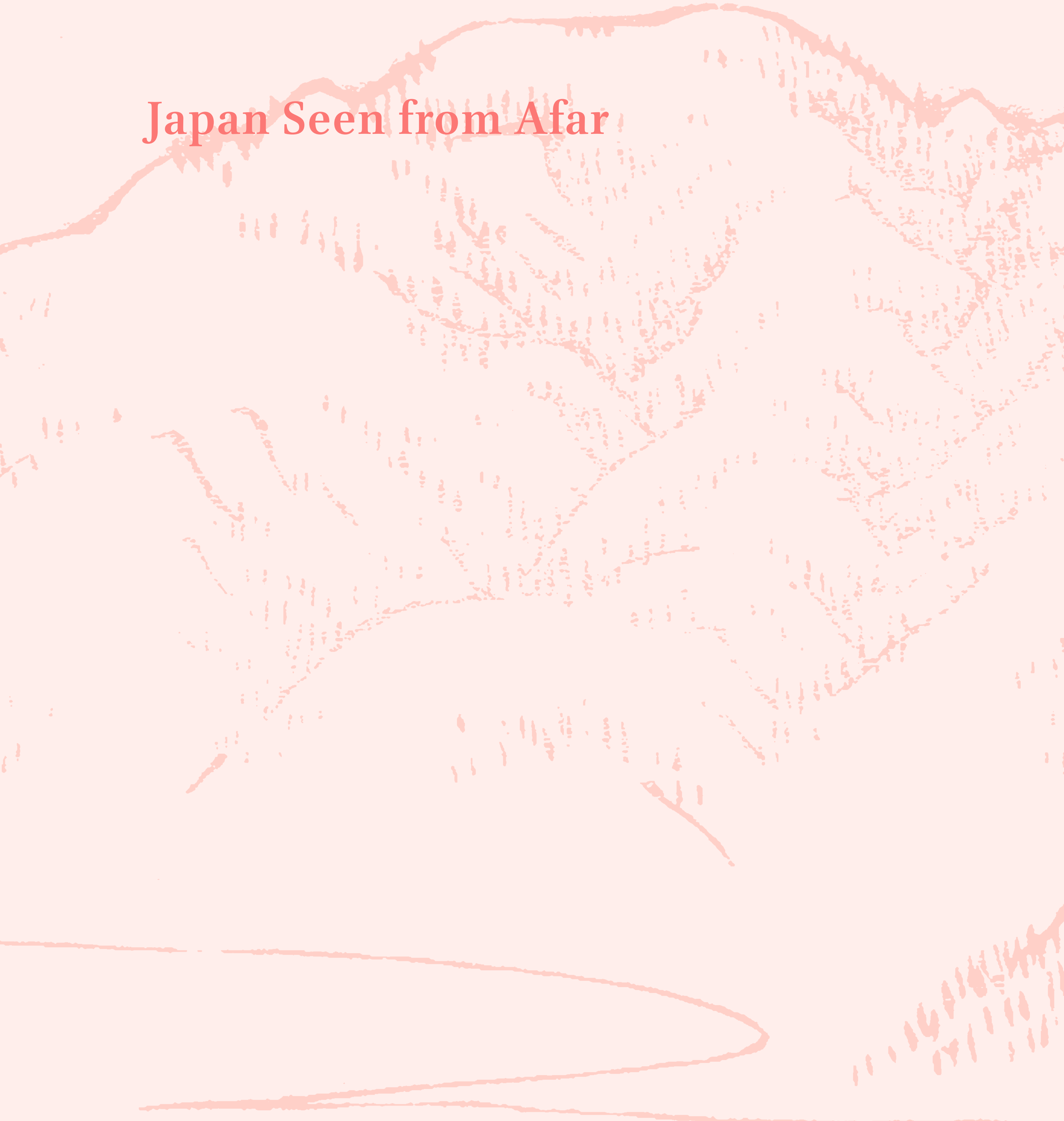

奉筆啓上候然者御船中御
キゲンイカガニ御座候ヤトキヅカヒ
ツカマツリ候カツマタマタクサマニ
コトモサマニモヒサシキアイタノ御
セニナクウニサヴナニキウツニ御座
候ソウトキヅカヒツカマツリ候ナル
ダケコヨコビモウシキダイ・チトゾンジ
ジヲタテマツリ候ツギニワタクシモブジ
ニテツトメ居申候御安意クダサ
ルベク候
一Qノジシノブダチガカキシテヒ申候
一圖ヲヴツスコトカニトリテウツシ見
五月廿七日 源助
ヨシトフレールサマ

41

39

THEME 5

Japan Seen from Afar



After Commodore Perry’s visit in 1853, there was a renewal of popularity of panoramic views of Japan. This helped to anchor the visual imaginary of the entirety of Japan’s territory during a time of rapid changes and political instability. Soon, the production of such images was also stimulated by foreign demand. Entries in this section show how views of Japan’s geography found a new use as diplomatic gifts. Such views could be either nostalgic in depicting an ‘eternal’ Japan, or celebratory of change, such as showing the development of the treaty port of Yokohama.

42

Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎
Tōkaidō meisho ichiran 東海道名所一覧
'Panorama of Famous Places along the Tokaido Road'
Edo: Kakumaruya Jinsuke 角丸屋甚助, Bunsei 文政1 (1818)
Woodblock print, 44 by 58 cm
Ser. 374 TKD

See page 235-237

"The first among painters of Edo" - as he is described in Siebold's book catalogue - designs a striking view of the most circulated road in early modern Japan. It linked the cities of Edo (lower right) to Kyoto (upper left) through fifty-four post stations, highlighted here in red cartouches. Many other sites of interest are included – such as a cave (*hitoana* 人穴) on Mount Fuji. The format of this pictorial map resembles medieval pilgrimage maps of sacred sites, and indeed the towering mount Fuji and the rising sun introduce a solemn tone. There are also similarities with the format of *sugoroku*双六, a game similar to Snakes and Ladders. A cartouche over Edo castle includes a poem by Takarai Kikaku 宝井其角

鐘ひとつうれぬ日はなし江戸のはる
"Not a day passes without a bell being sold, Edo in the spring."

Temple bells were used both to mark time and as fire alarms, amounting to frequent clamour. Correspondingly, in the upper right corner is a classic poem about Kyoto, appropriate for the map's perspective from Edo:

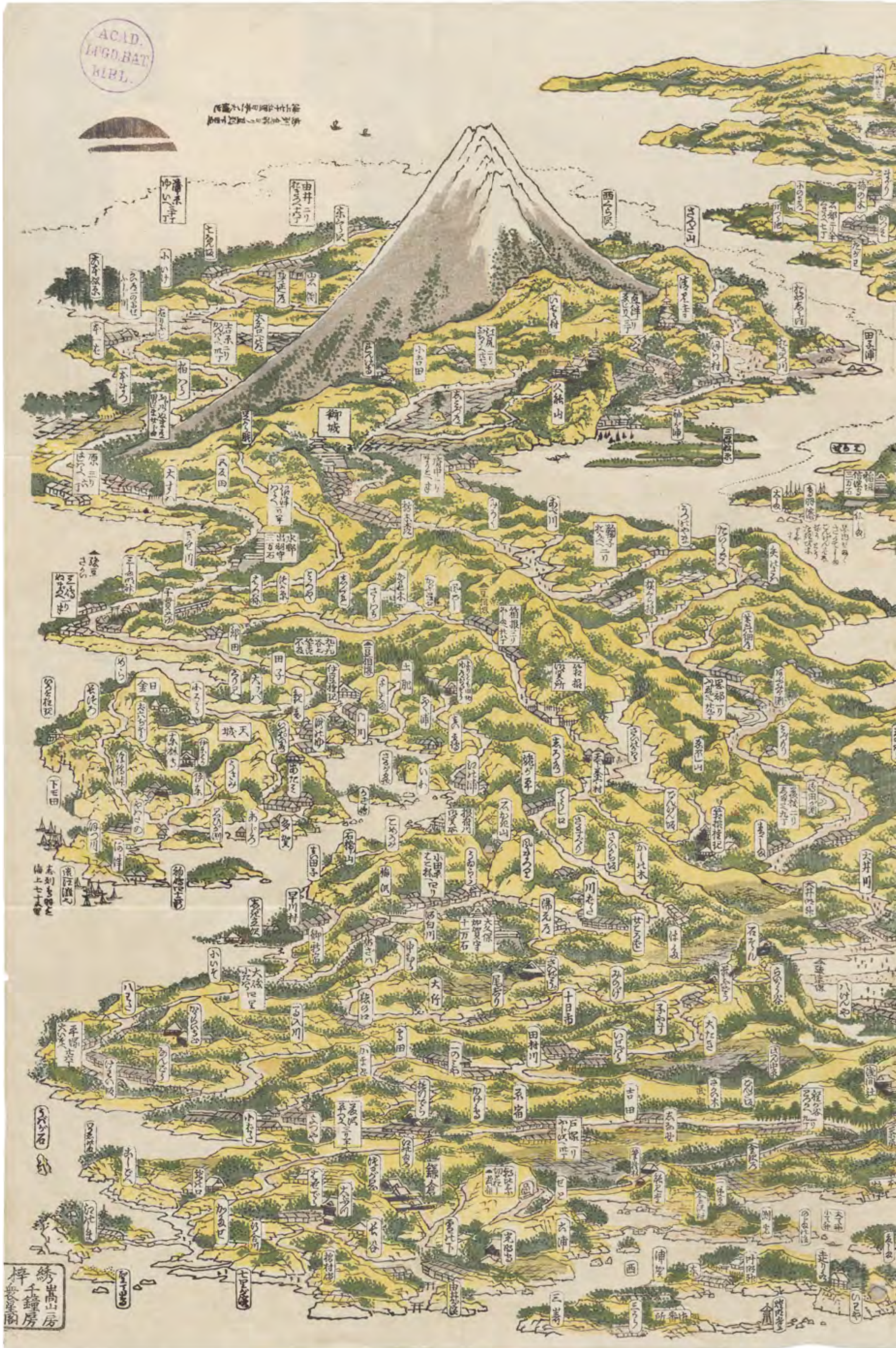
見わたせば柳桜をこきまぜて都ぞ春の錦なりける
"When I look afar, the willow and the cherry blossoms mix together, turning the capital into a brocade of spring."

This print was popular among residents of Deshima: Johan Willem de Sturler, de Deshima chief factor from 1823 to 1826, owned both this copy and another now kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Japonais 380-1). Siebold also acquired his own copy (Ser. 373).

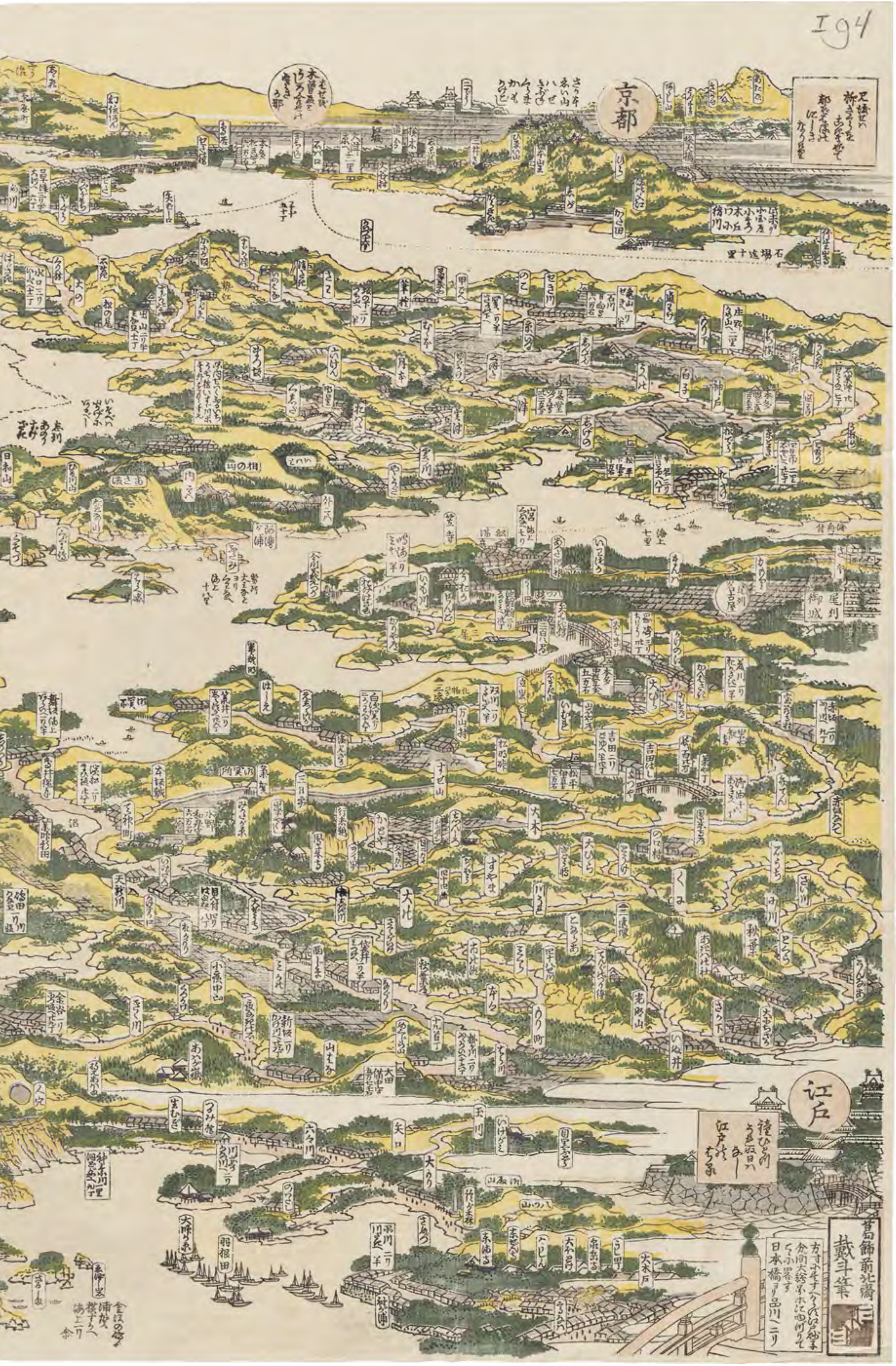
References
Siebold 1841 cat. 141; Breugelmans 2000, cat. 29; Traganou 2004, 43-46; Shirane 2012, 35.

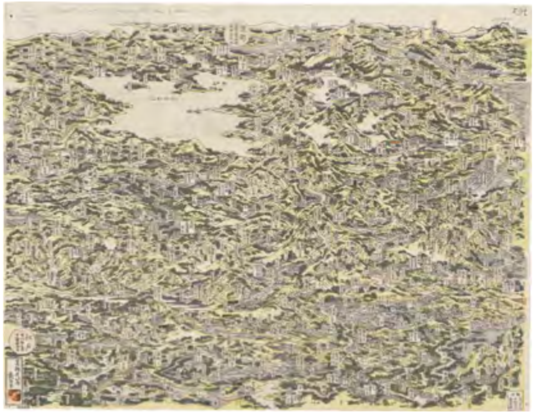

2 exemplaren
文政二卯孟春
N13
Ki so doi mei sjo itsi ran.
前北斎戴斗老人筆
木曽路名所一覧
東都書林
374. 木 曽 路 名 所 一 覽
Ki-so-dzi mei-sjyo itsi-ran.
Deux panorama's à vol d'oiseau de la contrée, située entre Kiyôto et Tôkiyô, prise de deux endroits différents. Réunis dans une enveloppe. Signés Zen Hoku-sai Tai-to Rau-zin. 1 feuille pliée. Yedo 1819.

42



42


I 94
京都
江戸
葛飾前北齋
戴斗筆



43

Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎
Kisoji meisho ichiran 木曾路名所一覧
'Panorama of Famous Places along the Kisokaido Road'
Edo: Shūseikaku 衆星閣, Bunsei 文政2 (1819)
Woodblock print, *ōbaiban*, 44 by 57 cm
Ser. 374 KSJ

See page 240-241

Hokusai employs the bird's-eye perspective for a less circulated road from Edo to Kyoto. It comprised sixty-nine stations and was an alternative to the main Tōkaidō road. Since it crossed mostly mountainous terrain it was also called *Nakasendō* 中山道 ('Central Mountain Route'). It was the preferred route for processions of imperial princesses, and was therefore also known as 'The Princesses' Road'.

This print belonged to the Deshima chief factor De Sturler, and is closely related to his copy of 'Panorama of Famous Places along the Tokaido Road' now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (see cat. 41): they both bear annotations in the same hand, as well as nail marks on the left and right upper corners, indicating that they were probably affixed to a wall while still in the possession of De Sturler. This print was gifted along with cat. 41 to Hoffmann in 1855 by De Sturler's son. It features ink annotations of some place names in Dutch, including 'Hele Meer van Omi' ('Entire Lake of Omi') for lake Biwa.

References

Floyd 1986, 107-11, 131; Breugelmans 2000, cat. 30; Okuda 2011, 25, 152-5.

44

Okada Shuntōsai 岡田春燈斎

Tōkaidō gojūsan eki narabi ni Ise sangū dōchū no zu

東海道五十三駅並伊勢参宮道中ノ図

'The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō together with the Pilgrimage Route to Ise'

Yamato meguri Nara Yoshino hitori annai

大和巡リ奈良吉野独案内

'A Self-guided Tour of the Yamato Region with Nara and Yoshino'

In: *Shinsen dōban saigajō kon* 新鐫銅版細画帖 坤

'Album of Copperplate-printed Miniature Images vol. 2'

Kyōto: Suigetsudō 水月堂, 1853

Copperplate print, *orihon* (accordion-style binding), 10 by 31 cm

Ser. 368

See page 242-243

This collection of views of Japan displayed the skill of the etcher in the copperplate-printing technique, and part of the enjoyment was in playing with scale: expansive vistas, such as the examples shown here, were reproduced in miniature.
The fifty-three stations of the Tokaido road are packed together with other important routes to Nara and to the pilgrimage centre of Ise in a view of the island of Honshu from a bird's eye position corresponding to the island of Awaji. This is flanked by an assembly of 'capital' vignettes: Kōto godairi 皇都御内裏 ('The Imperial Palace in the Emperor's Capital' [Kyoto]), Jinto Tempōzan 仁都天保山 ('Tempōzan Harbour in the Benevolent Capital' [Osaka]), Shinto naigekū 神都内外宮 ('Inner and Outer Shrines in the Divine Capital' [Ise]) and Tōbu Nihonbashi 東都日本橋 ('Japan Bridge in the Eastern Capital' [Edo]).
Such albums were part of a renewal of popularity of panoramic views of Japan's territory in the wake of Commodore Perry's expedition. The album format encapsulated a motley assembly of familiar tropes for the erudite delight of a Japanese viewer. Their crisp and dense imagery anchored the visual imaginary of the entirety of Japan's territory during a time of rapid changes and political instability. They would soon be re-employed for a foreign audience, either for tourism or for diplomacy. In different configurations, they were used as diplomatic presents and are thus kept in various Western collections.

This particular album was a gift to Hoffmann from another member of the 1862 Japanese embassy, Ichikawa Wataru. His travelogue included the following, as translated by Ernest Satow:

> 3rd month, 12th day. Cloudy: therm. 62°. Today met Hoffmann, the physician to the king of Holland, at the hotel. He is rather more than 50 years old, has studied Chinese books, and also understands some Japanese. So we communicated with him by writing, and also conversed a little; and though it was like scratching an itching place through one's shoe, yet it afforded some little pleasure to the mind of the traveller.

A similar album and other copperplate etchings are kept in the collections of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden (RV-6174, RV-1-3677).

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Satow 1865, 465; Fowler 2008, 279-80.

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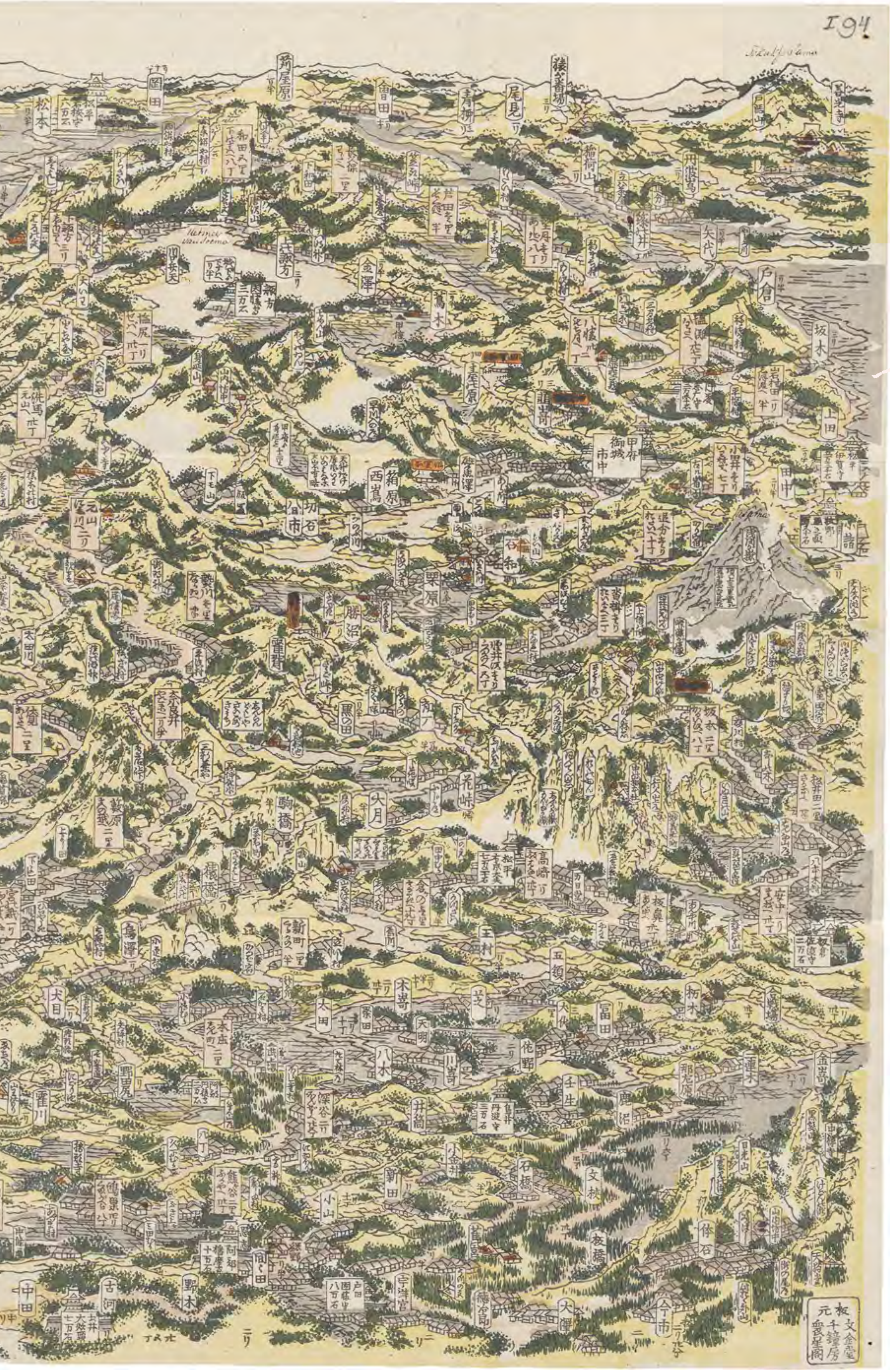

松本
岡田
戸倉
坂木
上田
金澤
大月
駒橋
新町
今市
古河
野木
中田

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東海道五十三驛並伊勢叅宮道中圖
皇都御内裏
仁都天保山
東都日本橋
神都丹外宮
呼名 冨士東海

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Yokoyama Kazan 横山華山
Karaku ichiran zu 花洛一覧図
'View of Flowery Kyoto'
Kyoto: Shōhonya Kichibē 正本屋吉兵衛, 1808
Stencil print (*kappazuri*), 42 by 65 cm
Ser. 390

Kazan was probably inspired by an earlier 'Bird's Eye View of the Capital' painted on silk by the artist Maruyama Okyo Maruyama Okyo 円山応挙 in 1791. Kazan was an artist known for his realistic style. Despite this, there are elements of idealisation: for example, the towering building of the Great Buddha Hall of Hōkōji temple had burned to the ground ten years before. This tendency towards idealisation is also connected to the term 'Raku' in the painting's title. This was a poetic name for the capital derived from the characters for the ancient Chinese capital Luoyang. Descriptions of Luoyang had already idealised a ruined capital, and the process was repeated in Japan for the capital Kyoto.

Unlike the previous catalogue entry, this is a stencil print - a technique associated with the Osaka and Kyoto region. The minutious transcriptions of place names are in Hoffmann's characteristic minuscule writing. This was most likely in preparation for the lithographed version of this image, a draft of which is kept in the Brandenstein-Zeppelin Family Archive [S-02-001]. The lithography had a very small print run as Tab. XXVIII of *Nippon* II.d, and was only included in the 1869 edition of the book compiled by Bernard Quaritch.

References

Smith 1988; Carpenter 2002, 166-7; Miyazaki 2007, 1-6; Hwang 2011; Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan 2016, cat. 5; Uesugi 2016, 69-70; Nagata and Hattan 2018.

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Gountei Sadahide 五雲亭貞秀

Kyōto ichiran zuga 京都一覧圖書

'Panorama of Kyoto'

Edo: Shōrindō Fujiokaya Keijirō 松林堂 藤岡屋慶次郎, Genji 元治1 (1864)

Polychrome woodblock print, six ōban sheets, 37 by 146 cm

Ser. 391

The seasons interweave across the city's expanse: spring cherry blossoms in Gion temple and along Tamba river, and autumn leaves in Arashiyama and Tofukuji temple. This creates an atemporal utopic image of the old capital. The wide view consists of six sheets, each signed, imitating the six panels of a folding screen. The polychrome woodblock print and the identity of the artist make this an Edo-based vision of the old capital.

The printer's skill is visible in the colour gradations in the vegetation. The large expanse of blue tiles of the rooftops are broken by temple buildings. Also visible is a central canal running through the city, now gone. The use of perspective and panorama is adapted from Western prints but selectively applied: while the prostitution quarter of Shimabara is shown in perspective, the Imperial Palace retains the traditional depiction.

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This print also has political connotations: it is part of a series of panoramic prints that references contemporary events related to the movements of the shogun. In 1864 Tokugawa Iemochi 徳川家茂 made a second extraordinary visit to the emperor in Kyoto. Sadahide quickly produced this print containing hidden clues to the shogunal visit. Among these is the cartouche *Edo michi* 江戸道 ('Road to Edo'), placed near the upper left corner of the third sheet from the right, almost along the central line of the overall image. Another is the inset on the bottom of the last panel on the left showing the view from the summit of Mount Atago out towards Kameyama 亀山 castle, the seat of the shogunal official Matsudaira Nobuyoshi 松平信吉 former keeper of Osaka castle and councilor on foreign affairs. Additionally, the imperial palace and the shogunal palace are depicted in close proximity. These elements amounted to a vision of harmonious rule under the Edo-centred shogunal administration.

The first three sheets from the right along with the fifth sheet bear the inspection seal of the second month of the first year of Genji, while the fourth and sixth sheets bear the seal for the fifth month. This indicates either two different states or a staggered production process spurred by the wish to release prints as soon as ready in response to popular demand.

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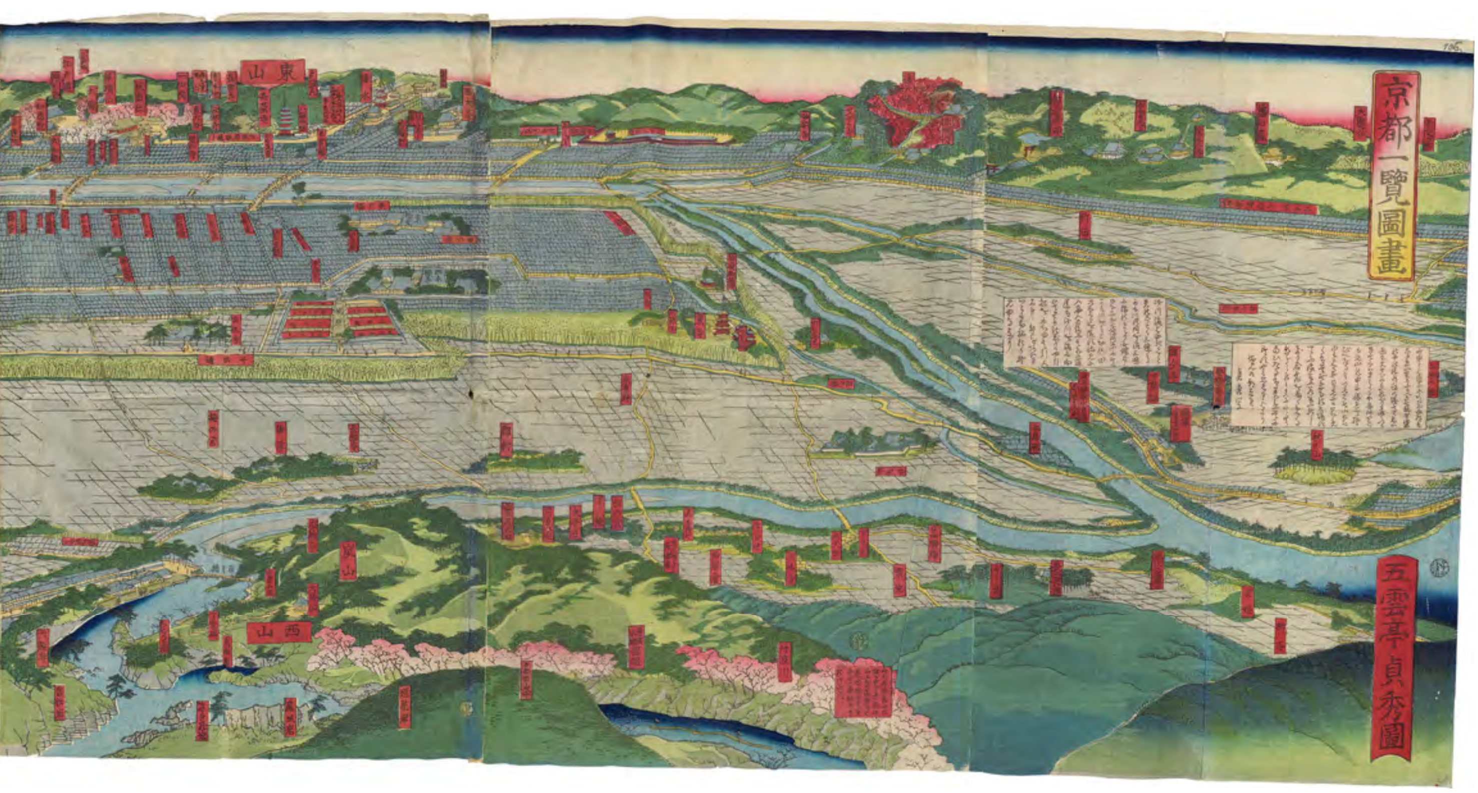
Sugimoto 2017, 13-8.



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Hashimoto Gyokuransai 橋本玉蘭斎
Gokaikō Yokohama ōezu: kan 御開港横濱大繪圖: 完
'Complete View of the Port of Yokohama Open for Foreign Trade'
Edo: Hōzendō Maruya Tokuzō 宝善堂丸屋徳造, Ansei 安政6 (1859)
Polychrome woodblock print, 68 by 188.5 cm
Ser. 396*

See page 250-251

The designer of this print is the same Gountei Sadahide who would later produce the previous catalogue entry. This sweeping landscape is a celebration of modernity seeping into a port that had opened for foreign trade the previous year. The infrastructure of the Tokugawa period still predominates through the multitude of temples and shrines, rice fields, fishing boats and villages, and the Tokaido road passing through Kanagawa station on the lower right. The new port is completely surrounded by water for easier monitorisation, a form of spatial prophylaxis similar to that applied to the island of Deshima and to official prostitution quarters in major cities. The only foreign presence on the outskirts are the tombs of the foreigners, which attracted the attention of Japanese eyes because of their unusual shapes, including crosses hitherto forbidden. Inside the town, the streets have no names in the section reserved for foreigners. Only some official buildings are indicated, including the lone brick construction. Next to it is the pier for unloading goods from foreign vessels, separate from the pier for goods arriving from Edo. In the bay are several foreign sail ships, interspersed with those carrying the Japanese flag. Only the ships' flags are given colours – their ghostly outlines echo their faint hold on the illustrator's material imagination.

One of these sail ships brought the British bishop George Smith to Yokohama in 1861, who wrote as he approached the shore:

> Here on a level sandy spot extending a few hundred yards in each direction a foreign settlement of single-storied wooden houses and warehouses had speedily arisen, and all the busy scenes of European and Japanese traffic were visible. Japanese coolies, European and American sailors, native officials and foreign mercantile agents, gave an air of business and animation to the place; and every variety of costume from the oriental garb of the country to the light and easy vestments of every hue, pattern and device which Europeans feel themselves at liberty to adopt in these remote settlements, was conspicuous among the moving crowd in the newly-formed road lining the shore.

An identical map was gifted to Hoffmann by the same 1862 embassy member, Ichikawa Wataru. Hoffmann would describe, translate and reproduce in colour a similar map for a 1862 article on Yokohama.

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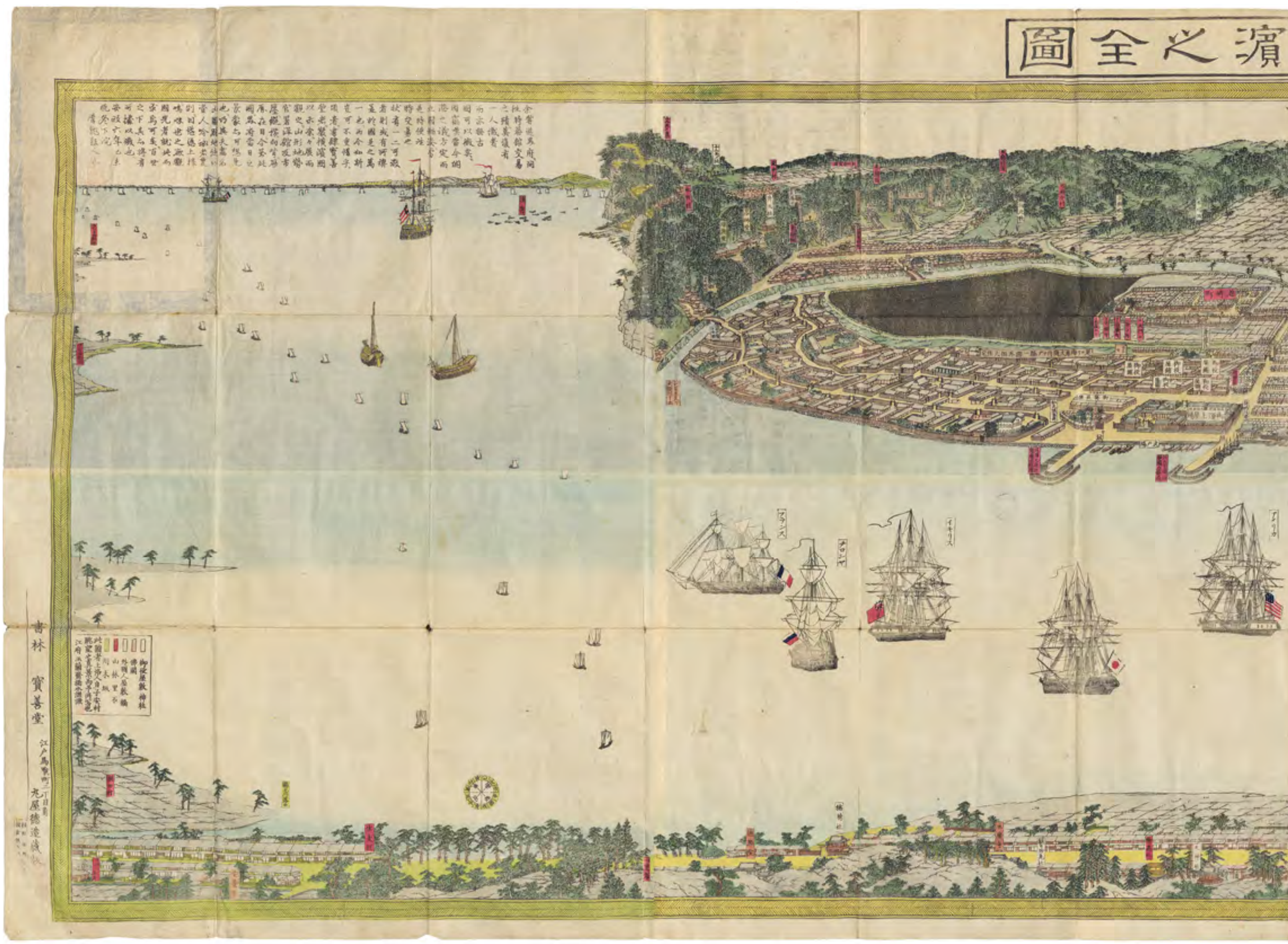
Smith 1861, 249-50; Hoffmann 1862.



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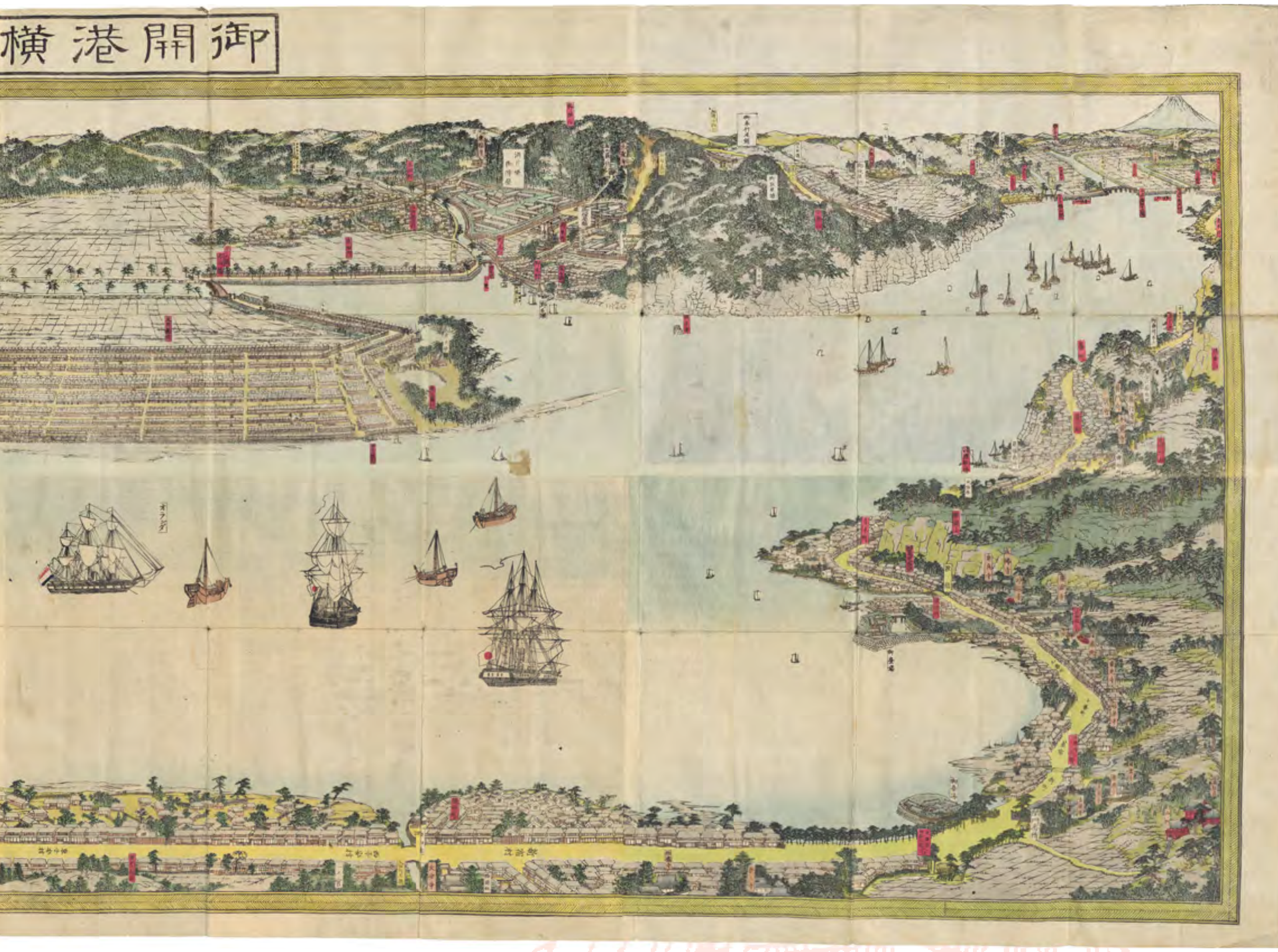
御開港横

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Acknowledgements

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While Asian and Western cartographies are often considered separate traditions, maps of Japan kept in Leiden University Library (UBL) often show a commonality of method and purpose. Despite the expulsion of Phillip Franz von Siebold from Japan in 1829, these maps illustrate that friendly exchanges of scientific knowledge remained the norm.

Through five essays by international experts on the history of cartography and Dutch-Japanese relations; annotated drafts and proofs of Siebold's map of Japan, published and discussed for the first time alongside Japanese source maps; and extensive catalogue entries for over fifty maps, this volume offers a fresh and in-depth analysis of this UBL collection.

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