

**Yonemoto, Marcia. Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868).** Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

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In Japan's early modern period, literate people, for the first time, could conjure and confront spatial representations of their country, whether they called it "our realm" (*honchō*), Greater Japan (*dai-Nihon*), or just Japan (*Nihon*) proper. Insofar as the roots of modern Japanese nationhood can be traced to the early modern period, the ability to conjure a spatial image of Japan – and, in what amounts to a "spatial inflection," those countries that were not Japan – became an important part of a burgeoning realmwide consciousness. In many ways, people conjured and confronted these images of their country because of a "spatial turn" that occurred in the early modern period, one which, in Japan's case, took place not just in the arena of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century cartographic sciences, but in an earlier explosion of published travels accounts, encyclopedias, and satirical writings. Literally, early modern Japanese, whether shogunal officials or religious pilgrims, were hungry for spatial information regarding their country and, by extension, the largely unexplored world outside it. In *Mapping Early Modern Japan*, Marcia Yonemoto investigates this early modern hunger and the incredibly diverse "maps" of Japan that fed it, working under the assumption that "mapping is as much about the processes of perception and representation as it is about the material products of those acts" (p. 2).

Mapping and crafting other spatial representations are productive processes. That is to say, as geographer David Harvey argues in other contexts, social and cultural practices do not just happen within the natural context of a space such as the Japanese archipelago; rather those practices create such spaces (David Harvey, *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference* [Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1996], 210-11). Ultimately, Yonemoto is concerned with diverse as-

pects of this creative process. What she reveals in her five chapters is that "mapping allowed for and even encouraged the endless arrangement and rearrangement of multiple spatial, cultural, and political identities whose protean nature reflected the possibilities as well as the limitations of being Japanese in the early modern period" (p. 7). To do so, as is convention for many "new cultural" histories, Yonemoto does not trace personal genealogies or historical teleologies regarding the development of maps and political power, geographies and descriptions of local customs, satirical maps and forms of disorder, and the "antipolitics of pleasure," rather she slowly "unpacks" these topics over the course of her narrative. Like unpacking any carefully chosen gift, Yonemoto offers the reader many pleasant surprises, not the least of which is an extremely thoughtful presentation of the ways that Japanese, through the birth of a broader spatial imagination, "produced" Japan.

In chapter 1, Yonemoto investigates the "controlled fiction" of the official *kuniezu* mapping projects of the Tokugawa shogunate. Most of these official mapping projects occurred in the seventeenth century, but a final one was conducted in 1835. Yonemoto covers these projects in some detail, concluding that, rather than view them as successfully standardizing and centralizing Tokugawa administrative mapmaking, "the continuous battles to define provincial boundaries and the persistence of local proprietary concerns revealed the shogunate's less-than-complete control over the spatial politics of the realm" (p. 12). What is most interesting about Tokugawa administrative maps is that the "sweeping visions of an integrated polity" distorted what was in fact a polity divided among localities, the status system, and even emerging class differences. But herein lies the brave new imagination that led to an early realm-wide consciousness among Japan's ruling elite and literate people. Along with Tokugawa administrative maps, Yonemoto also explores the "stable" and "conventionalized" Japan in both Ishikawa Ryūsen's *Honchō zukan kōmoku* (Outline map of our empire; 1687) and Nagakubo Sekisui's *Kaisei Nihon yochi rōtei zenzu* (Revised complete roadmap of all Japan; 1774), elucidating the ways they did, and did not, conform to the official Tokugawa maps of their day. Mobility

was the assumption inherent in all these maps; but they nonetheless always presented Japan as an "orderly, legible space" (p. 34).

Yonemoto devotes chapter 2 to the annotated travel writings of Kaibara Ekiken. For Kaibara, the journey became ritual; *meisho*, "famous places," served as spatially and historically important locales for reflection on the meaning of travel. The *meisho* became part of the topography of Japan's "memoryscape," and the travel account, when painstakingly annotated, emerged as "a mosaic of space, time, and knowledge" (p. 60). Yonemoto insists that if Tokugawa administrative maps established a "spatio-symbolic language, travel accounts constructed a spatio-narrative language, the formal analysis of which is essential for analyzing a largely discursive process: the writing and graphing of space and place – mapping – in historical context" (p. 66). Chapter 3 explores the travel narratives of Nagakubo Sekisui, Furukawa Koshōken, and Tachibana Nankei. To varying degrees, these three authors transformed places and people into "icons of historical and cultural significance," sometimes as "Others" according to the "logic of difference," whether Dutch and Chinese traders at Nagasaki, the Ainu of Ezo, or the countryfolk of Tsugaru. Difference became a measure of distance, as often the stranger the customs one encountered the further one had traveled from the metropole; even though certain distant *meisho*, rooted in "Japanese" historical significance, carried temporal meaning that could carry one back in time to the cultural center.

Yonemoto does not confine her analysis of travel writings to annotated or narrated nonfiction travel accounts, but rather extends her analysis to fiction as well. Chapter 4 features a careful reading of Hiraga Gennai's *Fūryū Shidōken den* (The tale of dashing Shidōken; 1763), an early example of fictional foreign travel. Such fictional travel accounts offered an opportunity to paint the familiar in strange new hues; but they also offered meetings with some of the bizarre peoples featured in encyclopedias such as the *Wakan sansai zue* (Illustrated Japanese-Chinese encyclopedia of the three elements; 1712). By contrast, chapter 5 investigates the geography of early modern pleasure through a mapping of Japan's "way of love" (*shikidō*). Yonemoto argues

that both *saiken*, "detailed views," and *sharebon*, satirical "books of style," served as literal and figurative Yoshiwara maps; through the works of Hōseidō Kisanji, Shikitei Sanba, and Akatsuki Kanenari, the Yoshiwara evolved into a mappable world unto itself. Yonemoto remarks, "Whereas in its early phases geography and cartography were the vehicles for criticizing Japan by engaging in fantasy about the 'foreign', by the mid-nineteenth century they were much more about the immediate bodily and material realities readily available at home" (p. 169).

In 1800, explains Yonemoto, "the universalizing forces of modern geography and cartography" confronted earlier Tokugawa mapping practices, which led to "more accurate" surveys and maps of Japan's coastline. Basically, Yonemoto concludes her study by mentioning some of these post-1800 surveyors and mapmakers, figures such as Inō Tadataka, who turned the page to the next chapter in the history of spatial representations of Japan. But, in some respects, the emergence of "universalizing forces" (i.e., European forces) in the arena of cartography might have been worth Yonemoto's attention. When unpacking maps by earlier mapmakers such as Nagakubo Sekisui, for example, she argues that their maps "chronicled the particularity of place rather than the universalism of space" (p. 40).

Yonemoto insists that Tokugawa maps resist conforming to the map-as-science teleology of "progress," the notion that somehow maps always "improved" over time. Instead, she argues that these maps moved in a "horizontal" or even "circular fashion" in the period before 1800 (p. 43). But what strikes this reader about many post-1800 cartographers, some explorers of the North Pacific such as Mamiya Rinzō, is that, although they employed the conventions and technologies of scientific mapping, they too relied on the "annotating" and "narrating" conventions of Kaibara Ekiken, Furukawa Koshōken, and others, as well as ethnographic portrayals reminiscent of Nagakubo Sekisui. They never completely shed the "particularity of place." Exploring the practices and activities of post-1800 mapmakers, perhaps even in the form of a brief epilogue, might have exposed important continuity – something less than the genealogies and teleologies of progress; but even more historically salient for those inter-

ested in the looming changes of Japan's nineteenth century -- and, in the process, exposed the science of cartography as not exclusively a "universalizing force," but rather as the socially and culturally constructed arena of knowledge that it is, particularly when transported to such places as Japan.

**Martha Chaiklin.** *Cultural Commerce and Dutch Commercial Culture: The Influence of European Material Culture on Japan, 1700-1850.* Studies in Overseas History, Vol.5. Leiden: Research School CNWS, School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies, 2003. 275pp. (177 pp. text + 98 pp. appendices, glossary, bibliography, notes and name index). ISBN 90-5789-086-0

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In Martha Chaiklin's *Cultural Commerce and Dutch Commercial Culture: The Influence of European Material Culture on Japan, 1700-1850*, the author examines the influence of finished European manufactured objects on the cultural sphere of Japan during the last half of the Tokugawa period. Her work challenges the misconception that Dutch/European influence on Japan was negligible. According to Chaiklin, this misconception came about due to the fact that historians to this point have concentrated primarily on the economic and intellectual aspects of Dutch/European contributions, rather than on the influence of material culture – which she defines as “the objects generated by a society for use in daily life” (5).

In general, Chaiklin's work succeeds admirably in depicting a greater European cultural impact on Tokugawa Japan than has previously been acknowledged. This has been achieved in spite of the admission by the author that her study had to cope with “the constraints of imprecise historical data” (173) and the fact that “Cultural influence may ultimately be unquantifiable....” (177). In an effort to address these challenges, Chaiklin

attempts to treat material culture as a primary source; however, in practice, she ultimately ends up using predominantly Dutch-language trade records and printed Japanese-language sources for her study.

The book, which reads like a dissertation, and is referred to as such on more than one occasion by the author, is divided into two sections: the first (chapters two through five) examining the trading relationship between the Dutch and the Japanese, and the second (chapters six through eight) detailing three case studies (clocks, glass and firearms) in terms of their diffusion and acculturation in Japan.

Chaiklin begins her study with a discussion of the diffusion of imported manufactured goods in Tokugawa Japan through both legal and illegal means. These goods came into Japan via legal trade (both officially-sanctioned company trade and quasi-legal private trade), smuggling, and the theft of legal imports. Whereas bulk commodities were the main concern of the Dutch East India Company's (VOC) official monopolistic trade policy with Japan, “European material culture in the form of finished manufactured goods...were brought as a speculative sideline, as gifts, in response to special requests, or even as ballast” (12). Private trade (goods trafficked by employees of the VOC) was originally prohibited by the Company but encouraged by local Nagasaki officials who profited handsomely from the transactions. By 1700, however, the VOC had grudgingly accepted the practice and limited the goods that could be sold by individual Dutch employees. Both the official and private trade continued side-by-side until the end of the Tokugawa period, fluctuating at times depending on the state of the Japanese economy.

It has long been known that, in spite of the strict regulations of *sakoku* and the harsh penalties enforced by the Japanese government, smuggling was rampant in the Tokugawa period. Chaiklin rightly notes, however, that the smuggling of Dutch goods paled in comparison to the smuggling of Chinese goods, and that most of the smuggling involved Dutch commodities rather than manufactured objects. Theft of Dutch goods was also common, but this too usually consisted of small amounts of food items taken from the houses of VOC employees. Chaiklin con-