ONE

Shinano in the Nation

THE CORPUS OF NATIONAL MAPS (identified in Japanese as *Nihon sōzu* or *Nihon zenzu*) published before the Meiji era is large and varied. Within that corpus, it is possible to discern three fundamentally different paradigms: a view from the west, a view from the east, and a view from the road. The oldest cartographic model was centered on Yamashiro Province, the region of the imperial capital.[1] To a court residing near the shores of the Inland Sea, Shinshū was a strategic gateway to the eastern marches, a military frontier that was not fully subdued until the eleventh century.[2] This chapter begins by recounting the court's relationship with the province during its heyday. That relationship would fray badly during the succeeding centuries, which ended in a decisive shift of power to the east. Yet the Kyoto-centric paradigm proved resilient, resurging in various cartographic forms throughout the Tokugawa period. As a result, a geography of Shinano that had developed in classical times remained in public view well into the nineteenth century.

Long before that, however, a second conception of Japanese national space began to be articulated, one in which all roads led not to Kyoto but to Edo, the shogun's headquarters at the edge of the Kantō Plain. On maps compiled by the Tokugawa shogunate, the military capital in the east overshadowed the imperial complex in the west, emerging as the chief node of an expanded and reconfigured national network. This had important im-

plications for how Shinano was mapped. What had been a forbidding fastness was transformed into a central throughway, serving Edo as a strategic corridor not to the east but to the west and north. That vision was most clearly articulated in maps compiled by the shogunate during the eighteenth century. But the explosive growth of the Kantō, the rapid development of the Japan Sea region, and the flourishing commerce between the two ensured that this view of Shinano infiltrated Tokugawa commercial maps of the nation as well.

Finally, a third treatment of Shinano arose in maps for travelers. Colorful, plentiful, and sometimes playful, this genre—broadly called itinerary maps *(dōchūzu)*—comprises an essential corpus for scholars interested in the culture of premodern travel.[3] The most fanciful itineraries took the form of mandalas and panoramas. Marketed chiefly as souvenirs, these aesthetically innovative forms have drawn considerable attention from cultural historians.[4] In the case of more utilitarian maps—those meant to be carried and consulted on the road—analysts have focused on the practical travel information they provided: the layout of key routes, the location of barriers (where travelers would be stopped and examined), the distances between post stations (where food and lodging could be found).[5] Much less noticed is how either kind of itinerary map portrayed the Japanese provinces. And no wonder. As we will see, marking out a region like Shinano on a byzantine route map or a borderless panorama is a laborious procedure, and one that goes against the grain of this route-centered material. But the effort is richly rewarded. For one thing, delineating an individual province illuminates how freely these topological maps reordered national space. For another, it yields a definitive inventory of destinations with which a place like Shinshū had come to be identified. Finally, it shows how commercial maps synthesized Kyoto- and Edo-centric views even while superimposing on both the priorities of the traveling public. Harmonizing the cartographic visions produced from these rival seats of power, published maps for travelers presented Japan as a bicentric network, one with more or less equally prominent metropolitan clusters in the west and in the east.

Looking at the corpus of national maps as a whole from the perspective of Shinano highlights the plurality of Japan's cartographic cultures during the Tokugawa era. In the genre of the all-Japan map, no single perspective won out; on the eve of the Meiji revolution, artifacts portraying the *kuni* as seen from Kyoto, from Edo, and from the road circulated simultaneously. The result was a multiplicity of visions, a pastiche of alternative mappings of Shinano's place in the nation of Nihon that coexisted without converg-

ing. Since those visions arose sequentially, we will revisit each in the order of its appearance, starting with the view from the capital.

THE VIEW FROM KYOTO

The sixty-six Japanese provinces originally appeared on the map as locations in a monarch-centered geography. Starting in the seventh century, the Japanese archipelago was organized as a set of circuits *(dō)* through which governors were sent out from the capital and tribute was sent back to the court.[6] It was along the steepest and most rugged of those circuits, the Eastern Mountain Road or Tōsandō (pronounced "Azuma-yama-no-michi" in ancient times), that Shinano found its first location in national space.

Viewed from the seat of princely power—that is, from the temperate lowlands fronting the Inland Sea—the highland region known as Shinano appeared as a dark, cold, and forbidding place, the last barrier between the five home provinces (Gokinai) and a troublesome military frontier. Writing, statecraft, Buddhism, pottery, rice, silk, and other accoutrements of refined living had entered the archipelago from the west; the east, by contrast, was a primitive place. During the Nara (710–784) and Heian (794–1185) periods, Shinano served as both backwoods and bulwark to the Yamato court. An administrative outpost *(kokufu)* was established in the eastern part of the province, straddling the Eastern Mountain Road and presiding over the extensive imperial pasturelands *(maki)* along the grass-covered flanks of the region's volcanoes. Scores of local products were shipped to the capital as tribute, including hempen cloth, sulfur, birch bark, animal hides, and *azusa* wood, much prized for the making of bows. Still, Shinano lay in the east, and in early Japan, "east" was synonymous with "primitive."[7] Even its landscape was barbaric. Reachable only after an arduous journey on foot or horseback through twisting passages over steep ravines, it was valued principally as a breeding ground for horses.[8]

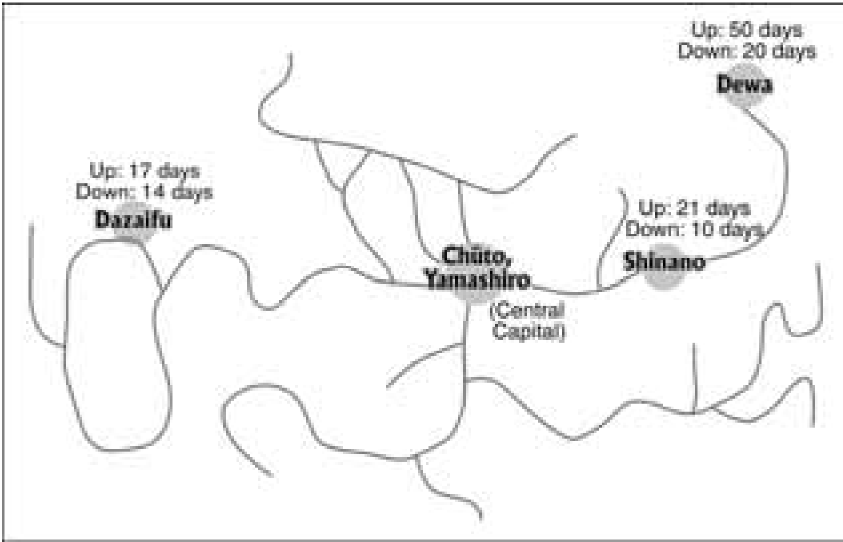
All of this influenced the way Shinano was mapped. The earliest surviving representations of the provinces, which date to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are highly schematic diagrams known as *Gyōki-zu,* or "Gyōki-style maps," after the monk who is credited with pioneering the genre. The message of these hieroglyphs has been succinctly stated: "Japan is a coherent whole centered on the authority of a universal monarch and administered through provincial units."[9] Such a message did not require geographical precision. Indeed, the simplest *Gyōki-zu* reduced the *kuni* to mere characters positioned along the eight roads that radiated out from the

capital district (Map 4; compare Figure 1). Later variants added crude outlines around these toponyms, turning the naked diagram into a more recognizable map of the imperial tribute system. Nonetheless, the boundaries remained impressionistic, to say the least. Eighteen *Gyōki-zu* from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries survive today;[10] a typical example is reproduced in Map 5 (compare Figure 2). A detail from another famous Gyōki-style image, the "Map of Great Japan" *(Dai Nihon koku no zu)* of 1548, is shown in Plate 1.

As schematic as they are, these early diagrams concisely convey how Shinano was seen by the court. Relative to *chūto,* or the center of the imperium—a designation prominently marked in large characters above Yamashiro Province on Map 4 (see also Figure 1)—Shinano lies to the right, along one of three roads that ran eastward from the capital. Those three routes had been well established since the ancient period: the Tōkaidō, or Eastern Sea Road, along the Pacific coast; the Hokurikudō, or North Coast Road, along the Japan Sea; and the Tōsandō, or Eastern Mountain Road, in between. To reach Shinano from the capital, a traveler would take the Tōsandō through the provinces of Ōmi and Mino. Beyond Shinano, the inland route continued through four more provinces: Kōzuke and Shimotsuke in the Kantō Plain, and finally Mutsu and Dewa in northern Honshū, the farthest reaches of the early Japanese state.

Close examination of the surviving *Gyōki-zu* reveals minor discrepancies in the depiction of the Eastern Mountain Road from one map to another. One model depicts the Tōsandō as passing through the province of Hida en route to Shinano;[11] a second shows the Tōsandō splitting briefly into a northerly route, through Hida, and a southerly route, leading directly from Mino into Shinano (where the two rejoin);[12] and a third model depicts Hida as lying off to the side of the Tōsandō altogether, on a branch road of its own.[13] Of these three, the last captures the spatial contours of the ancient road network most accurately.[14] But whatever their differences, all three models position Shinano as the throughway to a military frontier that would vex the court for centuries.

Underscoring their Kyoto-centered world-view, Gyōki-style maps often include distance information in the form of travel time to and from the capital. Two separate figures are typically given for each province. The first stipulates the number of days required to travel up to the capital *(nobori);* the second, the number of days that it would take to travel in the opposite direction *(kudari).* For most provinces, the trip "up" is estimated to take twice as long as the trip "down"; Shinano is typical, with figures of twenty-one



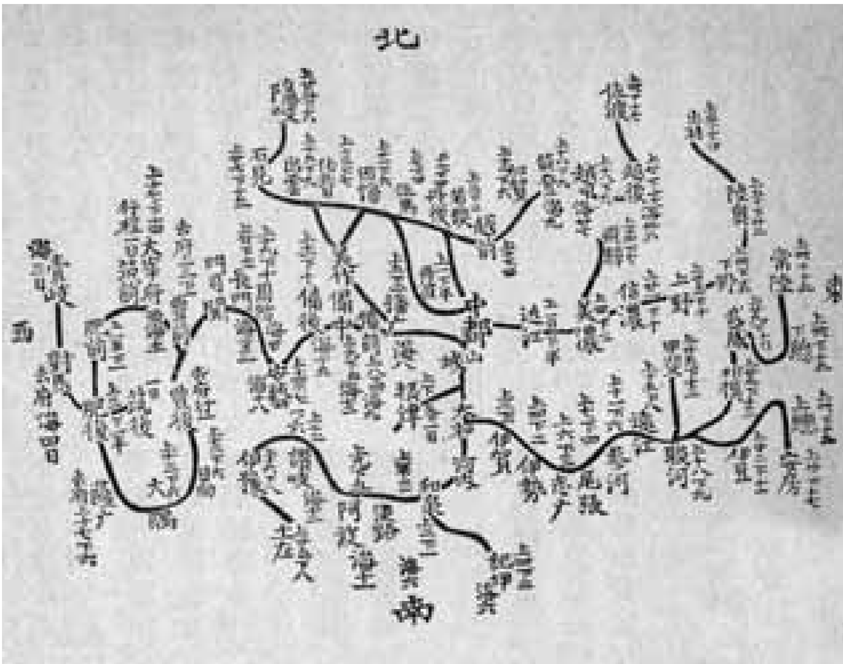
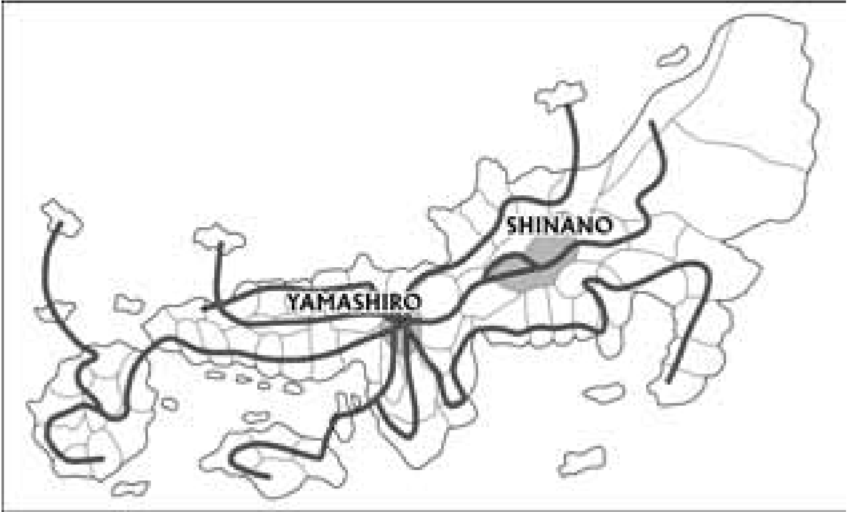


Figure 1. (Top) Diagram of Map 4
Map 4. (Bottom) Untitled Gyōki-style map of Japan from the *Nichūreki,* early Kamakura era (thirteenth century C.E.). Woodblock, 22.7 × 30.6 cm. From the reproduction in Kondō Heijō and Kondō Keizō, eds., *Kaitei shiseki shūran* [Revised Collection of Historical Books], vol. 23 (Tokyo: Kondō Shuppanbu, 1901), 190.



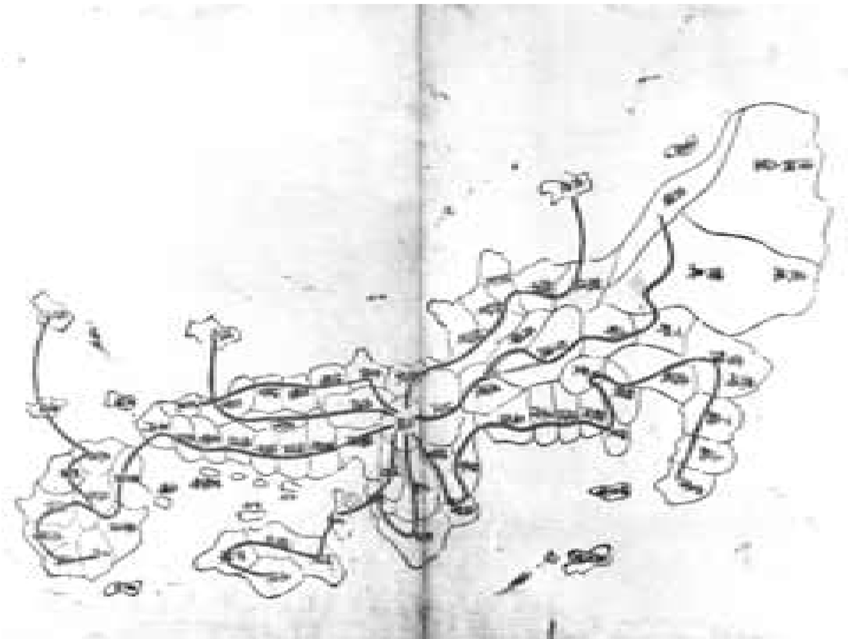


Figure 2. (Top) Diagram of Map 5
Map 5. (Bottom) Detail from *Dai Nihon koku no zu* (Map of Great Japan) from the Keichō (1596–1615) edition of the medieval encyclopedia *Shūgaishō*. Woodblock, 27.7 × 39.1 cm. Tenri Central Library of Tenri University, Nara.

days and ten days, respectively. Since in this context "up" and "down" refer to symbolic relationships rather than elevation, the difference can be attributed to the tribute burdens with which those traveling toward the capital were encumbered.

On the 1548 *Dai Nihon koku no zu* (Plate 1), the balloonlike outlines around each *kuni* serve an additional design function: in addition to suggesting each province's general shape and size, they accommodate associated text. Looking closely at the entry for Shinano, we find the following information: the number of districts in the province (ten), the name of the road that links it to the capital (the Tōsandō), the number of days required to carry tribute up to Kyoto (twenty-two), and the number of days required for a trip down from Kyoto to the province (ten). This is followed by two further notations: *omaki* and *Kiso no kakehashi*. The former highlights the presence of sixteen imperial pasturelands in Shinano, which together offered eighty horses per annum in tribute. The latter indexes a famous stretch of the Tōsandō where this mountain road protruded on a ledge over the Kiso canyon. Only a handful of provinces on this map are graced with such notations.[15]

Taken together, these early images convey three essential geographical messages about Shinano as viewed from Kyoto. First, they make it clear that the province was part of Japan's east. Yamashiro, the capital district and therefore the symbolic center of the nation, was consistently portrayed on these maps as its geographic center as well; Shinano was always positioned off-center, in the Eastern Mountain circuit. Second, the travel times given mark Shinano as remote—as far from the capital, effectively, as the southernmost island of Kyūshū.[16] Finally, these maps position Shinano as a buffer between the Yamato court and its most active military frontier. This is brought home particularly in the *Dai Nihon koku no zu* of 1548 (Plate 1), in which the province's elongation along an east-west axis—as well as the reminder of its horse pastures (which served a vital military role)—underscore its guard-post function.

The conventions established during the centuries before 1600 would persist on Japanese maps for hundreds of years. This was no doubt in part a product of Kyoto's preeminence in publishing through the first century of Tokugawa rule, when important precedents and prototypes were established for commercial maps. Partly, too, it reflected the continuing role of the imperial court as the symbolic center of the Japanese nation. But whatever the reasons, the conceit of Kyoto as the focal point of the country was powerfully reinforced on a wide variety of Edo-era maps long after Kyoto had lost its political centrality and long after the Tōsandō had fallen into disuse.

Map 6. *Nihon kairiku kandan koku no zu* (Map of the Cold and Warm Provinces of Coastal and Inland Japan), from a 1793 reprint edition of *Daijō myōten nōsho rokujūrokubu engi* (Sixty-Six Dependent Arisings in Wonderful Dharma), 1690. Woodcut. From the reproduction in Unno Kazutaka, *Chizu ni miru Nippon: Wakoku Jipangu Dainihon* (Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1999), 135.

Two examples may suffice to suggest how classical models continued to be conjured during the Tokugawa era, perpetuating a "subliminal geometry" that positioned Shinano as an eastern outlier.[17] One is a diagram of the provinces from 1690 (Map 6), the other a Gyōki-style map from 1666 entitled "Map of the Land of the Rising Sun" *(Fusōkoku no zu)* (Plate 2). The 1690 diagram, which was designed to convey information about climatic variation in the archipelago, is clearly modeled on the early network schema just discussed (compare Map 4). As on those medieval maps, individual *kuni* are mere names in a network, connected by the circuits of the classical era. Each province has been color-coded to represent its overall climate: cold places are shown as black, warm places as white. (Needless to say, Shinano is coded as a cold province.)[18] Kyoto-centricity takes a literal form here; the old capital district of Yamashiro is not only centrally placed but also set off with a unique symbol (a double circle), while the Kantō provinces are shown as a distant hinterland, way out in the right-hand margin of the map.

Map 7. *Dai Nihon koku no zu* (Map of Great Japan), late Edo era. Woodblock, 35.5 × 48.2 cm. Courtesy of the Gifu Prefectural Library, Gifu.

In the *Fusōkoku no zu* (Plate 2), the old conventions are equally apparent, albeit in a different idiom. Here, too, Yamashiro is positioned precisely in the middle of the nation, Edo is a distant outlier, and the road system shown is the old Kyoto-centric one. The resulting image shows Shinano as in the old paradigm, elongated west to east along a phantom Tōsandō axis.[19] In this antiquated image, Shinano remains a gateway to the east. Similar maps continued to be published throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries, although most eventually dropped the ancient road network. In this abridged form, representing the *kuni* in outline without their ancient links, Gyōki-style maps continued to assert Kyoto's centrality for another two centuries. Whether on data-packed woodblock prints (Map 7), stylized ceramics (Map 8), or colorful rebuses (Plate 3), the view from Kyoto was kept firmly in the public eye throughout the Edo period.

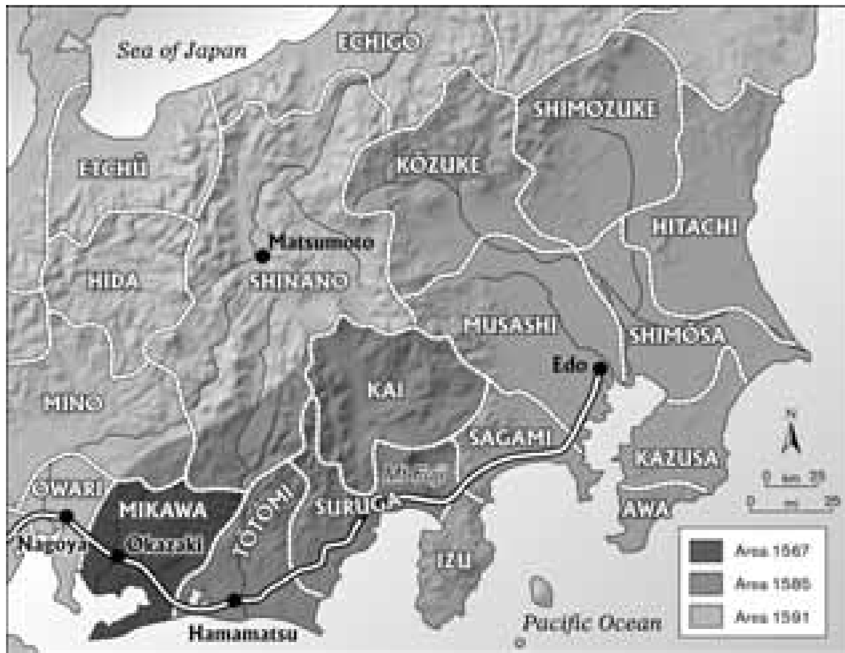
Yet that view did not go uncontested. From the earliest years of Tokugawa rule a contrasting vision began to circulate, one in which Shinano was conceptually relocated from the periphery to the heartland of an enlarged and reconfigured realm. Edo, the administrative center of that realm after 1600, had a special historical relationship to Shinano rooted in the military

Map 8. Map of Japan on Imari plate, late Edo era. Ceramic, 27.8 × 4.5 cm. Courtesy of the Kobe City Museum, Hyōgo.

campaigns and pacification strategies of the first Tokugawa shogun. Because that violent past pervaded early modern maps of Shinano in both subtle and not-so-subtle ways, it is worth revisiting the oft-told tale of Tokugawa ascendancy from the eccentric perspective of the Edo-Shinano axis as a way of orienting readers to this second cartographic paradigm.

THE VIEW FROM EDO

By the time Tokugawa Ieyasu rose to the post of Seii Taishōgun ("barbarian-subduing generalissimo") in 1603, Kyoto's hold on Shinano had been loosening for half a millennium. Already in the eleventh century, connections with the central treasury had weakened as private estates proliferated; by the end of the twelfth, even the aristocrats who were the nominal guarantors of the estates would find themselves unable to collect more than token rents from their armed managers in the countryside. As local strongmen across the archipelago aligned themselves with rising clans in the Kantō



Map 9. Origins of the Tokugawa house. Adapted from Conrad Totman, *Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu, 1600–1843* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967).

Plain, Shinano's primary axis began to pivot eastward. Its expansive horse-breeding grounds made the highlands a critical arena for the Kamakura shogunate (1185–1333), the first warrior regime to govern from the military frontier. Boosted by Kamakura, one local clan, the Ogasawara, gradually emerged as the most powerful warlords in Shinano, achieving a preeminence they would retain for more than a century. When the Ogasawara split over a succession dispute in 1440, the region—along with the country—descended into civil war.

That war was still under way when Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) came of age. As a warlord raised along Honshū's Tōkai coast (the stretch of Pacific shoreline directly east of Kyoto), Ieyasu had grown up with Shinano at his back. The future shogun was born in the coastal province of Mikawa, where his father had been installed in the castle town of Okazaki (Map 9). Okazaki controlled an important trade corridor to central Shinano, one that ran from the salt-producing coast all the way to Lake Suwa and the Matsumoto basin. Moreover, the family castle overlooked a crucial junction in the regional

transport network: the point at which packhorse goods from Shinshū were transferred to river barges for shipment to the Ise Bay and beyond.[20] A clearer lesson in the strategic importance of Japan's interior could hardly be imagined.

It was under Ieyasu that the Tokugawa expanded their holdings east and north, flanking and eventually penetrating Shinano itself.[21] In 1565 the clan took over the whole of Mikawa; five years later, Ieyasu seized the neighboring province of Tōtōmi from a rival warrior band and moved the Tokugawa headquarters to the port town of Hamamatsu. From this new base the Tokugawa controlled two more corridors into Shinano: the Tenryū River and the Akiba Road. Ieyasu would take advantage of this position to pursue a ten-year rivalry with Takeda Shingen (1521–73), an ambitious warlord who ruled most of Shinano from his home base in nearby Kai Province.[22] In 1582 Ieyasu isolated the Takeda by seizing their southern flank, the province of Suruga. The Tokugawa now controlled all three of Shinano's southern neighbors—and the lion's share of its outlets to the Pacific coast. Invading the provinces of Kai and Shinano later in the decade, Ieyasu managed to wrest the bulk of both for his own retainers. The Tokugawa domain now embraced Mikawa, Tōtōmi, Suruga, and Kai, as well as southern Shinano.

In 1590 Ieyasu's overlord, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–98), ordered the Tokugawa to vacate the Tōkai coast and move east to a larger but more distant fief in the Kantō Plain. Historians have interpreted this as a strategic move to reward Ieyasu while "putting him out of dangerous proximity to central Japan."[23] In the long run, however, shifting Ieyasu eastward had the unintended effect of solidifying a new center. *Chūbu* (literally "the middle part") may have historically designated Kyoto and the five home provinces, but by Ieyasu's day the Kantō Plain, rather than constituting a genuine periphery, loomed sufficiently large to form a second powerful core. If proof were needed, the new Tokugawa domain in the Kantō was larger than that of Hideyoshi himself.

From the standpoint of a military government headquartered in Edo after 1600, then, the notion of Shinano as a throughway to the remote East was obviously obsolete. On the one hand, Shinshū was no longer far away; on the contrary, it was the ruling clan's backyard. By the time Ieyasu assumed the title of shogun in 1603, his retainers had personally occupied much of the province. On the other hand, from his final seat of power at Edo, Shinano lay not to the east but to the west. This would be reflected in a fundamentally new geography of transportation. Although the Tō-

sandō, or Eastern Mountain Circuit, would persist as a regional designation, the road of that name was henceforth erased from the landscape. In its place the Tokugawa regime developed a new turnpike through the interior of Honshū: the Nakasendō, or Middle Mountain Road. Along with its new name, this road had a new function; it linked the imperial capital of Kyoto not to an unsettled military frontier, but to the shogun's castle town in the Kantō. As one of early modern Japan's five major turnpikes *(gokaidō),* the Middle Mountain Road would become the most prominent feature associated with Shinano on many Edo-era maps. The message of such maps was clear. Shinano was no longer a gateway to Japan's east; toponymically, the Tokugawa had proclaimed this interior province part of the nation's core.[24]

Meanwhile, the province's newfound centrality was underscored in another way. After the first century of Tokugawa rule, national maps began to locate Shinano not only on the Middle Mountain Road, but also along a second strategic axis: a north-south corridor connecting the shogun's headquarters to the resource-rich Japan Sea coast. Popularly known as the Hokkoku Kaidō, or North Country Road, this corridor was officially designated a secondary route *(wakiōkan)* in the nation's transportation taxonomy, yet its role was greater than its rank might suggest. During the wars of unification, when control of Shinano was contested by powerful lords from Japan's Pacific coastal belt and their rivals based along the Japan Sea (especially Uesugi Kenshin [1530–78]), dominating this vital throughway had been an essential step in Ieyasu's project of subduing the country. With the subsequent development of gold and silver mines on Sado Island and extensive reclamation of rice fields in northern Honshū, the Japan Sea coast continued to be a strategic region that the shogun could ill afford to neglect.

The starkest visual evidence for this comes from a hand-painted map made for the sixth Tokugawa shogun by Takebe Takahiro (Plate 4).[25] Conspicuous for its accurate depiction of northern Honshū (which had often been drawn in truncated form), this map is equally notable for the way it emphasizes the nation's most important transportation arteries with a heavy black line.[26] The resulting diagram unmistakably marks the north-south corridor leading from Edo to the Japan Sea as a national trunk line—trumping, in its visual iconography, several stretches of the official turnpikes. The route in question actually consisted of parts of two roads maintained by the Tokugawa shogunate. From Edo to the Shinano border it followed the Nakasendō turnpike, but at the post station of Oiwake, rather than continuing west and south to Kyoto, it branched off to the north along

the North Country Road. From the point of view of the shogun's chief cartographer in 1719, this corridor was one of the top priorities in the land. The same view would gradually infuse commercial cartography as well.

In a word, although Kyoto had construed Shinano as an outback, Edo positioned the same province as its back door. Two of the five most important turnpikes in the nation now converged there, as did two of the most formidable barriers in the land (at Usui Pass and Kiso-Fukushima). Dozens of smaller barriers also oversaw traffic on the minor passes over the mountains. When the shogun wanted to tighten security in the Kantō, Shinano was included. Commercial ties were equally close; Shinano people migrated frequently to Edo for jobs, and many Shinano products entered Edo by boat over the Tone River. Culturally, too, Shinano's image underwent a metamorphosis. Unlike earlier centuries' visitors from the refined and temperate realms of the west, those entering Shinano from Edo were inclined less to disparage Shinano's rustic people and landscapes than to admire them.[27] A traveler from the Kantō crossing over the Usui Pass might still have the sensation of entering "another world" *(betsu sekai),* but it was a less forbidding and more appealing world than it had been in the past. As Nagano's official historians would later put it, the Tokugawa spatial order transformed Shinano from an outer periphery *(henkyōchi)* to an inner chamber *(okuzashiki)*.[28]

THE VIEW FROM THE ROAD

This brings us to the last subset of national maps: commercial cartography catering to travelers. In a testament to the enormous importance of pilgrimage and touring in early modern Japan, this genre—identified as itinerary maps *(dōchūzu)* by Japanese scholars—accounts for the largest single category of Tokugawa cartographic output.[29]

In their handling of national space, itineraries varied greatly in design.[30] At one extreme were stylized diagrams that abstracted the road network from its provincial ground entirely, treating each route as an independent line that could be laid out on the page as the designer saw fit. At the other extreme were pictorial images, which adapted the conventions of landscape painting to highlight the chief tourist destinations in the land. But whether practical or playful, whether meant to be consulted on the road or admired at home, itinerary maps consistently highlighted features of the countryside that might be expected to interest a populace on the move.[31] Generally speaking, this meant privileging two types of information: transit fa-

cilities and destinations. Provinces per se were of little interest to this clientele. Rather than forming the bedrock of the map as it did on the *Gyōki-zu*, the *kuni* on a commercial itinerary was reduced to the barest of background matter: a point of reference, but often little more. The effect of such priorities on the rendering of provinces generally, as on Shinano in particular, was profound.

The most prevalent type of itinerary map was the diagram, delineating one or more transportation routes. The simplest such maps took a linear form, unrolling a single transport corridor (either on land or on water) from right to left.[32] But capturing Japan's complex spider web of turnpikes in its entirety in this format required a more complex structure. To accommodate the road network of an archipelago on a single strip of paper, diagrammatic maps typically reduced the nation's transit corridors to a series of parallel lines, linked to one another at a few major junctions but otherwise unfolding independently across the length of the scroll.[33] A classic example is Torigai Dōsai's (1721–93) "Handy Guide to the Roadways of Great Japan" *(Dai Nihon dōchū kōtei saiken ki)* of 1770 (Plate 5). Given the ubiquity of this itinerary and others modeled on it, an extended look at how Torigai treated provincial space is in order.

For starters, Torigai's "handy guide" does not represent Japan as a single, unified space. Rather than offering an overview of Japan's terrain, this popular commodity offered a composite of separate horizontal bands, each representing a single roadway. Six to twelve such bands might occupy any given stretch of the map; each was formally walled off from the others. It did not matter exactly how the separate bands were spliced together; so long as the roads joined up at the right junctions, the precise arrangement of the strips was flexible, if not completely arbitrary. From one edition to another, such major landmarks as Mount Fuji and the castle town of Kanazawa could literally slide past each other without jeopardizing the map's coherence.

A second feature of this schema is the way it treats each strip less as a geographical space than as a textual plane. The margin of paper below a given road functioned as a place to put notes about that route. Here the viewer could find the names of post stations, the distances between them, and information about river crossings, bridge tolls, barriers, passes, and more. In the case of a major turnpike, the margin was widened to accommodate rectangles representing the castle towns through which the road passed (each containing the ruling house's name, its crest, and the size of its domain), as well as occasional pictorial elements: a blue lake or river here, a green mountain there. But these elements cannot be read as occupying geo-

graphical space in the usual cartographic sense. Rather, each represents a landmark visible from the road in whose annotation space it falls. The rest of the national terrain is simply not represented. The effect of this procedure was not so much to compress the countryside as to caricature it; the only landscape elements represented at all are those that formed a spectacle for the traveler.[34]

Treating space in this way meant that diagram makers freely violated the integrity of the bounded province. While meticulously noting the linkages and distance between each successive pair of post stations, they made a discontinuous hodgepodge of provincial borders. Nonetheless, all such maps cross-referenced the *kuni* framework. On Torigai's "Handy Guide," provinces were present in two attenuated forms. First, wherever a major road crossed from one *kuni* to another, the border was marked with a small black triangle; the names of the two provinces were noted beneath the triangle in phonetic script. Thus, to the left of Mount Fuji, below the thick line depicting the Nakasendō turnpike, a triangle identifies the Shinano-Mino border. Farther to the left, along a lesser road that ran south of the Nakasendō, appears another such triangle, this time labeled "Kai/Shinano." Meanwhile, black labels along the top edge of the strip suggested to the reader that the routes depicted in that section of the map traversed the provinces named. Here "Shinano" functioned essentially as an index tab, a device to help viewers get their bearings in a map that was too long to take in at a glance.

Due to its sheer size, its many roadways, and its north-south extension, Shinshū ended up being flamboyantly distorted on a horizontal strip map of this kind. Nonetheless, using the reference devices provided by the mapmaker, it is possible to locate the province's borders on the Torigai itinerary. Such an exercise reveals several remarkable findings. First, the various routes through Shinano turn out to extend over nearly a quarter of the map. To help the reader find them, this province is marked by no fewer than three separate index tabs in the upper margin of the strip, one each over its northern, central, and southern reaches. Between them lies more than a meter and a half of paper.[35] Equally striking is the way this distended province is aligned relative to Edo. On any conformal map of Japan where north is at the top of the page, Shinano can be found to Edo's left. On Torigai's diagram, however, the province's northernmost castle town (Iiyama) lies far to Edo's right. Effectively, the whole elongated province has been rotated on its side and pivoted into place directly over the shogun's capital (Map 10 and Figure 3; compare Plate 5).

One consequence of this novel design was to put northern and southern

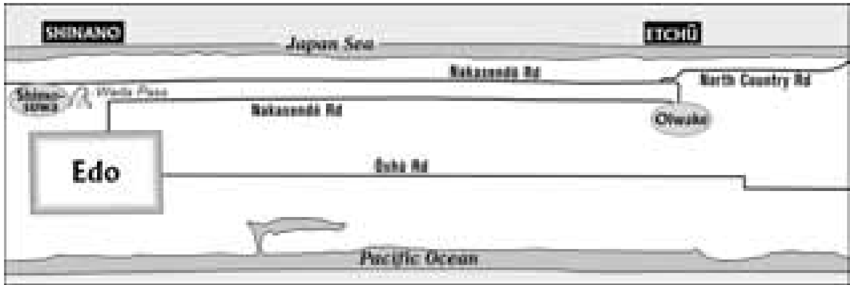


Figure 3. (Top) Diagram of Plate 5
Map 10. (Bottom) Reference map for Torigai Dōsai's *Dai Nihon dōchū kōtei saiken ki* (Handy Guide to the Roadways of Great Japan), 1770 (see Plate 5).

Shinano into fundamentally disparate regions of the nation. In the structure of the Torigai diagram as a whole, urban icons divide the Japanese archipelago into three roughly equal parts: an east (Ezo to Edo), center (Edo to Kyoto), and west (Kyoto to Kyūshū). By rotating Shinano into position above Edo, the mapmaker has placed the southern part of the province squarely in the nation's midsection while aligning northern Shinano—which stretches away from Edo to the right—with Honshū's east. This in turn produces another surprise. The only way to sustain the continuity of the main route through Shinano while positioning half of the province to Edo's right was by introducing into the Nakasendō a nonexistent hairpin turn, depicting that turnpike as if it reversed direction at Oiwake. A hypothetical traveler interested in tracing the Nakasendō route would look for a thick black line leading out of the capital to the north (i.e., along the city icon's upper edge) and follow it to the right, through the various post stations of the Kantō provinces to the barrier at Usui Pass (the famed entry point into Shinano). Continuing past Mount Asama (indicated by a green hill sign) and Karuizawa (the first station inside the Shinano border), the reader reaches Oiwake, junction of the Nakasendō and the North Country Road. Marked on this map with a large yellow circle, Oiwake constitutes a pivot in the diagram's design, the point at which the line representing the Nakasendō reverses direction to continue its journey toward the home provinces. As it tacked its way back across the surface of the map, the Nakasendō strip would be punctuated by numerous landmarks in Shinano, including Lake Suwa, positioned here directly above Edo.

Whether or not this was a deliberate move, there is an undeniable logic in representing Shinano this way. As it happens, the cultural boundary between eastern and western Japan runs right through the province, cutting diagonally through Lake Suwa. Whether mapped in terms of dialects, confessional communities, or ethnographic indicators, northern Shinano is consistently aligned with the Kantō and Japan Sea regions, while southern Shinano shares more traits with the Kyoto-Osaka area.[36] Environmentally as well, Suwa marks a meaningful divide; the rivers to its north flow through the "snow country" into the Sea of Japan, while those to its south connect to the more temperate Pacific coastal belt. But perhaps most importantly, orienting Shinano in this way clarified the role of northern Shinano as Edo's shortcut to the Japan Sea coast. By situating Oiwake far to Edo's right, Torigai managed to maintain the visual integrity of the North Country Road, rendering the whole route from Edo to Sado Island as one straight line.

What anchored this route on maps made for the traveling public was the

enormous multi-denominational temple complex of Zenkōji. Founded in the eighth century, this venerated site housed an Amida Triad reputed to be the oldest Buddhist icon in Japan, "an icon so infused with spiritual force that believers were convinced that it guaranteed rebirth in paradise."[37] This belief served Zenkōji well during the early modern era. Not only was it one of the top four pilgrimage destinations in the entire country, but after the temple burned repeatedly in the seventeenth century, its custodians requested permission to take the temple's treasures on the road *(degaichō)* to raise funds for rebuilding. Although the revered Amida Triad itself did not travel, a sacred stand-in (itself usually kept secret from the public) was brought to Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto, drawing throngs of believers anxious to partake of its healing powers.

The first such traveling exhibit, held in 1692 and 1693, was a huge success; what was scheduled to be a sixty-day exhibition in Edo closed after fifty-five days, and the three-city tour raised a remarkable thirteen thousand *ryō* for the temple.[38] Repeat exhibitions were staged at regular intervals thereafter to raise money for refurbishing and expanding the facility. Of all the regional *degaichō* in Edo, the Zenkōji events were allegedly the most sensational and drew the biggest crowds; they have been likened to a Tutankhamun exhibit in contemporary New York.[39] And when local merchants protested that carting the icon off to Edo hurt pilgrimage business back home, the priests organized special showings of these normally secluded treasures in front of Zenkōji itself. Taking place approximately every seven years during the last century of the Edo period, these well-publicized events drew thousands of travelers up the Hokkoku Kaidō.[40] Meanwhile, popular histories of Zenkōji also contributed to bringing Shinano into public view.[41] Such publicity helped the North Country Road attract a large number of Edo-era travelers; Matsuo Bashō (1644–94), Sugae Masumi (1754–1829), and Hasegawa Settan (?–1843) all took this route,[42] as did throngs of anonymous pilgrims from the Kantō who detoured to Zenkōji on their way back from the grand shrines of Ise.[43] While it may not have been "the spine of Japan,"[44] the North Country Road became a major cultural and commercial corridor in its own right.

It is thus not surprising that on itinerary maps for commoners, as on manuscript maps for the rulers, the North Country Road came to figure prominently. The popular cartographer Ishikawa Ryūsen (active ca. 1680–1720) would depict this route in detail using the same iconography with which he marked the country's major turnpikes.[45] Mabuchi Jikōan (dates unknown) would do likewise in his "Revised Map of Great Japan" *(Kaisei Dai*

Nihon zenzu), published at the turn of the eighteenth century (Plate 6). While both of these early itinerary maps kept Kyoto at their geographical core, each conveyed an up-to-date Edo-centric road network. (The Mabuchi map, by adding a shipping route to Sado Island, further underscored the salience of the north-country route to the new regime.) The result was a new map of Shinano, one that moved it firmly into the core of the country, elongated it north-to-south rather than east-to-west, and located it at the intersection of two axes of power.

Popular though they may have been, however, route maps were not the only ones that recentered Shinano in the nation. At the other end of the design spectrum were more decorative maps that pushed the transportation network into the background or dispensed with roads altogether, crowding the viewer's visual field instead with a variety of attractive destinations. The standard map of this type was Nagakubo Sekisui's (1717–1801) "Revised Complete Road Map of All Japan" *(Kaisei Nihon yochi rotei zenzu),* first published in 1779 (Plate 7). In addition to marking eight castle towns, Sekisui identified seven peaks in the province, making his one of the first images of Shinano to identify mountains by name.[46] But it was the famous-place panoramas *(meisho ichiran)* that took the focus on destinations to its logical extreme. These innovative prints distilled the view from the road in a pictorial format by depicting the archipelago as a collection of colorful tourist attractions, drawn from an oblique aerial viewpoint.

Two panoramas of this kind were published as woodblock prints during the nineteenth century: Kuwagata Keisai's (1764–1824) celebrated "Picture Map of Japan" *(Nihon ezu),*[47] and Kisai Risshō's (1826–69) less known "Panoramic View of Famous Places in Great Japan" *(Dai Nihon meisho ichiran)* (Plate 8). Neither made any attempt to plot provincial borders. For their creators, the landscape of Japan was a seamless whole, where one *kuni* melded into another. Yet that did not mean they dispensed with provincial markers altogether. On the contrary, the most conspicuous blocks of text on each image are bold rectangles (red for Risshō) bearing the names of the sixty-six *kuni*. Surrounding each such label is a constellation of famous places, the primary way in which both prints figure the province in question. For Shinano, Risshō's image identifies a score of landmarks. Two famous places (Mount Asama and Zenkōji) are singled out for bold yellow labels, the highest form of exaltation and emphasis used on this map. Also named are three other mountains (Togakushi, Koma, and Yatsugatake), two passes (Usui and Wada), two rivers (Kiso and Tenryū), the famous place where the road protruded from a cliff over a steep ravine (Kiso no kake-

hashi), and one lake (Suwa). Last but not least, the cartographer has sketched in donjon icons for half a dozen named castle towns. The same roster of features, represented again and again on commercial maps, came to constitute the face of Shinano for the Tokugawa public (Table 1). The disposition of these features in the picture plane suggests that Kisai Risshō had studied the strip-map treatment of Japanese space, for, like Torigai, he elongated and rotated Shinano so that its northern tip extends well to the right of Edo.

The message such maps conveyed was a novel one: Shinano in this view was neither a source of tribute (as it had been for Kyoto), nor a strategic crossroads (as it was for Edo), but a geo-cultural assemblage. Place-names associated with the classical court joined monumental temples, castles, and natural landmarks to form a pool of cultural capital, gracing the landscape with a poetic aura and a prestigious pedigree. The cultural knowledge that Edo-era map users could glean from Torigai, Risshō, and their ilk was scattered and schematic, to be sure. But it was also substantive enough, and consistent enough, to suggest that by the end of the Tokugawa period, the name "Shinano" could be counted on to conjure a set of specific, widely shared associations. Anchored by the massive Buddhist establishment at Zenkōji in the north, the towering Ontake in the west, and the smoldering Mount Asama in the east, Shinano Province was taking shape as a constellation of prominent, visible places, compelling to pilgrim and poet alike.

In *Ippon michi to nettowāku* (Routes and Networks), physicist and cultural critic Hori Jun'ichi posits a useful distinction between scaled maps *(kiku chizu)* and topological maps *(isō chizu).* Whereas the former are defined by regular expressions of scale and direction,[48] the latter are diagrams in which scale and direction are fluid, varying in an unsystematic and even haphazard way. Any subway map is a case in point. Hori invites us to imagine imprinting a precisely scaled image on soft clay or Silly Putty and then stretching or bending that surface. The result would be a topological map. The one thing that the creator of such a map must not do is violate the cartographic surface by slicing into it, reordering the pieces, or putting holes in its fabric.[49] So long as variations of scale and distance are continuous and gradual, the map will remain faithful to the topology of the surface it represents. While its planimetry may be severely distorted, it will retain the essential point-to-point connections that characterize the original. The resulting map can be a highly efficient way-finding guide, as long as one keeps to the highlighted routes.[50]

TABLE 1
Sites in Shinano most commonly featured on printed maps of Japan issued during the Edo era

Castle towns (from north to south)	
Iiyama	20,000 *koku**
Matsushiro	100,000
Ueda	53,000
Komoro	15,000
Matsumoto	60,000
Takashima	30,000
Takatō	33,000
Iida	20,000

Religious compounds, battlefields, and poetic places	
Zenkōji Temple	Multidenominational Buddhist center housing an ancient icon said to be the first Buddhist statue brought to Japan from the Asian mainland.
Suwa shrines	Headquarters of a Shintō cult for which hunting rituals were central; patronized by many of Japan's warrior clans.
The hanging ledge of Kiso	A precarious passage alongside the roiling Kiso River, this protruding ledge *(kakehashi)* was noted in poems and maps of the classical era. By the Tokugawa era, it had been replaced by a safer inland passage.
Obasuteyama	"Grandmother-Throwing-Away Mountain," referring to a popular (if unfounded) legend that residents of the Shinano uplands would cast their elderly parents on the mountain to die.
Kawanakajima	Battlefield where Takeda Shingen and Uesugi Kenshin clashed repeatedly in the late sixteenth century.

Hori's samples show that this mode of representing space has been deemed useful by a wide variety of mapmakers and clients, from medieval pilgrims to airline executives.[51] His discussion also proves helpful for understanding how Shinano was represented in premodern maps of Japan. What mattered to the makers of such maps was certainly not the province's shape, which might as easily be elongated east-to-west as north-to-south. More important was its position in a network. The same cartographers who played fast and loose with the province's boundaries always got its relational

TABLE 1 *(continued)*

Mountains	
Ontake	An ancient center of worship and focus of pilgrimage whose name means "Holy Mountain" or "Sacred Peak."
Kiso	Also known as Kiso-Koma or Komagatake, an extinct volcano in the Central Japanese Alps, between the Kiso and Ina valleys.
Asama	Shinano's most prominent volcano.
Togakushi	Nationally famous as a center of *shugendō,* or ascetic religious practices. Originally associated with the esoteric cult of Shingon, it later came under the sway of the Tendai sect.
Yatsugatake	An extinct volcanic cluster along Shinano's eastern border whose name means "Eight Peaks."
Lakes and rivers	
Lake Suwa	Large, shallow lake at the center of Shinano.
Kiso River	River that runs through the steep, forested Kiso canyon in southwestern Shinano.
Tenryū River	Flows through the Ina Valley, from Lake Suwa to the Pacific.
Chikuma River	River draining northeastern Shinano; it becomes the Shinano River at the provincial border.
Passes and barriers	
Wada Pass	Highest pass on the Nakasendō; north of Lake Suwa.
Usui Pass	Primary entry point into Shinano from the Edo region.
Fukushima Barrier	Checkpoint in the Kiso Valley where all travelers on the Nakasendō were subjected to inspection.

*These numbers represent the size, in assessed rice yield, of the corresponding fief toward the end of the Tokugawa era. One *koku* was approximately five bushels of rice; 10,000 *koku* represented the threshold for daimyo status.

coordinates right,[52] and many went further, anatomizing Shinano's transportation routes in detail. What defined a Japanese province on maps of the nation throughout the premodern period was its location in a nationwide circulatory system.

Early modern maps of the Japanese nation were fundamentally diagrams of a network, one whose essential nodes were sixty-six *kuni*, joined by a set of radial roads. Some maps foregrounded the *kuni*, outlining their lo-

cations in a loose jigsaw-puzzle arrangement; others focused on the circuitry, detailing the roads and their post stations. But whatever the cartographer's emphasis, the size, shape, and orientation of each province could vary from map to map. In comparison with fixing Shinano's coordinates in the system of circuits, fixing its boundaries was not a primary concern. Particularly in maps for the traveling public, *kuni* shapes might be wildly contorted for the convenience of the designer or the amusement of his clientele. When the countryside was represented for travelers, provincial borders might even be reduced to dots. Diagrammatic itineraries in particular bring home the point that the primary feature of the province in the national-map genre was not its exoskeleton but its infrastructure, the corridors that connected it to the major metropoles of the land. In Hori's sense, all the maps considered here were topological to one degree or another; what mattered was less the shape of the *kuni* than the coherence of the network.

All the same, it bears repeating that provinces remained the general-purpose framework for making sense of national space. No matter what a map's primary concern might be, no matter where it located the country's core, every member of the *Nihon sōzu* genre referred its users through one device or another to provincial geography. That principle has been illustrated here by looking at how successive paradigms of national cartography mapped Shinano. In some ways, Shinshū was peculiar. Being located between the old and new capitals, it registered the rise of Edo more keenly than most regions; being elongated north to south, it suffered exaggerated distortions when translated onto the horizontal strip maps of the day. But in structural terms, Shinano Province was treated like any other comparable unit. All *kuni* were located relative to Kyoto, Edo, or the road; all were cavalierly contorted to fit the cartographer's design; and all came to be represented by a similarly fixed repertoire of famous sites. In this sense, Shinano was fully representative.

The final lesson of this corpus is its multiplicity. In the earliest provincial paradigm, dictated by the conceits and concerns of the imperial capital, Shinano took shape as part of a rugged Eastern Mountain circuit. Later, the same province was pulled firmly into the country's core, replotted as Edo's strategic backyard. Still later, maps catering to travelers recast the region as a landscape of passage punctuated by a series of notable landmarks. The point is that no single vision triumphed over the others; the market kept all three perspectives in play. The same nineteenth-century map user who might display an antiquated Gyōki-style map on his snuffbox was likely to consult a sheet map based on shogunal surveys for an authoritative

overview of the archipelago, and to take a strip map like Torigai's along when he set out on a pilgrimage. Like medieval mapmaking in Europe, Tokugawa cartography was "a thoroughly heterogeneous enterprise."[53] As we shall see, such heterogeneity ensured that national maps imparted a complex legacy to those who would seek to recast the province as a prefecture in the modern era.

Still, the coverage of a place like Shinshū on a national map was necessarily limited. While useful for locating a province in context and highlighting its key features, the all-Japan maps left most provincial spaces literally blank. The ground around Shinano's landmarks—the landscape of livelihood for those who actually dwelled there—could not be rendered visible in a cartography committed to covering the nation on a single sheet or scroll. Only on large maps that depicted the *kuni* up close could landmarks be situated in a matrix of production and politics, the spatial fabric of everyday life. It is to such maps that we now turn.