

## ***Tōkyō Shitaya Negishi Oyobi Kinbō-zu* and the Symbolism of Community Mapping in the Late Meiji Period**

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This article examines a case of community mapping in the late Meiji period to illustrate how a cartographic work represented a symbolic community centered around the neighborhood of Negishi in Tokyo. It focuses on the *Tōkyō Shitaya Negishi oyobi kinbō-zu*, a map compiled by the Negishi Club in 1900, and investigates the symbolic community surrounding it. The Negishi Club was a group of local residents established by the lexicographer and linguist Ōtsuki Fumihiko in 1899. Previous studies of historical cartography have paid attention to how maps served political authorities or helped forge the nation. This case is useful in illuminating the dynamic production of place at another scale, that of the community itself.

The article argues that the mapping conducted by these mapmakers-cum-residents not only reflected their interest in local history, but also their cognitive and sentimental images of the Negishi community and alternative social values. During the course of their community mapping, a symbolic community took form, and a local place became the symbolic referent. It thus shows how the symbolism of community mapping contributed to the reinvention of the local place and the identity of its members. The article adds to our understanding of the production of place in Japan in the late Meiji period. More broadly, it refines the concept of community mapping by elucidating the symbolic aspects of community and its historical validity.

**Keywords:** Negishi Club, Ōtsuki Fumihiko, Ozawa Keijirō, Nakane Kōtei, Meiji Japan, symbolic community, cartography, sociology

This article examines a case of community mapping in the late Meiji 明治 period (1868–1912), and illustrates how its production demonstrates an emergent “symbolic community” centered on the neighborhood of Negishi in Tokyo. The process of community mapping resulted in the *Tōkyō* (or *Tōkei*) *Shitaya Negishi oyobi kinbō-zu* 東京下谷根岸及近隣圖 (hereafter, *Negishi kinbō-zu*), compiled by the Negishi Club (Negishi Kurabu 根岸俱樂部)

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in 1900.<sup>1</sup> The Negishi Club was a group of Negishi residents established in 1899 by the lexicographer and linguist Ōtsuki Fumihiko 大槻文彦 (1847–1928), whose members gathered to seek both knowledge and entertainment.<sup>2</sup>

The mapping conducted by these mapmakers-cum-residents not only reflected their interest in local history, but engaged with their symbolic community.<sup>3</sup> The *Negishi kinbō-zu* and its accompanying text documents the cognitive and sentimental image its makers shared regarding Negishi, as well as an overt opposition to railway construction in the area. The residential cluster, the imagining of place, and the formation and development of a symbolic community are thus closely linked, and the map reflects the investment of a social group in a specific geographic place, and the group's valorization of and "symbolic identification with community."<sup>4</sup>

The role and importance of maps in the emergence and representation of symbolic communities has long been recognized, but recent studies of historical cartography have largely focused on how the production of maps served the aims of political authorities, or aided the forging of the nation.<sup>5</sup> The case of the *Negishi kinbō-zu* illuminates the production of place occurring at another scale, that of the community itself. It thus helps us to answer a question raised by Kären Wigen: whether cartographic theories developed for analyzing mapping conducted at the national or provincial scale are also applicable to geographic areas within walking distance or, more precisely, a neighborhood.<sup>6</sup>

The article examines the *Negishi kinbō-zu* as a cartographic product able to accommodate and sustain a symbolic community. Through analyzing the production of this map, the article will delineate the relationships between mapping, community, and place; elucidate the symbolic aspects of community and their historical validity; and contribute to our understanding of the production of place in late-Meiji Japan as well as to the notion of community mapping more broadly.<sup>7</sup> The first section of the article details the research questions and methods, and introduces the article's theoretical framework. This draws on the critical cartography associated with Denis Wood, John Fels, and J.B. Harley, which sought to recontextualize maps as embodying power-knowledge.<sup>8</sup> This article will demonstrate that cartographic products can have a more complicated relationship with power than mere conformity. It argues that the case reviewed here should be understood as community mapping that offers space for alternative social values.<sup>9</sup>

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1 Pronounced "Tōkyō" or "Tōkei," 東京 was used interchangeably with 東京 at the time. See Ogi 1979. This article uses old Chinese characters (*kyūjitai* 旧字体) where appropriate.

2 *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 13 December 1899.

3 On symbolic community, see Hunter 1974.

4 Hunter 1974, p. 116.

5 See Joyce 2003, pp. 35–61, and Winichakul 1994 for discussions on the relationships between maps and governance, and between mapping and nation. See Wigen 2010 and Boyle 2018 for discussions on the roles of maps in a Japanese context.

6 Wigen 2010, p. 122.

7 For more detailed discussion on the distinguishing features and context of the late Meiji period, see Gluck 1985.

8 Wood and Fels 1986, Wood 1992, Harley 2002. See Yamada 2000 and Wigen 2010, p. 38, for examples of such an analysis in a Japanese context. Unno 1994 also offers a comprehensive study of Japanese cartography prior to the modern era.

9 Parker 2006, Perkins 2007.

The article then focuses on the *Negishi kinbō-zu* as a case study. It initially contextualizes its production through an exploration of the Negishi area and the Negishi Club, before moving on to analyze the map and other materials in order to reveal how residents of Negishi, particularly Ōtsuki, the Negishi Club's founder, the *haiku* poet Masaoka Shiki 正岡子規 (1867–1902), and garden designer Ozawa Keijirō 小澤圭次郎 (1842–1932), conceptualized Negishi through the production of this map. It details how these three, and many others, practiced a community mapping that reflected alternative social values and a particular symbolic community. The article demonstrates that this cartographic work sheds light on the symbolism of mapping at a particular scale, that of the neighborhood, through which a symbolic community took form, and local place became a symbolic referent. It thus shows how the symbolism of community mapping contributed to the representation of place and the identity of its residents.

### Community Mapping and Symbolic Community

This article treats the *Negishi kinbō-zu* as an emergent product of community mapping that engaged with a symbolic community in Negishi, a neighborhood located northeast of Ueno. “Community mapping” and “symbolic community” are key concepts for analyzing the production of the *Negishi kinbō-zu*, and the relationship it displays between mapmakers-cum-residents and place. The concept of community mapping was developed through research into popular mapping practices and cultures in the first decade of the twenty-first century, and helped to shift attention away from previous iterations of critical cartography, which largely adopted a Foucauldian perspective of maps as forms of “power-knowledge” that took part in “creating a spatial panopticon.”<sup>10</sup> Brenda Parker offered an early definition for community mapping that by contrast stressed its non-elitist profile and empowering effects.<sup>11</sup> This article adopts Chris Perkins's more encompassing conceptualization, which emphasizes that community mapping is “local mapping, produced collaboratively, by local people and often incorporating alternative local knowledge.”<sup>12</sup> There is clear potential in Perkins's notion to analyze mapping practices carried out by a community positioned in a complicated relationship with the dominant power.

However, both Parker and Perkins use the term “community” in community mapping rather uncritically. Parker sees community as “a group of people who share geographic space.”<sup>13</sup> Perkins takes the existence of communities involved in “community mapping” for granted.<sup>14</sup> They therefore fail to engage with the importance of the symbolic aspect of community. This article asserts that we should turn to theories of symbolic community in order to understand how the community exists in relation to both a place and its members. As Albert Hunter has argued, local communities are “collective representations,” “symbolic ‘objects’ of orientations,” and “‘situations’ of action requiring definition by local residents.”<sup>15</sup>

10 The development of digital tools such as participatory Geographic Information Systems has also fueled community mapping practices. On critical cartography, see Harley 2002, pp. 153–165.

11 Parker 2006, p. 472.

12 Perkins 2007, p. 127.

13 Parker 2006, p. 471. Parker's encompassing concept of community was intentional in order to see the internal conflicts and struggles among the diverse residents.

14 Perkins 2007.

15 Hunter 1974, p. 179.

Adopting a symbolic-cultural approach, he identified two important dimensions for understanding symbolic communities: cognitive definition of and sentiments toward the community. Cognitive definition refers to “residents’ ability to name and bound their local areas” and sentiments to “attachment and evaluation” towards the local community.<sup>16</sup>

These cognitive and sentimental dimensions reveal two of the layers that substantiate a symbolic community, what Hunter refers to as “symbolic identification of communities” and “symbolic identification with communities.”<sup>17</sup> As Hunter argues, the symbolic community operates as a “mechanism for identifying individuals in physical and social space.”<sup>18</sup> A later study by Anthony P. Cohen focused on the symbolism of community and its internal functions, further elucidating how the community establishes its symbolic boundaries and provides meaning and identity.<sup>19</sup> Peter Hamilton notes that Cohen’s work looks to establish community as “a system of values, norms, and moral codes which provides a sense of identity within a bounded whole to its members.”<sup>20</sup>

This article will demonstrate how an analysis of a single cartographic work can aid our understanding of the role of mapping in the symbolic construction of community. The article shows how the *Negishi kinbō-zu*, and evaluations of it, are characterized by a dense intertextuality, or extensive cross-referencing to other writings, revealing a vibrant social network among the intellectuals involved in its production. The article integrates an analysis of the map with studies of primary and secondary materials, including geographic records of this area, newspaper articles and literary works of the time, as well as biographical studies and social studies of modern Japan, in order to fully contextualize both this cartographic work and the community engaged in the map-making.

The article contends that the community mapping of *Negishi kinbō-zu* gave rise to and underpinned a specific image of Negishi, which resulted in a further strengthening of its community. The case sheds light on the dynamic relationship between people and place. It shows us how community is constructed and consolidated symbolically through its mapping, resulting in the emergence of a place able to stand as a symbolic referent, connecting the past with the present and providing a sense of belonging and identity to its members. The scale of the map, representing a single neighborhood, means that it does not operate in the same way as the provincial maps of Shinano, which Kären Wigen analyzed as contributing to nation-building.<sup>21</sup> Instead, the *Negishi kinbō-zu*’s creation of a symbolic community revealed its creators’ distance from political authority and employment of Negishi to symbolize the social values they valorized. As such, while the map adopted and adapted the cartographic practices of the modern Meiji state, its makers showed their distance from that same state, a divide represented through their invocation of the symbolic community of Negishi itself.

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16 Hunter 1974, pp. 95, 110.

17 Hunter 1974, p. 116.

18 Hunter 1974, p. 195.

19 Cohen 1989.

20 Hamilton 1989, p. 9.

21 Wigen 2010.

### Negishi: A Reclusive Edo Suburb

The area of Negishi featured in the *Negishi kinbō-zu* is distinguished by its social and historical characteristics, many of which relate back to the geography of the region. Topographically sprawling in a wider lowland called Shitaya 下谷, northeast of the Ueno Highland (Ueno daichi 上野台地), Negishi was located a few kilometers from the city center of Edo, the de facto capital of Japan between 1603 and 1868. It enjoyed geographical proximity to two particularly important places in Edo's political and cultural geography: the temple of Kan'eiji 寛永寺 to its southwest, and the popular Yoshiwara 吉原 pleasure quarter to its east.

Kan'eiji Temple was founded in 1625 on Ueno Hill (Ueno no yama 上野の山), at the southern tip of the Ueno Highland. The temple was modeled after Enryakuji 延暦寺 atop Mount Hi'ei 比叡山 to the northeast of Kyoto, and, on the basis of the belief that evil enters from the northeast, was built in Ueno as it sits northeast of Edo Castle. The temple held the funeral of the third shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604–1651), and entombed six out of fifteen Tokugawa shoguns.<sup>22</sup> Owing to its close association with the shogunate, Kan'eiji served as a symbol of political authority. Negishi soon accommodated a group of intellectual monks of Kan'eiji.<sup>23</sup> The head priests, Rinnōji-no-miya 輪王寺宮, from the emperor's extended family, were central figures here, and constructed their retreat, Goinden 御隠殿, in Negishi in the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>24</sup>

Yoshiwara, the only official red-light district (*yūkaku* 遊郭) in Edo, was first built in 1617 at Ningyōchō in Nihonbashi 日本橋人形町, and was relocated to Nihonzutsumi in Asakusa 浅草日本堤 in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>25</sup> Yoshiwara was an economic booster for the surrounding area and also produced a social world within which the Tokugawa's strict class stratification weakened.<sup>26</sup> In addition, it served as a kind of cultural salon, cultivating literature and art.<sup>27</sup> Wealthy merchants from Yoshiwara built villas in Negishi to accommodate their families, mistresses, and convalescing *yūjo* courtesans.<sup>28</sup>

Edo tourist guides offer some clues to the typical life of Negishi dwellers. The *Edo meisho zue* 江戸名所図会 (Guide to famous places of Edo), published in the mid-1830s, describes Negishi as a place of elegance in the shade of Ueno Hill, where many residents led a reclusive life.<sup>29</sup> The *Edo yūran hana goyomi* 江戸遊覧花暦 (Edo sightseeing flower calendar) of 1837 mentions that the *bunjin bokkaku* 文人墨客 (literati and artists) who were resident in Negishi would visit their friends in the neighborhood, where they produced poems, sang songs, and enjoyed *haikai* poetry and tea (figure 1).<sup>30</sup>

Among these *bunjin bokkaku* were the Confucian scholar and calligrapher Kameda Bōsai 亀田鵬斎 (1752–1826), from a merchant family, and Sakai Hōitsu 酒井抱一 (1761–1829) of the powerful Himeji domain. One of the “Five Demons of Kansei” (Kansei no goki 寛政の五鬼), Kameda had opposed the bakufu's Kansei Edict (Kansei igaku no kin 寛政

22 Urai 1983, p. 106. The rest were buried at the Nikkō Tōshōgū Shrine and Zōjōji Temple.

23 Kawai 1967, p. 3.

24 Meiji Kyōikusha 1914, pp. 99–100.

25 Ishii 1967, pp. 10, 25.

26 Screech 2017, p. 269.

27 Tanaka 2008, pp. 19–24.

28 Brecher 2009, p. 11.

29 Saitō 1836.

30 Oka 1837.

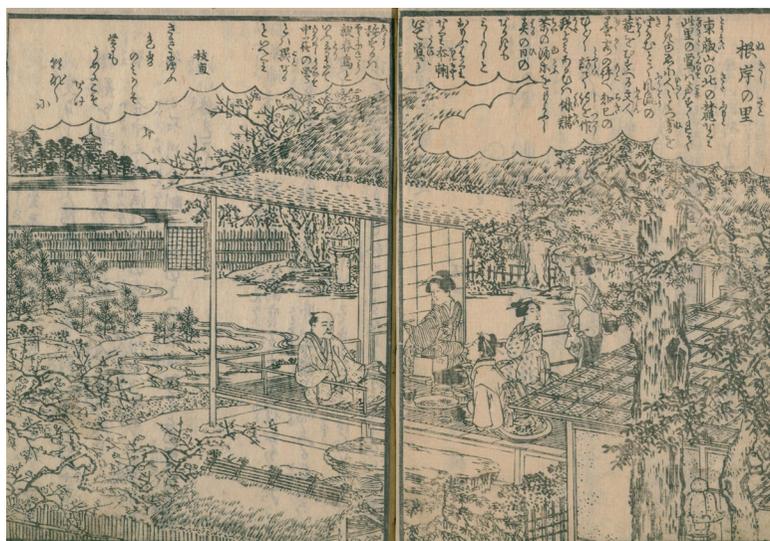


Figure 1. This Edo calendar depicts Negishi as a place famous for warblers' singing in spring, and for its literati residents who enjoyed a variety of cultural activities with their neighbors. Hasegawa Settan 長谷川雪旦, "Negishi no sato," in Oka 1837. Courtesy of the National Diet Library, Japan.

異学の禁) that established Neo-Confucianism as the only legitimate curriculum. After failing to persuade the bakufu to reverse this policy, Kameda withdrew from politics and retreated from the city center to Negishi.<sup>31</sup> Sakai also distanced himself from society, giving up his hereditary social status and bureaucratic ties before converting to Buddhism. In 1809, Sakai moved to a house near Kameda's, whom he befriended. It was speculated that Sakai chose this place because he knew that it was an artist's retreat.<sup>32</sup>

Residents like these, through their combination of distinguished artistic talents and resistance to political commitment, as well as their depictions in popular print media, established an image of Negishi as a place for those disinterested in social status and economic gain. These residents constructed and exemplified the community's reclusive image and invented suburban Negishi as a place of "aesthetic reclusion"; Negishi also helped liberate them "from the constraints that accompanied status and official obligations" and "opened an array of opportunities and relationships impossible within the city proper."<sup>33</sup> This image would continue to be eulogized in the new age.

### Dwelling in and Celebrating a Changing Negishi

Negishi's vicissitudes in the mid- and late nineteenth century were inextricably linked to political transformations and transitions in the Ueno area. During the civil war in 1868, the grand edifice of Kan'eiji was burnt to ashes and almost obliterated. Five years after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, when Edo was renamed Tokyo and established as the new

31 Addiss 1984, pp. 27, 30.

32 Brecher 2009, p. 31.

33 Brecher 2009, pp. 1, 18, 29.

capital, these newly-vacant lands on Ueno Hill became one of the earliest public parks in the country, and subsequently saw a succession of modern institutions established within its bounds. These included three industrial exhibitions in 1877, 1881, and 1890; the Education Museum, opened in 1877; the National Museum and Zoo in 1882; and the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1889. Having symbolized political and spiritual authority under the Tokugawa, Ueno was transformed into a stage for the new government to showcase and perform its own modernity.

The development of public transportation also fueled the urbanization of Ueno. In 1883, Ueno Railway Station was constructed at the foot of Ueno Hill, connecting Ueno with Kumagaya in the north. Utilizing the area's topography, the railway line cut directly between Ueno Hill and the lowland to its northeast, including Negishi. Connections—such as a freight line between Ueno and Akihabara in 1890 and electrified trams—would continue to develop into the early twentieth century.

In this rapidly changing city, Negishi became favored by professors, writers, and artists.<sup>34</sup> A few privileged residents consolidated Negishi's image: Maeda Nariyasu 前田育泰 (1811–1884), the twelfth feudal lord of the Kaga domain; Masuda Katsunori 益田克徳 (1852–1903), the younger brother of the founder of Mitsui Bussan, Masuda Takashi 益田孝 (1848–1938); Kawai Tatsutarō 河合辰太郎 (1862–1952), founder of Toppan Printing; the painter Asai Chū 浅井忠 (1856–1907); and the painter and calligrapher Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折 (1866–1943). These industrial and cultural figures established literary and artistic groups, such as Negishitō 根岸党 and Negishi Tankakai 根岸短歌会.<sup>35</sup> Their activities were not necessarily artistic in nature, and included traveling, hunting, fishing, watching kabuki plays, drinking, and playing *igo* chess. Associations like these sprang up one after another in “the season of salons” in the 1880s and 1890s, and gave Negishi an image as a nest of idiosyncratic fun-seekers.<sup>36</sup>

Amid this profusion of gentlemen's clubs, Ōtsuki Fumihiko, remembered today as the compiler of the earliest modern dictionary in Japan, *Genkai* 言海, founded the Negishi Club in December 1899.<sup>37</sup> The *Yomiuri Shinbun* 読売新聞 reported that the club was founded for entertainment and the exchange of knowledge.<sup>38</sup> The family names of the fifteen founding members are listed in a later article on 16 December, and included Hirasaka Kō 平坂閣 and Ōta Kin 太田謹 (1842–1925), both subsequently listed as being involved in the creation of *Negishi kinbō-zu*. Other founders included Shino Jōgorō 篠常五郎 (1860–1917), who ran an *omoto* 万年青 (*robdea japonica*, a popular plant among horticulturalists) shop

34 Seidensticker 1983, p. 211.

35 The Negishitō was active mainly in the late 1880s and 1890s, and its core members included renowned writers and scholars like Kōdō Tokuchi 幸堂得知 (1843–1913), Takahashi Kenzō 高橋健三 (1855–1898), Okakura Tenshin 岡倉天心 (1863–1913), and Kōda Rohan 幸田露伴 (1867–1947), see Deguchi 2011, pp. 30–31. The Negishitō is sometimes also referred to as the Negishiha (Negishi School 根岸派). It is a different group from the Negishi Club founded by Ōtsuki in 1899. The Negishi Tankakai emerged around the figure of Masaoka and was active between 1899 and the Taishō period.

36 Hashizume 1987, p. 39; Miyoshi 1993, p. 9.

37 Ōtsuki lived in Negishi from 1884 until his death, except for a few years spent in northeastern Japan. *Genkai* had been commissioned by the Ministry of Education in 1875 and was eventually published privately between 1889 and 1891.

38 “Goraku no aida ni chishiki o kōkan” 娯楽の間に知識を交換, *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 13 December 1899. The final newspaper article mentioning the club was dated 3 June 1904 (*Yomiuri Shinbun*). It remains unknown when and why the club disbanded.

in Negishi; sculptor Kanō Tessai 加納鉄斎 (1845–1925); art theorist Imaizumi Yūsaku 今泉雄作 (1850–1931); and the aforementioned Asai Chū and Kawai Tatsutarō.<sup>39</sup> The same article also mentions that the club restricted its membership to those with certain skills, and set a limit of fifty members.<sup>40</sup> Their activities included the production of souvenirs such as silver cups, art exhibitions, dance, and chess, and was thus more culturally oriented than Negishitō.<sup>41</sup> The requirement for a skill, the limit on membership, and presence of renowned scholars established an elitist profile for the group. The similarity in the member's social disposition also offered the group an opportunity to build identification among themselves, thus creating a symbolic community. The *Negishi kinbō-zu* offers testimony to their communal efforts and achievements.

### Mapping with Western Cartography

The *Negishi kinbō-zu* was created by this community of gentlemen, and is preserved in multiple copies today. This article's analysis is based on six originals, held in public libraries, archives, and a local temple, as well as ten reproductions or adaptations in circulation after 1980.<sup>42</sup> Appendix 1 presents a list of the formats and major features of each of these copies of the map. Despite differences in the inscriptions near the bottom left, handwritten remarks, and preservation states, the originals are all monochrome maps of the same size.<sup>43</sup> Based on the creases on the original maps held at the Tokyo Metropolitan Library and Tokyo Metropolitan Archives, they were folded to one-eighth of their original size to make them easier to transport.

Figure 2 shows the *Negishi kinbō-zu* in the collection of the Tokyo Metropolitan Library. It is dominated by the map in the center, with text occupying almost all the space surrounding the map, and an inscription outside the frame near the bottom left. The text font and size vary, with smaller words at the top, larger ones in the bottom right, and what appears to be Ōtsuki's handwriting at the bottom left. Hereafter the article will differentiate "the map" from "*Negishi kinbō-zu*," with the former referring solely to the central map, excluding its surrounding texts, while the latter refers to the cartographic product as a whole, and the set of practices that went into its creation.

Despite some variations in the inscriptions among the six originals, they all display the following: Negishi Club (publisher); Hirasaka Kō at Kami-Negishimachi 上根岸町 (author and issuer); Koshiba Hideji 小柴英待 in Kanda Ward (printer); Hayashi Heijirō 林平次郎 in

39 The fifteen names listed in the article are Hirasaka 平坂, Shino 篠, Miyagi 宮木, Asai 浅井, Kobayashi 小林, Maruyama 丸山, Yamada 山田, Kanō 加納, Kawai 河合, Ōtsuki 大槻, Ōta 太田, Nishida 西田, Iida 飯田, Imaizumi 今泉, and Fukuhara 福原. Asai was likely not involved in making the map as he was away in France between February 1900 and August 1902. One article in the *Yomiuri Shinbun* on 23 May 1900 mentions that due to the high expense of the club and one important member's plan to go to France, their activities had been suspended.

40 *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 16 December 1899.

41 *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 13 December 1899; 13 June 1901; 28 August 1901.

42 It has been pointed out that there existed multiple copies; see Ichikawa 1981.

43 The framed area is approximately 40.3 cm long and 56 cm wide.

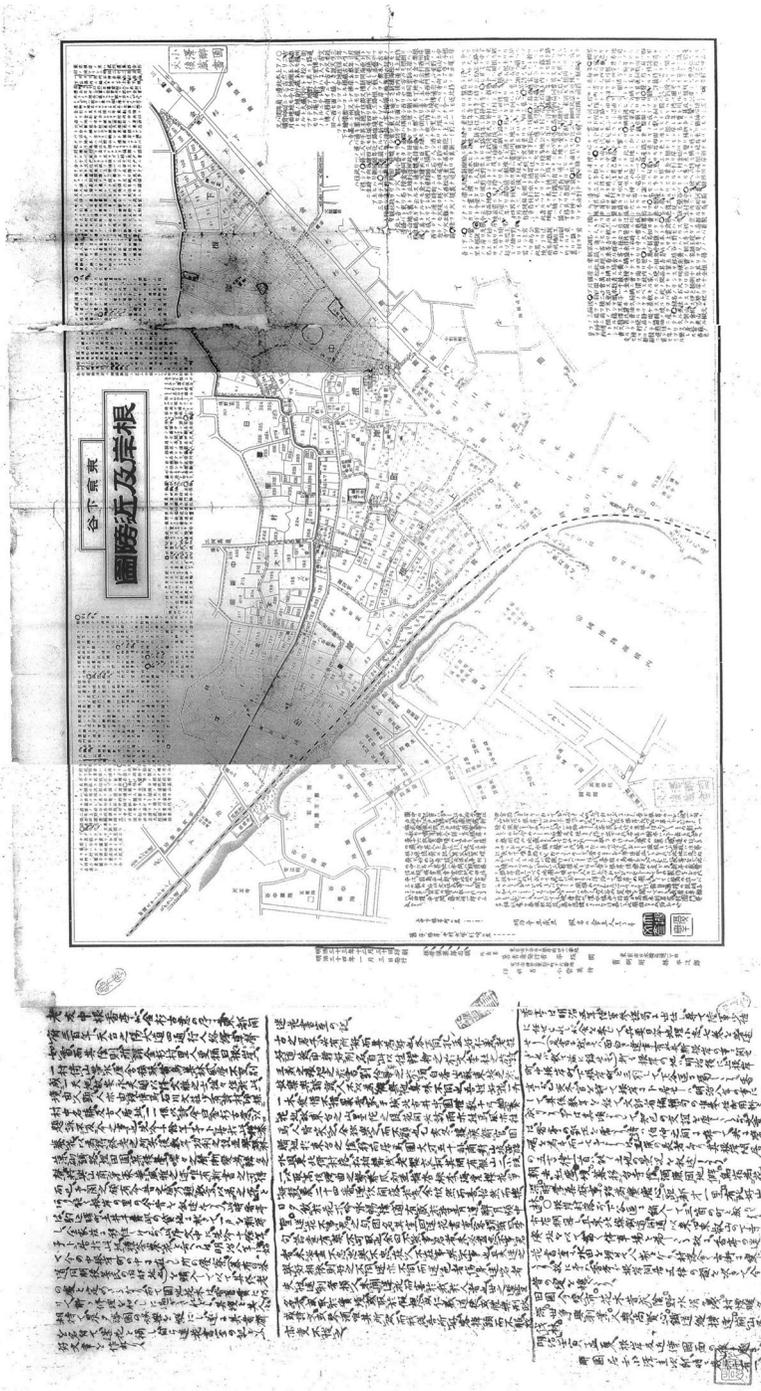


Figure 2. Negishi Club, Tokyo Shitaya Negishi oyobi kimbo-zu, 1901. Reproduced with permission of the Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library Special Collections Room.

Nihonbashi Ward (*urisabakijo* 売捌所 retailer).<sup>44</sup> The map also indicates a 1/2345 scale with north located at the top, and notes 30 December Meiji 33 (1900) as the date it was printed, and 3 January Meiji 34 (1901) as the date it was issued.<sup>45</sup> The two versions at the Musashino Public Library and Tokyo Metropolitan Archives include an additional *hatsubaimoto* 發賣元 (sales agent) in the bottom left.<sup>46</sup>

The map offers a graphic understanding of Negishi, revealing its makers' mastery of modern cartographic conventions. The railways, trees, and cliffs of Ueno Hill are reduced to lines or symbols. The abstraction of streets and major buildings resembles the 1880 *Jinsoku sokuzu* 迅速測図, the earliest modern map for military use commissioned by the Meiji government. Its symbols for railroad and graves follow those mandated by the *1/5000: Tōkyō-zu sokuryō genzu* 五千分一東京図測量原図, published by the Army Land Survey Office in 1883. Abstraction, numbering, and the representation of divisions adhering to the reformed urban administration districts lend the map a modern look.

The map employs recently introduced administrative divisions, and uses dash-dot lines to delineate the triangular Negishi area and the boundaries of three units: Upper Negishi (Kami-Negishimachi), closest to Ueno Hill; Central Negishi (Naka-Negishimachi 中根岸町); and Lower Negishi (Shimo-Negishimachi 下根岸町), furthest from Ueno Hill. The surrounding neighborhoods included in the map are as follows: Nippori-mura 日暮里村, on the other side of Shakujii waterway 石神井用水, along with Kanasugi-kamichō 金杉上町, Sakamotochō 坂本町, Sakuragichō 桜木町, and Iriyachō 入谷町 to the south of Negishi. These units, which were established by the two urban administrative reforms in 1889 and 1891, are delineated by thinner dashed lines. Only the three smaller units of Negishi and the immediately adjacent Nippori-mura and Sakuragichō are provided with detailed numerical divisions of *banchi* addresses, increasing the map's utility as a navigation tool. Local businesses and facilities, like confectionery shops, fishmongers, flower shops, barbers, public baths, hospitals, kindergartens, and schools, which residents may routinely use, are marked.

This rich locational information could serve both Negishi residents and visitors. On Ueno Hill, the new Meiji institutions and destinations, such as the museum, library, art school, and music school, are shown, while the Tokugawa cemetery and the remaining temples of Kan'eiji are also displayed. The map thus offers two visions of Ueno Hill—one associated with memories of the Edo era, and the other defined by its new role as a

44 As the exact roles of Ōtsuki and Hirasaka have not been confirmed, the Negishi Club is considered the producer of the map. Koshihara ran a lithography business (*sekiban insatsugyō* 石版印刷業, see Makino 1899, p. 448), and later served as a lecturer at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (Tokyo bijutsu gakkō 東京美術学校). Hayashi (1861–1931) was a renowned publisher who helped Ōtsuki publish *Genkai*, and published other maps, including Alexander Keith Johnston's *World Map* (*Sekai daichizu* 世界大地圖) in 1895.

45 The actual scale of the *Negishi kinbō-zu* is close to 1/2345. The mapmakers may have prioritized this scale, reflecting their sense of humor, when designing the map.

46 The roles of the *urisabakijo* and *hatsubaimoto*, and the reason that some were stamped with the additional *hatsubaimoto*, remain unclear. The Musashino Public Library version has “Negishi Konomi-an” 根ぎしこのミ庵 as a *hatsubaimoto*, while the Tokyo Metropolitan Archives notes “Konomi-an” このミ庵 only. Both are followed by a stamp of Fujisawa 藤澤. Fujisawa owned a preserved food shop in Negishi. In the map's text (sections 3 and 4), Fujisawa is also mentioned, but with simplified characters 藤沢.

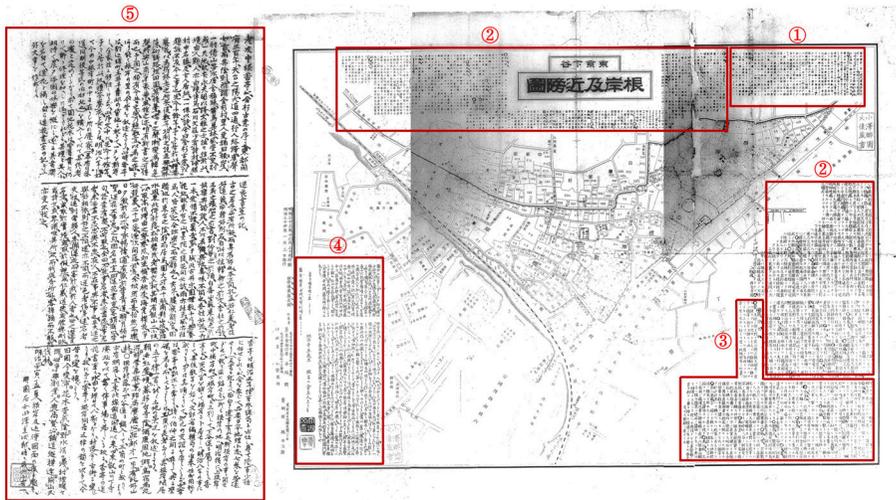


Figure 3. The *Tōkyō Shitaya Negishi oyobi kinbō-zu* with content marked. Section 1: overview of the Negishi area; Section 2: introductions to local places; Section 3: “Negishi meibutsu” 根岸名物 (local specialties); Section 4: Ōtsuki Fumihiko’s writing; Section 5: Ozawa Keijirō’s *shikigo*, dated 1902. Reproduced with permission of the Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library Special Collections Room.

“showcase.”<sup>47</sup> Although the map follows the Meiji state’s official cartographic projects in adopting European conventions and delineating administrative boundaries, however, it is not merely a mirror of modernity. The *Negishi kinbō-zu* is also significant for illuminating the symbolic importance attached to a particular place layered up on the map.

The texts surrounding the map offer further details of Negishi’s history, revealing a similar concern with local knowledge as that displayed by gazetteers and maps prior to the Meiji period.<sup>48</sup> The content can be divided into the following four sections, as illustrated in figure 3 (section 5 is Ozawa Keijirō’s *shikigo*, see below). The text at the top (section 1) starts with the origin of the place’s name, its past, and its development in the Meiji era. It uses Muromachi 室町 (1336–1573) documents to claim that “Negishi” gets its name from its location, at the border (*kishi* 岸) of the foot (*ne* 根) of Ueno Hill. The text then details the villa construction boom in the first half of the nineteenth century, followed by the disruptions of the Tenpō Reforms and the great fire of the 1840s, when the area rapidly depopulated.<sup>49</sup> This was reversed over subsequent decades as powerful families (*gōzoku* 豪族), literati (*bunjin* 文人), and diverse artisans and craftsmen (*hyappan gigeika* 百般技芸家) moved in. Although its “tranquil charm” (*yūsei no omomuki* 幽静の趣) lay in the past, Negishi in 1901 remained secluded away from “the mundane” (*zokusei* 俗世) in its own “little world” (*shōtenchi* 小天地).

47 Although Smith refers mainly to Ginza, his notion of “showcase” also applies to the role of Ueno Hill in displaying the Meiji government’s determination to introduce Western architecture and institutions. See Smith 1978.

48 For discussions on a provincial case of Shinano located in central Japan, see Wigen 2010.

49 The Tenpō Reforms forbade samurai, merchants, and artisans from living on farmers’ lands, leading to depopulation in areas like Negishi.

The second and third sections offer details about twenty-eight local spots (section 2) and twelve local specialities (section 3), following the convention of *meisho* 名所 (famous places) publications in the Edo period. Both sections highlight historical connections with privileged former residents, mainly the aforementioned *hyappan gigeika*: the sculptor Hamano Noriyuki 浜野矩随 (1771–1852); scholars Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776–1843) and Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良沢 (1723–1803); Kameda, Sakai, and Sakai’s disciple Suzuki Ki’itsu 鈴木其一 (1795–1858); *makie* 蒔絵 lacquer master Hara Yōyūsai 原羊幽齋 (1769–1846); the *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵 painters Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政 (1739–1820) and Yanagawa Shigenobu 柳川重信 (1787–1833); the essayist Yamazaki Yoshishige 山崎義重 (1796–1856); and Confucian scholar Terakado Seiken 寺門静軒 (1796–1868). The former sites of Kameda, Sakai, and Terakado’s residences are labeled in the map. In some ways, these texts resemble the Western maps criticized by J.B. Harley as frequently personifying “those of nobles, bishops, wealthy merchants, and gentry,” and thus pronouncing the “language of power.”<sup>50</sup> The powerful figures being invoked by *Negishi kinbō-zu*, however, all belong to the Edo past. Their contemporary equivalents, such as the Maeda family, are labeled on the map but are not mentioned in the text. This was arguably intentional, in order to stress a continuity with these Edo cultural figures as the defining markers of Negishi as a symbolic community.

In section 4, an essay at the bottom left with Ōtsuki’s seal explains the aims and sources of the *Negishi kinbō-zu*. The first paragraph states that in addition to a dozen Edo documents, the information relied on interviews with the *konochi no korō* 此地の古老 (senior residents), including Honma Hachirō 本間八郎, Saitō Shintarō 齋藤信太郎, Kōdō Tokuchi, Zui Sekko 瑞雪湖, Uchida Saheiji 内田佐平次, Maejima Heigorō 前島平五郎, as well as Ishikawa Bunsō 石川文莊 in Minowa 三ノ輪, to the east to Negishi. The section also mentions the contributions of Ōta, Hirasaka, and Fujisawa Seki’ichirō 藤沢碩一郎.

The second paragraph offers further information about the map’s intended use and the reasons for including the texts. *Negishi kinbō-zu* is said to be intended as a New Year’s gift for distribution as a guide, so that people would not get lost in the maze-like streets of Negishi. Ōtsuki inserted historical information to lend elegance to the *Negishi kinbō-zu*, writing that if only the map were displayed, it would appear “Western and worldly, and the bush warblers might burst into tears.”<sup>51</sup> This discontent with modern cartography was one shared with the writer Nagai Kafū 永井荷風 (1879–1959), who noted in his 1914 essay *Hiyorigeta* 日和下駄 (*Fairweather Clogs*) that although the map of Tokyo made by the Army Land Survey Office was highly accurate, he preferred strolling the city with the more visual *Edo ezu*, the colorful illustrations of which evoked the scenery.<sup>52</sup> In the case of *Negishi kinbō-zu*, though, it was the explanatory texts which would conjure up Negishi’s scenic beauty.

### Narrating Local History and Opposing the Railroads

The importance of such texts to the meaning of *Negishi kinbō-zu* lay in narrating the symbolic significance of the community represented on the map. This process may also be seen in the cartographic production and novels of the military surgeon, and one-time

50 Harley 2002, pp. 75, 79.

51 Original text: 繪成りて見れば、あまりに洋俗にて、根岸の圖もかくてハ鶯の泣くばかりなる, see Negishi Club 1901.

52 Nagai 1957, pp. 31–32.

Negishi resident, Mori Ōgai 森鷗外 (1862–1922). Published in 1909, less than a decade after the *Negishi kinbō-zu*, Mori's *Tōkyō hōgan-zu* 東京方眼図 (Tokyo grid map) is also a product of the encounter with modern cartographic conventions (see figure 4). In addition to administrative boundaries, the map divides the city into homogenized blocks, eight sections vertically and eleven horizontally. Mori's map resonates with governmental cartographic projects, and “redirected territorial solidarities towards the rationalized administrative grids.”<sup>53</sup> With its industrial design, *Tōkyō hōgan-zu* appears ripe for Foucauldian analysis, ordering space and subjecting it to governance and control.<sup>54</sup> Compared with the *Negishi kinbō-zu*, the *Hōgan-zu* appears a more obvious product of state ideology and power mediated through the capital, Tokyo.

Mori's literary works, however, indicate a more complicated relationship with the city. As Chiba Shunji and Christophe Thouny argue, although the grid map was based on modern cartographic conventions, Mori's writings, such as *Seinen* 青年 (Youth), published in 1910, and *Gan* 雁 (Goose) in 1911, cast doubt on the rational, ordered modernity represented on his map.<sup>55</sup> In their minute descriptions of the city of Tokyo, Mori's cartographic novels address the bodily cognitions and mythical imagination excluded by modern cartography.<sup>56</sup> It is through thinking about his novels in relation to the map that Mori's worldview becomes complete.

While in Mori's case the texts that reconfigure the putative rationality of the map were published separately, for the *Negishi kinbō-zu* they appear on the map itself. Rather than stressing the irrationality of modern perspectives, they temper it by imbuing them with historical depth. The representation of Negishi as an elegant, historical place is emphasized throughout the text. Quotations from Edo poems about camellia flowers in the area, for instance, signal appreciation for an old, tranquil Negishi. Concern about the threat posed to this elegance by railways is a consistent theme. The introduction to the *Sakura-gawa* 桜川 laments that its clear water vanished under them, while the local *kuina* 水鷄 (water rails) used to sing noisily, but disappeared after the railway's introduction. Ōtsuki's essay also blames the railway for shaking the warblers' nests down, and its whistles for erasing their sounds.

This opposition to railways was widely shared. Throughout the latter half of the Meiji period, Japan's railways grew considerably, with their length nearly tripling in the 1890s.<sup>57</sup> The noise caused by trains became an urban problem.<sup>58</sup> Nakano Ryōzui 中野了隨, in his 1890 *Tōkyō meisho zue* 東京名所図絵 (Guide to Tokyo's famous places) description of “Negishi no sato,” had already suggested that the railway extension led to the removal of Goinden and damaging of Negishi's elegance.<sup>59</sup> In *Sanshirō* 三四郎 (1908), by Natsume Soseki 夏目漱石 (1867–1916), trains are used to signify “both new social spaces and physical reminders of the adverse psychological effects that rapid historical change often has on the

53 Wigen 2010, pp. 100–101. See Wigen 1999, p. 1196, for a discussion on the Meiji government's investment in cartography to reorganize and (re-)produce the space.

54 Mori might have observed this style during his studies in Germany; see Chiba 1989, p. 137.

55 Chiba 1989; Thouny 2014, p. 293.

56 Chiba 1989, p. 146.

57 Ericson 1996, p. 28.

58 Freedman 2011, pp. 100–101.

59 Nakano 1890, pp. 168–169.



Figure 4. Mori Ōgai, *Tōkyō Hōgan-zu*, Shunyōdō, 1909. The grid map offers a modern vision of Tokyo. Courtesy of the Mori Ōgai Memorial Museum.

individual.<sup>60</sup> In expressing local opposition toward the railroads, *Negishi kinbō-zu* evidences its makers' psychological reaction to societal changes. Rather than outspoken opposition to dominant political power, it sought to secure a community space and establish a Negishi meaningful to its members.

The meaning of Negishi was symbolic, created through a division drawn between the community and others. By looking back to the past and expressing collective sentiments—affection for the tranquility of Negishi and opposition to the railroad—the makers of the *Negishi kinbō-zu* emphasized the continuity of the neighborhood as a community of the reclusive. They also achieved the reproduction of Negishi and themselves in the late Meiji period.

### Mapping Negishi Symbolically: Reinventing Negishi and the Self

*Negishi kinbō-zu*'s actual purpose remains unclear. The distribution of the map as a New Year's gift resembles the exchange of *ukiyo-e* calendars among elites in the Edo period. On the other hand, as Ōtsuki's writing suggests, it was also intended for visitors. The design, a modern look with scholarly texts focusing on Edo history, suggests two kinds of audience, one using it as a guide, and the other curious about local history. As Chris Perkins points out, there is no single "correct use" for a map, but a multiple and often synchronous set of motivations at play.<sup>61</sup> The following section examines the individual figures engaged in the compilation and production of the *Negishi kinbō-zu*, including Ōtsuki Fumihiko, Masaoka Shiki, and Ozawa Keijirō. Biographical study and consideration of their activities help deepen our understanding of the *Negishi kinbō-zu* and the reasons why it was made.

As already noted, Ōtsuki Fumihiko was an important member of the community and likely the main compiler of the map.<sup>62</sup> He was born into a prominent Sendai domain samurai family in Edo. His grandfather, Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 or Bansui 盤水 (1757–1827), was a *rangaku* (Western studies) scholar, his father Bankei 磐溪 (1801–1878) a sinologist, and his elder brother Shūji 修二 or Joden 如電 (1845–1931) a scholar and author.<sup>63</sup> Father and sons had joined the Ōuetsu Reppan Dōmei 奥羽越列藩同盟 military coalition against the new Meiji government, for which Bankei was imprisoned. Fumihiko used every means to save his father's life, and later described the period as one of "great difficulty" (*dainanji* 大難事).<sup>64</sup>

Ōtsuki had studied at the bakufu's official school and later at the Daigaku Nankō 大学南校, a branch of the university established by the Meiji government, but was unable to gain access to university after the mid-Meiji era, and felt he had been born too late to receive a modern education. While involved in important dictionary, textbook, and map projects at the Ministry of Education, he was frequently sent to work in Miyagi and Iwate prefectures, indicating his marginal status. In his autobiography, he noted that since he was always

60 Freedman 2011, p. 69.

61 Perkins 2008, p. 151.

62 Although the inscription near the bottom left mentions Hirasaka as author and issuer, an article in the *Yomiuri Shinbun* on 12 December 1900 reports that Ōtsuki received a commission from the club to compile the map. The section 4 text also corroborates Ōtsuki's central role.

63 Joden moved into Negishi after the 1923 Great Kanto earthquake, and composed the lyrics of a song titled *Negishi hakkei* 根岸八景 (Eight scenes of Negishi), depicting Negishi as a place blessed with birdsong and beautiful natural scenery. See *Negishi hakkei* 1937.

64 Ōtsuki (1909) 1928, p. 41.

working stealthily within piles of scrap papers, the politicians and industrialists must have seen him as a “rat.”<sup>65</sup> His essay in *Negishi kinbō-zu* also implied that he was a mere *kyūsodai* 窮措大 (poor scholar).

This map was not his only geographical work. Ōtsuki’s series of regional studies of the “borderlands”—Hokkaido, Ryūkyū, and the Ogasawara Islands—in the first years of Meiji demonstrate his passion for investigating national geography.<sup>66</sup> Such works offer a concrete and detailed image of the nation.<sup>67</sup> A series of blank maps published in 1874, the *Nihon ansha chizu* 日本暗射地図, demonstrate his proficiency in modern cartography.

Other works, though, speak to an interest in his place of residence.<sup>68</sup> Ōtsuki lived in Negishi for more than thirty years, between 1884 and 1892, and then from 1900 until his death in 1928. Other Negishi works include those related to an old pine tree in Negishi called *Ogyō no matsu* 御行の松 (Pine tree commemorating Rinnōji-no-miya’s Buddhist deeds), which he named his house, the *Ushō-ken* 雨松軒 (House of rain and pine), after. A later article, published in 1912, investigates the origin of its name, revealing Ōtsuki’s ongoing interest in researching local history.<sup>69</sup>

When living in Negishi, Ōtsuki was surrounded by friends who appreciated the area. Among them were Masaoka Shiki, who had moved to Negishi in 1892. Masaoka developed a social network in the neighborhood, and composed a *kanshi* poem titled *Negishi kyōkyō shiji zatsuei* 根岸僑居四時雜詠 (Miscellaneous poem on living in Negishi in four seasons). The autumn piece depicts Negishi as a tranquil place.

The Big Dipper hangs above the frosted forest  
The city is separated by the eastern highlands  
Visitors are few  
Autumnal sounds come from afar

霜林懸北斗	Sōrin hokuto o kake
城市隔東臺	Jōshi tōdai o hedatsu
人籟寥寥絕	Jinrai ryōryō to shite tae
秋聲自遠來	Shūsei tooki yori kitaru <sup>70</sup>

Two weeks after the publication of *Negishi kinbō-zu*, Masaoka published a short article about the map in his *Bokujū itteki* 墨汁一滴 (One drop of ink), serially released in *Nippon* in the first half of 1901.

The map of Negishi published by the Negishi Club was produced by Dr. Ōtsuki (Ōtsuki *hakase* 大槻博士); based on careful investigation, it is reliable and geographically

65 Ōtsuki 1938, p. 237.

66 Tanaka 1990.

67 Yasuda 2018, p. 32.

68 Between 1878 and 1880, he published a series of articles in the *Kagetsu shinshi* 花月新誌 entitled *Koseiko kawa* 小西湖佳話 (Beautiful stories of the little west lake), about his two years living near Shinobazu Pond 不忍池 in Hongō-Kinsukechō 本郷金助町.

69 Ōtsuki 1912.

70 Inoguchi 1980, p. 443–444.

precise. It is also an interesting piece for us Negishi people (*warera Negishi-jin* われら根岸人). The place where we live is now called Uguisu-yokochō, but in the old days it was called Tanuki-yokochō ... [direct quotations from Ōtsuki's text on the map about Negishi's elegance being threatened by the railways] ... Uguisu-yokochō is particularly a difficult place with winding and bending streets. Failing in finding their way, some visitors have to give up and leave in vain (18 January 1901).<sup>71</sup>

This piece not only reveals Masaoka's appreciation of *Negishi kinbō-zu* and Ōtsuki's efforts but also conveys a strong sense of the *Negishi-jin* community. Sharing the geographical literacy and an interest in finding the old names, Masaoka showed his identification of and *with* this community.

The processual role of the map in symbolizing the community is shown by the adaptations made by another figure, Ozawa Keijirō, who kept a version of the map with *shikigo* 識語 notes attached.<sup>72</sup> Born into a medical doctor's family serving the Kuwana 桑名 domain, which fought on the side of the defeated Tokugawa, Ozawa is remembered for his research in garden design. He amassed maps and pictures of gardens from around the country, many hand-copied and festooned with *shikigo* detailing his personal appraisals. One print of the *Negishi kinbō-zu* was in his private collection and attached with a *shikigo* to its left (section 5 in figure 3). Unlike Masaoka's essay, which was published, Ozawa's *shikigo* were not widely accessible at the time.

Ozawa knew the area well. He attended private schools in Negishi and Okachimachi 御徒町 in southern Shitaya in the 1850s.<sup>73</sup> Ozawa and Ōtsuki used to work at the private school of Mitsukuri Shūhei 箕作秋坪 (1826–1886), the Sansa Gakusha 三叉学舎. Ozawa also worked with Ōtsuki's brother Joden on the dictionary projects commissioned by the Ministry of Education in the first years of Meiji.<sup>74</sup>

Dated April 1902, Ozawa's *shikigo* was handwritten and around one thousand characters long, and focuses on another Negishi resident, the sinologist and essayist Nakane Kōtei 中根香亭 (1839–1913) whom Ozawa refers to as his "old friend." Nakane served the bakufu and later the Meiji government. He quit his post at the Meiji government's Army Ministry in 1875, citing health reasons, and then returned as an editorial officer for the Ministry of Education (Monbushō Sōnin Henshūkan 文部省奏任編輯官) around 1880.<sup>75</sup> However, a few years later, Nakane resigned and never served in the government again. Ozawa's commission for the Ministry of Education also ended in 1886, and their simultaneous departure from government service may have strengthened their friendship.

The *shikigo* comprises three parts, and a large proportion is devoted to quoting Nakane's works. The first and second parts quote two essays, the foreword to *Kanasugi koi* 金杉古意 (Ancient feelings of Kanasugi), Ishikawa Bunsō's poetry anthology about Negishi's historical sites, and a piece titled *Meika shoshitsu no ki* 迷花書室の記 (Note about the Alluring Flower Study Room), respectively. As noted earlier, Ishikawa was also involved

71 Masaoka 1927.

72 *Shikigo* are notes attached to books, manuscripts, or, in this case, maps, explaining their provenance or reproduction.

73 Yoshikawa 1994.

74 Nakano 1986.

75 Ogasawara 1933, pp. 183–184, citing Nakane's autobiography.

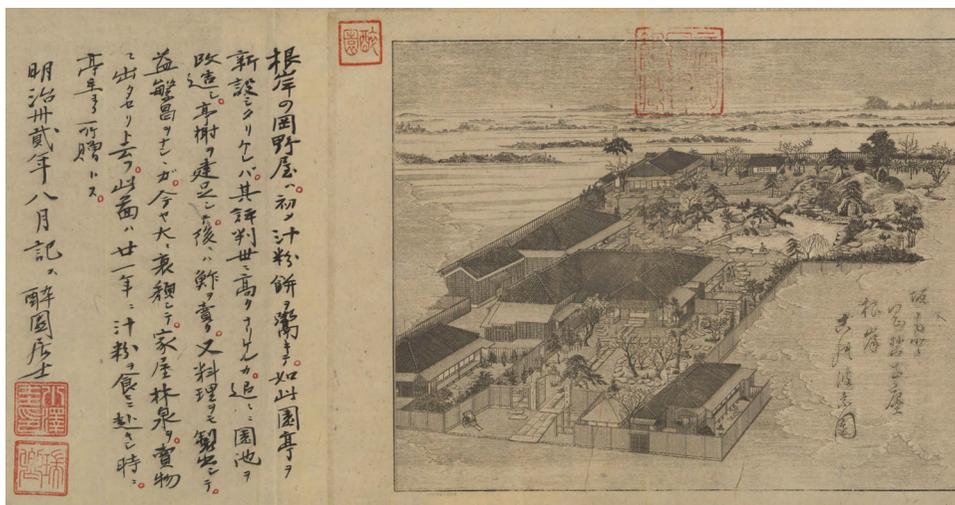


Figure 5. Ozawa Keijirō, *shikigo* (left) attached to the *Negishi konohanaen-zu*, 1899. Ozawa added the *shikigo* to this illustration, initially produced sometime before 1888. Courtesy of the National Diet Library, Japan.

in the production of *Negishi kinbō-zu*, and was enthusiastic about the history of this local area as a source of poetic inspiration. The *Kanasugi koi* reflects this passion.<sup>76</sup> From 1889, the *Kanasugi koi* was circulated in the community before its publication in 1925.<sup>77</sup> Nakane's foreword praises Ishikawa's poem and describes his relocation to Negishi. The second part of Ozawa's *shikigo*, from the *Meika shoshitsu no ki*, offers more details about Nakane's move to Negishi and how he named his study room "Meika shoshitsu."<sup>78</sup> The third part adds Ozawa's explanation of their friendship, Nakane's poem about his Negishi home, and changes in Negishi.

Ozawa interweaves Nakane's essays and biography into a description of changes in the late Meiji period. After quitting the Army Ministry, Nakane found a house in the shade of Ueno Hill blessed with nature, old trees, and flowers.<sup>79</sup> Noting that many *bunga no shi* 文雅之士 (culturally sophisticated people) had lived there in the late eighteenth century, Nakane purchased an abandoned samurai residence in 1875 and grew flowers there.<sup>80</sup> Nakane repeatedly mentions that although others might laugh at him, he is satisfied. However, the grace of the area is under threat, for as the final lines of the *shikigo* note, "people are losing their respect for virtuosity; railways are expanding; hills are being removed, and trees cut

76 Ishikawa learned from the poet Ōnuma Chinzan 大沼枕山 (1818–1891) and became a renowned sinologist, teaching Chinese studies at his private school in Minowa (Minowa Chōshi Hensankai 1968, pp. 135–136). He was also the founder of the Sōtai-kai 掃苔会 (Group of Grave Hunters), a group devoted to the discovery and cleaning of ancient relics and tombs.

77 With an introduction from Ōnuma, titled *Jo* 序 and dated 1889, as well as Nakane, titled *Jo* 叙 and dated 1890, see Ishikawa 1925, p. 17.

78 This piece can also be confirmed in *Kōtei zōsō*; see Nakane 1914.

79 Nakane 1914.

80 Ozawa 1902.

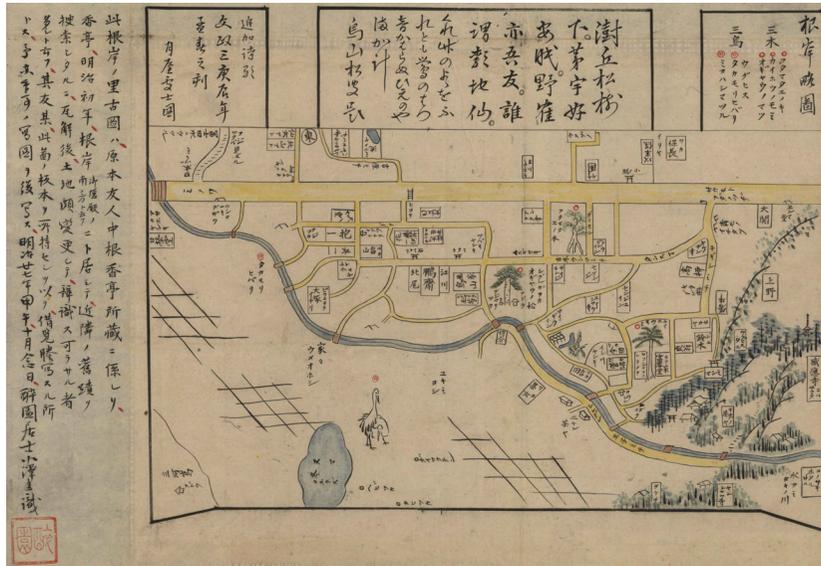


Figure 6. Ozawa Keijirō, *Negishi ryaku-zu*, 1894. Both Nakane and Ozawa copied this 1820 map, attesting to a communal interest in this area and the material map. Courtesy of the National Diet Library, Japan.

down.” Indeed, Nakane moved from Negishi to Okitsumachi 興津町, Shizuoka Prefecture, in 1909, where he spent his final years.<sup>81</sup>

Two other works reflecting Ozawa’s interest in Negishi are the *Negishi konohanaen-zu* 根岸此花園図 (Picture of the Negishi Konohanaen restaurant) and *Negishi ryaku-zu* 根岸略図 (A rough map of Negishi). The acquisition of these maps is also explained through Ozawa’s *shikigo*. The former was a present from the owner of a prosperous local restaurant, Konohanaen 此花園, when Ozawa dined there in 1888 (figure 5). According to an article in the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, Konohanaen was subsequently a base of the club’s activities.<sup>82</sup> In 1899, when Ozawa wrote this *shikigo*, he heard that Konohanaen’s buildings and gardens were on sale. Adding the comments about the splendid edifice and garden to the picture eleven years later seems to reflect Ozawa’s lamentation over the vicissitude of the restaurant and Negishi as a whole.

The latter, with the *shikigo* dated 1894, is said to have been copied by Ozawa from Nakane’s collections (figure 6). Ozawa’s copy of the *Negishi ryaku-zu* and its connection with *Negishi kinbō-zu* attest to an intellectual network of map collecting and copying.<sup>83</sup> With illustrations of houses, birds, trees, and the use of multiple colors, *Negishi ryaku-zu* visually resembles a *Edo kiriezu* 江戸切絵図, offering information such as “this place is suitable to see snow” and “the families here dry plums.” As the *shikigo* explains, Nakane happened to know a friend who held an old printed woodblock map by Getsugai 月崖, dated to Bunsei 文政 3 (1820). Nakane borrowed and copied it, and it was later copied by Ozawa.

81 Kimura 1914, p. 6.

82 *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 16 December 1899.

83 For the intellectual networks centering on maps in eighteenth-century Japan, see Uesugi 2010.

This 1820 map was well known in the community, and Ōtsuki mentioned it as a resource for the *Negishi kinbō-zu* (section 4).<sup>84</sup>

The two maps of *Negishi ryaku-zu* and *Negishi kinbō-zu* not only reveal the community's interest in cartographic materials and methods; they also partake in consolidating Negishi's image as a scenic place of historical interest. Borrowing from Kären Wigen, in the hands of the *Negishi kinbō-zu* makers, Negishi "metamorphosed into an object of affection, attachment, and curiosity for the people who dwelled there."<sup>85</sup> Yet while the *Negishi ryaku-zu* foregrounded Negishi's beauty, and reflected Nakane and Ozawa's historical interests, the *Negishi kinbō-zu* was more complex, embodying a symbolic community struggling with its symbols.

The materialization of this struggle in the *Negishi kinbō-zu* reflected the complicated relations of its makers with the state and power. Ōtsuki, Ozawa, and Nakane all experienced 1868 as a political turning point, and were members of the "defeated" (*haisha* 敗者) group that survived the Meiji Restoration.<sup>86</sup> This group, formerly aligned with the bakufu, was stigmatized during Japan's subsequent modernization.<sup>87</sup> Henry D. Smith II has argued that the *haisha* had less sense of being actually "defeated" than of sharing an "eagerness to opt out of the values of the new Meiji state and its emphasis on centralization, bureaucratization, hierarchy, and patriotic loyalty," remaining "'unrepentant outsiders' who preferred to rely on their own private networks of mutual interest and support."<sup>88</sup> For those who survived the Restoration as young adults, encountered the rapid societal changes, and exhibited uniformity with the updated ideologies and cultural conventions, defeat was not merely a personal experience but a lingering mental state, associated with reclusion. This reflected the Chinese artistic idea that reclusion represented a private space "always intended to be shared," which "invited commentary within a like-minded community," best demonstrated by the celebrated "remnants" or "leftover people" of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) who failed to recognize their replacement by the Qing (1644–1912).<sup>89</sup> The *Negishi kinbō-zu* shows, at a smaller scale, a community's ongoing valorization of a past that existed before their reclusion. It is a communal product by these *haisha* in late Meiji Japan, who kept their distance from the locus of political power, created a space of aesthetic reclusion for themselves, and sought to symbolically demarcate it.

One illuminating sentence in Ōtsuki's essay implies this, drawing a distinction between two kinds of people. It suggests that while the *kyūsodai* might be satisfied with the narrow streets, the wealthy and influential families (*gōzoku*) would find it unsuitable for living.<sup>90</sup> As John Urry notes, it is part of "the culture of those living in a given geographical area to draw a distinction between those who are local, 'people like us,' and those who are nonlocal, 'outsiders';" and further that "this binary opposition may be set up and reproduced in relation with people's sense of belonging to a given 'community.'"<sup>91</sup> The wealthy, who

84 Negishi Club 1901; Ishikawa (1925, p. 2) also mentions in his *Kanasugi koi* that he saw the map at the place of his uncle, the seal engraver Nakai Keisho 中井敬所 (1831–1909).

85 Wigen 2010, p. 226.

86 Yamaguchi 1995.

87 Brecher 2012.

88 Smith 2012.

89 Sturman 2012, pp. 14–15.

90 Negishi Club 1901.

91 Urry 1987, p. 443.

are not suited to living in Negishi, and those that Nakane thought would laugh at him, are constructed as others to consolidate the uniformity of the symbolic community of “*warera Negishi-jin.*” Yet Ōtsuki’s efforts to symbolically affirm the place of Negishi as rightfully belonging to its contemporary *kyūsodai* were tentative, and at the end of his text he asks if “Admiring the reclusion of the men of noble character (*kōshi insei no shi sama nao shitawaru* 高士隠棲の士さまなお慕はる)” makes “this map graceful or worldly (*ga nariya zoku nariya* 雅なりや俗なりや)?”<sup>92</sup> As with Negishi itself, so with *Negishi kinbō-zu*. Place and cartographic narrative nevertheless took shape, tying together a symbolic community through the aesthetics of defeat and reclusion.

The community mapping of *Negishi kinbō-zu* works at a local scale. During the process of mapmaking, both “Negishi” and the identity of its members was being reconfirmed. To borrow Anthony Cohen’s words, the place of Negishi, with its Edo relics and memory, served their historical interests and preferred way of life well, and became the “compass of individual identity, responding to their need to delimit the bounds of similarity.”<sup>93</sup> The *Negishi kinbō-zu* is historically-situated, not offering the kind of “malleability” that could find a role in the grander nation-building project identified by Kären Wigen.<sup>94</sup> It is by and for “*warera Negishi-jin,*” who collaborative produced this cartographic “little world” and, in doing so, reproduced themselves.

The *Negishi kinbō-zu* thus offers a communal and symbolic alternative to the dominance represented by the victorious Meiji state. This alternative builds upon collective sentiments, including pride in local history, opposition to the railways, and identification with neighbors. The set of practices surrounding this map echo the definition of community mapping: “Local mapping, produced collaboratively, by local people and often incorporating alternative local knowledge.”<sup>95</sup> What demands our attention is the symbolism of this community mapping, which both materialized the *Negishi kinbō-zu* and sustained the community.

## Conclusion

The *Tōkyō Shitaya Negishi oyobi kinbō-zu* offers a nativist image of Negishi and shows how a symbolic community took form and consolidated itself through a project of community mapping in the late Meiji period. Rather than the material instrumentality of governance and political authority, the map reveals the mapmaker-cum-residents’ attachment to place as well as their opposition to some aspects of modernity. Through mapping Negishi, they produced a narrative of community and place, dismissing the value of railroads and eulogizing aesthetic reclusion and tranquility of Negishi. In so doing, they re-affirmed their symbolic community. This specific case illuminates the role of maps and mapping in late Meiji Japan at the scale of a neighborhood. The *Negishi kinbō-zu* carried significance within its community. It interweaved social networks with place, and invigorated and strengthened the community as a source of identity. It is through the process of mapping that a dynamic symbolic community emerged, and a local place became a symbolic referent.

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92 Negishi Club 1901.

93 Cohen 1989, p. 110.

94 Wigen 2010.

95 Perkins 2007, p. 127.

This symbolism was maintained in subsequent decades, as Ōtsuki and the *Negishi kinbō-zu* remain a means of representing Negishi today. After the Meiji period, Negishi continued to be depicted as “another world” attracting people of grace. The street where Ōtsuki lived received the name Ōtsuki Yokochō 大槻横丁 (Ōtsuki alley), and since the 1980s, the *Negishi kinbō-zu* has been reprinted by diverse groups, revealing the public-private partnerships, or “entrepreneurialism” that David Harvey identifies, in the ongoing symbolic identification of community.<sup>96</sup> While no longer accurately representing the contemporary geography of Negishi, this late Meiji map continues to provoke ideas on the relationship between mapping, place, and community in the present.

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96 Harvey 1989. The players included the local authority of Taitō Ward, university study groups, the revived Negishi Club, and writers. The revived club was founded by Ichikawa Jinzō 市川任三 (1918–1999), a historian, literary studies scholar, and resident of Negishi in the early 1980s. See the Appendix for recent reproductions and uses of the map, as well as Wigen’s discussion on the reprints of the eighteenth-century maps of Shinano after the Meiji period (2010, pp. 221–230).

APPENDIX

	INSTITUTION / PUBLICATION	FORMAT
1	National Diet Library, Japan	Black cloth cover, inscribed “Teikoku Toshokan” 帝國圖書館 (Imperial Library), mounted on cloth. “Bound ( <i>seibon</i> 製本) on 12 March, thirty-fourth year of Meiji (1901)” stamped near the bottom right, map marked in red.
2	Tokyo Metropolitan Library (Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library Special Collections Room)	Ozawa Keijiro’s <i>shikigo</i> attached to the left and punctuation marks in red (figures 2 & 3).
3	Musashino Public Library	Framed as a hanging scroll (size: 80 cm x 70 cm).
4	Tokyo Metropolitan Archives	With a brown-colored cover.
5	Meiji Shinbun Zasshi Bunko, University of Tokyo	With red handwritten marks and “Presented by Fujisawa Seki’ichirō on 5 February, fifth year of Taishō (1916)” in the left margin. Later donated to the Meiji Shinbun Zasshi Bunko, established in 1927.
6	Anrakuji 安楽寺 Temple in Negishi	Framed and with traces of restoration.
<b><u>The following are reproductions</u></b>		
RR1	Taito City Library, Tokyo	A copy (46 cm x 63.5 cm) mounted on a vinyl sheet with a stamp saying “donated to Taitō Toshokan (Taito Library) on 30 June, fiftieth year of Shōwa (1975)” on the back, and some handwritten <i>banchi</i> addresses on the map.
RR2	<i>Tokyo Shitaya Negishi oyobi kinbō</i> (1981) [magazine]	A full-sized reproduction (45 cm x 61 cm) attached to the magazine.
RR3	Jinnai and Itakura, <i>Tōkyo no machi o yomu</i> (1981) [book]	A reduced reproduction (B5) inserted on p. 36.
RR4	Sakai, <i>Ueno, Okachimachi, Yanaka, Iriya, Negishi (Tokyo rojō saiken)</i> (1988) [book]	Part of map inserted on p. 266, caption explains the map was in the collection of Ichikawa Jinzō.
RR5	Yanesen Kōbō (Ōgi, Mori, Yamazaki), “Shiki no shiki” (1999) [magazine article]	Part of RR2 inserted at pp. 18–19, introducing Masaoka and other local residents and places.
RR6	Matsubara, <i>Tonari no haka</i> (2001) [book]	Part of map inserted with Masaoka’s and Kuga’s homes marked (no pagination).
RR7	Akaiwa, “Meiji kochizu de aruku Negishi no sato” (2005) [magazine article]	Illustration of RR2 with additional captions introducing local sites inserted on pp. 44–45.
RR8	Mabuchi, <i>Uta no sōshun</i> (2006) [book]	A copy of RR2 spanning two B6-sized book pages (pp. 320–321).
RR9	Distributed by Negishi-kai in 2009 [single-sheet map]	One printed sheet (46 cm x 63.5 cm), copy of R2. Visible on the Stroyl Inc. website ( <a href="https://stroyl.com/viewer/1506462596">https://stroyl.com/viewer/1506462596</a> , accessed 11 August 2022).
RR10	Mori, <i>Shiki no oto</i> (2017) [book]	Used for the inner cover. Map described along with discussions of Masaoka (pp. 356–361).

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