

We read in old records that as early as the days of the Tokugawa (1603-1868) old maps and plans were treasured as precious things in Japan; but the fate of these collections is unknown. Geographical maps are mentioned for the first time in the history of Japan in connection with the great reforms of the Taikwa period (645-649 CE). In the *Nihongi*, the second oldest chronicles of Japan, we find under the year 646 CE an Imperial edict decreeing that the boundary lines of the provinces shall be surveyed and either chorographies or maps of those districts presented to the government. Obviously, initial efforts were purely relegated to provincial and cadastral mapping efforts. The first attempts to draw general maps of Japan were most probably made about this time. A map of this kind, assigned by tradition to Gyogi-Bosatsu (670-749), has been preserved to our day in the form of the general map of Japan reproduced in the *Shugaisho* encyclopedia of the 15th century (edition of the Keicho period, 1596-1614). A map of the third year of *Kagen*, that is, of the year 1305, in the possession of the Temple of Ninna-ji near Kyoto, is regarded as the earliest known map of Japan. It is thought to be a copy of a map of the *Gyogi* type of the Heian period (end of the eighth to middle of the ninth century).

Due to Japan's very well-enforced policy of isolation until the 16th century, before Japan came into contact through the Portuguese and Spanish, with European culture, the Japanese conception of the world comprised practically nothing outside the neighboring countries of Korea, China and the Ryukyu Islands, with which more or less regular relations were maintained. The 15th century encyclopedia, *Shugaisho*, also contains a map of India (*Tenjiku*), in which the names of several other countries - *Kittan* (the kingdom of the Liao) (present-day Iran), appear, but probably the ideas connected with these names were very confused. Beyond the realm of Japan lay worlds formed through fascination and the imagination. Of world maps in the real sense one can only speak after the arrival in Japan of the Europeans in 1543, with the appearance of the Portuguese, who journeyed to Japan in the pursuit of new lands to develop trade and to spread Christianity. The Portuguese and their culture had a strong impact on Japanese thoughts and activities, including the creation of many maps and folding screens with European motifs and new views of the world at large. These maps and screens prompted viewers to acknowledge a more distinctive "Self". The end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries was a transitional moment for both the Japanese and Portugal. Religiously, the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries were in conflict with the Japanese government and their authority was undermined by Mendicants from the Philippines. These conflicts were compounded further by the spread of Protestantism in Europe. Similarly, after a short prosperous trade in Asia, rising economic and political power of the Netherlands and England gradually pushed Portuguese trade out of Asia.

Although the famous 1602 world map entitled *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* [A Map of the Myriad Countries of the World] by the Italian Jesuit Father Matteo Ricci (#441) was making its rounds in Asia, it was largely a "Chinese thing", and did not become

incredibly popular until it was copied later in Japan by Nagakubo Sekisui, an Edo period geographer and Confucian scholar, described by Yanagita Kunio as the founder of Japanese geography. Sekisui is credited with the creation of numerous maps and travel writings, and innovations such as the first Japanese map to employ lines of latitude and longitude.

One of the first *Japanese* world maps, however, was actually a Buddhist map, which means its primary purpose was a religious one. Throughout the eighth century CE Buddhism became entrenched in the Japanese cultural scene. Buddhism brought to Japan a Hindu cosmological view that had been reshaped in China and was to undergo Japanese revision as new information became available. The first Japanese Buddhist “world” maps did not incorporate all the countries of the world. These maps, called *nansenbushu*, consisted of only three countries: China, India, and Japan. China is in the northeastern section, India makes up the inverted triangle shape at the bottom, and Japan is an island off to the East. These maps centered on the *Buddhist world*, and therefore emphasize Buddhist landmarks. The whirlpool depicted in the middle of these maps, for example, is considered the “center of the universe”, which is a lake where Queen Maya gave birth to the Buddha.

In Buddhist philosophy, a giant mountain called *Mount Sumeru* (*Shumisen*) was believed to stand at the center of the world. The first map below shows a 3-D model of the Buddhist world, *Shumisen-gizu*, organized around *Mount Sumeru*. The huge mountain of *Sumeru* towers up in the center, enclosed by a series of eight concentric oceans and mountain ranges. The outermost of these, called *Tecchisen* (Cakravada Mountain), is located at the very edge of the world, and in the ocean just inside it (i.e. the outermost ocean) islands are depicted to the north, south, east and west of *Mount Sumeru* respectively. Of these four islands the one to the south of center, shaped like an inverted triangle (to the lower right of *Mount Sumeru*), is *Nansenbushu* (*Jambu-dvipa*) where human beings reside. Portrayal of *Nansenbushu* is essential to all Buddhist world maps. The oldest extant example is the 14th century *Gotenjiku-zu* in the Horyuji collection, but maps in this lineage continued to be produced through the Edo period 1603-1867. The *Map of Nansenbushu*, shown below, is one such example. Looking at the inverted triangle shape denoting the Indian subcontinent we can see the Himalayan Mountains indicated in the central area, and so that tract of land clearly represents India (*Tenjiku*). In the far northeast corner of this continent we can see China (*Shintan*) and in the eastern sea at the very edge of the map, the island of Japan.

Our habitable world, according to the Buddhist cosmographical view, is a continent called *Jambu-dvipa* lying to the south of *Mount Sumeru*. The continent is said to be wide in the north and pointed in the south, having in its center *Lake Anavatapta* from which flow four large rivers. This is to be considered as a topographical reflection of the Indian peninsula, *Lake Anavatapta* symbolizing Lake Manasarovar in the Himalayas and the four rivers representing the Ganges, the Indus, the Oxus and the Tarim. Together with Buddhism, this geographical conception of the world was introduced into China and thence into Japan, where it found expression in various types of Buddhist maps. These maps, therefore have some characteristics analogous to the Christian world maps of the Middle Ages, for they both express their religious view of the world. But while the latter gradually went out of use in Europe from the beginning of the modern age, the former claimed, with popular support, a right to existence until the middle of the 19th century, in opposition to the newer world maps of European origin that had been

gradually gaining ground from the 16th century. This may be attributed largely to the extraordinary circumstances of Japan during her national isolation from 1639 to 1854.

The Japanese Buddhist world maps still extant, as well as those brought over from China, are many and varied both in form and in substance. According to Nobuo Muroga and Kazutaka, it is interesting to note, however, that they all developed from one and the same origin. What is regarded as their prototype is a map generally called *Gotenjiku Zu* [Map of the Five Indies], some copies of which have been handed down even to this day. These maps represent a quaint, sea-girt shield-shaped continent of *Jambu-dvīpa* [the whole world]. But the area displayed on them barely comprises India and Central Asia, which were then called in China *Si-yü* [the Western Regions]. The place-names given are with few exceptions from the *Si-yü-ki*, a record of pilgrimage written by Hsüan-tsang the well-known Chinese Buddhist priest, who visited India in the seventh century CE. His pilgrimage-routes traced in a red line as if covering all over the continent and China itself is indicated only as the point of his departure and arrival. They may, therefore be classed as a peculiar kind of map of India which represents the pilgrimage of this celebrated Buddhist traveler.

The oldest extant map of this kind is the aforementioned *Gotenjiku Zu* [Map of the Five Indies], 177x 166.5 cm, drawn by Jukai, a Buddhist priest, in 1364, now preserved in the Horyuji Temple at Nara. On this map we see, in addition to the mythical *Anukodatchi*-pond which represents the center of the universe and from which flow four rivers in the four cardinal directions, in the left-hand upper corner of the map a region designated as *Euroba*, around which are grouped, clockwise, the following named countries: *Umukari* (Hungary?), *Oranda*, *Barantan*, *Komo* (Holland, the country of the redhaired), *Aruhaniya* (Albania), *Itaryia* (Italy), *Suransa* (France) and *Inkeresu* (England). Europe, which had no place at all in earlier Buddhist world maps, makes this one of the first Japanese maps to depict this western region.

Africa appears as a small island in the western sea identified as the "*Land of Western Women*." Hiroshi Nakamura regarded this map, therefore, simply a mutilated copy of the *Map of the Five Indies* which is said to have come to Japan about 835, and a copy of which, dating from the 14th century.

In the surrounding margin of this map are many quotations taken chiefly from the *Si-yü-ki* to describe the natural features and the customs and manners of India. Besides this map, an unfinished copy of it by a priest named Zenjo is also preserved in the same temple; and maps owned by Prof. Shintaro Ayuzawa (Tokyo), the Jōgonin Temple (Shiga Pref.) and the Ryūikoku University (Kyoto) can likewise be considered to come within the same group. There is another group of the *Map of the Five Indies* which varies a little from these maps only as regard Hsüan-tsang's route and in not having written on the outside of the continent the names of remote countries as *Kokoku* [Land of Barbarians], *Saidaijokoku* [Western country of women] and *Konchikoku* [Golden Land = Swarna-bhumi].

This new Japanese world map, called *Nansenbushu bankoku Shoka no zu*, printed in 1710 (100 years after Ricci's map #441), is the first *Nansenbushu* that attempted to display the rest of the world. Of course remember that this is a *Buddhist* map, meaning things are mapped by religious significance (rather than geographical accuracy), meaning India and China are displayed in a larger portion of the map... most of it, in fact. It is thought that Ricci's map had made some circulation by this time, and the author of this map heard about the rest of the world enough to make some educated guesses. Then again,

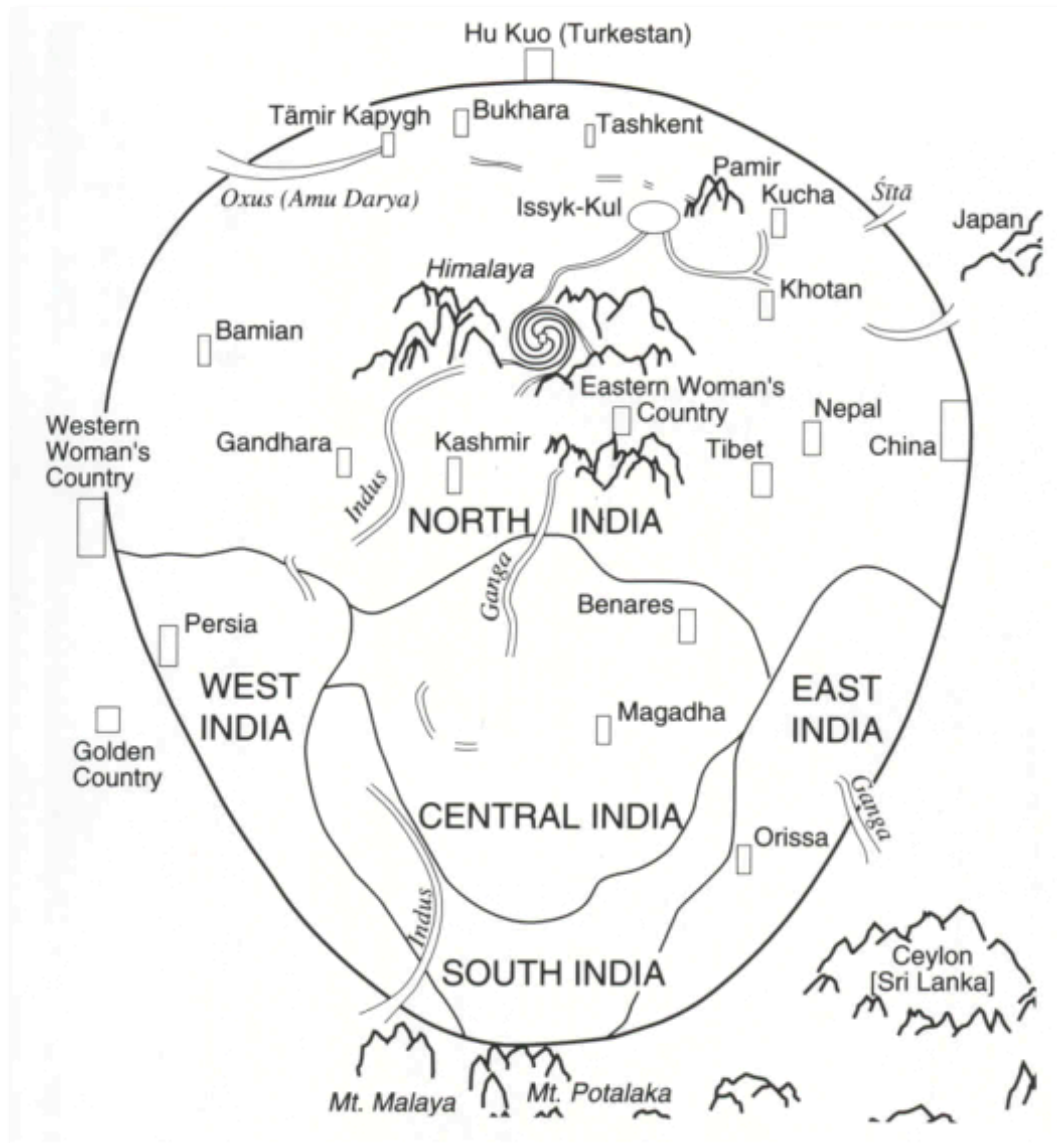
the map with only India, China, and Japan was not particularly accurate from a cartographic standpoint.



Shumisen-gizu (A Representation of Mount Sumeru), detail, first half of the 19th century.



*Gotenjiku-Zu [Map of the Five Indies], 1744, 167.5 x 134 cm
An atypical Nansenbushu Buddhist world map emphasizing the three major Buddhist countries
of China, India and Japan*

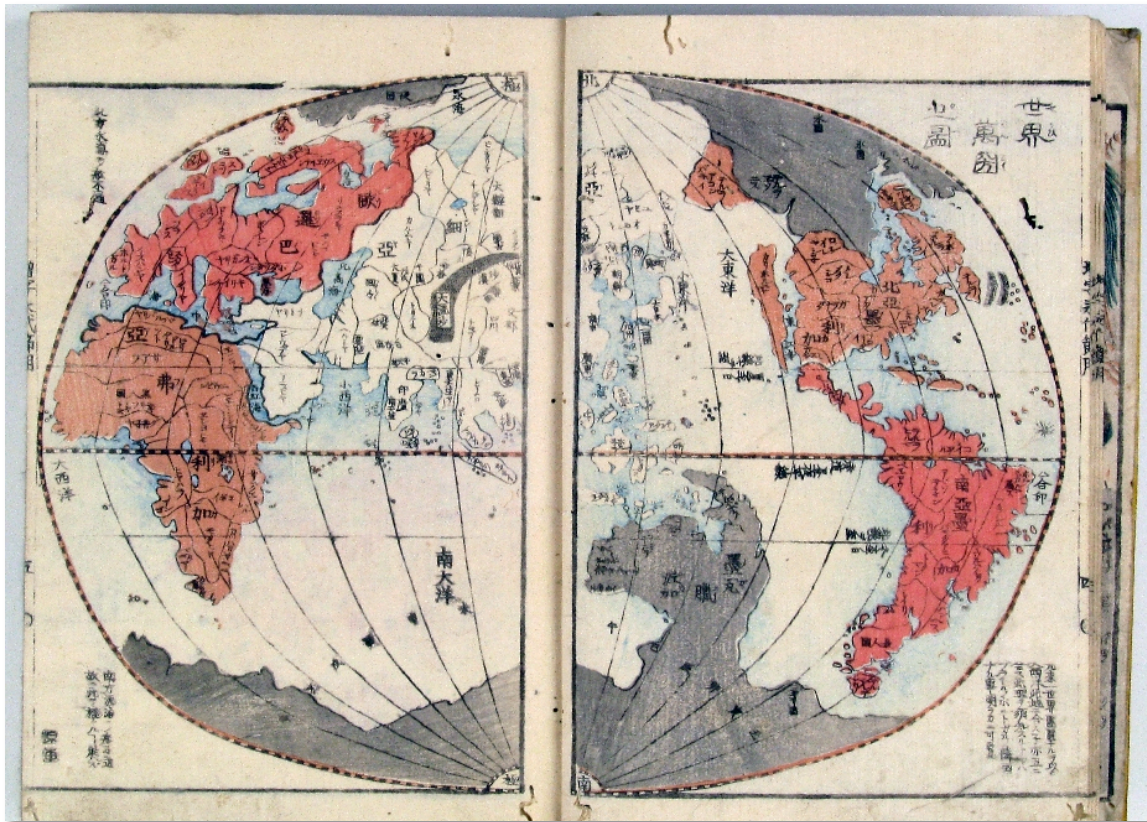


Interpretative drawing of the Gotenjiku Zu [Map of the Five Regions of India].

This traditional Buddhist depiction of the civilized world (mainly India and the Himalayan regions, with a token nod to China) divides India into five regions: north, east, south, west and central India. Each of these five regions is again divided into many kingdoms – those current during the career of Buddha. The Himalayas are shown as snow-capped peaks in the center of the map, and Mount Sumeru, the mythical center of the cosmos, is depicted in the whirlpool-like form. A much-reduced China (Chang'an is visible on the plain at the upper right) is labeled "Great Tang". Directly across from China, over the stormy seas, the islands of Kyushu and Shikoku and the form of Honshu can be detected.

In the Buddhist worldview seven basins of water and seven mountain ranges alternate in circles around four landmasses, of which only one called *Jambudvīpa*, takes the upside down triangular shape of the Deccan peninsula, is habitable. At its center is the *Lake Anavatapta*, from which the four main rivers of the Buddhist

world flow; the Ganges, the Indus, the Oxus, and the Tarim. The rivers might correspond to the *Four Noble Truths of Buddhism*, while the alternating layers of oceans and mountains might correlate with the noble eightfold path. The Buddhist spiritual journey is well represented by the oldest extant copy of a *Gotenjiku-zu* map [Map of the Five Indies, the Buddhist World Map] from 1364 made by a priest called Jukai, that is now preserved at the Nara Temple. It shows India as the center of Buddhism, and includes blue spirals that indicate the source of the rivers, and red lines that signal the pilgrim route of the Buddhist Chinese monk, Xuanzang, in the 7th century



Japanese world map, 1635

Japanese cartography starting from the late 16th century was greatly influenced by Western cartography. With the arrival of the Europeans in the mid-16th century, Western maps quickly found their way to Japan. Initially such maps decorated *byobu* screens, also known as *Namban byobu*, later the development of Japanese cartography became closely tied to the activities of the Jesuits in China, where Matteo Ricci and others produced several world maps with Chinese place names. The most influential map belonging to this category, the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* (#441) was prepared in 1602 and came to Japan in 1605 at the latest. There are also several works based on other maps drawn by Ricci, for example a map included in the *Fangyu shenglie* (1610), or a map in the encyclopedia *Sancai tuihui* (1607). All these maps had a great influence on contemporary Japanese cartography.

One of the most important works based on a Ricci-type map is the *Bankoku sozu* II, first printed in the year *Shoho tori*, 1645. It is generally known as the earliest printed Japanese world map in Western style. There are several versions of this map, the most "original" copy now being the one in the Shimonoseki City Chofu Museum. This version consists of two sheets (woodblock print) later colored by hand. One sheet shows a map in oval projection, the other carries images of forty ethnic groups (hence its common name *jinbutsuzu*). The sheet with the map depicts four different ships in each corner

Its place names appear in Japanese *hentaigana* and *katakana*; however, only the *hentaigana* are printed, the *katakana* were added by hand. The other versions share most of these characteristics, but usually all place names are either printed or written by hand. In other cases, one only finds the map (and not the images), and in two cases - that also includes the map discussed here - both the map and the *jinbutsuzu* appear on a single sheet. A detailed comparison reveals many more differences between the different "editions", for example copying errors, different ships, etc.

In Elke Papelitzky's paper entitled "A Description and Analysis of the Japanese World Map *Bankoku sozu* in its Version of 1671 and Some Thoughts on the Sources of the Original *Bankoku sozu*", she analyzes the version of the *Bankoku sozu* made in 1671. All texts and place names are transcribed and translated as far as possible. She also includes a discussion of the sources of the original *Bankoku sozu*.

Three extant prints of the 1671 are known today. One is preserved in the Bavarian State Library in Munich, one in the National Diet Library in Tokyo, and one in the British Library in London. Another version was in the collection of N. H. N. Mody, which was destroyed in World War II. However, a black and white reproduction of it can be seen in A Collection of Nagasaki Colour Prints and Paintings.

The map is a woodblock print on paper (40 x 56 cm). As was said, it appears on a single sheet together with the images of "foreign people", the map being on the right. After printing, it was colored by hand, thus the exact coloring differs between the three extant versions.

The *Bankoku sōzu* maps, displayed below, are made up of a pair of screens that seem to be hand-painted on manuscript-like paper. Also, these maps, some of which date to the year 1600, are the oldest of the Japanese maps of the University of British Columbia Tokugawa Era collection. In a fashion similar to hanging scrolls, both screens have been painted in vertically which suggest that they could have been displayed on a wall as pieces of art rather than practical pieces. One screen depicts a colorful world map with the different continents and countries labeled and displayed in a circular quadrant with indications of the four cardinal directions. The second screen, the *jinbutsuzu*, displays a diversity of ethnicity from around the world (forty couples) each labeled with the name of their countries and some with additional information. At the top of the screen there is a legend that seems to explain the reasoning behind such illustrations and its translation reveals that the purpose of this piece is to differentiate people and their culture and to "serve as an aid to the investigation of things and the accomplishment of knowledge".

Before observing further the pair of screens that constitute the *Bankoku sōzu*, it is important to note that due to the ancient nature of those documents, the dates of origin sometimes differ from one source to another and sometimes the artists are unknown. Despite this challenge, it is still possible to draw enough information from multiple sources to make sense of a visual piece of history.

When considering that the *Bankoku sōzu* dates from the year 1600 or the year 1645 depending on the source, it is interesting to think of how the Japanese people of the Tokugawa era could have had such extensive knowledge of the world when the historical context at the time involved limited contact with powers outside of Asia. For instance, the ruling class imposed multiple restrictions on trades and foreign interactions in the beginning of the 17th century. Decrees were enforced forbidding maps, under pain of death, to leave the country; and in order to render the ban more effective, the building of large ships was also prohibited. Under these circumstances, there was no longer any necessity to improve marine charts. And the importation of new books and maps, of course, practically ceased, so that Japanese scholars learned almost nothing about the geographical explorations and discoveries of the rest of the world. Comparison of what is probably the earliest extant world map of the Shoho period (1644-1647, the *Bankoku sōzu* screen map) with the approximately 45 years later map by Ishikawa Ryusen shows what a falling off there was in geographical knowledge during the few decades succeeding the isolation of the country.

Moreover, with the *sakoku* policies, established between the years 1640-1859, pre-modern Japan entered an era known as the “closed country era” and who left and entered the country was controlled. In other words, the Tokugawa era which was first led by the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu, 1542-1616, (who set the precedents to be followed by his legacy) was an era of centralized and bureaucratized power under a military regime.

However, despite such control on their borders, pre-modern Japan encountered and accepted to remain in contact, to a certain extent, with two main foreign powers besides China: the Portuguese and the Dutch. It is said that with those European encounters and with the transfer of cultural knowledge that followed, the Japanese of the Tokugawa era were able to obtain information about what the “unknown world” looked like.

When Iberian merchants and missionaries sailed to Japan in the mid-16th century they carried with them European maps that presented a view of the world radically different from Japan’s cartography of a flat earth limited to Buddhist Asia. In 1553 a Kyoto aristocrat wrote: *“The Southern Barbarians say that the world is round and that they have traversed the mountains and seas and crossed the oceans from the west to the east and that if one were to travel across the seas from east to west one would eventually return to one’s point of origin. Although this seems doubtful, the Barbarians refer skeptics to a picture of the world that represents their view”*.

By the end of the 16th century the maps of Mercator, Ortelius, Plancius, van den Keere, Blaeu, Ricci, and others were depicted on Japanese painted screens and, from the mid-17th through the late-19th century, were reproduced in popular woodblock prints and as plates in books as well. Many of the Japanese versions of European world maps included ubiquitous images of ships sailing across the world’s oceans or circumnavigating a spherical earth. The iconography of ships in the Japanese cartographic record can be found where one would least expect to find them: on 18th and 19th century Japanese Buddhist world maps that otherwise vehemently rejected the cartography of European exploration and its attendant cosmology of a global earth. One of the most spectacular and unusual examples of Japanese Buddhist cartography is a 19th century manuscript map which entirely excises the presence of Africa, the Americas, Australia, and Antarctica and provincializes Europe as a few peripheral islands scattered at the margins. The world represented is largely limited to Buddhist Asia and

is surrounded by five sailing ships of various East Asian origins. In the location where Europe would normally be depicted the map includes, perhaps as a synecdoche for the displaced continent, a sixth 'Dutch' sailing ship. Yet it is a seventh vessel that presents the most curious cartographic detail: an airship fitted-out with balloon, sail, paddle wheel, rudder, and keel sailing in the sky. The bird's-eye view that the hot air balloon affords, however, is subsumed within the panopticism of the Buddhist map. The very mechanism that might otherwise challenge the classical Buddhist vision of a flat earth is here incorporated into its proof. This combination of the modern technology of European travel and observation, with the traditional geography of Buddhist Asia, may seem disturbing to those who assume a universal trajectory of cartographic history. But such cartographic hybridity remained coherent in the visual and intellectual culture in which such maps were produced and consumed: one in which multiple world-views that may seem to us incommensurable were not, to those of the time, incongruous.



*Nansenbushu [Buddhist Map of the World], early 19th century manuscript,
127.5 x 152 cm, Kobe City Museum, Japan*



Records show that the first Portuguese arrived in pre-modern Japan in 1543 after a shipwreck, in the southern coastal area and that the Jesuits sponsored by Portugal arrived a few years later in 1549. Following this, the Japanese started copying the maps the Portuguese brought with them in order to build their knowledge of Asia and fused it with their own knowledge of their waterways and coastal line to perfect their navigational maps.

However, the missionaries and their “Christianizing activities” that came with trading with the Portuguese started to be perceived as threats to the safety of state established by the Tokugawa clan. In other words, the new type of religious loyalty was upsetting the political loyalties with the shogun, so the Portuguese faced multiple criticisms, persecutions (first martyrdoms in 1597) and restrictions (i.e. on trades, heavy taxations) and were eventually banned from Japan in 1639.

Along the side of such developments, other records reveal that the Dutch, aboard the ship *Liefde* reached the eastern coast of pre-modern Japan on April 19, 1600 in the area which is known today as Kyushu. Contrary to the Portuguese, the Dutch and their Dutch East India Company (created in 1602) presented themselves and Holland as an independent country and power without any religious or political motives who wanted to trade with the Japanese (and at the same time extend their presence into the wider world to build up their riches). The shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu is said to have been quite interested by what the *Liefde* was carrying, mainly by its weapons. Also, because of how the Dutch differentiated their faith from the Portuguese (their rivals who described them as “pirates” to the Japanese).

Under the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu the Dutch and the Japanese had thriving trades in artillery and ammunition, but other types of trades and cultural exchanges influenced Japanese culture and politics. Following the numerous restrictions and bans



on Christianity and its religious art which used to be copied from Jesuits with the goal of promoting the beliefs, the form of art which survived was a practical and secular one, cartography.

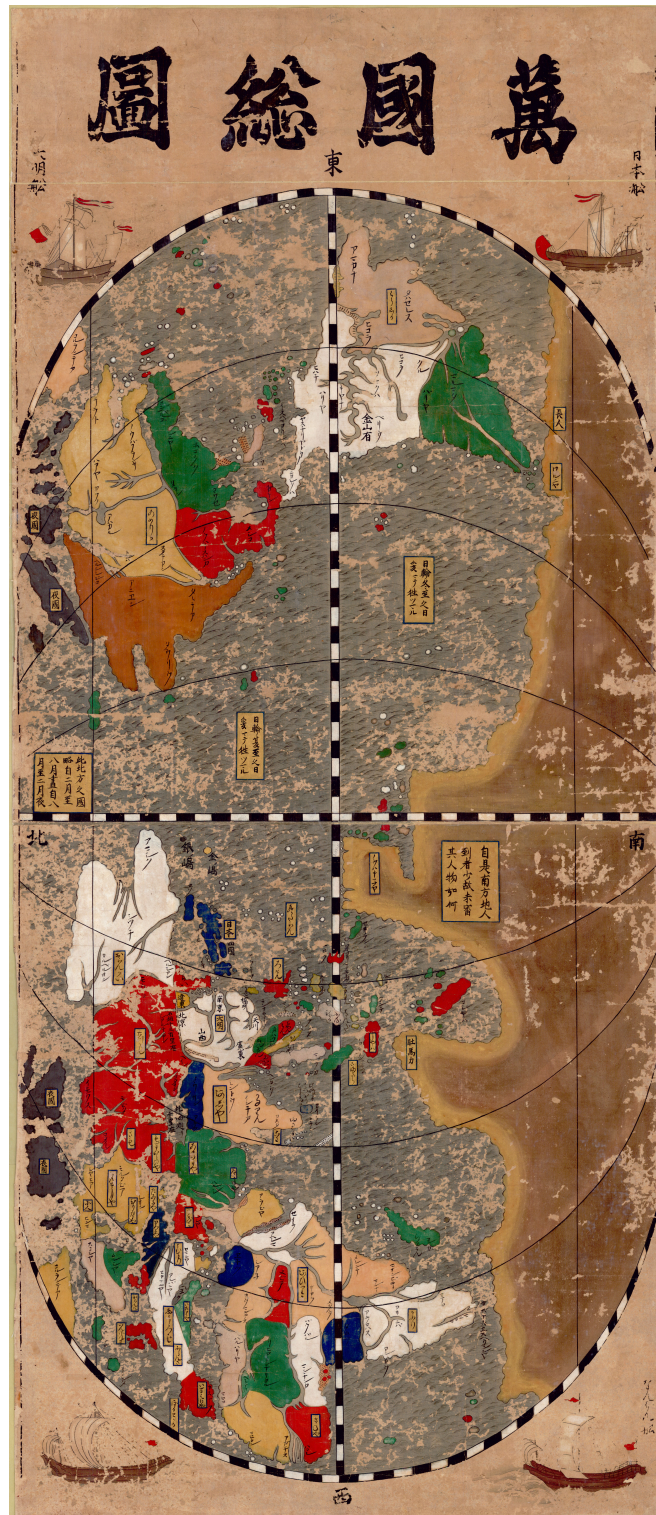
One Dutch artist whose maps are said to have reached Japan through the network of trades is Willem Jansz Blaeu’s (1571-1638) who experimented with maps of the world and created a version called *Nova Orbis Terrarum Geographica* in 1606-07. The original map is said to now be lost, but its influences such as its decorative aspect and the illustrated geography can be seen on the Japanese screens maps such as in the *Bankoku Ezu: Sekai zu* which is dated between 1610 and 1614.

What is also interesting to note on this map compared to the *Bankoku sōzu* of 1645 is how the style used on the different ethnic couples reflects the perspective or the “gaze” used by the artist. For instance, in the *Bankoku Ezu: Sekai zu* the Japanese couple is illustrated in a very Italianesque manner which does not fit with Japanese standards or vision of themselves, but most likely fitted with European standards.

In fact, the woman’s kimono looks more like a dress and she has long curly hair while the man is cleanly shaved (which in Japan was not as manly). However, in the later creation of the *Bankoku sōzu*, the artist seems to have reclaimed Japanese standards and identity in the representation of the Japanese couple while conserving some of the Western influences for other aspects of the screens (unfamiliar ethnicities based on Western’s sources). In the case of the Japanese couple, the man is now dressed like a warrior, a bearded samurai ready for battle and the woman, who is assisting her husband with his sword, is wearing the appropriate garments and fashion (straight long hair and whitened skin) one is expecting to see according to her high ranking status.



Details from the *Bankoku sōzu*:
Japanese couple



Bankoku Sozu (Map of the World), 1645 44.8 x 22 inches/134.5 x 57.6 cm

A double-sided woodcut found in the Japanese Maps of the Tokugawa Era

On the reverse (below), are illustrated examples of the peoples of the world.

Designed to hang with East at the top.

University of British Columbia Library - Rare Books and Special Collections.



The Jinbutsuzu

This is a manuscript map painted on paper which is accompanied by a sheet of uniform size divided into 40 compartments, depicting the costumes of the same number of foreign nations. This beautiful map, derived from an occidental source, is one of the earliest known examples of cartography produced in the Japanese Shōhō period (1644-1648), an era of feudalism. The brilliant painting is enhanced by gilt which is applied to the boxed place names and legends. Maps of this type, with their companion panels representing the "forty types of barbarians" were used as elements of screens. The same map exists in printed form and is known as the "Shōhō World Map."

This map owes its outlines of the world to a European-style map like the aforementioned *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* by Matteo Ricci (#441), which was published in China in the late 16th century and brought to Japan soon afterward. That is why the map shows the equator, the regression lines and the dateline. It thus testifies to western influences on the Japanese visualizations of the world.

Works by Jesuit cartographers in late-Ming and early-Qing China were just one of the channels through which the western geographical knowledge was relayed to Japan. The Japanese had had direct contacts with the Europeans since the mid-16th century, and it is known that the first western-made globes were brought along at that time. Furthermore, the Japanese, for their part, were engaged in intra-Asian maritime trade until the seclusion policy abruptly ended such activities in the 17th century. There were naturally a lot of interactions with Western counterparts at Asian port cities.

This map was published in wood-block printing in early modern times and was probably the first of its kind. Maps were already a popular item on the printing market in early modern Japan and were mass-produced. That is also why the map is coupled with an encyclopedic drawing of various human races with their distinctive outfits. This was probably meant as a feature to appeal to the curiosity of the general public.

At the end of the 16th century Japan is known to have been carrying on active trade with most of the Far Eastern countries. Japan had colonies then in the Philippines, Annam, Siam and Java; and had the isolation policy inaugurated during the early part of the 17th century not created a sharp break in foreign relations, trade and shipping would have continued to develop apace, and doubtless the art of cartography would also have made great strides. Before, however, the Japanese could get as far as making their own world maps from the new material at their disposal, decrees were enforced forbidding them, under pain of death, to leave the country; and in order to render the ban more effective, the building of large ships was also prohibited. Under these circumstances, there was no longer any necessity to improve marine charts. And the importation of new books and maps, of course, practically ceased, so that Japanese scholars learned almost nothing about the geographical explorations and discoveries of the rest of the world. Comparison of what is probably the earliest extant world map of the Shōhō period (1644-1647) with the approximately forty-five years later map by Ishikawa Ryusen shows what a falling off there was in geographical knowledge during the few decades succeeding the isolation of the country. On the other hand, after centuries of internal warfare, the union of the Empire under the strong hand of the Tokugawa restored law and order, and permanent peace increased the material welfare of the people. Trade and commerce showed a definite upward trend, and before long the central government, after an interval of many centuries, again ordered detailed maps of the various provinces to be made.

Father Matteo Ricci's world map (#441) exerted a greater influence on Japanese cartography than on Chinese because, being exempted from the prohibitions directed

against works of Christian propaganda, it was available to be copied, and so came to be transmitted in a simplified form through the publication of the *Shoho* map of 1645 and that map's many derivatives. Various European maps and atlases were introduced into Japan in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, among them Ricci's map. Examples of the map of 1600 were sent to Japan by the Jesuit Fathers in China; and it is probable that one was in use at the Academy of Mathematicians founded in the Church at Kyoto in 1605 by Father Carlo Spinola, S.J. Ricci's map achieved the widest circulation because its place-names and legends were written in Chinese characters, which could be read by the educated Japanese. After the prohibition of Christianity and the exclusion of all foreigners except Dutch and Chinese by the Shogunate Government in 1638, works such as Aleni's *Chih-fang wai-chi* of 1623 and Ricci's religious writings were on the list of prohibited books, but no restriction was placed on world maps because of their usefulness. This included Ricci's map, which was considered to have no direct connection with Christianity. When, for example, a restrictive order on imports was issued at Nagasaki in 1668, world maps could still be imported because they were "convenient and useful". In later years Ricci was often mistakenly regarded as an Asian, but this misconception had its origin in *Sairan Igen*, a book on world geography written in 1713 by the celebrated scholar and high Shogunate Government official Arai Hakuseki. It is perhaps significant that the Jesuit sign IHS on Ricci's map at Kyoto University has been rubbed off.

This free circulation explains why, according to Wallis, the unknown author of the *Shoho* map had an example of Ricci's maps (or a derived version) available to copy when, in 1645, seven years after the period of Japan's self-imposed isolation had begun, he set about making a map depicting western knowledge of the world entitled *Bankoku Sozu*, map of the world. This, the first true map of the world printed in Japan, was very different from the ancient Buddhist map of India, purporting to be a map of the world, which first appeared in the printed edition of an old Japanese encyclopedia, the *Shukaisho*, in 1642. Following the outlines of Ricci's map, the author of the *Shoho* map depicted the five continents of the world. The southern continent with the projecting peninsula of New Guinea is identical in form with Ricci's. The same oval projection is used, with the central meridian sited east of New Guinea. The graduations of latitude and longitude in black and white represent five-degree intervals, but the author evidently did not understand the geographical principles behind this decorative device, as he has not drawn the meridian lines at regular intervals, and he marks 170 degrees to the west of the prime meridian and 160 degrees to the east.

Although Ricci's map was its main source, the *Shoho* map appears, very different in purpose and conception from the remarkable scientific exposition of world geography that Ricci's map exemplifies. Ricci's map and the globe of 1623 pay special attention to the continents and their relationships, and to the place of the earth in the universe. The *Shoho* map was popular rather than educational, decorative rather than scientific. It was accompanied by a sheet (the *Jinbutsuzu*) displaying forty pictures of the peoples of the world. Printed, from sets of wood-blocks (five in number for the map, each about eleven inches wide), the two sheets form a two-fold screen; a simplified and popular version of the gorgeous six-fold and eight-fold *Namban* screens much used by the nobility in the preceding years. The color has been added by hand, and the map may be an example of "Nagasaki-e" (Nagasaki Pictures), the color prints from wood-blocks that were sold to travelers as products of Nagasaki art. The sheet of pictures bears the imprint: "Published at Nagasaki Harbor in the hinototori (cock) year of the Shoho era". The cyclical date

hinoto tori is wrong, as the Shoho era had no *hinoto* year, although the *tori* element in the date corresponds to 1645. This mistake in the date has led scholars to doubt both date and place of publication. It has been suggested by Sadakichi Misumi, followed by H. Ikenaga, that the map was published at Kyoto between 1651 and 1669, for these scholars then knew of no map published at Nagasaki before 1764. They conjectured that the author of the *Shoho* map gave a false date and place of publication in order to avoid being suspected of being a Christian by the anti-Christian government of the time. A *Shoho* type map formerly preserved at the Saidaiji Temple, Nara, bears the imprint: *Shimo Honnoji-mae* (Kyoto), *Eya Shobei* (Shobei, seller of pictures in front of Honnoji temple), and this also seemed evidence in favor of Kyoto as the place of publication of the map of 1645; but the fact that the map by Shobei, unlike that of 1645, displays the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, and that it has additional place-names, shows that it is a revised edition. The motive attributed to the author's deception in giving a false imprint seems doubtful, as there was no prohibition on the publication of world maps throughout the Edo period. Unless decisive evidence in favor of its publication at Kyoto comes to light, the *Shoho* world map may yet win acceptance as the earliest Japanese printed map of the world drawn by a painter of Nagasaki and published at Nagasaki in 1645.

The *Namban* map screens have an obvious historical importance, considering how they changed the view of Japanese observers realizing their place in a new geographical reality. The Buddhist conception of the world, which came to Japan in the Nara period (710-84) was limited to India, China and Japan. Bringing Europe literally on the map together with the Ptolemaic geocentric cosmological theory was a new chapter to be written. In 1550 Francis Xavier himself introduced the theory to the Japanese. In letters sent in 1552 to Rome from Cochin and to Ignatius de Loyola in Rome from Goa in 1552, Xavier noted that European astronomy and meteorology were known in Japan. Unno states that Xavier had explained the theory of a spherical earth but it is not confirmed whether he carried with him a globe or a map of the world.

These screens included Western maps of the world, printed and scripted in the Netherlands and Portugal and planispheres written in Chinese and printed by Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), in collaboration with Chinese scholars in Macao (c. 1585-1610). There was a knowledge and tradition in cartography before, like the *Honil Gangni Yeokdae Gukdo Ji Do* [Map of Integrated Lands and Regions of Historical Countries and Capitals, #236] the world map created 1402 in Korea, which came to Japan during Japanese military campaign against the Korean dynasty of Choson (1592-1598). The first maps were created for administrative reasons as a product of land reclamation associated with the endowment of Buddhist temples around 700. The *Gyoki*-type maps, first recorded in 805, which are named after the Buddhist priest Gyoki, who helped to determine the boundaries of the country for the first time, survived in modified form into the nineteenth century.

Modern Japanese cartography begins during and after the presence of the Europeans, when artists alternated the representations of Japan at different scales to heighten its prominence. Increasing the size of Japan in proportion to both Asia and the rest of the world, or placing Japan in a more centralized position was one of the most explicit expression of intercultural convergence at these times. They have to be seen as mechanical copies of European maps, rather as works of art in which they confronted new subjects and themes with artistic taste and sensibilities to pictorial displays of invention and ingenuity. Also it is to understand that by the seclusion policy of the

Tokugawa it was Japan that mattered most and mapmaking had to fit into an internal and external comparison of the *Self* with the *Other*.

The folding screens that use genre painting in Western style, depicted an interpretation of European courtiers, musicians, monks, shepherds and farmers in an idealistic landscape mingled with Western architecture. Some figures happen to appear on different screens and sometimes in a failed proportion to their surrounding. Other artists used their access to a diversity of new pictorial sources and subjects introduced by the Jesuit missionaries and European traders to display perspective views of European cities and towns, or foreign battle scenes to create curious, hybrid worlds. Copperplate engravings were used as reference and the Japanese scholars at the Painting School had to put considerable effort to colorize and resize these different black and white templates to compose such big folding screens.

Art historians have largely been responsible for discussing the cross-cultural exchanges that influenced *Namban* art in Japan between the 16th and 17th centuries. The meaning of the word points to the “Southern Barbarian” culture introduced by the arrival of the Spaniards in Nagasaki harbor in the 1540s. Joseph Loh (“When Worlds Collide”) divides *Namban* art into three broad categories. In the first, he groups Christian works produced by Japanese artists under the supervision of the Jesuit missionaries; in the second, he includes large folding screens with the subject of the Arrival of the Southern Barbarians.

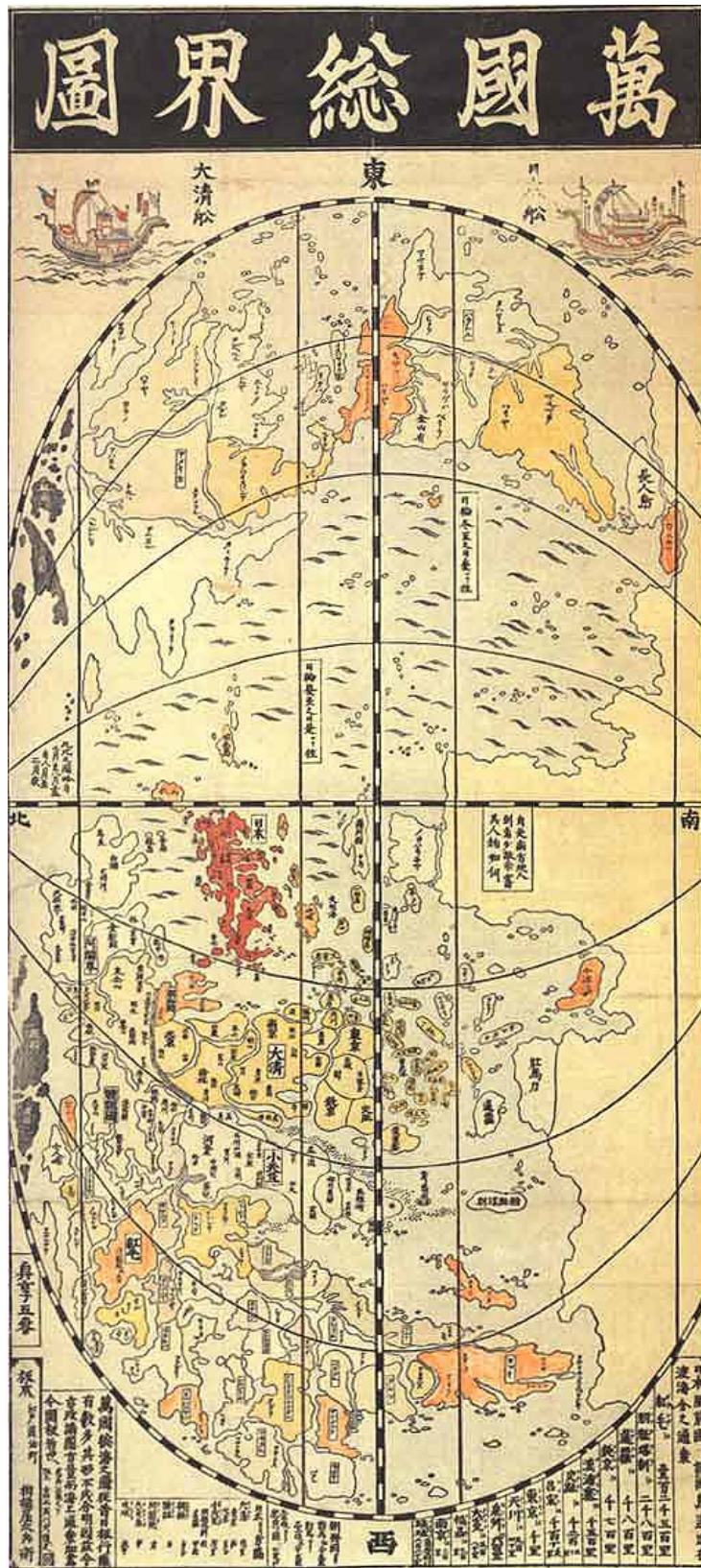
The third category includes folding screens that picture painted images of Western European maps of the world. Arguably the most nuanced and complex of all objects epitomizing the brief initial encounter between Japan and the West during the 1540s–1640s, these screens were collectively known as *Namban* world map screens. Painted in pairs, the six- or eight-part folding screens range in size from 68 to 204 cm in height and 226.5 cm to 447 cm in width. They are painted in ink, color, and gold leaf on paper. Twenty-two late 16th and early 17th century Japanese folding screens depicting Western maps are extant.

Namban world map screens became fashionable among wealthy merchants involved in maritime trade in coastal port towns and in growing metropolitan centers such as Osaka and Edo. Focusing on merchants’ patronage, Loh claims that this emerging class commissioned the *Namban* world maps for ostentatious display in their opulent households, as well as for gifts. As they were “willing to pay handsomely for such works, the genre had no rules and few limits.” Displayed in the imperial court and in elite households, occasionally the decorated screens were shipped to Europe and Italy as gifts for European rulers. All Western maps, whether of Jesuit or Dutch origin, contrasted sharply with contemporary Japanese beliefs that the earth consisted of only three great landmasses: India, China, and Japan, according to the framework of a Buddhist spiritual topography that inspired the production of the *Gyoki-zu* maps in which Japan is depicted as a series of rounded forms with indistinct coastlines. Maps combining the traditional rounded landmasses framed by images of world peoples provide an interesting example of hybridization (see the monograph, *The Evolution of Japan in Early Maps* on this website).

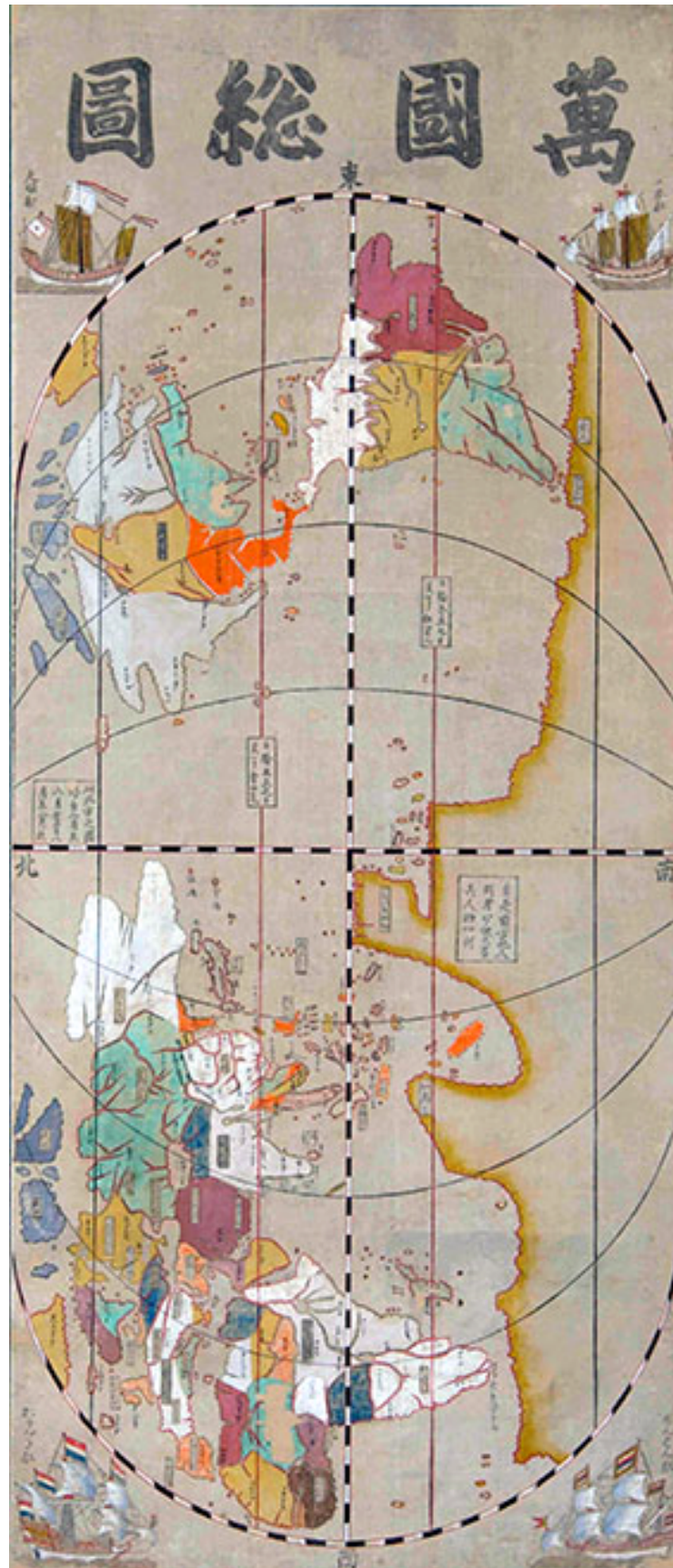
As Radu Leca states in the work entitled “The Versatility of Ship Iconography on a Seventeenth Century Japanese Map”, Ishikawa Ryusen’s 1688 reprint of ‘The General Map of All Countries’ (*Bankoku sokai zu*, shown below) has been interpreted as a mere pastiche of Western cartographic elements filtered through Matteo Ricci’s production in China. However, it can be argued that this map projects an updated world-view specific

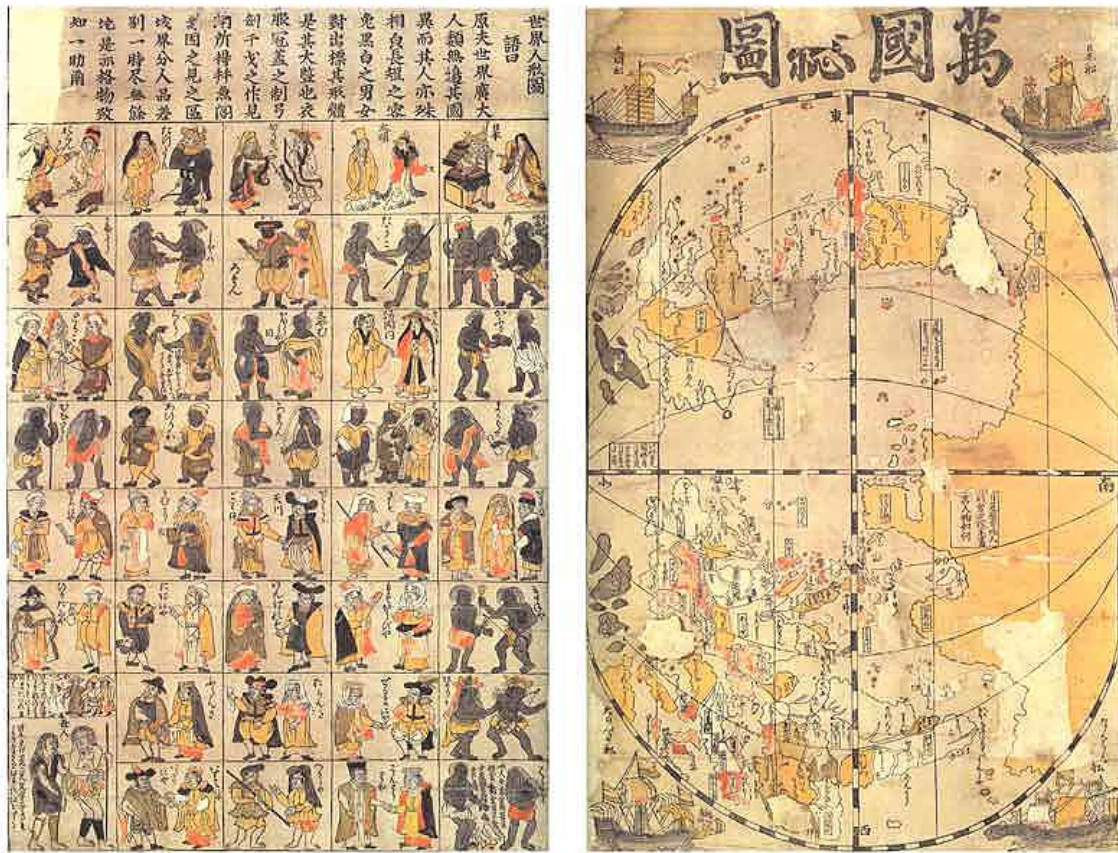
to 17th century Japan, by including the depiction of a ship belonging to the Great Qing empire sailing towards a Japanese ship equipped for war. Firstly, this martial stance can be interpreted as projecting the image of a Japan ready for sea-battle against the forces of the Great Qing empire. Five years before the publication of this map, Qing forces had taken over the last outpost of the Ming loyalists, the maritime trade center of Taiwan. This had an immediate impact on trade activity in Japan's only international port, Nagasaki: quotas were introduced for ships trading from China. Underlying this measure was a concern over an invasion of Japan by the Qing Empire, expressed in the intellectual discourse of the period. The iconography of the Japanese ship in Ryusen's world map can thus be interpreted as symptom of a fear of invasion by the Qing Empire proliferating among the urban population that constituted the audience for such a map. Secondly, for a simultaneous dimension of this map: it enabled imaginary travel across the sea, at a time when this was not physically possible. We can get a hint of how the cartographer Ryusen envisioned the use of his maps by considering his choice of a seal with a variant of his name meaning 'drifting ship'. Ryusen thus associated his identity as a cartographer with one of the map's iconographic elements. This points to a performative aspect of the map – it was meant as a facilitator for travel aboard an imaginary drifting ship. This dimension is reinforced by contemporary novels which co-opted ships into the spatial rhetoric of commercial success: for example, in Ihara Saikaku's novel *Japan's Treasury of the Ages*, published in the same year as Ryusen's map, the ambitious spirit of a merchant was compared to an ocean-going trade ship sailing to lands of treasure overseas. The aesthetic and political connotations of a map of the world speaks towards the versatility of an East Asian cartographic tradition which adapted Western cartographic elements to the concerns of the local audience.

Elke Papelitzky (Universitat Salzburg), in an article entitled "A Description and Analysis of the Japanese world map *Bankoku sōzu* in its version of 1671 and some thoughts on the sources of the original *Bankoku sōzu*", *Journal of Asian History* 48.1 (2014), provides an in-depth analysis and translation of this significant style of Japanese world map.



Bankoku Sōkai Zu by Ishikawa Toshiyuki (Ryusen), 1688, woodcut, 127 x 57.5 cm

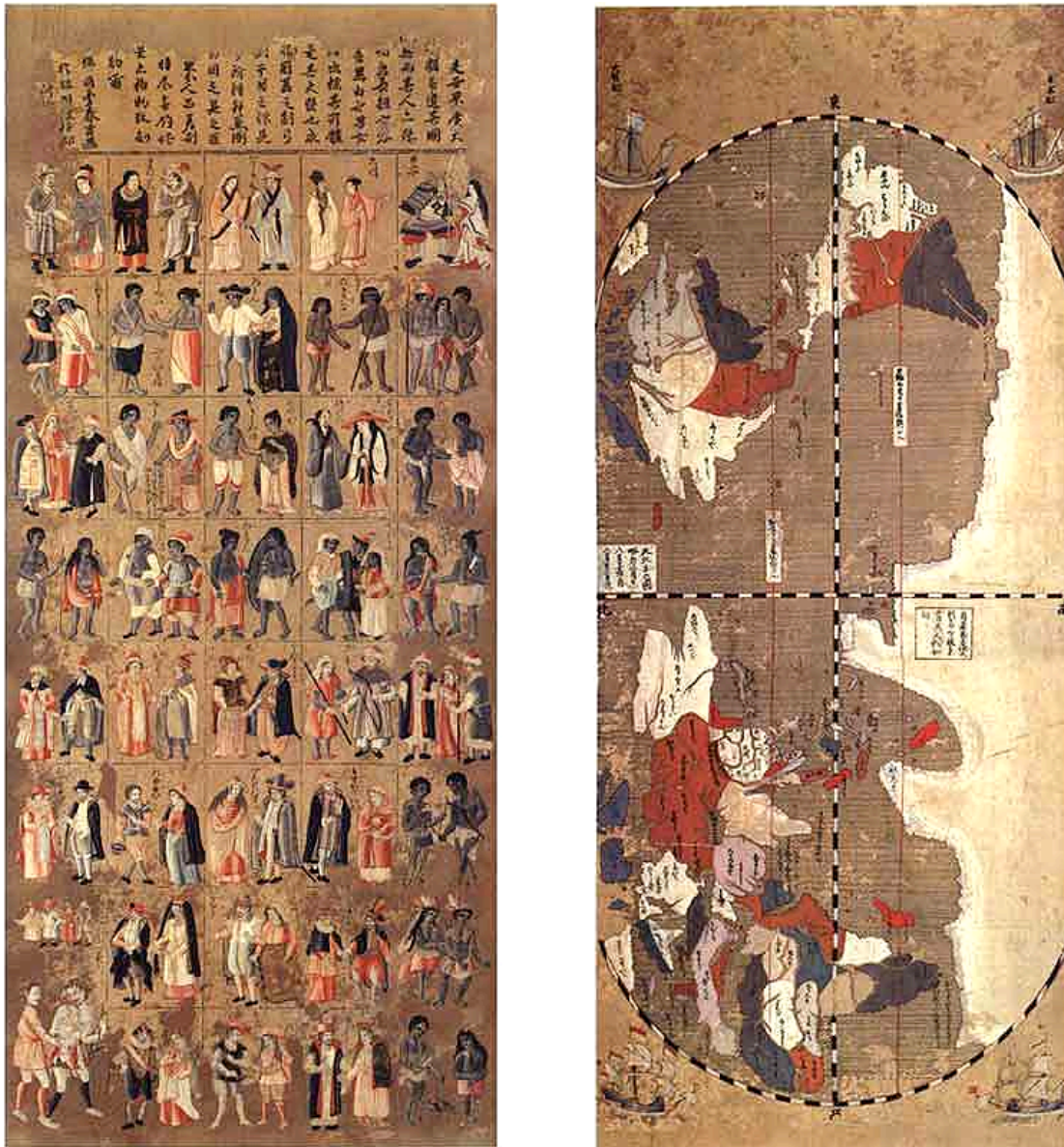




Bankoku Sōzu, Sekai Ninei Zu [Map of the World and Pictures of Various Peoples], 1652, woodcut (a pair of hanging scrolls), 65 x 41.5 cm, Kobe City Museum of Namban Art

One of the most important works based upon the Ricci-type world map is the Bankoku sozu, first printed in the year Shoho tori, 1645. It is generally known as the earliest printed Japanese world map in Western style. There are several versions of this map, the most "original" copy now being the one in the Shimonoseki City Chofu Museum, Yamaguchi Prefecture. This version consists of two sheets (woodblock print) later colored by hand. One sheet shows a map in an oval projection with four different ships in each corner, the other carries images of 40 ethnic groups (hence its common name Jinbutsuzu) and all wearing traditional outfits are drawn on the "Sekai Jinbutsu Zu." Nationalities depicted in the plates include "Daimin" (Great Ming, now China), "Kaurai" (Goryeo, now Korea), "Inkeresu" (England), "Mosukaubiya" (Moscow) and "Roson" (Luzon, Philippines). At the top of the screen there is a legend that seems to explain the reasoning behind such illustrations and its translation reveals that the purpose of this piece is to differentiate people, their culture and to "serve as an aid to the investigation of things and the accomplishment of knowledge". Japan is shown to consist of four major and three "minor" islands. The shape of the former corresponds much more to Japan's real coastline than on the Ricci map; indeed, the Bankoku sōzu is very close in that regard to the so-called Gyoki maps. The outlines of Ezo (usually not on the latter) roughly follow Ricci's model, but Ezo appears further north. The characteristic curve of Honshu is missing. The main islands are labeled Kyushu, Shikoku and Wezo; on Honshū, one finds the characters Nihon for Japan. The other three islands are Kin no Shima literally "Island of Gold", Gin no Shima "Island of Silver", and Sado. The first two are

fictional sites frequently shown on maps, Japanese copies of the Ricci map and on various Namban maps. Sado lies to the west of Honshu and is correctly placed on the Bankoku sozu.



Bankoku Sōzu, map of the world accompanied by a sheet showing the peoples of the world. 1645, woodcut, 134 x 57.6 cm, Kobe City Museum of Namban Art

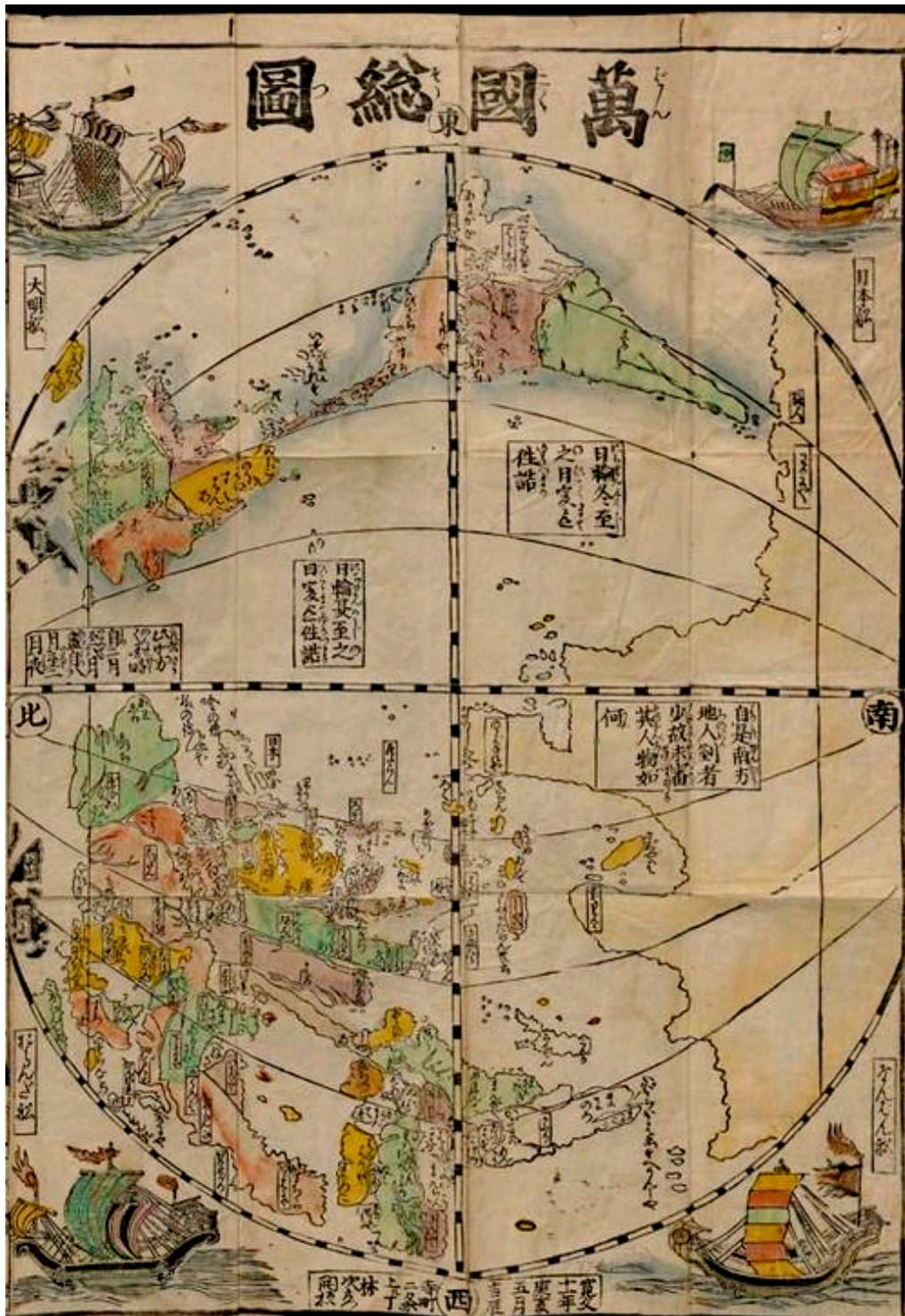
The correspondence between the names of peoples on the accompanying sheet and the place-names on the map suggests that the two sheets were made by the same artist as companion works. The corners of the map are also decorated, carrying drawings of four ships, Chinese and Japanese at the top (from left to right), Dutch and Namban (Spanish and Portuguese) at the bottom (although, curiously, these European ships are also Japanese in style). Probably the idea of illustrating the map with pairs of

foreigners was inspired by the decoration of Dutch maps with vignettes in the margins depicting foreign couples, as well as views of cities.

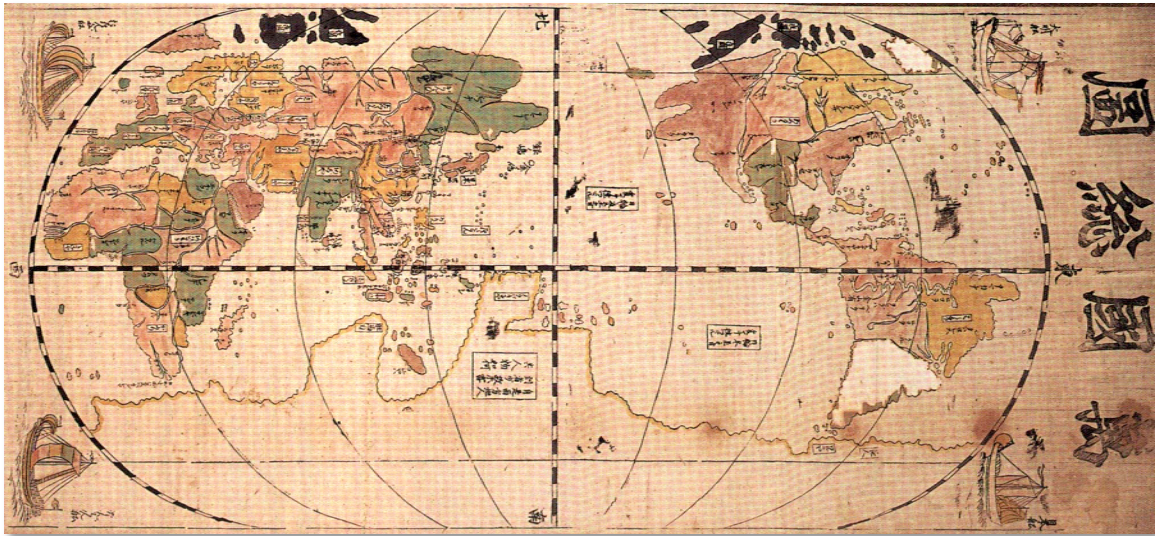
The same interest in the peoples and countries of the world is shown on the map. Countries are distinguished by different colors, and their names are given usually in *hiragana*, not in *katakana*, and are enclosed in boxes. The fact that the names are in *kana* (Japanese syllabic letters) suggests that the map and picture were published for popular use and were intended to enlighten the general public. Only educated people could read Chinese characters. Foreign names were usually written in *kana* because it was much easier to express them phonetically, but it is significant that the names for the islands round Japan are also in *kana*. Place-names in China are written in Chinese characters. Another name in Chinese characters is *Maletur*, a name attached to the projection of the southern continent opposite Java. The characters are given as on Ricci's map, although in the wrong order, showing that the author was copying directly from Ricci. In certain other features the author's divergences from Ricci clearly are intentional, and point to the use of another source, European in language and origin. The Great Wall of China is marked and carries the legend "There is a stone wall here extending for 1300 li". The Chinese called it "the 10,000 li wall", but European maps such as that published in Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 1592, give the length as 400 leagues. The author of the Shoho map, using a European source, seems to have translated miles directly into *li*. The *Islands of Gold and Silver*, which had appeared in the seas east of Japan on Portuguese maps of the 1580s and later Dutch maps, are marked on the Shoho map, although they are not on the Ricci map. The Cape of Good Hope is named *Kapo chi boha esupeunshiya* (the second "u" being presumably a copying error for "ra"). This is the Portuguese form, whereas Ricci called it "Big Wave Mountain", which scholars have interpreted as a representation of the older Portuguese name "Cape of Storms". Other names seem to be Portuguese in form, such as *Ingeresu* for England.

Five-editions of the *Shoho* map and picture were published, the latest dated 1652, as Professor Hiroshi Nakamura has shown. This example of the edition of 1645 is the only one in Europe. The map had great influence, and derived versions went on being published until as late as 1708. An example of these is the world map entitled *Bankoku Sozu* published at Nagasaki in 1652, with the pictures of foreigners displayed on the same sheet (see image above). The map is circular, and not drawn on a true projection, and the "graduations" are purely decorative. Such maps were intended for the illustration of popular handbooks. Other maps derived from the *Shoho* map but modified in terms of traditional Buddhist cosmography were even more bizarre, as appears from the *Bankoku Zu*, a map of all countries, c. 1744.

The many world maps published in Japan in the hundred years after 1645 testify to the great interest of the newly awakened middle classes in the new knowledge of the world, and to their curiosity about foreign countries, despite the Government's policy of seclusion. Through this chink in the closed door the Japanese peered at the outside world, while the Chinese were still looking inward, absorbed in the problems of their own great empire. Thus Matteo Ricci's geographical teachings brought western knowledge to Japan more effectively than to China, because they reached more receptive minds, in a wider group of the community. Divorced from their Christian context, they were assimilated into a native Japanese form of cartography, although much simplified in the process.



The author of the Bankoku sozu added one ship to each of the four corners of his map. The upper right shows a Nihon fone (Japanese ship), the upper left has a Taimei fone (ship of the Ming), the lower right one a Namban fone (ship of the Namban) and the lower left one an Granda fone (a Dutch ship). The last two do not resemble European vessels, but rather look like Japanese ships.



Bankoku Sozu, 1645



*Kon-yo Bankoku Zenzu, a copy of Matteo Ricci's world map, early 17th century,
manuscript – six hanging scrolls, 164 x 374 cm*



Unknown Author. Bankoku Ezu: Sekai zu [Map of the World and Twenty-eight Famous Cities], Momoyama to Edo period, 17th century. Manuscript – a pair of eight-fold screens, 178 x 465 cm

A panel of eight screens depicting a *World Map with Cityscapes and Rulers* in the Museum of the Imperial Collections, Tokyo, has long complicated the notion of place in cultural interpretation between East and West. Painted in the Jesuit workshop in Japan (c. 1583–1614), and in a customary Japanese format, this pair of screens has been considered primarily in relation to Japanese art, despite being produced by Western and Western-trained artists, using Western materials and pictorial sources, and guided by Western aspirations. These screens depicts five continents, forty-two representative couples, twenty-eight city views, four pairs of rulers and riders, all under numerous astronomical and navigational devices.

The authorship of this unique product of cross-cultural contact has been most closely associated with the Jesuit workshop in Japan, founded in 1583 by the Neapolitan Brother Giovanni Niccolo S.J., a studio that moved around Japan eleven times before being forced to decamp to Macao in 1614. To date, scholarship tying these Tokugawa world map screens to European art has coalesced around the recovery of Western sources for the screens' intricately sampled compositions. Specifically, the major source for the Tokugawa world map screens was a no longer extant world map by Pieter van den Keere, 1609, after a world map by Willem Jansz Blaeu from 1607, that was destroyed in World War II and today is only known from a photograph.

Polar views of the northern and southern hemispheres were dropped in the upper left and right corners of the world map, with a smattering of floating compasses that allowed the oceans to be navigated. Solar, lunar, and planetary paths likewise bobbed along the oceans, more signifiers of journey and cartographic ancestry than intended for practical use in these screens. The two outer screens display a diversity of ethnicity from around the world (forty couples) each labeled with the name of their countries and some with additional information. At the top of the screen there is a legend that seems to explain the reasoning behind such illustrations and its translation reveals that the purpose of this piece is to differentiate people, their culture and to "serve as an aid to the investigation of things and the accomplishment of knowledge".



Portuguese couple



Dutch couple

Japanese couple





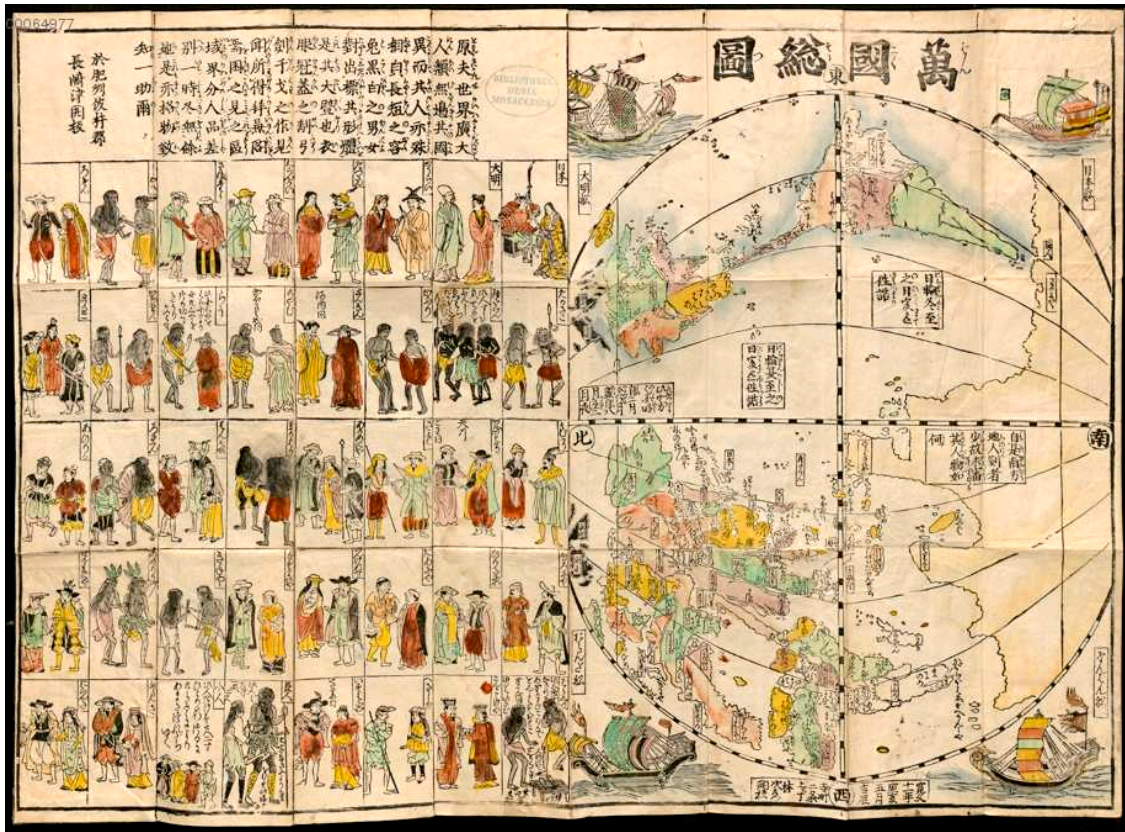
Pair of 8-panel screens, c. 1590–1614, ink, color, and gold leaf on paper, 177 x 483 cm each. Twenty of the twenty-eight cities - Panel 3: Venice, Amsterdam, Cologne, and Cuzco; Panel 4: Mexico City, Aden (Yemen), Frankfurt am Main, and Sofala (Somalia); Panel 5: Constantinople, London, Genoa, and Antwerp; Panel 6: Rome, Hormuz (Iran), Bantam (Indonesia), and Mozambique; Panel 7: Prague and Kozhikode (Calicut); and Panel 8: Goa and Paris—come from Georg Braun's *Civitates orbis terrarum*. The remaining eight cities originated in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* (Basel, 1548), a book that reached Japan in 1556; Willem Jansz. Blaeu's world map of 1605; Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario* (Amsterdam, 1596); and Willem Lodewijcksz's *Historie van Indien* (Amsterdam, 1598). The last two are believed to have reached Japan via the Liefde shipwreck in 1600. An inventory of 1554 lists a "*Hum Tholomeu*," or work by Ptolemy, whose maps were much used and revised at the time by Sebastian Münster, among others.

Riders across the top of the world map's pendant screen, rulers on horseback with twenty-eight cityscapes, migrated from the Blaeu maps, as well as from the portraits of emperors Augustus, Domitian, Nero and Otho in Adriaen Collaert's (after Jan van der Straet) *Twelve Roman Emperors on Horseback* series (c. 1587–1598, London, British Museum).

It is striking that there is no depiction of Japanese cities or even port towns well known to the Jesuits, like Nagasaki, from which it can be surmised that this was a global

perspective carefully constructed to facilitate maximum exposure to the European networks the Jesuits chose to present to Ieyasu. Despite using primarily Netherlandish and German sources, maps that originated with Protestant (notably Dutch Reformed) overtones in Europe arrived in Japan filtered through a Catholic lens. Golden churches

were marked throughout the world map, with the largest for Rome, and a Roman Cityscape was substituted on the pendant screen for Gamalama, the Portuguese center for spice- trading on Ternate Island. This was characteristic of Jesuit artistic production, both for other Western-source world map and city view screens attributed to the Niccolo school.



Bankoku sozu by Hayashi Jizaemon, 1671

The first world map published in Japan was one in 1645. This map is a popular version of that first one and has the pronunciations written over the Chinese characters in the preface and on the map. As this entry shows, these types of world maps and ethnic groups were often included in Japanese dictionaries for the general public. These maps are thought to be based on the older maps of the West obtained during the age of trade with Portugal and from the world map by Matteo Ricci obtained by way of China, rather than a Bleau's map that the Dutch brought.

Notwithstanding, all versions seem to originate from one and the same printing plate. Unno assumes that the publisher of the *Bankoku sozu* moved his workplace and then changed the printing plates. This would explain the "new" address, which also appears on other maps of the Edo period. Unno names two Kyoto maps of 1723 and 1741, both published by Hayashi Yoshinagai, which fall into that category. One also finds the same address on a Nagasaki map of 1745, published by a certain Hayashi Jizaemon (as in the case of 1671 map), but his name is written differently. Nothing is known about the publisher of the *Bankoku sozu*. Unno thinks that the names as Hayashi Jizaemon and Hayahi Yoshinaga refer to the same person. However, this would imply that Hayashi Jizaemon became very old. On the left side of the sheet, above the images

of the forty ethnic representatives, one finds an introductory text. This text contains another detail on the printing location: published in the port city Nagasaki, in the district Sonogi, in Hi prefecture. Japan is shown to consist of four major and three "minor" islands. The shape of the former corresponds much more to Japan's real coastline than on the Ricci map; indeed, the *Bankoku sozu* is very close in that regard to the so-called *Gyoki* maps. The outlines of Ezo (usually not on the latter) roughly follow Ricci's model, but Ezo appears further north. The characteristic curve of Honshu is missing. The main islands are labeled Kyushu, Shikoku and Wezo; on Honshu, one finds the characters *Nihon* for Japan. The other three islands are *Kin no Shima* literally "Island of Gold", *Gin no Shima* "Island of Silver", and *Sado*. The first two are fictional sites frequently shown on maps, especially on Bantam, an important port on the west coast of Java. Japanese copies of the Ricci map and on various *Namban* maps. *Sado* lies to the west of Honshu and is correctly placed on the *Bankoku sozu*.

North of Beijing and Liaodong is a dotted line labeled "*Sekikaki sensanbyaku ri ari* ["There is a 1300 ri stonewall"]. This is a description of the Great Wall. It is interesting that the author called it a "1300 ri wall" and not a "10,000 ri wall", as one might expect in both China and Japan at that time. This indicates the use of European sources, which normally give shorter distances, as for example Ortelius' atlas, where one finds "400 leagues". Finally, there is also a comment on the Caspian Sea: *The extent of this sea is 1000 ri*.

Other interesting toponyms include *Hirisunta*: Frisland, according to Unno. This is a fictional island, which appears on European maps "in the wake" of a travelogue of the mid-16th century.

Isurantea: Iceland.

Kororantea: Greenland.

The author of the *Bankoku sozu* added one ship to each of the four corners of his map. The upper right shows a *Nihon fone* (Japanese ship), the upper left has a *Taimei fone* (ship of the Ming), the lower right depicts a *Nambanfone* (ship of the Namban) and the lower left depicts a *Oranda fone* (Dutch ship). The last two do not resemble European vessels, but rather look like Japanese ships.

The Jinbutsuzu

As was said, pictures of forty different ethnicities occupy the left side of the sheet, above which one finds a short explanation. The introductory text reads as follows: *Since its beginning, this world has [always] been vast and mankind has been without limits. The countries differ and people are also different. [One can distinguish them according to their] appearances; [there are] big and small ones, [as well as] black and white men and women. The [variegated] shapes are compared and shown [on this map]. This [represents] a great part [of all people]. The making of clothes and headdresses, the production of bows, swords, shields and spears [again] is something one can grasp through vision and hearing. If one perceives [things] in that (way), one cannot [present] the borders of the (involved) regions and the [characteristic] differences between people and products during one and the same period and in one and the same location. [Indeed], this is only an aid for [a better] understand of different things.*

Regarding the giants, one finds the following comment:

These people [measure] one jò and two shaku (about 3m 60 cm) in height. They have no script, [but] manage [their things] by binding ropes.

There is also a passage describing the dwarfs: *These people [measure] one shaku and two sun (about 36 cm) in height. [To avoid] being captured by cranes when going alone, they always walk together in groups.*

At first glance, the *Bankoku sozu* looks very similar to Ricci's *Kunyu wanguo quantu*. Especially the shape of the southern continent is nearly identical. Therefore, scholars often thought the *Bankoku sozu* would be a copy of Ricci's work.

However, a closer examination reveals many differences between both maps and this in turn suggests that the *Bankoku sozu* is not (or not exclusively) based on Ricci's work. The first scholar to present such a view was Aoki Chieko. In 1991 she stated that the author of the *Bankoku sozu* had used a world map in two hemispheres. This would become evident when considering the islands in the Arctic Sea, which are not equally distributed on the *Bankoku sozu*, in contrast to their position on Ricci's map. Indeed, there is a huge gap between the islands north of Eurasia and those north of America; a similar arrangement can be found, for example, on a map in two hemispheres that is included in the *Fangyu shenglüe*, a work of the early 17th century. In short, Aoki assumes that the author of the *Bankoku sozu* used the *Fangyu shenglüe* map or a similar work as source, but adopted an oval projection without changing the shape of the landmasses. Unno agrees with this theory, adding, however, that the *Fangyu shenglüe* map cannot have been the only source of the *Bankoku sozu*. The principle reason for this assumption relates to the shape of Luzon and Madagascar. In fact, both these islands are drawn far more accurately on the *Bankoku sozu* than on the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* and the *Fangyu shenglüe*. As stated earlier, the depiction of Japan resembles the image of these islands on certain *Gyoki* maps. The Islands of Silver and Gold, which do not appear on Ricci's work or the *Fangyu shenglüe* map, also point to the use of additional sources, which, however, have not been identified.

As to the images themselves, these are arranged in eight columns and five rows. The upper right corner of each "entry" carries the country's name in *hentaigana*, only the names for Japan and China appear in *kanji* format (*Nihon* and *Taimei*). For a list of all countries, readers may consult the table in the appendix of Elke Papelitzky's article. In most cases, the collection offers images of males and females. In some cases there are three individuals (*Rataran*, *Toruko*, *Arumeniya* and *Handa*), or even four persons (dwarfs).

The *Bankoku sozu* of 1671 is a smaller copy of the popular world map *Bankoku sozu* first printed in 1645. During the copying process many mistakes were added, the projection is less accurate, and many place names (but certainly not all) can only be identified when one compares the 1671 version to the 1645 version. Apparently, the author of the original map made use of different sources for different regions. The overall projection as well as the text and place names in the southern continent suggest a Ricci-type map, the East Asian place names and the shape of Japan point to a Japanese map, the shape of insular Southeast Asia and many toponyms in that region suggest a Japanese *portolan* [nautical] chart, while most other place names could be drawn directly from European sources. However, to date no single European map that contains all place names of the *Bankoku sozu* has been identified.

The *Jinbutsuzu* seems to be a mix of Visscher's copper engravings and one or several Chinese and Japanese sources. The additional texts share common features with Ricci's map, the *Namban* screens and the *Sancai tuihui*. Again, no "complete match" seems to exist.



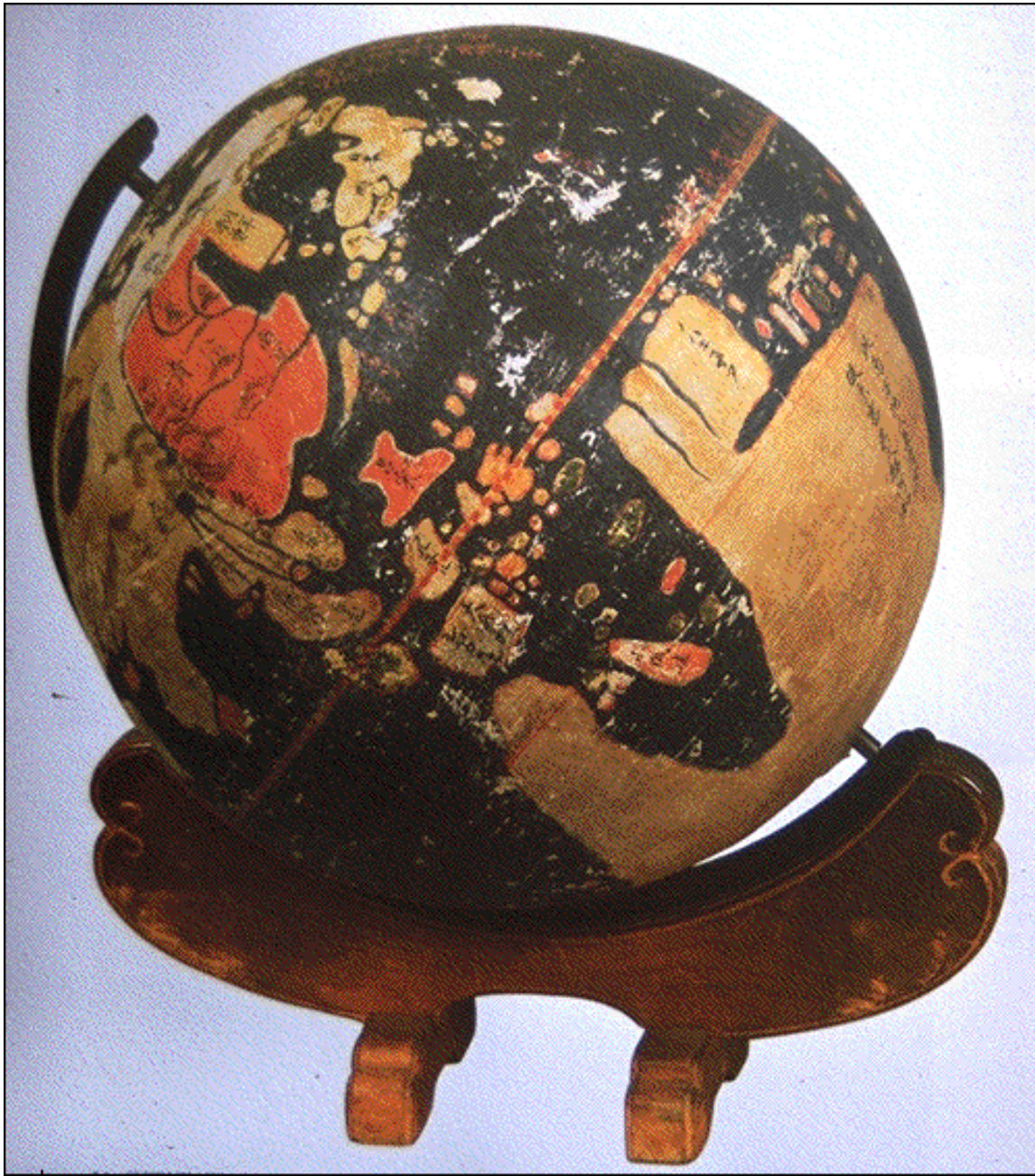
*Map of the world and a map of Japan, 17th century.
 Pair of six-part folding screens, ink, color, and gold leaf on paper, each 155.0 x 356.0 cm.
 Namban Bunka-kan.*

During the decades between 1542 and 1613, the Society of Jesus (i.e., the Jesuits) became the most influential catalyst of the cultural exchange between Japan and Europe, of which Alessandro Valignano was the most prominent missionary. He founded the Painting School under the direction of Giovanni Niccolo, where they trained Japanese artists in European art, including mapmaking. The school became the center of *Namban* world map screen production. As mentioned above, *Namban* maps were folded screen maps of the world, usually with a companion screen, most often depicting Japan.

One pair of map screens that express European inspiration and Japanese conventions in one is a pair of screens completed at the turn of the 17th century by an unknown Japanese artist, called the *namban bunka-kan*, now in Osaka. Both screens consist of six panels; one of them depicts a world map, and the other an enlarged view of Japan. What is immediately striking about the world map is the Latin inscription at the top in capital letters, which reads "*Typus Orbis Terrarum*", referring to the heading

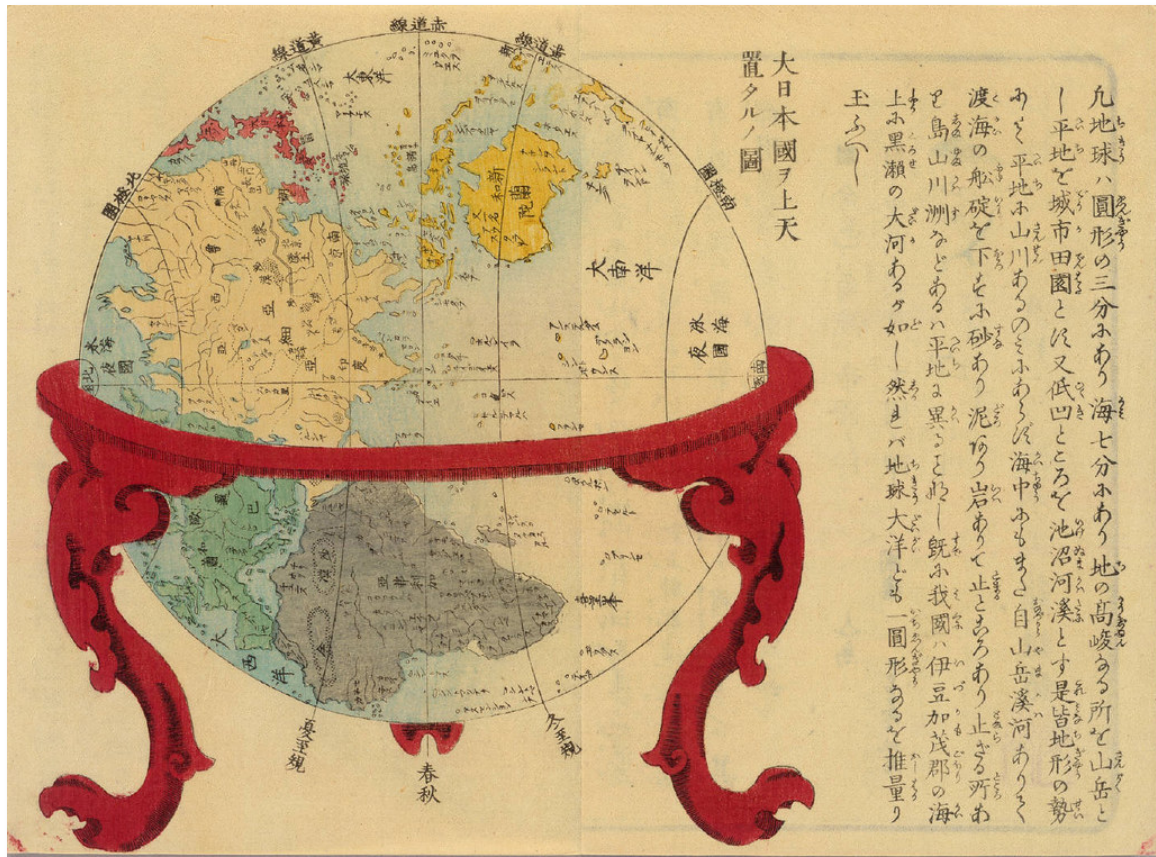
used by Abraham Ortelius. However, as Japanese artists used foreign letters only sparingly, its role is probably to signal Western authenticity, and to evince the artist's knowledge of foreign lands and cultures. The reference to Ortelius also proves that the map had to be executed at least after 1590, since that is when Hideyoshi received a copy of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. However, according to Mia Mochizuki in "The Moveable Center," it is likely that the immediate model of the map was Plancius' world map of 1592, rather than that of Ortelius.

The way that the artist rendered the pictorial space around the map is highly complex. Various levels of internal frames are employed, including: an outer screen border; a central frame to separate the world map; rectangular boxes to depict peoples of the world; and circular cartouches for compasses, hemispheric maps, and both polar regions. According to Nagy this structure of the *namban bunka-kan* screen appropriated the Netherlandish taste for arranging cartographic, navigational, and ethnographic information in a grid system. The map depicts sixteen cultures altogether, grouped into three, and further subdivided into two pairs. It portrays representatives of the Chinese, Japanese, Indian, and European cultures, as well as those of imaginary lands. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the inscriptions are in Japanese, which signals that even though the map used several European cartographical features, it was still intended for a Japanese audience. The vivid and divine gold in surrounding the maps and their relatively large size (over 1.5 meters by 3.5 meters) reveal an attempt to appeal to the Japanese taste. Most important is the understanding of the spherical nature of the earth that is presented, according to which the central point can be at any location on the planet. The mapmaker took advantage of this scientific fact and placed a relatively enlarged Japan at the center of the world. This move could not be more telling. While on the one hand the mapmaker managed to neutralize the Chinese and Indian dominance, on the other hand he also succeeded in emphasizing Japan's divine and global significance by placing it right in the center of the terrestrial realm.

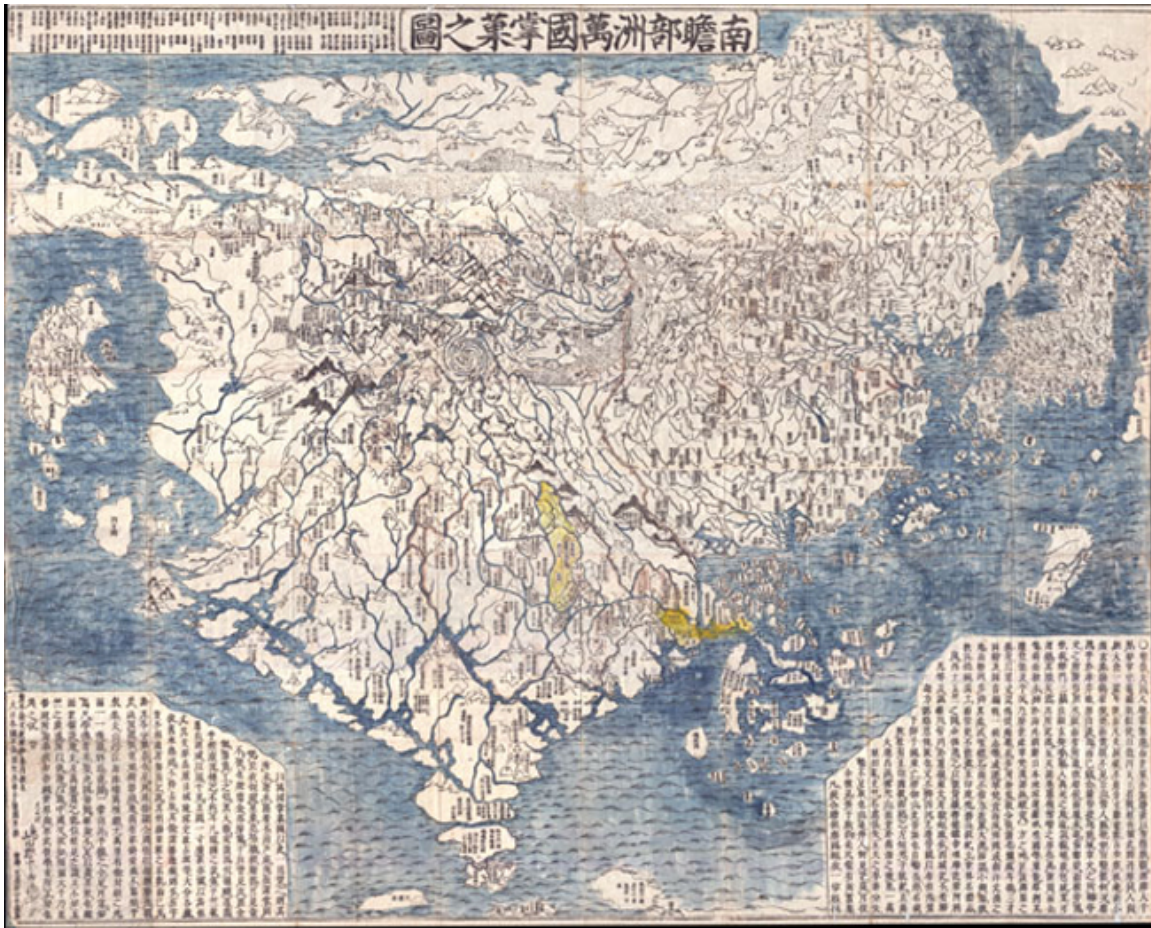


Shibukawa Harumi's Terrestrial Globe, 1690, 24 cm diameter, it is the earliest of the terrestrial globes made by Shibukawa. It was dedicated to the Grand Shrine at Ise along with his celestial globe made the following year. On it may be seen the influence of Matteo Ricci's world map (#441), especially "Magellanica" and the place-name "Nohakinea" [Nova Guinea] written in katakana. Each country is painted in a different color, Japan being in gold.

Jingu Historical Museum, Ise, Japan



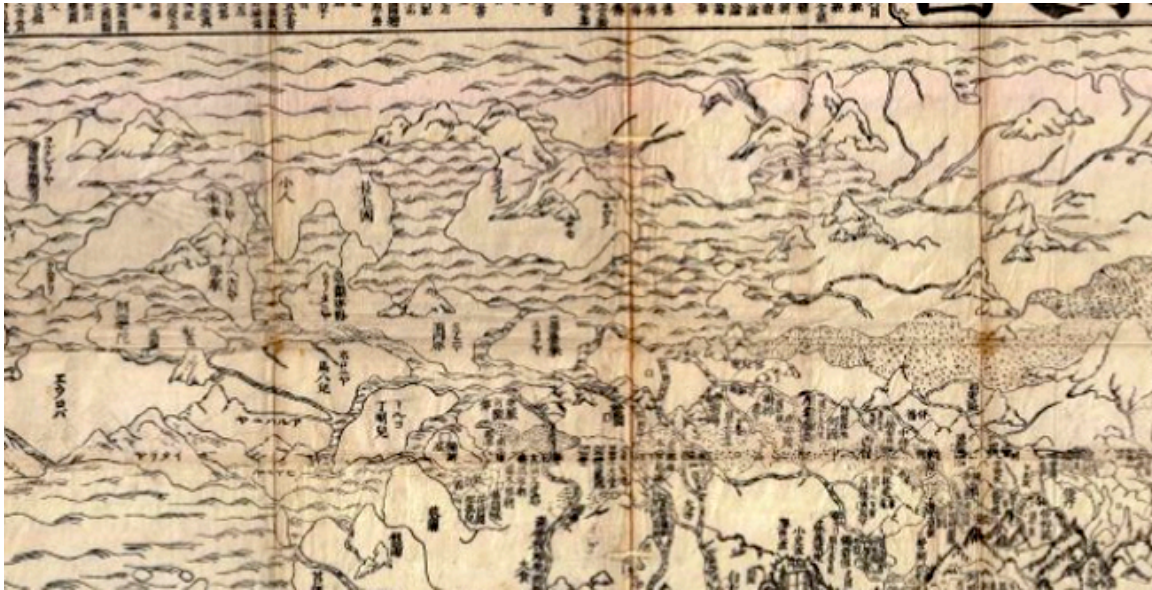
Bankoku chikyū bunzū, Hashimoto Gyokuran, 1856-68



Rokashi Hotan [Zuda Rokwa Si]'s *Nansenbushu Bankoku Shoka no Zu*, 1710, woodblock print, 118 x 145.6 cm, Kobe City Museum, Japan, #510

Contains a list of Buddhist sutras, Chinese histories and other literary classics on the left side of the map title. A land bridge connects China to an unnamed continent in the upper right corner, and the island of Ezo [Japan] with its fief of Matsumae is located slightly to the south of the mystery continent. Modeled on the 1709 map of Jambudvīpa at the Kobe City Museum.

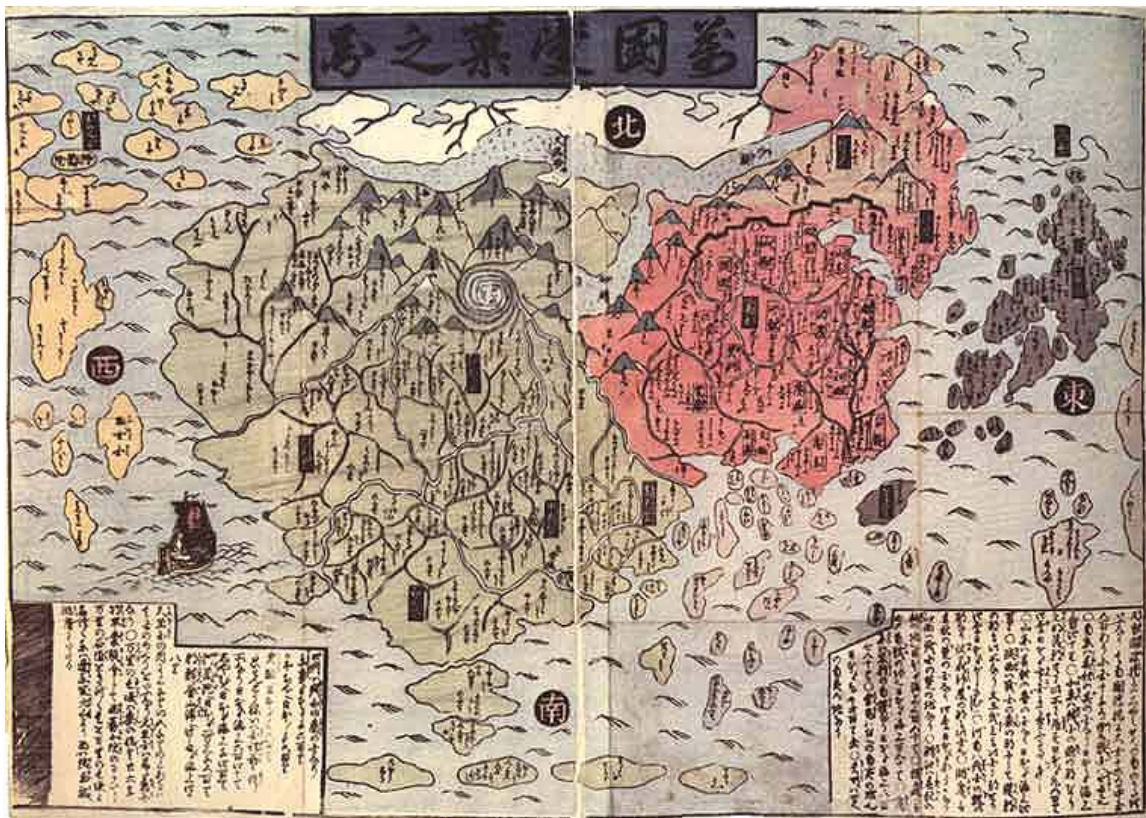
This is the first Buddhist world map printed with European geographical knowledge. The upper left corner Europe is described as a group of islands, and in the ocean south of Japan is South America as an island. Changes from the 1709 original include the omission of part of the continental outline and some unrealistic islands.



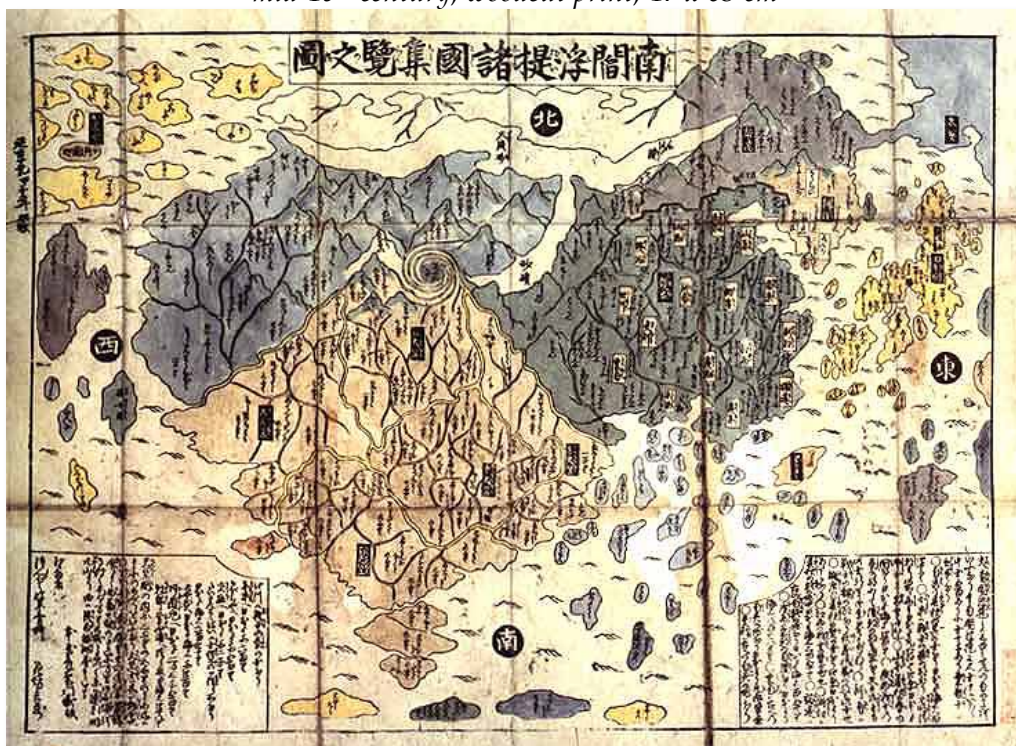
In this uncolored copy, Europe is in the top left corner – as you can see, mostly just place names are written in – there’s nothing there of any (religious) importance, it’s just kind of up there, consisting of a bunch of islands. Countries like England, Holland, Hungary, Italy, France, and others are represented



This small island off to the West is labeled as the “Kingdom of Western Women”, supposedly representing Africa



*Bankoku Shuranzu (Bankoku Shōka no Zu), Buddhist Map of the World
mid-19th century, woodcut print, 47 x 65 cm*

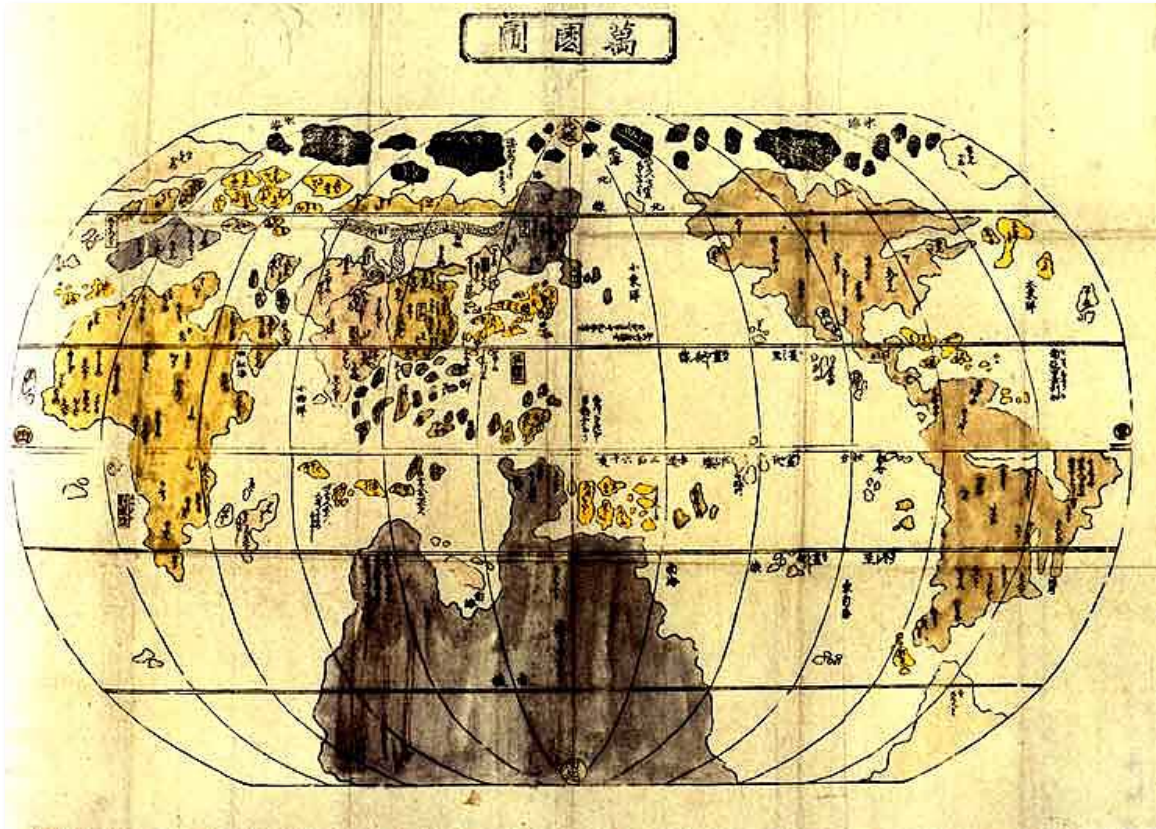


Nanembudai Shokoku Shuran no Zu by Kabōhyōzō, 1744, woodcut, 43.5 x 60 cm



Japanese map entitled *Daimin Kyuhen Bankoku Jinseki Rotei Zenzu*
 [The whole map of the great Ming Dynasty China, and its nine border lands (Chinese title)],
 Wang Jun Fu and Unemura Yahaku, Kyoto, 1645, 123.9 x 123 cm,
 British Library

A woodcut map of China and the world, printed on multiple sheets and folding into later orange-papered covers decorated in lotus flower designs. The texts taken from the Chinese original are particularly interesting: the legend on the right gives details of the 29 strategic border crossings, and that on the left describes 33 foreign countries, with the European and African place names taken from Jesuit sources such as Ricci's 1602 map. Other texts cover details of the 13 provinces with details on population, taxation, and commodities. Very similar to the xylographic map of Ming China and the world entitled *Dàmíng jiǔ biān wànguó rén jì lùchéng quán tú* by Wang Jun Fu, 1633



Bankoku Zu published by Honya Hikoemon, 1744, woodcut, 50 x 68 cm

Nagakubo Sekisui's Revised World Map

It is reasonable to assume that copies of Ricci's world maps (#441) did make it to Japan during the 17th century and were some of the first comprehensive world maps that Japan had ever seen. Considering how isolated Japan was to the rest of the world at the time, a map of the world in a language that some Japanese people could read (at least better than English, or some other European language) must have been quite revealing. Still, Ricci's maps were not necessarily widely distributed, meaning a realistic view of the world was probably a mystery to a lot of Japanese.

Then along came Nagakubo Sekisui (1717-1801). He took Ricci's world map and copied it in woodblock print form. However, Nagakubo Sekisui did not just copy maps uncritically, he also made some revisions to the map, redrew it, and added *katakana* to his copy to make it more readable.

This Sekisui map is known as the *Revised and Complete World Map* that supposedly came out in 1785. If you compare it to the original (Ricci's) you can see there is more detail, especially in and around Asia. The main difference is the art style (definitely more Japanese/Asian) as well as the fact that it is readable in Japanese. Some interesting things about Sekisui's map (as well as Ricci's map):

- Florida is the "Land of flowers"
- The Sahara Desert seems to have more water
- The "Sea of Japan" is omitted in Sekisui's, even though it is in Ricci's original

This is considered to be one of the first mainstream world maps in Japan. It was 1785, almost 200 years after Ricci made his world maps.



Kaisei Chikyu Bankoku sankai yochi zenzu setsu
 [Revised map of all countries on the globe/ Map of the world and its mountains and oceans],
 Nagakubo Sekisui, Edo & Osaka, 1785, 65 x 36 inches

The texts on the upper margin include a discussion of the contribution of the Dutch to world mapping. The map generally keeps the Chinese characters used by Ricci, but sometimes they are transformed into Japanese characters. The texts around the map include some interesting descriptions of Brazil; it notes, “*The inhabitants of this country do not build houses. They dig the earth and live in caverns. They like to eat human flesh, however they only eat men and not women. Their clothes are made from birds feathers*”. Ricci, in turn, based this map upon the Flemish cartographer Abraham Ortelius’ 1570 world map. Ricci reorients the map to place Asia at the center of the world (Ortelius placed Europe at the center). The Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans traded places and China became the commanding landmass.

Nagakubo Sekisui was a Confucian scholar with samurai status, studied with Japan’s most famous astronomer’s disciples, and is considered the founder of the modern Japanese geography for his use of lines of latitude and longitude. He was born into a peasant family in Hitachi Province, but in 1767 went to Nagasaki and was able to visit the Dejima and learn some of the geography of the world from the Dutch. In 1771 he was sent to Edo as the official tutor to the daimyo of Mito han. In 1779 his new revised map of Japan appeared and then in 1785 his new map of the world based on the geography of Matteo Ricci, both using geographicals. The Ricci form became the standard world map form in Japanese cartography for the next 70 years; copying Sekisui’s map was commonplace, and undoubtedly manuscript copies also circulated, probably secretly among scholars.

Japan had been closed to the outside world for 200 years (those who left Japan faced execution upon return) and knowledge of the form of the world was not widely circulated. Sekisui’s maps and their derivatives are therefore a foundation stone in the opening up of Japan to the outside world, and the changes in society brought about in

the Meiji period. World maps based on Ricci's work had been made before Sekisui's work, but were drawn by artists with no understandings of cartography. This map, famously credited to Sekisui, contains additions, corrections and improvements to Ricci's map.

Geographically, Sekisui's map is a faithful copy of Ricci's 1602 map (#441): it strictly resembles the proportion and shape of the continents, oceans, seas, and islands. However, he made significant improvement on the illustration of Japan and Kuril Islands. Sekisui in fact revived Ricci's intended design, which was not realized at the time. Although Ricci recommended using different colors for the identification of the six continents, his own map was engraved and published monochrome by his friend Li Zhizao (1565-1630). Sekisui followed Ricci's advice in coloring Africa in white, Europe in yellow, Asia in light red, North America in orange red, South America in dark blue, and the supposed border of *Magellanica* [the Antarctic] in dark red.

The geography on Sekisui's map also provides a superb example of Japan's view of the world during its long period of isolation. No Great Lakes are delineated in America, and California, which had been depicted as an island on many European maps of the 17th and 18th centuries, is a peninsula on his map. That is not because the mapmaker had access to the latest geographical information but because his model predated the island theory. The North Pole is made up of an unfamiliar group of islands while the South Pole is the fictional, unexplored continent of *Magellanica*.

Ricci's map was covered with long commentaries and Sekisui preserves a number of these on his map. He omits, however, remarks that are unfavorable to the Japanese: "*The Japanese are warriors giving great importance to weapons, but don't appreciate intellectual activities.*" Sekisui generally retains Ricci's Chinese characters, though sometimes they are adapted to make them more understandable to the Japanese readers. The name of *Magellan*, for example, is transformed into *Mekara* in the commentary. Most of the Chinese inscriptions were copied with extensive annotation and reading marks for the Japanese audience. For example, Sekisui added '*katakana*' which is used for transcription of foreign language words into Japanese, next to the hundreds of Chinese toponyms copied from Ricci's map. This certainly made the map more easily understandable and accessible for his contemporaries. Alongside the geographical changes, Sekisui also added some text that seems to be justifying the inaccurate description on Ricci's map.

Sekisui's most significant improvements are made to the depiction of Japan and Kuril Islands, including the shapes of the islands and names of the provinces and roads. He substituted many incorrect place names around Japan on Ricci's map with a few correct ones. For example, the northern most of Japan's main islands is named as Hokkaidō on Ricci's map, and changed to Eso by Sekisui. To the east of Japan, Sekisui also illustrated the two imaginary islands of *Kinshima* [Isle of Gold] and *Ginshima* [Isle of Silver] that the Spanish and the Dutch desperately sought after during the 17th century. These two mythical islands were not depicted on Ricci's map.

A critical section of Sekisui's map is the explanatory text at the top, which contains about 1,450 Chinese characters in the style of '*Kanbun*' (a technique for making Chinese texts read like Japanese), in 69 columns, with *kunten* [guiding marks] for his Japanese readership. Existing scholarship considers Sekisui's text not a translation but a sophisticated adaptation, particularly concerning Japan itself. By adopting the new concepts of latitude and longitude - the latter allowing for the calculation of time-difference - Sekisui was able to clarify the position of Japan in the world.

Sekisui's authority as a cartographer was held in high esteem until the mid-19th century. His world map made a strong impression on other mapmakers, and it was widely imitated, becoming the standard delineation for the rest of the 18th century and well into the 19th.

For roughly 250 years Japan was subject to one ruling family - the Tokugawa family - who was known for imposing rigid social orders and strict isolationism from foreign contact and trade. The little contact they had with Europeans from 1603-1868 came from Dejima, a small man-made island in Nagasaki's harbor. This island was home to the Dutch East India Company who enjoyed a European trading monopoly with Japan. Any other Europeans that docked in a Japanese port during the Edo period would be put to death without a trial. The complete isolationism nurtured a boom in Japanese culture. Art, entertainment, and fashion became points of interest among urban populations. Around the early 1800's European intrusions were on the rise. To understand these new "barbarians", *Rangaku* became important to the Japanese in understanding and defeating the foreign enemies. *Rangaku* literally means "Dutch Learning", and by extension "Western Learning") and was a body of knowledge developed by Japan through its contacts with the Dutch enclave of Dejima, which allowed Japan to keep abreast of Western technology and medicine in the period when the country was closed to foreigners, 1641-1853, because of the Tokugawa shogunate's policy of national isolation (*sakoku*). Growing interest in the west only increased after a peasant uprising in 1830 forced the Japanese to acknowledge the growing issues within their country. As more citizens looked to the West for answers, Japanese officials tightened their anti-foreigner policy once again. This only caused more unrest amongst the people and invited in more westerners trying to establish trade relations.

During this time period, while several versions of Matteo Ricci's world map were still used in Japan, maps of the two hemispheres were being directly imported from Holland and, in translation, were coming into popular favor. It may well be that Yoshiharu Koyano, in preparing his *Bankoku Ichiran Zu*, had taken as a model such a map of the two hemispheres as Sokichi Hashimoto's *Oranda Shinyaku Chikyui Zenzu* [Map of the World Newly Translated from Dutch Sources], issued in 1796, besides some Ricci-type map in a Japanese version. But Koyano explains in the prefatory note of his map that, as the new type of map brought from Holland is too detailed for children to understand he intends to draw up a plain and easy one chiefly for educational purpose. It is a world map with Asia in its center, but the continents are deformed to a degree that has no parallel. Again in his prefatory note, he gives the excuse that he had to pack all into so limited a space; but we may still suspect that this deformation reflects in the old Asia-centric conception of the world. On the other hand, Japan is drawn disproportionately large and placed side-by-side with China and India, so that these three countries lie in a row. This is no doubt based on the view, held by the Japanese people from remote ages, that the world consists of three countries, namely, India, China, and Japan. And India, as here represented is still the Holy Land of Buddhism drawn as in Hotan's map. This plainly shows how Hotan's map encouraged these map-makers to perpetuate so archaic a world-picture and provided materials for it.

The high standard of map-making in Japan at that time is illustrated by the *Shintei Bankoku Zenzu* [Revised Comprehensive Map of All Countries], compiled by Kageyasu Takahashi, the finest world map of the Edo period, which appeared in copper plate print in 1810, the year following the publication of Koyano's map (*shown below*). By comparison, Koyano's map is crude and unscientific, but it reflected the mentality of the

masses who, while vaguely accepting the representation in European maps, still felt nostalgia for the traditional image of the world.

The following is from the Leventhal Map website (leventhalmap.org).

Detail of a Japanese map of the world in the MacLean Collection, MC17363, by Dr. Richard A. Pegg, Project Manager; Dr. Elke Papelitzky, Author, 2018 MacLean Collection Map Fellow; Katie E. Osborne, Development & Design, 2021-22 MacLean Collection Intern; Jamison K. Biddle, Assistant developer, 2022 MacLean Collection Summer Intern
<https://www.leventhalmap.org/projects/remapping-the-world-in-japan/html/landingpage.html>



Map of the World, Japan, late 18th or early 19th century, manuscript, hanging scrolls (3), ink and color on paper, MacLean Collection, MC17363

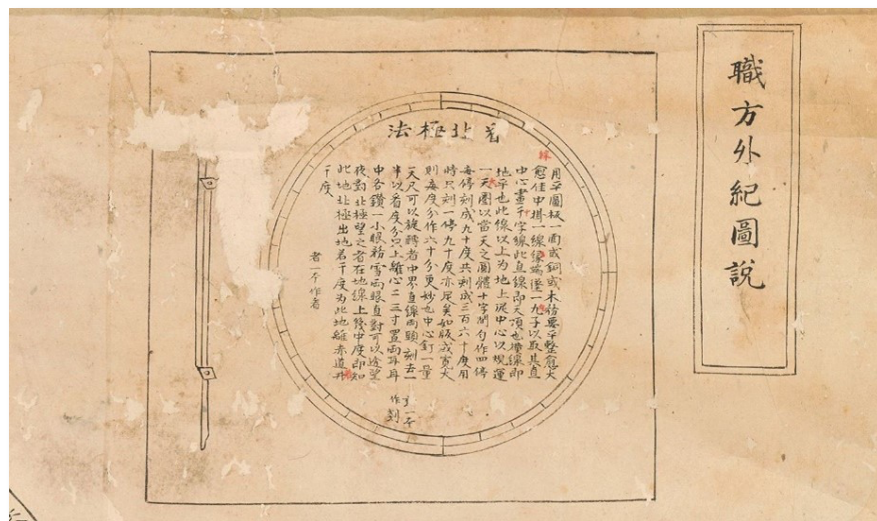
Imagine entering a room and seeing a large, beautiful map mounted as three scrolls hanging on a wall. It is so large you have to keep your distance to see the entire map. It is colored in yellow and red, which nicely contrasts the dark blue brocade mounted around the map. A few steps closer, allows you to read the many textual annotations on the map written using Chinese characters with a few annotations in the Japanese syllabic writing system of *katakana*. You discover that the map is not only yellow and red, but that in the upper center, Japan appears in a light blue, setting it apart visually from other landmasses.

As you examine the hand-written text closely, you can discern that it is messy and irregular, the rows of text are not neatly aligned, and the black ink not always consistently dark. This is a manuscript map and whoever created the map, did not pay close attention to the calligraphy. Still, the content is incredibly fascinating. You learn about many places, countries, and continents around the world. Mexico, you read, produces bird feathers in every imaginable color, while tigers and panthers roam the continent of “Libya” (Africa). Precious stones are produced in India and a silver mountain in South America entices you with the promise of wealth.



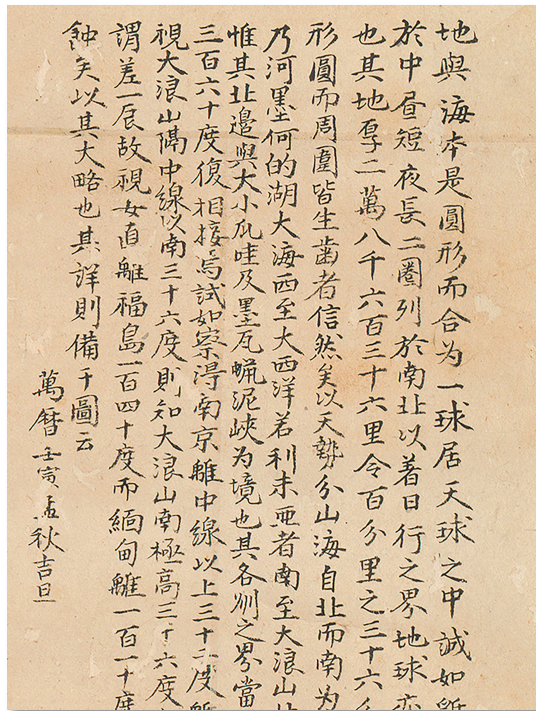
Detail of Japan, Map of the World, MacLean Collection, MC17363

You find additional information at the flanking edges of the right and left scroll. A framed note in the upper right corner identifies the title of the map as *Shokuhō Gaiki Zusetsu* (Ch. Zhifang Waiji Tushuo), a title that becomes quite wordy when translated into English: "Explanations of the Map of the Record of Everything beyond the Administration". Next to this title, a cartouche explains how to find north.



Detail of title and explanation of how to find north, upper right corner, Map of the World, MacLean Collection, MC17363

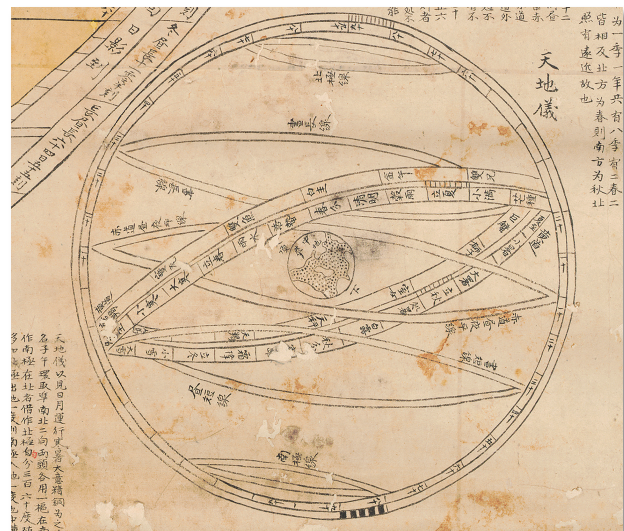
Below is a long text about the shape and size of the earth. It is signed by a "man from the Western Ocean" (*seiyō jin*), meaning someone from Europe. It is dated to "an auspicious day, autumn of Wanli renyin". The *renyin* year (according to the sexagenary cycle) of the Wanli reign (1572–1620) of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) is 1602 in the



Gregorian calendar. This date corresponds to the date found on the source map, and not the date when this three-scroll manuscript map was made.

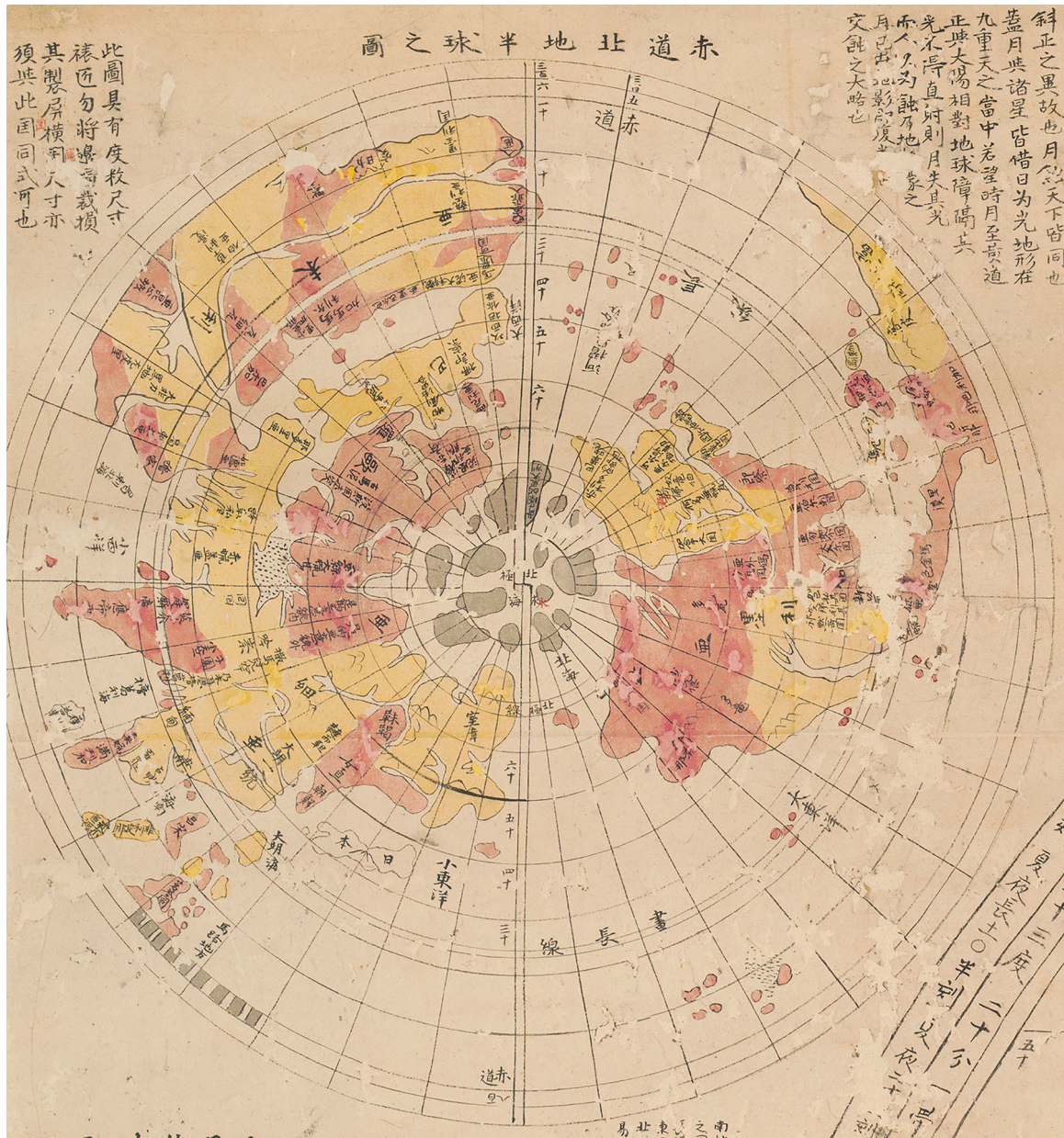
Detail of long inscription with six-character date on left, right side, Map of the World, MacLean Collection, MC17363

The lower right corner includes an image of an armillary sphere, explaining the movement of celestial objects.



*Detail of diagram of an armillary sphere,
lower right corner, Map of the World,
MacLean Collection, MC17363*

The two left side corners, top and bottom, display polar projections. The image below depicts the earth as seen from the northern pole.



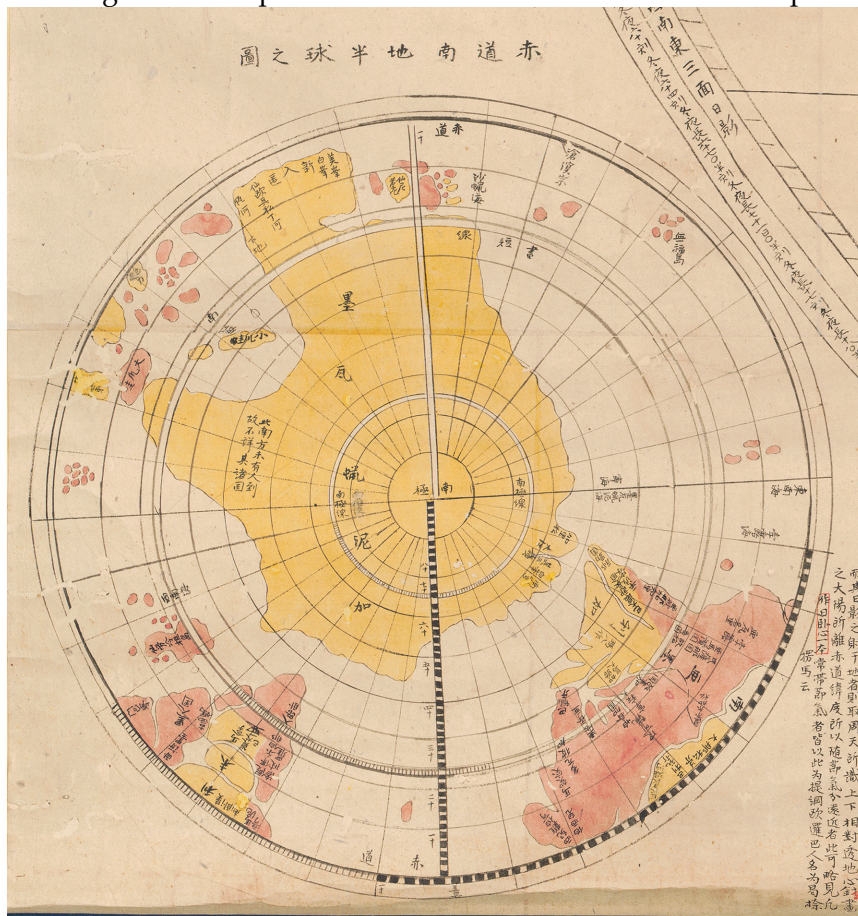
*Detail of northern polar projection, upper left corner, Map of the World,
MacLean Collection, MC17363*

In the northern polar view, you can find Japan again. This time, the mapmaker did not color it blue but instead sketched a simple but iconic mountain in the middle of Japan's principal island of Honshū: Mount Fuji.



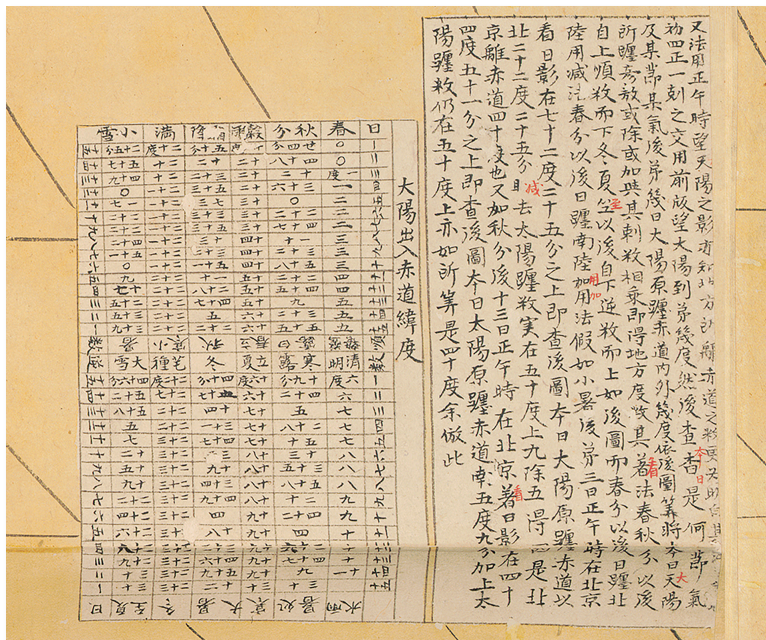
Detail northern polar projection showing Japan and Mount Fuji, Map of the World, MacLean Collection, MC17363

The image below depicts the earth as seen from the southern pole.



Detail of southern polar projection, lower left corner, Map of the World, MacLean Collection, MC17363

Looking at the center of the oval projection, you discover some of the empty spaces of the Pacific and Indian Oceans or the Southern continent that contain texts by several scholars, as well as additional explanations of geography and astronomy, such as using the declination of the sun to determine latitude.

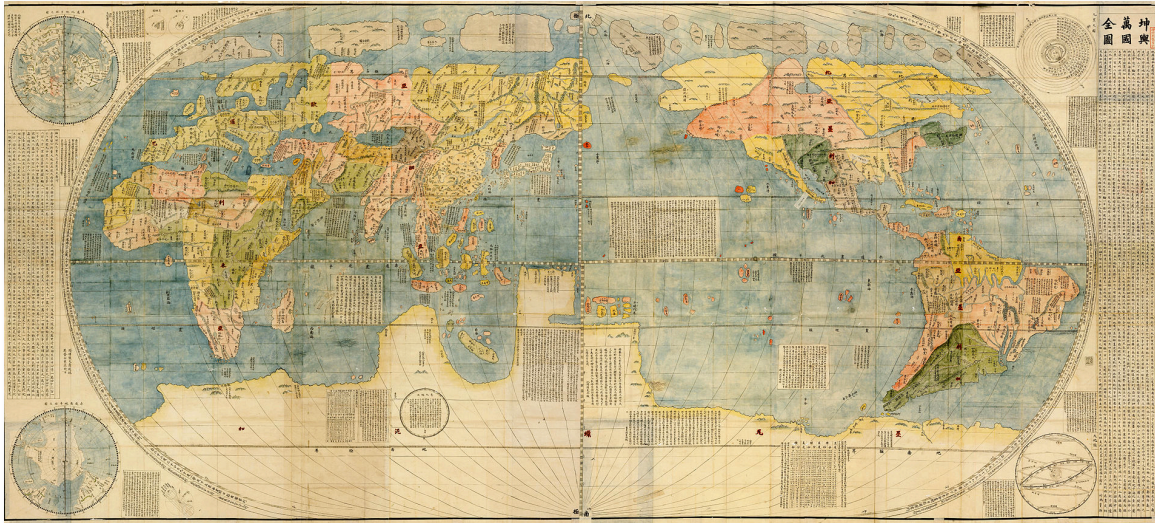


Detail explaining the declination of the sun to determine latitude, Map of the World, MacLean Collection, MC17363

In sum, these three scrolls show you an impressive world map in an oval projection flanked by useful and interesting information on geography, astronomy, and curiosities about the world.

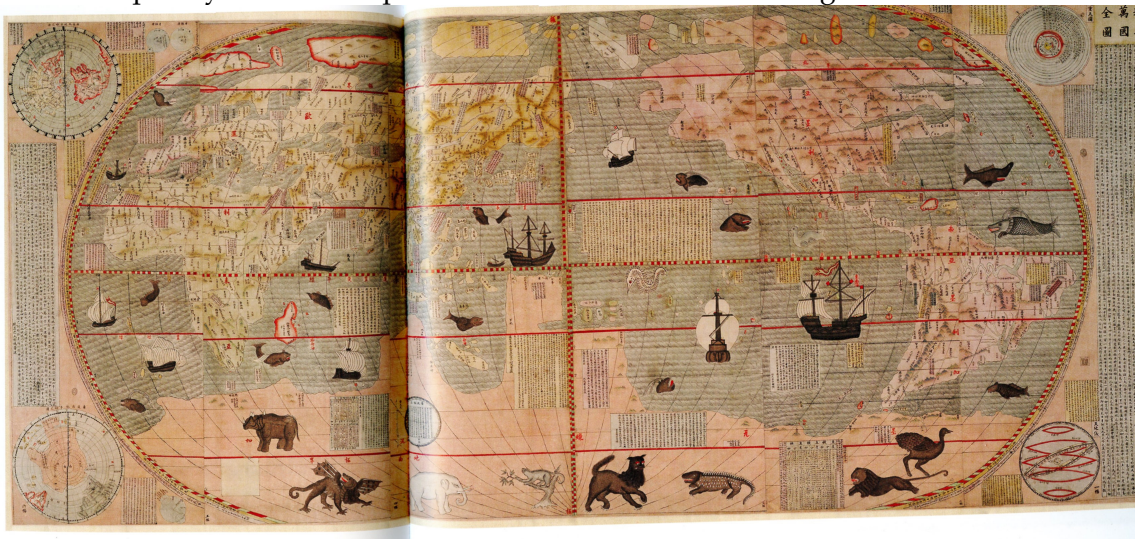
The Chinese Map *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* in Japan

The *Map of the World*, MacLean Collection, MC17363, likely dating to the late 18th or early 19th century and now held by the MacLean Collection Map Library in Illinois, is one of many similar Japanese manuscript maps made in late Edo period Japan (1603–1868). In general, these Japanese copies retain most of the cartographic and textual information provided from a map, below, entitled “Complete Map of All Countries on Earth” (Ch. *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*; J. *Konyo Bankoku Zenzu*). This is the title given to a woodblock printed map made through the collaborative efforts of the Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552–1610, see monograph #441) and several of his Chinese colleagues in late Ming China.

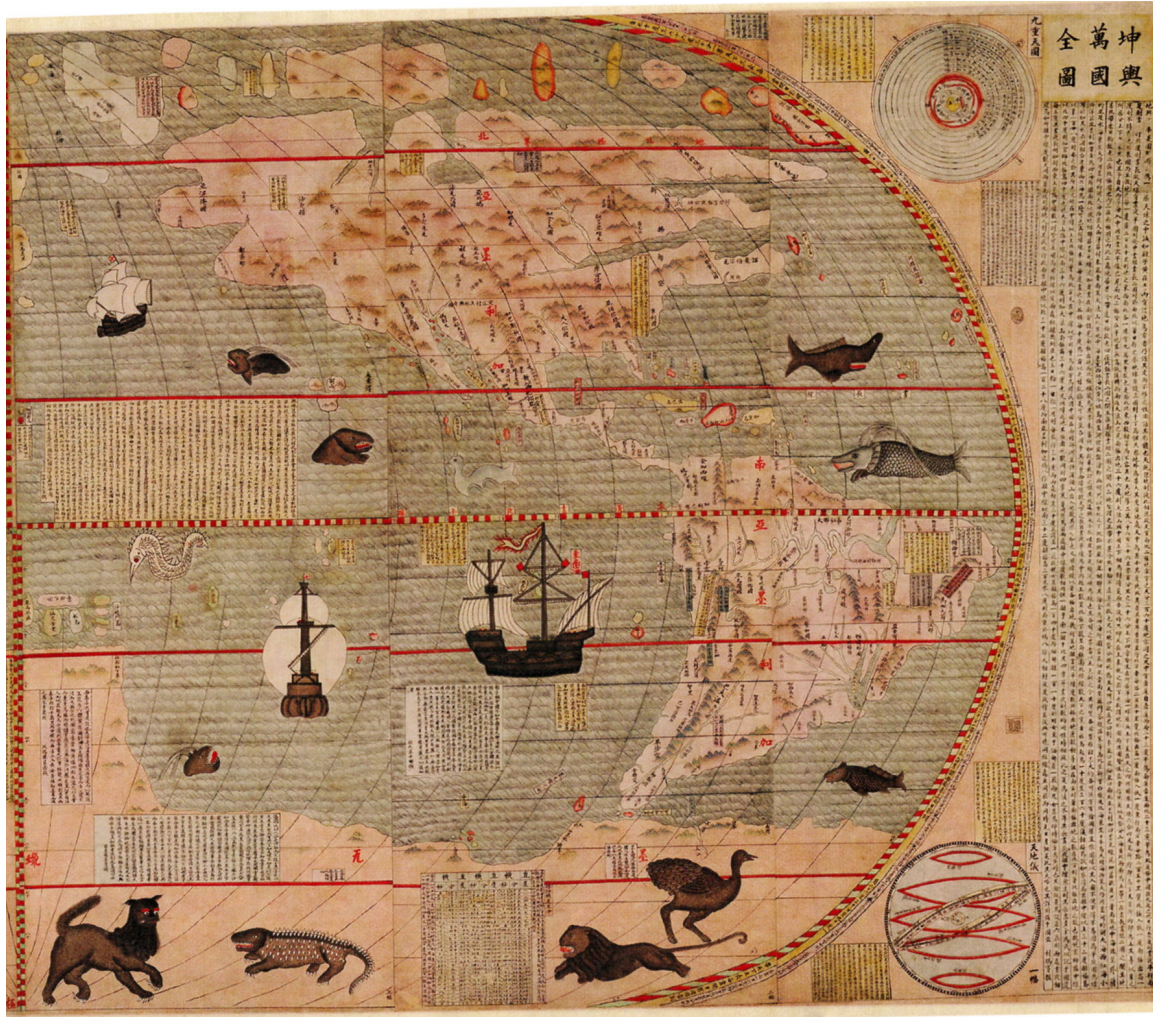


Complete Map of All Countries on Earth (Konyo Bankoku Zenzu), Japan, late 17th century or later, manuscript, ink and color on paper, 188 x 338 cm. Kanō Collection, Tōhoku University Library (#441)

After having been published in Beijing in 1602, prints of the *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* quickly arrived in Japan, where artists and scholars made beautiful manuscript replicas in various degrees of faithfulness to the 1602 edition. Today, more than twenty such Japanese Edo period manuscripts are still extant. Many of them are mounted as screens, using expensive materials such as mineral pigments and gold for color. The Tōhoku University version maintains the overall composition of the 1602 printed version but with a completely different impression due to its vibrant coloring.



Kunyu wanguo quantu: hand-copied in color in 1708 from original by Matteo Ricci; 172 x 531 cm; national treasure NO. 849; in the collection of Seoul National University.



This is a new version of *Gonyeo manguk jeondo* [Map of the Myriad Countries of the World by Matteo Ricci] made by the Silhak Museum based on the prototype, a world map commissioned by the royal family of the Joseon Dynasty in 1708. In 1602, Matteo Ricci, an Italian Jesuit priest, jointly with Li Zhizao, a Chinese scholar, made *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* (Chinese for *Gonyeo manguk jeondo*) in Beijing. The map was introduced to Joseon in 1603. In 1708 (the 34th year of King Sukjong's reign), two hand-copied reproductions of it were made in Joseon at the command of King Sukjong, one of which is kept at the Seoul National University (SNU) Museum (Treasure No. 849), while the other was consumed in a fire at Bongseonsa Temple during the Korean War.

The Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, SNU managed to digitally reproduce the map that used to be kept at Bongseonsa Temple in the form of an eight-panel folding screen using photos as a reference material. In 2011, the Silhak Museum redid the work of restoring it based on the one made by SNU. The illegible letters were restored based on a copy (1602 edition) of *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* kept at Kyoto University in Japan and the University of Minnesota in the United States. For the coloring, the workers referred to the one kept at the SNU Museum.

The second to seventh panels are a world map. The first panel contains a foreword written by Matteo Ricci while the last panel contains a foreword written by

Prime Minister and Head of Gwansanggam (Bureau of Astronomy) Choe Seok-jeong. The second through sixth panels contain the world map, which is presented in an ovoid shape, while the marginal spaces contain a variety of geographical information concerning *kujungch'on* [the nine celestial spheres], *ch'onjiui* [customs throughout the world], views of the northern and southern hemispheres, and so forth. In the remaining spaces of the map are drawn pictures of strange-looking animals and ships.

As for the land section of this world map, there are the continents corresponding to Europe, Africa, Asia, South and North America, and Oceania and *Magellanica*, an imaginary continent that coincidentally corresponds to the Antarctic. According to the explanation of Matteo Ricci, *Magellanica* was named after Ferdinand Magellan, who had arrived in the Philippines in 1521. The following is a translation of Matteo Ricci's notes concerning Korea and Japan on his map:

Chosen was a state ruled by Kija, and it used be a Chinese colony during the periods of the Han and Tang dynasties. It is now the first in rank among the tributary states. In the past there were a number of walled-city states like Samhan, Yemaek, Parhae, Siljik, Karak, Puyo, Silla, Paekche, Tamna, and so forth, but they are now all integrated (into Chosen).

Japan is a big island in the middle of the sea, whose length extends 3,200 li though its width is only 600 li. It now consists of sixty-six prefectures. Each prefecture has its ruler, and its people worship strength. Even though a king exists, power is always in the hands of powerful subjects. There are many who practice martial skills, but the number of those who study the arts and literature is limited. As for indigenous products, there are silver, iron and black pepper. The king hands over his throne to his son when the latter becomes thirty years old. While they do not care much about jewelry, the Japanese hold dear gold, silver and pottery.

The Japanese section on the (Hoeip) *Konyo man'guk chimdo* was based on records made by Jesuit missionaries then engaged in evangelical activities in Japan. The Jesuit missionaries had already made a map of East Asia or a world map around 1593 or 1594.

What is interesting about the Japanese section of the (Hoeip) *Konyo man'guk chido* is that an island that appears to be Hokkaido is labeled *Sadoga-shima*. *Sadogashima* is an island on the opposite [western] side of Niigata Harbor on Honshu Island. However, if one ignores the place name given on the map and takes the actual size of the island into consideration, one will find that the nondescript island that was misnamed *Yezo* was in fact Hokkaido. In any case, it is apparent that there was some confusion with the appellation or the size of the large island north of Japan on the (Hoeip) *Konyo man'guk chondo*.

This problem was eventually corrected by Martino Martini (1614-1661), a Jesuit priest sent to China at the request of Matteo Ricci. Martini, who was an expert in astronomy and geography, published the *Novus Atlas Sinenis* (New Atlas of China) in 1655, based on Chinese sources. Though it is known that Martini consulted the *Guang yutu*, an atlas by the Ming scholar Luo Hongxian (1504-1564) for his *Novus Atlas Sinenis*, some evidence shows that he also consulted Matteo Ricci's *Kunyu wanguo quantu*. The general outline of Japan in Martini's world map is relatively closer to the (Hoeip) *Konyo man'guk chondo*, based on Ricci's map, than it is to the map by Luo Hongxian. It is possible that Martini tried to present Japan based on the maps made by the Jesuits in Japan, as Matteo Ricci had done before.



The Chinese section in the *Kunyu wan guo quantu* clearly shows the Chinese phrase "Da Ming Yi Tong," which signifies the unification of the Great Ming empire. The description of China in this way was, in fact, a compromise to assuage the Chinese who were extremely proud and self-centered. For centuries the Chinese had regarded themselves as the center of the world in terms of both geography and culture. The image of the world presented on the *Kunyu wan guo quantu* was clearly contrary to their Sino-centric worldview.

However, Ricci soon found a way to minimize their embarrassment. He moved China to the center of the world map. Since the earth is a globe like a ball, there is no reason why a certain country or continent should be in the center of a world map that is flat. And yet, the center of any given world map is often presented differently according to the cartographer and the audience. Matteo Ricci chose to avoid offending the Chinese by placing the Chinese continent right in the middle.

On the other hand, the sea which Koreans prefer to call the East Sea is designated as the Sea of Japan in the *Kunyu wan guo quantu*, to our embarrassment. However, the "Sea of Japan" in this case only signifies that the sea is near Japan. Many other world maps concurrently made in the West label the same body of water "the East Sea." It was only in the late 19th century that the Japanese started calling the East Sea the Sea of

Japan. Taking an imperialistic stance, the Japanese tried to permanently fix the name of the sea as the Sea of Japan.



Northeast Asia on the *Kunyu wanguo quantu*:
the Sea of Japan and Hokkaido is marked as "Sado."

Japanese Censorship

Circulation of the *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* in Japan did not occur without problems. The prohibition and censorship of Christianity, particularly between 1685 and 1720, resulted in any documents with the name of Matteo Ricci being banned. This affected the circulation of the *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*, which included three prefaces signed by Ricci using his Chinese name Li Madou. Some extant prints of the 1602 *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* that were in Japan at that time show signs of tampering due to censorship, such as scratching away the name "Li Madou" and the Jesuit seals. On the Bell Library version, Matteo Ricci's name was removed, while on the Miyagi Prefectural Library version, the name is still intact.

After 1720, restrictions loosened, and it is during this period that we see a renewed and widespread interest in copying the *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*.

A Curious Case of Retitling

Despite being easily identifiable as one of the many Japanese manuscript maps after the *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*, the title *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* does not appear anywhere on the MacLean version. Instead, we can find two different titles attached to it. On the outside of the scrolls are hand-written titles that read "Map of the Lands of All Countries" (J. *Bankoku Yochi Zu*; Ch. *Wanguo Yudi Tu*).



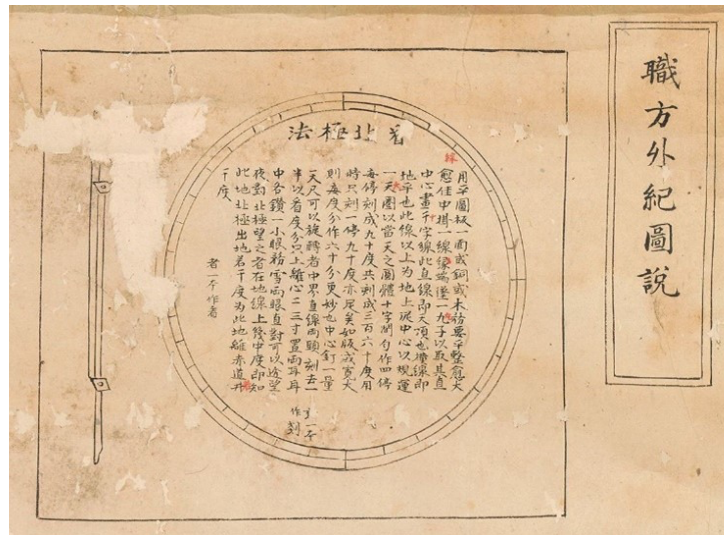
Titles on outside of scrolls, Map of the World, MacLean Collection, MC17363

The binomial term *bankoku*, or *wanguo* in Chinese, literally “10,000 countries,” is what identifies the map as a world map to a Japanese audience. The vast majority of Japanese world maps made during the Edo period bear this term in their title.

The title in the upper right corner of the MacLean map, *Shokuhō Gaiki Zusetsu* (Ch. *Zhifang Waiji Tushuo*), is a curious one. *Zhifang Waiji* refers to the title of a relatively small book on world geography published in China in 1623, made by the Jesuit Giulio Aleni (1582-1649) and his Chinese collaborator Yang Tingyun (1557-1627). Despite being censored due to its connection with Christianity, this translation of a European atlas circulated widely in manuscript form in Japan.

The title Shokuhō Gaiki Zusetsu (Ch. Zhifang Waiji Tushuo), upper right corner, Map of the World, MacLean Collection, MC17363

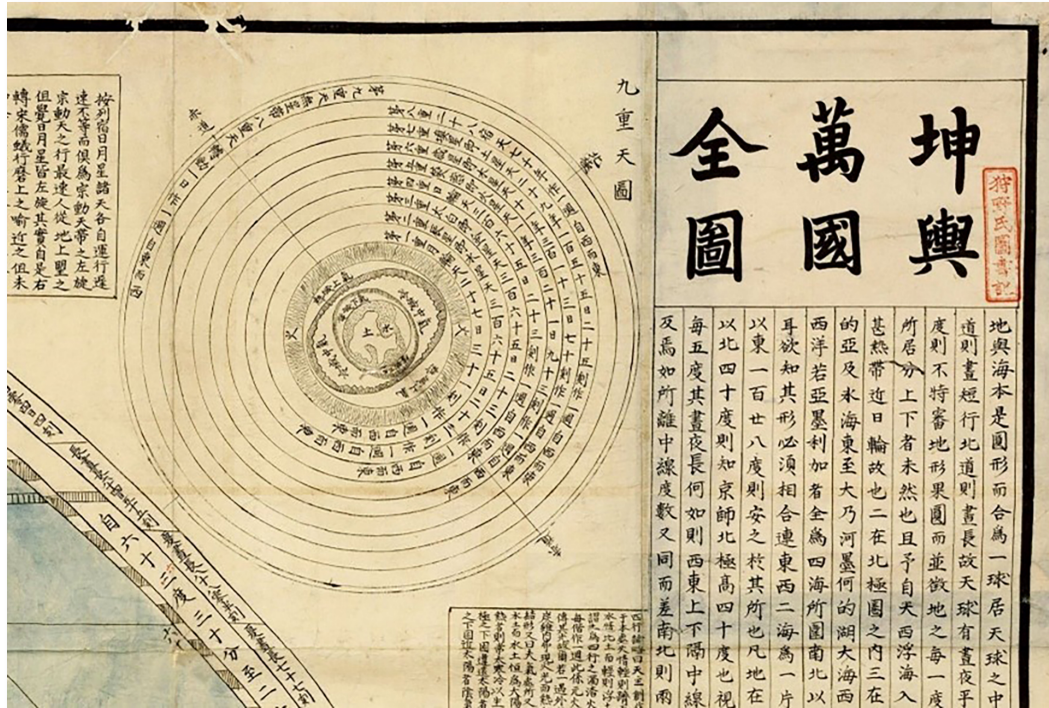
The *Zhifang Waiji* does include several maps, among them is the map below entitled “Complete Map of All Countries” (Ch. “*Wanguo Quantu*”) as well as two polar projection maps. But the overall presentation of map and accompanying texts of the MacLean map clearly identifies it as an adaptation of the *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* not the *Zhifang Waiji*'s “Complete Map of All Countries.”





Complete Map of All Countries (Wanguo quantu) in Zhifang Waiji, China, 1623, woodblock printed book, ink on paper, Japan National Archives.

The puzzle of the title and what happened in the top right corner of the MacLean map does not appear to have a straightforward answer. The 1602 print, as well as most of the Japanese manuscript copies, include a diagram of the nine celestial spheres next to the map's title.



Detail of title and explanation of how to find north, upper right corner, Map of the World, MacLean Collection, MC17363

This diagram and title are missing on the MacLean manuscript map. Instead, the comparison image on the right shows that the mapmaker moved the diagram on how to find north, located in the southern continent of most versions of the *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*, to the upper right corner.

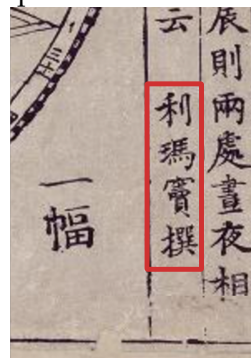
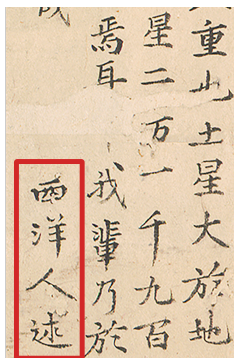
And then there is the addition of a seemingly arbitrary but not completely unrelated new title on the MacLean manuscript. Perhaps the MacLean version mapmaker had a source map missing the upper right corner. Whatever the unknown reason, the MacLean version has an outside title of *Bankoku Yochi Zu* and an inside title of *Shokuhō Gaiki Zusetsu* on a map that an educated reader during the Edo period would expect to be titled *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*.



Explanation on finding north in the top right corner of the Kanō version (left), and details showing the manuscript in the top right corner of the MacLean version (right)

Erasing Ricci

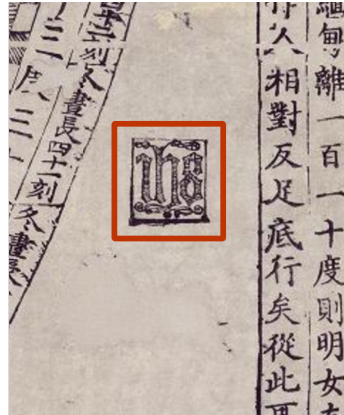
Additional minor changes, besides those related to the title, also confuse the genealogy of the MacLean map. The 1602 print includes three prefaces that Matteo Ricci signed using his Chinese name Li Madou: Two at the very edges of the map, and one in the southern continent. On the MacLean version, the mapmaker replaced all three instances of the name Li Madou with the generic term "man from the Western Ocean," referring to someone from Europe.



"Man from the Western Ocean" signature on Map of the World, MacLean Collection, MC17363 (left) Matteo Ricci (Li Madou) signature on Kunyu Wanguo Quantu, Miyagi Prefectural Library (right)

Could the change be due to considerations of censorship? Was Matteo Ricci's name still too sensitive a topic? This seems unlikely, as by

the late 18th century censorship had long relaxed, and so such considerations were unlikely to have influenced the mapmaker, especially for a manuscript (versus print) map. In addition, the 1602 *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* was never singled out as a document to be censored, while Aleni's 1623 *Zhifang Waiji* did appear on the official list of censored books. The MacLean map also displays one of the, once censored, Jesuit seals found on the 1602 print.



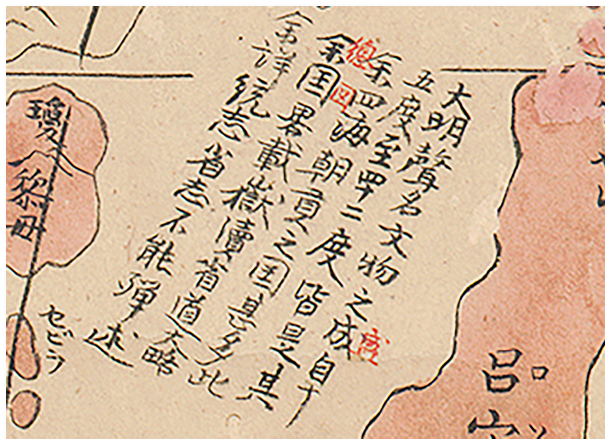
Detail of the Jesuit seal, Map of the World, MacLean Collection, MC17363 (left) Miyagi Prefectural Library (right)

If this all seems confusing, it is. Removing Ricci's name but adding the title *Zhifang Waiji* would be two changes with a contrary effect in regard to the censorship rules. So the question remains, why

confuse or disguise the source maps?

Revising & Mounting the Map

There are other interesting considerations regarding the production of the MacLean map. Many of the text blocks were edited after the manuscript was finished. In other words, somebody gave it another read through annotating, using red ink, character errors the copyist had made.



Detail showing text with annotations in red, Map of the World, MacLean Collection, MC17363

By looking closely, one can also learn about the history of the physical map. The paper has extensive wormhole damage. In places where landmasses had been colored, someone has added new red and yellow ink to infill worm-eaten losses.

Detail showing worm damage, losses, and as where red color was re-applied to cover damage, Map of the World, MacLean Collection, MC17363



However, there was no attempt to repair the lost text (neither black nor red). Before being mounted as a scroll in its current condition, the map had been folded for some time, as folds and related staining is still visible on the paper. This means, the map was produced in multiple stages: first, hand copying and coloring the whole map, then revising it, re-coloring it, and finally mounting it.

That the map was first folded speaks of a particular intention of the original maker. Creating a folded map using messy calligraphy with many errors that need to be corrected suggest that this map was not intended as a beautiful object to admire but as one of a scholarly endeavor, an object for study to learn about the earth. By re-coloring and mounting the map, this purpose was changed. Mounting the map as a set of three hanging scrolls with a nicely contrasting dark blue brocade border meant the map could now be hung on a wall as a decorative object.

The Konyo Bankoku Zenzu as a Japanese Artifact

Asking questions about when, why, how, and by whom Japanese manuscript maps were made often yields fascinating and unexpected results. The composition of this MacLean version is a unique compilation of sources. It is related to the *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*, a map that was produced under the guidance of Matteo Ricci in Beijing in 1602 and was soon after imported into Japan. There it immediately developed into new iterations, its title now pronounced *Konyo Bankoku Zenzu*.

The MacLean map reminds us that there is more to the Japanese *Konyo Bankoku Zenzu* manuscripts than making simple copies of the 1602 *Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*. The original production context and the fact that Matteo Ricci had participated in the original stage had become completely irrelevant to the Japanese mapmaker two centuries later. This means that we should not ignore the materiality and production of any given map, nor the Japanese mapmakers themselves. Moreover, the MacLean map highlights that a map might never be finished and that any given map might signify different things to different people; as here what began as a scholarly map exercise became a decorative object to be hung in a Japanese home.

Sources

Complete Map of All Countries on Earth (*Kunyu wanguo quantu*), China, 1602, woodblock print, hanging scrolls mounted and framed, ink on paper, 167 x 369 cm. James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota

Complete Map of All Countries (*Konyo bankoku zenzu*), Japan, late 17th century or later, manuscript, ink and color on paper, 188 x 338 cm. Kanō Collection, Tōhoku University Library

Complete Map of All Countries (*Kunyu wanguo quantu*) Miyagi Prefectural Library

Complete Map of All Countries (*Wanguo quantu*) in *Zhifang waiji*, China, 1623, woodblock printed book, ink on paper. Japan National Archives pp. 42-44

For a wide range of Japanese world maps, including several manuscript *Konyo bankoku zenzu*, visit this website. <http://www-user.yokohama-cu.ac.jp/~ycu-rare/list1.html>



Chikyū Bankoku Sankai Yochi Zenzusetsu, 1790, Nagakubo Sekisui

Woodblock map, hand-colored, 36.25 X 64.25 inches). One of the earliest world maps made in Japan. A reduced hand-colored copy with latitudes and longitudes based on Matteo Ricci's revolutionary world map, published in Beijing in 1602.

Nagakubo Sekisui (1717-1801) was a Confucian scholar with samurai status, who studied with Japan's most famous astronomer's disciples, and is considered the founder of modern Japanese geography for his use of lines of latitude and longitude. World maps based on Ricci's work had been made before Sekisui's work, but were drawn by artists with no understanding of cartography. This map, famously credited to Sekisui, contains additions, corrections and improvements to Ricci's map.

Most of the Chinese inscriptions were copied with extensive annotation and reading marks for the Japanese audience. For example, Sekisui added 'katakana' which is used for transcription of foreign language words into Japanese, next to the hundreds of Chinese toponyms copied from Ricci's map. This certainly made the map more easily understandable and accessible for his contemporaries. Alongside the geographical changes, Sekisui also added some text that seem to be justifying the inaccurate description on Ricci's map.

Sekisui's most significant improvements are made to the depiction of Japan and the Kuril Islands, including the shapes of the islands and names of the provinces and roads. He substituted many incorrect place names around Japan on Ricci's map with a few correct ones. For example, the northern most of Japan's main islands is named as *Hokkaidō* on Ricci's map, and changed to *Eso* by Sekisui. To the east of Japan, Sekisui also illustrated the two imaginary islands of *Kinshima* [Isle of Gold] and *Ginshima* [Isle of Silver] that the Spanish and the Dutch desperately sought after during the 17th century. These two mythical islands were not depicted on Ricci's map.

A critical section of Sekisui's map is the explanatory text at the top, which contains about 1450 Chinese characters in the style of 'Kanbun' (a technique for making Chinese texts read like Japanese), in 69 columns, with *kunten* (guiding marks) for his

Japanese readership. Existing scholarship considers Sekisui's text not a translation but a sophisticated adaptation, particularly concerning Japan itself. By adopting the new concepts of latitude and longitude – the latter allowing for the calculation of time-difference – Sekisui was able to clarify the position of Japan in the world.

As a result, Sekisui successfully promoted new concepts that resulted in a changing vision of the world; many more editions of his map were published up until the mid-19th century.

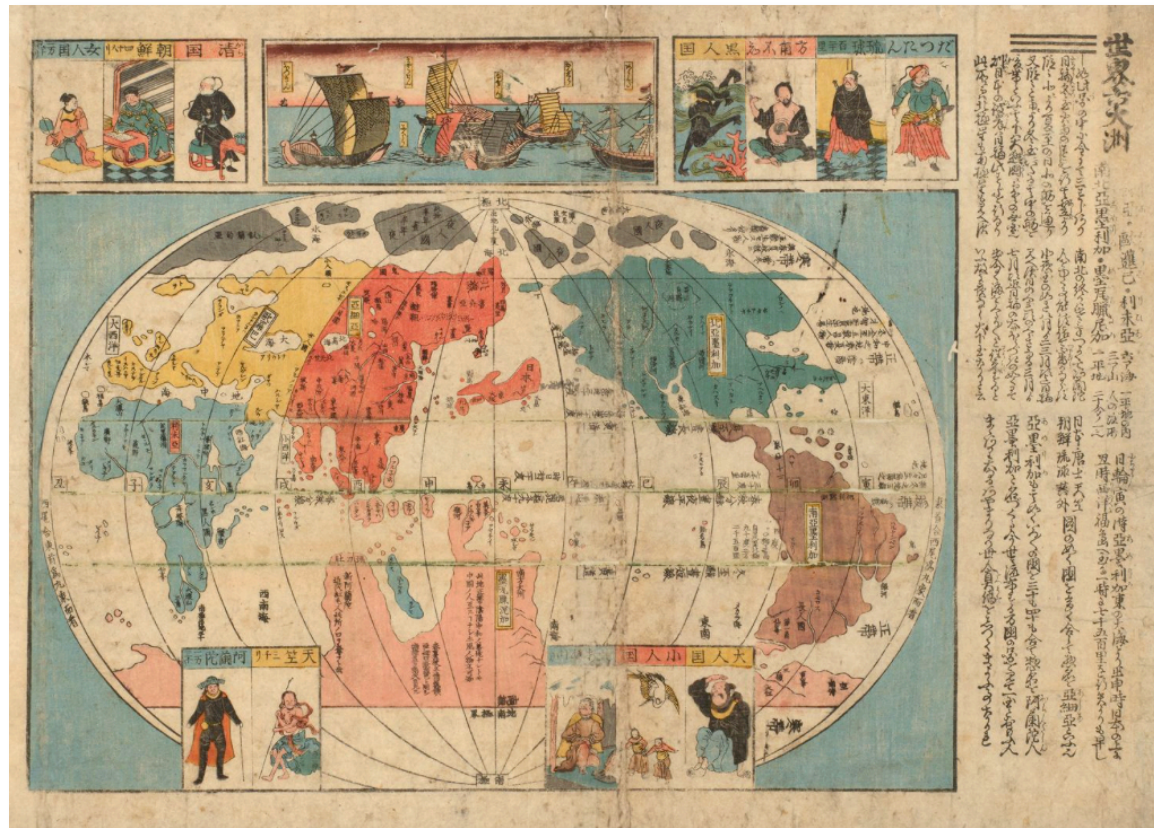


Bankoku Ichiran Zu [Outline of All Countries on Earth]

by Yoshiharu Koyano, 1809, woodcut, 106 x 139 cm.

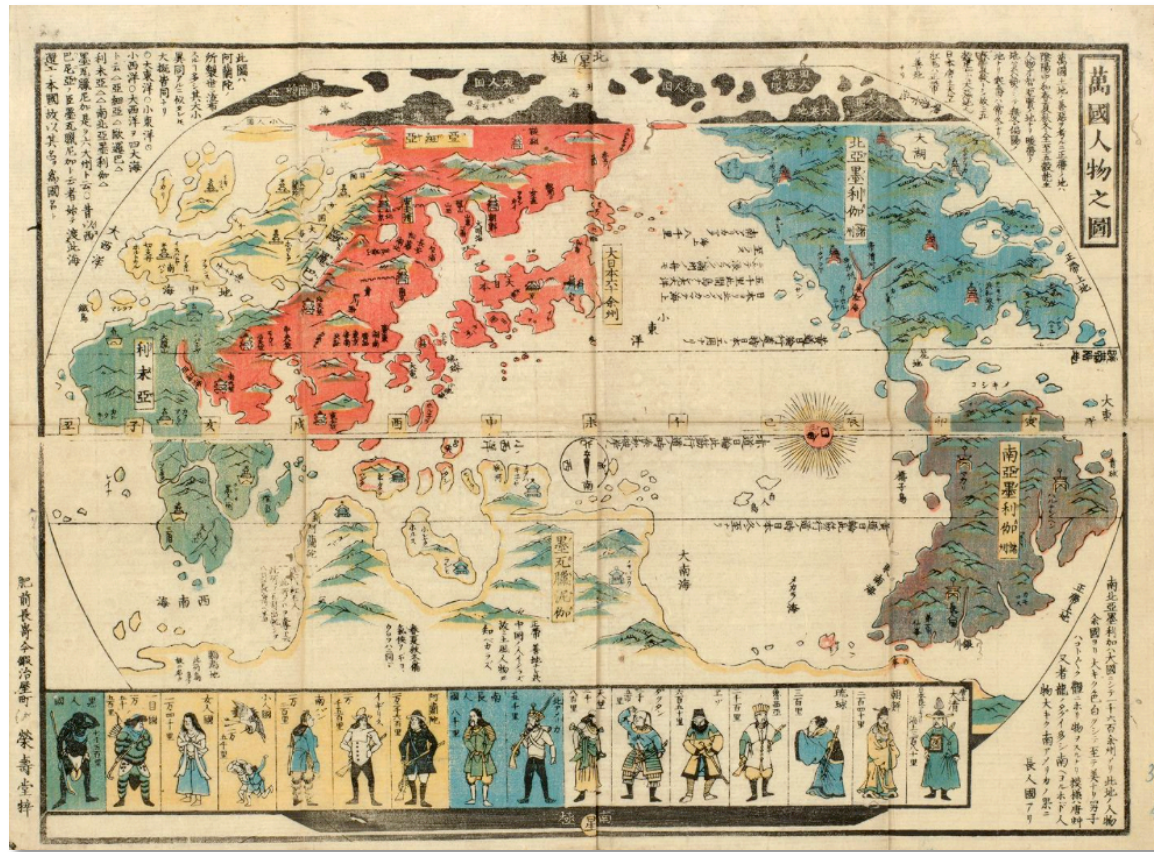
Note the exaggerated enlargement of Japan, the crude outlines of India and Africa and the total distortion of the Americas on the right-hand side

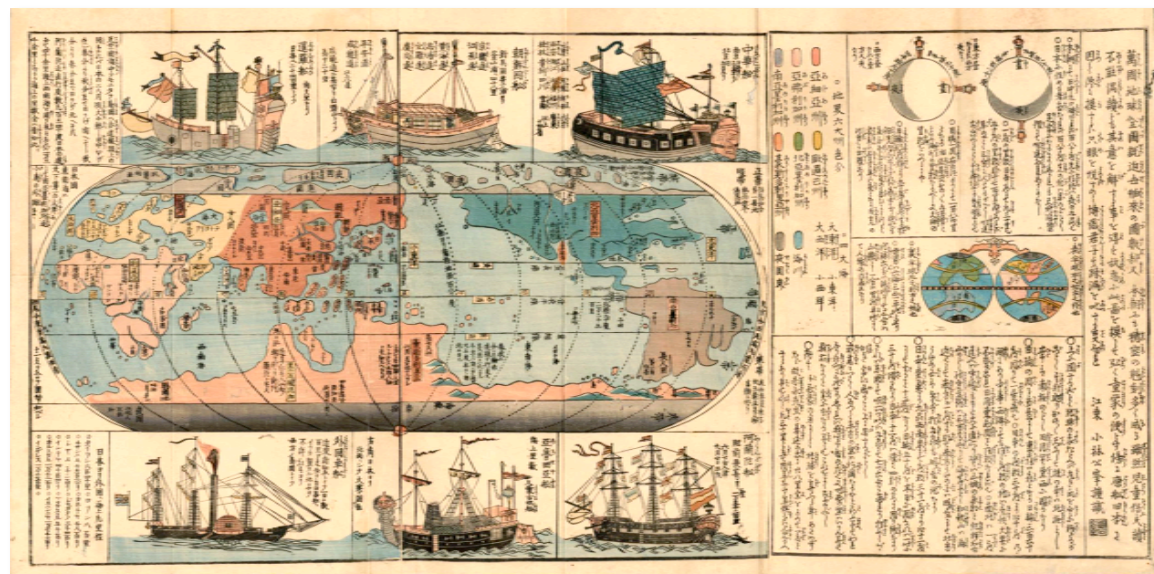


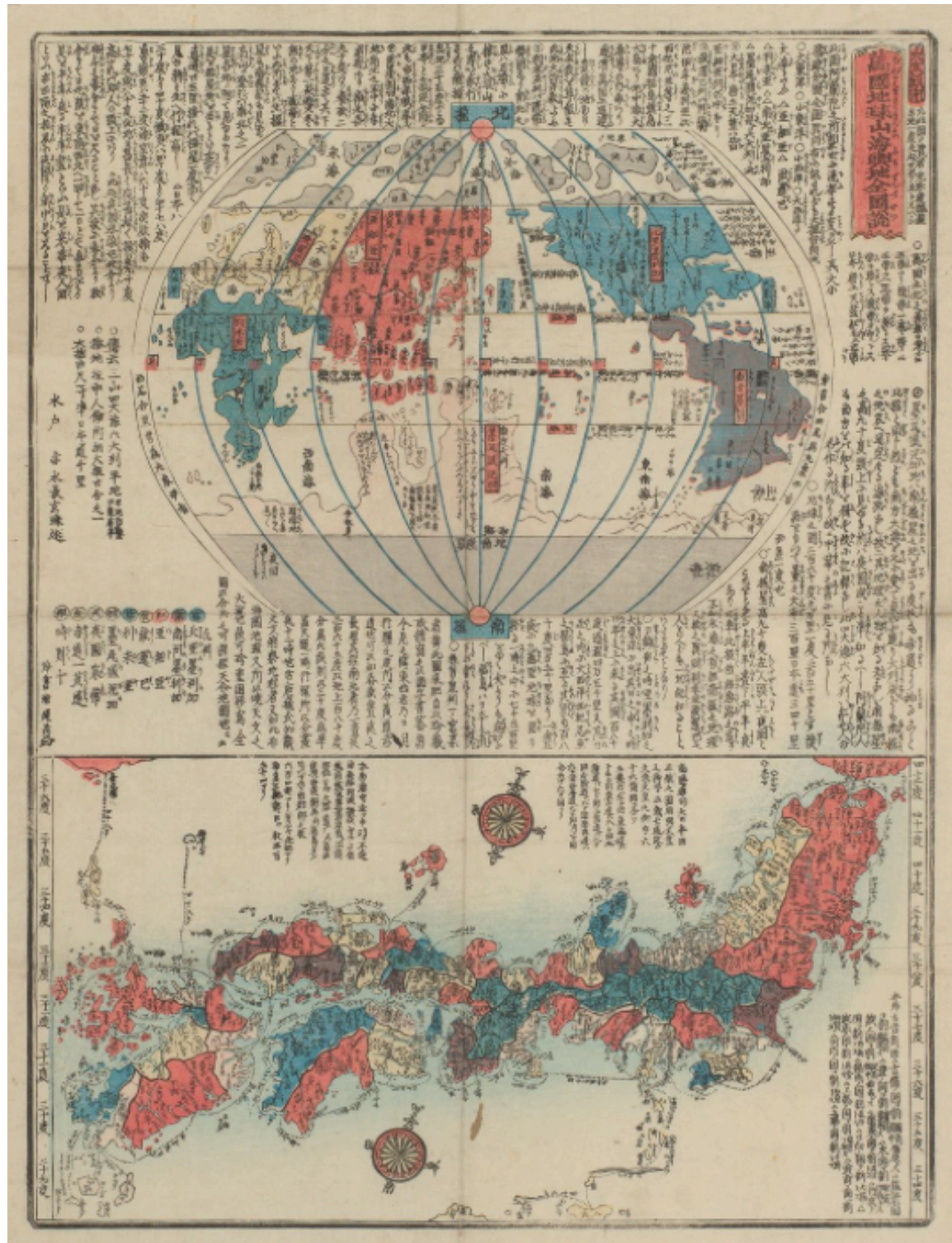


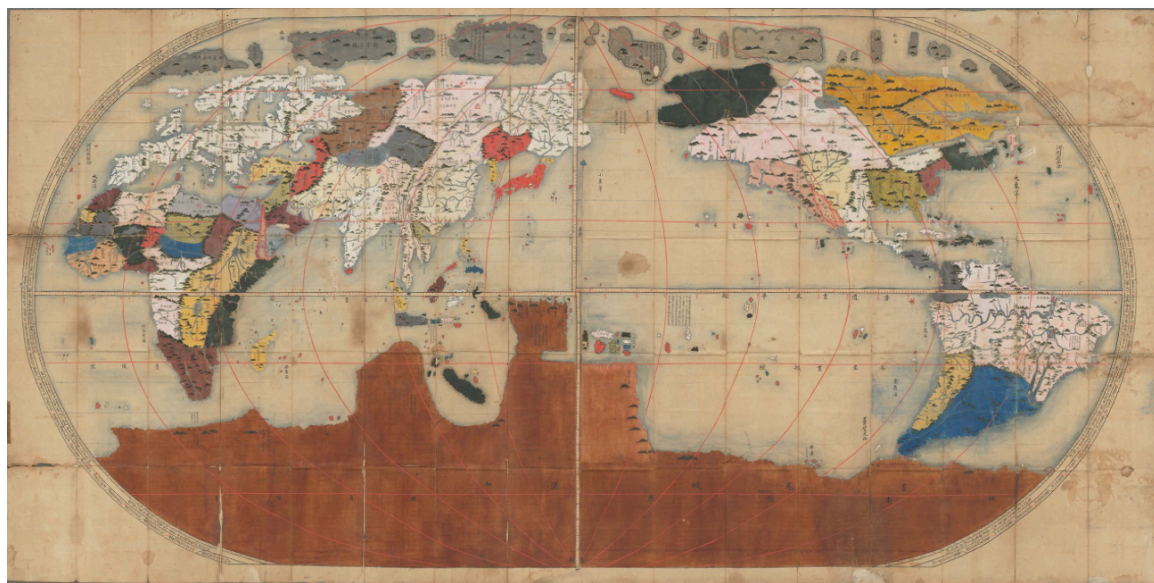
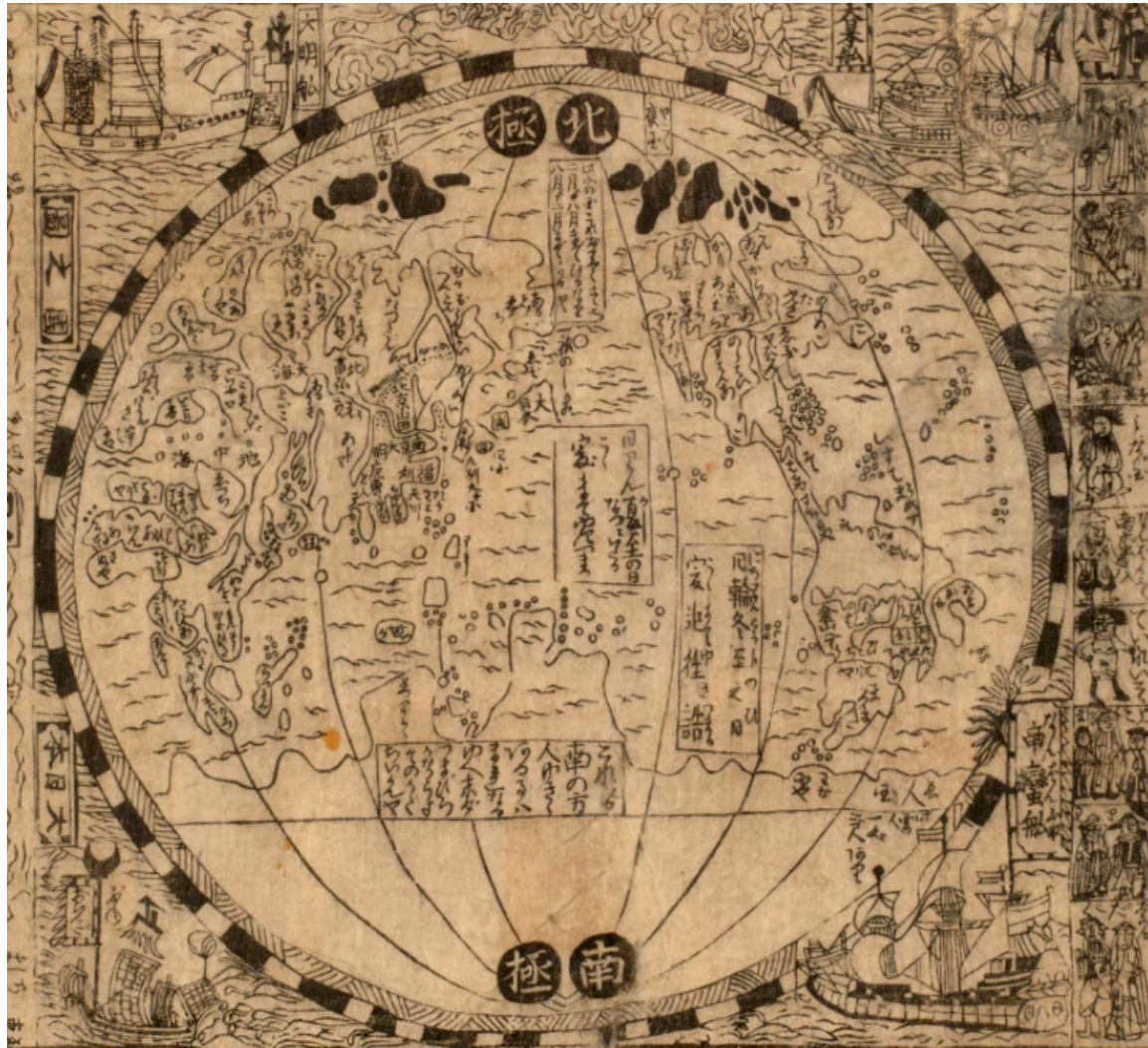


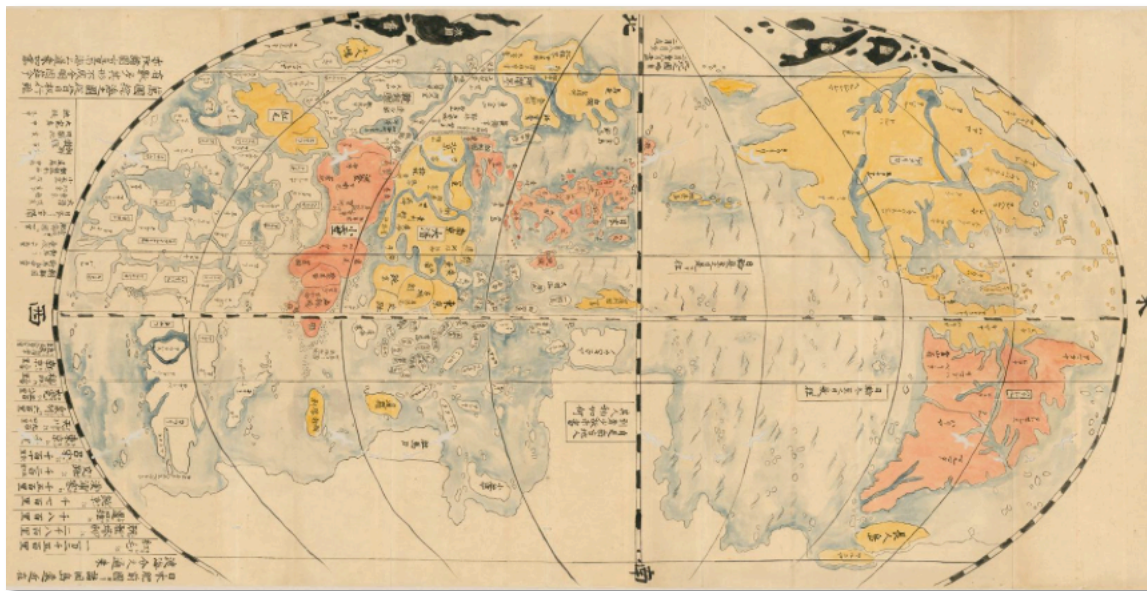


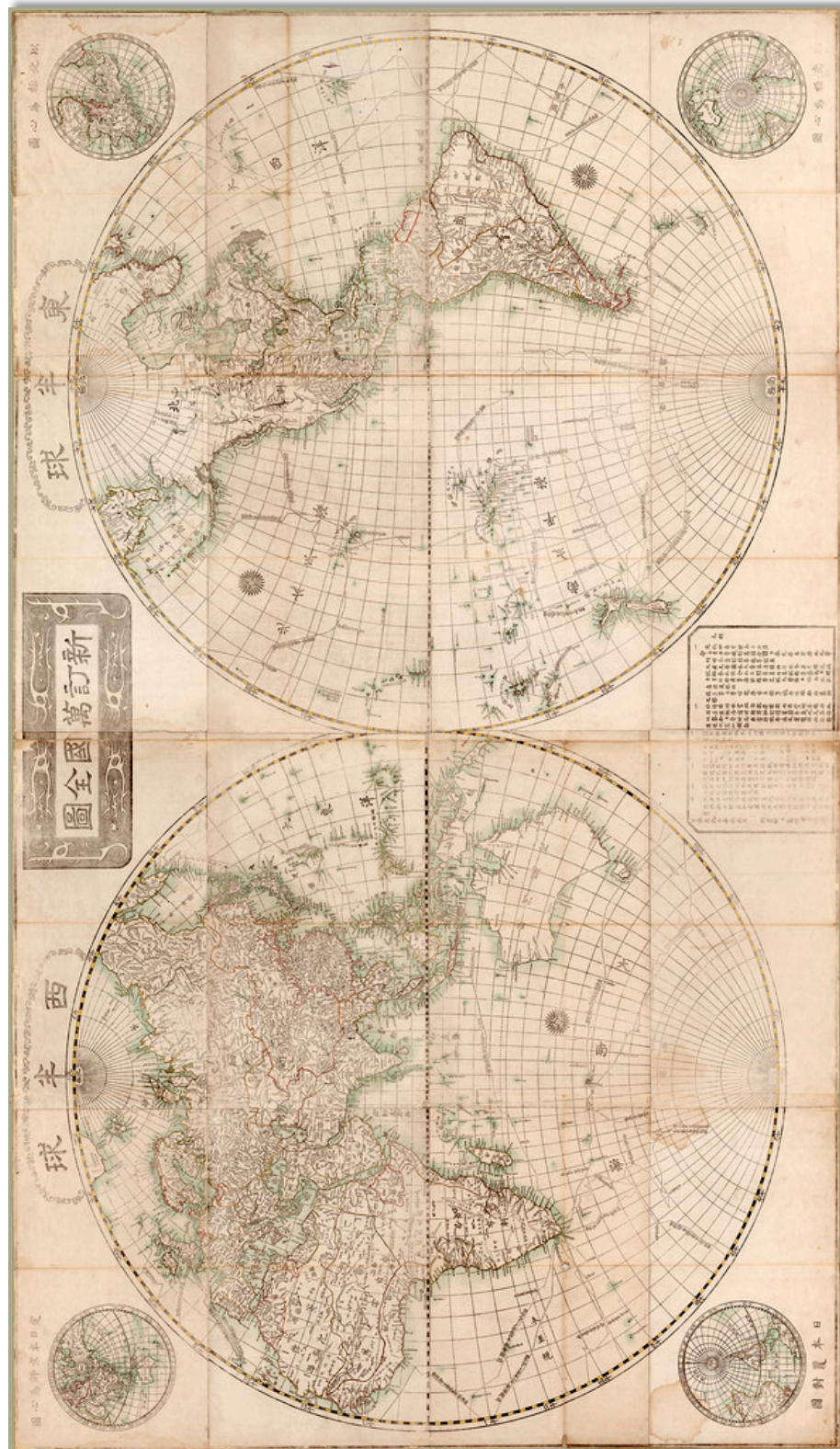










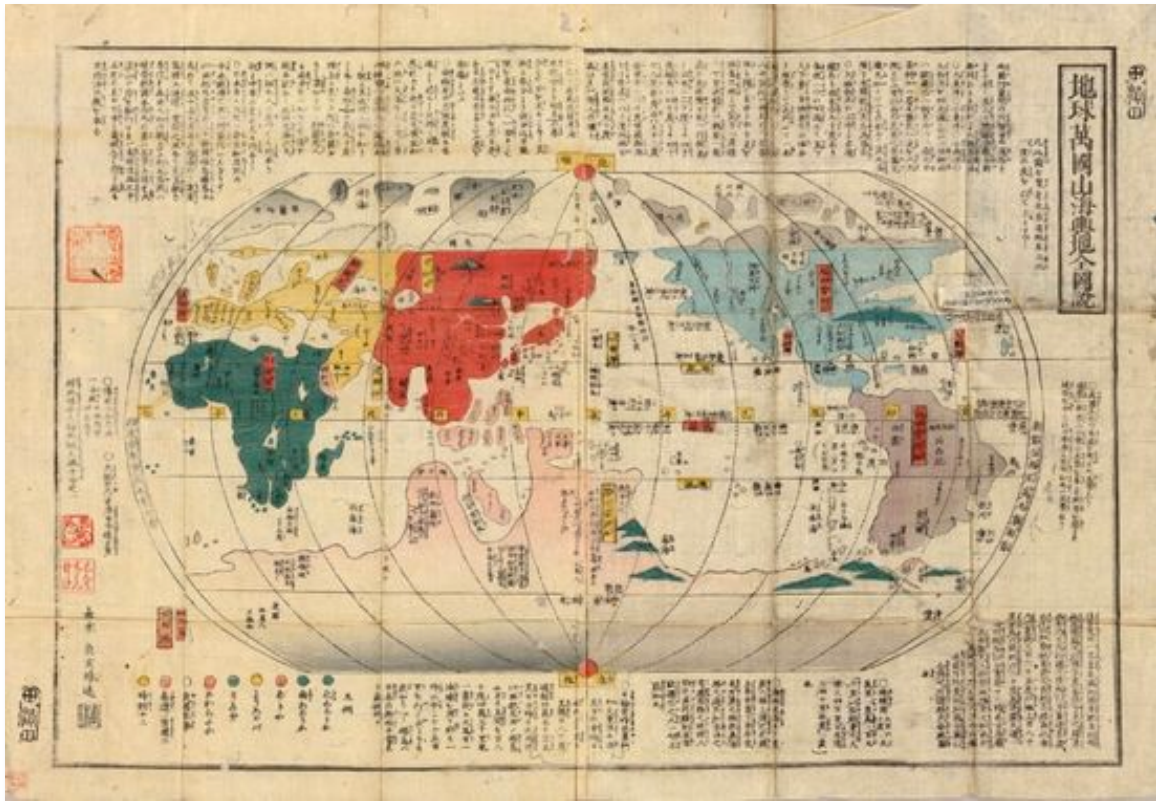


*Shintei Bankoku Zenzu [Revised Comprehensive Map of All Countries],
compiled by Kageyasu Takahashi, the finest world map of the Edo period, copper plate print, 1810*

This world map, published under the title *Shintei Bankoku Zenzu* [Revised Comprehensive Map of All Countries], prepared at the request of the Government by the Court Astronomer Kageyasu Takahashi (1785-1829) and by Shigeromi Hazama (1756-1816) bears the date *Bunkwa* 7th Year (1810). It was engraved in copper and hand-colored by Aodo. As Takahashi states in the accompanying text to his written in Chinese, he was given the order to prepare an improved universal map at the end of 1807. His map shows the eastern and the western hemispheres. The corners of the huge sheet accommodate, moreover, four small maps (each with a diameter of 16.5 cm): a hemisphere with Japan in the center, the North Pole hemisphere, the hemisphere of the South Atlantic, and the South Pole hemisphere. Takahashi's map served as a model for numerous later maps down to modern times. It was republished in 1855 by Kaiko Yamaji under the title of *Jutei Bankoku Zenzu* and again in 1871 by the Daigaku Nanko, later the Tokyo University. The author of this map is the same Takahashi who was principally concerned in the case which in the winter of 1828 led to the expulsion from Japan of Baron Philipp Franz von Siebold. Philipp Franz Balthasar von Siebold (1796 - 1866), a distant relative of mine, was a German physician, botanist, and traveler. He achieved prominence by his studies of Japanese flora and fauna and the introduction of Western medicine in Japan. He was the father of the first female Japanese doctor, Kusumoto Ine. In 1826 Siebold made the court journey to Edo. During this long trip he collected many plants and animals. But he also obtained from the court astronomer Takahashi Kageyasu several detailed maps of Japan and Korea (written by Chukey Inō Tadataka), in exchange for a number of Russian works and a new map of the Dutch possessions; an act strictly forbidden by the Japanese government. When the Japanese discovered, by accident, that Siebold had a map of the northern parts of Japan, the government accused him of high treason and of being a spy for Russia. The Japanese placed Siebold under house arrest and expelled him from Japan on 22 October 1829. Takahashi was thrown into jail and died there.



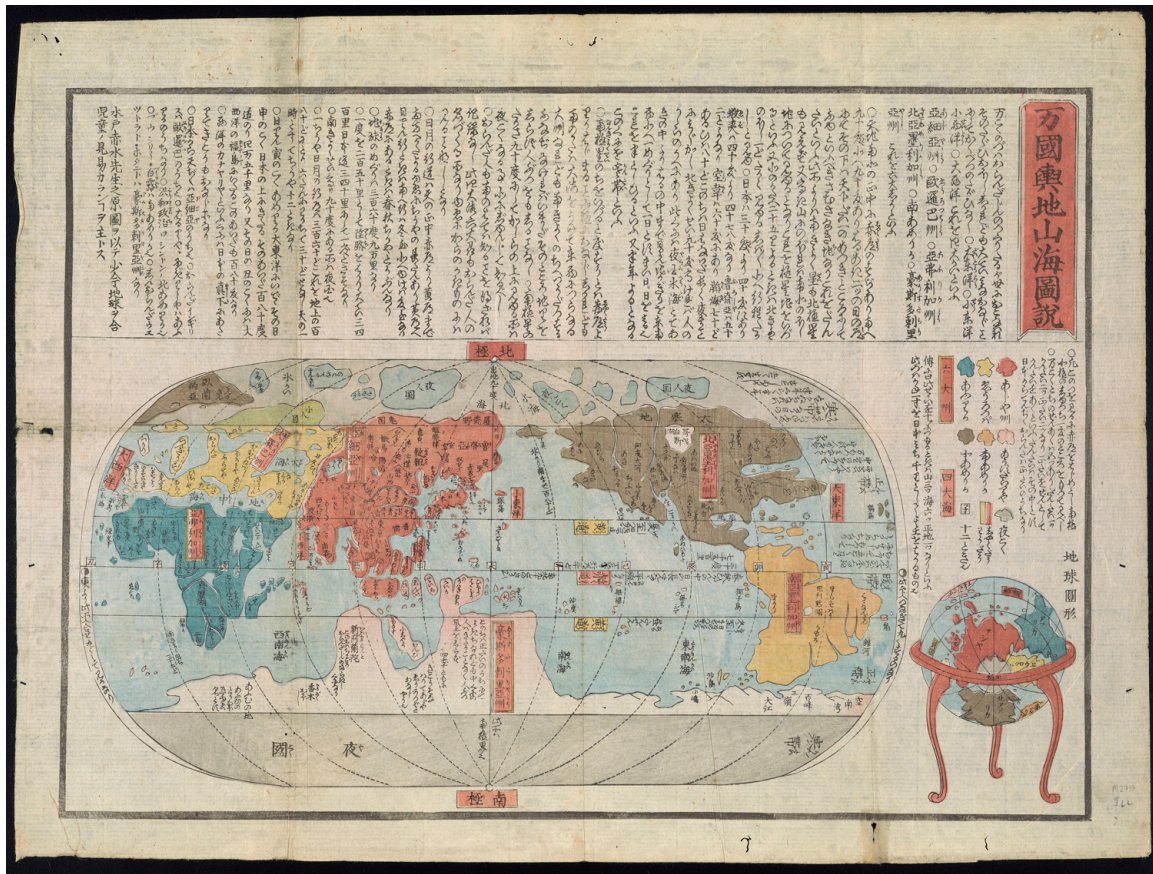
1840 Western Hemisphere with a huge California shown as an island



Chikyu bankoku sankai yochi zenzu, Sekisui Cho Harutaka, 1850

The map shown above was completed in 1850 is a prime example of the increasing interest the Japanese were developing in the West. This world map displays a fusion of the artistic culture that had blossomed in the Edo period (1603-1868) and the desire to understand how the rest of the world functioned and interacted with each other. Instead of focusing solely on Japan's towns and provinces, the mapmaker indicates the value of trading internationally while stylistically holding on to Japanese traditions. Many maps made in this era disregard geographical accuracy, believing that this was inevitable. In comparison to European made maps from nearly a century prior, the level of accuracy is years advanced.

Japan began reluctantly opening its borders to American traders. This hurt Japan's economy but opened up the country to Western culture. By 1859, western texts and literature were being translated by the government and western military schools led by the Dutch were allowed. Japan ushered in a new era in 1868 when the final Tokugawa resigned and all Japanese borders were opened. Maps from this point on take on a very distinctly European look and cartographers begin paying close attention to the accuracy of their pieces. This map from 1850 is a rare piece representing a time in which Japan was on the brink of a major cultural change. It retains the Edo period's style and execution while acknowledging Japan's place in the booming world trade markets.



Bankoku Yochi Sankai Zusetsu
 [The World Map with Explanations of Lands and Oceans] 1850

The anonymous *Bankoku yochi sankai zusetsu* shown above features a world map, on an oval projection, descriptive text, and a globe. It is one of many similar world maps, most anonymous and undated, that were printed in the last eighty years of the Edo period (1788-1868). While official state policy held Japan in isolation from the rest of the world, Chinese and Dutch merchants were permitted to land and trade at Nagasaki, providing a narrow avenue for cultural exchange. The anonymous author of this world map acknowledged its derivation from Dutch sources, noting that Dutch world maps were all similar to one another in geographical content, although he also claimed its derivation from the work of the master cartographer Nagakubo Sekisui. As mentioned above, Sekisui derived his 1788 world map from the oval-shaped world map published in Beijing in 1602 by the Italian-born missionary Matteo Ricci and started the genre of pedagogic world maps exemplified by this map.

Translation

Note: The translation of the text on this map into English was made somewhat demanding because of the need to decipher the old Japanese script. Even though the three types of character used on this map (*hiragana*, *katakana*, and *kanji*) are still the main components of modern Japanese, understanding and reading through the archaisms is difficult. The process was therefore, first, to translate the Japanese archaisms into modern Japanese and, second, to translate these into English. Some parts of the text have

been easily translated into colloquial English; other parts necessarily remain more literal. *Italicized* place names were spelled out phonetically (although using *kanji* rather than the modern phonetic *hiragana* or *katakana*). Clarifications appear in notes, in the form ⁿ located at the end of the translation.

The text is divided into paragraphs in the original, the start of each paragraph being marked by a circle. The text is in two parts. The main part runs right-to-left across the entire Upper Register of the image, starting with the title highlighted in red. The Lower Register, again from right to left, contains further text and legend, below which is a globe, and then the map itself.

Upper Register

The world maps spread through the world [i.e., printed/published] were made by the Dutch, with plenty of variation. However, they are usually identical [i.e., in their geographical outlines] and there are no remarkable differences between them.

There are the four great oceans: the farther¹ eastern ocean [i.e., Atlantic], the nearer eastern ocean [i.e., Pacific], the nearer western ocean [i.e., Indian], and the farther western ocean [i.e., Atlantic, again]. The six continents [or provinces, regions], Asia, Europe, Africa, the North America, the South America, and Australia, are called the six biggest regions.

Dividing the earth into the north and the south, there is the equator in the center. In latitude, the equator is 90 degrees from both the north and the south poles. The equator is where the sun passes overhead on the spring equinox and autumn equinox. The hottest region in the world is directly on the equator, and there is no cold season like our winter. This region is called the torrid zone.² From there, neither Polaris nor the southern pole star³ can be seen. Climbing up the high mountain, Polaris and the south star can be seen as if they stick to the horizon. This phenomenon is called “The polestars on the ground.” Moreover, as you move just 25 *ri* [98 km/61 miles] northerly, Polaris can be seen higher; thus, as you go farther to the north, it can be found higher [in the sky].

Japan is located in latitude 30° to 40° north. *Ezo* [i.e., present-day Hokkaido] is in latitude 40° to 47° or 48° north. Russia is around 52° north. *Shitsui* [i.e., northeastern China, or Manchuria] is in latitude 60° north. *Bokkai* [i.e., the Korean kingdom] is around 70° to 80° north. In *Bokkai*, hours of sunlight are very long, and night is very short. Since Polaris is at an altitude of 90°, it is twinkling above people. The country is called “the night country with icy ocean.” In this region, the sun can be seen all day from the middle of autumn to the middle of spring [sic];⁴ furthermore, the sun rotates around the horizon in turn from the east, south, west, and north to make a day. Thus, the sun can be seen every day. This phenomenon is called “night under the midnight sun”. Conversely, from winter to spring time, there is the polar night, and the region that the country belongs to is the Frigid Zone.

Leaving [for] the South Pole, the [counting of] degree[s] of latitude starts from the equator, and this is the same thing as leaving [for]⁵ the North Pole. However, even though the South Pole has a big ocean and is a continent ranging east and west, the geography of the place is not yet given in detail because there are no ocean lanes to the South Pole. There is also no information about the people living there.

Based on the northern region, you may speculate that the [southern]⁶ region is the “night country” when the south star is at an altitude of 90°.

Since the Dutch do not know the end [extent?] of the south, either, there is no record about the South Pole. The four biggest oceans and the six biggest regions are also named by the Dutch. Therefore, there is no record about the oceans and the provinces in Chinese volumes [i.e., in Chinese sources].

[Seen] from the ground [i.e., in Japan], the orbits of the sun and the moon pass to the south from the equator along the ecliptic;⁷ hence, there is the difference in the length of night and day. If the sun on the ecliptic goes farther south [of the equator], it becomes the winter solstice. Likewise, there is the summer solstice if the sun goes to the north [of the equator]. There is a spring and an autumn equinox when the sun is on the equator, and the lengths of night and day become equal.

The circumference of the earth is 90,000 *ri* [353,430 km/219,600 miles].⁸ The size of property is measured with a *ri* such that 250 *ri* make one degree; the roads of Japan are measured with a *ri* such that 30 to 40 *ri* make one degree.⁹

The region where the altitude of the south star is 90° degrees is the night country.¹⁰

The sun and the moon take a day to pass through 360°. 180° on the ground <unclear>. Dividing 180° into 6 parts with 30° each corresponds to one hour [sic] ¹¹ in the cosmic motion. Therefore, night and day are 12 hours each.

The sun rises in America and the farther eastern ocean when it is 6:00 am, and when it is 6:00 pm on the same day, the sun rises in Japan. Meanwhile, the degree of the motion of the sun is 180, and the distance is 45,000 *ri* (176,715 km/109,809 miles). Moreover, at 4:00 am (the day after the sun rises in America), it reaches on Fukushima in the Atlantic with 180° in motion.

Canarias [Canary Islands] in the west is at the same latitude as Japan and its climate is very similar to Japan's.

From Japan to India is Asia.

Netherlands and Great Britain are in Europe.

Nigeria is in Africa.

Washington under the republic is in North America.

Brazil and <unclear> are in South America.

<unclear> and <unclear> are in Australia.

This map is based on the original (*Kaitei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu*, 1779) by the master Nagakubo Sekisui,¹² and the purpose of the map is to make it easy for children to look [comprehend] by adding the globe to it.

Lower Register

Before looking at this map make sure the positions of the equator, the South Pole, and North Pole <remainder unclear>.

In the world, there is the good and evil of lands. The lands are divided into five parts: one temperature zone [i.e., torrid], two frigid zones and two general zones [i.e., temperate]. While the temperature zones are the good, the frigid zones are evil. From Japan to India to Netherland is in the general zone.

[red splotch] Asia

[yellow splotch] Europe

[blue splotch] Africa

[pink splotch] Australia

[orange splotch] South America

- [dark grey splotch] North America
- [light grey splotch] Night Country [n13]
- [red rectangle] Equator
- [yellow rectangle] Tropics
- [white square] Twelve signs of the Chinese zodiac [used on the map to mark meridians, along the Equator]
- [red box with yellow frame] Six biggest continents
- [red box with simple frame] Four biggest oceans

According to some stories, this world is divided into 10 regions; thus, there are 3 mountains, 6 oceans, and 1 flat land. This map is designed for measuring the area of the land with the scale of 1 sun [30cm/11.8 inches] corresponding to 10 *ri* [39.27 km/24.4 miles].

Notes:

1. farther and nearer are written literally as “big” and “small,” but in this context both terms seemingly refer not to magnitude but to distance.
2. Torrid zone is literally written as “temperature zone,” clearly indicating the zone of significant or high temperatures.
3. While Western astronomy does not recognize a southern equivalent to Polaris, i.e., a single star situated at the celestial south pole, the Daoist astronomical tradition did.
4. The text is wrong: at 70-80° north, the sun would be visible all day during late spring, summer, and early fall.
5. The original translates as “from,” but this runs counter to the larger sense of the paragraph, which is to move across the map from the Equator southwards, just as the previous paragraph runs through places from the Equator northwards.
6. The original translates literally as “the region seen above,” which is to say the region described in the previous paragraph; set in opposition to the northern regions, this is the pole ward, southern area.
7. Literally: “From the ground, the orbits of the sun and the moon pass to the south from the equator along the ecliptic.” This passage seems to be describing a location to the north of the tropic of Cancer, where the sun is overhead only at the Summer solstice, so that the sun (and for that matter the moon) always remains to the south. It is logical to think that the intended location is Japan itself.
8. This figure is almost an order of magnitude too great; the earth’s equatorial circumference is only 24,899 miles (40,075 km) or about 10,000 *ri*, assuming that a standardized *ri* of 2.44 miles is intended (only completely standardized in 1891, although attempted to be set by the Tokugawa shogunate); if the short *ri* is meant, then the error is less, but still significant.
9. Literally: “Measure the length of the land with one degree equal to 250 *ri*, the road of Japan is measured one degree equal to 30 to 40 *ri*.” Unno (1994, 384 n.154) noted that the itinerary *ri* varied, with 36 *chō* to the east of Kyōto and 48 *chō* to the west; he seems to have equated these, respectively, to the scales on charts of 32/33 *ri* and 43.75 *ri* to a degree of latitude. Other sources make it clear that the standard *ri* of 36 *chō* was established in 1891; previously, the Tokugawa shogunate sought to standardize the *ri* as 36 *chō* but still permitted variations. Traditionally, the *ri* could have 30, 36, or 48 *chō*. Another traditional *ri* had only 6 *chō* and seems to have been used for land measure rather than itinerary distances. This paragraph therefore seems to be trying to use ~ but without properly understanding ~ the European practice of defining units of length in terms of a degree of latitude (copied from the Dutch) in order to say, in a very vague and ambiguous way, that land measurement uses a small *ri* (250 of which equal one degree) while road (itinerary) measurement uses a longer *ri* (30-40 of which equal one degree). The small *ri* seems to be of 6 *chō*, the long *ri* of 36-48 *chō*.
10. The repetition of a previous paragraph was perhaps the wood cutter’s error.

11. Error: one hour's passage of the sun equates to 15° of longitude, not 30°.
12. Unno (1994, 414-15) noted that Nagakubo's 1779 *Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* ["The Revision of the Japanese Road Map"] was actually only of Japan itself. It is more logical to think that the author actually meant to refer to Nagakubo's 1788 *Chikyū bankoku sankai yochi zensusetsu* ["Map with an account of all the countries, lands, and seas in the world"], later known as *Kaisei chikyū bankoku zenzu* ["Revised map of all the countries in the world"]; this popular world map was based on the Chinese publication of Matteo Ricci's oval world map (1602) and was the ultimate source for many anonymous and undated world maps, just like this one, published in the 19th century.
13. That is, the Polar Regions. The South Pole is clearly grey, but the North Pole is shown in several colors. For example, Europe north of the Arctic Circle is shown in green (i.e., yellow plus grey), while the Arctic islands are in a blue-grey.

These notes and the above translation are the product of an internship at the Osher Map Library (Maine) in the Fall 2009 semester.

Toward the end of the Edo period, *Rangaku*, or "Dutch Learning," dominated Japanese art and science. This map exemplifies the union of Japanese traditional printmaking and Dutch cartography. The latter half of the Edo period is known as the *Bakumatsu* era, when traditional feudal authorities resisted the increasing western influence, creating a tense social division. This map is made up of individual traditional woodcut prints on rice paper, layered together for durability, and presents the historical, social and political contexts of the *Bakumatsu* era. At the center of Edo, present-day Tokyo, the three chrysanthemum flowers mark the emperor's throne. The flower is a symbol of the head of state as well as the Japanese legal authority. Within the central living quarters, there is a Western circle, called *nishinomaru*. The royal living quarters are surrounded by a group of mansions, called the *daimyo-koji*, or "warlord ally." The relationship between spatial orientation and hierarchy is very clear, as all of the surrounding structures face the Chrysanthemum Throne.

These maps present the final struggle between traditional Japanese culture and Western influence. After 1850, the Japanese monarchy became increasingly unstable. In 1867 the Tokugawa Shogunate became the Meiji government, and Japan opened its doors to foreign trade after two and a half centuries of isolationist policy. The next period of Japanese history is marked by dramatic modernization.



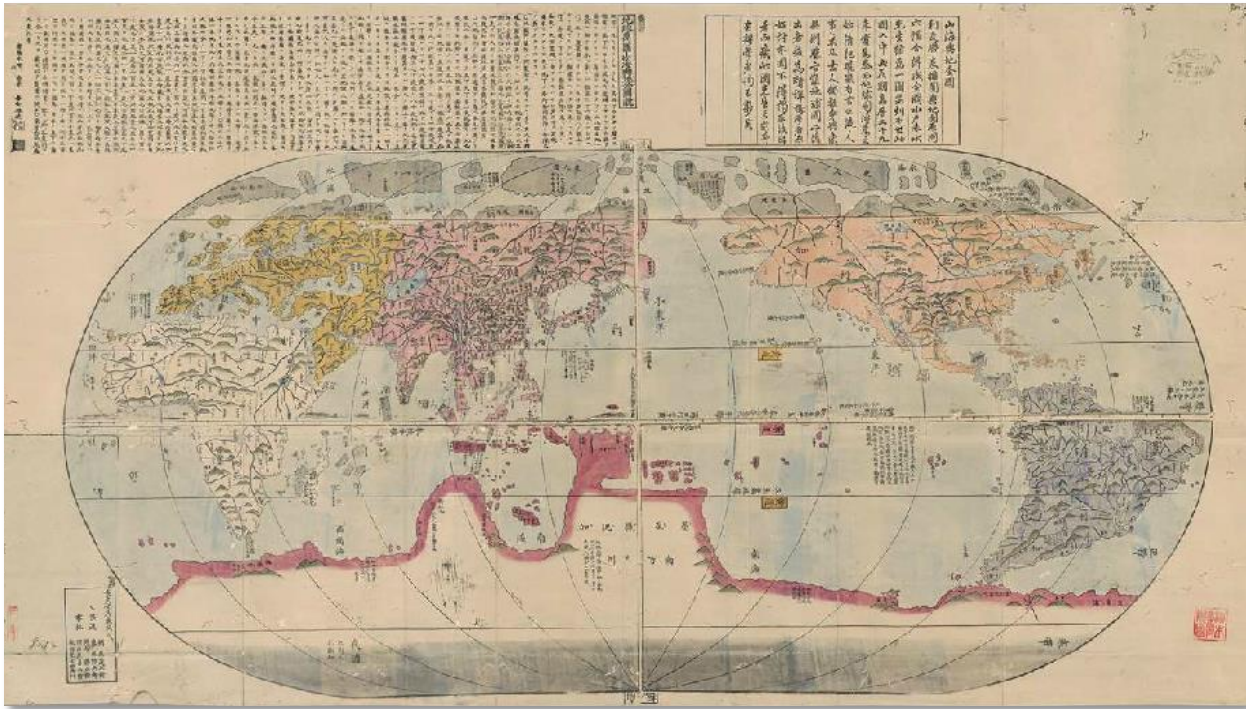
Bankoku sokai zu [Complete Map of the Myriad Realms and Lands], Ishikawa Ryusen, 55 x 125.3 cm, woodblock print, 1708 reprint of 1688 edition, University of California Berkeley.



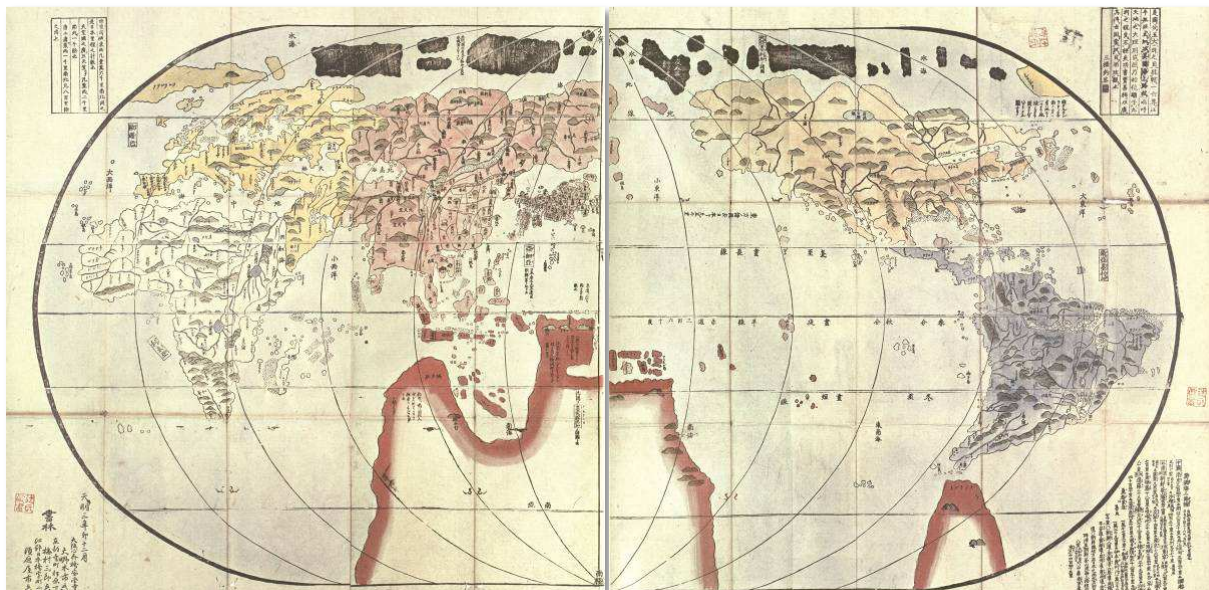
Abe Yasuyuki, Bankoku chikyū yochi zenzu [Comprehensive Map of the Myriad Countries of the Globe], 1853



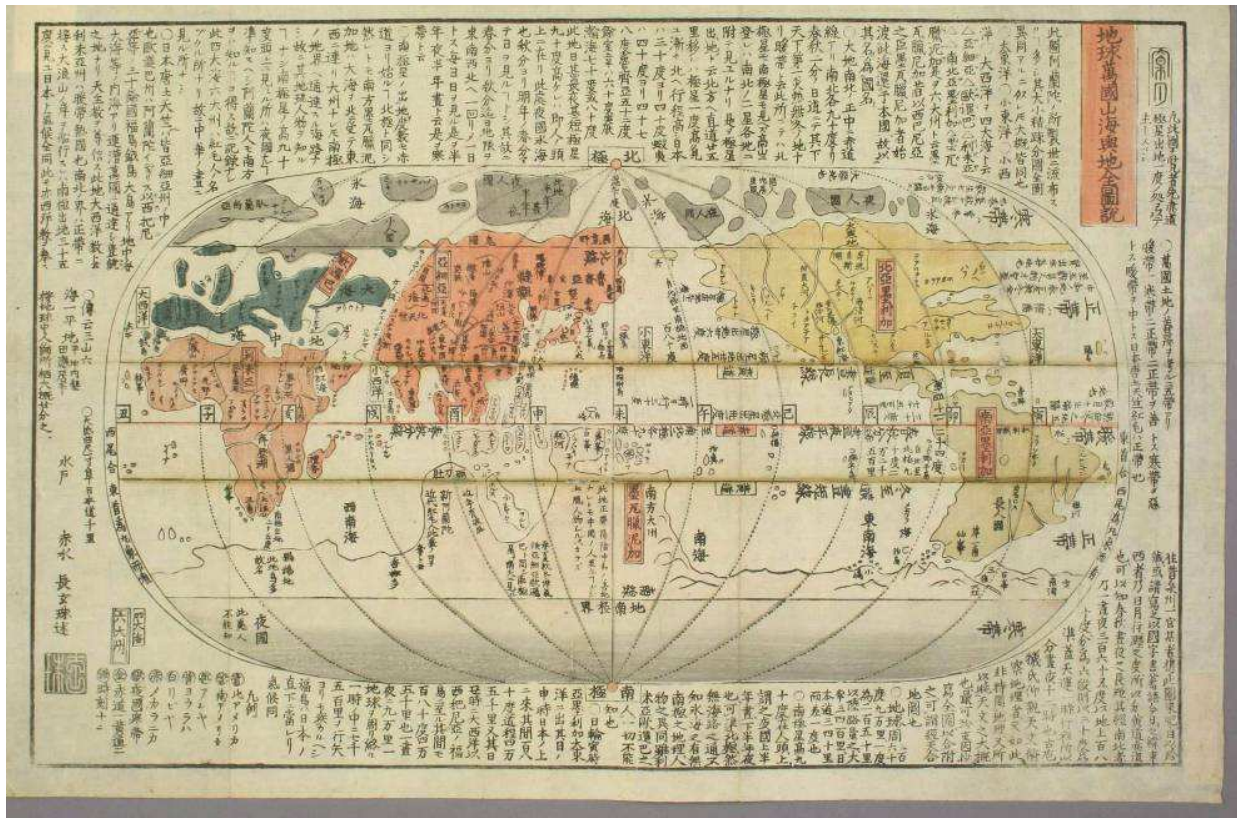
1853 Japanese map of the Western hemisphere, from the "Pocket map of all the countries in the world, by Kudo Tohei University of British Columbia Library.



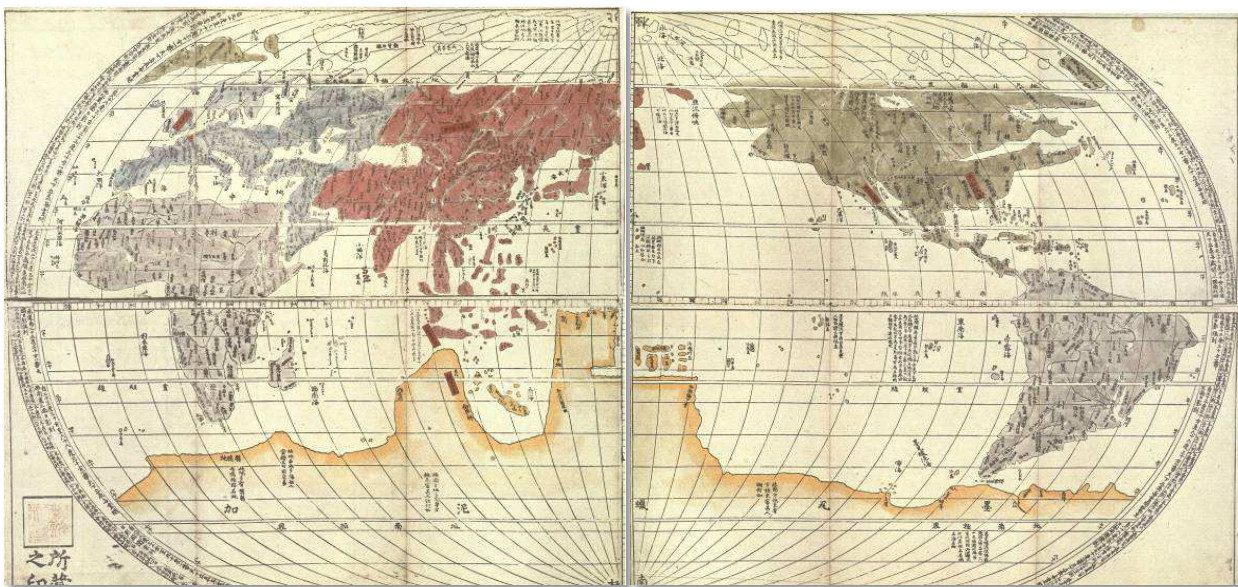
Nagakubo Sekisui, Chikyū bankoku sankai yochi zenzusetsu [Comprehensive Map and Description of the Geography of the Myriad Countries of the Globe], Osaka, 1788, Kobe University Library



Chikyū ichiran zu by Mitsuhashi Chokaku, 1783, 86.5 x 164 cm woodcut



Nagakubo Sekisui, *Chikyu bankoku sankai yochi zenzusetu*, 18th century, woodblock print, 47 x 69 cm, Waseda University Library



Konyo zenzu by Inagaki Shisen 1802, woodblock print, 54.5 x 114 cm



[Complete Map of All Countries of the Earth].

1840 (undated) 13 x 18 in (33.02 x 45.72 cm)

An enigmatic touchstone in the development of Japanese cartographic knowledge, this is a c. 1840 late Edo period *ukiyo-e* woodblock print world map on a Mercator projection. The map was published in the final decades of Japan's *Sakoku* [Locked Country] era - making it most unusual for its presentation of Western geographical knowledge. The map was thus produced anonymously, likely to avoid reprisals from Tokugawa censors. The map presents the world on a Mercator projection, with the equator, tropics, and a grid representing latitude and longitude, though these are not numbered. Instead, the longitude lines are arranged according to the *Earthly Branches*, a system of categorization in East Asian divination, astronomy, and cartography. The text at bottom, which matches Nagakubo Sekisui's late 18th century 'Complete Geographic Map and Description of the World', refers to Dutch maps as the basis for this map. However, the present map differs from Nagakubo's in several important respects, most notably the relatively accurate depiction of Australia, New Zealand, the northwest coast of America, Hawaii, and several other features in the Pacific, reflecting the great voyages of the late 18th century by Cook, Vancouver, La Perouse, and others.

The use of Dutch source maps likely explains the maker's curious transliteration of place-names, including within Japan, into *kana* rather than the long-established Japanese *kanji*. For example, Hokkaido is labeled as referring to the Matsumae clan, the vassals of the Tokugawa whose domain the island constituted. Similarly, Tsushima, Iki, and other islands of Japan are atypically written in *kana*, as are Taiwan and the Ryukyus. Even more confusingly, some features, such as Kyushu, are written using both *kanji* and

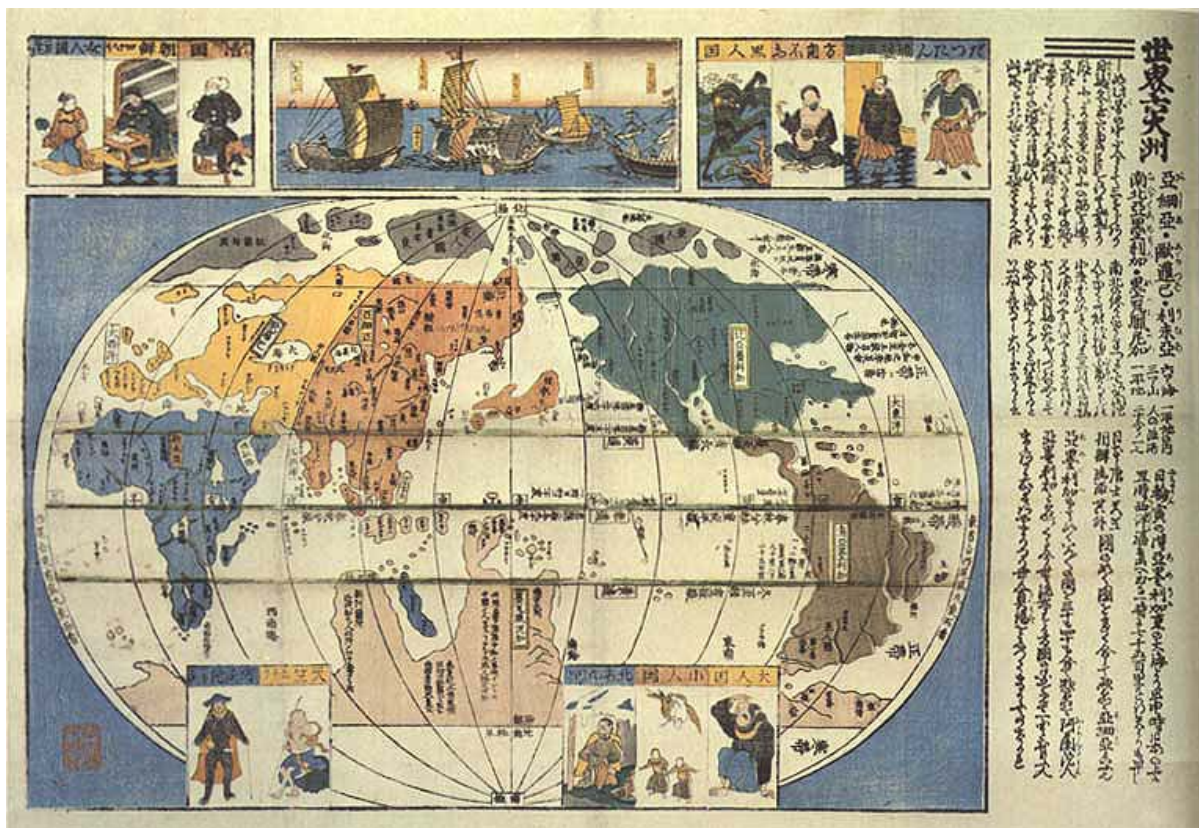
kana. Perhaps most intriguingly, individual Hawaiian Islands appear in their indigenous names: *Kauai* and *Maui*.

For most of the Edo or Tokugawa Era (1600 - 1868), Japan operated under *Sakoku* [Locked Country] policies, where foreign trade and interaction were allowed with the Dutch and Chinese at Nagasaki and through other tightly constrained channels, but otherwise forbidden to prevent potentially troublesome foreign ideas like Christianity from undermining Tokugawa rule. Nevertheless, some Japanese intellectuals, particularly of the 'Dutch Learning' (Rangaku) School, were aware of developments in the outside world and the Tokugawa became quietly but increasingly concerned about foreign threats. Whalers, adventurers, and would-be traders from Russia, Europe, and the United States appeared on Japan's shores with increasing frequency at the end of the 18th century. In response, the Tokugawa moved to exert greater control over the northern region known as *Ezo*, including Hokkaido, through the Matsumae clan, vassals of the Tokugawa. Some intellectuals like Nagakubo Sekisui and Mogami Tokunai successfully advocated for new land surveys and the production of improved maps. But others, such as Hayashi Shihei, found that there were limits to acceptable public discussion of geographical knowledge, especially if it touched on politics and geopolitics, and were consequently censored. The lack of publication information on this map may be the result of the makers seeking to avoid any potential trouble with the Tokugawa authorities.

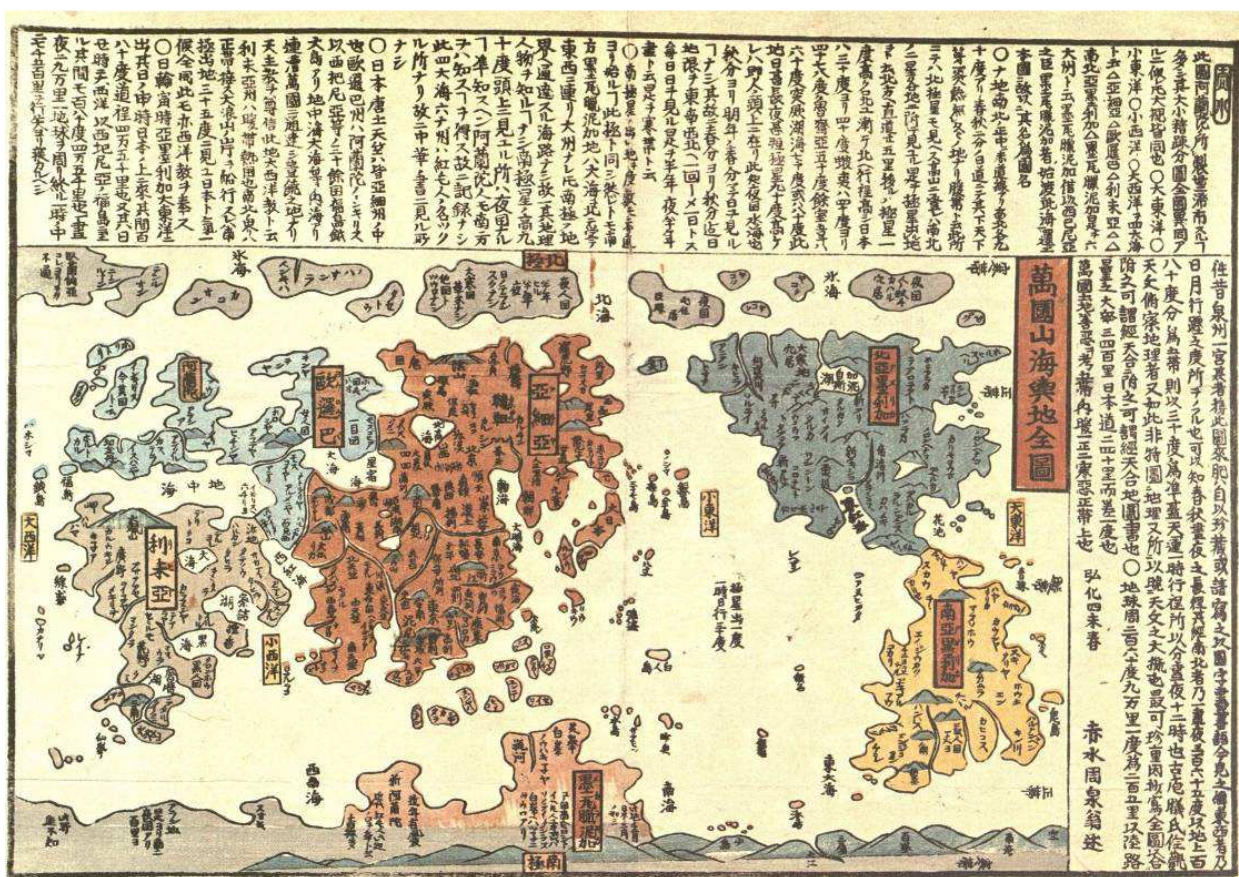
This map was produced and published anonymously in the late Edo period, most likely around the year 1840. It is not attributed to Nagakubo Sekisui and the accurate depiction of Australia and other features in the Pacific indicates that it postdates Nagakubo's life, but as mentioned above the text at bottom matches that in his '*Complete Geographic Map and Description of the World*', initially produced in the late 18th century. The present map is only known to be held by the National Museum of Taiwan History and Yokohama City University. The National Museum of Taiwan History estimates the date to be significantly later, corresponding to the Meiji period, but the emphasis on Dutch maps combined with the continued use of '*New Holland*' and the still inaccurate mapping of continents' coastlines leads one to believe it was produced earlier.



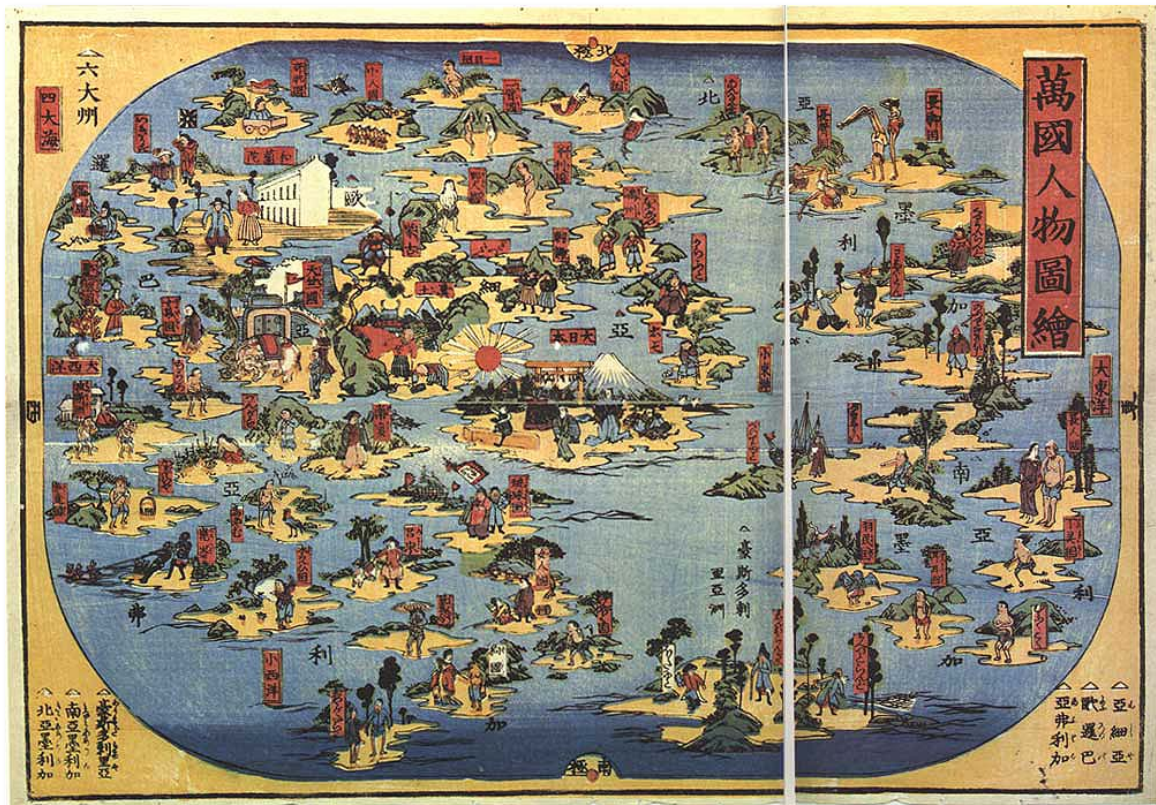
Bankoku yochi zen-zu by Abe Yasuyuki, 1853, woodblock print, 34.8 x 61.7 cm



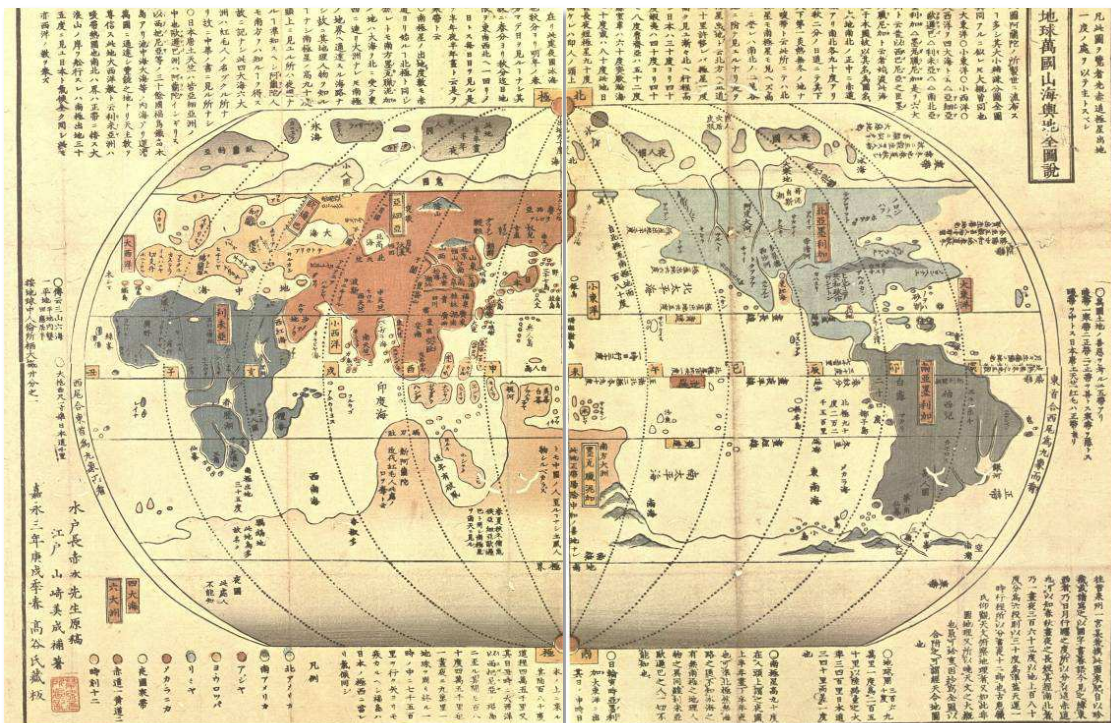
Sekai roku daishu, 1850, polychrome woodcut print, 35.5 x 50.5 cm



Bankoku sankai yochi zenzu by Sekisui Shusen, 1847, polychrome woodcut print,
23 x 35.5 cm



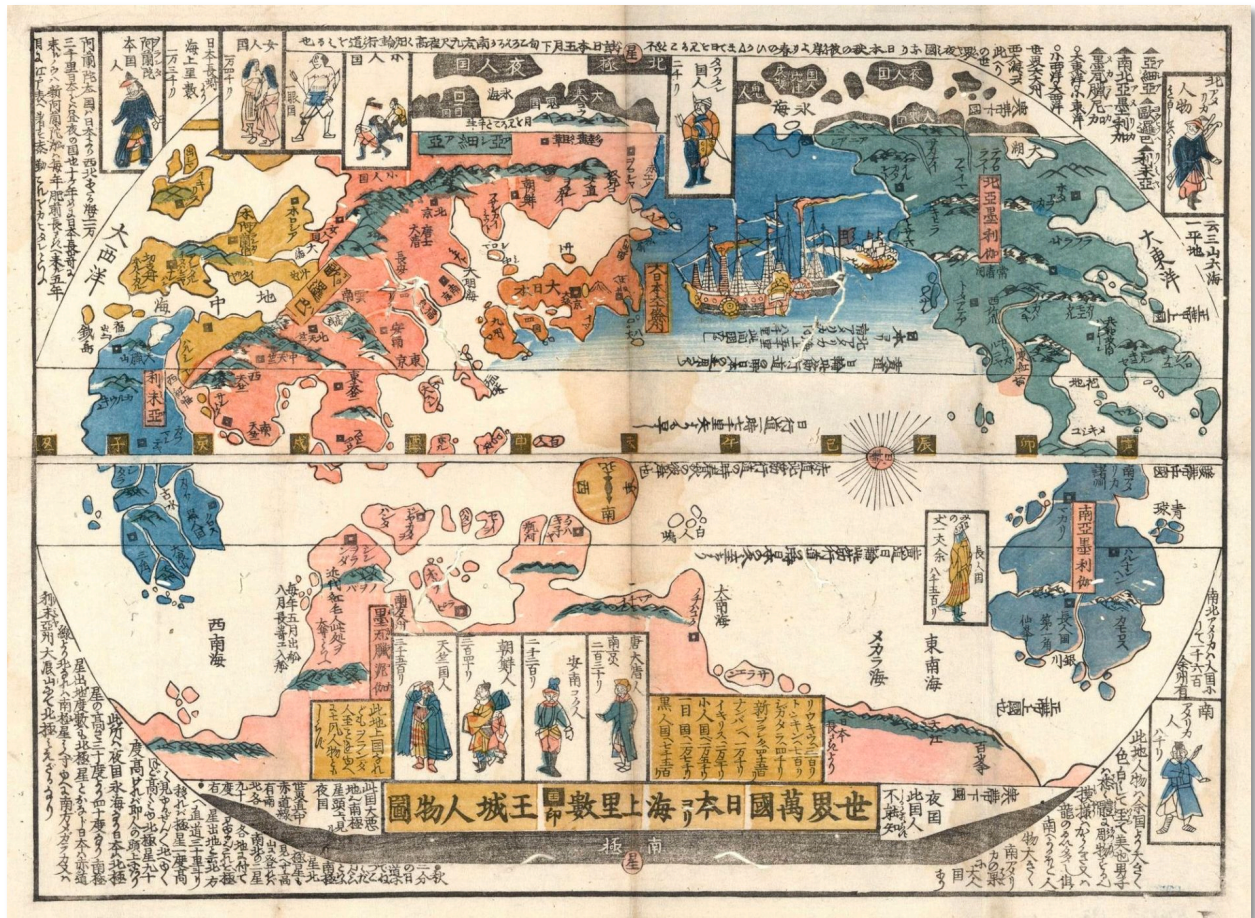
Bankoku Jinbutsu Zue [Map of the World], 1850, woodcut, 33 x 48.5 cm



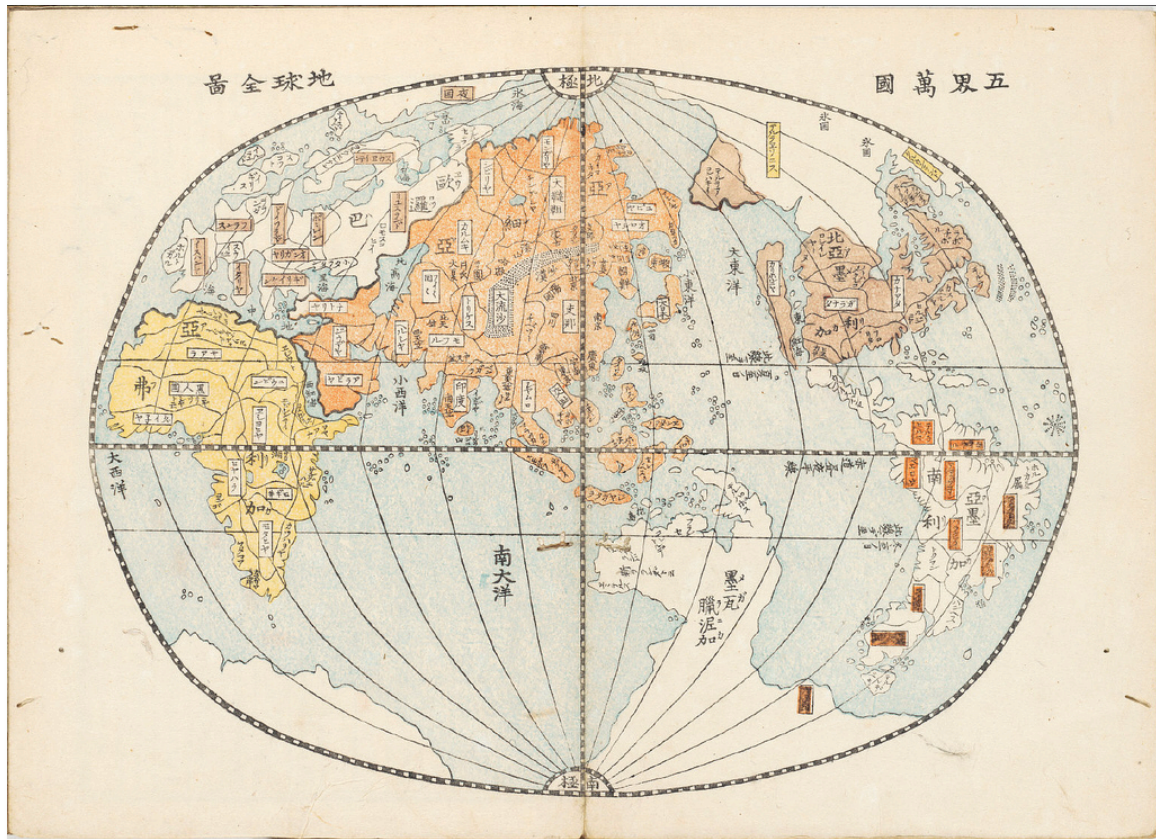
Chikyu Bankoku Sankai yochi zenzusetsu by Yamazaki Yoshinari, 1850, 40.5 x 60.5 cm
polychrome woodcut print



Japanese print shows a map of the world with an American & Russian ship on the seas

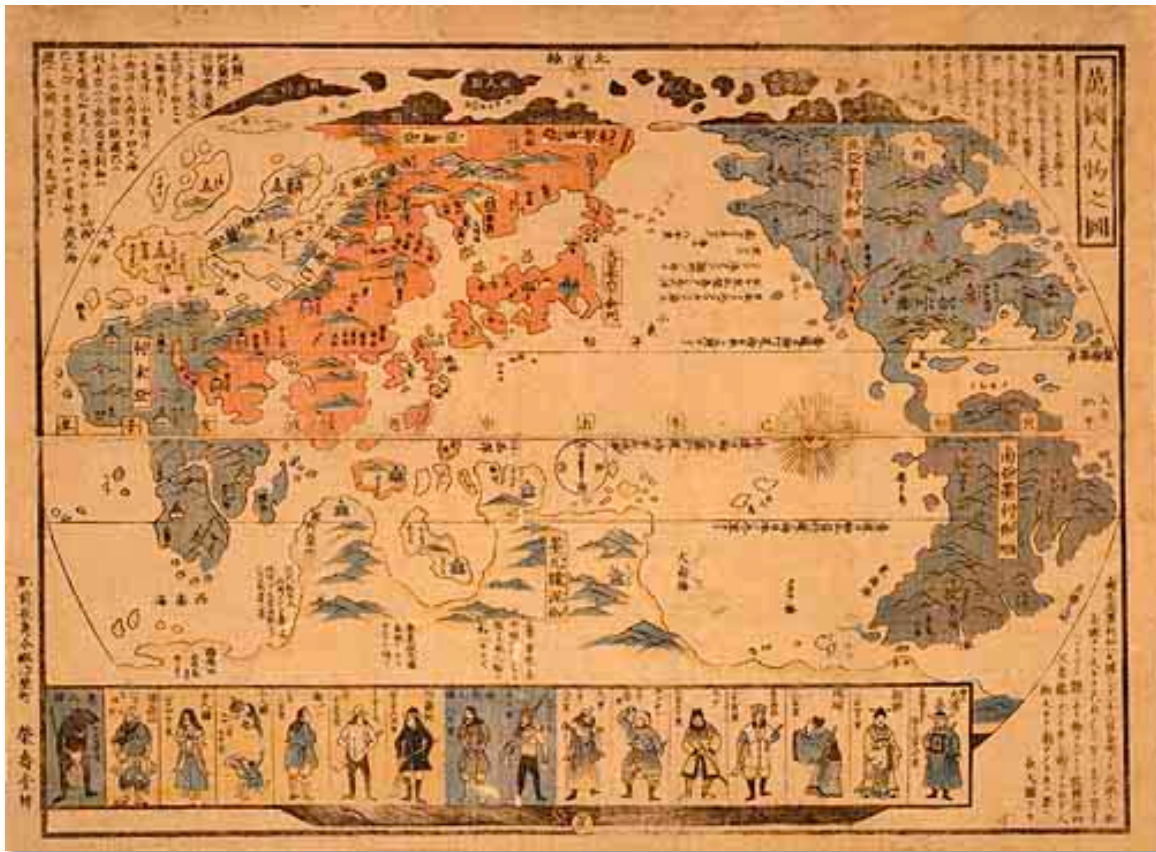


Bankoku jinbutsu no zu [People of many nations], 1870



Dai Nihon yochi benran, Giko Yamazaki, Tenpo 5, 1834
 Note the long island off the west cost of North America (California?)

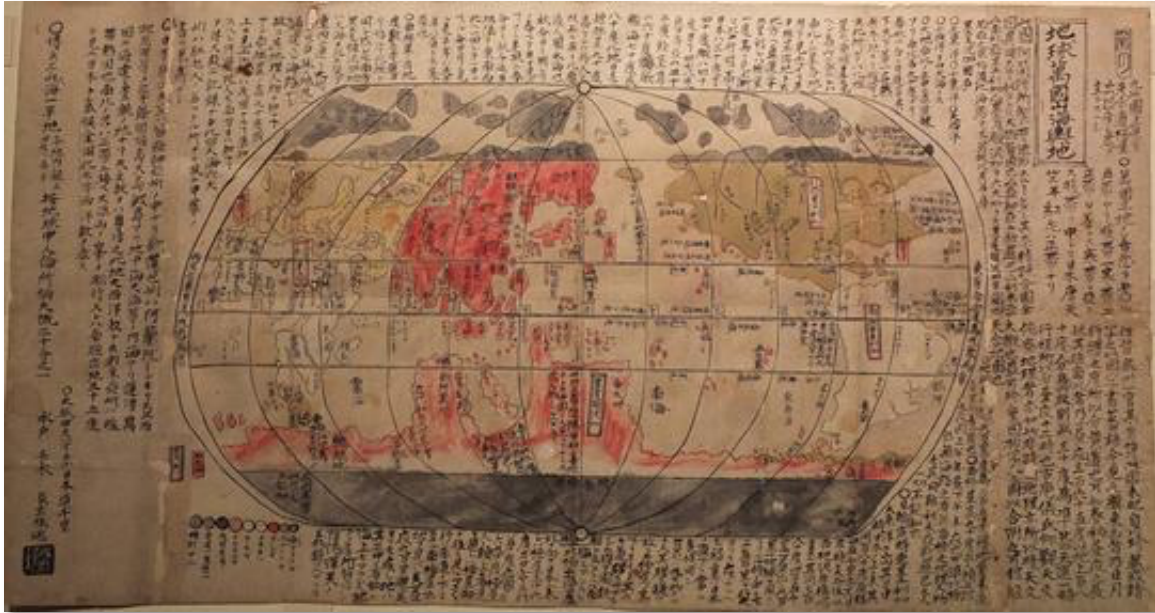
This map is part of a woodblock atlas that begins with a map of Japan, which is followed by maps of the individual provinces, and finally a map of the world. This map makes clear the effects on geographic knowledge of Japan's long closure to outside influence: California is still being mapped as an island and Australia (marked *vnegarantka* presumably relating to the color of the inhabitants) is joined to New Guinea to the north and to Antarctica at the south examples of outdated geographical knowledge, New Zealand does not appear on the map.



Bankoku jinbutsu no zu [People of many nations]



This map shows the Japanese archipelago (center) with the Americas on the right and Africa on the left. Some of the countries are represented by people in national dress. The map itself is printed on Washi [Japanese paper] from a woodblock measuring approximately 47 x 34 cm. Colors used are sumi (a carbon-based ink), indigo and an unidentified yellow pigment. The extreme top and bottom sections of the mount itself are indigo-dyed Japanese silks.



"Chikyu bankoku sankai yochi zenzu / Sekisui Cho Harutaka". N.p., ca.1850, Nagakudo Sekisui, after (1717-1801).

This map is a single sheet (12 x 23 inches), on an oval projection, pen and black ink and color wash on rice paper, surrounded by explanatory text, with a key lower left. This is a manuscript copy of an 1850 woodcut world map of the same name, itself based on the original large 1785 map published by Nagakudo Sekisui. The form and lettering copies the woodcut map very closely, with the exception of a variant in the depiction of southern Africa and additional text in the margins.

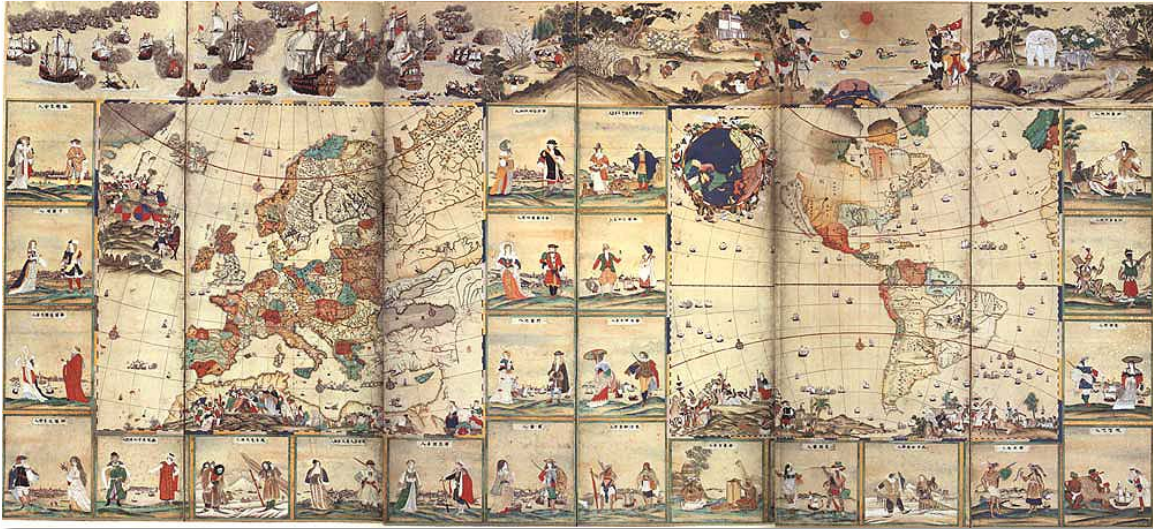
As mentioned, Nagakudo Sekisui was an Edo period geographer and Confucian scholar, described as the founder of Japanese geography, and the first Japanese cartographer to use lines of latitude and longitude on his maps. He was born into a peasant family in Hitachi Province, but in 1767 went to Nagasaki and was able to visit the Dejima and learn some of the geography of the world from the Dutch. In 1771 he was sent to Edo as the official tutor to the daimyo of Mito han. In 1779 his new revised map of Japan appeared and then in 1785 his new map of the world based on the geography of Matteo Ricci (#441), both using geographicals. The Ricci form became the standard world map form in Japanese cartography for the next 70 years; copying Sekisui's map was commonplace, and undoubtedly manuscript copies also circulated, probably secretly among scholars.

Japan had been closed to the outside world for 200 years (those who left Japan faced execution upon return) and knowledge of the form of the world was not widely circulated. Sekisui's maps and their derivatives are therefore a foundation stone in the opening up of Japan to the outside world, and the changes in society brought about in the Meiji period.



Continental Map with Scenes of Forty-Eight Foreign People (Asia and Africa), late 18th century, manuscript (a pair of six-fold screens), Kobe City Museum





Continental Map with Scenes of Forty-Eight Foreign People (America & Europe), late 18th century, manuscript (a pair of six-fold screens), Kobe City Museum



Generally, the scale of a map determines what it's used for. A global map gives an extensive look at the world, and can spur an overwhelming appreciation for the sheer scale and variety of the place. A local map lays out the minutiae of day-to-day experience—small streets, landmarks, and other visual markers we then imbue with our own memories and emotions.

But it's a rare map that manages both overviews and close-ups; that inspires both awe and intimacy. The two surviving *Screens of the Four Continents and People in 48 Countries in the World*, by an unknown Japanese painter, beautifully lay out the geographical arrangement of the planet, with carefully delineated countries, seas, rivers, and mountain ranges. But, like the 18th century equivalent of a National Geographic box set, they also provide detailed, surprisingly affecting snapshots of that planet's residents.



Two couples, a continent apart, live out their daily lives next to each other on the map.

Arranged in boxes around the continents, pairs of model citizens, dressed in culturally appropriate garb, go about their daily lives. Next to Madagascar, an African couple, draped in white linen, tends to a long-horned cow; across the embossed border, a Chinese man gestures at incoming ships, while his wife shades her face behind a fan. The map of Europe and America juxtaposes an Inuit family, backed by a whale-filled sea, with two expensively dressed Europeans overlooking a bustling town. Throughout, there are warriors, traders, musicians, fishermen, large and small families, and even, in the bottom left corner of the Africa/Asia map, a cannibalistic duo.



Americans rub elbows with Europeans.

The maps—which are over five feet tall and just under 12 feet wide (362.8 x 163.8 cm)—were originally attached to a latticework of wood to form a *byobu*, or folding screen. *Byobu* are light and flexible, and can be used to divide architectural spaces into any number of configurations. Extended fully, they add decoration to the middle of a large room; bent to encompass a corner, they form an intimate space. Placed next to each other and folded along the visible creases, these particular maps could have wrapped 18th century viewers in a panoramic view of the known world, complete with plenty of ambassadors.



Detail from the upper border of the Africa/Asia map.

The paintings date to sometime between 1718 and 1800, during a middle stage of the Edo period. During this time, Japan was isolated from much of the world due to the reigning shogunate's *Sakoku* [locked country] foreign policy program. *Sakoku* threatened death to anyone who crossed the border in either direction—adding extra pathos to this unknown artist's renderings of friendly foreigners.

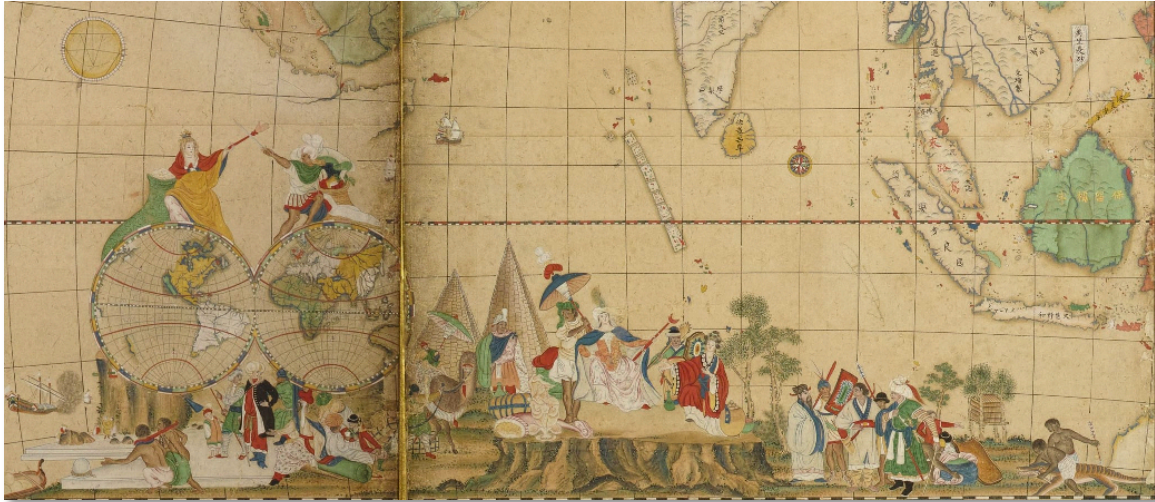
Until the 16th century, Japanese experience with and knowledge of the world was limited to its neighboring lands, such as China, Korea, and India. Beyond the realm of Japan lay worlds formed through fascination and the imagination. In 1543, however, this changed with the appearance of the Portuguese, who journeyed to Japan in the pursuit of new lands to develop trade and to spread Christianity. The Portuguese and their culture had a strong impact on Japanese thoughts and activities, including the creation of many folding screens with European motifs and new views of the world at large. These screens prompted viewers to acknowledge a more distinctive “Self”. The end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries was a transitional moment for both the Jesuits and Portugal. Religiously, the Jesuits were in conflict with the Japanese government and, as well their authority was undermined by Mendicants from the Philippines. These conflicts were compounded further by the spread of Protestantism in Europe. Similarly, after a short prosperous trade in Asia, rising economic and political power of the Netherlands and England gradually pushed Portuguese trade out of Asia. In these screens one can detect the emergence of sense of a Japanese “Self” that was forged in relation to the Europeans. Although the screens give the impression of the orderly and peaceful world, they mask the unstable situation that the Jesuits and Portugal were experiencing at the time. Rather than articulating a Japanese view of the world, the screens maintained the notion of a powerful Catholic world.











Summary:

Ptolemy's *Geography* (#119) represents the maximum extent of geographical information in the Roman Empire in the second century CE. On the easternmost margin of his world map was *Serica* to the north of the mountain range corresponding to the Himalayas, and to the south was *Sinae*, the location of which corresponded to Malay and Indochina, but the name of which corresponded to China. In the ninth century, the Arabian geographer Ibn Khurdadhbih, in his book *Kitab al-masalik wa-l-mamalik*, wrote that beyond the Yangtze River there was a country called *Silla*, that is, Korea, and an island country called *Wak-wak*, rich in gold. Some scholars believe that the *Wak-wak* of Arabic geography corresponds to Japan, identifying the term as the Cantonese version of the name *Wakoku* used by the Japanese themselves for their country. But there is still some controversy regarding this matter; in fact, in the world map of Al Idrisi of the 12th century (#219) presented to the Sicilian Norman king Roger II, accompanying the geographical description of the world, *Kitab al Rujari*, *Wak wak* is located far to the east of the African continent. If *Wak wak* corresponds to Japan, Al Idrisi's map constitutes the first information on Japan conveyed to the Mediterranean world.

Japanese knowledge of the outside world was at first obtained exclusively from either China or Korea, but with the diffusion of Buddhism in Japan after the seventh century, the Japanese came to know of the existence, besides China and Korea, of India. With Buddhism also arrived the Buddhist conception of the universe, which geographically placed the continent, or *Jambudvīpa* in Sanskrit, including India and surrounding territories on the southernmost of four continents. The oldest existing Japanese map that may be considered a map of the world is the *Gotoh-jikoku-zu*, literally, map of the five Indias drawn by the priest Jukai in 1364 and conserved in the temple Horyuji. The original map on which the *Gotoh-jikoku-zu* was based may have been brought into Japan via China, and this Japanese map shows a highly Indocentric representation. China is located at the very eastern edge and Japan at the northeastern margin. Some Japanese scholars considered this representation to be a reaction to the Sinocentric world view of the Chinese. The westernmost country depicted on this particular map is Persia. Many of the place names appear in the pilgrimage record of Xuanzhuang.

After the 13th century, under the Yuan Dynasty, Arabic astronomy and geography arrived in China. The Arabic geography of the period incorporated the Roman Ptolemy's geography of the second century CE, and added Arabic knowledge of

areas surrounding the Indian Ocean. Thus with the introduction of Arabic geography, Chinese geographical knowledge covering Mediterranean and European countries expanded to a remarkable degree. This new geographical information regarding Mediterranean countries arrived in 15th century Japan via the Korean peninsula. In fact, in Japan there can be found some copies of world maps made on the basis of Buddhist cosmology in Korea in the 15th century on which a number of place names of the Mediterranean world are shown on the western margin of the maps. The oldest Japanese copy of this kind was made in the 14th century; on its western margin are depicted the relative locations of Mediterranean lands, Italy, the Iberian peninsula and France. These world maps certainly show the influence of Arabic cartography, but the inclusion of Mediterranean and European countries on world maps based on Indo-centric Buddhist cosmology imposed limitations where the cartographical representation of the western parts of the Eurasian continent was concerned.

Direct Japanese contact with the Mediterranean world took place earlier in China; it was only in the middle of the 16th century that Japan came into contact with Mediterranean countries, especially Portugal, through merchants and missionaries. The Japanese language contains a considerable number of words derived from Portuguese that came into use starting in the 16th century, though the common people who used these words were not aware that they were of Portuguese origin. Moreover, in other cultural spheres, European influences in the 16th century, in the shape of, for instance, Western-style painting, known as *nanban* (literally, southern barbarian) painting, began to be noticeable. The Jesuits introduced various aspects of European culture, including not only astronomy, but surveying techniques, and also compiled a Japanese-Portuguese dictionary; but because of the shogunate's later ban on Christianity, on the Japanese side all related documents were deliberately erased. We are able to know what the Jesuits did in Japan only from European sources. For instance, the above-mentioned youth mission dispatched to Rome in 1582 by three Christian feudal lords of Kyushu brought a number of objects back with them from Europe, such as a printing machine, numerous musical instruments and Ortelius' 1579 edition of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.

World maps and other materials were brought by the Portuguese and presented to Hideyoshi in 1591, but nothing of these now remain in Japan. At any rate, Matteo Ricci, or Li Matou to use his Chinese name, published in Chinese the *Kunyu-wanguo-quantu* in 1602, on the basis of the 1579 edition of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, but changing the original position of China from the eastern edge on Ortelius' map to the center, and rendering the configurations of China and Japan more accurately, with the help of the information he obtained in China. The first printed map of Japan was made by the Portuguese cartographer Luis Teixeira in 1586, and contained numerous Japanese place names obtained from Jesuit sources. The Dutch cartographer Abraham Ortelius, in the early editions of his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, was unable to avail himself of exact cartographic information on Japan, and in fact on these maps, the configuration of Japan was incomplete, mainly consisting of Kyushu. But in 1592, Ortelius obtained a much improved version of a map of Japan from Teixeira; this was included in the 1595 edition of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* under the title of *Japoniae Insulae Descriptio, Ludoico Teisera autore*. The Teixeira map was clearly based on a *Gyoki* map. It is not clear how he obtained the cartographical information on Japan in the first place, but what is certain is that he had close relationships with the Jesuits who were well informed on the subject. A hand-drawn map found in the Medici papers of the National Archives of Florence with place names in alphabetical letters is clearly a copy of the *Gyoki* map. The provenance of

this map is not certain; some scholars suggest it was brought to Rome by the Japanese youth mission dispatched by three Christian daimyo (feudal lords) and arriving in Rome in 1585. At any rate, some copies of the *Gyoki* map eventually arrived in Europe and Teixeira must have referred to one of them. The coastlines of Japan on his map of 1595 were much more precise than those on the *Gyoki* map, indicating that he also received a good part of his information from Portuguese navigators. Some scholars point out the similarity of Teixeira's map to Chinese maps of Japan. The Chinese maps of Japan of the second half of the 16th century were much more precise than their European counterparts, owing to the fact that the map-makers concerned were able to have reference to the *Gyoki* maps.

Some copies of the third edition of Ricci's *Kunyu-wanguo-quantu* published in 1602 were imported into Japan, such as one now preserved in Kyoto University. From the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, world maps were hand-painted on several screens in Japan, and together with world maps arrived directly from Europe, Ricci's map constituted a model for the screen paintings. We can easily distinguish screen world maps modeled on Ricci's map from those modeled on European maps because the ones modeled on the former were Sino-centric, China being located in the middle. In this sense, world maps on screens now preserved in the Miyagi Prefectural Library were clearly modeled on Ricci's map. Ricci wrote all the place names in Chinese ideograms. A number of the European place names were written according to the Chinese pronunciation of the ideograms involved, but in some cases they were etymological translations. Now the Japanese write foreign place names in their proper phonetic letters, except for some etymological translations such as for the Mediterranean Sea, Pacific Ocean and so on. Many of the transcriptions had been adopted by the Japanese and were in common use at least by the end of the Meiji period at the beginning of the 20th century, such as in the case of the place name Rome. Incidentally, regarding the Mediterranean Sea, Ricci translated this term as *Sea in the Midst of Land* in the two-hemisphere map of 1601, but in the *Kunyu-wanguo-quantu* he translated the term into '*Mar Interior*'. On the world maps on the screens in the Miyagi Prefectural Library, the name Mediterranean Sea is written as '*interior sea*' or '*chukai*'. Perhaps up to the beginning of the 17th century, the Mediterranean Sea or '*chichukai*' was not a term commonly in use among the Japanese, nor is it to be found in the travel accounts. They used the terms *Mare Tuscum* and *Adriaticum Mare*, but never *Mare Mediterraneum*, which had been used in Europe since the medieval era.

After the so-called closing of the country, an action which actually constituted the monopolization of cultural and economic intercourse with the Netherlands and China on the part of the shogunate government, there were always interpreters of the Dutch language to be found at Nagasaki, but until the middle of the 18th century, they were mainly engaged in commercial affairs and translated Dutch documents only when ordered to do so by shogunate officials. But in the middle of the 18th century, increased numbers of Western ships approached Japanese shores, first from Russia and then the United States, to ask for commercial trade and also supplies of food, water, charcoal and firewood. The shogunate had become conscious of the necessity of acquiring knowledge of the world situation and learning Western sciences and technology, mainly for the purpose of defense. First, the studies were carried out by means of the Dutch language and from the beginning of the 19th century the shogunate ordered the study of French, English and other Western languages in addition to Dutch. In the second half of the 18th century, the most popular geographical book among specialists in things Dutch

(*rangaku*) was the Dutch translation of Johann Hübner's *Krutz Fragen aus der neuen und alten Geographie bis auf Gegenzeit* of 1693. Several revised and enlarged editions were published up till the 1760s and several editions of the Dutch translation of Hübner's book published between 1736 and 1769 still exist in Japan. The first Japanese translation was published in 1771. The most complete translation of Hübner was published in 1826 by Aochi Rinso under the title of *Yochi shiryaku* in eight volumes. In the first half of the 19th century other adaptations of geographical books from German, English and French were also published. There were no translations of books published in Mediterranean countries but transcriptions of place names and translations of geographical terms such as 'Mediterranean Sea', 'peninsula' and others followed the system adopted by Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits working in China in the 17th century.

It is worth noting that in geographical books published in Japan prior to the Meiji Restoration of 1868, there was no distinction made between civilized countries and non-civilized countries. But in the case of geographical books and school textbooks published in the Meiji period a clear distinction was made between civilized and non-civilized, sometimes barbarian (*yaban*) countries, and even among Western countries: Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States were considered advanced countries, while Spain, Portugal and other Mediterranean countries came to be ranked as relatively backward countries, though their glorious past histories were duly mentioned in those same textbooks. Analyses of geographical description after the Meiji period are matter for another paper.

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