

# **Korea in Western Cartography**

**Henny G. L. Savenije**

**(Professor, University of Groningen, Netherlands ; Visiting Scholar,  
English Department, Dankook University, the Republic of Korea)**

In this paper I am going to present the history of the Western maps of Korea, during this story you will hear many boring facts, but the shape of a country is important. Cartographers got their information from different sources but mainly copied from each other. By looking at the shape of a country and identifying the first one with that shape one can see which one was the original source and one can do further research to the cartographers sources. In that way one can also identify the reason why certain names appear on the maps. Therefore the history of the cartographers themselves and the history of cartography is important as well in order to understand the causes behind certain conventions, like their relations, the letter exchanges they had, and so on.

One thing which puzzled me for long was the name Kingkitau which we can find on many early maps, until I realized it was derived from Keyongido. Probably (and correct me if I am wrong) the Chinese pronunciation of the Sino-Korean characters. Additionally the transcription of the Chinese pronunciation was often done in French or Latin, which makes it hard to identify the names on the maps.

## **The history of western cartography**

Western cartography starts with the revival of knowledge of **Claudius Ptolemy's** *Geographia* soon after the year 1400 AD. Greek manuscript copies made in the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, were brought by scholars to Italy from Constantinople and subsequently translated into Latin and widely studied. Ptolemy lived in the 2nd century AD in Egypt. He divided the world in 360 degrees and introduced a method to establish meridians and parallels and

projected the round shape of the world on a flat surface. Geographers and astronomers were influenced by his work for about 1500 years. Nothing of his original work remains and we can only see his maps by the diligent work of monks who copied his works and probably made their own small contributions and interpretations as well. The coincidental invention of **Gutenberg**, the art of printing, made large numbers of copies possible. On the available copies from the maps of **Ptolemy** the East side ends with land, actually the world image of **Ptolemy** only reached to the "backside of India"

**Marco Polo** mentions Korea briefly as *Kaoli*, also on **Waldeseemullers'** famous map (*Tabula Superioris Indiae & Tartariae Maioris from Claudius Ptolemy, Geographia, Strassburg 1522*) we can find no mentioning of Korea and the sea east of China was called the *Oceanus Indicus*, Japan appeared in a trapezium shape. Waldeseemuller has thus taken the information from **Marco Polo** about *Tartary* and *Zipangri*, translated it into a map and added the world map of Ptolemy. In **Marco Polo's** story *Kauli* was a province of China.

It may be known how the European countries were forced to start to explore the world, and I will not elaborate on this.

The Portuguese reached Japan in 1542. Untill in 1641 all foreigners, except the Dutch, had to leave the country, missionaries offered the most important cartographic information about the country. The data from the Jesuits was accordingly revised by the official Portuguese cartographers, like **Fernao Vaz Dourado** (1520 - ca. 1580). He gave Japan the form of the back of a tortoise while Korea was depicted in an upside down pyramid shape or upside down cone. Due to the secrecy of the Portuguese this map didn't make it to outside world. He named the whole sea east of the Asian continent simply East Sea.

## **Dutch cartography**

In spite of the turmoil caused by the harsh measures of Philip II of Spain, the Dutch thrived and first Antwerp and later Amsterdam became the centers of the arts and of the cartographers.

The first eminent cartographer was **Gerard Mercator** (1512-1594), who studied in Leuven (Louvain) under **Gemma Frisius**, a Dutch astronomer and mathematician, and moved later to Duisburg in the Rhineland as a religious fugitive, where he carried out his major work. He was already regarded during his own lifetime as the "**Ptolemy** of his time" **Mercator** regarded himself more as an academic cosmographer rather than someone who had to earn his living from making and selling of maps. His production was not very large. He left behind a pair of globes, five wall maps and an unfinished cosmography.

He was born in Rupelmonde in Flanders, south west of Antwerp, in 1512. He was educated by the "*broeders des Gemenen Levens*" (brothers of common life: monks) in 's-Hertogenbosch, after which he studied at the University of Leuven where he studied under **Gemma Frisius**.. He had trained himself in the meantime in the art of engraving. **Mercator** was the first to employ italic script on maps. This embellished the map to such an extent that it remained customary until the 19th century to place names on maps in italics. On the world map of **Mercator**, Korea is prominently absent and Japan had a long stretched shape. In the sea Japan and China, he wrote: "*Magnus Sinus Ptol. Chrise Plin, hodie mare (quod est Mangi) sic a Japanitis appellato*". He did not give the sea between China and Japan any particular name.

His son **Rumold** inherited the copper plates of his father's atlas and published an appendix of 34 maps to the atlas his father made, a year after his father's death. In order to be able to complete the work quickly, he added his own map of the world of 1587 and had three maps of the continents from his father's great map of the world of 1569 copied by his two nephews **Gerard Mercator Junior** and **Michel Mercator**.

The period from around 1550 to the end of the 17th century is called the Dutch age of cartography and a map made in Amsterdam guaranteed good quality.

## **Ortelius**

**Abraham Ortelius** (1527 - 1598) began his career as an "*afsetter van caerten*" (illuminator of maps). He later also ran a business in curiosities in Dutch and foreign objects of art. The goods he sold included maps, which he imported mainly from Italy - the center of

cartography in the mid -16th century. He knew **Mercator** personally and this may have encouraged him not only to sell Italian maps, but also to sell more original work. So he was active from around 1560 in producing his own maps. The idea from producing an atlas, came most likely from a commercial and practical idea. One of his customers, the merchant **Gilles Hoofman**, wanted all the maps he could get. But the big maps, enrolled in cylindrical cases, were unhandy. Hence the idea of producing an atlas, in which the maps were shown in a handy format. Basically he just copied the work of **Mercator** and nothing new was added. He called the sea east of Asia also simply the East Sea (*Mare Orientalis*). His great contribution to cartography was the production of Atlases.

## **Van Linschoten**

Initially the ships from the Dutch provinces of Holland and Zeeland imported spices and other oriental goods from Portugal. But when this country was occupied in 1580 by the Spanish, this was, due to the Dutch 80-year independence war against Spain, impossible. Dutch ships harbored in Portuguese ports were repeatedly confiscated by the Spanish. The Dutch were forced to acquire these products directly from the East. The problem was how to find the right route. In order to find out, **Jan Huygen van Linschoten** sailed on a Portuguese vessel to the Indies. Once returned to his hometown Enkhuizen, he wrote and published two books in which he revealed his findings: " *Reisgheschrift van de Navigatien der Portugaloyzers in Orienten* " (1595) (Travel document of the navigation of the Portuguese to the Orient ) and " *Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert van J.H. van Linschoten naar Oost ofte Portugaels Indien*" (1596) (Itinerary of the voyage by ship from J.H. van Linschoten to the East or the Portuguese Indies ).

Jan Huygen van Linschoten lived since 1579 as a merchant in Spain and from 1583-1598 as secretary from the Portuguese archbishop in Goa. There he succeeded with the help of **Dirck Gerritszoon Pomp**, nicknamed "**Dirck China** " to retrieve the secret sail instructions, with the help of which the Portuguese ships sailed there from harbor to harbor. **Pomp**, a Hollander, also in the service of the Portuguese, went to sea in 1584 aboard the Portuguese

vessel "**Santa Cruz**". The ship was richly laden with merchandise and had sailed by way of the trade-settlement in Goa, India, to Macao in China and from there to Japan. He arrived in Nagasaki in 1585, probably the first Hollander to set foot on Japanese soil. **Dirck** gave oral information to **Jan van Linschoten**.

He wrote: '*so stretches the coast [from Japan] again to the north, recedes after that inward, northwest ward, to which Coast those from Japan trade with the Nation which is called Cooray, from which I have good, comprehensive and true information, as well as from the navigation to this Country, from the pilots, who investigated the situation there and sailed there.*'

In the **Itinerary**, which was published one year later, at page 37 we will find the following extract:

*'A little above Japan, on 34 and 35 degrees, not far from the coast of China, is another big island, called Insula de Core, from which until now, there is no certainty concerning size, people, nor what trade there is.'*

Later at page 70 he writes more about it:

*'From this corner from the bay of Nanquin 20 miles southeast onwards, there lay several islands with at the end, of which, to know, on the east side lies a very big and high island [This Island is] by many people inhabited, as well as on foot as on horseback. [sic!] These Islands are called by the Portuguese as **Ylhas de Core**, or the **Islands of Core**, but the islands, as previously described, is called **Chausien**, has from one side to the northwest a small indentation. There's also a small island in the mouth, which is the harbor, but has little deepness, here the lord of the country has his residency. From this main Island off, 25 miles southeast onward, lays the island of **Goto**, one of the islands of **Iapon**, which lies at the corner of the indentation from the bay of **Nancquin** off, east to north seaward on, 60 miles or little more.'* (Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, *Reys-Gheschrift van de Navigatien der Portugaloyzers in Orienten enz.* [1595], bl. 70). [The original text can be interpreted in several ways, so the text is given in a literal translation as possible]

The map added in this itinerary shows Korea as a circle and Japan in the tortoise shape. The sea east of Asia was called the **Chinese Ocean** (*Sinensis Oceanus*).

The Flanders-born theologian **Petrus Plancius**, whose original name was **Pieter Platvoet** (which can be translated as Peter Flatfoot) Published in 1592 an atlas under the title: *Nova et exacta terrarum Tabula geographica and hydrographica* (New and exact geographical and nautical maps). In this we find not yet any of the data van Linschoten obtained. Plancius is considered to be a useful amateur.

Skippers stayed away from the coast of *Korea*, the Portuguese, the English and Dutch have had several encounters with the Koreans. We would have known more about this if the journals of the ships sailing to Japan had survived the ages. The hostile attitude and the forceful actions of the Korean coastguard, were reported when the Dutch ship "**de Hond**" in 1622 sailed accidentally into the waters of Korea. Accordingly we can read: *Immediately the ship was attacked, by not less than 36 war-junks, who shelled de Hond with 'bassen, roers, boogen ende ontalrijcke hasegaijen'* (cannons, firelocks, bows and numerous wooden lances). So all the skippers received a sail order to avoid the coast of Korea.

It's interesting to know that Koreans themselves depict Korea also as an "almost" island, with one mountain connecting Korea to the mainland. The two rivers (the *Yalu* and the *Tumen*) flowing from that mountain (*Mount Peaktu*), were drawn that wide that the images of the early Western maps were in concordance with the image the Koreans themselves had of their country.

## **Ortelius and Texeira.**

**Ludovico (Luis) Texeiro** came from a family which was for some generations busy as cartographers. At least we know that two portolans of the *Atlantic* (1525 -1528) were from his father **Pero Fernadez**. The first mentioning of **Luis** was found when he was examined by the royal chief cartographer **Pedro Nunez** (1492 - 1577). In 1596 he received a patent to make maps and navigation instruments for the royal fleet. All in all there are 15 known maps

from the hand of **Luis Texeira**. He did pioneering work with the cartography of the *Azores* and in 1575 was in *Brazil*, neither his birthdate nor death are known.

He had intensive contacts with the mapmakers in Holland, among others **Jodocus Hondius**, **Lucas Jansz. Wagenaar** and **Joannes van Deutecom**. He was already in touch with **Ortelius** since 1582. Their first mutual work was a map of the main island of the *Azores*, *Terceira*. For one or the other reason this map was issued as a single map and not in the **Theatrum**, the extensive Atlas he made.

With a letter dated at February 2, 1592 **Texeira** sent to **Ortelius** "*dos piasas de las descriptiones de la China y del Japan*." **Ortelius** had asked for these maps in a previous letter, which has not been found. At the same time he promised a map of *Brazil*, but only the map of *Japan* and *Korea* was used for the **Theatrum** since 1595. The resources of **Texeira** are probably based on the work of Jesuits, but, unless new documents show up, we will never know for sure.

**Ortelius** made a map and gave it the title *Iaponia Insulae Descriptio*. The map is the first reasonably accurate and recognizable European depiction of Japan and was to remain the standard for more than half a century. Little was known of this mythical and remote island. Korea is shown as an island on the following map and even less was known about it. We will call this shape of Korea, the long upside down cone: the **Teixeira** type. The sea east of Korea, simply had no name.

## **Jodocus Hondius**

But also another Dutch cartographer **Jodocus Hondius** shows Korea in 1606 in the same way as **Ortelius**. **Mercator**'s heirs sold the copperplates by auction in Leiden in 1604. **Jodocus Hondius** probably bought the copperplates of **Mercator**'s Atlas and **Ptolemy**'s Geographica in a private transaction before this auction. He used them to publish a re-issue of the **Ptolemy**'s Geographica in 1605 and a new enlarged edition of the Atlas in 1606. **Hondius** shows clearly that **Mercator**'s Atlas was an unfinished work. He was the one who had finally made a complete Atlas of it. Several atlases were made and when **Hondius** died in 1612, his heirs continued his work. For 25 years after the publication of the first **Mercator Hondius**

atlas the firms of the **Hondius-Janssonius** cartel were able to profit from their monopoly in the atlas field. Therefore there were no new developments since there were no competitors. He called the sea south of Korea and Japan the Chinese Ocean (*Oceanus Chinensis*) but no name for the sea east of Korea and north of Japan.

Another example of this shape can be found on a map of **John Speed**. The cartouche says: *A newe mape of Tartary, augmented by John Speede and are to be sold in Popshead Alley by George Humble. Anno 1626.* **Speed** was one of the few English cartographers who produced maps and a famous atlas. He calls the sea simply: a part of the Pacificque Sea.

On several other manuscripts and maps I found of the same period, the shape of Korea remains more or less the same and the seas are not mentioned.

## **Willem Jansz. Blaeu.**

Around 1630 a new atlas publisher appeared on the scene; **Willem Jansz. Blaeu**. With him a new trend in Amsterdam atlas production began, characterized by competition and increase in the number of maps. The history of the successive publications is extremely complicated and falls beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice to say that the quality of the maps grew, thanks to the increase of the competition.

The oldest son of **Hondius**, **Jodocus** jr., had taken over the production of atlases and the management was taken over by younger brother **Henricus**, in about 1620. The relation between the two brothers was obviously not good, since the eldest conceived the plan of bringing a new atlas onto the market by himself. He had around 40 new maps engraved in copper for the purpose, but died before he could execute his plan. One way or the other, **Willem Jansz Blaeu** laid hand on the copper plates of **Jodocus** before his brother **Henricus** and his brother-in-law **Johannes Janssonius** could.

**Blaeu** entered the atlas market and became a competitor. **Blaeu** produced a new map and called his new atlas: Supplement to the Atlas (Alantis Appendix, sive pars altera). The word Atlas referring to that of **Mercator**. Since the second decade in the 17th century **Willem**



**Jansz.** added the surname **Blaeu** to be distinguished from **Jan Jansz. (Janssonius)**. He added the characteristics of **Hondius'** work: the pictures of people and views of cities. Korea is shown as in Texeira and the sea north of Japan was called the East Sea (*Oceanus Occidentalis*) and the sea east of China, the Chinese Sea (*Oceanus Chinensis*).

After that the situation becomes complicated, since **Henricus** and **Johannes** wanted to publish a supplementary atlas as soon as possible. In March 1630 they gave the order to replace the missing plates. The new ones were true copies of the originals, since they were made by the same engravers.

The result of all this competition was that **Blaeu** produced a two-volume atlas (around 210 maps) in four languages, **Hondius** and **Janssonius** made an atlas in three volumes with around 320 maps (1638) **Willem Jansz. Blaeu** died in 1638 and his son **Joan Blaeu** succeeded him.

On a detail from **Willem** and **Joan Blaeu's** *China Veteribus Sinarum*, we can see Korea. It was printed in 1640 in Amsterdam. Below it we can see the same image in **Johannus Janssonius'** *Nova et Accurata Iaponiae*, of which the first edition was printed in 1652. This one is from the 1657 edition, both printed in Amsterdam. It was a sea chart which was based on **Maarten Gerritszn Vries** who in 1643 headed the first European expedition. The weather was bad which explains the many mistakes but we can see that the shape of Korea was almost the same as in **Blaue**, so we will call this the **Janssonius** type.

**Joan** decided to shunt off the head start which Janssonius enjoyed with his *Novus atlas absolutissimus* from 1658. **Joan Blaeu's** *Atlas Maior sive Cosmographia Blaviana*, published in 1662, was the most prestigious book and the "greatest and finest atlas ever published". In these series of atlases he also produced the *Novus Atlas Sinensis* by **Martinus Martini**, published by **Joan Blaeu** in Amsterdam around 1655. On the back of the map of Korea a description of Korea, written by **Martinus Martini** is printed (you can find the description on my homepage. Since nobody really knew what Korea and Japan looked like, the map makers busily copied from each other or added some details which they received from British or Dutch sailors.

In **Blaeu's** *Novus Atlas Sinensis* we find another map of Korea. Here we see a major jump forward. This work was based on the work of the Jesuit father **Martinus Martini**. On his turn **Martini** had the data for these maps based on the revised **Chu Ssu-pen's** maps, *Kuang yu t'u* made by the Chinese scholar **Lo Hung-hsien** (1504 - 1564). **Shannon McCune** points out that **Martini's** (*Wei Kuangguo*) map is based on a Chinese map from 1320, which was then (re)published in the 16th century. And this Chinese map is again based on a Korean map of the early 14th century. So on the map of **Martini** the contours of Korea come closer to the real shape. Cheju-do was called *Fungma* on this map and is Chinese for wind and horses, Cheju-do was famous for that. In the sea east of Korea, west of Japan, was written 'the Japanese kingdom (*Iaponia Regnum*) and only the sea south of both countries was named: the Chinese Ocean (*Oceanva Chinensis*).

## **Martinus Martini.**

**Martinus Martini**, was born in 1614 in Trente and lived since 1643 in China, where he died on June 6, 1661. With four other Jesuit priests he arrived in June 1642 with the English ship "**de Swaen**" from Goa to Bantam and sent from there to **G.G. van Diemen** with a letter written in Latin (which was delivered at June 18, 1642 in Batavia) in which he requested to give passage to Macassar, Siam, Cambodia or the empire of Tonkin in order to reach China and Japan." This letter was sent to the chief (*opperhoof*t) of Nagasaki to hand it over the Regents of "Nagasacqui" or the commissionaires. "**Martin Martini** was sent to give informations to the Holy See; to his influence and abilities it is due that Alexander VII decreed in a manner perfectly contrary to the former Edict [with which some doctrines of the Jesuits were condemned as heresy] While on his journey the great traveller passed Batavia..... Living in Holland **Martini** prepared his maps of China and gave them over to the great cartographer **Johannes Black** [read: **Blaeu**] to be printed while he himself gave a full geographical description of the whole empire together with historical, political and scientific explanations..... In 1655 the whole work was published" (**Dr. Schrameier**, *On Martin Martini*, Journal of the Peking Oriental Society, Vol. II, 1888, bl. 105 en 106).

**Martinus Martini** arrived on July 15, 1652 from Macassar in Batavia and received permission to travel with the return ships to Holland. With the "**Oliphant**" he left Batavia at February 2, 1653 and arrived on November 16 of the same year in the "Vlie" (near Texel, an island in Holland) he left to Amsterdam. With a resolution of the Chamber of Amsterdam of the VOC he was granted a gratuity of 100 "*rijksdaalders*", with regard to the good services he had promised and which were expected from him (*een Gratuiteijt van honderd rijksdaalders, ten aanzien van de goede diensten die hij toegeseijt heeft en van hem verwacht worden*).

## **Hendrick Hamel.**

The shape of and information about Korea change drastically, when **Hendrick Hamel** and his companions returned from their adventures on the Korean peninsula. The **Sperwer**, with sixty-four men on board left Batavia on June 18 1653. On August 16 1653, the **Sperwer** was lost in a storm and twenty-eight men perished. Thirty-six survivors, driven ashore on the western coast of Cheju Island, were all interned and spent ten months on the island. One of their biggest surprise was their encounter with their contemporary **Jan Janse Weltevree**, a Dutchman in the service of the Korean king. They were transferred to Seoul where they were employed as bodyguards to a general for about three years. They appealed to the King to release them but they were always told that it was not his policy to send foreigners away from his land. The King apparently did not want facts about his country to become known to other nations. Then, when a Manchu envoy came to Seoul, the senior navigator (**Nam Buk San**) and one sailor (**Nam I Ian**) approached him in an attempt to return to the Holland by way of China , they were immediately captured and jailed. After this incident, the remaining thirty-four Dutch sailors were transferred to Pyongyang, an army camp near Kangjin in Cholla province.

They lived seven years in Pyongyang and eleven of them died during that period. After three successive famines in 1660, 1661 and 1662, they were divided into three groups since Pyongyang could hardly afford to support them and were sent to Saesong (12 men [Seasong

= Yosu), Sunchon (5 men) and Namwon (5 men). At the time of their escape attempt, sixteen men were still alive, of whom eight succeeded in reaching Nagasaki. In his section, "*Description of the Kingdom of Korea*" **Hamel's** (and his companions') observations on a wide range of subjects with which he came into contact or which caught his observant eye, are described. **Hamel** examined Korean life and customs from the perspective of his own cultural background, Holland and Western civilization in the seventeenth century. **Hamel** could make observations at close hand because the Dutch sailors were allowed to go about relatively freely with few restrictions. Moreover, **Hamel** could observe the lifestyle of upper class people because curiosity prompted these people to invite the Dutch to their homes. Many of **Hamel's** observations are verifiable either by the looking at established historical facts or observing customs which still survive from former times. (more about the adventures of Hendrick Hamel can be found on the Internet at <http://www.henny-savenije.pe.kr> where one can find an English and Korean translation of the manuscript and all the 17th-century documents relating to this event and his original manuscript)

When 8 of the 16 escaped, the *Heeren XVII* (the board of directors of the VOC) were of course interested in possible mercantile contacts with Korea and **Hendrick** was asked to write down his report by the chief (opperhoofd) of the factory in Deshima (also Dejima). For about 200 years this was basically the only information which was available about Korea, and reprinted in many different ways (upon his arrival back in Holland, it was printed already by 3 different Dutch publishers!) while every publisher and translator added his own distortions and fantasies, sometimes to make it more attractive to their readers. But when one goes back to the original manuscript his report appears to be as accurate as possible under the circumstances. He also uses native resources when he mentions the distances from Pusan to Shimonoseki (which has been read by his publishers for a long time as Osaka), but also the length and width of Korea. He uses the Dutch mile (*dietse mijl*) which caused a lot of confusion in translations in later times, since they were translated as German miles, leagues and other contemporary distance measurements. Using these contemporary measures, Dutch cartographers could make accurate measurements.

**Hamel** already said that the Koreans themselves made maps with Korea shown like an oblong. Though **Hamel** made no maps himself, his descriptions of the country influenced

cartographers. **Hamel** landed on Cheju-do which appeared on Portuguese maps before as *Ilha de Ladrones* (island of thieves), but also the Mariana Islands were referred to as the Ladrones.

Interesting in this regard is the fact that Cheju island existed with two different names and was thought to be two islands as well: Fung-ma and Quelpaert island. Quelpaert is probably named after a type of galleon. Though there is no reference to this type of ship other than in the documents from Batavia found in the VOC archives. Unfortunately we will never know for sure, but probably it was the result of a copying error in a document to the east and therefore this type of ship was only known in the east.

Cheju-do was doomed to be called Quelpaert island for the next two centuries thanks to **Hamel's** document. Due to the fact that he was the first westerner to write an account of Korea, **Hamel** is called the "discoverer" of Korea.

The cartouche on a map of **Guillaume de l'Isle**, contains the following text: *Carte de Tartarie, dressee sur les relations de plusieurs voyageurs de differentes nations et sur quelques observations qui ont ete faites dans ce pais la, par Guillaume De l'Isle, premier geog. du Roy de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, a Paris chez l'auteur sur le quai de l'Horloge a l'Aigle d'Or avec privilege, 1706.* we can clearly see that this is a Hamel-type it is also the first map I found with the sea east of Korea, west of Japan named: the East Sea or Sea of Korea

In connection with Hamel I have to mention briefly **Nicolaas Witsen** (1641-1717). He provides us with much interesting information about Korea in his "Noord en Oost Tartaryen", the second edition. Witsen, whose motto was *Labor omnia vincit*, was the scion of a prominent and wealthy family in Amsterdam. He studied law, philology, mathematics and astronomy at Leyden University where he took his L.L.D. in 1664. He also applied himself to the study of geography, cartography and hydraulic engineering. He was an able etcher and became a specialist in shipbuilding. In 1697 - 98 he taught this art to Czar **Peter the Great** who was then studying in the Netherlands. Between 1682 and 1705 he was thirteen times mayor of Amsterdam; he represented that city nearly continuously in the States of Holland and the States General of the Netherlands. As a young man he had also served his country as

a diplomat in Moscow." For his description of Korea **Witsen** made use of the following sources: **Martini** , **Martino**, *Novus atlas sinensis*, Amsterdam 1655; **Montanus** , **Arnoldus**, *Gedenkwaerdige Gezantschappen aen de Kaisaren van Japan* (Memorable Envoys to the Emperors, i.e. Shogun, of Japan), Amsterdam 1669; a report of a court journey (Nagasaki-Edo) made by the Dutch in 1637; a description of Korea by a "certain Slavonic (i.e. Russian) author"; information provided by **Anreas Cleyer**, chief merchant at Dejima in 1683 and 1686; "a" report from Japan and the account of Hamel's shipwreck. Eye-witness information was furnished by **Benedictus Klerk** and Master **Mattheus Eibokken** , two of **Hamel's** companions-in-distress. Remarkable is the list with Korean words Witsen provides (can be found on my website). In his first (unpublished) edition he had a remarkable image of Korea. On his *Nova Tabula Imperii Russici*: we find *Corea* and *Chausin* (=Choson) with Japan in the middle. This map is unique but nevertheless a type: the Witsen-type. It was supervised by **Everardus Ysbrants Ides** in Amsterdam.

## French Cartography

It lasted to 1732 before a more accurate map of Korea was made. France was the next country where the cartography started to bloom. The new century brought great political changes and under the absolutist rule of **Louis XIII** and **XIV** map makers were granted a degree of royal support and patronage unknown elsewhere. By the last years of the century Dutch maritime power was in decline and France became the center of geographical science, her cartographers producing the most advanced and beautiful maps of the time.

Whilst the members of the **Cassini** family were concentrating on the mapping of France, other French cartographers maintained and, indeed, surpassed the standards of excellence set by **Sanson** and his successors in the previous century. Prominent among the new generation of scientific cartographers were **Guillaume De l'Isle**, whose maps of Africa and America were especially influential, **Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville** (1697-1782) with notable maps of Africa and the Far East, **Didier Robert de Vaugondy** (1723 - 1786) (*Atlas Universel*, 1757) and **Jacques Nicolas Bellin** (1703 -1772), famous for his sea charts. At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, the explorers **Comte de la Perouse** (1785-88), **Louis de Freycinet** (around 1812) and others added to charts of the Pacific and

the Australian coastline and **Dumont d'Urville** completed three voyages (1822-40) to New Zealand, and later issued a series of new improved charts of that country.

For instance the map called: "*Jacques Nicolas Bellin Cartes Isles du Japon et la presque isle de Coree, avec les costes de la Chine depuis Pekin jusqu'a Canton. From Antoine-Francois Prevost, Histoire General des Voyages, Bd. 2 Paris 1746.*" (this one comes from a Dutch edition) **Bellin** added this map to the **Prevost** itinerary which have been published in French, Dutch, German, Italian and Danish. The maps were also published in separate atlases, which have been colored later. **Bellin** actually had three completely three different maps of Korea, published even in the same atlas. We will call these the Bellin type but the sea was empty, no name was given.

## **d'Anville and his Korean source.**

**Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville** (1697-1782) engraved his first map at the age of fifteen and produced many maps of high quality throughout his career. He became the finest cartographer of his time and carried on the French school of cartography developed by the **Sanson** and the **De l'Isle** families. Although he apparently never left the city of Paris, he had access to the reports and maps of French explorers, traders, and missionaries. During his long career he accumulated a large collection of cartographic materials that has been preserved. He was particularly interested in Asia and produced the first reasonably accurate map of China in 1735. He became Royal Geographer and Cartographer to the King of France in the middle of the eighteenth century, at a time when French cartography was still considered to be the best in the world. He was the successor to **Guillaume De l'Isle** as the chief proponent of scientific cartography, and his influence on his contemporaries was profound. **D'Anville** was the finest cartographer of his time, "his attention to detail was exemplary, his maps having a great delicacy of engraving" (**Tooley**).

In his *Tartariae Sinensis* which was first printed in 1732, d'Anville showed Korea fairly accurate, though it becomes clear that he had used Korean sources for the first time. A Manchu survey inspected the region of the Changbaishan, the Chinese name for Paektusan, in the summer of 1677. In 1679 the Manchus had made or acquired maps of the whole of the

Korean side of the border from one side of the peninsula to the other and they visited a Korean commander in the north and requested information on "*present installations, maps and 'floating iron' [compass] bearings in the area of Changbaishan*." They allowed him to copy their own map. The Qing prompted for stricter controls on Korean frontier dwellers. In 1699 Korean envoys were ordered by the Manchu authorities to execute a map of Korea's eight provinces with route and distance data.

The Manchu's emperor **Kangxi** made a project to map his empire and it took on new energy when the Jesuits joined the effort in 1709. Before the year was over they had mapped Manchuria and the borders of Korea. By 1716, they and their Chinese and Manchu assistants had mapped the entire Chinese empire plus Tibet and Korea. These maps were printed in Chinese versions in 1717 and 1719, and in a definitive version in 1721.

An explanation of the Jesuit map of Korea by father **Jean-Baptiste Regis** (1664-1738), who with Fathers **Pierre Jartoux** (1669-1720) and **Erhernberg Xavier Fridelli** (1643-1743) had done the Manchurian and Korean regions in 1709 and 1710, is given by **Jean Baptiste du Halde** (1674 - 1743). Since the Jesuits were not allowed in Korea the "Tartar lord" (**Mukedeng** a troubleshooter and trusted assistant for the **Kangxi** emperor) was accompanied by the previously mentioned Chinese surveyor who was trained by the Jesuits. They made measurements and made observations. While in Korea the team was under constant surveillance, but the Tartar lord was given a map, which was kept at the royal palace. **Regis** produced a map that came out in the **Kangxi** atlas and that map was used and edited by **d'Anville** and published in 1735 in **du Halde** (*description de la Chine*) and as "*Royaume de Coree*" (*atlas de la Chine* 1737). **Du Halde** was a French Jesuit, and geographer of Paris.

We call the shape on the map of **d'Anville** AND the mentioning of Quelpaert AND Fung-ma as two separate islands the Anville type. Again on this map the name of the sea was NOT mentioned.



## **Jean-Francois de Galoup.**

Noteworthy however is the cartographic trip of the **Jean-Francois de Galoup**, Comte de **La Perouse**. Since he was the first who really used the name "the Sea of Japan" and his example was followed thereafter, his short biography will follow. He was born on 23 August, 1741 near Albi, France. He entered the Navy when he was fifteen, and fought the British off North America in the Seven Years' War. Later he served in North America, India and China. In August 1782 he made fame by capturing two English forts on the coast of the Hudson Bay. The next year his family finally consented to his marriage to **Louise-Eleonore Broudou**, a young Creole from modest origins he had met on Ile de France (present-day Mauritius). He was appointed in 1785 to lead an expedition to the Pacific. His ships were the **Astrolabe** and the **Boussole**, both 500 tons. They were storeships but reclassified as frigates for the occasion.

He left Brest on August 1785, rounded Cape Horn, investigated the Spanish colonial government in Chile, and by way of Easter Island and Hawaii he sailed to Alaska, where he landed near Mount St. Elias, in late June 1786 and explored the environments. A barge and two longboats, carrying 21 men, were lost in the heavy currents of the bay they arrived in (called Port des Francais by **La Perouse**, but now known as Lituya Bay). Next he visited Monterey, where he examined the Spanish settlements and made critical notes on the treatment of the Indians in the Franciscan missions.

He crossed the ocean to Macao, where he sold the furs acquired in Alaska, dividing the profits among his men. The next year, after a visit to Manila, he set out for the northeast Asian coasts. He saw Quelpaert Island (Cheju) on May 21, 1787, He saw the island of Ullung-do on May 27 and called it Dagelet after an astronomer who sighted it. He wrote the following:

*"We sighted it on May 21 in the finest weather imaginable and in most favorable conditions for observations. I coasted along the southeast shore at a distance of leagues and we surveyed with the utmost care a length of 12 leagues. One would be hard put to find a more pleasing prospect. ... The various crops which presented a wide range of colors made the appearance of this island even more pleasing,"*

However, he did not anchor on the island where the Dutch castaways were shipwrecked in 1653, worrying for the safety of his crew members.

*"Unhappily, it belongs to people who are forbidden to communicate with strangers and who currently enslave those unfortunate enough to be shipwrecked on their coast. This story, of which we had an account before us was not of a nature to encourage us to send a boat ashore," adding that their appearance caused some alarm among the locals, who began to light signal fires on all the headlands along the coasts."*

They spotted the present UllUg-do in the East Sea (which he called for unknown reasons, the Sea of Japan) and some of its inhabitants on May 27. The crew wanted to set foot on the new found island, with the good intention of making friends with the locals who ran away at the sight of the foreign vessels.

*"I endeavored to approach it but it was exactly in the wind's eye; fortunately it changed during the night and at daybreak I sailed to examine this island, I was very desirous of finding an anchorage to persuade these people by means of gifts that we were not their enemies, but fairly strong currents were bearing us away from the land."*

The French navigators then crossed over to Sakhalin. **La Perouse** was enthusiastic about the people of Sakhalin and their friendliness:

*"Since leaving France, we had not encountered others, who so excited our interest and admiration... It went against our preconceived ideas to find among a hunting and fishing people, who neither cultivated the earth nor raised domestic animals, manners which were in general more gentle and grave -and who perhaps had greater intelligence- than that to be found in any European nation."*

The inhabitants had drawn him a map, showing their country, Yeso (also Yezo, now called Hokkaido) and the coasts of Tartary (mainland Asia). **La Perouse** wanted to sail through the channel between Sakhalin and Asia, but failed, so he turned south, and sailed through La Perouse Strait (between Sakhalin and Hokkaido), where he met the Ainu, explored the Kuriles, and reached Petropavlovsk (on Kamchatka peninsula) in September 1787. Here they

rested from their trip, and enjoyed the hospitality of the Russians and Kamchatkans. In letters received from Paris he was ordered to investigate the settlement the British were to erect in New South Wales. **Bartholemy de Lesseps**, the French vice consul at Kronstadt, who had joined the expedition as an interpreter, disembarked to bring the expedition's letters and documents to France, which he reached after a one year lasting, epic journey across Siberia and Russia.

His next stop were the Navigator Islands (Samoa). Just before he left, the Samoans attacked a group of his men, killing twelve of them, among which **de Langle**, commander of the **Astrolabe**. He then sailed to Botany Bay, arriving on 26 January 1788, just as Captain **Arthur Phillip** moved the colony from Botany Bay to Port Jackson. The British received him courteously, but were unable to help him with food as they had none to spare. **La Perouse** sent his journals and letters to Europe with a British ship, obtained wood and fresh water, and left for New Caledonia, Santa Cruz, the Solomons, the Louisiades, and the western and southern coasts of Australia. He nor any of his men was seen again.

But his maps and descriptions made it to the West.

## Overview

In the **David Lee** Collection in America we can find among other the following maps: *Le Japon, par le Sr. Robert de Vaugondy, fils de Mr. Robert Geog. du Roi avec privilege, 1740. Echelle Iacues d'une heure. De Vaugondy* made a special type which we call the Vaugondy type. Quelpaert's Island, nor Fungma are shown. Here we find Sea of Corea (*Mer de Coree*)

David Lee Collection *Asia, Plate VI. Japan, Corea, the Monguls, and part of China; examined & improved by Mr. Bolton, engraved by R.W. Seale.* [London, 1740] here we find East Sea or Sea of Korea (*Mer Orientale ou Mer de Coree*) the shape is a typical Anville type.

David Lee Collection *Carte de la province de Quantong ou Lyau-tong et du royaume de Kau-li ou Coree, pour servir a l'histoire universelle d'une societe de gens de lettres. Copiee sur la carte angloise.* [**Bellin (J.)**, Paris, 1745] (30cm x 24cm) the shape is an Anville type.

*Carte de la Tartarie Chinoise, projettee et assujettie aux observations astronomiques par M. Bonne, hydrographe du Roi. A Paris chez l'attre graveur ordinaire de Monsieur Le Dauphin rue S. Jacques a la Ville de Bordeaux. avec privilege du Roy. 1771. Sea of Korea (M de Coree) Anville type.*

David Lee Collection *A map of Quan-tong or Lea-tonge province; and the kingdom of Kau-li or Corea.* [London: **T. Kitchin**, 1780] (34.5cm x 23.5cm) Sea of Korea (*Mare di Corea*) Anville type.

*Present Asia, engraved by S.I. Neele.* [Stackhouse (T.), London, 1783] Vaugondy type, Sea of Korea

*A map of the empire of China, from the best authorities. London. Published as the Act directs 31st Decr 1785, by J.Murray, No. 30 Fleet Street. Jn. Lodge.* Anville type, Corea Gulf

From the university of Utrecht:

*Carte de la Province Quantong ou Lyau-Tong et du Royaume de Kau-li ou Coree Copiee par la Carte Angloise*

*Kaart van de Provincie Quantong of Lyau-Tong en het Koninkrijk van Kau-li of Korea*

Sea of Korea (Mer de Coree, Zee van Korea) Anville type.

From France:

A manuscript map made by **André Kim** or **Kim Tae Gon**, he was the first Korean missionary. He became a victim of the persecution shortly after his arrival in Korea in 1846. Obviously he made this map and managed to get it out of the country before he was captured. The map is archived in the Departement des Cartes et Plans, Bibliotheque Nationale de France (reference number: Ge C 10622), (Mer du Japon, Anville type).

This map was brought to France by **M. Montigny** who was the first Consul for France at Shanghai. **Victor Adolf Malte-Brun** (1816-1889) was the son of the Danish geographer **Conrad Malte-Brun**, who moved to Paris at approx. 1800 and worked with the French historian **Edmé Mentelle** on many of his works. Victor continued his father's work reproducing the Atlas "*Precis de la Géographie Universelle ou description de toutes les parties du monde*" after his father died. He based a map on the map of **André Kim** which was published in the Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris in 1855.

(Courtesy of **Li Jin-Mieung**, professeur à l'Université Lyon, who brought these maps under my attention and send me the two maps).

Our point of interest is of course the name of the sea east of Korea. This name has changed over the years on several western maps. The first reference is the *Mare Occidentalis*, the East Sea. Later one finds on many maps the *:Koreaanse Zee*, *Korean sea*, *Korean Gulf*, *Golf van Korea*, etc. Initially the strait between Korea and Japan was mentioned as such but obviously the name shifted later more north. The sea south of Japan was initially called the sea of Japan. **De La Perouse** was on a cartographic expedition and named the sea the Japanese sea. So from roughly the middle of the 17th century to the end of the 18th century the sea was called the Sea of Korea or any variant of it but sometimes as the East Sea and even one time as the North Sea. After 1800 it gradually changes its name on western maps to the Sea of Japan, though even on earlier maps one can occasionally see that name being used.

I have researched several 100's of maps at the university of Utrecht, several museums and Dutch map dealers. The majority names the sea east of Korea indeed in all these variants of the East Sea.

Historically speaking we could say that this name is a rather neutral name without any political side effects

(Reference)

Crone, G.R. (1978). Maps and their makers, an introduction to the history of cartography. W & J Mackay Ltd. Chatham.

Harley, J.B. and David Woodward (eds), History of Cartography, Vol 2, Book 2 (title: Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies), especially Gari Ledyard's "Cartography in Korea" pp 235-345. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Morland, Carl & David Bannister (1989). Antique Maps, a collectors guide. Phaidon - Christie. Oxford

Nakamura, Hiroshi. (1962). East Asia in Old Maps, The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, Kasai Publishing & Printing Co. Tokyo.

Tooley, R.V. (1979). Tooley's dictionary of mapmakers. Alan R. Liss, INC. New York, Meridian Publishing CO. Amsterdam.

Walter, Lutz (1993). Japan Mit den Augen des Westens gesehen. Prestel Verlag, München-New York