

THE « SEA OF KOREA » AND FRENCH GEOGRAPHERS DURING THE XVIII^e CENTURY

(short english version)

by **Philippe PELLETIER**
(Professor of Geography, Lyon 2 University)
ppelleti@univ-lyon2.fr

In 1690, the name of « Sea of Korea » (in french « *mer de Corée* » or "*Mare Coreanum*" in latin) appears as toponym to name the current so-called « Sea of Japan ». There are two cases which have the same use but we can put it apart. One concerns Robert Dudley (1573-1639) and the two maps he made about Japan (1646, 1661) in his famous *Arcano del Mare* (1661) (¹). Dudley used also other sea names on the same map, and the name « *Mare di Corai* » is written and located in a minor position. The another exception concerns Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605-1689). His *Carte des Isles du Japon* (1679), made from informations collected in Batavia amongst Dutch people, uses also the « doublon method », i-e two names for the same sea-space : « *Océan Oriental* » written in great characters, located in the middle of the sea, and « *mer de Coreer* » in minus, along eastern sea coast of Korean peninsula (²). Tavernier based his cartography of the shape of Japanese archipelago on the Blancus-Moreira-Dudley model.

1. The innovation of Antoine Thomas (1644-1709)

The 1690 innovation is due to Antoine Thomas (1644-1709). This belgian (wallon) jesuit, specialized in astronomy and cartography, lived almost in Beijing (1686-1709), making studies and research together with his senior Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), an another belgian but flamish jesuit. The new name of « *sea of Korea* » is mentioned on two maps (³).

The Antoine Thomas's choice broke with names used until that moment by European

¹ SCHÜTTE Joseph F. (1969) : "Japanese cartography at the court of Florence ; Robert Dudley's maps of Japan, 1606-1636". *Imago Mundi*, XXI, p. 29-58. Archivage à la Staatsbibliothek de München, Mss. Icon. 140. Reproduced in Cortazzi (1983), pl. 65 et 66.

² Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) : GeDD2987 (7445). Reproduced in Walter Lutz (1994), n° 35 ou in Cortazzi (1983), pl. 71.

³ *Tartarias Imago et Tabula geographica Orientis*. Reproduite in : FLOROVSKY Anthony (1951) : "Maps of the Siberian route of the Belgian jesuit, A. Thomas (1690)". *Imago Mundi*, VIII, p. 103-108. Archives of Compagnie de Jésus in Rome.

cartographers, including Verbiest who used « *Mare Orientale du Japon* » (1669) (4). Jesuits played an important role within the Chinese Court, taking part into the modernization of calendar, astronomy and geography. They deeped geographical knowledge of the Chinese territory, they were active to delimit the Chinese boundaries with the Russian empire (Nertchinsk Treaty, 1689), particularly Verbiest, Thomas et Gerbillon.

The jesuit cartographic work of Giulio Aleni (1623), Francesco Sambiasi (1648), Martino Martini (1655) or Ferdinand Verbiest (1674) mostly consisted to improve maps made by Matteo Ricci (1584, 1602, 1603). They used also Dutch cartography. Let us recall that on the Ricci's maps is written « Sea of Japan » in Chinese characters.

So what are the reasons for Antoine Thomas to take a new name ? Probably he knew discoveries and new maps made by explorers through Siberia. But those maps used different ways to name the sea : no name on the Nikolai Spathary-Milesku's map (1678) ; « *Sinese zee* » on the Isbrandt Ides's map (1687) (5) ; « *mer Orientale ou du Japon* » (in french) on the Nicolaas Witsen's map (1692) (6).

2. Korea on a « blind corner »

Before to go ahead for hypothesis concerning Antoine Thomas's choice, it is necessary to consider how European people and especially how European geographers and cartographers considered Korea in the late XVIIIth century. At that time yet they knew nothing or few about it. Although identification of Japan as Cipango went enough quickly, process was slower concerning Korea, around fifty years later.

The *Atlante* (1508) of florentine Francesco Rosselli draw outlines of Northern China with a land looking like Korea but without name (7). World maps of Lopo Homem (1554, Lisbon), Bartolomeu Velho (1554), Diogo Homem (1558), Domingo Teixeira (1573) or G.B. Peruschi (1597) gave no name too. Fernão Vaz Dourado (1520-1580) wrote finally something : « *Core* » (1571), inspired by Japanese « *Kori* », and also « *Costa de Conrai* » (1568, 1573). In a letter sent to Europa (february 1571), Gaspar Vilela, founding father of a christian church in Kyôto, summed up well the current European metageography concerning Corea when he wrote that Korea is located far behind Japan, far remote, like in a « blind corner » of East Asia. Lastly it was in december 1593 that the first European man visited Korea, the jesuit father Gregorio de Cespedes together with a Japanese brother (8).

Three reasons may explain this slow process. Firstly, Korea seemed to foreign observers just a mere and remote province of Chinese empire. Secondly, Korean kingdom had internal preoccupations and pressures, between China and Japan. Thirdly, Korea was

4 Carte n° EA5, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/maritime/japan>

5 BAGROW Leo (1952) : "The first Russian maps of Siberia and their influence on the West-European cartography of N.E. Asia". *Imago Mundi*, IX, p. 83-94.

6 Reproduced in Teleki.

7 CRINO Sebastiano (1938) : "L'Atlante inedito di Francesco Rosselli e la sua importanza nell'evoluzione cartografica del periodo delle grandi scoperte". *Comptes rendus du Congrès international de géographie Amsterdam 1938*, t. II, Géographie historique et histoire de la géographie, Leiden, Brill, 220 p., p. 153-163.

8 CORY Ralph M. (1937) : "Some notes on Father Gregorio Cespedes, Korea's first European visitor". *Transactions of the Korea branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXVII, p. 9.

beside international main sea lanes and commercial roads, she had no gold or silver to attract western greed.

3. Korea, a provisional island

Also European knowledge introduced geographical confusion during many decades because explorers, geographers and cartographers considered Korea as an island. Although Portuguese merchants and cartographers were enough informed, Luís Teixeira, on his famous map of Japan, named Korea as « *Corea Insula* » (1595) ⁽⁹⁾. Basing his work on Japanese sources, he appeared as very plausible and reliable. So many European cartographers reproduced his view, and his mistake.

For example : Linschoten (« *Ilha de Corea* », 1596, 1619), Van Neck (« *Core Insula* », 1600), John Speed (« *Ile Corea* », 1627), Philipp Eeckebrecht (1630), Willem Janszoon Blaeu (« *Corea Ins.* », 1630 or ca 1645) and Jan Jansson (1650). Some of them, like Jodocus Hondius (1607), hesitated, drawing Korea sometimes as an island - « *Corea Indigeniis Caoli* » - (10), sometime as an peninsula, even as an isthmus⁽¹¹⁾. The world map of Gerhard Mercator (1569) draw Korean space in elliptical way (12), and Ortelius's one too (1570) (13).

But cartographers who draw Japanese archipelago were more sensitive to design Korea accurately. Someone did not made clear choice between island or peninsula (Blancus 1617, Cardim 1646, Dudley 1646 but not Dudley 1661...). Someone were more inspired, like Hessel Gerrits (1580-1633), on his beautiful map of Pacific ocean (1622), Matthäus Greuter (166?-1638) on his globe (1632) or Jean Guérard (1634) describing « *Promont. [= promontoire] du Corea* » with peninsular shape (14). Melchior Tavernier (1594-1665), eldest brother of Jean-Baptiste and, like him, working with Dutch, draw the same way (1640) (15). João Teixeira Albernás I (1649) carried the Portuguese tradition (16). At last, cartography of jesuit father Martino Martini (1655), who had Chinese sources and who was published by a famous atlas, the Joan Blaeu's one, made confirmation of the fact that Korea is an peninsula (17). Soon Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville, who draw Korea as an island in his *Asie* (1650), rejoined this choice on his map of China (1656).

⁹ *Iaponiae insulae descriptio*. Reproduced in : Cortazzi (1983), pl. 25 ; Akioka (1955), n° 27 ; Oda (1998), p. 134-135.

¹⁰ *Asiae Nova descriptio*, Amsterdam.

¹¹ "Asia", "Corea Istmus".

¹² *Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio...*, BnF, C&P : Ge A 1064. Reproduced in *Revue de la B.N.* (1992), n° 45, p. 29 ; Kish (1980), p. 248-249.

¹³ *Tartariae sive magni Chami regni*, Anvers. Reproduced in Allen (1993), p. 36, 37.

¹⁴ *Carte Universelle hydrographique*. BnF, C&P, SH Archives n° 15. Reproduced in Mollat-Roncière (1984), n° 84.

¹⁵ *Charte universelle de tout le monde*, in *Théâtre contenant la description de la carte générale*. Reproduced in Pastoureau (1984), fig. 154.

¹⁶ BnF, C&P, SH Portefeuille 177, div. 2, pièce 1. Published par Melchisédech Thévenot in *Relations de divers voyages curieux* (1664). Reproduite in : Mollat-Roncière (1984), n° 86 ; Walter Lutz (1994), p. 51.

¹⁷ *Iaponias regnum (Novus Atlas Sinensis)*. Reproduced in : Cortazzi (1983), pl. 63 ; Nakamura (1964), p. 44 ; ASEM, vol. III, book 1, fig 11.

4. The role of French jesuit fathers for the cartography of North-East Asia

Within the team of jesuit fathers involved in the Chinese court, French fathers played a more and more important role. In France, they supported the creation of the *Compagnie de Chine* (1697-1698), along with *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* (1664), imitating more or less the Dutch V.O.C. (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, 1602) and the british E.I.C. (*East Indian Company*, 1600) (18).

In 1697, father Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730), coming back in France after nine years of stay in China, informed Paris that the new Chinese emperor Kangxi was « particulièrement favorable à l'influence française », and that he asked him to « engager encore d'autres savants, surtout des mathématiciens et des astronomes afin de poursuivre des travaux projetés et commencés sous son auguste protection » (19). Ferdinand Verbiest is at the origine of the decree put by Kangxi in 1687 which « fait venir les jésuites français à Pékin » (20).

Gathering economics and religious aims, *L'Amphitrite* vessel, starting regular relationships between France and China, brought in China during its first trip (1698) French jesuit fathers Bouvet, Dolce, Parennin, Régis, Prémare, followed by, during the second trip (1701), fathers Contancin, Chavagnac, De Tartre and Jartoux. Among those fathers, many are devoted to geography (Bouvet, Parennin, Régis, Jartoux).

Antoine Thomas, who was in China from 1685, helped them (21). He draw with Bouvet, Régis et Parrenin the map of Beijing area (1705). We may consider that scientific relations between Thomas and French people were closed.

5. The Guillaume Delisle (1675-1725) cartographic approach

Did the 1690 Antoine Thomas's map fallen in the hands of the famous French geographer Guillaume Delisle (1675-1725) ? It is highly probable since Delisle, soon « Premier géographe du roi » in 1718 (king Louis XV), was well informed. In his writings, Guillaume Delisle showed he had sources and maps about Japan and China (De Angelis, Martini, Briet, Teixeira, Thévenot, Tavernier, Caron, Dudley), and he knew to be still critical about those (22). Appreciating Tavernier's map (1679) and, especially, Dudley's maps (1646, 1661), he likely used those to adopt the name of « *mer de Corée* », following Thomas's choice.

But Guillaume Delisle used also others names like « *Mer Orientale* » on his map *L'Asie*

18 *Cahiers de la Compagnie des Indes* edited by Musée de la Compagnie des Indes et la Société des Amis du Musée, 56290 Port-Louis.

19 Quoted by : BROC Numa (1975) : *La Géographie des philosophes, géographes et voyageurs français au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris, Ophrys, 604 p., p. 135.

20 Dehergne (1973), p. 289.

21 DEHERGNE Joseph S.J. (1973) : *Répertoire des jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*. Rome, Institutum Historicum S.I. and Paris, Letouzey & Ané, 310 p., p. 271.

22 For instance *Lettre de M. Delisle sur la question si le Japon est une île*, published in the *Journal des Savans* (Amsterdam) in 1701, reproduced by Jean-Frédéric Bernard (1716).

(1700) ⁽²³⁾, then « *Mer orientale ou mer de Corée* » on his *Carte des Indes et de la Chine* (1705) ⁽²⁴⁾, and only « *Mer orientale* » on his hemispheric world map (1714) ⁽²⁵⁾.

His mention of « *mer orientale* » does not refer to the Korean local use as *Tonghae*, since neither Delisle neither other European people did not know this fact. Certainly, it comes from the toponymic way of Sanson d'Abbeville, without the « ocean-arc » approach of the Sanson school of geography and with the « basin » approach wich becomes popular from the early XVIIIth century.

On his *Mappe-monde* (1700), which combined both approaches, Delisle used only « *mer orientale* » ⁽²⁶⁾. He maintained it again a decade after, on the map *L'Asie dresse sur les observations de l'Academie Royale des Sciences et quelques autres, et sur les memoires les plus recens* (Amsterdam, 1708) ⁽²⁷⁾. Nevertheless, he took again « *mer de Corée* » on his *Carte d'Asie* (1723) and his *Hémisphère oriental* (1724) ⁽²⁸⁾.

6. The cartographic approach of Nicolas de Fer (1646-1720)

But we may explore another hypothesis through the case of Nicolas de Fer (1646-1720).

De Fer is not an astronomic scholar like Delisle. He gathered maps and informations in his shop located at quai de l'Horloge in Paris. But he is cleaver and his information network is good. His sources came from Samuel Purchas, Melchisédech Thévenot (ca 1620-1692) or Nicolaas Witsen ((1641-1717) (from 1694 only ; Witsen had many maps of Japan made by Japanese) ⁽²⁹⁾.

De Fer knew also works of Luis Teixeira, Ignacio Moreira (1538-1600), Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688) or Martino Martini (1614-1661), famous for his *Novus atlas sinensis* (1655) made from Chinese maps ⁽³⁰⁾. He had also his own Chinese sources ⁽³¹⁾. On his map entitled *La Partie Orientale de l'Asie* (Paris, 1703), Nicolas de Fer brought an interesting mention ⁽³²⁾. Along the sea coast of Siberia front to Japan, he wrote : « *Mer peu ou point / connue des Européens / les Tartares l'appelle [sic] / Orientale* ». This name of Tartarians referred to the people located on the northern Chinese borders, like Mandchus or Mongols, but not Koreans or Chinese. But it is possible that tartarian conception of « *mer orientale* » was influenced by Chinese who named all the sea located east to China by *Donghai*.

²³ Reproduced in Lee Ki-Suk (2004), fig. 8 p. 115.

²⁴ BnF, C&P : Ge DD 2987 (6808). Extarctd from (1705) *Atlas François* (1705 edition) by Jaillot.

²⁵ Reproduced in Kish (1980), pl. 99, p. 172. BnF, C&P : Ge CC 1246 (9).

²⁶ *Mappemonde dressée sur les Observations de Mrs de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et quelques autres et sur les mémoires les plus recens*. BnF, C&P : Ge C 8484, Ge DD 2987(84), Ge GC 1246 (9). Reproduced in Sandler, Tafel V, Pelletier Monique (2001), p. 93 and Pelletier Philippe (2000), p. 286.

²⁷ Reproduced in Kapitza (1703), vol. 2, p. 45.

²⁸ Reproduced in Lee Ki-Suk (2004), fig. 59, p. 89 (also fig. 12 p. 117, fig. 43 p. 131) and fig. 4, p. 113.

²⁹ Keuning (1954), p. 101.

³⁰ The famous map of Japan by Martini, *Iaponia Regnum*, included in its atlas, does not mention any sea name. BnF : GeDD1185 (17).

³¹ Walter Fuchs (1935), p. 144.

³² BnF : Ge DD 1219. Reproduced in Kapitza (1703), vol. 2, p. 40.

Nicolas De Fer did not name other seas in his « partie orientale de l'Asie ». On a later map, the *Carte de la mer du Sud et des costes d'Amérique et d'Asie, situées sur cette mer* (1713), he put a double naming for our sea : « *Mer Orientale de la Chine et Septentrionale du Japon* » (33).

Those names are corresponding to the Chinese toponymy and also to the toponymy that some Europeans gave to Japanese archipelago, like Nicolaas Witsen (« *Mare Septent. Iaponia* », 1690), maybe inspired by Japanese naming. Moreover on his former map *Asie* (1696), Nicolas De Fer used « *Mer septentrionale de Japon* » [sic] located north to Honshû and « *Mer méridionale de Japon* » [re-sic] located south to Honshû, indicating that he based his choice upon informations coming from authors or travellers familiar to this area like Martini (34). On his world map of 1705, he kept only « *Mer Septen.le de Japon* » (35).

In fact, denomination of « *mer orientale* » mixed Chinese traditional approach and European approach built after great explorations during XVIth and XVIIth centuries which considered all seas located east to India as « eastern or oriental seas ». Nicolas de Fer is honest in indicating that Europeans still did not know exactly the sea between Japan, Korea and Siberia. So this sea may be called by different names.

Other French geographers like Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville (1697-1782) (36) or Rigobert Bonne (1727-1794) did not use any name for this sea.

7. The Delisle connection

Although Delisle changed often names, his colleagues and followers kept the name of « *mer de Corée* ». For instance during XVIIIth century : his brother Joseph-Nicolas Delisle (1688-1763), his son-in-law Philippe Buache (1700-1773), Jacques Nicolas Bellin (1703-1772), Gilles Robert de Vaugondy (1688-1766), the Janvier and even followers of Sanson like Hubert-Félix Jaillot or the Robert de Vaugondy (37).

The *Carte d'Asie dressée pour l'usage du Roy* published by Guillaume Delisle in 1723, remake and completed by Philippe Buache in 1762 and in 1781, which is based upon Russian works coming from the « Académie impériale de St-Pétersbourg » and from Joseph Delisle, still used « *mer de Corée* ». Again on the famous *Carte Physique de l'Océan* and *Carte Physique de la Grande Mer* by Philippe Buache (1744) (38).

Foreign cartographers used also Delisle approach : the British John Senex (1711, Delisle type), Hermann Moll (1712), John Green (1741, D'Anville type), Emanuel Bowen

33 Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris). Reproduced in the *Atlas Universalis*.

34 *L'Asie ou tous les points principaux sont placés sur les Observations de Mrs de l'Académie Royale des Sciences*, BnF : GeDD2987B (6472).

35 *Mappemonde, ou Carte générale de la Terre*, BnF, C&P : Ge DD 2078 (2). Reproduced in Sandler (1905), Tafel IV.

36 *Carte Générale de la Tartarie Chinoise* (Paris, 1732), BnF, C&P : Ge DD 2987B (7270). Cf also the Ayer Collection, the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ayer 135 A6 1737, map n° 37, reproduced in Ledyard (Harley & Woodward 1994), p. 300.

37 Joseph-Nicolas Delisle (1750) ; Philippe Buache (1744, 1754, 1771, 1781) ; Jacques-Nicolas Bellin (1735, 1764, 1765) ; Didier et Gilles Robert de Vaugondy (1749, 1760, 1762, 1775) ; Jean-Denis Janvier (1754), Antide Janvier (1760, 1774), Hubert-Félix Jaillot (1792).

38 BnF, C&P : Ge DD 1797. Reproduced in Kish, pl. 100.

(1744, 1747, 1750, 1752, 1777) (39), Thomas Bowen (1778), John Gibson (1750), Laurie & Whittle (1794), Salmon (1767), Robert Sayer (1794), John Arrowsmith (1794, 1798). We have also some exceptions like the *Mappe-Monde Géo-Hydrographique* (1720) of Hubert Jaillot, published at Amsterdam by Pierre Mortier. Although looking similar to the *Carte des Indes et de la Chine* of Guillaume Delisle, and based upon same sources (Nicolaas Witsen), it mentioned « *Mer Orientale ou du Japon* ».

The younger brother of Guillaume, Jacques-Nicolas Delisle, stayed a long time in Russia (from 1726 to 1747) as the cartographer of the tsar (40). He knew very well about discoveries brought by explorations made by Vitus Bering and others, explorations he helped also to prepare. Coming back in France, he put those new informations on a map made with Philippe Buache, the *Carte des nouvelles découvertes au nord de la Mer du Sud* (1750), showing Siberia, Chinese Tartary, Northern Pacific and North America (41).

On its map, Delisle and Buache used again « *mer de Corée* » for sea of Japan. Is it the result of naming made by Russian explorers or cartographers ? It is not sure, and not necessary to think so. Because maps drawn about Siberian exploration results mentioned « *Mer orientale ou du Japon* » (Witsen, 1692), nothing (Ides, 1704), « *Japanse Zee* » (Abraham Maas, 1727) (42), and nothing again (Gerard Friedrich Müller, 1742, 1754). We better must think that the « *mer de Corée* » choice is a intellectual legacy of the former Guillaume Delisle.

8. The approach of Jacques-Nicolas Bellin (1703-1722)

Using a new cartographic model for the shape of Japanese archipelago, made by Kämpfer-Scheuchzer, Jacques-Nicolas Bellin (1703-1722) used again on his *Carte de l'Empire du Japon* (1735) the « duo method » liked by French cartographers, placing names on the both sides of Honshû. But he used also other names : « *Mer du Japon* » for Pacific ocean and « *mer de Corée* », in two places (43). Comments written below the title precise : « *Dressée sur les auteurs Japonois, sur les mémoires des Portugais et des Hollandais. Et en particulier sur ceux des RRPP. de la Compe. de Jésus* ». Its map is published by the jesuit Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix (1682-1761) in his *Histoire et description générale du Japon* (Paris, 1736 ; 2e éd. *Histoire du Japon*, 1754).

The Bellin's geography is not totally accurate and sure. He hesitated often. On another map for the same book, he draw other shapes for the Northeastern Pacific area, drawing a « *Golphe de Kamtchatka* ». Following the debate launched by Guillaume Delisle, Bellin mistaken upon the fact to know if Ezo (Hokkaidô) is an island or not, claiming not in a first time, and recognizing yes in a second time (44). For the re-edition of the *Histoire du*

39 Emanuel Bowen (ca 1700-1767) occupied fonction of map engraver for both George II king of England and Louis XV king of France. He took a part in the move of cartographic informations from France to England in the late XVIIIth century.

40 Isnard (1915).

41 Reproduced in Breitfuss (1937) (Delisle-Buache 1750, p. 92 and G. F. Müller p. 96) ; in Kapitza (1990), II, p. 469. The map is reedited in a memoir of Joseph-Nicolas Delisle (1752), then in *L'Encyclopédie* of D'Alembert / Diderot, which made it notorious.

42 *Nieuwe Kaarte van de Oostkijsten van Groot Tartarie* (St-Petersburg, 1727), BnF, C&P : Ge B 2369.

43 BnF, C&P : Ge DD 2987 (7441). SHM : port 178, div 1, p 10.

44 Numa Broc (1975), «Le Japon et la terre de Yeso», p. 168-172.

Japon of Charlevoix in 1754, Bellin admitted that his maps and texts of 1735-37 « sont entièrement détruits par les connaissances que l'on a acquises depuis » (45). Among those new knowledges are those coming directly from Japan by Reland, Kämpfer and Scheuchzer. So, the European knowledge about Korea, Japan and seas surrounding those countries looked very fragile.

On his *Carte des Isles du Japon, Terre de Jesso et Pays voisins* (1752), Bellin maintained only one mention of « mer de Corée », the one located next to Tsushima-Korea straits (46). Again on his map of 1764, in his *Petit Atlas Maritime* (47). We can consider this toponymic choice as a Delisle influence (for « Mer de Corée » north to Honshû) and Reland (for « Mer du Japon » south to Honshû). On his *Carte du Royaume de Kau-Li ou Corée* (1764), he mentioned « La mer Jaune » and « Mer de Corée » on both sides of Korean peninsula (48).

The Japan's map of Bellin « reste extrêmement influente durant tout le reste du XVIIIe siècle, apparaissant aussi dans des éditions anglaises, hollandaises et italiennes » (49). It inspired Bowen (1744, 1747), Morden, Zatta (1785). It was included in many books. The map of *L'Empire du Japon* (1750) by Gilles Robert de Vaugondy (1688-1766), which is based upon Bellin, maintained the toponymic disposition (50). But it added toponymic doublon introduced by Robert Dudley a century before (1646 and 1661), i.e. the double mention : « Mer de Corée », along Korean eastern coast, and « Mer du Japon », along Japanese San'yô and Hokuriku coast.

We may presume that this combination is a revival of the « ocean-arc » approach liked by Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville. We see it on many maps made by the Robert de Vaugondy, together with the mere mention « mer de Corée » : *L'Asie* by Gilles Robert (1739, re-edited in 1749) (51) ; *Carte de l'Asie* (1775) by Didier Robert de Vaugondy (1723-1786) (52). This hypothesis is highly probable since Robert de Vaugondy belonged to the Sanson d'Abbeville family, and inherited (in 1730) the d'Abbeville cartographic stock.

Conclusion

The name « mer de Corée » gained without doubt success within the European cartography between 1690 and 1780, due to the French school of Geography. British geographers used also this name (53).

But we have not to forget that many European maps used other names or no name. It is

45 Bellin in Charlevoix (1754), t. VI, p. 79.

46 *Carte des Isles du Japon, Terre de Jesso et Pays voisins*, BnF : 80 C 102 606.

47 *Carte de l'Empire du Japon* in *Petit Atlas Maritime* (Paris, 1764), BnF, C&P : GeDD2987 (7442). Reproduced in Pelletier Philippe (2000), p. 287.

48 *Petit Atlas Maritime* (1764), t. III, n° 55.

49 Walter Lutz (1994).

50 *Atlas Universel*, Paris, 1750.

51 Reproduced in Lee Ki-Suk (2004), fig. 57 p. 88 et fig. 67 p. 92.

52 *Atlas Universel*, Paris, 1775.

53 Thomas Salmon (1767) ; Asia, *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1771) ; Thomas Kitchin (1771) ; Robert Sayer (“Gulf of Korea”, 1780) ; James Spotiswood (1781) ; Carington Bowels (1784) ; Thomas Stackhouse (1785).

the case for maps made by John Thornton (1704), Afanasiy Shestakov (1726), G. P. Müller (1754) or J. K. Kirilov (1730) ⁽⁵⁴⁾. Russian cartographers kept the name « *mer de Corée* » as long as possible (until 1844 at least), even after discoveries made by La Pérouse (1787), although British cartographers leaved it quickly and adopted the proposal of La Pérouse for « *mer du Japon* ».

Names made by local people – Korean, Tartarian or Japanese – played various role, often minor. Russia had interest to put Korea in his influence area. France is too far, and Great Britain became strong on the oceans. After La Pérouse, the name of « *mer de Corée* » disappeard from European maps.

Bibliography

See french version of the paper.

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⁵⁴ HARRISON John A. (1950), p. 260-261. Carte de Kirilov reproduite p. 261.