

Birth of New Perspectives through Integration of Origin Maps: The Case of “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo”

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Abstract

Research on old maps in pre-modern times can contribute to maritime history. This paper discusses old maps with two approaches. The first is genealogy of maps. A map drawn in pre-modern times has ancestors and descendants. That is the main reason researchers in map history should begin with identifying the ancestors and descendants of maps they examine. They contribute to a genealogy of maps through this approach. The second is textual analysis. A map has diverse expressions derived from its ancestors. Thus, a map can be analyzed as a text. In this approach researchers should look at a map as a newborn baby having its own new perspectives.

“Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo” (『海東諸国総図』) and attached maps in *Haedong cheguk ki* (『海東諸国紀』) are the main objects discussed in this paper, with three aims: 1) to investigate the source maps of “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo” and identify how these five maps were edited after they were handed over to Sin Sukchu (申叔舟) and his mapmakers; 2) to deduce how these maps were integrated into the map “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo”, and address it in the context of East Asian maritime history, and 3) to examine its descendant maps.

The paper concludes that “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo” and attached maps in *Haedong cheguk ki* are the cultural production of Chosŏn Korea in the 15th century and are the representations of unified cultural flows from the south, including both Japan and the Ryūkyū Islands.

1. The birth of “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo”

A careful examination of pre-modern maps can make an important contribution to maritime history. In East Asia, people moving from one place to another on the sea left only a few descriptions of their activities and governments did not take serious interest in people and places beyond their

* Research Fellow in GSID. This article is based upon the paper presented at *Oceans, Consciousness of Space and Cultural Interflow: The Second International Symposium of Cartography*, Institute of Taiwan History of Academia Sinica, November 27–30, 2012, Taipei. Dr. William Johnston (Prof. Wesleyan University) and Dr. Melisanda Berkowitz gave their sincere advice on English expressions throughout the article.

territories. Extant maps made in East Asia were mostly created by government-commissioned mapmakers. As a consequence these maps have rich depictions influenced by formal or institutional perspectives of the sponsoring governments. However, through empirical analysis researchers can find indirect reflections of maritime people's geographical views.

A map drawn in pre-modern times has both ancestors and descendants. That is the main reason researchers in map history should begin their researches with identifying ancestors and descendants of maps they examine. They contribute to a genealogy of maps through this approach. I value this approach, and apply it to base map analysis in this paper. Simultaneously, a map has diverse expressions derived from its ancestors. Thus, a map can be analyzed as a text. It means researchers should look at a map as a newborn baby having its own new perspectives.

Here, I look at “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo” (Map 1: 海東諸国総図) in *Haedong cheguk ki* (『海東諸国紀』), a book which comprehensively describes history, geography and culture of the countries in the Eastern Seas, the Japanese Archipelago and the Ryūkyū Islands. It was compiled by Sin Sukchu (申叔舟) in 1471, and is assumed to have been published a few years later.¹ It contains another five partial maps of “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo”, which are “Nihon hongoku no zu” (Map 2 and 3: 日本本国之図), “Nihonkoku Saikaidou Kyūshū no zu” (Map 4: 日本国西海道九州之図), “Nihonkoku Ikitou no zu” (Map 5: 日本国一岐島之図), “Nihonkoku Tsushimatou no zu” (Map 6: 日本国対馬島之図) and “Ryūkyūkoku no zu” (Map 7: 琉球国之図).

These five maps are not, strictly speaking, source maps for “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo”. They were definitely edited by Sin Sukchu and his mapmakers after they came to Chosŏn Korea. However, they do provide crucial information regarding source maps before being edited in Chosŏn Korea. As a consequence they can be called “edited source maps”.

It is rare in map history for a map to have surviving ancestors. In fact, most so-called origin maps no longer exist, or only leave footprints in other descendant maps. The fact that “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo” survives with five other ancestor maps offers a precious opportunity for researchers to analyze both the map's pedigrees and its new perspectives.

This paper has three aims: 1) to investigate source maps of “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo” and, if possible, identify how these five maps were edited after they came to the hands of Sin Sukchu and his mapmakers; 2) to deduce how these five maps were integrated into the map “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo” and address this synthesis in the context of East Asian maritime history, and 3) to examine descendant maps of “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo”.

Higashionna Kanjun contributed to identification of many place-names in “Ryūkyūkoku no zu” (Map 7) in the context of Ryūkyū history.² Nakamura Hidetaka described a bibliography of *Haedong cheguk ki* and identified many place-names in “Nihon hongoku no zu” (Map 2 and 3), “Nihonkoku Saikaidou Kyūshū no zu” (Map 4), “Nihonkoku Ikitou no zu” (Map 5), “Nihonkoku Tsushimatou no zu” (Map 6) based upon empirical analysis of place-names of Japan in Korean sources.³ Tanaka Takeo

comprehensively compiled outcomes of previous researches and added his own findings in editing *Haedong cheguk ki* for publication.⁴ Akioka Takejirou in research of historical geography has provided important evidence all maps in *Haedong cheguk ki* valuable to the discussion here.⁵

For aim 1), these previous studies provided some partial useful answers. However, it is still meaningful to distinguish clearly between source maps coming from the south and the “edited source maps” in *Haedong cheguk ki*. In particular, the differences between the maps should show the differencing perspectives of the two groups of mapmakers. For aim 2), the previous studies have not provided any answers. I therefore attempt an original reconstruction of a Chosŏn Korean geographical perspective of maritime East Asia. For aim 3), previous studies provide partial answers. Mostly, they provided examples of descendant maps in Japan. Here, I focus influences in Chosŏn Korea.

2. The source maps of “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo”

As already mentioned, *Haedong cheguk ki* has “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo” with its five partial maps edited after they came to Chosŏn Korea. This section will look at these, and try to reconstruct the pre-edited forms. Here, I introduce general principles to analyze them.

- (1) In the usage of Chinese characters, place-names described in a Korean style are judged as outcomes edited by Korean.⁶
- (2) In return, place-names in a Japanese style are mostly regarded as a reflection of the original maps; however, there are some exceptions if these expressions have close relations to descriptions in *Haedong cheguk ki*, an exceptionally well-organized gazetteer of the 15th century East Asia. Some descriptions in maps accurately correspond to those in the text.
- (3) Shapes and arrangements of coastal lines and islands are regarded as the same as those in source maps, with a few exceptions.

“**Nihon hongoku no zu**” (Maps 2 and 3) is a map of Japan definitely derived from the lines of Gyōki-style maps (行基図) sharing common features of Gyōki-style maps extant in Japan.⁷ These Gyōki-style maps make “*kuni*” (国, province)⁸ a primary unit of depiction, with “Yamashiro no kuni” (山城国) in the center and the other peripheral provinces on both sides in geographical order. These maps express little interest in the shape of provinces and coast lines. Akioka identifies this as the version 1 in model 3 (3-1) in his Gyōki-style map classification.⁹ The Model 3 is only composed of maps made outside Japan in his listing. This means no Gyōki-style maps extant in Japan can be the original version of “Nihon hongoku no zu”. Based upon this understanding, the next step is to reconstruct the original version.

1. “Nihon hongoku no zu” does not have Korean style in usage of Chinese characters. That means it mostly maintains features of the original version.
2. Part of Kyūshū was obviously removed in the process of modifying the original version. As discussed in the next section, “Nihonkoku Saikaidou Kyūshū no zu” is not based on the removed piece.
3. In “Nihon hongoku no zu”, province names are described using suffix “*shu*” (州), for example, “Mikawa shu” (三河州),¹⁰ but the name should be only “Mikawa” in the original version as in all extant maps of Japan in the lines of Gyōki-style maps made before the 17th century, provincial names are commonly described without “shu”, for example, as “Mikawa”.¹¹
4. Several descriptions, for example, “Kamakura dono” (鎌倉殿) in Map 2, “Nihon Kokuto” (日本国都), “Tennou gu” (天皇宮), “Kokuou dono” (国王殿), “Hatakeyama dono” (畠山殿), “Hosokawa dono” (細川殿), “Buei dono” (武衛殿), “Yamana dono” (山名殿), “Kyougoku dono” (京極殿) in “Yamashiro shu” (山城州) and “Ouchi dono” (大内殿) in “Suou shu” (周防州) in Map 3 were definitely added in Chosŏn Korea. Most of them were crucial figures and places in Korean relations with Japan in the 15th century, and have detailed descriptions in the text of *Haedong cheguk ki*. Sin Sukchu edited it with consistency in both the text and the maps. As a result, many place-names and figures in these maps are good references for reading the text and show Chosŏn Korea’s interpretation of Japan.
5. In contrast to the careful editing noted above, many interesting descriptions including “Ebisu jima” (夷島), “Rasetsu koku” (羅刹国), “Nyo koku” (女国), “Sanbutsusai” (三仏斎) and other descriptions in the sea, and “Chinju fu” (鎮守府), “Shirakawa no seki” (白河関), “Akita jou” (秋田城) and “Fuji san” (富士山) in the land in Map 2 have no description in the text. That would suggest that they are in the original version.
6. Information regarding ports, marine barrier stations, and sea routes is one of the unique features in Map 3. White lines drawn between ports or marine barrier stations stand for sea routes. The white lines accompany information on distances from one port to another one in Japanese scale “*ri*” (里). Tanaka Takeo assumes a set of maritime information was not added by Chosŏn Korea proper but Japan proper before the map came to Chosŏn Korea.¹²

In the light of the above six points, the original version of “Nihon hongoku no zu” can be visualized by: 1) re-attaching the missing part of Kyūshū, 2) deleting suffix “*shu*” from province names, 3) removing several descriptions as in the point 4, and 4) maintaining the elements mentioned in point 5 and 6. By and large, the “Nihon hongoku no zu” (Maps 2 and 3) maintains the major features of Gyōki-style maps though no Gyōki-style maps extant in Japan provide the model for it.

“Nihonkoku Saikaidou Kyūshū no zu” (Map 4) can be possibly revised from a part of a Gyōki-

style map. Tanaka Takeo assumes it was modified from the original version of “Nihon hongoku no zu”.¹³ However, the layout of Honshu and Kyūshū in “Nihonkoku Saikaidou Kyūshū no zu” is definitely different from “Nihon hongoku no zu”. The sea route from the south to the north along the east coast of Kyūshū turns to the northwest at the northeastern corner of Kyūshū. The white line accompanies the description “from Akama ga seki”¹⁴ though “Akama ga seki” itself is out of the scope of the map. “Akama ga seki” is a crucial port at the western end of Honshu. The western end of Honshu must be located west to the east coast of Kyūshū in the original version. In “Nihon hongoku no zu”, the western end of Honshu is located east of the east coast of Kyūshū because Kyūshū does not appear in the map, and the white line from “Akama ga seki” to the south gradually turns to the west.

An unknown Gyōki-style map may have provided a source map of “Nihonkoku Saikaidou Kyūshū no zu”. However, that map is far from the lines of Gyōki-style maps in the shape of coastal lines and islands. It can be assumed to have been edited considerably both in description and depiction in Japan.

1. In “Nihonkoku Saikaidou Kyūshū no zu”, all proper nouns with one exception are expressed in Japanese style usage of Chinese characters. The only exception is “Sumiyoshi” (愁未要時), which should be pronounced in the Korean style.
2. It maintains a feature of the Gyōki-style maps in depicting a province as the primary unit of administrative division.
3. Each province is described, for example, as “Satsuma shu” (薩摩州) instead of simply “Satsuma”.
4. Shapes of coastal lines in the north and west coast are more complicated, and eight rivers are clearly depicted as deep and steep incisions into the coastline. They show mapmakers’ interest in land shape.
5. “Shoni dono” (小二殿) in “Chikuzen shu” (筑前州), “Otomo dono” (大友殿) in “Bungo shu” (豊後州), “Kikuchi dono” (菊池殿) in “Higo shu” (肥後州), and “Chiba dono” (千葉殿) and “Setsudoshi” (節度使) in “Hizen shu” (肥前州) were added in Chosŏn Korea for the same reason as in “Nihon hongoku no zu”.
6. “Sashi” (佐志), “Kamouchi” (鴨打), “Yobuko” (呼子), “Kamimatsura” (上松浦), “Shimomatsura” (下松浦), “Shisa” (志佐) and “Tabira” (田平) were probably added in Japan although all seven names stand for places where local lords sent missions to Chosŏn Korea. Needless to say, Chinese characters usages are in the Japanese style.
7. It has rich information concerning islands, sea routes, ports and marine barrier stations. It depicts twenty-six simple-shaped islands with names, four major sea routes from the north to the south reaching to both ends of the frames, and describes seven names of ports including a barrier station of the sea. As seen in “Nihon hongoku no zu”, more than ten islands have information on distance from one place to another in Japanese scale “*ri*”.

In the light of the above seven points, the original version of “Nihonkoku Saikaidou Kyūshū no zu” can be visualized by; 1) deleting “Sumiyoshi”, 2) deleting the suffix “*shu*” from province names, 3) deleting several descriptions noted in point 5, and 4) keeping the points 2, 4, 6 and 7. The original version had been fully edited before it came to Chosŏn Korea. Japanese cartographers added considerable maritime information on a Kyūshū map, as part of a Gyōki-style map.

As discussed later, “Nihonkoku Saikaidou Kyūshū no zu” actually has continuity with “Ryūkyūkoku no zu” (Map 7) though not with the source map of “Nihon hongoku no zu”.

“**Nihonkoku Ikitou no zu**” (Map 5) is of course a map of Iki Island. No extant maps in Japan or Korea provide the model for it. Theoretically, the map should have ancestors; however, as yet no document but one indicates the source map. I will discuss this exception later. Here, I tentatively assume that it was fully edited in Chosŏn Korea, and “the original map of Iki Island” must be very simple. The following points summarize the features of the map.

1. It has a unique coast line with fifteen coves corresponding to the names of fourteen ports or fishermen’s villages with suffix “*ura*” (浦). They are expressed in Korean style in usage of Chinese characters. The suffix “*ura*” is pronounced “*kae*” in Korean in those days, which meant a port.
2. It has names of seven sub-districts with suffix “*go*” (郷) and names of thirteen inland villages with the suffix “*ri*” (里). Both are expressed in Korean style.
3. Each sub-district has a name of the person governing the area. These persons are local lords in the Goto Islands, such as “Sashi” (佐志), “Kamouchi” (鴨打), “Yobuko” (呼子) and “Shisa” (志左)¹⁵. They dispatched deputies to Iki Island, and were expressed in the Japanese style.
4. The map has two sea routes, one from “Hakata” (博多)¹⁶ in “Chikuzen shu” (筑前州) to “Kazamoto ura” (風本浦 or 間沙毛都浦)¹⁷ on Iki Island and the other from “Kamimatsura” (上松浦) in “Hizen shu” (肥前州) to “Funakoshi” (訓羅串) in Tsushima Island by way of “Motoi ura” (毛都伊浦) on Iki Island. Except for these two ports’ names, the others are expressed in a Japanese style.

Nakamura concludes that the proper nouns in Map 5 are expressed in Korean style in terms of Chinese characters usages.¹⁸ However, the names of the local lords in the Goto Islands and attached information of two sea routes are in a Japanese style.

The original version of “Nihonkoku Ikitou no zu” can be visualized by: 1) deleting the names of thirteen ports or fishermen’s villages except “Kazamoto ura”,¹⁹ 2) deleting the names of seven sub-districts and thirteen inland villages, 3) keeping the names of the local lords in Goto Islands and attached information of the two sea routes as in points 3 and 4. In contrast to the previous two maps,

“the original map of Iki Island” is rather simpler. It can be assumed that cartographers in Chosŏn Korea actively collected detailed information on the island from Japan proper.

“**Nihonkoku Tsushimatou no zu**” (Map 6), the map of Tsushima, provides a similar example, in the following way.

1. The shape of the coast line is very complicated with a deep and large bay, depicting eighty-three coves corresponding to eighty-one names of port towns or fishermen’s villages with the suffix “*ura*” in a Korean style of Chinese character usage.
2. The map has names of eight sub districts with the suffix “*gun*” (郡). With exception of “Toyosaki *gun*” (豊崎郡), names of seven sub districts are described in a Korean style. “Toyosaki *gun*” is similar to the case of “Kazamoto *ura*” in Iki Island.²⁰
3. It has three sea routes; one from “Kazamoto *ura*” in Iki Island to “Funakoshi” (訓羅串) though the white line is not clear, another one from “Funakoshi” to three ports, “Yŏm *ph’o*” (塩浦), “Busan *ph’o*” (富山浦) and “Nei *ph’o*” (乃而浦) in Chosŏn Korea by way of “Wani no *ura*” (完尼老浦): the other is from the opposite coast of “Funakoshi” to “Nei *ph’o*”.

The original version of “Nihonkoku Tsushimatou no zu” can be visualized by: 1) deleting eighty-one names of port towns or fishermen’s villages, 2) deleting names of eight sub districts, 3) with exceptions of three ports in Korea, keeping the three sea routes and their attached information as in point 3. As Nakamura concluded, most proper nouns in the map are expressed in a Korean style of Chinese character usages.²¹ As in Map 5, “the original map of Tsushima Island” is also simple. In terms of collecting information, the efforts of cartographers in Chosŏn Korea are clearly evident.

“**Ryūkyūkoku no zu**” (Map 7) is unique in shape as are Maps 5 and 6 but different from these two maps in some features. It is similar to “Nihonkoku Saikaido Kyūshū no zu”. “Ryūkyūkoku no zu” came to Chosŏn Korea after it was fully edited in Japan. However no extant maps provide a model for it.

1. All proper nouns are expressed in a Japanese style in terms of usage of Chinese characters.²²
2. The Main Island of Ryūkyū has a well-detailed coastal line with a large bay and several coves.
3. Within the Main Island, “Ryūkyū kokuto” (琉球国都, the capital of Ryūkyū) and “Kunigami *gusuku*” (国頭城, a major *gusuku* in northern Ryūkyū) are depicted with circled stone walls. “*Gusuku*” is a suffix to mean a political and religious center of a local lord. Most *gusuku* are surrounded by stone walls, and located on hills near seacoasts.²³ Beside “Kunigami *gusuku*,” names of thirteen other “*gusuku*” are described along the seacoast.
4. In a large bay where the main port is located, “Naha *minato*” (那波皆渡) and other associated

facilities such as “Houko” (宝庫, the storage of royal treasure) and “Ishibashi” (石橋, stone bridge linking the port to the land) are described.

5. Twenty islands with shapes and names are scattered around the Main Island.
6. A white line standing for a sea route starts from Naha port, and extends to “Izena” Island (伊是那). No more white lines are seen in the map. However, twelve islands have information on distance to the Main Island and/or “Kamimatsura” and “Erabu” in Kyūshū.
7. Three kinds of information on access to “Akama ga seki”, “Erabu” and “Kamimatsura” are attached by the top frame.

All these points suggest that the original map may be almost the same as “Ryūkyūkoku no zu”. The only feature which may have been added by Chosŏn Korea proper is in the description of “Ryūkyū Kokuto” as in “Nihon Kokuto” in “Nihon hongoku no zu”. One of the major features is in point 6 and 7 which show the continuity with “Nihonkoku Saikaidou Kyūshū no zu” (Map 4)

As a whole, Japanese cartographers mainly contributed to the creation of “Nihon hongoku no zu” (Map 2 and 3), “Nihonkoku Saikaido Kyūshū no zu” (Map 4) and “Ryūkyūkoku no zu” (Map 7), and Chosŏn Korea cartographers to the creation of “Nihonkoku Ikitou no zu” (Map 5) and “Nihonkoku Tsushimatou no zu” (Map 6).

3. Re-construction of Source Maps

The last section provides findings for more discussion: 1) “Nihon hongoku no zu” has a different source map from that of “Nihonkoku Saikaido Kyūshū no zu” in terms of the lines of Gyōki-style maps, 2) “Nihonkoku Saikaido Kyūshū no zu” shows continuity with “Ryūkyūkoku no zu” in terms of maritime information, and 3) “Nihonkoku Ikitou no zu” and “Nihonkoku Tsushimatou no zu” have very simple source maps with brief maritime information. Based on these points, I assume that there were four source maps: Map A for Maps 2 and 3, Map B for Maps 4 and 7, Map C for Map 5, and Map D for Map 6.

“Nihon hongoku no zu” can be classified as following the lines of Gyōki-style maps even without part of Kyūshū, as Akioka Takejirou locates it as version 1 of his model 3.²⁴ He lists three versions which were all made in Chosŏn Korea or Ming China, and evaluates “Nihon hongoku no zu” as the first printed map of Japan. Model 3 has two major features, “Shima shu” (志摩州) which is represented as an island, and the inclusion of “Rasetsukoku” (羅刹国) and “Gandou” (雁道). In reality, Shima no kuni is not an island but a part of the Kii peninsula. It was believed in Japan that “Rasetsukoku” was a country of cannibals in Sri Lanka. “Rasetsukoku” in the map has an attached description as a place where goblins eat human beings. The legend originally came from the Chinese literary work, *Da Tang xiyuki* (大唐西域記), and was adopted in Japanese literature as part of the *Konjaku monogatari shu* (今昔物語集).²⁵ “Gandou” means the route for wild geese migration. It was imagined that the terminal of

the route was an uninhabited land located in a far northern place.²⁶

An entry in *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* (CWS, 朝鮮王朝實錄) records the introduction of a map of Japan into Chosŏn Korea.²⁷ Yejo (the Board of Rites, 禮曹) presented a map of Japan to King Sejong (世宗) in 1438. The entry explains how the original version of the map came into Chosŏn Korea at the end of the 14th century. Being dispatched from Chosŏn Korea on a mission to Ōuchi Yoshihiro (大内義弘), Pak Donji (朴敦之) stayed in Japan during 1397–1399. He had an opportunity to observe a map of Japan at a meeting with Bishu no kami Minamoto Shosuke (備州守源詳助), a senior subject of Ōuchi Yoshihiro, and copied it. He found Iki and Tsushima Islands not included in the map. Later (there is no mention of time and place), he copied maps of these islands. The copied map of Japan was mounted and presented to King Sejong in 1421. The King ordered the re-editing of the map as it had too much detail, and was not easy to look over. The re-edited map was completed in 1438. This entry provides evidence of the introduction of a map of Japan, a map of Iki Island and a map of Tsushima Island.

“Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to” (混一疆理歷代國都之圖) is well-known as the Chinese-centered world map completed in Chosŏn Korea.²⁸ The map is held in Ryūkyū University Library, and therefore come to be called “the Ryūkyū Kangnido.” The map itself tells that it was first made in 1402, but the first version or the 1402 “Kangnido” is not extant. Kenneth Robinson proposes the date of birth of “the Ryūkyū Kangnido” as between 1479 and 1485.²⁹

Korean mapmakers first integrated two large scale maps made in China covering Africa, Europe and Asia, and added a relatively large Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago to the integrated map, the source map for “the Ryūkyū Kangnido”. The Japanese archipelago is placed far south of the Korean peninsula, and Kyūshū is situated on the top (or the north) and Tōhoku on the bottom (or the south); however, it is definitely a Gyōki-style map. This is another example of a Gyōki-style map integrated in a large scale map made in Korea.

Nakamura Hidetaka argues that the Japan part shares a Gyōki-style source map in common with “Nihon hongoku no zu”.³⁰ However, it is easy to list major differences between them. The former has “Shima” as a part of the Kii peninsula, not as an island, Shikoku linked to Honshu, no “Ebisu jima”, and different shapes of coastal lines and provinces. Akioka Takejirou locates it in model 2, older than model 3.³¹ Based upon these distinctions, Akioka presumes the map was brought to Chosŏn Korea by Pak Donji as the source map for the Japan part in “the Ryūkyū Kangnido”. Actually, the Japanese islands in “the Ryūkyū Kangnido” preserves an older shape than in Map 2 and 3. The evidence supports Akioka’s view. We now turn to the source map for “Nihon hongoku no zu.”

Dōan (道安) was a distinguished Hakata trader and appeared several times in the entries of CWS in the 15th century. He sent missions based on his status as “Sutosōin” (受図書人),³² and visited Chosŏn Korea as part of a mission commissioned by the King of Ryūkyū in 1453.³³ Yejo (the Board of Rites) asked him various questions on Ryūkyū at the banquet given for that mission. In detailed descriptions on the repatriation of Korean castaways, Dōan explained distances between Hakata,

Satsuma and Ryūkyū with a map he presented.³⁴ Yejo traced the map of Japan and Ryūkyū, made four copies, and mounted them.³⁵ Nakamura Hidataka and Tanaka Takeo interpret “日本琉球両国地図” as a map of Japan and a map of Ryūkyū. The latter, in particular, assumes that Dōan’s map of Japan provides the model for “Nihon hongoku no zu”.³⁶ Here, I interpret it as a map of Japan and Ryūkyū, and assume it has nothing to do with “Nihon hongoku no zu”.

At the banquet, Dōan provided geographical distances between Hakata, Satsuma and Ryūkyū with one or more maps. In reality, it would not be easy to deliver geographical knowledge of these areas with two maps which might be mostly different in scale, shape and layout. In 1462, on a mission dispatched by the King of Ryūkyū, Fusuko (普須古) visited Chosŏn Korea and delivered a wide range of knowledge on Ryūkyū, including maritime information, to Yi Kye-son (李繼孫), an official in charge of reception. Yi Kye-son asked the sea route from Chosŏn Korea to Ryūkyū and islands along it by showing a map “Ryūkyūkoku zu”. Fusuko answered that the map was right except in the orientation of the sea route from Chosŏn Korea to Ryūkyū. Fusuko insisted on turning southeast at the west end of Japan. Yi Kye-son reconfirmed the map suggested southwest. Fusuko assured him that southwest was the direction for Chiangnan (江南) in China.³⁷ “Ryūkyūkoku zu” in CWS does not tell the scope of the area covered, but it should include Chosŏn Korea, Kyūshū and Ryūkyū.

I conclude that Dōan brought the map of Japan and Ryūkyū, which should be Map B, and then could not find the source map of “Nihon hongoku no zu”, Map A.

“Nihonkoku Ikitou no zu” and “Nihonkoku Tsushimatou no zu” are unique. No extant maps in Japan provide models for them. Researchers cannot find any description but one referring to a map of Tsushima Island or Iki Island in historical sources in the 15th century or before. The exception was introduced above in the discussion of Pak Donji and his effort to get geographical knowledge of Japan. He took note of the lack of Iki and Tsushima islands on the map of Japan. He copied them somewhere in Japan, and brought them home in 1399.

As seen in Nakamura Hidetaka’s research, I presume these maps Pak Donji brought home are the source maps of “Nihonkoku Ikitou no zu”, Map B and “Nihonkoku Tsushimatou no zu”, Map C.³⁸ The reference in the entry on these maps does not fully support the presumption; however, there is no evidence to contradict this view.

In section 2, I assume that the source maps from Japan must be very simple with little information on these two islands. “The Ryūkoku Kangnido” may provide evidence that the shape of Tsushima Island was transcribed from one of the maps brought back by Pak Donji. The shape of Tsushima Island is simply depicted with a deep and large dent on the left or west side, representing Asou Bay. It is similar to the shape of Tsushima Island in “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo”. “The Ryūkoku Kangnido” was made in the late 15th century, but most of the contents except for the place-names on the Korean peninsula may be inherited from “the 1402 Kangnido”. It means Tsushima Island in “the Ryūkoku Kangnido” is an earlier example of transcription than the one in “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo”

or, of course “Nihonkoku Tsushimatou no zu”.

“Nihonkoku Ikitou no zu” and “Nihonkoku Tsushimatou no zu” are rich in details regarding both coast lines and place-names. In particular, the place-names of ports or fishermen’s villages are expressed in a Korean style of Chinese character usage. That suggests Sin Sukchu and his associates had verbal communication with persons on both islands. In that sense, these maps themselves are evidence of Sin Sukchu’s efforts and contributions to the birth of new maps of the small islands located outside the territory of Chosŏn Korea.

As already discussed, Dŏan brought a map or maps to Chosŏn Korea in 1453. The map referred to at the banquet would have to cover a large area, from Chosŏn Korea, at least the southern tip of the Korean peninsula, to Kyūshū and Ryūkyū. Based upon this assumption, I propose the scope of the Dŏan’s map was the combined area of “Nihonkoku Saikaido Kyūshū no zu” and “Ryūkyūkoku no zu”. Dŏan’s map was split into these two maps when Sin Sukchu compiled the *Haedong cheguk ki*. Dŏan’s map should be the source map for these two maps.

Actually, the two maps show close continuity. Three vertical lines, sea routes, in “Nihonkoku Saikaido Kyūshū no zu” correspond with three descriptions, “To Hizen shu Kamimatura”, “To Erabu” and “To Akama ga seki” in “Ryūkyūkoku no zu”. It is no surprise to see the well-organized arrangement of islands in these two maps. The former has islands politically belonging to Kyūshū territory, the latter only within Ryūkyū territory, and no islands overlap. These accurate arrangements correspond with Dŏan’s activity in maritime East Asia.

4. How integrated?

In front of Sin Sukchu and his associates, four maps are waiting to be integrated. Map A is going to turn into “Nihon hongoku no zu” with some minor editing, Map C and Map D into “Nihonkoku Ikitou no zu” and “Nihonkoku Tsushimatou no zu” respectively by adding a lot of geographical information, and Map B into “Nihonkoku Saikaido Kyūshū no zu” and “Ryūkyūkoku no zu” by splitting it into two pieces. Map A to D are the source maps not only for “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo” but also for “Nihon hongoku no zu”, “Nihonkoku Ikitou no zu”, “Nihonkoku Tsushimatou no zu”, “Nihonkoku Saikaido Kyūshū no zu” and “Ryūkyūkoku no zu”.

Is it easy to integrate these maps into a map “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo”? I would say no. A map having transnational scope is sometimes hybrid. Source maps differ from each other in terms of map making techniques, scale, signs and direction. Sin Sukchu’s team would face at least three questions: 1) which part of each map should be used, 2) how each map should be compressed or enlarged, and 3) how these maps should be laid out. Fifteenth century Seoul had no physical geographical clues to answer these questions.

“The Ryūkoku Kangnido” shows an example of map integration. It has two features on the Japan

archipelago: 1) the Japanese archipelago is placed far south of the Korean peninsula, and 2) Kyūshū is situated on the top (or north) and Tōhoku the bottom (or south). With regard to the first feature, Gari Ledyard explains that Chinese maps had long shown Japan off China's southern coast and "the Ryūkyū Kangnido's treatment may well reflect this tradition. It is acceptable because the Korean mapmakers easily can see the place of Japan in a circular or rectangular frame in source maps of Chinese origin. All they have to do is to put the Japanese archipelago in that place. For the second one, he guesses that the origin map, a Gyōki-style map, had the same orientation, and then the Korean mapmakers just placed it as it was.³⁹ I have not yet found a Gyōki-style map with the same orientation. In any event, the orientation of the Japanese archipelago in "the Ryūkyū Kangnido" is evidence of the difficulties in map integration. Further tracing the process of map integration would reveal more evidence of this kind.

To get "Haedong cheguk ch'ongdo" by integrating these four maps, Sin Sukchu's team first decides the place of the southern tip of the Korean peninsula depicting three major ports for ship access to Japan and Ryūkyū. The team locates it on the top-left corner. Map C and D are easily placed by exercising the team's geographical knowledge of Tsushima and Iki Islands. The team should adjust direction to the southern tip of the Korean peninsula as the point of reference, and scale. At the same time, adding a lot of detailed information, Map C is transformed into "Nihonkoku Ikitou no zu", and Map D into "Nihonkoku Tsushimatou no zu".

The team takes on Map B next. It is a crucial part in integration. It covers Kyūshū to Ryūkyū, so orientation is the most important issue for integration. Direction to Iki Island, scale and only a little editing are other points to be decided. Of course, Map B is split into two pieces, "Nihonkoku Saikaido Kyūshū no zu" and "Ryūkyūkoku no zu".

Finally, Map A comes in. The team cuts Kyūshū from it, and makes some edits on it. The most important issue is to adjust the orientation and direction to Kyūshū. Scale is another issue. Then, the processed map is "Nihon hongoku no zu".

The team had to arrange a lot of issues to integrate the four maps. Dōan's contribution was to bring Map B which was indispensable for "Haedong cheguk ch'ongdo". Sin Sukchu, needless to say, contributed to making "Nihonkoku Ikitou no zu" and "Nihonkoku Tsushimatou no zu", and to producing "Haedong cheguk ch'ongdo" with its transnational perspective. In the 15th century, "Haedong cheguk ch'ongdo" was one of the best maps of maritime East Asia. Although it was logically possible for Ryūkyū or Japan to produce an equivalent map, they did not, even though both of them provided source maps or geographical information.

In terms of scope, "Haedong cheguk ch'ongdo" has the southern tip of the Korean peninsula in the top-left corner, Ryūkyū in the bottom left side, and Honshū with neighboring islands on the top-right corner. It has a large Tsushima and Iki Islands, and Ryūkyū. Kyūshū is relatively large if compared with Honshū. Many islands range between Tsushima Island and Ryūkyū. The majority of

them are physically small but crucial for navigation.

Concerning the role of attached maps, they can be seen as a set comprising an atlas with no substantial contradiction among them, and many place-names have closely corresponding references in the text part of *Haedong cheguk ki*. This consistency is unusual. *Guang yutu* (廣輿圖) is a very popular Chinese atlas published seven times from the 16th to the 18th centuries.⁴⁰ From the beginning, the shapes of places in a map, for example, are depicted differently from other maps in the same atlas. Differences among maps increase in subsequent editions. As a result, many place-names do not correspond with descriptions in text. If you visit a library or a museum in South Korea or Japan, you will come across *Yochido* (輿地圖) or a similarly named atlas made in Chosŏn Korea. It has a wide variety of versions, both woodcut and hand drawn, black and white as well as colored, and has a similar tendency with *Guang yutu*.

5. Footprints

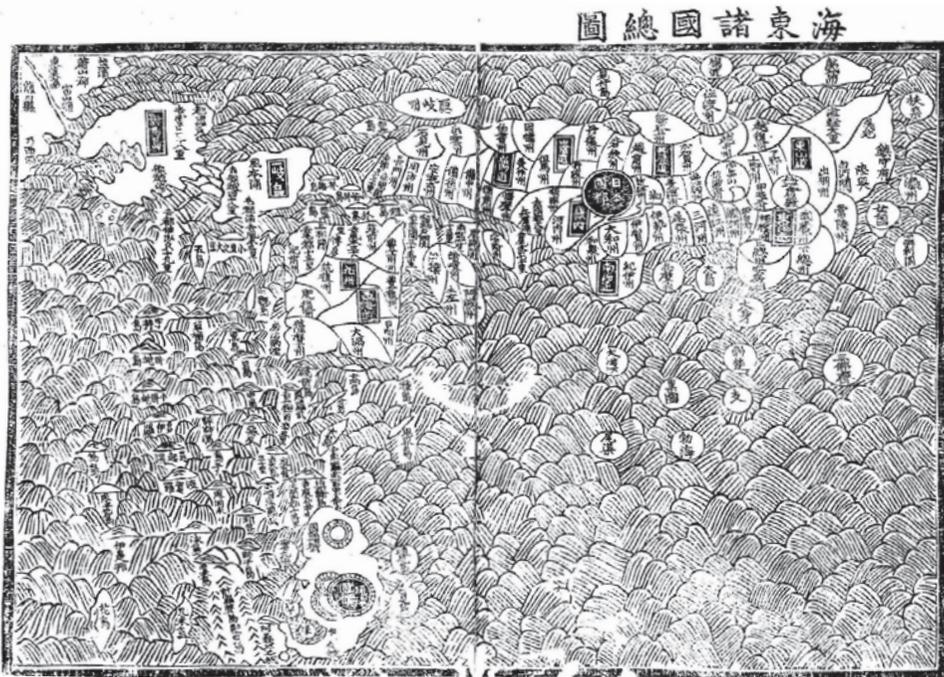
“Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo” and the other five maps in *Haedong cheguk ki* are precious in the map history of maritime East Asia. Finally, I consider how these maps affected subsequent maps in terms of shapes. As discussed earlier, “The Ryūkyū Kangnido” does not have any influence from maps in *Haedong cheguk ki*. Only the shape of Tsushima Island shows signs of having a common origin map, Map D. “The Ryūkyū Kangnido” has three relatives, “the Honkōji Kangnido”, “the Tenri Kangnido” and “the Honmyōji Kangnido”.⁴¹ The three have a similar shape of Tsushima Island though the placements differ from each other. Map D traits are inherited by later maps.

“The Honkōji Kangnido” has a close relation to “the Ryūkyū Kangnido” as a whole, and definitely transcribes the shape of Ryūkyū from “Ryūkyūkokoku no zu” though the Japanese archipelago is copied from a Gyōki-style map. The way of depicting Ryūkyū shows an influence from *Haedong cheguk ki*. “The Tenri Kangnido” and “the Honmyōji Kangnido” commonly have degraded transcriptions of “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo”. The influence shows mapmakers’ high evaluation of “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo.” It must have been the best map depicting maritime East Asia.

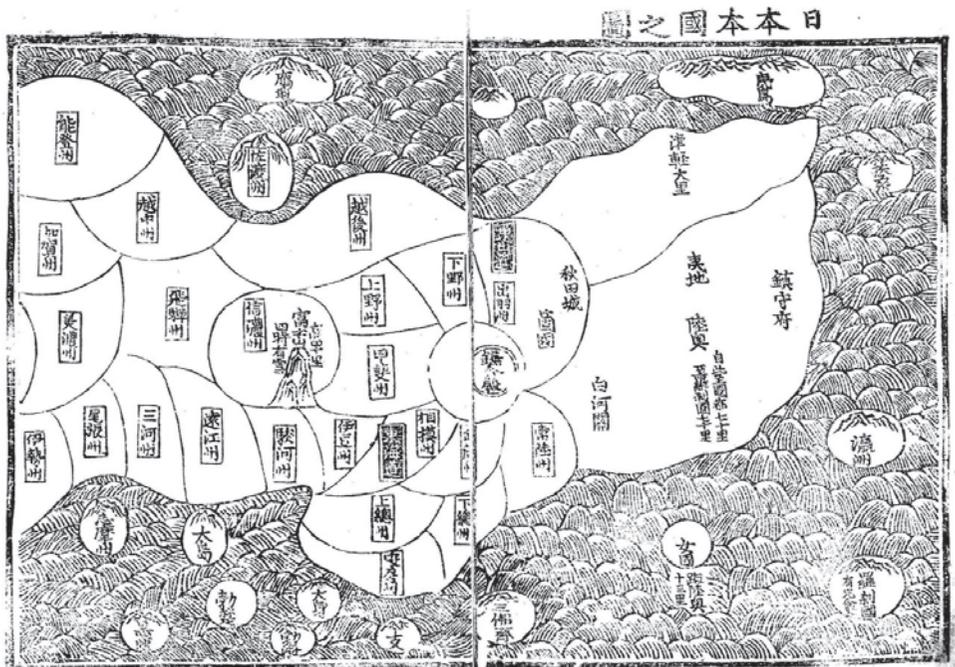
Yochido (or similarly named atlases) made in Chosŏn Korea is composed of “Nihonkoku zu” and “Ryūkyūkokoku zu”. The shapes of the two areas are degraded, and orientation of both is upside down.⁴² The former comes from “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo”, and the latter from “Ryūkyūkokoku no zu” in *Haedong cheguk ki*. *Yochido* was circulated widely in the Korean peninsula since the 18th century. It is evidence of the strong impact of “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo” and other attached maps.

“Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo” and attached maps in *Haedong cheguk ki* are the cultural production of Chosŏn Korea in the 15th century.⁴³ They are representations of unified cultural flows from the south, Japan and Ryūkyū.

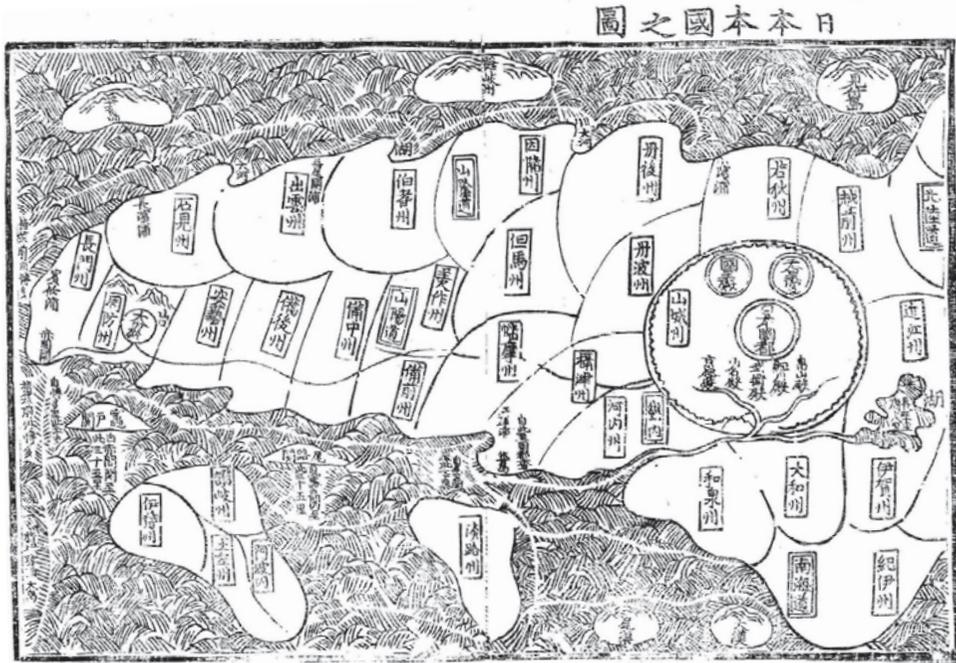
Map 1 “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo”



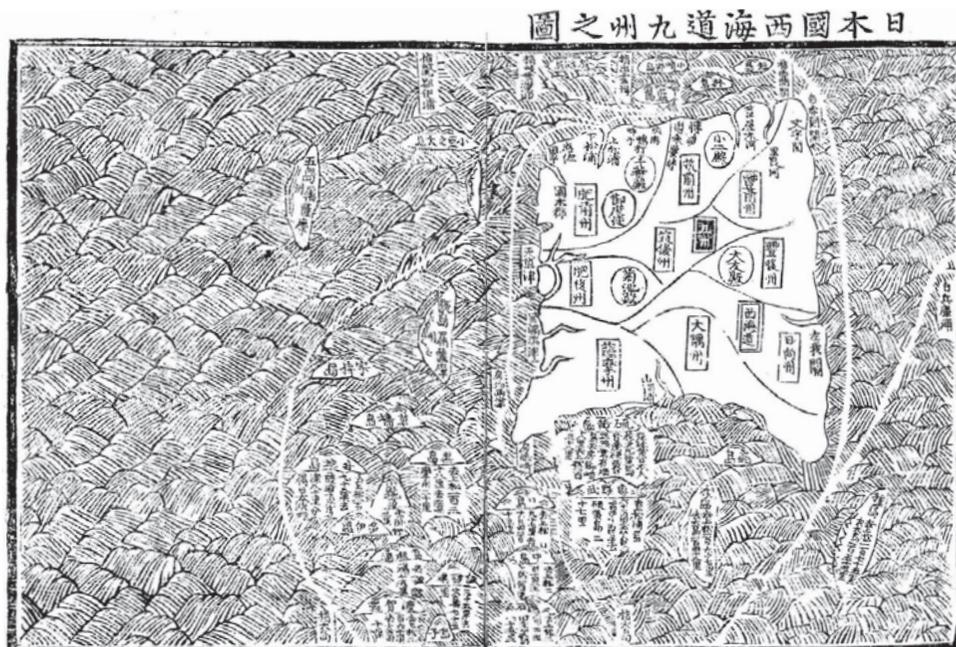
Map 2 “Nihon hongoku no zu” (Part 1)



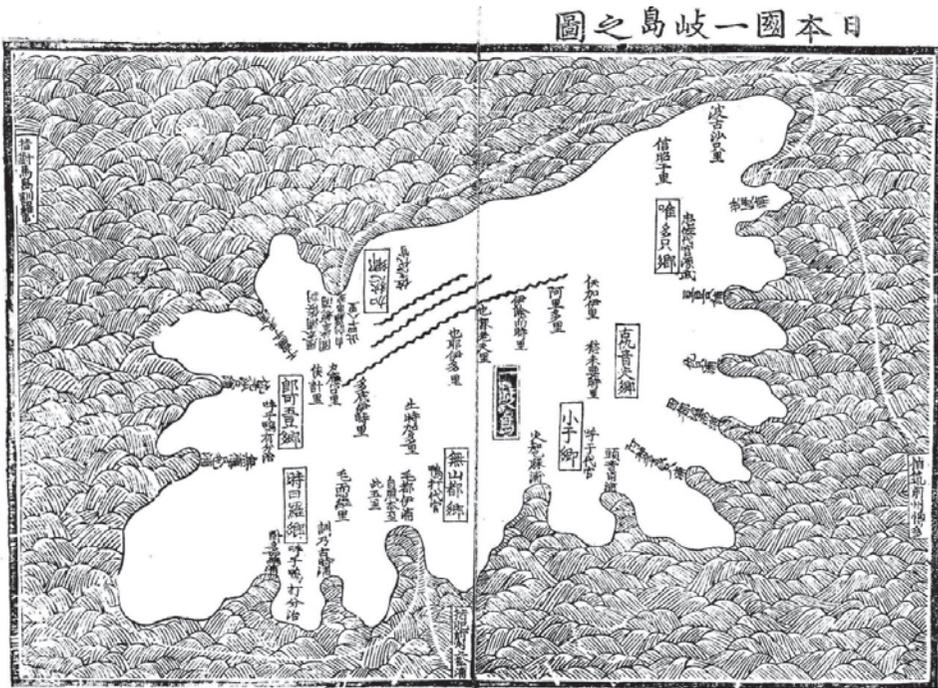
Map 3 “Nihon hongoku no zu” (Part 2)



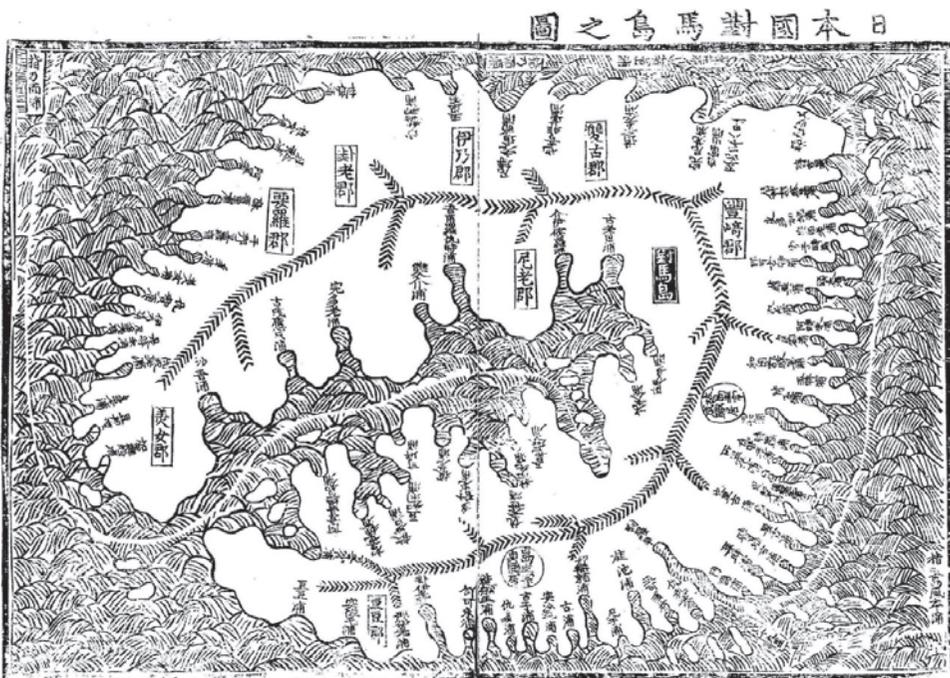
Map 4 “Nihonkoku Saikaidou Kyūshū no zu”



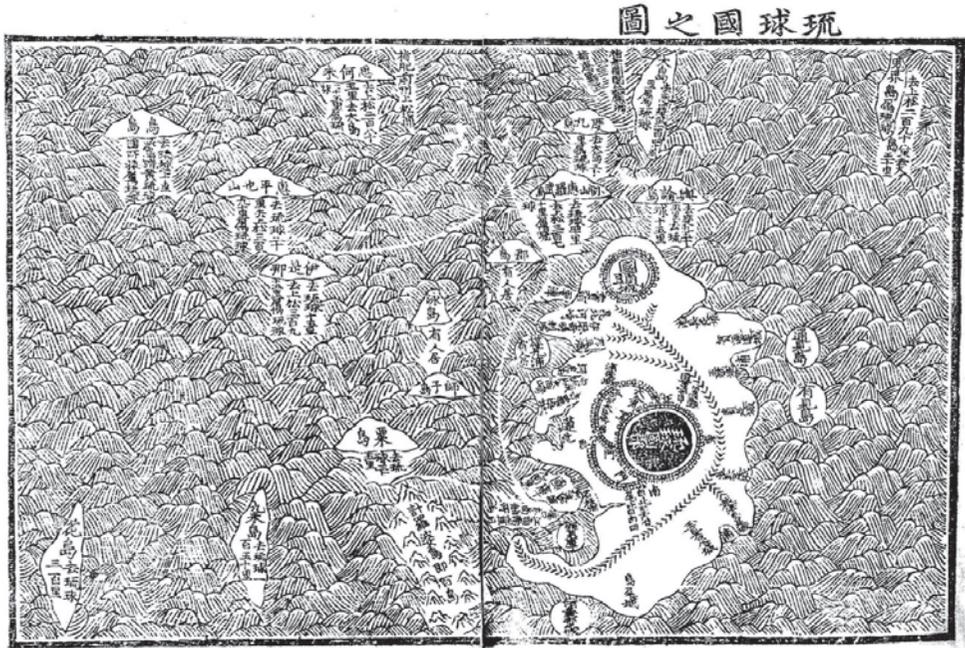
Map 5 “Nihonkoku Ikitou no zu”



Map 6 “Nihonkoku Tsushimatou no zu”



Map 7 “Ryūkyūkoku no zu”



Notes

- 1 Nakamura Hidetaka, *Nissen kankeishi no kenkyū jou*, Tokyo, 1965, pp. 375–376: 中村栄孝『日鮮関係史の研究 上』吉川弘文館, 1965年. Chousenshi Henshukai, *Haedong cheguk ki*, Seoul, 1933: 朝鮮史編修会編『海東諸国紀』(朝鮮史料叢刊第二) 朝鮮総督府, 1933年. The source is based on a book published in the early 16th century. The text part of *Haedong cheguk ki* was printed in copper type, and maps including “Haedong cheguk ch’ongdo” (海東諸国総図, Comprehensive Map of the Countries in the Eastern Seas) in woodcut. Sin Sukchu was in the office of Ūijōngbu Yōngūijōng (議政府領議政, Chief State Councillor of the State Council), or the highest appointed official in the Chosōn government.
- 2 Higashionna Kanjun, *Reimeiki no kaigai koutushi*, Tokyo, 1941, pp. 66–86: 東恩納寛惇『黎明期の海外交通史』帝国教育会出版部, 1941年.
- 3 Nakamura Hidetaka, 1965, pp. 339–380 and 406–442.
- 4 Tanaka Takeo, *Higashi ajia tukouken to kokusaishiki*, Tokyo, 1997, pp. 102–147: 田中健夫『東アジア通交圏と国際意識』吉川弘文館, 1997年. Shin Sukchu, *Haedong cheguk ki*, (translated and noted by Tanaka Takeo), Tokyo, 1991: 申叔舟著『海東諸国紀—朝鮮人の見た中世の日本と琉球』岩波書店, 1991年.
- 5 Akioka Takejirou, *A History of Making of Japanese Maps*, Tokyo, 1971A: 秋岡武次郎『日本地図作成史』鹿島出版会, 1971年.
- 6 Nakamura, *ibid.*, pp. 406–442.
- 7 Akioka Takejirou, 1971A, p. 30.
- 8 “Kuni” (国) does not mean country. It is an administrative unit originally institutionalized in the 7th century.
- 9 Akioka Takejirou, 1971A, p. 23.
- 10 “Mikawa shu” is located in the Eastern part of current Aichi-ken. As suffix, “shu” does not mean state. It is the same as “kuni” in Japanese context. “Shu” was often chosen in Chinese classic style verses and official letters in

- international relations.
- 11 Akioka Takejirou, *Collection of old Maps of Japan*, Tokyo, 1971B: 秋岡武次郎『日本古地図集成』鹿島出版会, 1971年. In maps with number 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13, province names are simply described without “shu”.
 - 12 Tanaka Takeo, 1997, p. 124.
 - 13 Tanaka Takeo, 1997, p. 125.
 - 14 In the map, it says “From Akama ga seki” (自赤間関).
 - 15 “Shisa” is described as “Chusa” (忠佐) but it should be “Shisa” (志佐).
 - 16 “Hakata” is described as “Hakata” (博多) but it should be “Hakata” (博多).
 - 17 “Kazamoto ura” is explained that the former (風本浦) is pronounced the latter (間沙毛都浦) in Japanese. It means that the former is in Japanese style and the latter in Korean style.
 - 18 Nakamura Hidetaka, 1965, pp. 430–438.
 - 19 See note 13.
 - 20 In the area of “Toyosaki gun” (豊崎郡), there is another expression of “Toyosaki” (都伊沙只) in Korean style though the latter does not corresponded to the former in layout. A sort of confusion can be assumed.
 - 21 Nakamura Hidetaka, *ibid.*, pp. 409–430.
 - 22 Higashionna Kanjun, 1941, pp. 66–73.
 - 23 “Gusuku” is usually expressed by a Chinese character 城.
 - 24 Akioka Takejirou, 1971A, p. 23.
 - 25 *Da Tang xiyuqi*, Beijing, 1985, pp. 873–875.『大唐西域記校注』卷11・僧伽羅国, 中華書局, 北京, 1985年.
Konjaku monogatari shu, Tokyo, 1999, pp. 388–394.『新日本古典文学大系 33 今昔物語集一』巻第5・僧迦羅五百商人共至羅刹国語第一, 岩波書店, 1999年.
 - 26 Akioka Takejirou, 1971A, pp. 28–29.
 - 27 Sejong Sillok vol. 80, 131b [1438/2/19] in *CWS 4. Chosŏn wangjo sillok* means Veritable Record of Chosŏn Kingdom.
 - 28 “Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to” means “Comprehensive Map of Integrated Lands and Regions of Historical Countries and Capitals”.
 - 29 Kenneth Robinson, “Chosŏn Korea in the Ryŭkoku *Kangnido*: Dating the Oldest Extant Korean Map of the World (15th Century)”, *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 59, Part 2, Routledge, 2007, pp. 177–192.
 - 30 Nakamura Hidetaka, 1965, pp. 378–379.
 - 31 Akioka Takejirou, 1971A, p. 32.
 - 32 “Sutosŏin”: Person endorsed to send missions to Chosŏn Korea. Dŏan’s name and titles are described in “Nihonkoku ki” in *Headong cheguk ki*, 1933.
 - 33 Tanaka Takeo, 1997, pp. 130–131.
 - 34 Tanjong Sillok vol. 6, 589b [1453/5/21] in *CWS 6*.
 - 35 Tanjong Sillok vol. 6, 604a [1453/7/4] in *CWS 6*.
 - 36 Nakamura Hidetaka, 1965, p. 362. Tanaka Takeo, 1997, p. 130.
 - 37 Sejo Sillok vol. 27, 521a–522a [1462/2/16] in *CWS 7*.
 - 38 Nakamura Hidetaka, 1965, p. 366. Tanaka Takeo, 1997.
 - 39 Gari Ledyard, “Cartography in Korea” in *The History of Cartography*, volume two, book two, *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Society*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 247.
 - 40 Takahashi Kimiaki, “Kouyozu no nakano Nankai Shokoku” (The Southern Sea Countries in *Guang yuto*), *Rekisho no Riron to Kyoujiku*, combined issue for 129 & 130, Nagoya, 2008, pp. 42–45: 高橋公明『『広輿図』のなかの南海諸国』『歴史の理論と教育』129号130号合併号, 名古屋, 2008年.
 - 41 “The Honkōji Kangnido” (本光寺図) preserved in Honkōji, Shimabara-city Kumamoto prefecture. It has title: “Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to” (混一疆理歴代国都之図). “The Tenri Kangnido”(天理図) preserved in Tenri University Library. The Library named it as “Dae Ming kuk du” (大明国図). “The Honmyōji Kangnido”(本妙寺図) preserved in Honmyōji, Kumamoto city, Kumamoto Prefecture. It is called “Dae Ming kuk chido” (大明国地図).
 - 42 Korean mapmaking had overwhelming influence from tradition in Chinese cartography in which the majority

of maps locate the north on the top. Koreans followed this manner. Only a few maps locate the south on the top, like maps of Cheju Island, Japan and Ryūkyū. These examples implicitly state that Chosŏn Korea is situated in the center and other areas are on the periphery.

- 43 Why Sin Sukchu and his mapmakers made hard effort to create the new map through map integration? The serious interests in maritime world would suggest their strong motivation to project crossing border activities in the Eastern seas. However, the historical facts in the 15th and 16th centuries do not support that assumption. The government of Chosŏn Korea was rather passive in terms of transnational relations with countries in the Eastern seas. At least, the author can say that the perspective of Sin Sukchu over maritime world did not become the main trend in the government's policy making after him.