

Addenda to “Images of Japan in Four Korean World Maps Compiled in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries”

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In “Images of Japan in Four Korean World Maps Compiled in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,” published in this journal in 2009, I discussed the representations of Japan in four Korean world maps held in Japan. Here, I wish to discuss two other issues related to the *Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to* (Comprehensive Map of Integrated Lands and Regions of Historical Countries and Capitals), which is preserved by the Ōmiya Library, Ryūkoku University Academic Information Center. (This map will be referred to below by its common abbreviation, *Kangnido*.) The first topic is the re-mounting of the Ryūkoku *Kangnido*, for which a date by which that project was completed can be known. The second is the placement of Japan, which may perhaps be attributed to Chinese–Japanese interaction.

The Ryūkoku *Kangnido* is currently bordered top and bottom, right and left by single pieces of material. These four border pieces are not original to the map, though. Rather, they replaced an earlier mounting. That earlier mounting may be known through a black-and-white photograph of the full map.¹⁾

The description below of the previous form of the Ryūkoku *Kangnido*, as a map mounted as a hanging scroll, is based upon what can be seen in that black-and-white photograph. From the photograph it appears that the map was mounted in what is called in Japan the *fukurohyōgu* style. In this mounting style, one border piece is set on each side of the object (J. *honshi*). These pieces are glued over the object’s edges, a practice which protects those edges from fraying. There is one horizontal border piece above the map (J. *ten*) and one below the map (J. *chi*). On the right side and the left side are vertical pieces (J. *hashira*). The vertical pieces extend from the top of the object to the bottom of the object; the horizontal pieces extend from the outer edge of one vertical piece to the outer edge of the other vertical piece. The four sides thus encompass the object, the map of the knowable world as Koreans could reproduce it in the fifteenth century. The color(s) in the four border pieces can not be confirmed through the black-and-white photograph.

All four border pieces bear the same design in the same pattern. The individual images are inconsistent, suggesting that this design may have been produced from a stencil pattern (J. *katagami*, K. *hyŏngji*). As stencil patterns became common in the

Research for this paper has been supported by The Japan Society for the Promotion of Science grant C-19520606. I wish to thank the Ōmiya Library, Ryūkoku University Academic Information Center, Richard L. Wilson, Satō Rumi, and Jeong Eunji (Chōng Ūnji) for their assistance in the research and in the writing of this paper.

seventeenth century in Japan, it is possible that these border pieces were affixed to the Ryūkokū *Kangnido* long after its completion.

Visible in the photograph are three rows of a lotus design in the upper border piece. The rows alternate in the placement of the lotus images, with those in the second row set below the open space between two images in the row above. In the first and third rows are twenty-six images. Those at the right and left edges are not complete. In the second row are twenty-five complete images. Those in the third, and bottom, row are incomplete; much of the base below the flower in each design is not visible. The upper border extends far enough over the upper edge of the object, the map, to obscure the top of some of the Chinese characters that comprise the map's title. This overlap is most striking in the first character K. *hon*, the third character K. *kang*, the seventh character K. *kuk*, and the ninth character K. *chi*.

Below the object, two rows of images are visible. In the top row are twenty-six images, and in the bottom row are twenty-five images. In both the right border piece and the left border piece is one column of twelve images. The images in all four border pieces face the same direction.

Other black-and-white photographs of the Ryūkokū *Kangnido* accompany this photograph. All appear to have been taken at the same time or to have been printed from the same film. Stamped on the back of the photograph described above is the date "Shōwa 44.11.26," or November 26, 1969. This date confirms that the Ryūkokū *Kangnido* was mounted and framed at that time. Also affixed to the back side of the photograph is a vermilion seal in a single column and 6.9 × 2.9 cm in size which reads "Ryūkokū daigaku tosho."

The Ōmiya Library also possesses a black-and white photograph of the full Ryūkokū *Kangnido* map framed in its current mounting.²⁾ An envelope accompanying this photograph bears the date "46.6.9." Here, "46" is without doubt the forty-sixth year of the Shōwa Emperor's reign. The date thus is June 9, 1971. It would appear that the Ryūkokū *Kangnido* was re-mounted between November 26, 1969, and June 9, 1971.

The new mounting too is in the *fukurohyōgu* style. Again, the Ryūkokū *Kangnido* has been framed as a map mounted as a hanging scroll. There are horizontal upper border and lower border pieces and vertical right border and left border pieces. All four pieces are in gold-colored fabric with a lotus design. In the upper border piece are at least six rows and in the lower border piece are nine rows of these images arranged in alternating rows. In the odd-numbered rows are 152 images of the design, with the image at the right edge incomplete. In the even-numbered rows are 153 images. The bottom row of the upper border piece begins at the viewer's left side indented one image space. The row above it begins at the left edge; the second image in that row is in the third image space. In this way the images form an alternating pattern in all four pieces.

In the right border and left border pieces are the same images. These are repeated in a total of 259 rows. The left border piece and the right border piece each have five images in the alternating rows. In the right border piece, however, the left edge was cut in such a way that the image at the left edge is not complete. The vertical pieces are a darker shade of gold than the horizontal pieces. The Ryūkokū *Kangnido* that

scholars currently study is that whose mounting can be confirmed at least from June 9, 1971.

The second topic of this paper is the placement of Japan in the Ryūoku *Kangnido*. That this country appears far to the south has often been noted in the scholarship. Not widely accepted is the view that the location of Japan reflects the directions and distance to Japan as written in the “Record of Japan” in the late third century history *Weishu*.³⁾ Gari Ledyard restates the strongest explanations. First, Japan is directly below Chosŏn because there is not enough map surface to the east (or, to the viewer’s right) of Chosŏn to situate Japan in a more accurate position vis-à-vis the Korean peninsula. Second, Japan appears further south than its actual geographical location because Chinese maps of the Song and Yuan periods typically set the island country far to the south.⁴⁾ Also, it is assumed in the literature that the setting of Japan in the Ryūoku *Kangnido* followed that in the original *Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to*, which was compiled in 1402 but is not extant.

Yi Hoe worked primarily from two Chinese maps when compiling the 1402 *Kangnido*, *Shengjiao guangbei tu* (Map of the Vast Reach of [Civilization’s] Resounding Teaching) compiled by Li Zemin and *Guanglun jiangli tu* (Map of Integrated Regions and Terrains) by the Chinese monk Qingjun. However, these two maps, both of which were completed in the fourteenth century during the Yuan period, are not extant. It is not clear whether Yi situated Japan based upon none, one, or both of these Chinese maps. The province names and other details in the representation of Japan are generally believed to have derived from a map of Japan that Pak Tonji compiled in Japan from two Japanese maps.

Four Chinese maps from the Song and Yuan periods will be discussed below. In these Chinese maps, Japan appears as a single circular cartouche or as a single oval cartouche with the two characters 日本, or Japan, printed vertically inside the cartouche. The first map is “Gujin huayi quyu zongyao tu” (The General Survey Map of Chinese and Non-Chinese Territories from the Past through the Present). It appeared in *Lidai dili zhizhang tu* (Handy Geographical Maps throughout the Ages), a volume whose first printing has been dated to the 1130s.⁵⁾ “Gujin huayi quyu zongyao tu” depicts China of the Northern Song period. This map has Japan (*Riben*) and Liuqiu (Ryukyu?) in the waters to the east. Here, Japan is on a plane with the place name Jiangyin, in Liangzhe Circuit. Early in the Jianyan reign period of 1127–1130, Jiangyin was restored as a Military Prefecture (C. *jun*). The Southern Song government closed this military prefecture in 1157, and restored it in 1161.⁶⁾ Other names in the sea include, from north to south, Donghai (East Sea), which is between the mainland and the Korean peninsula, Fusang, Wonu, (the imagined place of) Maoren, Changguo, Xiayi, Sanfoqi, and Zhanpo. Wonu, carved north of Japan, probably is a reference to the land of Nu in Wo, or in Japanese as Na in Wa, the political entity upon whose leader the emperor of Later Han is generally believed to have bestowed a gold seal in 57.

The second map is “Yudi tu” (Map of China), extant as a rubbing. This rubbing is held by Rikkyokuan, a sub-temple of Tōfukuji, one of the Gozan Rinzai Zen temples in Kyoto. The map is believed to date to between 1265 and 1274.⁷⁾ (In Japan, this map is often referred to as the “Nan-Sō takuhon Yochi zu,” or the Rubbing of the Map

of China, from Southern Song China.) The Tōfukuji monk Hakuun Keigyō arrived in Southern Song China for study in 1266, and brought this rubbing with him when returning to Japan in 1279.⁸⁾ The rubbing almost certainly was produced in the period between the map's completion and Hakuun's departure for Japan.

In the rubbing vertical rectangle cartouches bearing place names are in the waters to the east. Among the place names are Japan, Maoren, Liuqiu, (the imagined place of) Fusang, and (the imagined place of) Penglai-shan. Written into the waters south of China are Sanfoqi and Zhan[po?]. Japan is on a plane with Tong-zhou, in Huainan Dong Circuit in Southern Song China.⁹⁾ Tong-zhou is the next place name north of Jiangyin in "Gujin huayi quyu zongyao tu."

The third map is "Dong Zhendan dilitu" (Map of Eastern China), in *Fozu tongji* by Dashi Zhipan (dates unknown) and completed in 1269. In the waters to the east are two confirmed locations and one imagined place.¹⁰⁾ The former two are Japan and, to the south, Liuqiu. The imagined place is Fusang, which is set north of Japan. In Daoist imaginaries, Fusang was where the suns rotated, and thus was beyond Japan. "Fusang" became another name for Japan in Chinese writing, and also entered Japanese writing about their country.

In this map Japan is on the same plane as the boundary line separating Liangzhe Xi Circuit to the north and Liangzhe Dong Circuit to the south. Among Chinese place names, Japan is on a plane with "Ming," or Ming-zhou, in Liangzhe Dong Circuit.¹¹⁾ Liuqiu is on a plane with Fujian Circuit.

The fourth map is "Hunyi zhudao zhi tu" (Map of the Integrated Circuits), in *Xinbian shiwen leiju hanwo daquan*. Liu Yingli (?-1311), who earned the *jinshi* in Southern Song in 1274, is believed to have completed this text in the Yuan period. The printed volume in which this map is found has been dated to the Taiding reign year period, or to between 1324 and 1328.2. The "Hunyi zhudao zhi tu" shows confirmed places in the waters to the east. These are the countries of Koryō and Japan.¹²⁾ Japan is on a plane with "Zhexi Circuit," or Liangzhe Xi Circuit.

Japan appears furthest north in the oldest of these four maps, "Gujin huayi quyu zongyao tu." The cartouche for Japan is in the upper half of that map. In the three later maps, Japan is set on a plane with Mingzhou, or Ningbo as it is called today. The Song government expected ships sailing from Japan to dock, announce arrival, and pay the appropriate levies at Mingzhou, whose waters were deeper than those near the economic hub of Hangzhou.

Mingzhou was the center of networks that linked the Chinese mainland, the Japanese archipelago, the Korean peninsula's coastal areas, and distant inland areas in China in the Song and Yuan periods.¹³⁾ Robert Borgen notes that the Chinese merchant ship carrying the Japanese monk Jōjin to China took eighteen days to travel from Mingzhou Bay to Hangzhou in 1072. He suggests that the Chinese crew may have been seeking "to avoid officialdom and its tax collectors. Normally, a ship from Japan would have arrived in Mingzhou, the modern Ningbo. Jōjin's ship, however, appears to have taken some trouble to avoid that city, possibly in an effort to elude its customs office."¹⁴⁾ Perhaps Chinese mapmakers in the Song and Yuan periods did not simply set Japan further south than its geographical location. Rather, perhaps Chinese mapmakers placed Japan near to Mingzhou.

In the Ryūkokū *Kangnido*, Japan's main islands of Kyushu, Honshu, and Shikoku are set close together. (Honshu and Shikoku are joined by a mistake in the drawing of Shikoku.) Iki Island is north of the tip of western Honshu (remembering that Honshu is turned vertically). And north of Iki is Tsushima Island, which is on a plane with Cheju Island and appropriately close to the Korean Peninsula.

Looking across the water to the coast of Yuan China, the western tip of Honshu and Kyushu are south of Fuzhou Circuit, which was south of Mingzhou.¹⁵⁾ More specifically, the western tip of Honshu and Kyushu are on a plane with Xinghua Circuit, which was south of Fuzhou Circuit.¹⁶⁾ Both Fuzhou and Xinghua circuits are further south than the circuits on a plane with Japan in the four Chinese maps discussed above. That is, Japan is further south in the Ryūkokū *Kangnido* than in any of these four maps. Even if Japan were rotated so that the three main islands were in a more appropriate setting, though, Kyushu, Shikoku, and much of Honshu still would be south of Fuzhou Circuit.

This extension of the 2009 paper profiling the representations of Japan in the four extant Korean world maps has treated elements of the Ryūkokū *Kangnido*'s paratext and the placement of Japan. That these two mountings for the world map have displayed Buddhist symbols may not be surprising. Ryūkokū University is affiliated with the Nishi Honganji temple, of the Pure Land Buddhism (J. *Jōdo Shinshū*) sect, in Kyoto. The location of Japan in this world map reflects Chinese cartography of the Song and Yuan periods. It may also reflect, as perhaps the earlier Chinese maps do, the role of Mingzhou and Ningbo in Chinese-Japanese interactions from the Song period into the second half of the fourteenth century.

Notes

- 1) *Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to*, black-and-white photograph, Ōmiya Library, Ryūkokū University Academic Information Center collection.
- 2) *Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to*, black-and-white photograph Ōmiya Library, Ryūkokū University Academic Information Center collection.
- 3) For the locus classicus of this interpretation see Muroga Nobuo, "Gishi Wajin-den ni egakareta Nihon no chiri zō," *Shintōgaku* no. 10 (1956:8), 18–35.
- 4) Gari Ledyard, "Cartography in Korea," in *The History of Cartography*, volume two, book two, *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Societies*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 247, 272–273.
- 5) "Gujin huayi quyu zongyao tu," in *Lidai dili zhizhang tu*, in *Songben Lidai dili zhizhang tu*, (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1989), 6–7. A printing of "Gujin huayi quyu zongyao tu" from a different woodblock, but which has the same collection of place names in the waters to the east, may be found in Chinese Academy of Surveying and Mapping, comp., *Treasures of Maps: A Collection of Maps in Ancient China*, (Harbin, People's Republic of China: Harbin Cartographic Publishing House, 1998), 58.
- 6) *Songshi* 7:2176, 2173.
- 7) "Yu Di Tu," in Cao Wanru et al., eds., *Zhongguo gudai dituji: Zhanguo–Yuan*, (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1990), plate 82, plate 83, 6, 24.
- 8) "Yudi tu" has been discussed by Mori Shikazō in "Rikkyokuan shozō Yochi zu kaisetsu," *Tōhō gakuho* (Kyoto) vol. 11 no. 4 (1941:1), 103–106, and by Mori Katsumi in Wada Sei hakase kanreki kinen Tōyōshi ronsō hensan iinkai, ed., *Tōyōshi ronsō*, (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1951), 717–735. Mori Katsumi's paper also appears in his *Zoku zoku Nissō bōeki no kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1975), 237–254.
- 9) *Songshi* 7:2181.
- 10) "Dong Zhendan dili tu," in Sheng Bo, ed., *Song-Yuan guditu jicheng*, vol. 1, (Beijing: Xingqiu Ditu Chubanshe, 2008), 276–277.

- 11) *Songshi* 7:2175.
- 12) “Hunyi zhudao zhi tu,” in Sheng Bo, ed., *Song-Yuan guditu jicheng*, vol. 1, (Beijing: Xingqiu Ditu Chubanshe, 2008), 360–361, 11, 8. The “Hunyi zhudao zhi tu” and the other eight maps in *Xinbian shiwen leiju hanwo daquan* appeared later in a text entitled *Xinbian shiwen leiju hanwo quanshu*. In *Song-Yuan guditu jicheng*, this printed edition is dated to the early Ming period. See “Hunyi zhudao zhi lu,” in Sheng Bo, ed., *Song-Yuan guditu jicheng*, vol. 1, (Beijing: Xingqiu Ditu Chubanshe, 2008), 388–389, 12.
- 13) Enomoto Wataru, *Higashi Ajia kaiiki to Nitchū kōryū*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007), 4.
- 14) Robert Borgen, “Jōjin’s Discoveries in Song China,” in Andrew Edmund Goble, Kenneth R. Robinson, and Haruko Wakabayashi, eds., *Tools of Culture: Japan’s Cultural, Intellectual, Medical, and Technological Contacts in East Asia, 1000s–1500s*, (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, Inc., 2009), 29.
- 15) *Yuanshi* 5:1503–1504.
- 16) *Yuanshi* 5:1352.