



**HAL**  
open science

# Early European Cartography of the Liúqiú/Ryūkyū Islands: The Chinese Mediation. Part 1 : From the 16th to the 18th century; Part 2: The turning point of Gaubil's map of 1758.

Patrick Beillevaire

## ► To cite this version:

Patrick Beillevaire. Early European Cartography of the Liúqiú/Ryūkyū Islands: The Chinese Mediation. Part 1 : From the 16th to the 18th century; Part 2: The turning point of Gaubil's map of 1758.. "Cartographical Representations of the North-Western and South-Western Peripheries of the Chinese Empire" and "Visual Representations in Traditional Science: Geographical Maps and Mathematical Diagrams in East and West", Tsing Hua University (Taiwan), French National Center for Scientific Research, May 2013, Hsinchu, Taiwan. hal-01964693

**HAL Id: hal-01964693**

**<https://hal.science/hal-01964693v1>**

Submitted on 23 Dec 2018

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

# **“Early European Cartography of the Liúqiú/Ryūkyū Islands: The Chinese Mediation.”**

In 2 parts, May 29 and 31, 2013.

Tsing Hua University 清華大學 (Hsinchu 新竹, Taiwan 台灣)

**Patrick Beillevaire**

(CNRS 法国国家科学研究院 – CRJ 日本研究所 – EHESS 社会科学研究院 巴黎)



## PART I

“Early European Cartography of the Liúqiú/Ryūkyū Islands:  
The 16<sup>th</sup> century maps and their sequel.”

「琉球諸島に関する初期のヨーロッパ地図作成：16世紀の地図とその続編」

Patrick BEILLEVAIRE

(CNRS 法国国家科学研究院 – CRJ 日本研究所 – EHESS 社会科学研究院 巴黎)

**Workshop: “Cartographical Representations of the North-Western  
and South-Western Peripheries of the Chinese Empire”**

May 29, 2013.

Tsing Hua University 清華大學 (Hsinchu 新竹市, Taiwan 台湾)

Chair: Prof. Mau Chuanhui 毛傳慧

## Landmarks

The kingdom of Liúqiú/Ryūkyū 琉球王国 has been a faithful tributary of China for five centuries, from 1372, only four years after the establishment of the Ming dynasty 明朝, to 1874, under the Qing dynasty 清朝. The port of entry of its ships (*shinkōsen* 進貢船, “ships carrying the tribute”), where the kingdom had at its disposal a warehouse for the lodging of its agents and the storage of its merchandise, was first located in Quánzhōu 泉州, then, from 1469 on, in Fúzhōu 福州. However, in 1609 the kingdom was invaded by warriors from the fief of Satsuma 薩摩藩 (south of Kyūshū Island 九州) and thus also became, entrusted to the latter’s close watch, a tribute state of the shōgunal government in Edo. It thereby experienced a peculiar, though stable and fairly harmonious, situation of double subordination until its demise, more than two centuries and a half later.

At its largest, that is, before Satsuma’s invasion, the kingdom’s territory, shaped like a circular arc 琉球弧, stretched over some 850 kilometers, from the Amami-Ōshima Islands 奄美大島 in the north to Hateruma 波照間島 and Yonaguni 与那国島 in the south, the latter island being only 110 kilometers from Taiwan 台灣. The largest island and seat of the royal power, Okinawa 沖縄, is narrow shaped and measures about 100 kilometers long by 5 to 20 kilometers large. During the 1870s, the kingdom was gradually annexed by Japan and, after having first been reduced to the status of a feudal domain (Ryūkyū-han 琉球藩), it came definitely to an end in April 1879 with the creation of Okinawa Prefecture 沖縄県.

Liúqiú was known to the Chinese not later than in the 7th century. A chapter of the *Suishū* 隋書, the “Book of Sui” (*i.e.* the history of the Sui dynasty), compiled during the years 629-636, offers a rather detailed description of a Country of Liúqiú (琉球國 Liúqiú-guo) and of its inhabitants. The source reports that several Chinese expeditions have visited islands of that name, decades or centuries before. Although today’s scholars no longer think it is unlikely that the country described in the *Suishū* corresponds with what we know as Liúqiú/Ryūkyū or Okinawa, earlier discussions, which started in the second half of the 19th century, tended for the most part to conclude that the customs described in the *Suishū* better reflected aboriginal Taiwan.

Later Chinese chronicles referred again to the *Suishū* concerning Liúqiú until its recognition as a tribute state by the Ming government in 1372 (actually, three chiefdoms were quickly recognized one after the other as tributary entities prior to the complete political unification of Okinawa Island by one of those chiefdoms, namely Zhongshan/Chūzan 中山, in 1429). Thereafter Chinese envoys sent to Liúqiú to perform the investiture ceremony of the new kings were expected to write a report on their mission, which then could be either copied by hand or printed. In all, there have been fifteen investiture missions 冊封使 dispatched to Liúqiú during the Ming period and eight during the Qing period.

The Chinese mission of 1719, sent for the investiture of King Shō Kei 尚敬王, is of particular importance as concerns the mapping of the Liúqiú Islands. It resulted in a notable report, entitled *Zhōngshān chuánxìn lù* 中山伝信録 (its preface is dated 1721), written by the deputy envoy Xú Bǎoguāng 徐葆光 and containing three maps of Liúqiú. The report of the 1756 investiture mission, *Liúqiú guózhì lüè* 琉球国志略 carries also three maps of Liúqiú, of cruder style and apparently inspired from the maps of the *Zhōngshān chuánxìn lù*. The *Shǐ liúqiú lù* 使琉球録 of 1579 had four drawings showing the shipping route between the Fukien coast and the

port of Naha in Okinawa. The report of the 1606 investiture mission, which bears the same title, presents another series of drawings focusing on the same subject.

The Europeans, namely the Portuguese, first heard about Liúqiú (Lequeos, Lequios) from the Arab navigators they met on their way to India and Malacca at the end of the 15th century, some of whom they sometimes hired as pilots. For a while in the first half of the 16th century, Liúqiú assumed a greater importance than Japan in the eyes of the Portuguese (*cf.* Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, 1512-16). Japan was still but a name (Marco Polo's Zipangu) when Liúqiú already gained a tangible existence through the contacts, always fleeting yet, they had chanced to make with its merchants after their capture of Malacca in 1511. They could notice that these men enjoyed good repute among the Chinese and other merchants who rubbed shoulders in that thriving commercial and cultural crossroads. Taking advantage of the Ming government's seclusion policy, their kingdom had been engaged for about a century in a profitable sea-borne trade of high value goods connecting Japan, Korea or China with South-East Asian countries and city-ports. Most often Liúqiúan merchants' immediate partners in South-East Asia were overseas Chinese, but those trade relations also gave the kingdom opportunity to establish sustained diplomatic exchanges with some countries, such as Siam.

The rich cargoes handled by men from Liúqiú could not but soon grab the attention of the Portuguese, always on the lookout for the so-called "islands of silver and gold" mentioned in antique sources. This promptly led them to launch an expedition, conducted by Jorge Mascarenhas, to search for the Liúqiú Islands, but it eventually did not proceed further than the Fukien province.

As regards the incipient European cartography of the Liúqiú Islands 琉球島嶼, it is important to have in mind that it took some time before they could be approximately located, and much longer to have any details about their distribution and contours. It was not even sure, at first, whether Liúqiú was an insular or a continental country (the name "Gores" sometimes given to its people by the Portuguese is evidence a likely confusion between Liúqiú and Korea, a no less obscure country). Merchants and navigators from Liúqiú were discreet and mysterious people who let no information leak about their country. Moreover, the dependence of the Portuguese on Chinese informants entailed some confusion between Okinawa Island, that is, the kingdom of Liúqiú, and Taiwan (both being given the name Liúqiú by the Chinese at an early stage; see below the Mercator type of maps). The aberrant tripartite division of Taiwan found on some European maps of the late 16th and early 17th centuries, a representation which apparently goes back to the Vaz Dourado map of 1568, could actually well reflect the political division of Okinawa Island into three chiefdoms at the time of the establishment of the tribute relationship, in the late 14th century, a past situation known only to the Chinese.

Despite the lack of direct testimonies, there is no doubt that Portuguese and Spanish ships visited the Liúqiú islands, or shipwrecked on their coasts, during the 16th century. There seems to be no doubt left that Ferñao Mendes Pinto's alleged visit to Liúqiú, and his imprisonment there, in the 1540s, which he narrates in his famous *Peregrinação* of 1614, are actually made up from stories gleaned among fellow adventurers who were traveling along the Chinese coast and up to Japan.

To our knowledge, the first cartographic mention of the Liúqiú Islands (Llequios) appears on Francisco Rodrigues's sketch dated 1512-1514. It is simply reported: "This is the main island of the Llequios. It is said that it produces wheat and minerals." Awareness of the existence of a country of Liúqiú is further revealed by the name Lequeos or Lequios featuring on either sandbanks or a passage ("canal") located along the Annam coast, a sea lane which its merchants navigators were used to following for their voyages to Malacca, Siam and the East Indies (maps of Diego de Ribeiro, 1527-29, Sebastian Cabot, 1544, Pierre Desceliers, 1546, Gastaldi, 1561,

Bertelli, 1565). From about the middle of the 16th century, most maps of the China Sea show the presence of Liúqiú Islands stretching south of Japan, although in very diversified and inconsistent ways.

The Swedish historian Dahlgren (E. W. Dahlgren, *Les Débuts de la cartographie du Japon*, Upsal, 1911) distinguished between five types or patterns of cartographical representation of Japan, only four of which include the Liúqiú Islands:

1) Maps of the **Gastaldi type** (1550 - *ca.* 1589): The Liúqiú Islands are not represented.

2) Maps of the **Homem type** (1554 - *ca.* 1590): The designation “Lequio”, “Lequios”, “Lequeos”, from the Chinese Liúqiú, is introduced, south of a “Ilha do fogo”, a volcanic island located west of the chain of islands (Iōtori-shima 硫黄島). The maps of this type may be said to be the less inaccurate, with their tripartite division of the archipelago corresponding, apparently, to the Amami-Ōshima, Okinawa, and Miyako-Yaeyama groups of islands.

3) Maps of the **Mercator type** (1561 - *ca.* 1623): In addition to the northern row of islands, they introduce a distinction of Chinese origin between Lequio maior/Lequio minor. The name “Lequio maior”, “Lequeo grande” or “Great Liúqiú”, from the Chinese Dà Liúqiú 大琉球, is given to the island of Okinawa, the adjective “great” bearing witness to the fact that the kingdom of Liúqiú is a tribute state of Ming China, loyally abiding to its rules of etiquette. By contrast, the designation “Lequio minor”, Xiǎo Liúqiú 小琉球, is attributed to Taiwan/Formosa, a little known island then, inhabited by non-civilized people belonging to the fringes of China’s world order and foreign to its cultural influence.

4) Maps of the **Ortelius type** (1570): They are much akin to the maps of the Homem type as regards the Liúqiú Islands. Like on the latter, the “Ilhas dos Reis Magos” represent the Miyako and/or Yaeyama sub archipelagos. The names Tanegashima 種子島 and Shichitō 七島 (Seven Islands) appear north of Okinawa.

5) Maps of the **Vaz Dourado type** (1563 - *ca.* 1609): The representation of the Liúqiú Islands is also quite similar to the Homem type. But Taiwan/Formosa, called “Lequio pequeno”, Xiǎo Liúqiú 小琉球, as opposed to Okinawa Island, “Lequio grande”, is rather properly located, appears fragmented into three (sometimes only two) separate islands (even more confusingly, on Pierre Mariette’s map of *ca.* 1640, based on Hondius, the island of Taiwan appears divided into three islands named, from north to south, Formosa, Lequeo pequeño, Lequeo minor).

It is to be noted that none of the maps of that early period shows any influence from the Chinese, Japanese or Korean style of cartographic representation, namely, for instance, from the maps of the *gyōgi* type (行基図). Moreover, the so-called *Japanese Portolanos*, that is, the charts drawn by the Japanese in the second half of the 16th century on the basis of those used by the Portuguese, proved to be much more accurate, for the time, than the European maps as regards the Liúqiú Islands (for instance, see the charts of Ikeda and Itoya, compiled around 1585-1590, used under the reigns of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu).

On some subsequent European maps influenced by Japanese cartography, the Liúqiú country is unrealistically represented as a group of islands clustered near the southern extremity of Japan. The Kaempfer map of Japan (early 18th century) is a very good example of such a representation.

Because of their strategic value, the early observations collected by the Portuguese concerning China and its vicinity, the Liúqiú Islands in particular, were kept secret. That monopoly over geographical information lasted until 1580, when Portugal passed under the

crown of Philip II of Spain. The charts, sketches or guidelines of the Portuguese were then rapidly made available to north European cartographers, to the Dutch in the first place.

Dutch, German, Italian or French cabinet cartographers tried to make the most of the sources they could have access to, often combining details to the detriment of exactitude. One must have in mind that cartography, especially in the case of Japan and Liúqiú, shows no steady linear improvement. It is not because a map was drawn and printed chronologically after another that it carries the newest and most accurate information, or that it was cleared of all anachronistic details (for e.

The following two hundred years are marked by stagnation if not deterioration in the cartographic representation of the Liúqiú Islands (see, for example, Nicolas and Guillaume Samson's map of 1669). Between the early 17th century (after the retreat of the British East India Company) and the late 18th, these islands remained at distance from the shipping lanes and received no Western visitors (or, to be more exact, none who was able to report on them).

Given this background, the contribution of the Jesuit Antoine Gaubil, who lived in Beijing from 1723 until his death in 1759, appears as a breakthrough in the European cartography of the Liúqiú Islands, as well as in the knowledge of the history and culture of kingdom that governed them. His work on the Liúqiú Islands, entitled "Mémoire sur les isles que les Chinois appellent isles de Lieou-kieou", which was published in Paris in the 1758 issue of the Jesuit periodical *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, relies essentially on envoy Xú Bǎoguāng's 1721 report (see above).

Until then, the Europeans did not know any of the names of the Liúqiú islands. For the first time, the map supplementing the memoir made available to them the names of most of the inhabited islands, either in Chinese or in Ryūkyūan. The geographic coordinates at Shuri, the royal capital on Okinawa Island, given by Gaubil were also rather correct, considering the period. Moreover, for the first time also, the sub-archipelagos of Miyako and Yaeyama were clearly identified and relatively well located in respect with each other or with Okinawa Island, although the small islands comprising each sub-archipelago appeared lumped together and hence poorly individuated. Their shapes and distances remained arbitrary and totally unrealistic too. Nevertheless, European cartographers quickly appropriated Gaubil's map and its precise toponymy, starting with the French royal cartographers Jean-Baptiste d'Anville and Philippe Buache. And in the first half of the 19th century, quite a few navigators continued to refer to it and to quote from the memoir. Curiously, the name of the largest island and political center of the kingdom, Okinawa, is still missing from Gaubil's map, on which it remains called "Grande isle de Lieou-Kieou" (in English "Great Loo-choo Island"). It is not before the second half of the 19th century, and for common use only after the 1870s, that cartographers and travelers would start using the name Okinawa.

#### P. Beillevaire

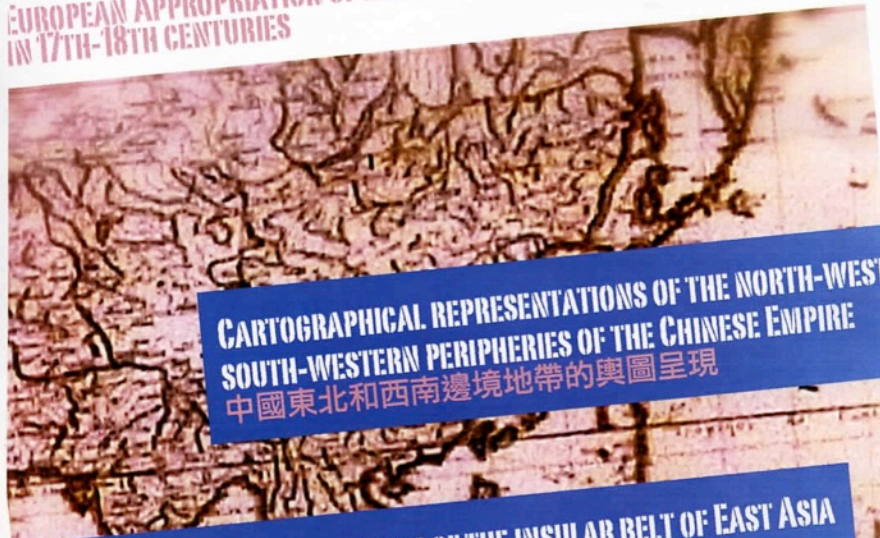
P. BEILLEVAIRE, "Au seuil du Japon. Le mémoire du P. Gaubil sur les Ryūkyū et ses lecteurs", *L'Ethnographie*, LXXXVI (2), n° 108, 1990: 15-53.

J. KREINER (ed.), *Ryūkyū in World History*. Bonn, Bier'sche Verlaganstalt, JapanArchiv, Bd. 2, 2001, 21 cm, x-418 p.

J. KREINER, "European Maps of the Ryūkyūs from the Sixteenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Century". In L. Walter (ed.), *Japan: A Cartographic Vision*. Munich – New York, Prestel-Verlag, 1994, pp. 77-83.

WORKSHOP MAY 2013.NTHU

EUROPEAN APPROPRIATION OF EAST ASIAN CARTOGRAPHICAL TRADITIONS  
IN 17TH-18TH CENTURIES



CARTOGRAPHICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE NORTH-WESTERN AND  
SOUTH-WESTERN PERIPHERIES OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE  
中國東北和西南邊境地帶的輿圖呈現

CARTOGRAPHICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE INSULAR BELT OF EAST ASIA  
東亞周邊群島帶的輿圖呈現

# 十七、十八世紀亞洲輿圖傳統 在歐洲輿圖的呈現

國際學術工作坊 2013.5.29(週三) 14:30-17:30 • 國立清華大學人社院B413

VERA DOROFEEVA-LICHTMANN (UMR 8173, CHINE-JAPON-CORÉE/EHESS). PATRICK BELLEVAINE  
(UMR 8173, CHINE-JAPON-CORÉE/EHESS). 林天人(國立故宮博物院圖書文獻處).  
琅元(國立清華大學通識教育中心). 毛傳慧(國立清華大學歷史所).  
臺法幽蘭雙邊計畫 PROGRAMME ORCHIDÉE: 法國在臺協會。國科會合作研究計畫

張貼時間:

5月22日至5月29日

人文社會學院辦公室



## Incipient knowledge about the Liúqiú Islands

- End of 15<sup>th</sup> century: **Arab navigators** aroused the curiosity of the Portuguese about Liúqiú, a seafaring country of unknown location, named Lequios or Lequeos by Portuguese and Spaniards.
- **In Malacca**, right after its seizure by Albuquerque in 1511, the Portuguese met merchants from Liúqiú. This was to be the latter's last visit to Malacca. Another meeting took place in **Ayuthaya** (Siam), with Diogo de Freytas.
- The wealth of their cargos ignited the imagination of the Portuguese, and of the Spaniards after them, in their search for the “**Isles of gold and silver**” of antiquity (King Solomon's gold mines of Ophir and Tarsis).
- For three decades, **Liúqiú took on greater importance than Japan**, still a legendary and elusive country (Marco Polo's Zipangu; cf. Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, 1512-16). But Liúqiú remained **difficult to locate**: insular or continental country? The Portuguese learned from the Chinese that Liúqiú lay east of China.
- **In 1517-1518**, the Portuguese launched an expedition, led by **Jorge Mascarenhas**, in search of Liúqiú: It did not go further than **Fuzhou** 福州 where it most probably encountered Liúqiúan merchants who had their warehouse in that city. In its wake, there is a possibility that part of the expedition continued eastward and reached northern Taiwan or the southern Liúqiú islands.
- *Ca.* 1542-1543, at about the time of the arrival of three Portuguese on Tanegashima, Japan, **others aboard Chinese ships visited Okinawa** 沖繩 **several times** (narratives of A. Galvano, G. de Escalante Alvarado, A. de Aguirre, etc.).
- **Mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, the Liúqiúan seaborne trade with Southeast Asia came to a complete stop.** No European visitors from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.
- **Stagnation and deterioration of European cartographic representations until Gaubil's map of 1751-1758.**

## The kingdom of Ryūkyū, or “Government of Chūzan of the Country of Ryūkyū”

Liúqiú wángguó, Ryūkyū ōkoku 琉球王国 **or** 琉球国中山府

**1372:** The small chiefdom of Zhōngshān/Chūzan 中山, the nucleus of the kingdom of Liúqiú 琉球王国, becomes a **tribute state** of Ming China 明王朝. Status renewed under the Qing dynasty 清王朝. The tributary relationship ended in 1874, when Japan annexed the kingdom, after **500 years of unfailing loyalty**.

**Ca. 1400-1550:** The kingdom is at the center of a **flourishing trade** between Japan, Korea, China and Southeast Asia (Siam, Malacca, Patani, Java, Palembang, Sumatra, Sunda, Annam).

**Fuzhou 福州: Port of entry** ascribed to Liúqiúan envoys and merchants from 1469 on (in Quánzhōu 泉州 formerly). The Liúqiúans kept a permanent warehouse in Fúzhōu called Ryūkyūkan 琉球館.

**Tribute missions 貢使:** Every year Liúqiúan ships traveled to Fuzhou, either to carry the envoys and the tribute (*shinkōsen* 進貢船) or to fetch the former on their return from Beijing.

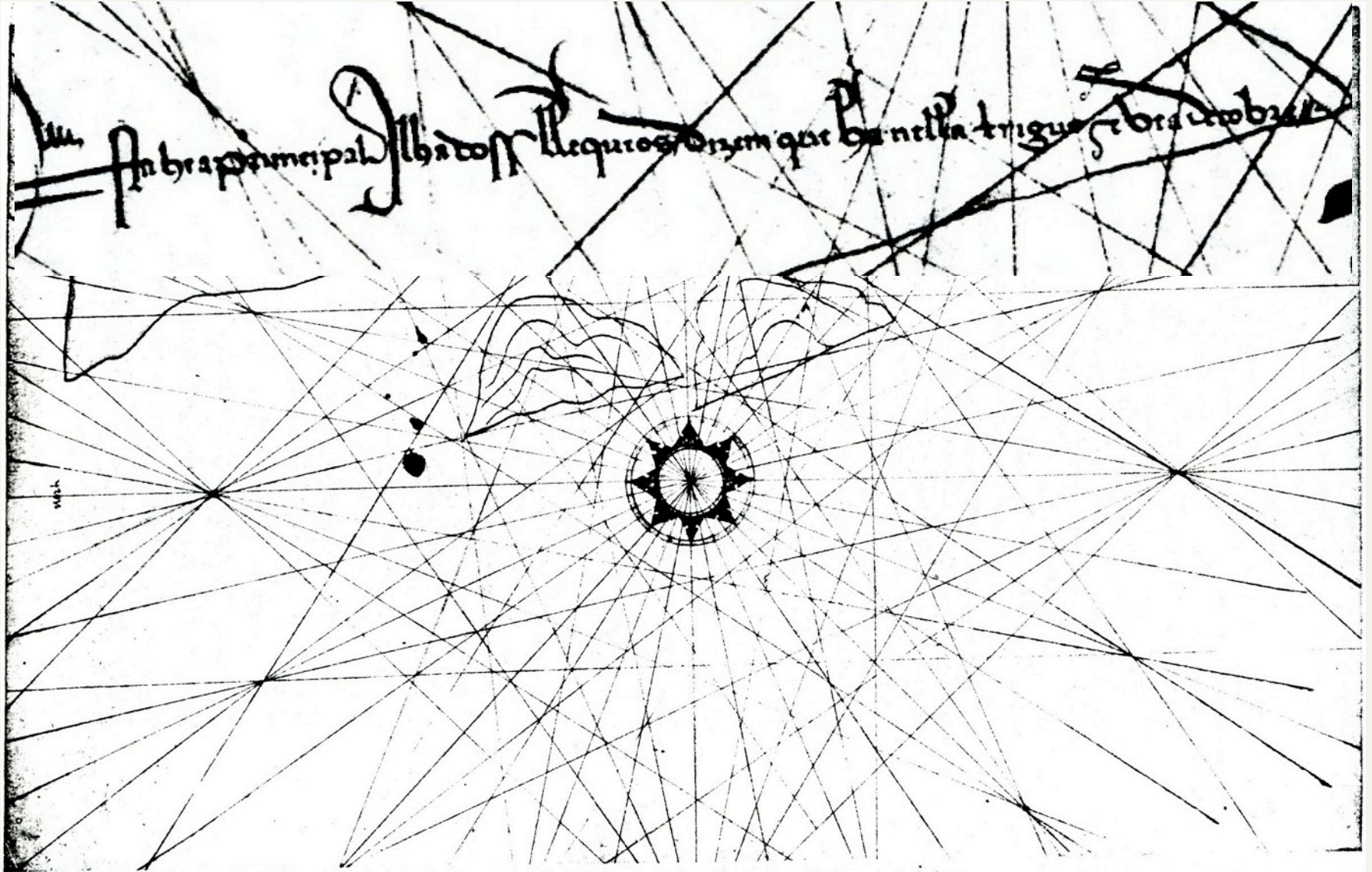
**Investiture missions sappōshi 冊封使:** Chinese officials of a fairly high rank were dispatched to Okinawa 沖繩 to perform the investiture ceremony of new Liúqiúan kings. 15 missions occurred during the Ming period, 8 during the Qing period. A report on the mission was expected from the chief-envoys (*sappōshi-roku* 冊封使錄).



First cartographic mention of Liúqiú, reporting from Chinese sources.

Francisco Rodrigues's sketches, 1512-1514 (close-up detail):

*“This is the main island of the Llequios. It is said that it produces wheat and minerals.”*





➔ The name Liúqiú is found on other very early maps showing the route, between Vietnam and the Philippines, followed by merchant mariners from that country on their journey to Malacca.



1527-29: *Lequeos* is the name given by **Diego de Ribero** to sandbanks along the coast of Annam.

1544: On his world map, **Sebastian Cabot** mentions a “*canal para los lequios*” across the same shoals (*canal for the lequios* [on their way to and from Malacca, Siam and the East Indies]).

1546: **Pierre Desceliers**,  
“*canal per dovela vassallos leqos*”  
(*canal through which the vassal Leqos go*).

Below see also the Gastaldi map of 1561.

## 1. MAPS OF THE “GASTALDI TYPE” (1550 – *ca.* 1589)

- Japan is identified as a separate island, but no toponymic details.
- The Liúqiú islands are not represented.

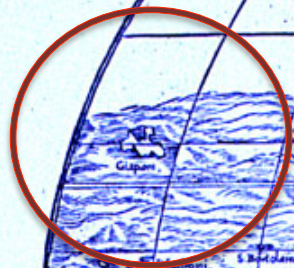


POLO ARCTICO

UNIVERSALE DELLA  
RINOVAZIONE

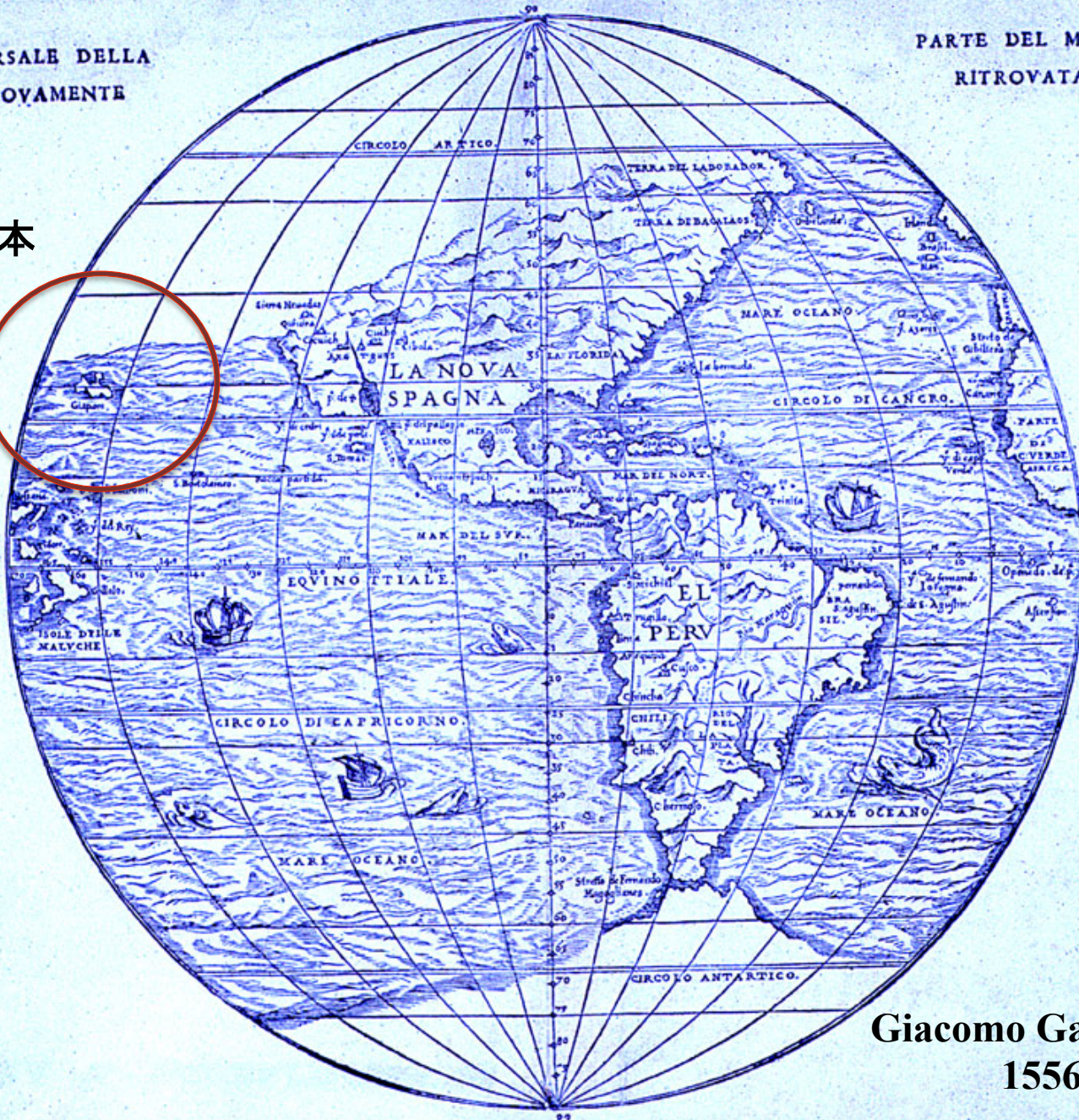
PARTE DEL MONDO  
RITROVATA

GIAPAM 日本



PONENTE

LEVANTE



Giacomo Gastaldi  
1556

POLO ANTARTICO





Giapan

**Giacomo Gastaldi,  
Terza Parte Dell' Asia, 1561.**

See detail next page.





*canali dove passano i chini per andare a palohan e a boru*

**“Canals through which the Chinese pass to go to Palawan and Borneo” (Gastaldi, 1561).**

On his 1565 map of the East Indies, the Italian **Fernando Bertelli** refers back to the Liúqiúans sailing along the Vietnamese coast: “*Canali donde vengono gli liquij*” (Canals from where the Liquij [Liúqiúans] come).

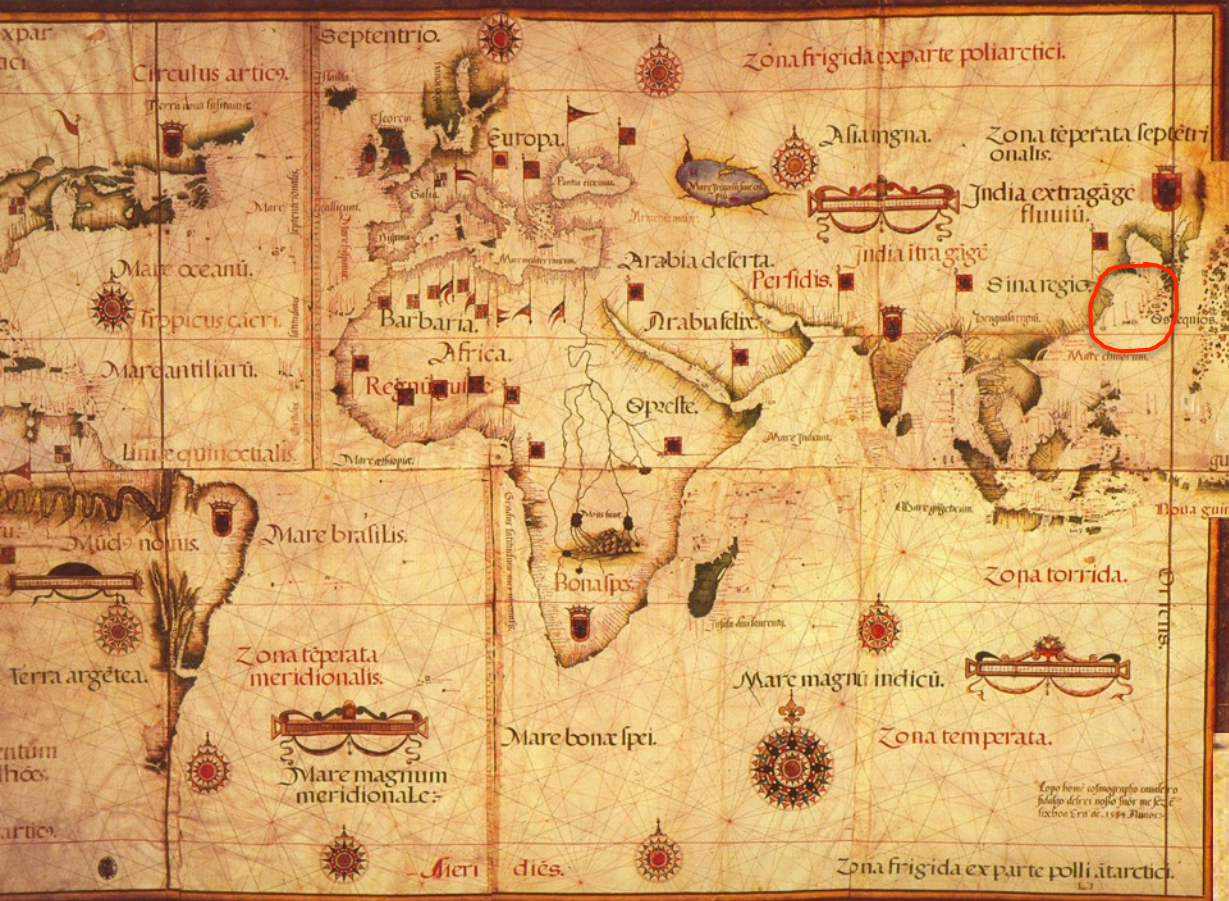
Until well into the second half of the 16th century, most European geographers are ignorant of the exact location of the Liúqiú Islands. The country from where the Lequeos merchants originate is sometimes located on the Chinese coast or further north on the Asian continent.



## 2. MAPS OF THE “HOMEM TYPE” (1554 - ca. 1590)

- Japan is not separated from the Asian continent.
- The design of the Liúqiú islands seems to stem from direct observation by Portuguese or Spanish navigators, but it remains very approximate.
- The Liúqiú archipelago is divided fairly accurately into three groups: Amami-Oshima 奄美大島, Okinawa 沖縄本島, Sakishima 先島 (= Miyako and Yaeyama sub-archipelagos 宮古・八重山諸島).
- Elements of toponymy are introduced: The name “Leqios”, “Lequios” or “Lequeos”, etc., which derives from the Chinese Liúqiú 琉球, sometimes designates the whole archipelago, sometimes the sole Okinawa Island; “Ilhas dos Reis Magos” refers to the Miyako and Yaeyama sub-archipelagos + To the north: “Ilha de fogo” (Iōtori-shima 硫黄鳥島), “Is. Santa Maria”.





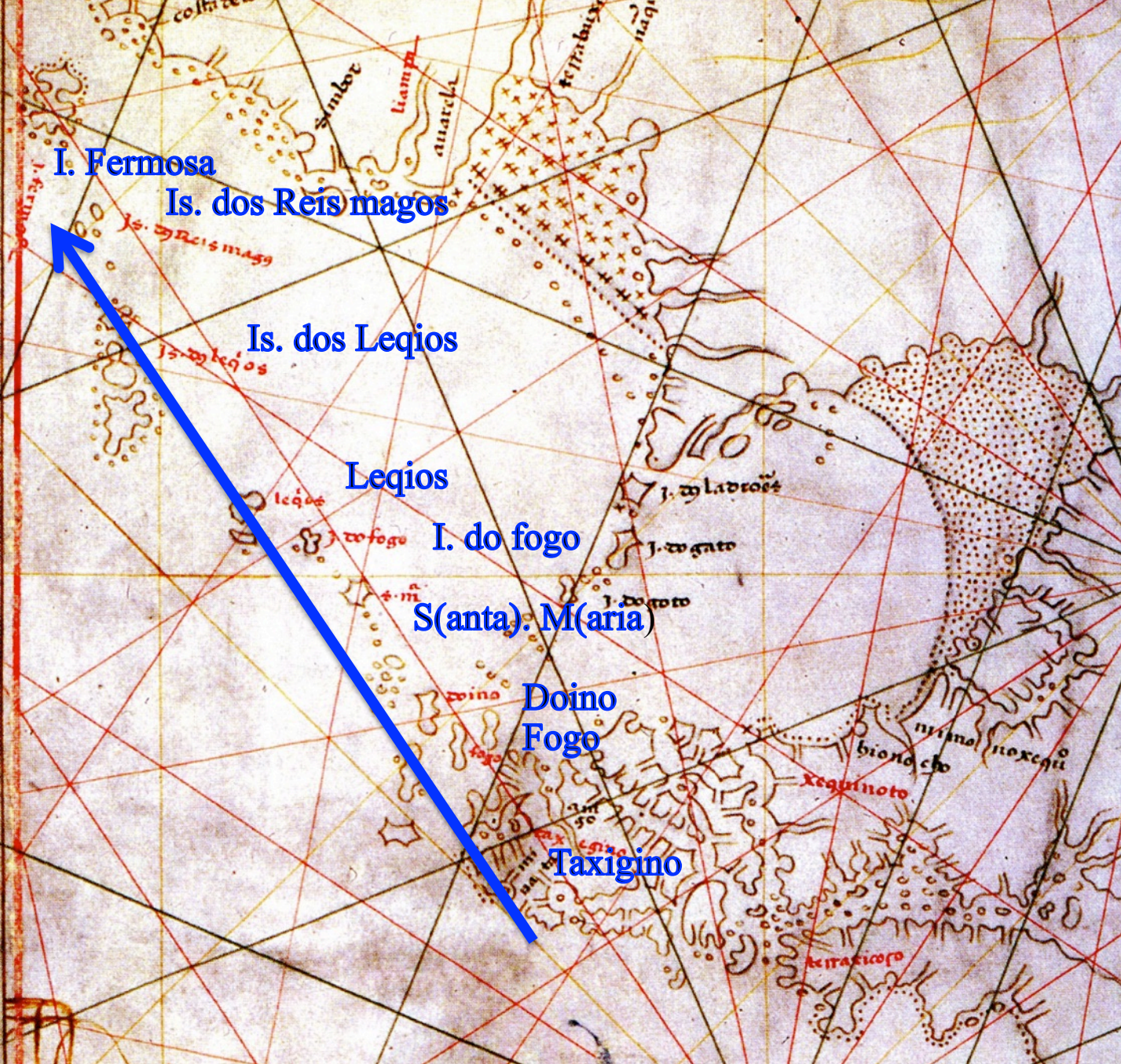
On his map of 1554, Lopo Homem is the first to locate the Liúqíú islands, named “os Lequios” (right, close-up detail).





Lopo Homem, 1554 (right, close-up detail).





- S-W  
↑  
I. Fermosa  
Is. dos Reis magos  
Is. dos Leqios  
Leqios  
I. do fogo  
S(anta). M(aria)  
Doino  
Fogo  
Taxigino  
N-E

Diogo Homem, 1558.

**- Homem Type Toponymy of the Liúqiú Islands (1550s) -**  
**From North-East to South-West**

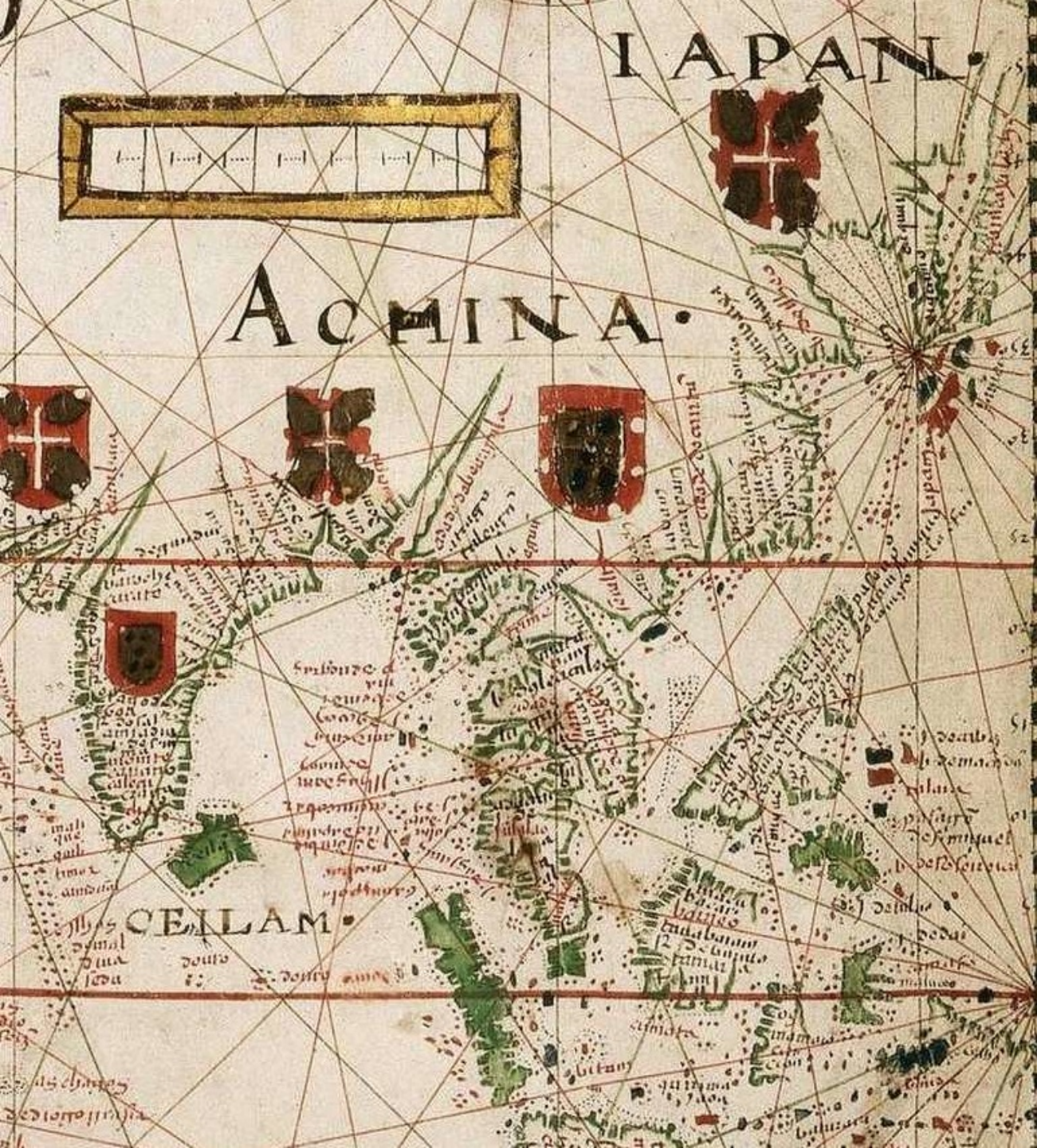
- Taxigino* → Tanegashima 種子島 ?
- Ilha do fogo* → Volcano island, possibly Iwoshima (Iōtō) 硫黃島 ?
- Ilha doino* → Meaning “unknown island”, small island located west of Tanegashima 種子島: Yakushima 屋久島 ?
- Ilha de Santa Maria* → Largest island of a tiny archipelago, probably Shichitō 七島, “7 islands”, also known as the Linschoten archipelago
- Ilha do fogo* → Iōtorishima 硫黃島
- Lequios* → Amami-Ōshima 奄美大島 or Okinawa Island 沖繩本島
- Ilhas dos Lequios* → Okinawa Island or Miyako 宮古群島 and Yaeyama 八重山群島
- Ilhas dos Reis Magos* → Rocky islets of Agincourt, Craig and Pinnacle (= Islets of Mianhua 棉花嶼, Huaping 花瓶嶼 and Pengjia 彭佳嶼), or Senkaku/Diàoyútái Islands 尖閣諸島/釣魚台群島, or sub-archipelagos of Miyako and Yaeyama
- Ilha Formosa* → Formosa, Taiwan 台灣





Domingos Teixeira,  
1573  
(See detail next page).





**Domingos Teixeira,  
1573.**

**Japan is linked to the  
Asian continent.**

**The Liúqíuán toponymy  
is missing.**

### 3. MAPS OF THE “MERCATOR TYPE” (1561 - *ca.* 1623)

Noticeable **Chinese influences**:

- Japan is represented as an island, with two rows of smaller islands extending north and south: the Europeans had yet no knowledge about northern Japan.
- In accordance with the Chinese worldview, appearance of a distinction between:
  - Lequio maior*, *Lequeo grande*, **Dà Liúqiú** 大琉球 (= 沖繩 琉球国), a tribute state of China (since 1372),
  - and *Lequio minor*, **Xiǎo Liúqiú** 小琉球 (= Formosa, Taiwan 台湾), inhabited by people foreign to China's cultural sphere.

This designation was to cause some confusion among later European cartographers: it is sometimes found inverted in order to fit with the actual sizes of the islands.

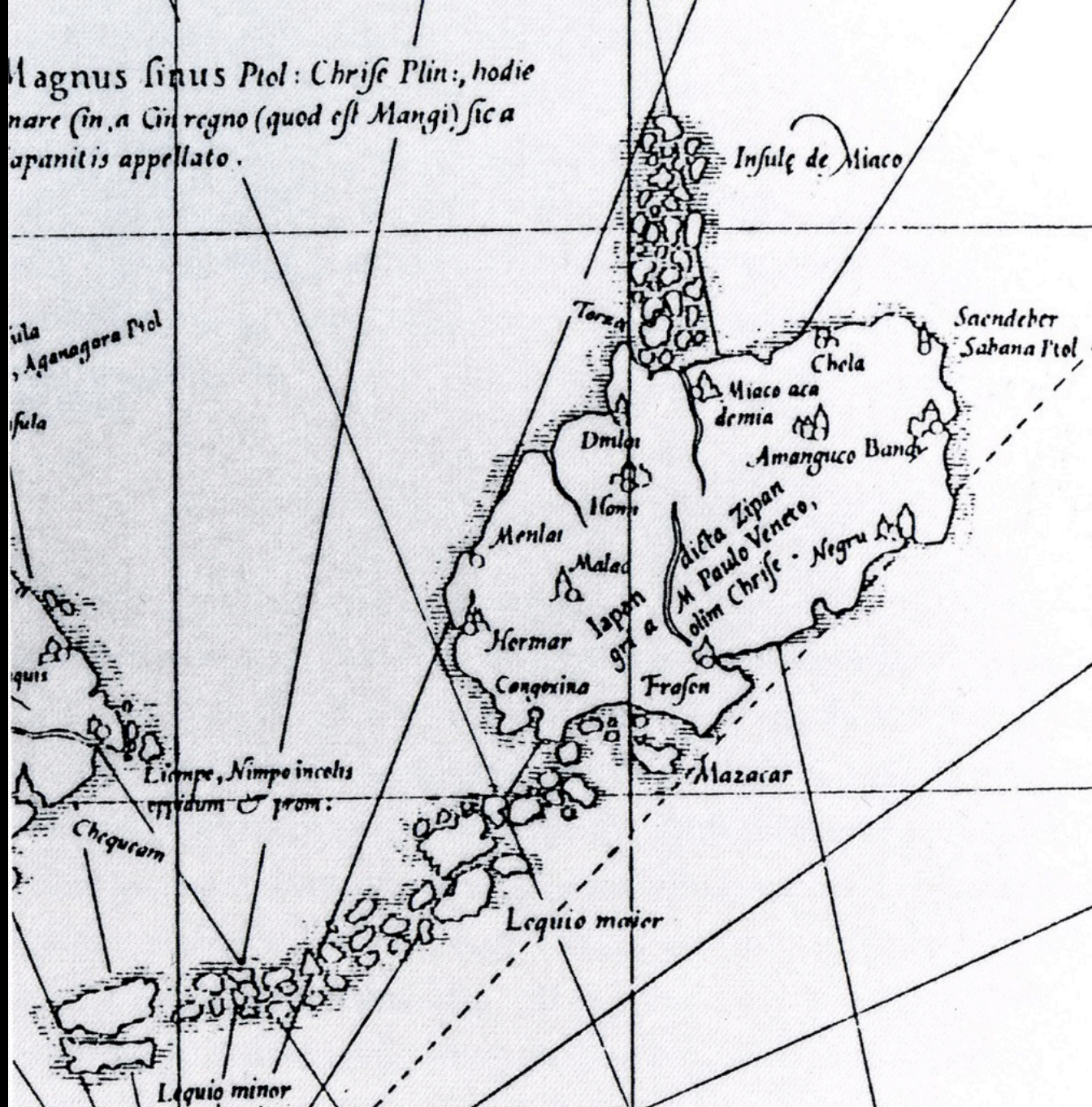
- The whole pattern of the Liúqiú chain of islands remains highly unrealistic.







Magnus sinus Ptol: Chrise Plin:, hodie  
mare (in a Cin regno (quod est Mangi) sic a  
apanitis appellato.



Gerardus (Gerhard) Mercator, 1569.

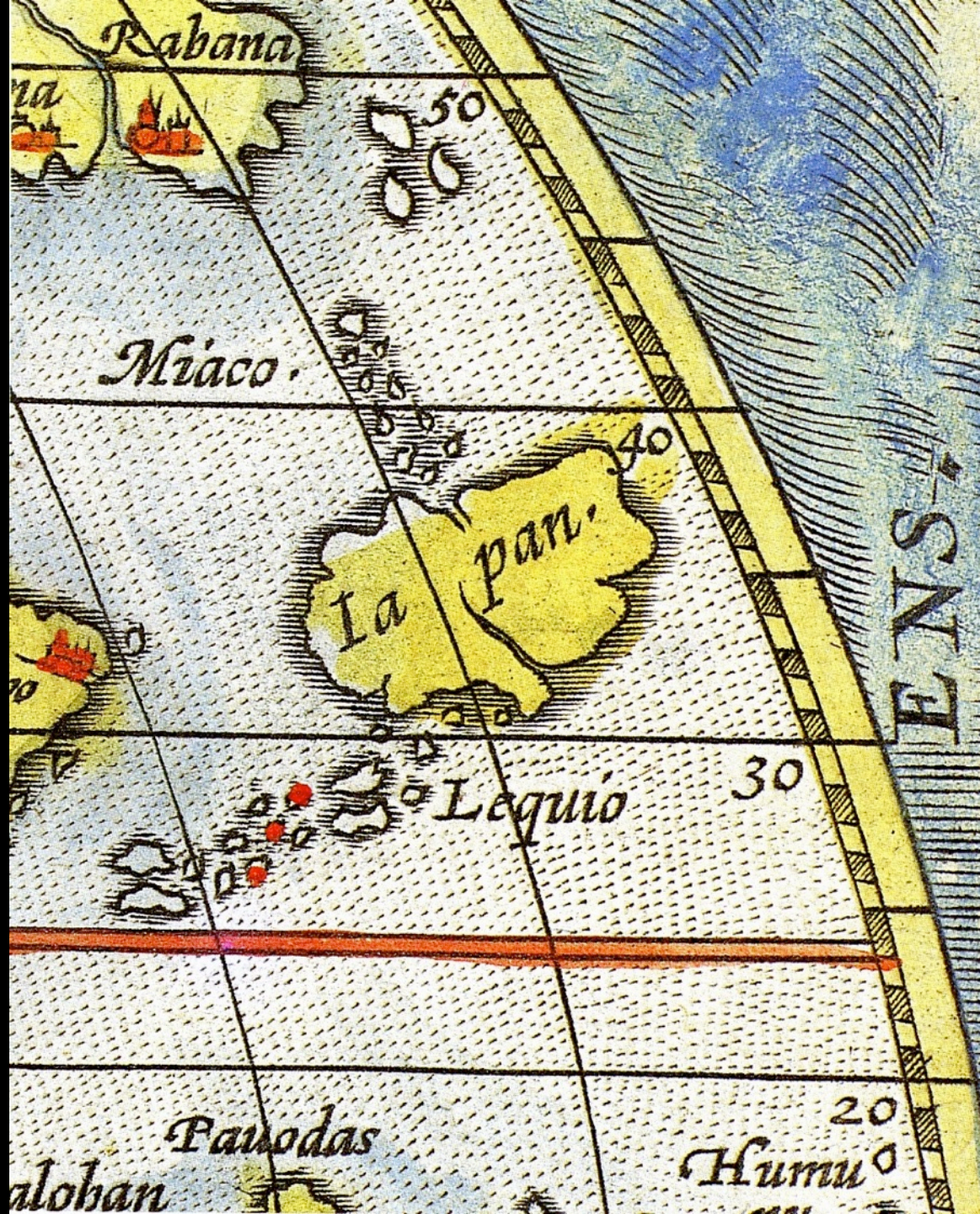




Detail

Gerardus (Gerhard) Mercator (1512-1594),  
*Asia ex magna orbis terrae descriptione*, 1595 (ca. 1567-1569).

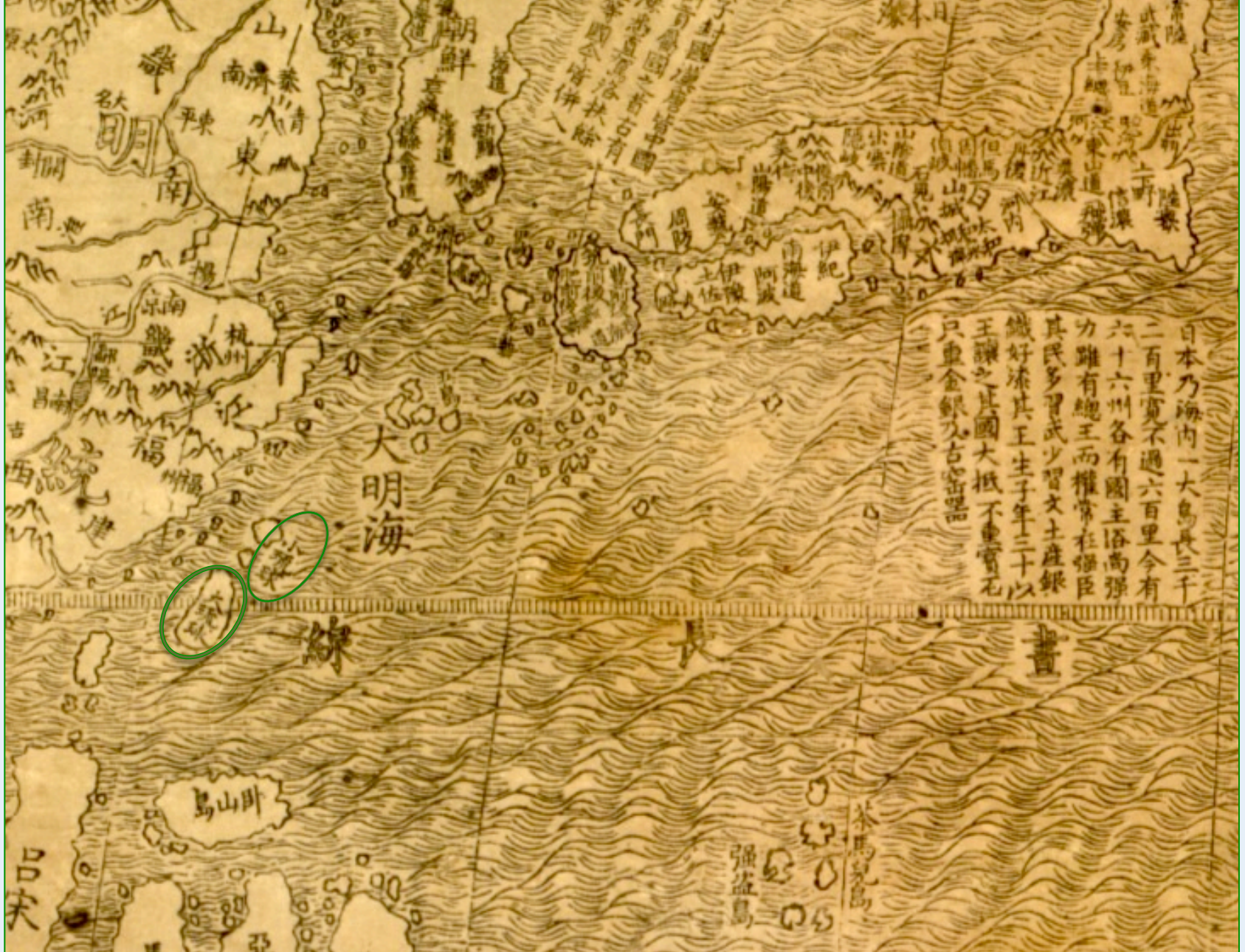




**Abraham Ortelius,**  
*Typus Orbis Terrarum*, 1570.

Although clearly belonging to the Mercator type morphologically, this map shows no differentiation between the Liúqiú Islands.





日本乃海內一大島長三千  
二百里寬不過六百里今有  
六十六州各有國主俗尚強  
力雖有總王而權常在強臣  
其民多習武少習文土產銀  
鐵好漆其王生子年三十以  
王讓之其國大抵不重寶石  
只重金銀及古兵器

S.J. Matteo Ricci's Chinese map, ca. 1602.

Xiǎo Liúqiú 小琉球 is located north of Dà Liúqiú 大琉球! (= Amami-Ōshima?)

#### 4. MAPS OF THE “ORTELIUS TYPE” (1570)

Hybrid type mixing the Homem and Mercator types:

- Japan is an island, Kyûshû 九州 appears fragmented
- Formosa is misplaced: distinct from *Lequiho pequinho* 小琉球 and located between *Lequiho grande* 大琉球 and the *Is. dos Reis Magos* (Agincourt, Craig, Pinnacle islets ? Senkaku/Diàoyútái Islands ? Or Miyako-Yaeyama sub-archipelagos ? See next page)
- Improvement of the toponymy: appearance of Tanegashima 種子島 (Taxuma, Tanaxuma) and of the “7 islands” 七島 (Shichitō, Las siete islas)

- Liúqiúan toponymy in *Ortelius, Ortelii Asiae nova descriptio, 1570* -

From North-East to South-West

- Tanaxuma, Taxuma, Tanaxima* → Tanegashima 種子島
- Ilha Santa Maria* → Yaku-shima 屋久島 ?
- 7 ilhas, Siete islas* → Tokara-rettô 吐噶喇列島, Shichi-tō 七島
- Ilha do fogo (Isla de fuego, Isola di fogo)* → Iōtori-shima 硫黃島
- Lequio grande (Lequio maior, Lequiho grande, Lequeio magna, etc.)* → Okinawa Is. 沖繩本島
- Fermosa # Lequio pequinho* → Miyako 宮古諸島, Yaeyama 八重山諸島
- Islas dos Reis magos (Reys magos, magas)* → Agincourt, Craig, Pinnacle islets (Mianhua 棉花嶼, Huaping 花瓶嶼, Pengjia 彭佳嶼), Senkaku/Diaoyutai Islands 尖閣諸島/釣魚台群島, or more likely: Miyako 宮古群島 and Yaeyama 八重山群島
- Lequi(h)o pequinho (Lequio minor, Lequeio pequenno or parva, etc.)* → Formosa, Taiwan 台灣





Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598), *Asiae Nova Descriptio*, 1567 (detail, see next page).





Vrbs Quinsai habet vt  
M.P. Venet refert 100.  
mill. pass. in circuitu,  
habetq; 12.000. pontes.

abin Prö:  
RETH

ANIA

ic vasa porcellina  
dicha funguntur.

QVINCI

Alma  
rosin

Tingua.  
Saiansfu

NGI.  
Abragana

Guengunfu  
Auter

Serra  
Asinelech

NANQVI

Caru  
Gmdafu

CH  
EQVA N

romaran fl.  
Tinguiqui

Saiansfu  
Cegnigo

ilingu  
fu.

Alfigubas

BANDOVMA.

IAPAN

Insula Osagu

Minas  
da prata Meaco  
Oxote  
COO.

MAGVCH

Amanguco

BVNGO

TON  
SA.

Bungo.

osochiria

Cangaxuma

Dos ermanos

Laim

Taxima

Islas

1<sup>o</sup> do fogo

Lequiho  
grande

1<sup>o</sup> Ferosa

Reis magos

c de  
Lampo.

Lequiho  
pequinbo

OCEANVS

EOVS, siue

orientalis.

Parall. 20. Borealis

La Farfan

Volcan del  
fuego

Lariem

La Ve  
zina

La  
desgrafia







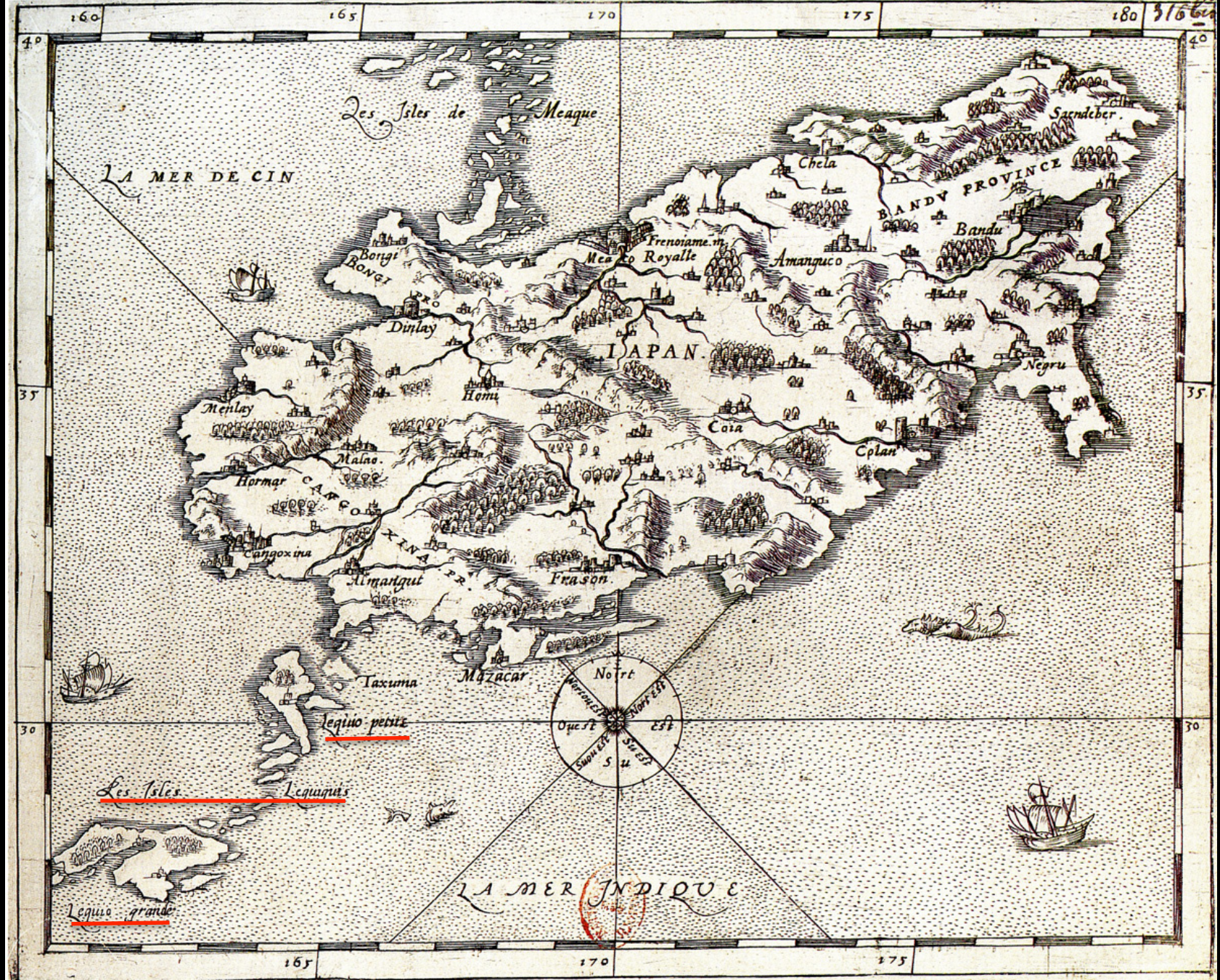
Abraham Ortelius,  
*Indiae Orientalis Insularumque  
 Adiacentium Typus*, 1570.





Abraham Ortelius, *Tartariae Sive Magni Chami Regni Typus*, Antwerp, 1570.





André Thevet, Paris, ca. 1590.





Sebastian Munster, ca. 1588.



## 5. MAPS OF THE “VAZ DOURADO TYPE” (1563 - *ca.* 1609)

- Japan tends to be crescent-shaped.
- The design of the Liúqiú Islands follows the Homem type.
- **Formosa or Lequio pequeño** 小琉球 (= Taiwan) is **properly located** at the end of the island chain and appears **more in proportion to its actual size** than on previous maps.

But it is often **fragmented** into several islands concurrently called Formosa and Lequio pequeño.





The tripartite representation of Taiwan, simultaneously called Formosa or Small Liúqiú, as commonly found on 17<sup>th</sup> century maps (see below) could be traced back to this Dourado map of 1568 (or 1571).

Fernão Vaz Dourado, 1568 (or 1571).





Another early tripartite representation of Taiwan.

Anonymous (possibly after Matteo Ricci & Michele Ruggieri), *Sinarum Regni aliorumque regnorum et insularum illi adiacentium descriptio*, ca. 1590.





























Arnold Van Langren, *Schipvaert van Ian Huygen Van Lindschoten Naer Oost Ofte Portugaels Indien*, 1598 (1595).





Arnold Van Langren, *Schipvaert van Ian Huygen Van Lindschoten Naer Oost Ofte Portugaels Indien*, 1598 (1595), detail.





Evert Gysbertszoon, Edam, 1599 (detail, see next page).





Evert Gysbertszoon, Edam, 1599.



**S T A G N A T I O N   A N D   D E T E R I O R A T I O N**

***(ca. 1600 - 1750).***



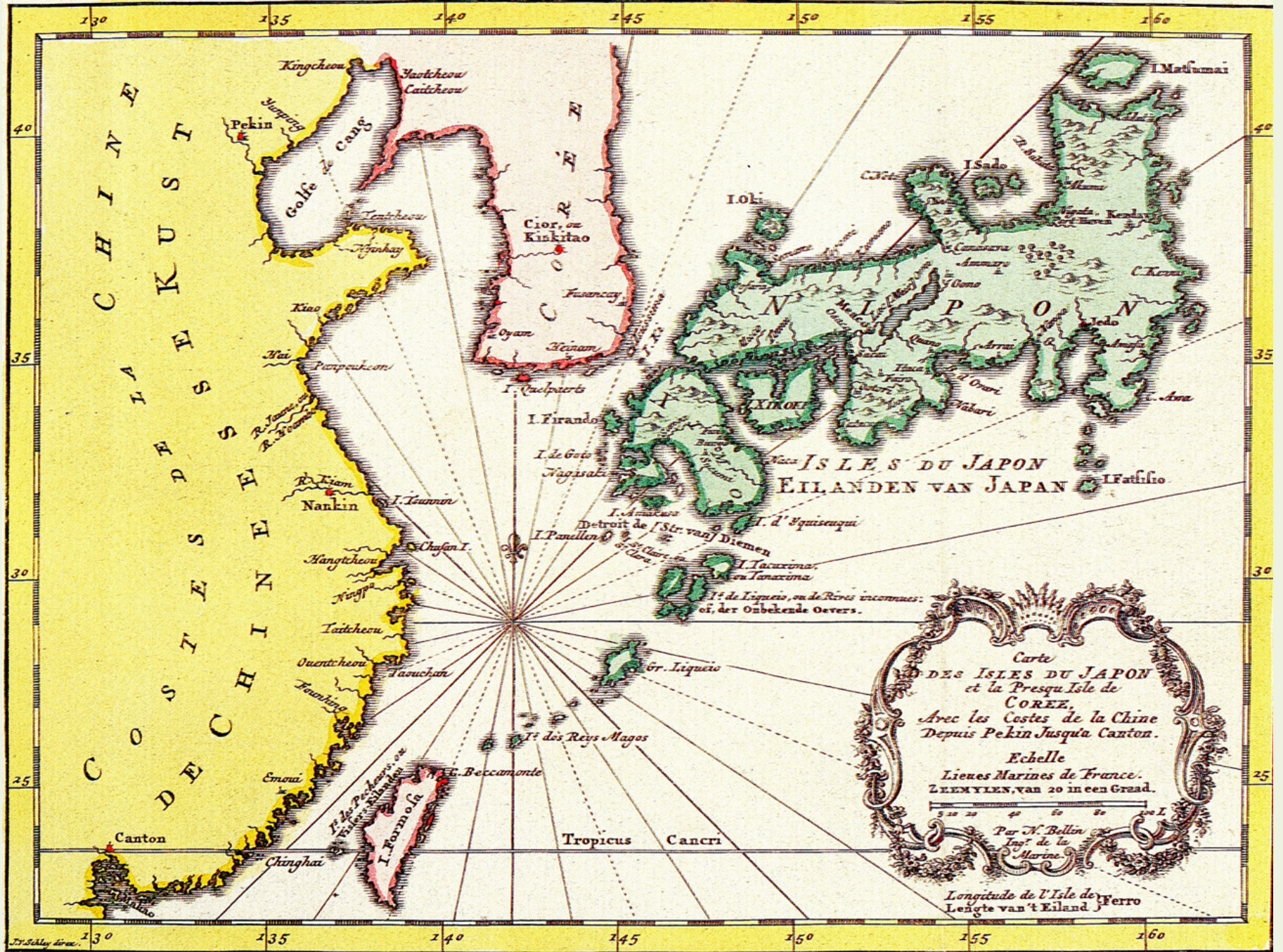


“Islands of Liqueio or Riuku, the number of which is unknown.”

Introduction of the Japanese pronunciation “**Riuku**” (= **Ryūkyū**), borrowed from Engelbert Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, 1727.

Jacques Nicolas Bellin, 1735 (in Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale du Japon*, Paris, 1736).





Jacques Nicolas Bellin, Paris, 1746 (Amsterdam, 1773).



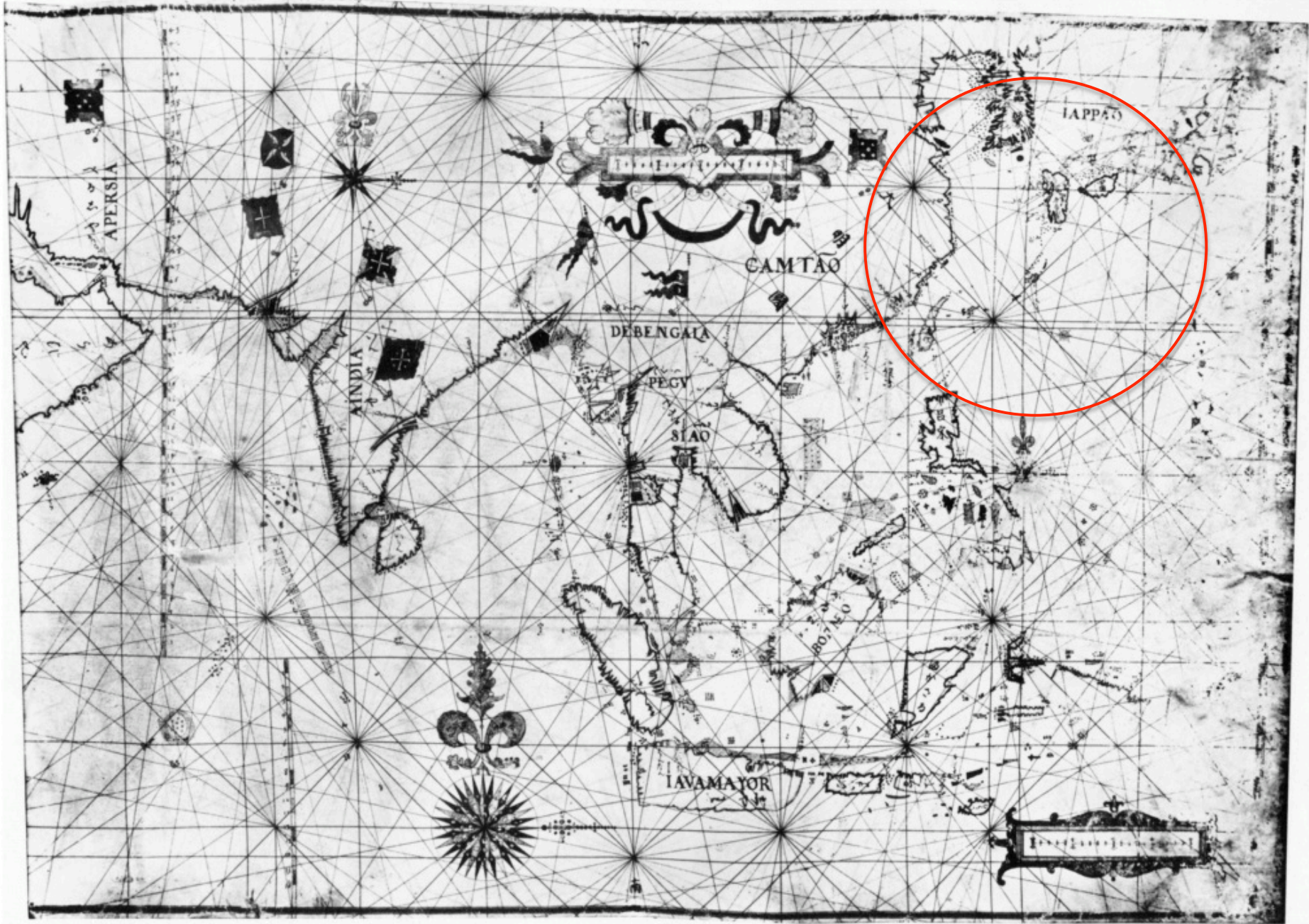


FIG. 1. IKEDA'S CHART (NO. 1).  
Compiled in c. 1585-1587 and used by Japanese mariners under the reign of Hideyoshi (1592-1598).



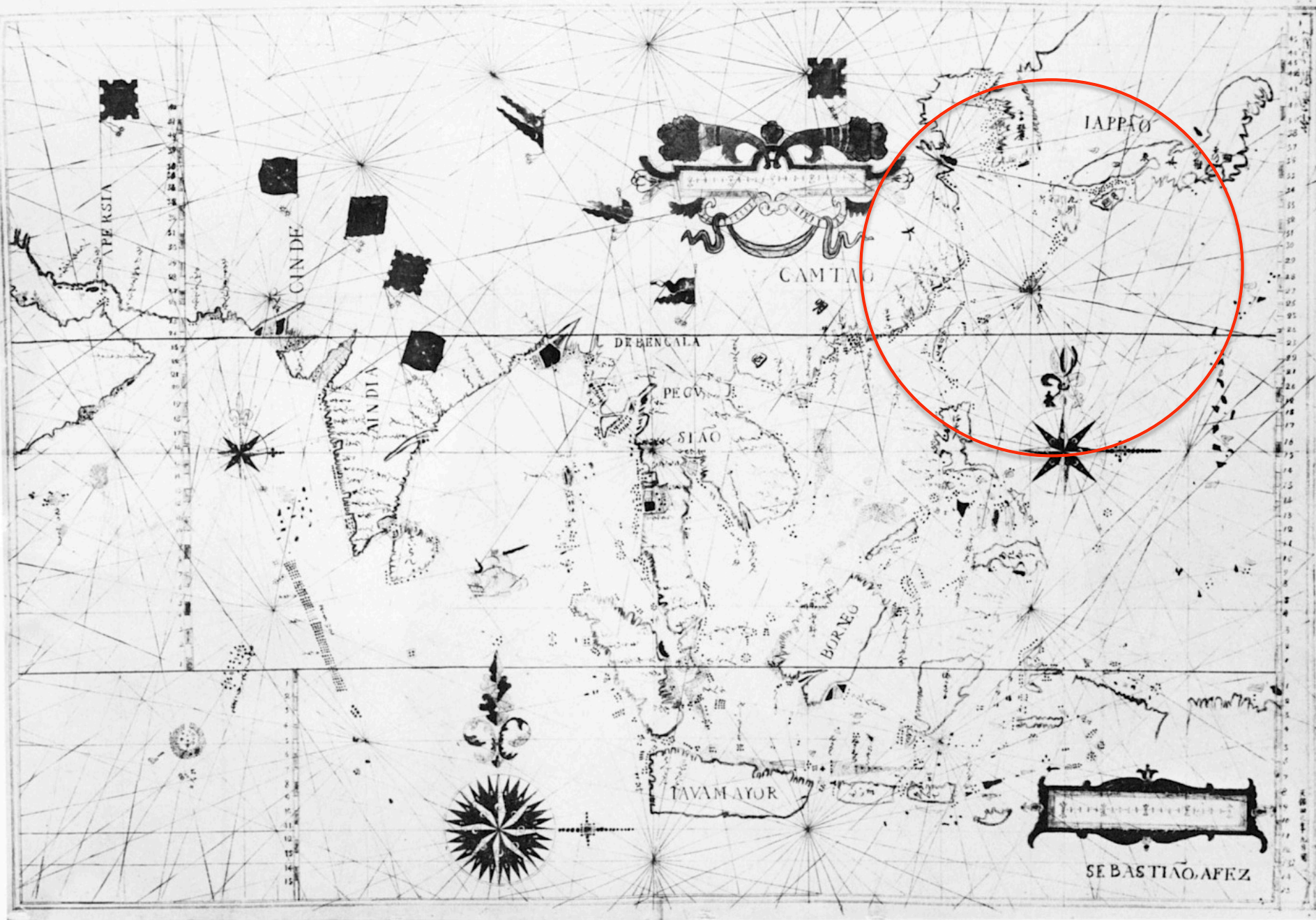


FIG. 2. ITOYA'S CHART, FACSIMILE COPY BY TAKAMI SENSEKI (No. 2).

*Compilation of the same epoch as Ikeda's chart (No. 1). It was used from the time of Hideyoshi to the time of Hidetada (1607) or still later.*





OVINCH.  
 Quinchio  
 Tunchio  
 um qui uerem quinsay quam P. Venetus iustavit.  
 clo. vel alia calamitate diruptam, putent.

Xanthia  
 al Quinsay  
 ul est, calcicir  
 tas quod R. Chn  
 hic scdm habent  
 C. Paquin  
 Chinsam

TON  
 C. Santon  
 XAN  
 Sachiu  
 Quinsay

NANOVII  
 Tartabo  
 Luchiu  
 Natqui  
 Moluru

CHE  
 OVI  
 AM  
 Chiamchui  
 Chiamchui  
 Chiamchui

CAN  
 TAM  
 Chiauchia  
 Chiauchia  
 Chiauchia

ENSEDE ANQUIN

CORIA. Hic quidam Casu Japonicis Condit  
 dicitur, que in sit in p. in pars conuincit nonnam  
 Cogit. Induce quidam sunt proceci, hanc in h  
 quidam sunt proceci, hanc in h

*Navigij genus ex Insula Japonia velis  
 ex arundine contextis lignisqz anchoris.*

*Japones de magno numero liberorum quos  
 ex uxoribus suscipiunt paucos educare,  
 scribuntur, ceteros inter factos abdicare,  
 detritos vel inopia, vel alicuius d  
 molis*

*Ita japones homines facinerosos cruci affigunt  
 crux consistat quatuor lignis, clavis non utitur,  
 sed manus pedesqz alligant; plerumqz sumibus  
 deinde camifer cruce erecta lanceam adigit  
 in latus dextrum, crucifixi, ita Christianos ali  
 quot morti dederunt filii causa.*

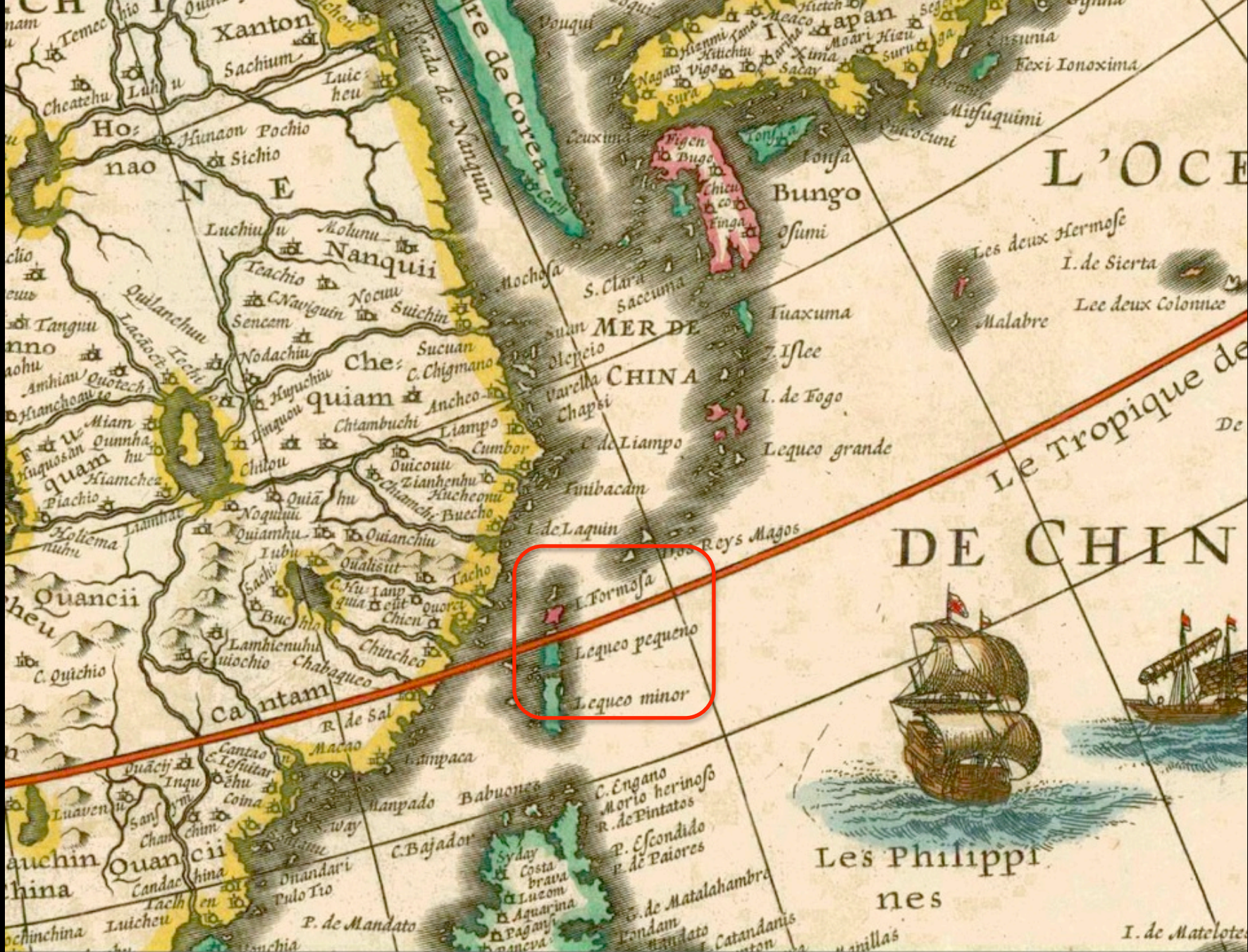
Jodocus Hondius, Amsterdam, 1606.





John Speed, *The Kingdom of China*, 1626.





Petrus Bertius, Map of Asia, 1627.



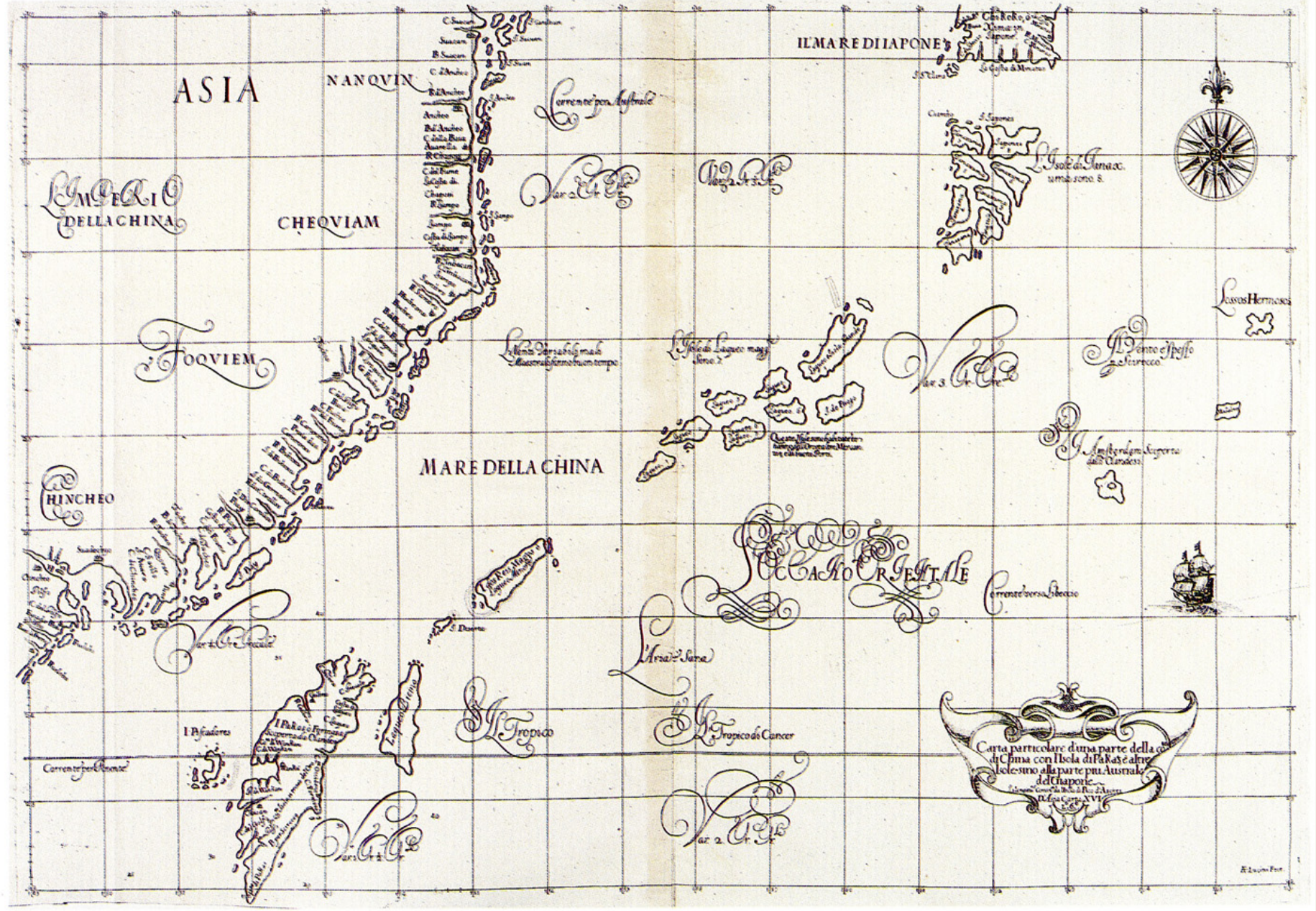






Pierre Mariette, *Asia Recens summa cura delineata* based on Hondius, ca. 1640.





Robert Dudley, Florence, 1646-1647.

Isola di Laqueo maggiore : 6 islands Laqueo + Laqueo Isola Grande + I. de Fogo  
 Isola dos Reis Magos ò Laqueo Minore + Isola Deserta

Laqueo Bicena  
 Formosa



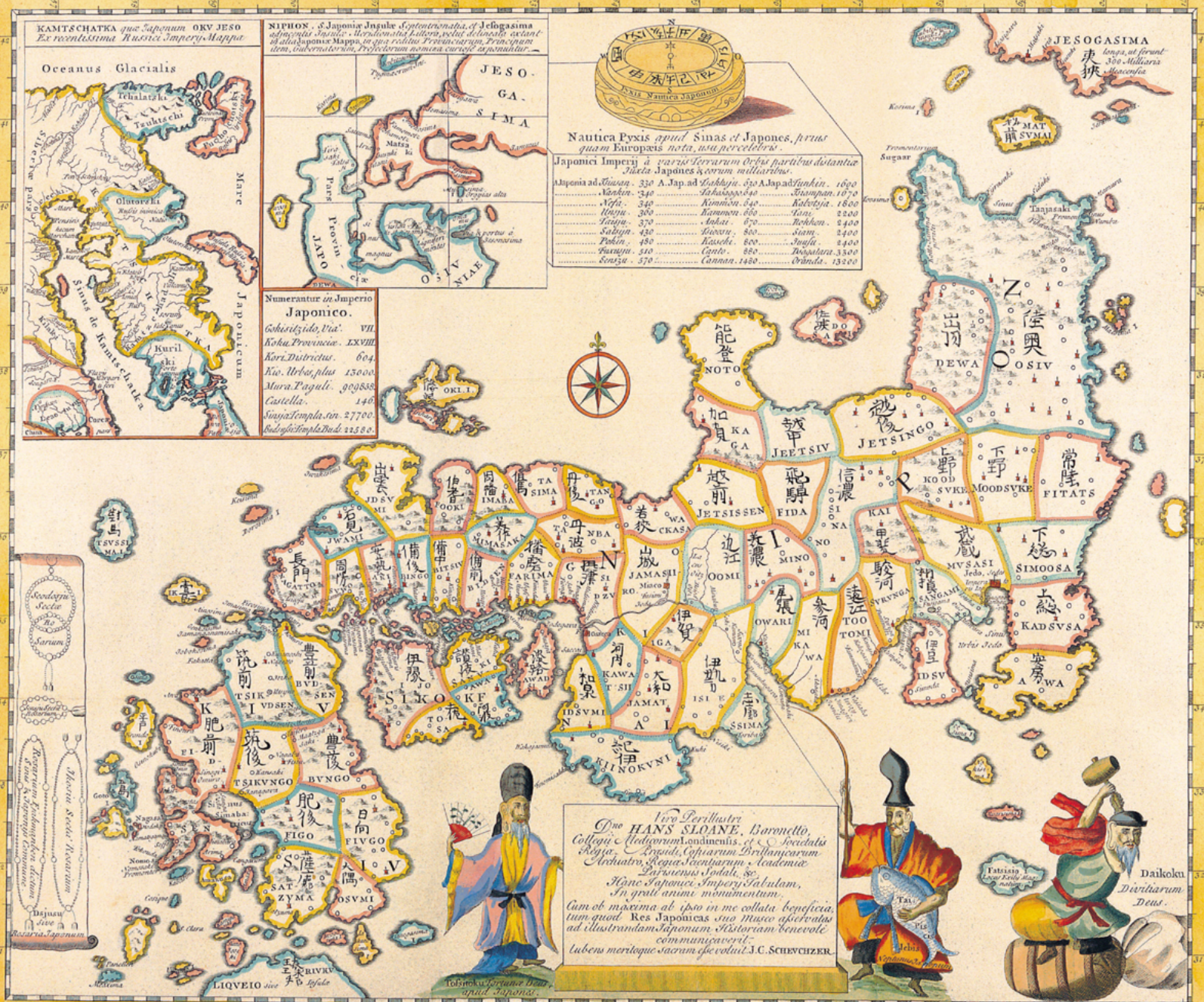


I. de Fuego  
 Dos Reys  
 Lequeio ou Formosa  
 + Taiuan ou Nouvelle  
 Zelande

Okinawa Island is missing

Nicolas et Guillaume Sanson, *Asia*, Paris, 1669.





An example of a representation of Liúqiú/Ryūkyū influenced by Japanese geographical concepts

E. Kaempfer,  
 The History of Japan. London, 1727

(Transl. by J.C. Scheuchzer)

(Detail next page)





Engelbert Kaempfer, 1727.



– Outline of the European toponymy of the Liúqiú Islands before Gaubil's map (1751-58) –

From north-east to south-west:

*Tanegashima* 種子島

*Isla de fuego, Isola di fogo* = Iōtori-shima 硫黄島

*Lequeio* sometimes used as a designation for the Amami-Ōshima 奄美大島 island group

*Great Lequeio Island* = Okinawa Is. 沖繩本島

*Magi Is., I. dos Reis magos, des Rois mages* = Miyako 宮古諸島, Yaeyama 八重山諸島

*Small Lequeio Island, Formosa* = Taiwan 台灣



# – Outline of the European toponymy of the Liúqiú Islands before Gaubil's map (1751-58) –

## Some details:

### 16th-17th c.

Japan (Diogo Homem type)

Tanaxuma, Taxuma, Tanaxima

Ilha Santa Maria

7 ilhas, Siete islas

Ilha do fogo (Isla de fuego, Isola di fogo)

Lequio grande (Lequio maior, Lequiho ou Lequei grande, Lequeio magna)

Fermosa

Islas dos Reis magos (Reys magos, Reys magas)

Lequio pequinho (Lequio minor, Lequiho pequinho, Lequeio pequeño ou parua)

→ Tanegashima

→ Towards Yaku-shima

→ Tokara, Shichi-tō

→ Iōtori-shima

→ Okinawa Island

→ # Lequio pequinho, Miyako, Yaeyama

→ Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands 尖閣群島／釣魚台列嶼  
or Miyako 宮古島 and Yaeyama 八重山 (先島)

→ Formosa (Taiwan)

### André Thevet, 1590

Lequio petite (Small Lequio)

Lequio grande (Great Lequio)

→ Ōshima, Okinawa Island ?

→ Okinawa Island, Formosa (Taiwan) ?

### Robert Dudley (1646-1647)

Isola di Laqueo maggiore: 6 Laqueo isles + Laqueo Isola grande (+ I. de fogo)

Isola dos Reis magos ò Laqueo minore + Isola deserta

Laqueo bicena

Formosa

→ Okinawa Island and neighboring islands + Isle of fire

→ Miyako + Tarama, Minna Islands ?

→ Yaeyama Islands

→ Taiwan

### End of 17th c. – Mid-18th c. (Bellin)

Grande Lequeio, Grande Lieou-kieou, Riuku (Great Ryūkyū)

Isles des Reys magos, Rois mages

Formose

→ Okinawa Island

→ Yaeyama and Miyako sub-archipelagos

→ Taiwan



## PART II

“Antoine Gaubil’s 1758 map of the Liúqiú Islands, and its Chinese model.”

「イエズス会宣教師アントアヌ・ゴービルが描かれた琉球諸島の  
1758年の地図とその中国語での原型」

Patrick BEILLEVAIRE

(CNRS 法国国家科学研究院 – CRJ 日本研究所 – EHESS 社会科学研究院 巴黎)

**Workshop: “Visual Representations in Traditional Science:  
Geographical Maps and Mathematical Diagrams in East and West.”**

May 31, 2013

Tsing Hua University 清華大學 (Hsinchu 新竹市, Taiwan 台湾)

Chair: Prof. Alexei Volkov



Visual representations in traditional science:  
geographical maps and mathematical diagrams  
in East and West

An International Workshop

傳統科學中的視覺呈現：東西方的地理圖與數學圖形

主辦單位：國立清華大學人文社會研究中心

協辦單位：國立清華大學通識教育中心、歷史所

指導單位：教育部、國科會

時間：2013年5月31日

地點：國立清華大學教育館 225 室

Contents

I. Outline .....	2
II. Program.....	3
III. Abstracts	
Patrick BEILLEVAIRE, "16th-18th Century European Cartography of the Ryūkyū Islands: The Chinese Mediation" .....	5
Hsu Kuang-Tai 徐光台, "熊明遇「坤輿萬國全圖」與熊人霖 「輿地全圖」考析 (An Evidential Study on Xiong Mingyu's <i>Kūnyú Wànguó Quántú</i> and Xiong Renlin's <i>Kūnyú Quántú</i> )" .....	9
Alexei VOLKOV 琅元, "A study of the <i>Diagram of the Height of the Sun</i> 日高圖 from the <i>Zhou bi suan jing</i> 周髀算" .....	15
Charlotte POLLET 博佳佳, "Function of mathematical diagrams: An Example from the 13th century Chinese Algebra" .....	17
Vera DOROFEEVA-LICHTMANN 魏德理, "Trees as Cartographic Symbols in Western and Chinese Cartographic Traditions: Preliminary Comparisons" .....	21



## 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Century European Cartography of the Ryūkyū Islands: The Chinese Mediation.

The Ryūkyū Islands 琉球諸島 captured the attention of the Portuguese as soon as they penetrated into the South China Sea in the 1510s. The luxury trade that Ryūkyūan merchants were carrying on with China and as far as Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula made their kingdom, for a while, a more attractive place than the still elusive Japan. Yet, one finds only indirect testimonies that Portuguese or Spanish ships actually visited the Ryūkyū Islands, and the scanty information gleaned about them, primarily found in Tomé Pires's *Suma Oriental*, was most likely obtained mainly from the Chinese. After the establishment of contacts with Japan, these islands fell rapidly into almost complete oblivion. During two hundred years, the evolution of European cartographic representations of the Ryūkyū Islands appears erratic. While the earliest maps of the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century are rather accurate as regards the subdivisions of the archipelago, later maps, until the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, not only bring no improvement as to the number, toponymy and location of the islands, but, on the contrary, show growing confusion, if not patent deterioration. A significant change occurred in the 1750s with the publication, in Paris, of a map and a scholarly memoir sent from Beijing by the Jesuit Antoine Gaubil. His main source is the report, accompanied by maps, written by Xu Baoguang 徐葆光, the vice-ambassador to the kingdom of Ryūkyū for the investiture mission (*sappōshi* 冊封使) of King Shō Kei 尚敬 in 1719. The community of European geographers and cartographers, along with navigators, promptly assimilated Gaubil's contribution. It also aroused the interest of the British and French navies in the Ryūkyū Islands as a possible naval and commercial outpost in the vicinity of China and Japan. Gaubil's map is far from being a chart for navigation. It however identifies all the inhabited islands by their names, either in Chinese or in Ryūkyūan, and it had, in that respect, a lasting influence on western cartography down to the second half the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This presentation aims, first, at giving an overview of the European mapping of the Ryūkyū Islands from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and then at examining how it used and reflected the Chinese geographical knowledge of these islands.



Until the mid-18th century, despite an early interest, the Europeans have still but the **faintest geographical knowledge** on the Liúqiú/Lequeos Islands.

At best, their maps show that the Liúqiú Archipelago is comprised of **three main groups of islands** approximately corresponding to Amami-Ōshima • Okinawa Island • Miyako-Yaeyama sub-archipelagos (奄美大島 • 沖繩本島 • 宮古一八重山群島).

**No indigenous place name is known, save Lequeos or Lequios**, from the Chinese Liúqiú, or **Riukiu**, from the Japanese Ryūkyū (E. Kaempfer, 1727). That name is used as a designation of either the main island Okinawa, the seat of the royal power, or the whole territory of the kingdom.

No noticeable Chinese influence on the representations of the Liúqiú Islands, save the frequent distinction between **Great Liúqiú** 大琉球 = main island of Okinawa 沖繩本島, that is, the kingdom of Liúqiú 琉球王国, a tributary state of the Ming and Qing dynasties, and **Small Liúqiú** 小琉球 = Formosa or Taiwan, inhabited by “non civilized” people. But the distinction is confusedly applied.





**Standard reasonable representation of the Liúqiú Islands before Gaubil's map.**  
**“The number of these islands is unknown”.**  
**Save Liqueio (Liúqiú), no local toponym is mentioned.**

Jacques Nicolas Bellin, 1735 (in Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale du Japon*, Paris, 1736).







## **Gaubil's watershed in the European cartographic representations of the Liúqiú Islands**

- In 1751, from Beijing, the French Jesuit **Antoine Gaubil** sends a memoir on Liúqiú accompanied by a map to Paris.
- It is a **major landmark in the development of the European knowledge of these islands**, their geography, history and culture.

The following presentation focuses :

- first, on the **comparison of Gaubil's map with its Chinese model**
- then, on the use his manuscript map by official cartographers
- it also examines the subsequent use of Gaubil's Chinese source by another European scholar, **H. J. Klaproth**, through the mediation of the Japanese scholar **Hayashi Shihei's** work.



## **Antoine Gaubil's biography (Gaillac, 1689 - Beijing, 1759)**

- Ordained priest in 1718, member of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), solid literary and scientific training, honoured with the diploma of **King's mathematician** attributed by King Louis XV on his departure.
- Leaves for China in 1721 and joins the Beijing Jesuit mission in 1723. Stays **36 years in Beijing**, until his death. Good command of Chinese and Manchu, serves as a Latin-Manchu interpreter for the Russian missions to Beijing.
- **Most impressive scholarly production.** Numerous studies on the dynastic histories, ancient and contemporary, on astronomy, cartography. Translations (*Yi-jing*, *Shu-jing*...).
- Corresponding member of several scientific academies (St. Petersburg, London, Paris).

### **His research on Liúqiú aims at:**

- Enriching European knowledge.
- Finding the means for Europeans merchants to enter into contact with Japan.

A. GAUBIL, *Correspondance de Pékin, 1722-1759*, publiée par Renée SIMON.  
Préface de Paul Demiéville. Genève: Droz, 1970, xviii-1003 p.

P. BEILLEVAIRE, « Au seuil du Japon. Le mémoire du P. Gaubil sur les Ryūkyū et ses lecteurs », *L'Ethnographie*, LXXXVI (2), n° 108, 1990: 15-53.



➡ **Memoir and map sent to Paris in 1751**, entrusted to the care of **Joseph Nicolas Delisle**, astronomer, member of the French Academy of Sciences. Received in Paris in **1752**.

- **Memoir and map published in 1758** in the 28<sup>th</sup> volume of the Jesuit journal *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (edited by S.J. Louis Patouillet), under the title “**Mémoire sur les isles que les Chinois appellent isles de Lieou-kieou.**” 「シナ(中国)人が琉球諸島と呼ぶ諸島についての覚書」 (Memoir on the islands called islands of Lieou-kieou by the Chinese).

- Reprinted in 1781, which is the most often quoted edition, and many times thereafter, until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, generally without the map.
- Quoted in almost all British, French and US travel narratives from Broughton to Perry.

➡ **First European source of detailed information** on the geography, history, administration, customs, religion and produce of the islands and kingdom of Liúqiú.

- As early as 1752-1754, Gaubil’s map is incorporated by **Philippe Buache**, first geographer of the king and Delisle’s son-in-law, and by **Jean-Baptiste d’Anville** in their respective maps of Asia, together with the additional details noted by Gaubil on his map.







## M É M O I R E

*Sur les Isles que les Chinois appellent isles de Lieou-kieou, par le Pere Gaubil, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jesus à Peking.*

L'EMPEREUR Kang-hi ayant résolu en 1719 d'envoyer un Ambassadeur au Roi de *Lieou-kieou*, fit choix pour cette importante commission, d'un des grands Docteurs de l'Empire, nommé *Supao-koang*. Ce Docteur partit dans la cinquieme lune de 1719, revint à Peking dans la seconde lune de 1720, & fit imprimer en 1721, en deux volumes, la relation de son voyage. Il est le premier qui ait donné des isles de *Lieou-kieou*, une connoissance juste & détaillée, & il paroît, à cet égard, mériter d'autant plus de créance, qu'étant sur les lieux mêmes, il a, dit-il, examiné avec soin, selon les ordres de l'Empereur, tout ce qu'il a trouvé de curieux & d'intéressant sur la situation & le nombre des isles de *Lieou-kieou*, sur l'histoire, sur la religion, la langue, les

mœurs & usages des peuples qui les habitent. C'est cet ouvrage de *Supao kouang* qui me fournira le meilleur de ce que j'ai à dire dans les quatre articles de ce mémoire.

## ARTICLE PREMIER.

*Détail géographique sur le nombre & la situation des isles de Lieou-kieou.*

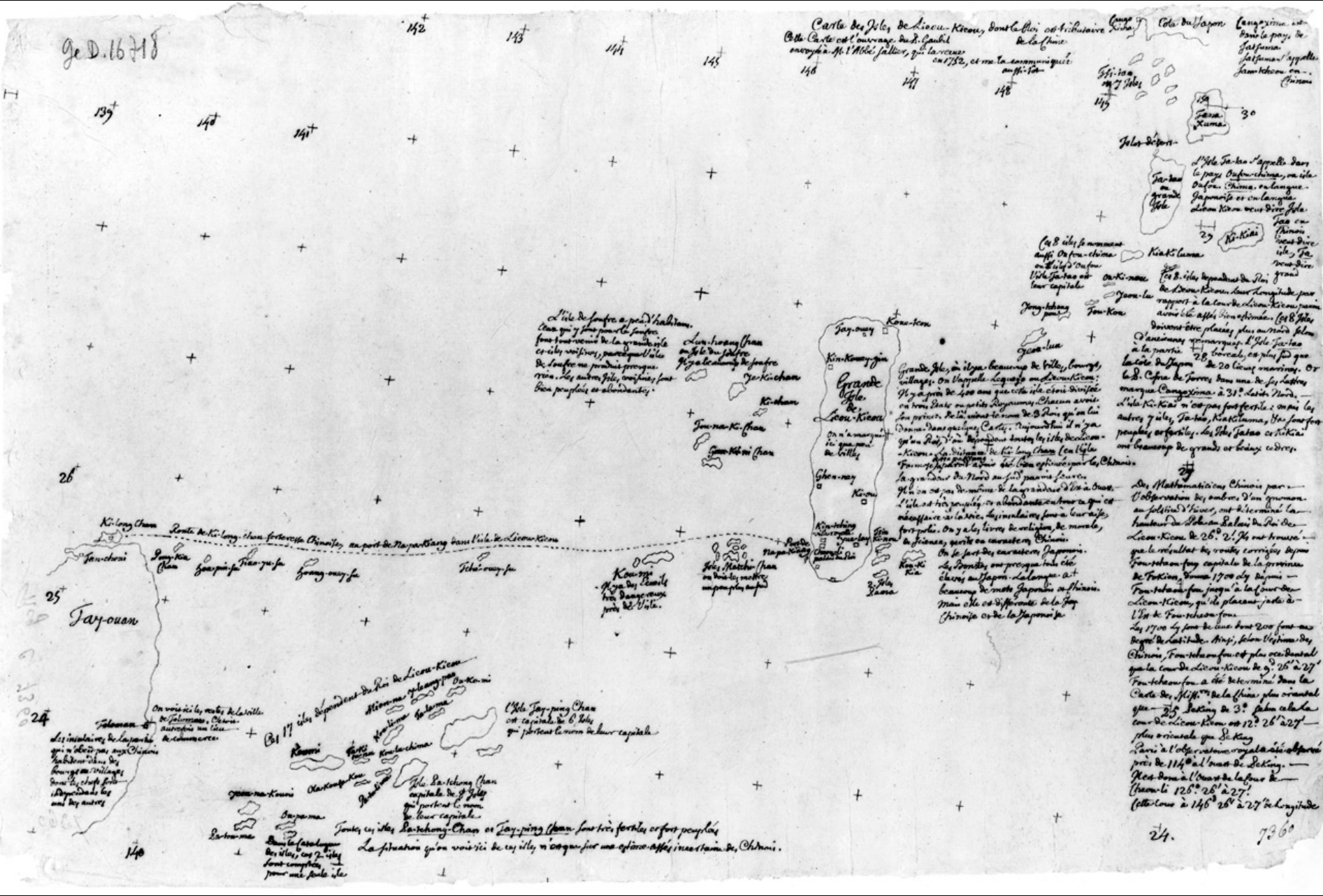
Ces isles, placées entre la Corée, l'isle Formose & le Japon, sont au nombre de 36. L'isle capitale est la grande isle qui s'appelle *Lieou-kieou*. Les autres ont chacune un nom particulier. Nos anciens Missionnaires de la Chine & du Japon en ont parlé sous le nom de *Lequeo*, ou *Lequeyo*. Riccioli les appelle *Loqueo*, de même que le livre Portugais de l'art de naviger, imprimé à Lisbonne en 1712. Kaemffer les nomme *Riu-ku*.

Un Auteur s'est trompé, quand il a dit que les Chinois donnent le nom de Grand *Lieou-kieou* à l'isle Formose. Ce nom n'appartient qu'à la grande isle où le Roi fait sa demeure, & où il tient sa cour; il ne faut, pour en convenir, qu'ouvrir l'Histoire Chinoise de la der-



Ge D. 16718

Carte des Isles de Licou-Kiou, dont la plus occidentale s'appelle  
Celle Carte est l'ouvrage de M. Gaubil  
en 1752, et me la envoyant que  
en 1752, et me la envoyant que  
en 1752, et me la envoyant que



l'île de Fou-ou s'appelle dans  
le pays Fou-ou-chiou, ou île  
de Fou-ou. Chinois, en langue  
Japonaise on l'appelle  
Licou-Kiou, ou Licou-Kiou.

L'île de Fou-ou a peu d'habitans.  
Celle qui y étoit par le passé  
font tous venus de la grande île  
et s'y sont retirés, parce qu'il y a  
de l'ouïe ou par d'autres raisons.  
Les autres îles, voisines, font  
bien peuplées et abondantes.

Les îles de Fou-ou  
sont les plus petites  
de toute la chaîne de Fou-ou.  
Elles ont été découvertes  
par les Japonais, et sont  
aujourd'hui habitées par  
des Chinois.

Grande Ile de Licou-Kiou  
Celle Carte est l'ouvrage de M. Gaubil  
en 1752, et me la envoyant que  
en 1752, et me la envoyant que  
en 1752, et me la envoyant que

Des Mathématiciens Chinois par  
l'observation des ombres d'un gnomon  
au soléil à Pékin, ont déterminé la  
hauteur du Pôle du Palais du Roi de  
Licou-Kiou de 26° 21' 1/2 et trouvent  
que la réclatée des vents corrigée d'après  
Fou-touan-fou capitale de la province  
de Fokien, sous 1700 est de 27°  
Fou-touan-fou jusqu'à la fourche  
de Licou-Kiou, qu'il placeant jadis à  
1700 de Fou-touan-fou  
à 1700 de Fou-touan-fou  
à 1700 de Fou-touan-fou  
à 1700 de Fou-touan-fou

On voit ici les notes de la carte  
de Fokien, Chinois, sous le nom  
de Licou-Kiou.

Antoine Gaubil's manuscript map, 1751

(Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des cartes et plans).







## Sources of Gaubil's memoir and map

- Essentially, the report of the investiture mission 冊封使 **sent in 1719** for King Shō Kei 尚敬's investiture: 『中山伝信録』 (*Zhōngshān chuánxìn lù*), preface dated 1721. The envoys spent eight months in Okinawa. The mission was comprised of some 600 merchants.

- Author of the report: vice-ambassador **Xú Bǎoguāng** 徐葆光, a distinguished scholar, graduate from Hànlín Academy 翰林院 (Hànlín Yuàn), 3<sup>e</sup> rank *tàn-huā* 探花.

- ➔ **The mission included two cartographers** (Píng Ān 平安, Fēng Shèng-é 豐盛額) by order of emperor **Kāngxī** whose interest in cartography grew under Jesuit influence. **Píng Ān** studied during two years with the Jesuits and had already carried out topographical surveys in various provinces of China.

- The 4<sup>th</sup> volume is devoted to the geography and cartography of the “36 Liúqiú islands”:

「琉球三十六島」 「琉球地圖」 .

- Gaubil also obtains direct information from Chinese astronomers and cartographers in Beijing.



## Outline of Chinese mapping of Liúqiú.

**Liúqiú** was probably known to the Chinese from as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> century (*cf. Suíshū* 隨書, account of several expeditions to Liúqiú that took place earlier in the 7<sup>th</sup> century or before, discussions among European scholars as to whether the country described was **Taiwan** or **Liúqiú**).

Later Chinese chronicles refer mostly to the *Suíshū* until the recognition of **Liúqiú-guó** as a tribute state 進貢国 by the Ming dynasty 明王朝 in **1372**. At first, almost simultaneous recognition of the three chiefdoms that ruled over Okinawa Island: as a consequence, their leader was authorized to bear the title of “king”; in 1429, one of these little kingdoms, Zhongshan/Chūzan 中山, achieved the political unification of the island.

➔ Thereafter the Chinese envoys sent to **Liúqiú** for the investiture ceremonies wrote detailed reports of their missions, *sappōshi-roku* 冊封使錄. Reports copied by hand or printed. 15 missions during the Ming period 明代, 8 during the Qing period 清代.

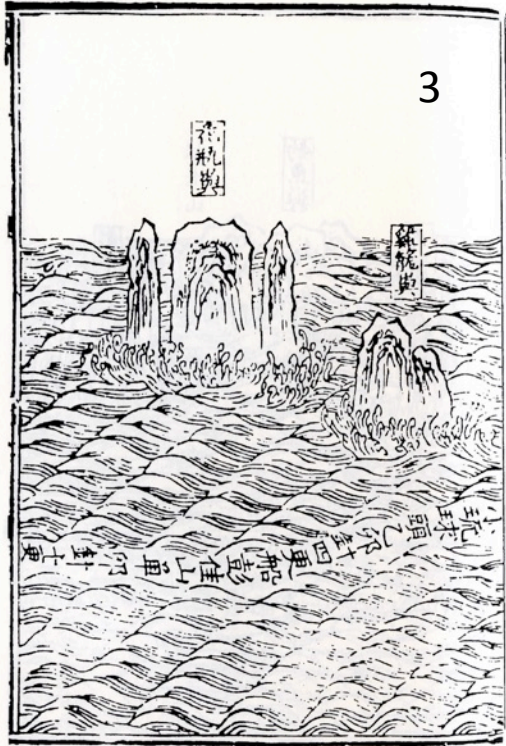
The 1579 *Shǐ Liúqiú lù* 使琉球錄 is illustrated by a series of drawings showing the route between the Fujian coast and Naha.

Under the same title *Shǐ Liúqiú lù*, the report of the 1606 investiture mission carries another series of naïve drawings showing the route between Fujian and Naha.

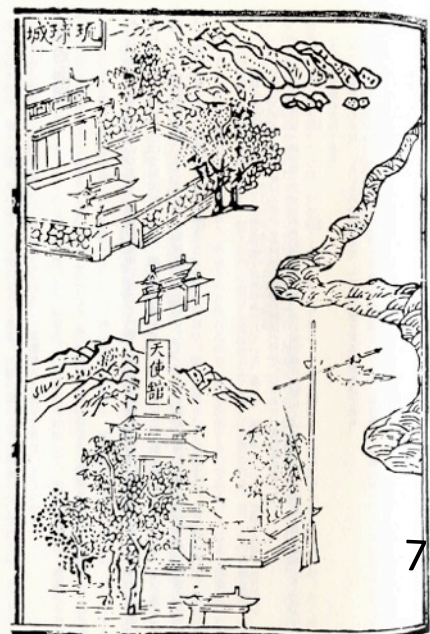
The report of the 1756 investiture mission, *Liúqiú-guó zhìlüè* 琉球國志略, has also three maps inspired from the maps of the *Zhōngshān chuánxìn lù* 中山傳信錄, but of cruder style.

Only the 1719 mission seems to have included cartographers among its members.





Xiāo Chóngyè  
 蕭崇業  
 Xiè Jié  
 謝杰  
 Shǐ Liúqiú lù  
 使琉球錄  
 1579





Xià Ziyáng 夏子陽  
*Shǐ Liúqiú lù* 使琉球錄  
 1606

*Hǎijiāng yáng jiè xíngshì quán tú*  
 海疆洋界形勢全圖, ca. 1787  
 Library of Congress, Geography and Map  
 Division, Washington, D.C. (Copy from the  
 National Museum of History, Taipei, Taiwan).





## Contribution and limits of Gaubil's work on Liúqiú:

- Identification of the “36 islands” and their subdivisions. **Chinese or Liúqiúan toponymy** (the latter being phonetically transcribed in Chinese in the report and on the map of Xú Bǎoguāng 徐葆光). Apart from the main island of Okinawa and its neighboring islets, the Liúqiúan archipelago is divided into **six island groups** (like on Xú Bǎoguāng's map): north-east (8 isl.), north-west (5 isl.), east (4 isl.), west (3 isl.), south (7 isl.), south-west (9 isl.).
- Accuracy of the latitude at **Shuri** 首里:  $26^{\circ} 2'$  on the manuscript map instead of  $26^{\circ} 13'$ , but only  $26^{\circ}$  in the memoir; Miyako Island 宮古島 almost correctly located, the Yaeyama islands 八重山諸島 too far south.
- Like on the Chinese map, **the shapes of the islands are totally unrealistic; their relative positioning and the distances between them are also very approximate, if not false:**
  - Kudaka Island 久高島 located “145 *li*” east of Shuri 首里, instead of 20 kms
  - Length of Okinawa Island 沖繩本島 estimated at 440 *li*,  $\pm 220$  kms, instead of 100 kms
  - But the distance Fuzhou-Okinawa 福州-沖繩 is almost accurate, 1700 *li* ( $\pm 850$  kms).
- The map mentions the Diàoyútái Islands 釣魚台列嶼 – Senkaku Islands 尖閣群島.
- **In Gaubil's memoir and letters, anachronistic information** concerning the commercial and political situation of the kingdom of Liúqiú, dating back to the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

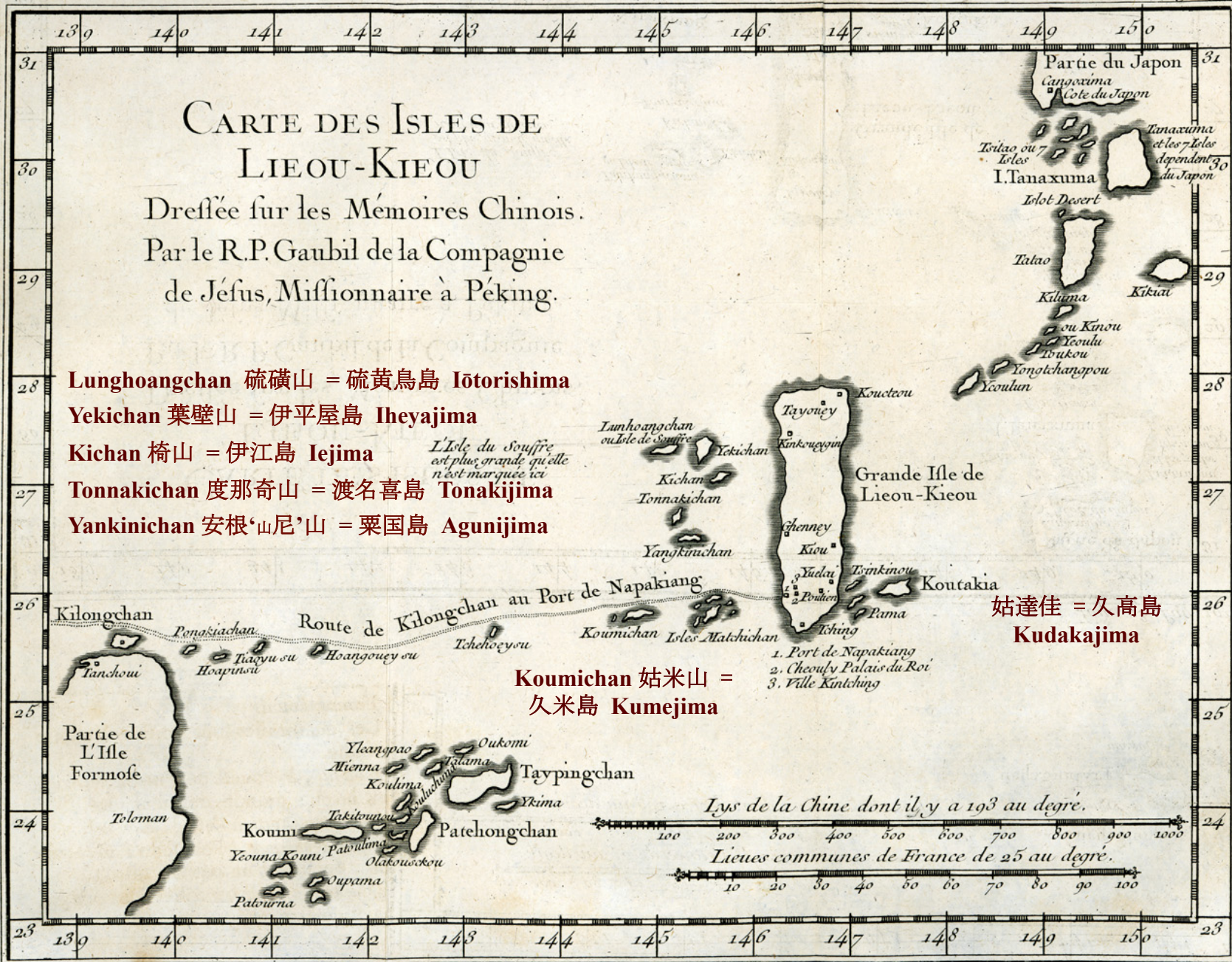


















Gaubil's memoir provides a description of each sub-archipelago.

Here is what concerns Miyako (Taipingchan 大平山) and Yaeyama (Patchongchan 八重山) groups of islands.

Les sept îles au sud de Cheouli, qui sont nommées les îles *Tai-ping-chan*, sont, 1.<sup>o</sup> *Tai-ping-chan*, qu'on appelle aussi *Ma-kou-çhan*. Le docteur chinois lui donne soixante lis de tour, et la dit éloignée de Cheouli de deux mille lis; plusieurs, au contraire, assurent qu'elle est beaucoup plus grande et moins éloignée. Les autres îles dont on ne marque pas la distance, sont *Ykima* au sud-est de *Tai-ping-chan*; *Yleang-pa* au sud-ouest; *Kou-lima* à l'ouest; *Talama* aussi à l'ouest; *Mienna* au sud-ouest; et *Oukomi* au nord-ouest.

Enfin les neuf îles au sud-ouest de Cheouli, sont: *Pat-chong-chan*, qui est au sud-ouest de *Tai-ping-chan*, et en est éloignée de quarante lis; *Pama* (nom de deux petites îles); *Palouma*, *Yeouna-kouni*, au sud-ouest de *Pat-chong-chan*.

Ces quatre îles sont voisines de l'île Formose.

*Kou-mi*, à l'ouest de *Pat-chon-chan*; c'est la plus grande des neuf îles; *Ta-ki-tou-non*, à l'est de *Kou-mi*.

*Kou-la-chi-ma*, à l'ouest de *Pat-chong-chan*, déclinant un peu au nord.

*Ola-kou-se-kou*, ou *ville nouvelle*, à l'ouest de *Pat-chong-chan*.

*Pa-tou-li-ma*, au nord-est de *Pat-chong-chan*.



Antoine Gaubil, 1751 and 1758, Miyako and Yaeyama groups of islands.



*Ces 17 îles dépendent du Roi de Licou-Kiou*  
 Mienna, Yleangpao, Ōgami  
 Koulima, Kouluchuna  
 Koumi, Patehongchan  
 Yeouna Kouni, Patoulima, Hateruma?, Olakouskou  
 Oupama, Kohama, Patourna, Hatoma?

*L'île Jay-ping Chan est capitale de 6 îles qui portent le nom de leur capitale*

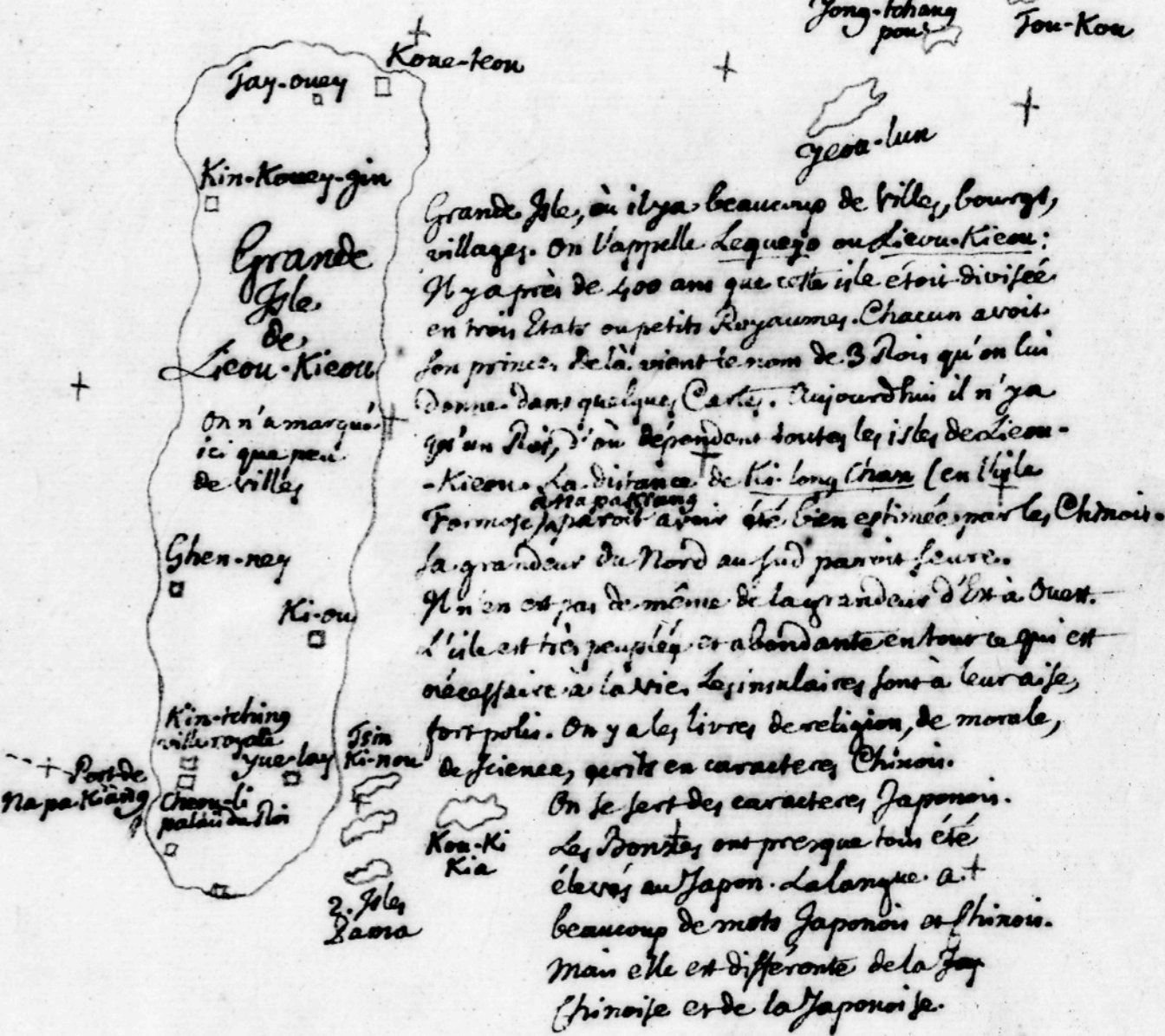
*L'île Sa-tchong Chan capitale de 9 îles qui portent le nom de leur capitale*

*Toutes ces îles Sa-tchong-Chan et Jay-ping Chan sont très fertiles et fort peuplées*  
 La situation qu'on voit ici de ces îles, n'enquerra sur une certaine affe, inestaine de, Chinois.

*Dans la situation des îles, ces 2 îles sont complètes pour une seule île*







“Grande Isle, où il y a beaucoup de villes, bourgs, villages. On l’appelle Lequeyo ou Lieou-kieou. Il y a près de 400 ans que cette île étoit divisée en trois Etats ou petits Royaumes. Chacun avoit son prince. De là vient le nom de 3 Rois qu’on lui donne dans quelques cartes. Aujourd’hui il n’y a qu’un Roi, d’où dépendent toutes les îles de Lieou-kieou. La distance de Ki-long-chan (en l’île Formose) à Napa-kiang apparoit avoir été bien estimée par les Chinois. La grandeur du Nord au Sud paroit seure. Il n’en est pas de même de la grandeur d’Est à Ouest. L’île est très peuplée et abondante en tout ce qui est nécessaire à la vie. Les insulaires sont à leur aise, fort polis. On y a les livres de religion, de morale, de science, écrits en caractères chinois. On se sert des caractères japonois. Les Bonzes ont presque tous été élevés au Japon. La langue a beaucoup de mots japonois et chinois, mais elle est différente de la chinoise et de la japonoise.”

Great Lieou-kieou Island.

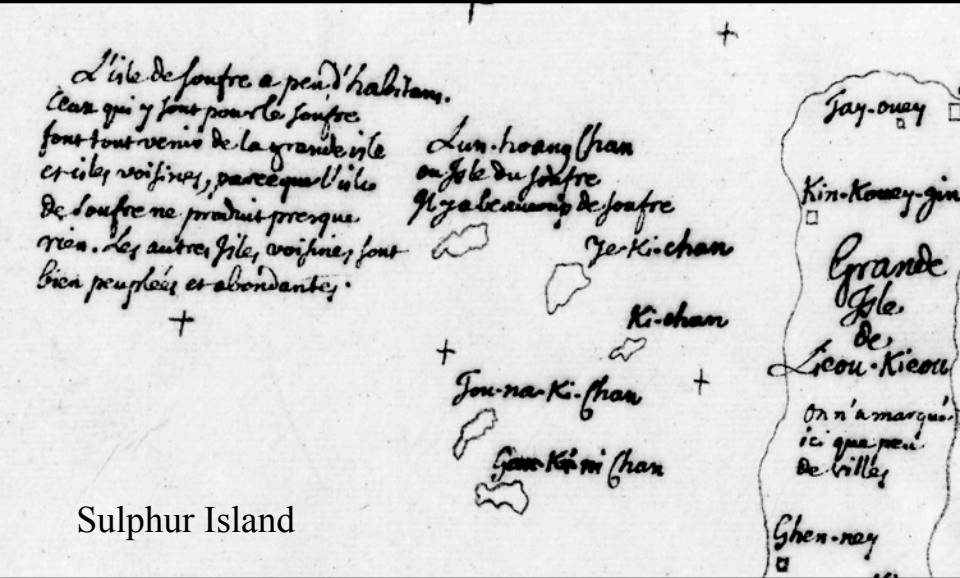
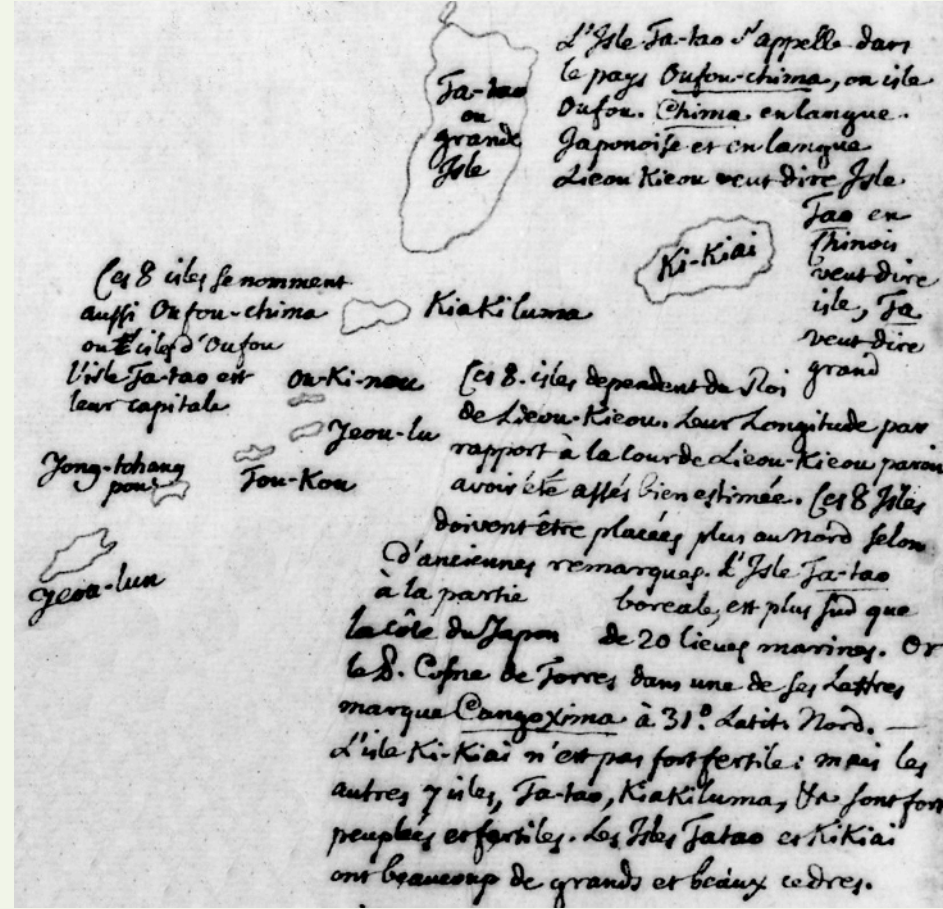


Des Mathématiciens Chinois par  
 l'observation de, ombres d'un gnomon  
 au solstice d'hiver, ont déterminé la  
 hauteur du Pole au Palais du Roi de  
 Lieou-Kieou de  $26^{\circ} 2'$ . Ils ont trouvé  
 que le résultat de, routes corrigées depuis  
 Fou-tcheou-fou capitale de la province  
 de Tokien, donne 1700 ly depuis  
 Fou-tcheou-fou jusqu'à la cour de  
 Lieou-Kieou, qu'ils placent juste à  
 l'Est de Fou-tcheou-fou  
 Les 1700 ly sont de ceux dont 200 font au  
 degré de latitude. Ainsi, selon l'estime de  
 Chinois, Fou-tcheou-fou est plus occidental  
 que la cour de Lieou-Kieou de  $9^{\circ} 26'$  à  $27'$   
 Fou-tcheou-fou a été déterminé dans la  
 Carte des Miss.<sup>ons</sup> de la Chine plus oriental  
 que  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Seking de  $3^{\circ}$  selon cela la  
 cour de Lieou-Kieou est  $12^{\circ} 26'$  à  $27'$   
 plus orientale que Seking  
 Paris à l'observatoire royal a été observé  
 près de  $114^{\circ}$  à l'ouest de Seking. —  
 Men don à l'ouest de la cour de  
 Cheou-li  $126^{\circ} 26'$  à  $27'$   
 cette cour à  $146^{\circ} 26'$  à  $27'$  de longitude

“Des mathématiciens chinois, par l’observation des ombres d’un gnomon au solstice d’hiver, ont déterminé la hauteur du Pole au Palais du Roi des Lieou-kieou de  $26^{\circ} 2'$ . Ils ont trouvé que le résultat des routes corrigées depuis Fou-tcheou-fou, capitale de la province de Fokien, donne 1700 ly depuis Fou-tcheou-fou jusqu’à la cour des Lieou-kieou, qu’ils placent juste à l’Est de Fou-tcheou-fou.”

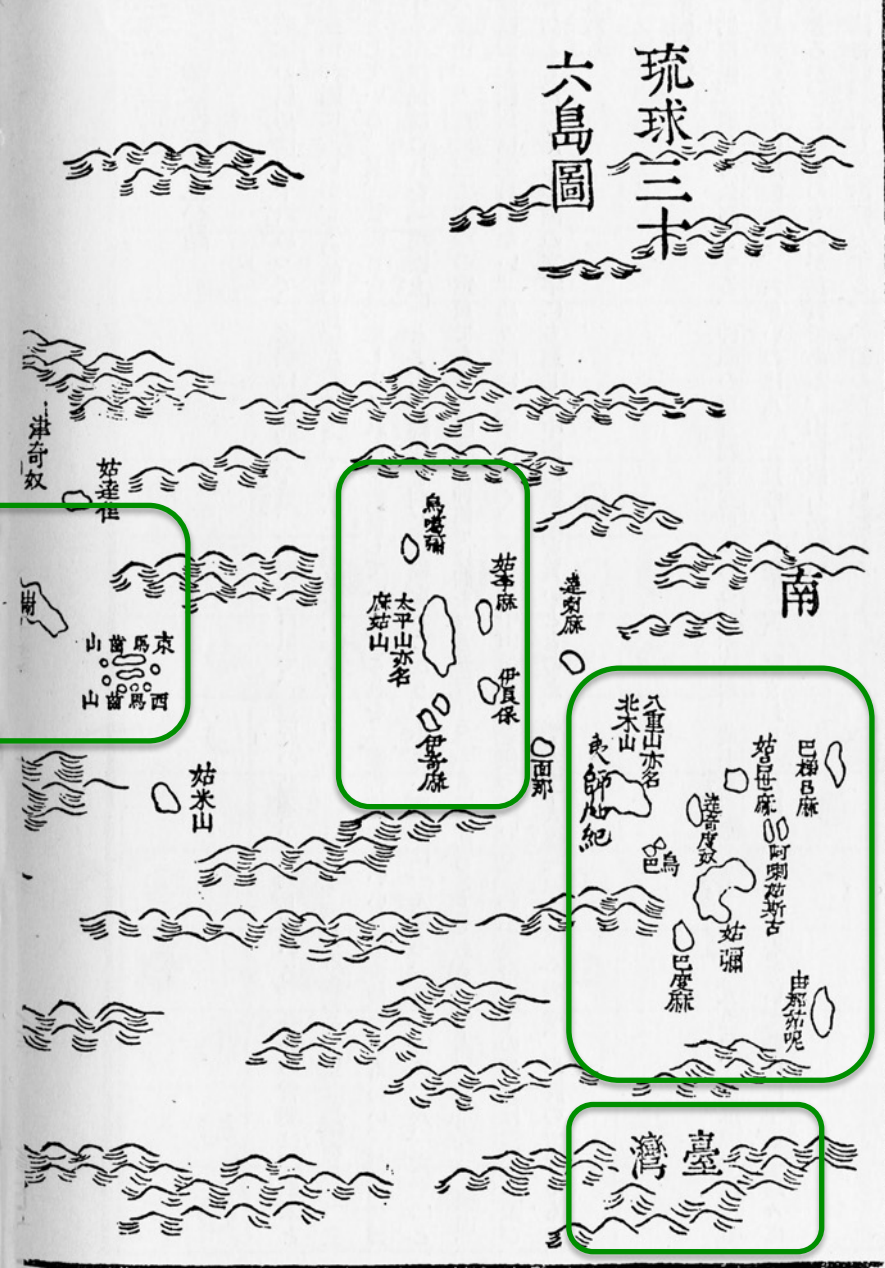
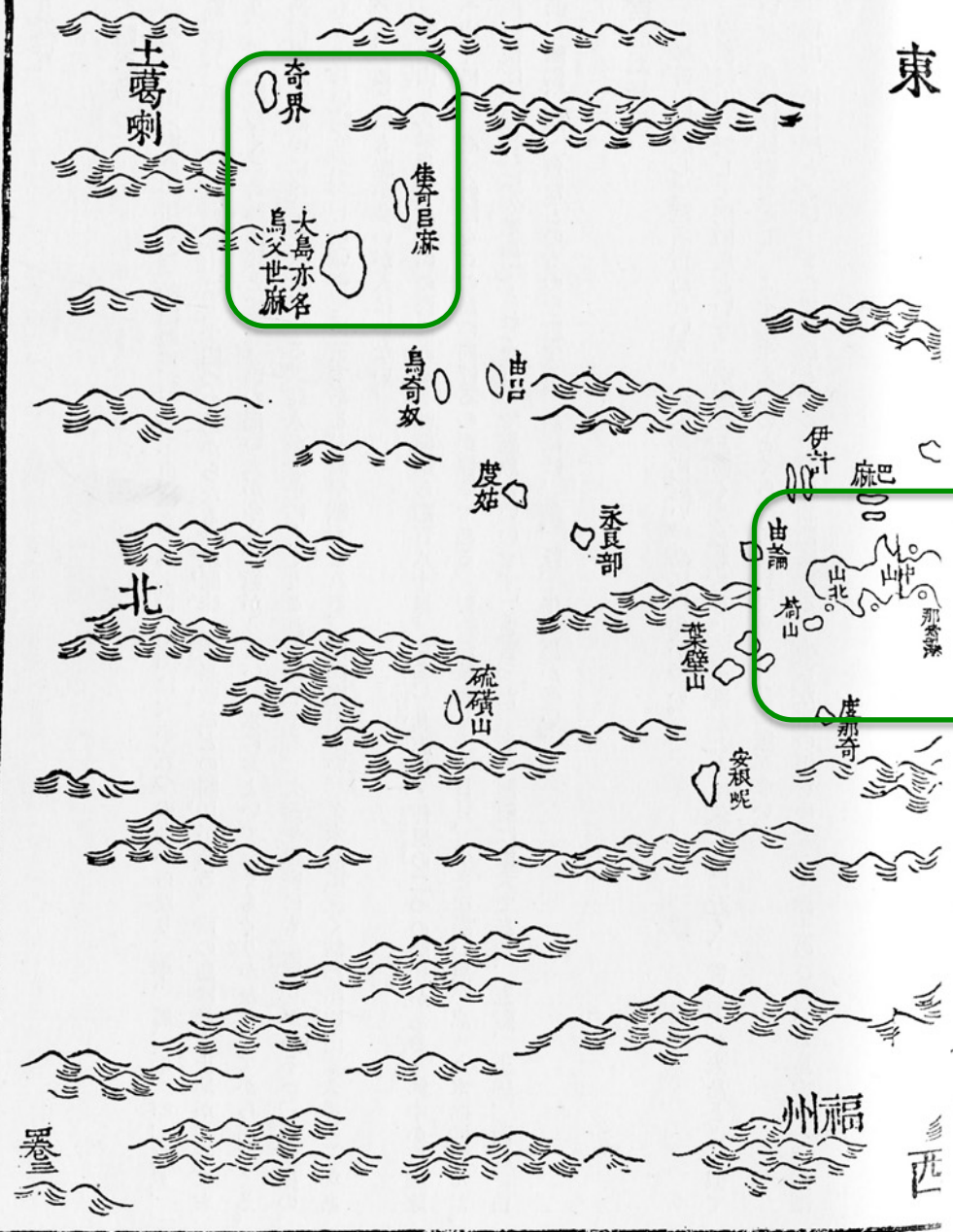
“From the observation of the shades of a gnomon (sundial) at the winter solstice, some Chinese mathematicians established that the height of the Pole at the palace of the King of Liúqiú was  $26^{\circ} 2'$ . They found that the calculation of the corrected routes from Fuzhou 福州, the capital of Fujian 福建 province, gives 1700 li, from Fuzhou to the royal court of Liuqiu, which they locate exactly east of Fuzhou.”





Islands located north of Okinawa.

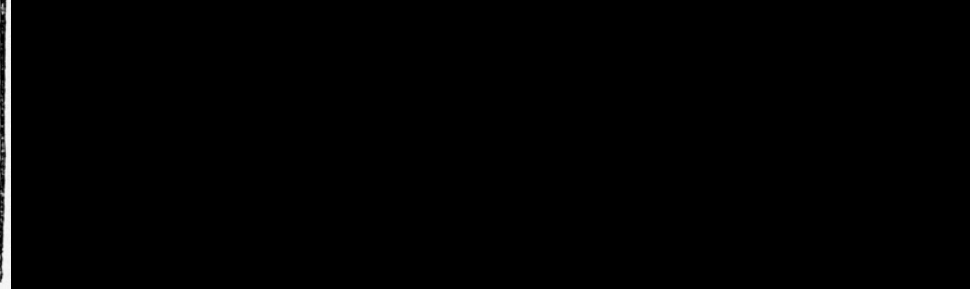
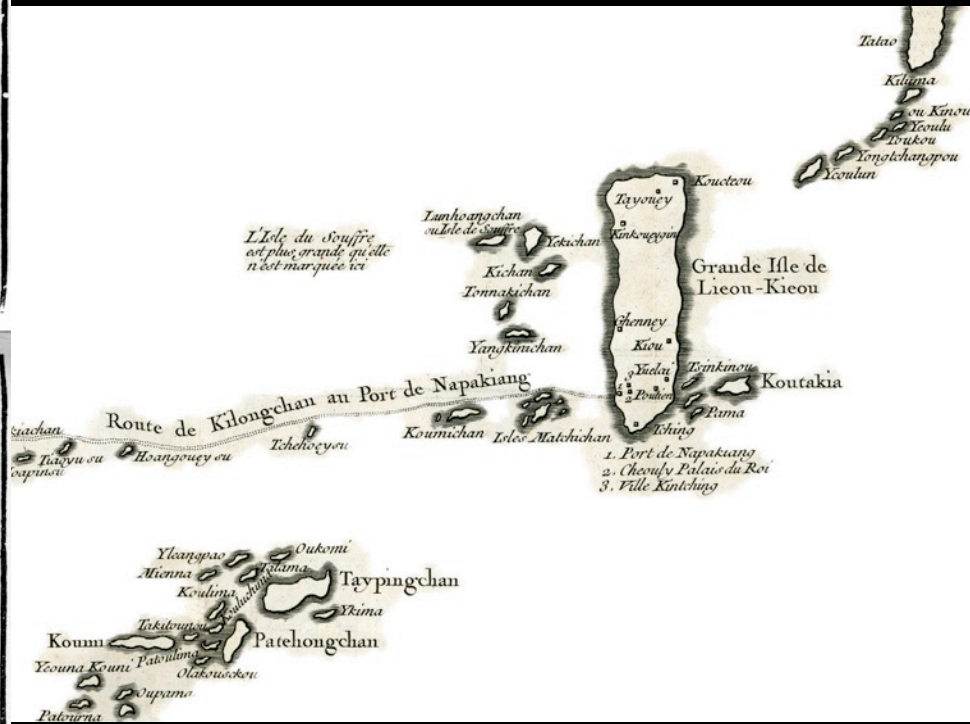
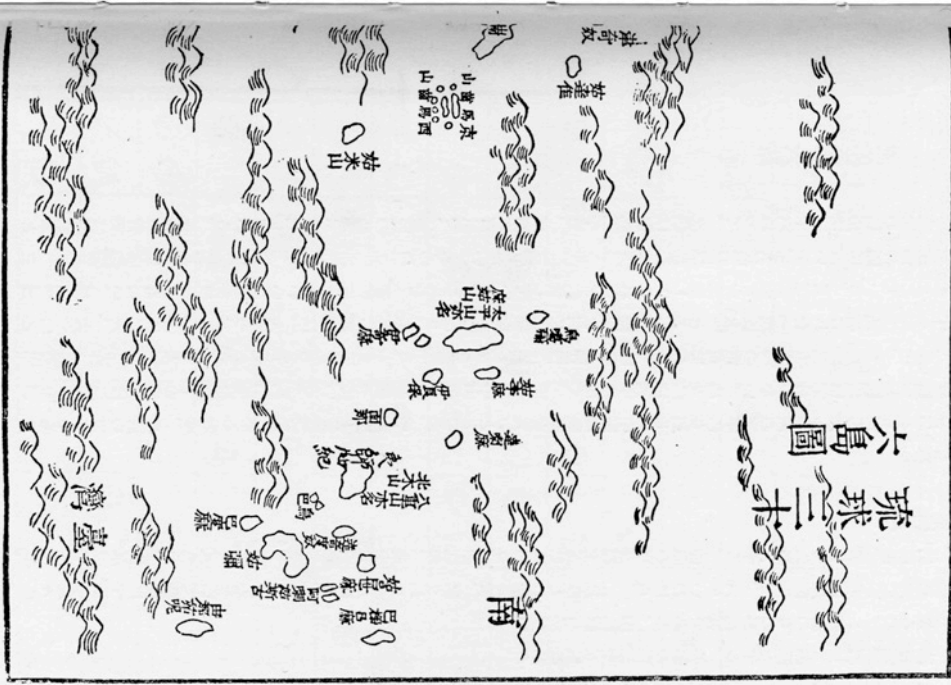
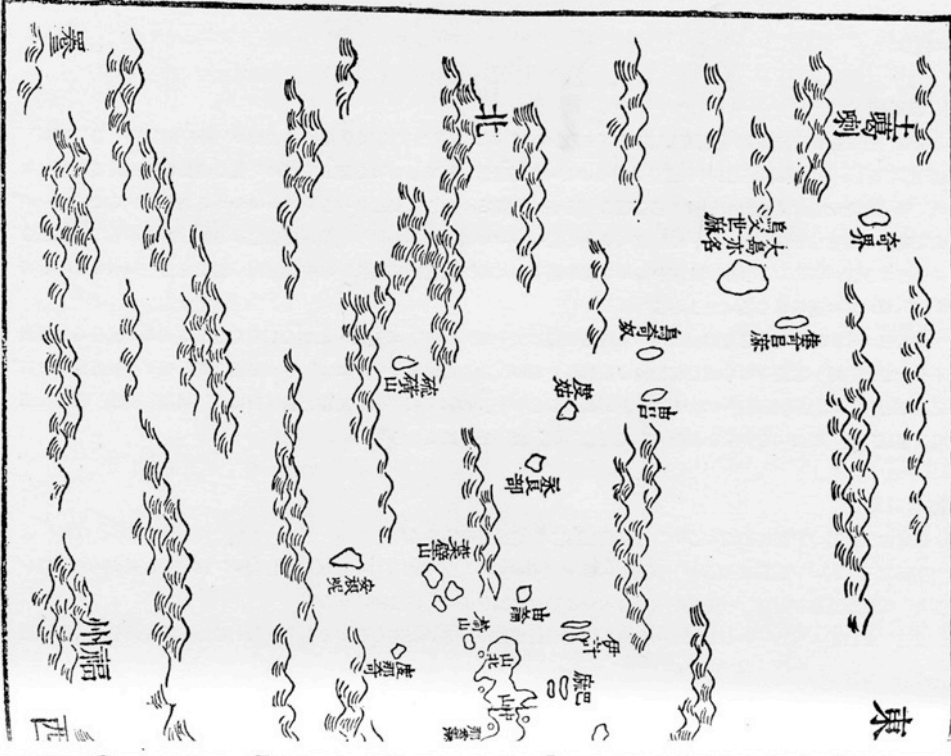




Xú Bǎoguāng (jap. Jo Hokō) 徐葆光 『中山伝信録』 (Zhōngshān chuánxìn lù), 1721.

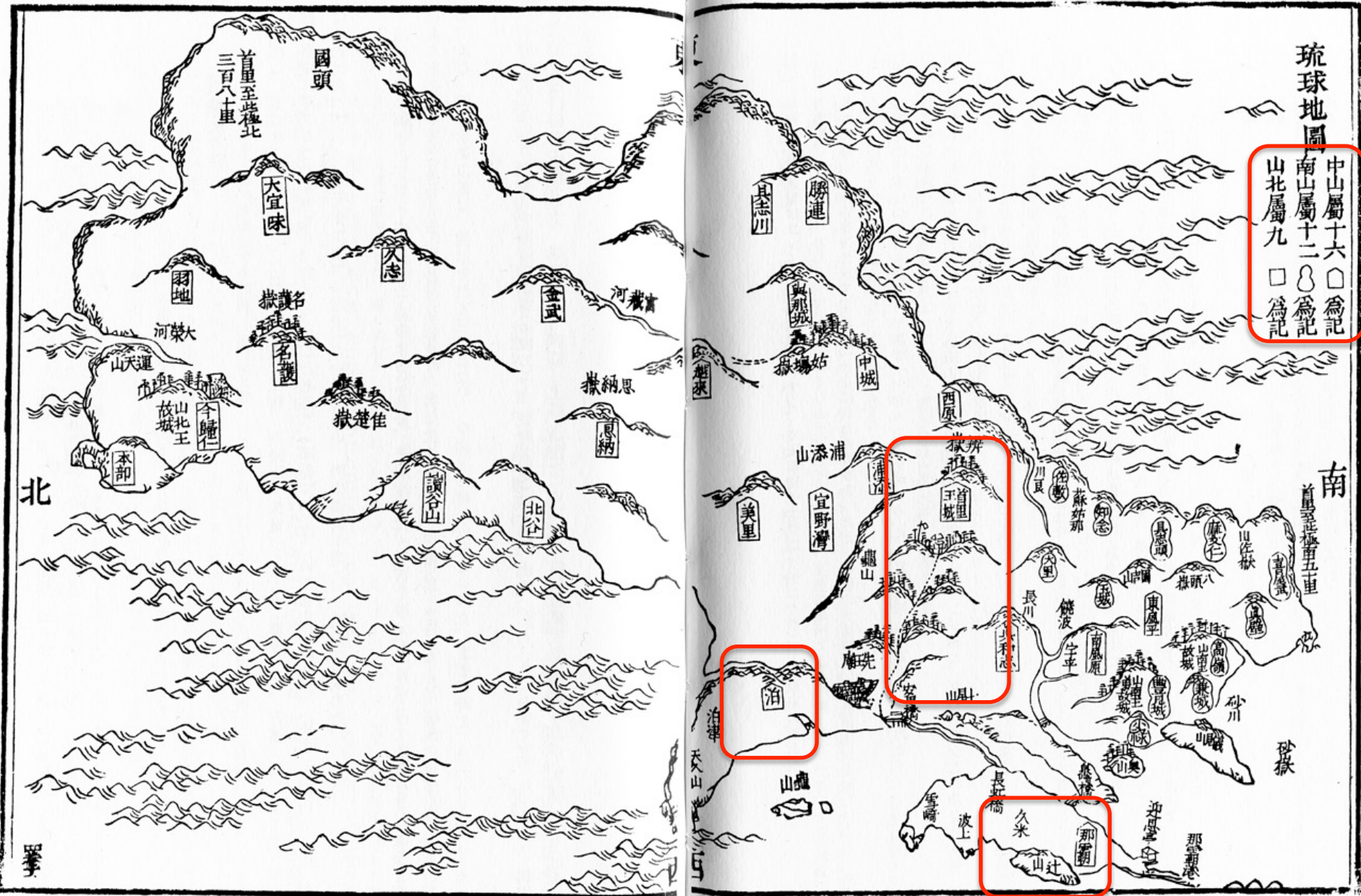


Comparison between Gaubil's map and the "map of the 36 islands" comprising the kingdom of Liúqiú from Xú Bǎoguāng 徐葆光's *Zhōngshān chuánxìn lù* 中山伝信録.





Anachronistic permanence of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century tripartite political and territorial division of Okinawa Island between Zōngshān 中山 (center), Nánshān 南山 (south) and Shānběi 山北 (north) “kingdoms”.



Xú Bǎoguāng (jap. Jo Hokō) 徐葆光 『中山伝信録』 (Zhōngshān chuánxìn lù), 1721.







## **Anachronistic information on Liuqiu's trade in the 18th century**

« Il y a dans toutes ces isles des manufactures de soie, de toile, de papier, d'armes, de cuivre; d'habiles ouvriers en **or, argent, cuivre**, fer, étain et autres métaux; **bon nombre de barques et de vaisseaux, non seulement pour aller d'une isle à l'autre, mais encore pour aller à la Chine, et quelquefois au Tong-king, à la Cochinchine, et dans d'autres lieux plus éloignés, en Corée, à Nanga-za-ki, à Sat-Suma, dans les isles voisines et à Formose. On m'a assuré qu'à Lieou-kieou on fait un assez bon commerce avec la partie orientale de Formose**, et que, de cette côte orientale, les insulaires des isles de Patchong-chan [Yaeyama], Tayping-chan [Miyako] et de la grande isle, **tirent de l'or et de l'argent**. Du reste, **les vaisseaux des isles Lieou-kieou sont estimés des Chinois et des Japonais**. » (Gaubil, « Mémoire »)



« Si les Espagnols vouloient faire les dépenses requises, je crois que par le moyen de Manille et les isles Marianes, malgré les Hollandois **ils pourroient faire un commerce considérable avec le Japon** ou médiatement par la côte orientale de Formose, **par les isles de Lieou kieou**, par la côte orientale de Jesso, ou immédiatement par quelque port de Satsuma et des isles qui sont à son sud et sud-est [...] Les Princes qui y règnent ne sont pas si dépendants que cy-devant de l'Empereur du Japon, et par le moyen des habitans de Lieou kieou et des Japonois des isles on pourroit traiter avec ces princes. L'empereur du Japon est maître de Matsmey [...], mais il n'est pas maître de l'intérieur de Jéço ni des isles qui sont à son nord, ni des côtes occidentales et orientales de Jéço. **Il n'est pas maître aussy aux isles Lieou kieou**, et si les habitans d'une des isles qu'on choisiroit étoient bien traités et trouvoient leur compte, les Européans s'y maintiendroient sans peine. **Supposé que les François fissent cette entreprise, je suppose qu'ils prendroient de bonnes mesures pour obvier aux difficultés qu'ils pourroient trouver dans les Espagnols, Portugais et les Hollandois. Il faudroit y apporter de l'argent, des curiosités d'Europe, du fer et de l'acier. Ils auroient du pays du souffre, du cuivre, de l'étain, du thé, et ils seroient bientôt au fait de ce qu'ils devoient y apporter et de ce qu'ils pourroient en recevoir.** Pour le commencement, avec quelque gratification, ils pourroient se servir de quelques Chinois entendus des isles entre la Chine et la Sonde, ou de ceux de Manille ou des provinces de Canton et Fokien en Chine, et il seroit bon d'avoir des présents à faire aux chefs des peuplades orientales de Formose, aux gouverneurs des isles de Lieou kieou, au Roi de Grande Isle, aux Princes de Satsuma et de Bungo au Japon, aux chefs des peuplades de Jéço selon les endroits où on iroit. Ce que je dis ici n'est que sur le peu que j'ai autrefois ouï du P. Parrenin et sur ce que j'ai su d'ailleurs. L'exécution demande du temps, de l'expérience et de la patience. »

« Malgré ce qu'ont dit de la gêne où sont les Chinois pour leur commerce au Japon, il est seür que le commerce leur est avantageux et qu'ils le font en partie par l'entremise des habitans de Lieou kieou, des isles de Satsuma même. »

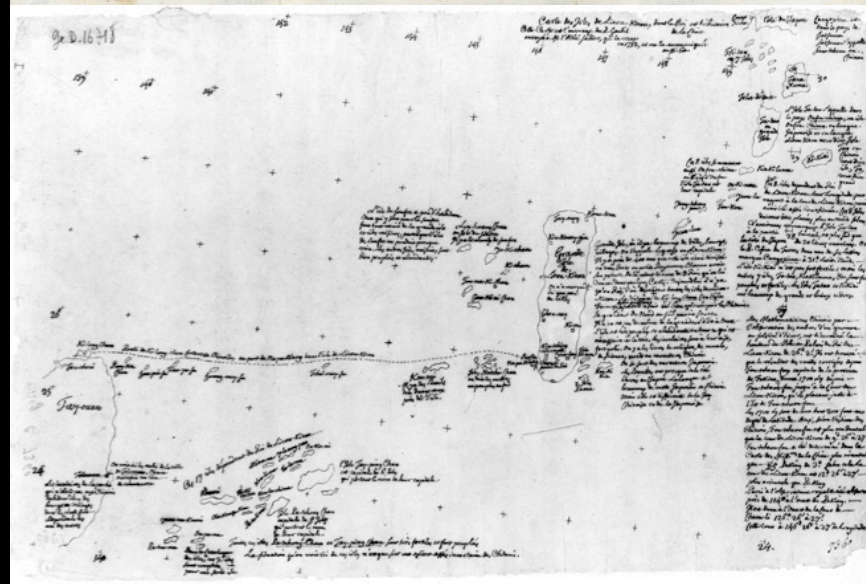
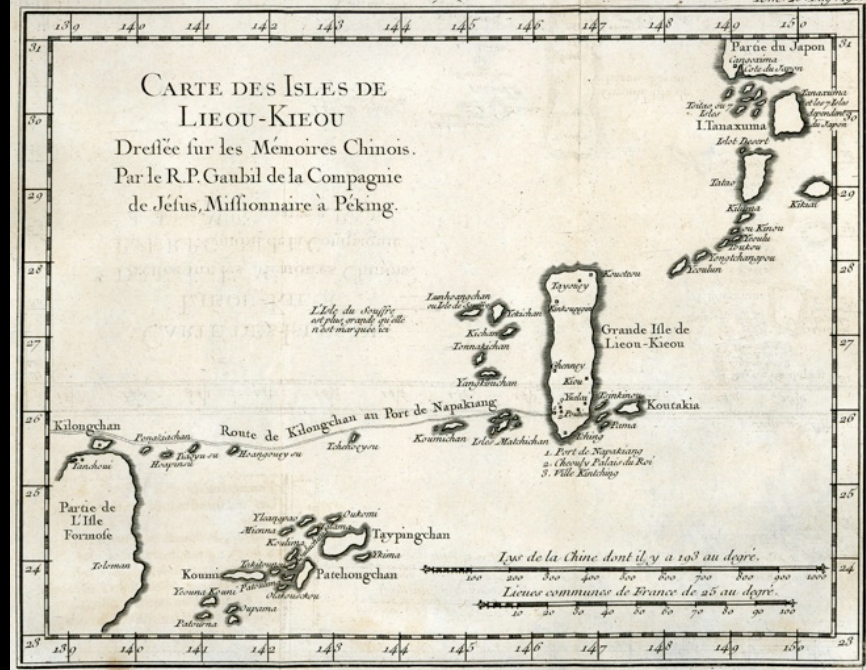
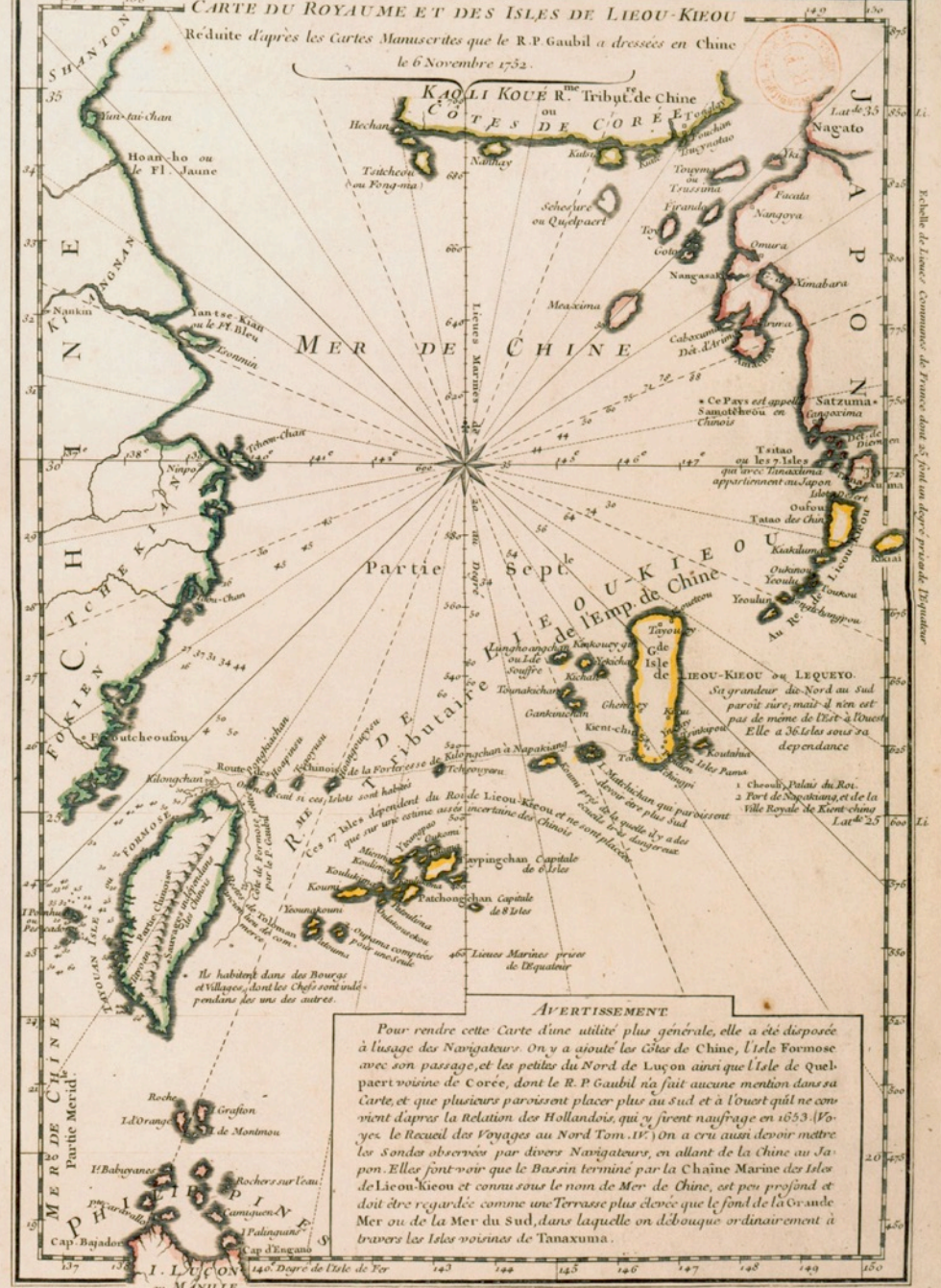
(Letter from Gaubil to Father Berthier, 1752.)





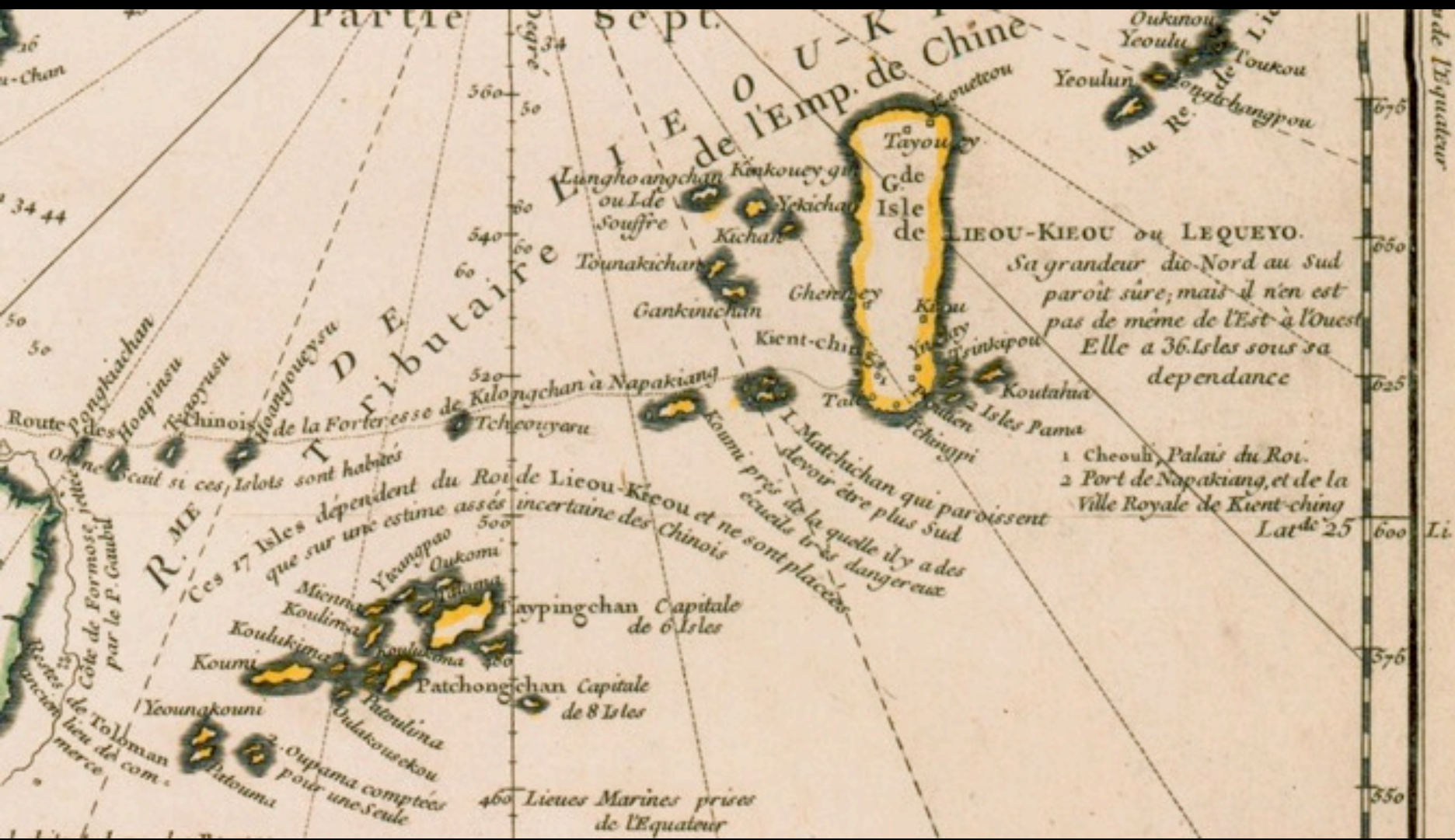
Inclusion of Gaubil's map in Jean-Baptiste d'Anville, *Asia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> part, 1752.





Inclusion of Gaubil's map in Philippe Buache's map of the China Sea, *Considérations géographiques et physiques sur les nouvelles découvertes au nord de la Grande Mer, appelée vulgairement la Mer du Sud*, 1754.





Philippe Buache, 1754. Information copied from Gaubil's map.

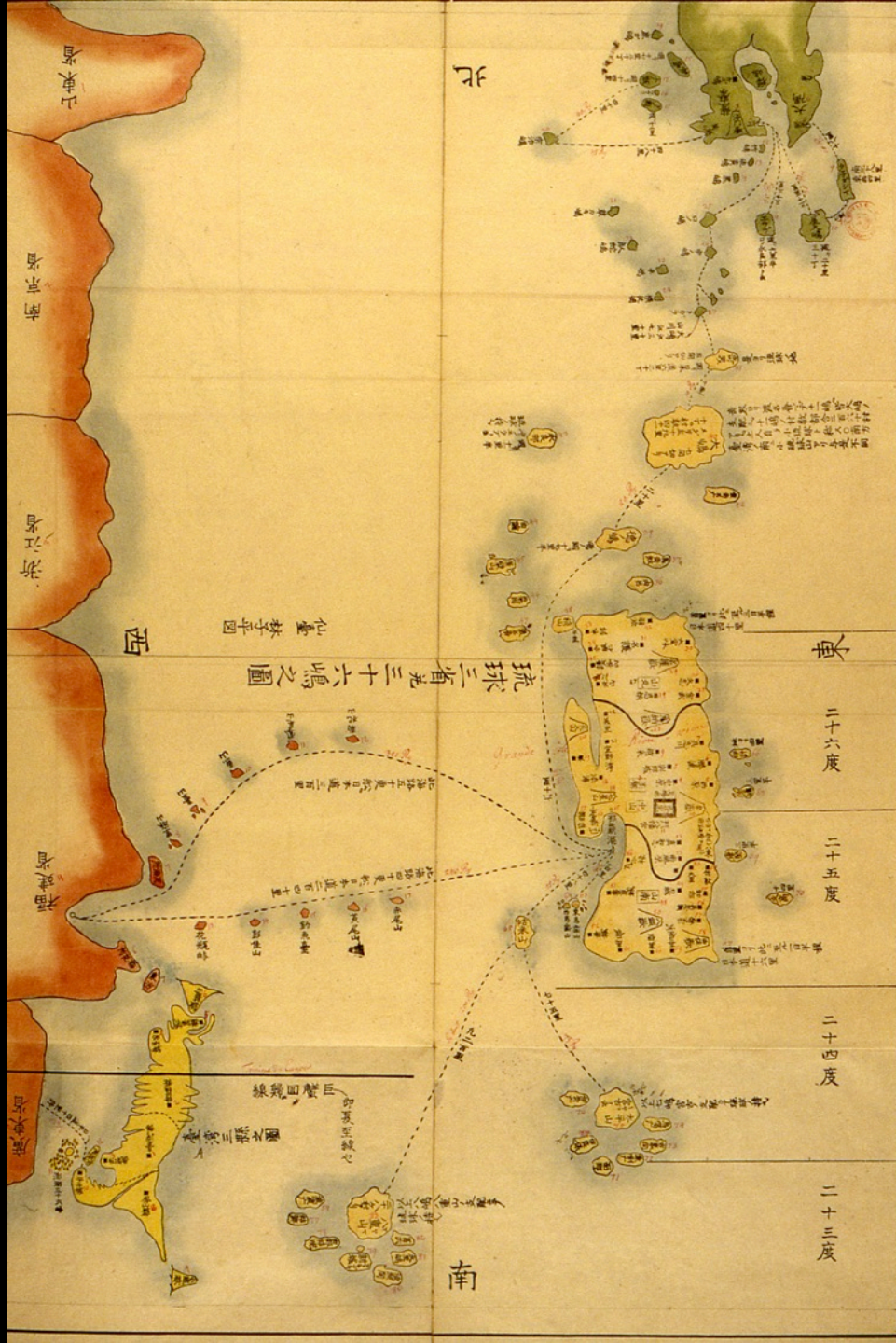


Xú Bǎoguāng's 『中山伝信録』 also became known to the West through the mediation of **Hayashi Shihei** 林子平 (1738-1793) and of his translator, the German-born linguist of French expression, pioneer of Japanese studies, **Heinrich Julius Klaproth**.

- Like Gaubil's memoir, **Hayashi Shihei's** book *Sangoku tsūran zusetsu* 『三国通覧図説』, published in Edo in 1785, relies mainly on Xú Bǎoguāng's 『中山伝信録』 (*Zhōngshān chuánxìn lù*) for its chapter and map concerning Liúqiú.
- In 1832, **Heinrich Julius Klaproth** (1783-1835), published a French translation of Hayashi Shihei's book (*San Kokf Tsou Ran To Sets, ou Aperçu général des trois royaumes*, Paris).

However, compared with Gaubil's memoir and map, Klaproth's work passed almost unnoticed outside a narrow scholarly world.



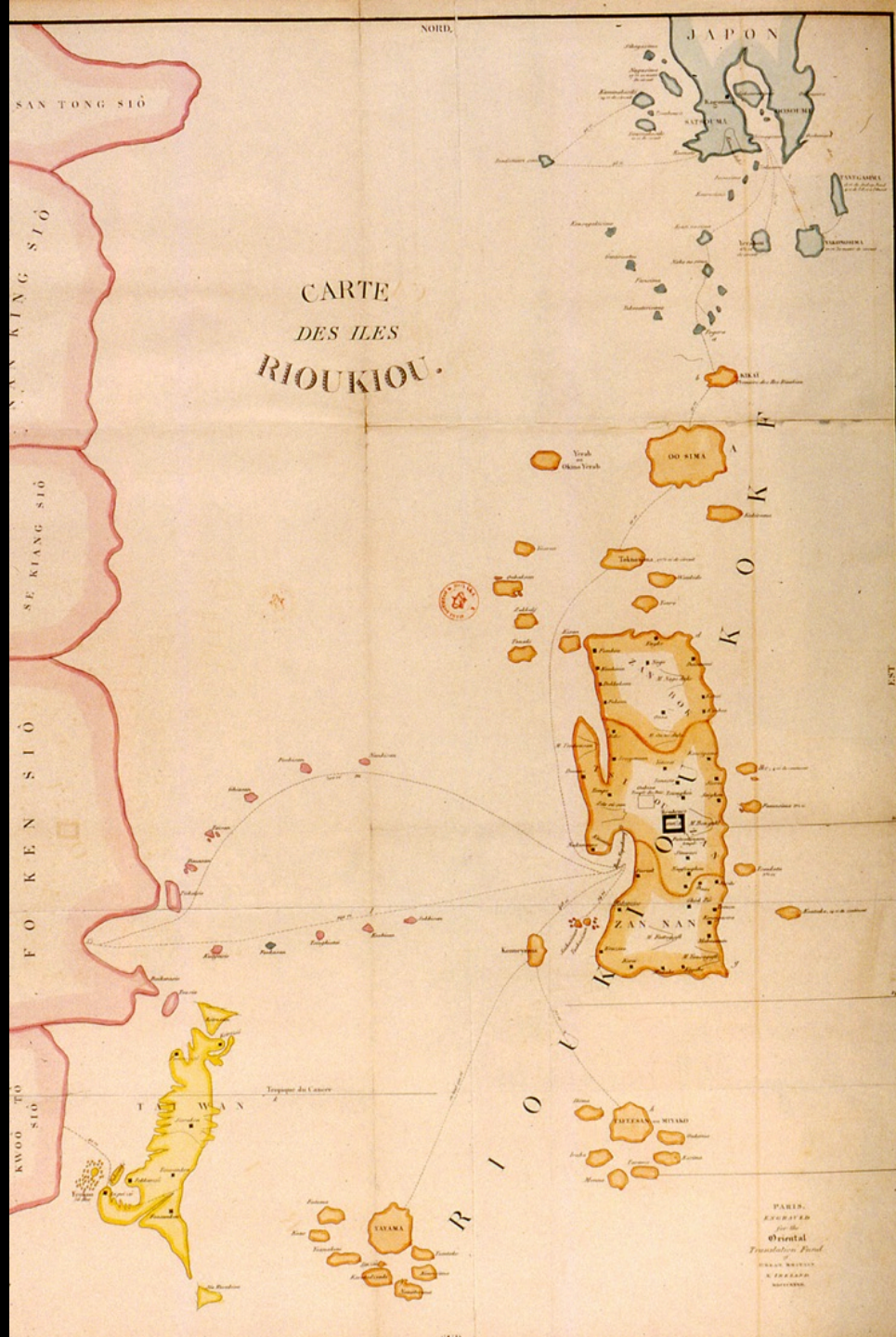


The actual shape of Okinawa Island.

Hayashi Shihei 林子平

『三国通覧図説』 Edo, 1785.

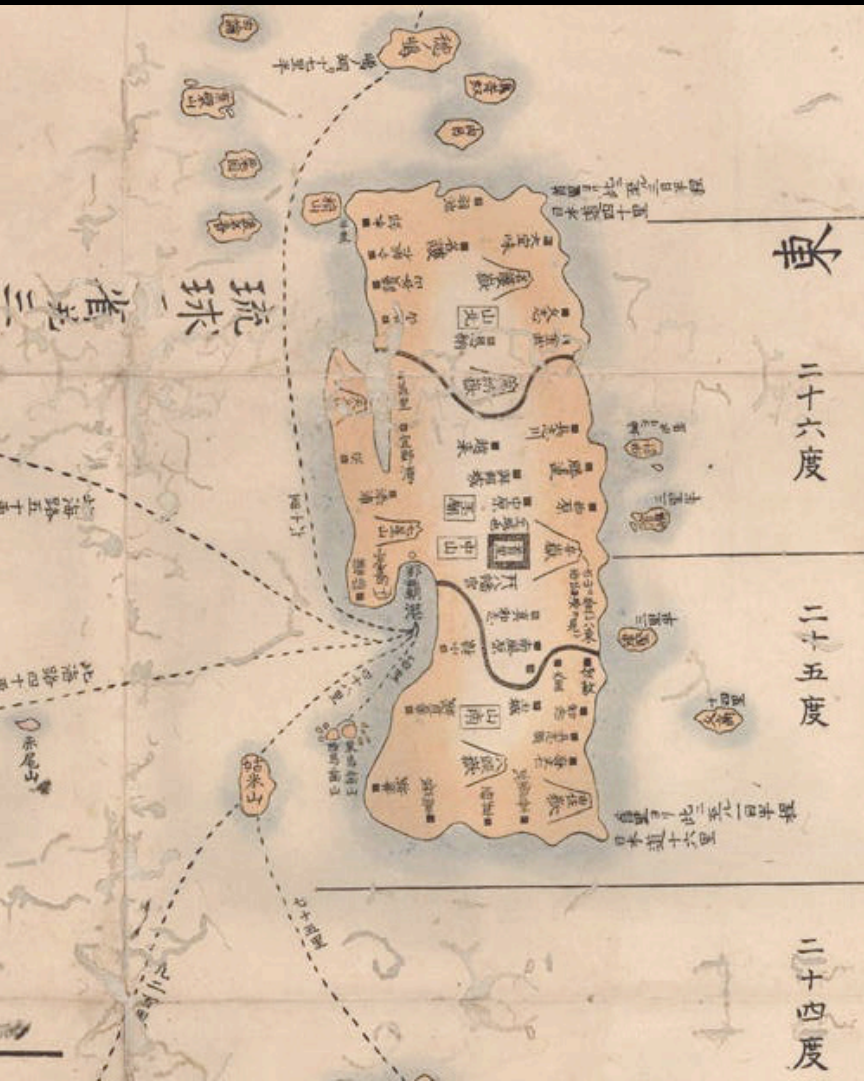




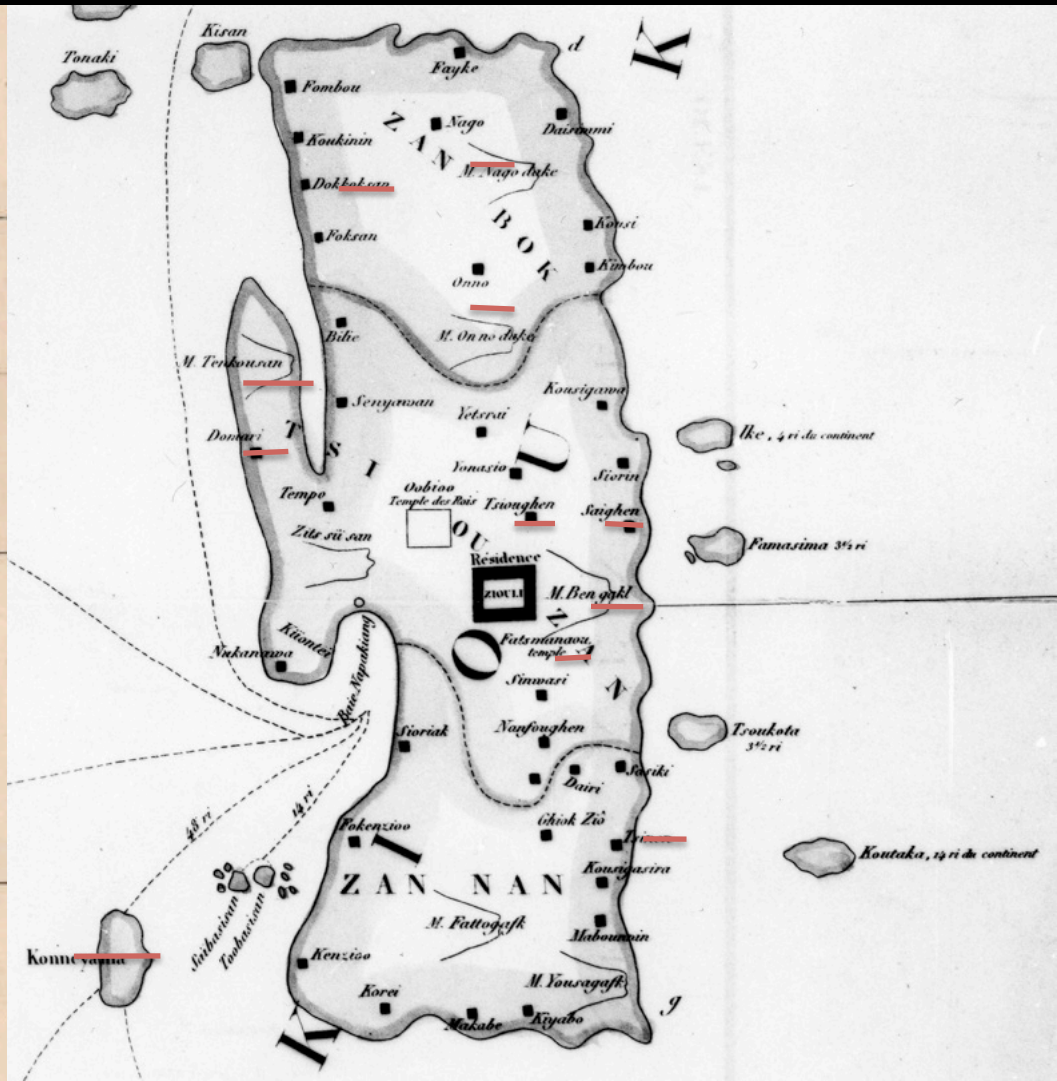
French rendition of  
Hayashi Shihei's map.

Heinrich Julius Klaproth,  
*San Kokf Tsou Ran To Sets*,  
Paris, 1832.





Hayashi Shihei 林子平 『三国通覧図説』 Edo, 1785.



H. J. Klaproth, *San Kokf Tsou Ran To Sets*, 1832.

• Okinawa Island, a comparison between the original and the French map •





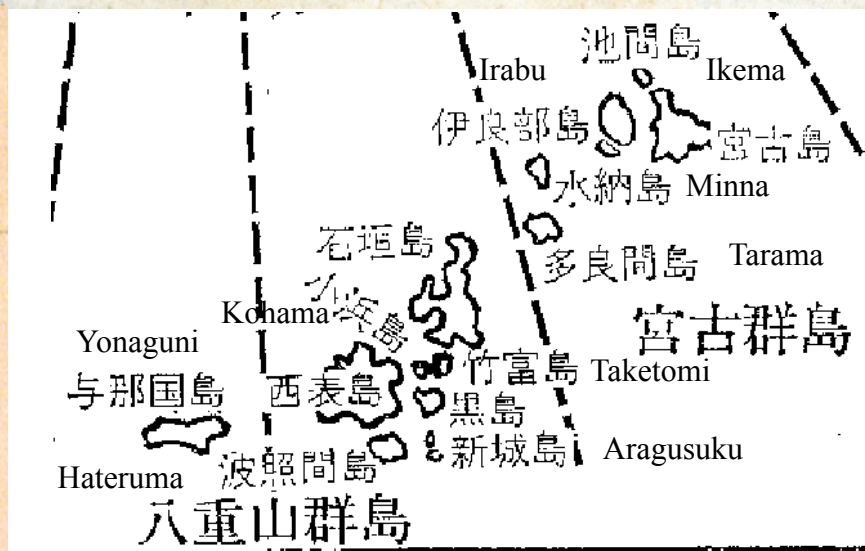
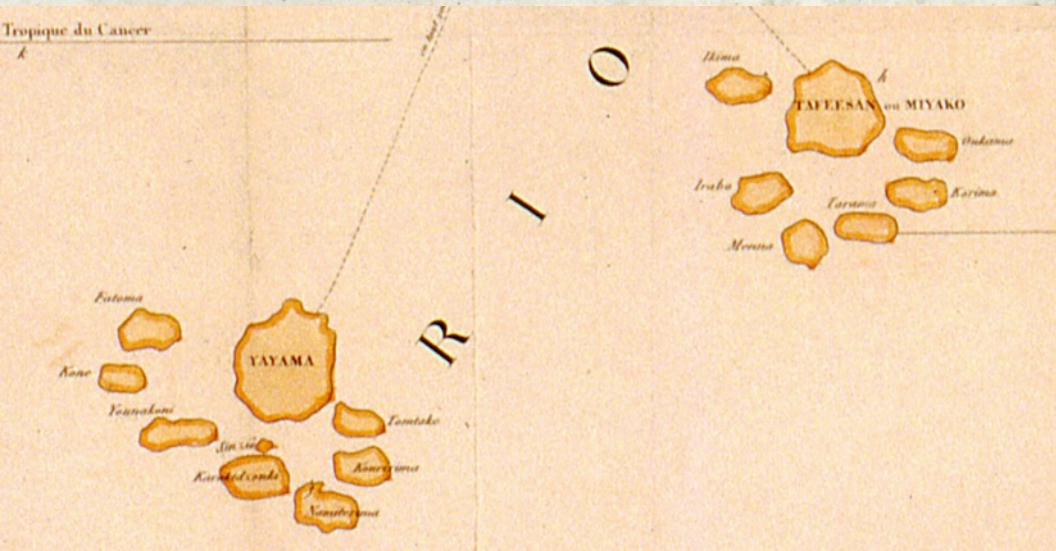
H. J. Klaproth, *San Kokf Tsou Ran To Sets*, Paris, 1832.

Hayashi Shihei 林子平  
『三国通覧図説』 Edo, 1785.





Sous-archipels de Miyako et Yaeyama.  
 Cartes de Gaubil (1758) et de Klaproth  
 (1832, tirée de Hayashi, 1785).





## **Persistence of Gaubil's toponymy.**

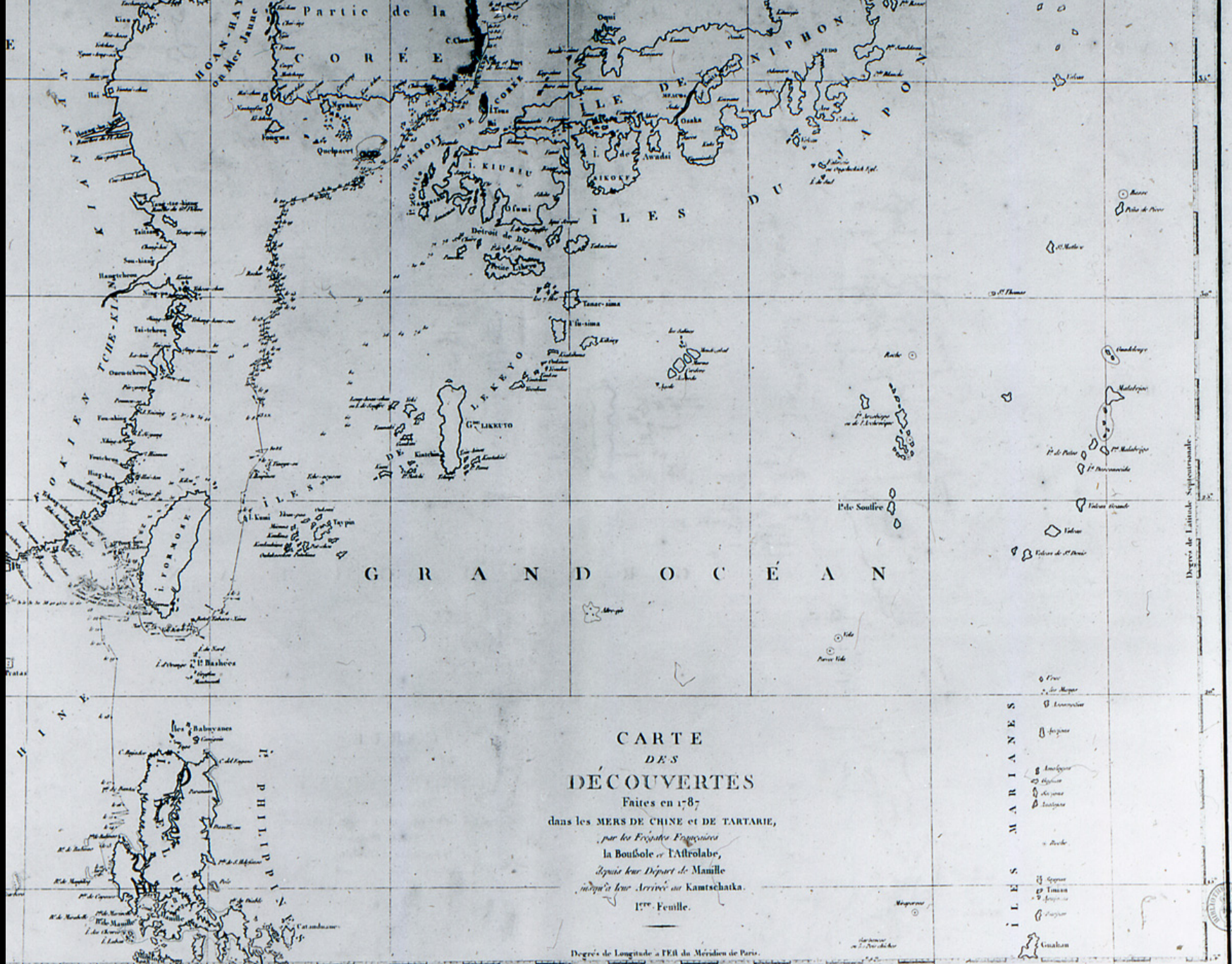
- Gaubil's memoir is quoted in almost all the travel narratives to Liúqiú until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.
- From the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Gaubil's map is gradually replaced by nautical charts and hydrographic surveys done by British and French navies.
- However the place names Gaubil introduced linger on western maps, in textbooks notably, until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.





Rigobert Bonne, 1783.





Map used by Lapérouse's expedition, 1785-1788.



PLÀN DE L'ISLE KUMI

Vue le 6 May 1787. Par les Frégates du Roy, La Doussole et L'Astrolabe  
 La p<sup>te</sup> Ouest de cette île est située par 24° 55' 13" de latitude Septentrionale, et par 126° 26' 28" de longitude  
 Orientale Méridien de Paris. La Variation du Compas est de 28 Minute Nord-Est.

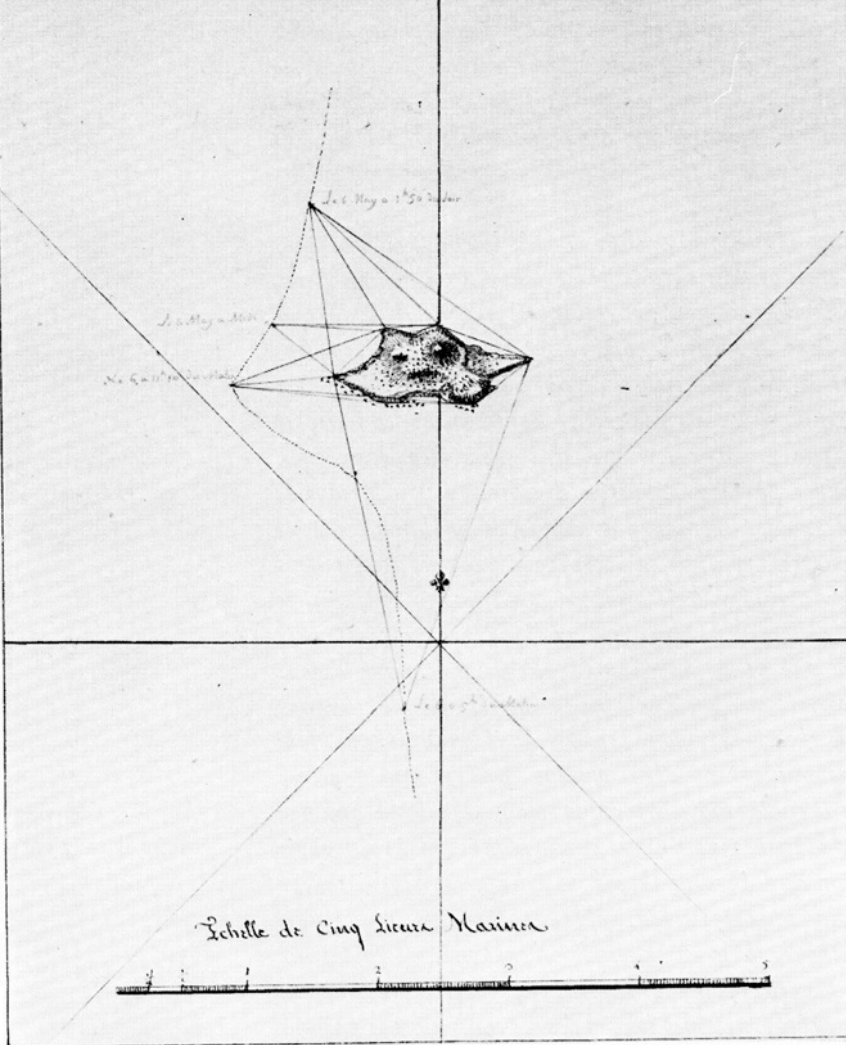
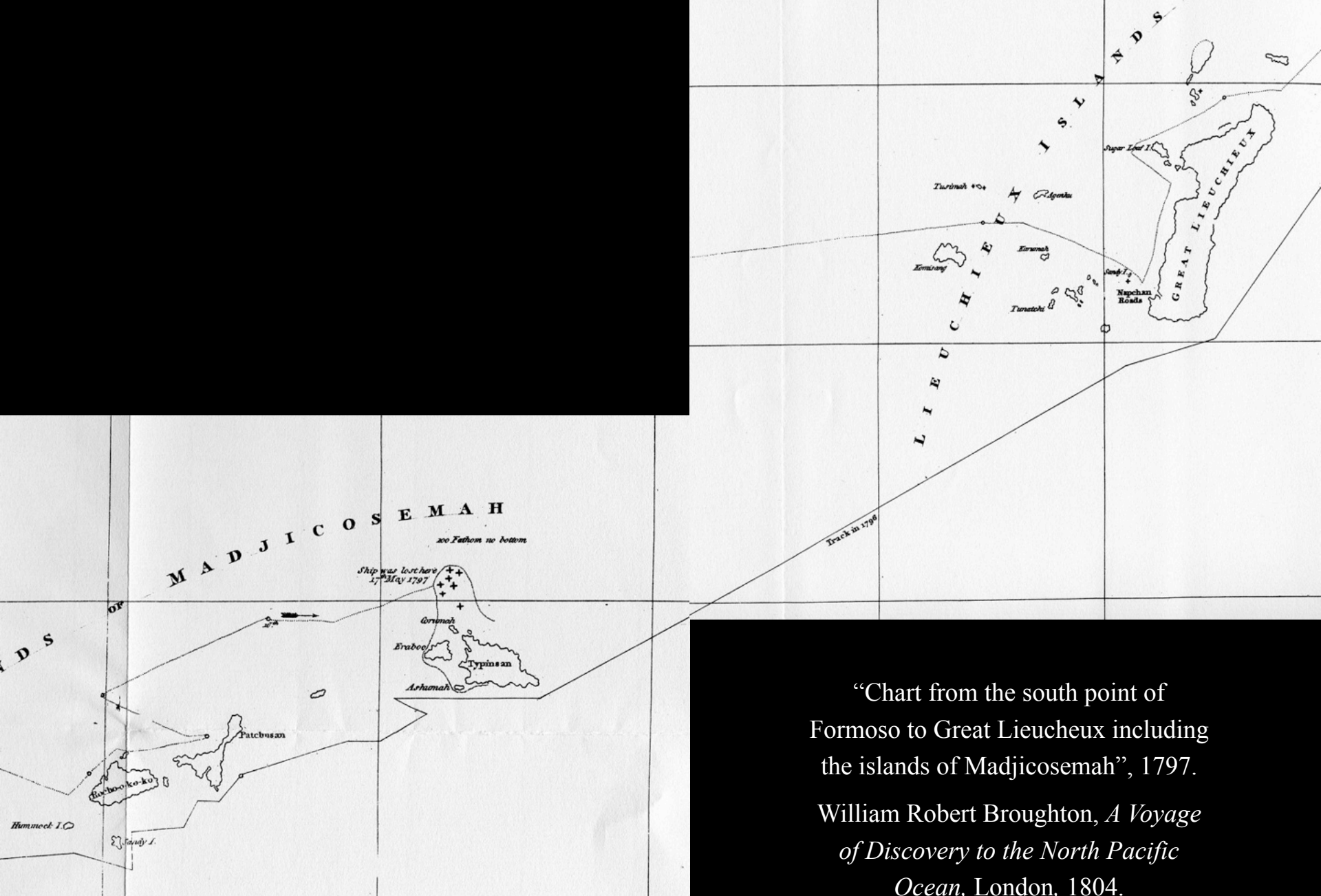


Chart of Kumi Island, 6 may 1787  
 i.e. Yonaguni-jima 与那国島, the  
 westernmost Liúqiú island  
 (Lapérouse's journal, 1785-1788).

Gaubil mistakenly gave the name  
 Koumi to Iriomote 西表島, the largest  
 island of the Yaeyama group.





“Chart from the south point of Formoso to Great Lieuchieux including the islands of Madjicosemah”, 1797. William Robert Broughton, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean*, London, 1804.





MER

I. Tsitchou  
ou Fongma

I. Meaxima

Nangasau  
Cangoxima  
Tritas ou les 7 Isles

Tosumbe  
Pet. de Diemen  
Tanaxuma I.  
Kikiat I.

I. St Roch  
Mala-abia  
I. Desconocida  
San Juan  
I. de Patos

DE

CHEKIAN

CHINE

Kiakiluma I.  
Kouetou  
Kououlun I.

L. St  
Alarandel  
I. Fortuna

Grande Ile de  
Lieou-Kieou  
Kient-cheng

I. St Augustin

Cancer

FOKIEN

Tropique  
de  
Gore

du  
Parecevela

Parecevela

MER

RANDE

appelle

J.-B. Clouet, 1788.



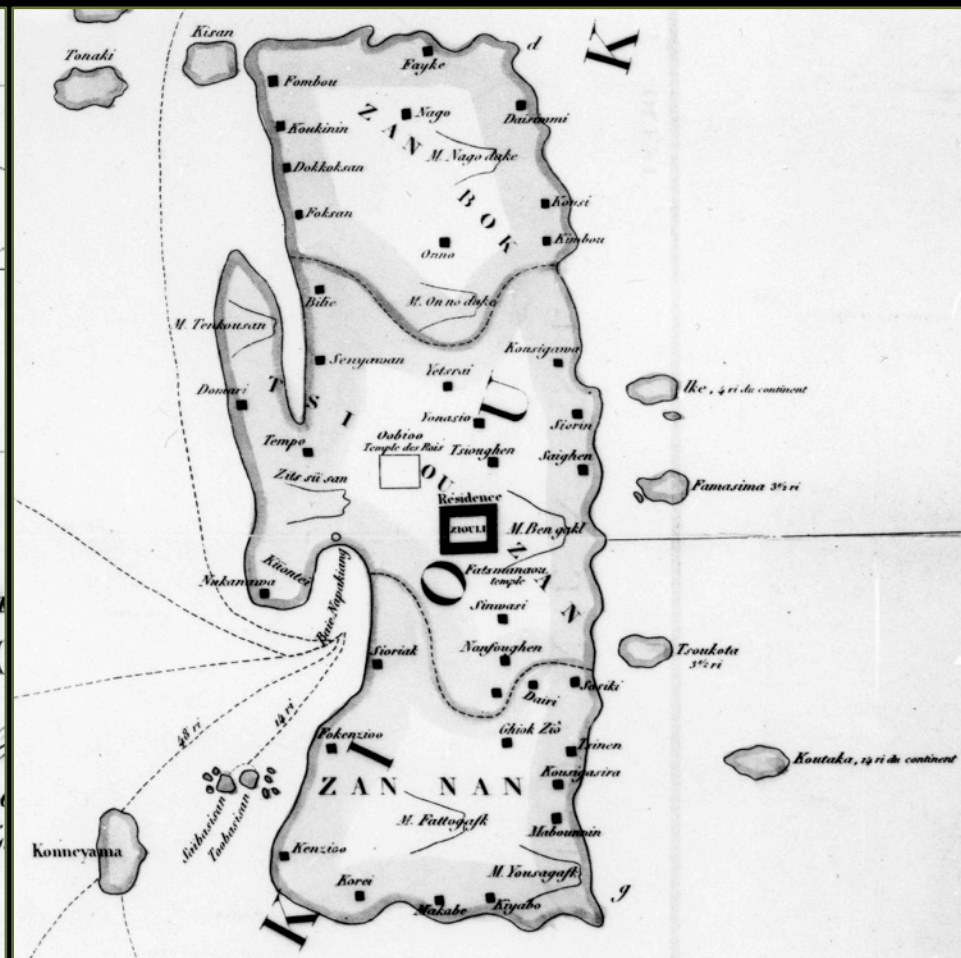
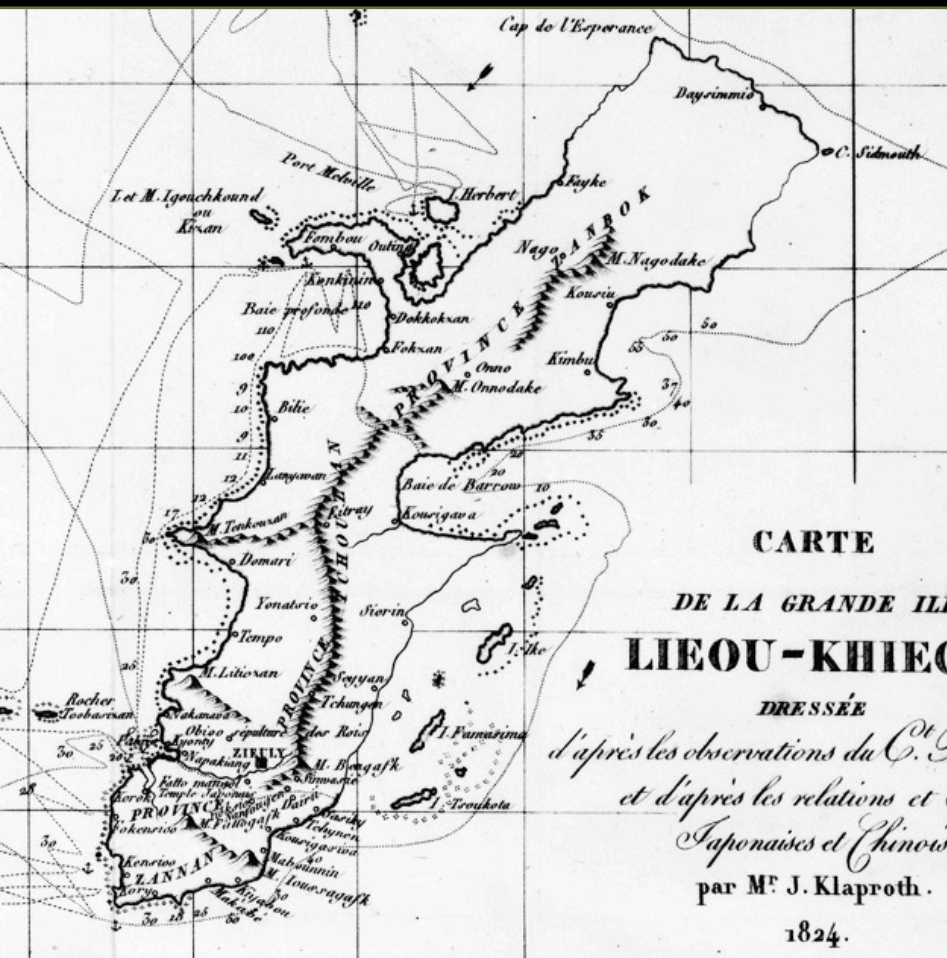


Basil Hall, *Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea, and the Great Loo-choo Island...* London, John Murray, 1818.



H. J. Klapproth, « Description des îles Lieou-Khieou, extraite de plusieurs ouvrages chinois et japonais », *Nouvelles Annales des voyages...*, 1824.





H. J. Klaproth, « Description des îles Lieou-Khieou, extraite de plusieurs ouvrages chinois et japonais », *Nouvelles Annales des voyages...*, 1824.

Map of Hayashi Shihei 林子平 (1738-1793) –  
Translated by H. J. Klaproth, 1832.



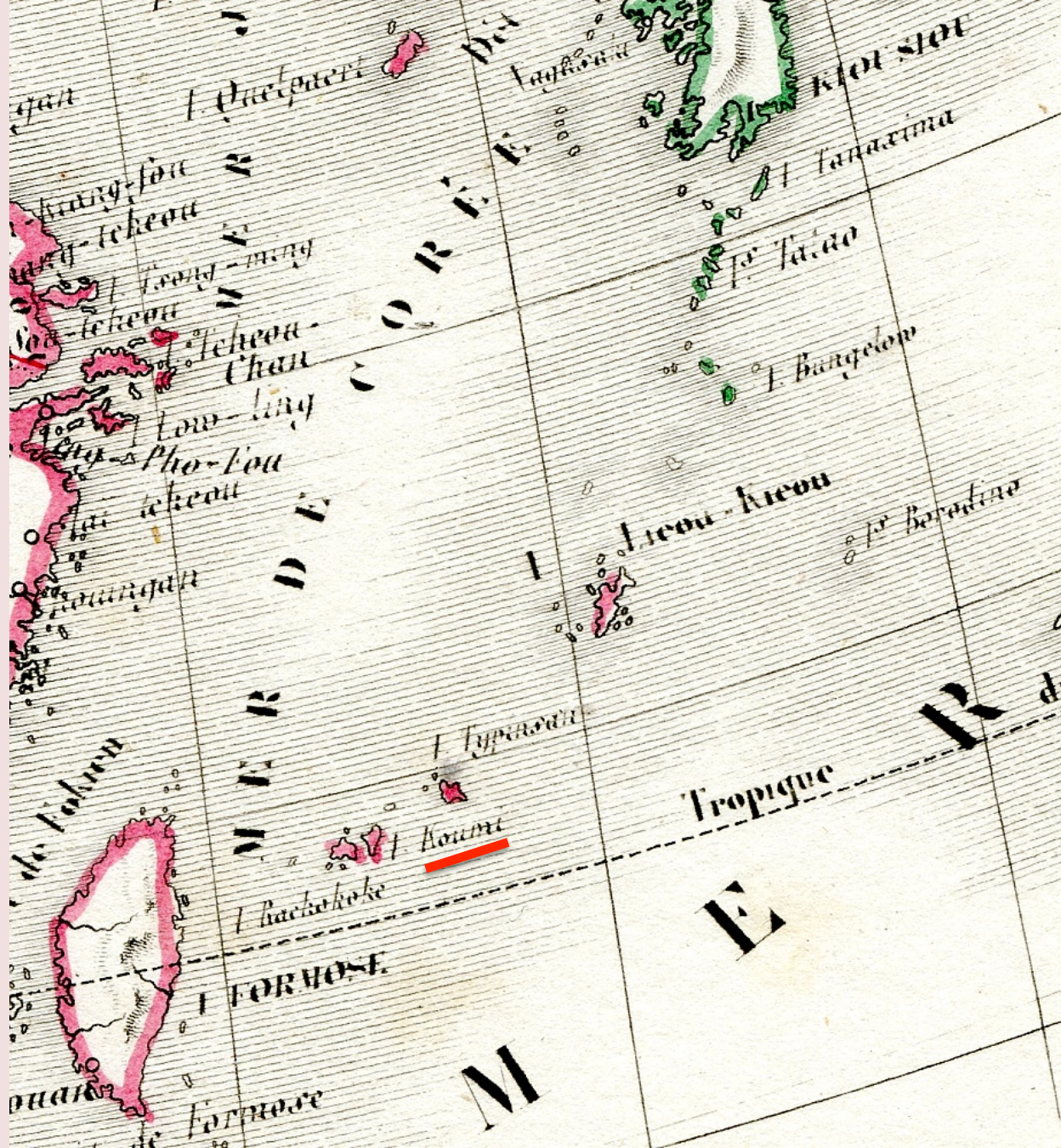






Malte-Brun and J. J. N. Huot, Atlas from *Précis de la géographie universelle*, Paris, 1843 (1810-1819).





Malte-Brun (J. J. N. Huot), Atlas du Précis de la géographie universelle, Paris, 1843 (1810-1819).



Alexandre Vuillemin, *Atlas universel*, Paris, 1862.



久米島 = Kumejima, correct designation

← 古見 = Komi (Koumi), misleading homophonic designation inherited from Gaubil's 1758 map. The same mistake was made by Lapérouse on his chart of Yonaguni Island where he stopped in May 1787 (see above).



謝謝

Thank you

