

Fr. Matteo Ricci's World Map and Its Influence on East Asia

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Several years ago, as I was investigating the names of westerners appearing in the questions in the section on world history in the previous year's entrance examinations to Japanese universities, I was surprised to find that Fr. Matteo Ricci's name appeared most frequently. As this is an indication of how widely known Fr. Matteo Ricci is, at least in respect to high school education in Japan, I would like to offer the following excerpt from *Shōsetsu Sekaishi* (1982, Yamakawa Shuppansha) in order to demonstrate the way Fr. Ricci is treated in Japanese textbooks.

"Xavier arrived in Japan through India in 1549 and intended to continue on to China to carry out missionary work there but died on the way. However, he was followed by Matteo Ricci and other missionaries of the same order who arrived in China at the beginning of the 17th century and spread Christianity in the Peking area. Matteo Ricci first approached the Ming Court and as he devoted his teaching more to astronomy, mathematics, gunnery and other European sciences than to Christianity, he was held in high esteem as a bearer of new knowledge.

Although he is noted for introducing such scholastic works as *Chi-ho-yüan-pen* (Euclidean Geometry) and *T'ien-chu-shih-i* (Catechism),

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his world map, *K'un-yü-wan-kuo-ts'üan-t'u* was the most recent world map available at that time and demonstrated the size of the world to the Chinese. This map reached Japan and other Asian countries and became the first step to a revolutionary change in world view."

The above textbook is a highly regarded standard world history text in Japan and has an extremely large circulation in Japan. Since so much space has been devoted to Fr. Ricci's contribution to scholarship in Asia in a textbook like this, it is not strange that his name should appear so frequently in the entrance examinations to Japanese universities. Although Fr. Ricci made enormous contributions to Asia, both scholastically and otherwise, in this paper I will limit my discussion to the points emphasized in the above textbook, the influence of Fr. Ricci's World Map on China and Japan, and the subsequent research which has been conducted on his map in those countries. Fr. Ricci's world maps can be divided roughly into four types, the 1584 edition, the 1600 edition, the 1602 edition and the 1603 edition.

1. The 1584 Edition

The 1584 edition was prepared by Fr. Ricci and published in Chao-hsing, Kuang-tung Province, by Wang Pan, the Intendant of the Occidental Regions (Ling-si-tao). It is usually held that this map was based on the European map "Typus orbis terrarum", which is included in the "Theatrum orbis" published by Abraham Orterius in Antwerp in 1570. However, as it appears that this map had still not reached Fr. Ricci in 1585, Fr. Pasquale M. D'Elia has suggested that it was probably based on a map printed either in Goa or Macao.

In a letter dated November 24, 1585, Fr. Ricci states that his 1584 edition had reached all parts of China. However, since not a single copy remains today, we cannot make any definite conclusions as to the title but it is probable that it was called the "Shan-hai-yü-ti-ts'üan-t'u".

It was approximately half the size of the 1600 edition. It was rumored among the Europeans that in his 1584 edition Fr. Ricci had curried to Chinese prejudices that their country was large and bountiful and had depicted China larger than it really was while making the rest of the world smaller. Even such modern, distinguished scholars as Henry Yule, Henri Cordier and Kenneth Scott Latourette held such beliefs. D'Elia, however, after giving some thought to the question, concludes that Fr. Ricci had indeed adopted an entirely new system by placing Europe and Africa on the left hand side of the map, with Asia in the center and the Americas on the right in contrast to the European cartographers, who had until that time had made their world maps on Mercator projection by placing the Americas on the left, Europe and Africa in the center and Asia on the right. He had not, however, sacrificed other parts of the world to make China alone seem larger. In support of his conclusion, he cites Daniello Bartoli's *Della Cina*, which does not hold that Fr. Ricci had described China as particularly large. Fr. D'Elia goes on to say the source of these unfounded charges was to be found in the rather unsympathetic short biography of Fr. Ricci included in Fr. Giovanni Battista Riccioli's astronomy book published in 1651. Furthermore, Ts'ien Hsi-yen has the following to say about the 1600 edition in his *Kuei-yen*.

"Li (Fr. Ricci) published a world map in Ching-ling which uses five colors to divide the world into five regions. On this map China is represented about the size of a pellet or mole." In the light of this, it is difficult to conclude that the 1584 edition of the world map had depicted China to be larger than it really was at the sacrifice of the other countries of the world.

Incidentally, world maps on Mercator projection generally used in Japan today all use Fr. Ricci's system of placing China and Japan in the center, with the Americas on the right and Europe and Africa on the left. People today have accepted this as natural even though they may not be aware that the person who first conceived this system of

arranging the continents was Fr. Matteo Ricci, the Jesuit missionary who arrived in China 400 years ago. This is indeed a part of the unknown legacy left by Fr. Ricci. In the same way, even though the Japanese term for geometry, "kika", and most of the terms used in geometry have all come from Fr. Ricci's book *Chi-ho-yüan-pen*, no one is aware of the fact.

2. The 1600 Edition

Fr. Ricci wanted to publish a new revised edition of the 1584 map. In a letter to the head of the Jesuits dated October 13, 1596, he writes "I am presently working on a complete map of the world with a large number of annotations and explanations. It has not yet been completed but a number of intellectuals have come to see it and have asked me to publish it, saying that the Chinese would greatly welcome such a map. I made a map several years ago but the explanations were lacking and the printing, which was done without consulting me, is relatively poor. As a result, it was not received as well as I hope the new one will be."

During his stay in Nanking, Fr. Ricci was asked by Wu Chung-ming, a high official in the Li-pu, to make a new revised and annotated edition of his 1584 edition. Wu intended to make the block print public and to authorize the printing of as many copies as anyone wanted. Fr. Ricci drew up a map approximately twice the size of the 1584 edition and presented it to Ku, who in turn passed it on to a skilled engraver and had the printing blocks carved. The resultant map was very good. The number of copies made from these blocks greatly exceeded that of the 1584 edition and the map was immediately circulated throughout China and taken to Macao and Japan by missionaries. This edition was apparently published between February and May of 1600 but only a portion of it remains today. However, as in the first edition, the title seems to have been "Shan-hai-yü-ti-ts'üan-t'u".

3. The 1602 Edition

Among the articles Fr. Ricci presented the emperor upon arriving in Peking in 1601 was a copy of the "World Atlas" (Wan-kuo-t'u). It is said that this atlas was Orterius "Theatrum orbis terrarum". Emperor Wan-li was greatly impressed by two clocks among the gifts he received from Fr. Ricci and apparently hardly even looked at the atlas. However, Li Chih-tsao, a high official in the Kung-pu, had an opportunity to see the map and was very excited. Li had previously made and published a small map of his own, but upon seeing the atlas, he became completely disgusted with the map he had made and disclosed to Fr. Ricci that he would like to revise and supplement it. As a result of this, the third edition of the World Map was drawn up through the cooperation of Fr. Ricci and Li in Peking in 1602. Using European world maps and geography books as references, the authors corrected the errors in the second edition, added a number of names of countries not previously noted and included astronomical, cosmological and topographical explanations. In addition, blank spaces were filled with forewords and afterwords written by Fr. Ricci himself, Li Chih-tsao and others. This world map was entitled "K'un-yü-wan-kuo-ts'üan-t'u". Unlike the first and second editions, the existence of which cannot be ascertained, at least three copies of the third edition remain today. One is located in the Vatican Library, another in the Kyoto University Library in Japan and the other in the Miyagi Prefectural Library in Sendai, Japan. According to Fr. Ricci, this map is twice the size of the 1600 edition. Measurements of the Vatican map show it to be made of six 1.79m × 0.69m tables.

4. The 1603 Edition

In his records of the 1602 edition, Fr. Ricci makes the following

statement. "When he (Li Chih-tsao) had the blocks for the World Map carved, the printer secretly had an identical set of the same blocks made. As a result, two sets of blocks came out at the same time. In spite of this, we were unable to meet the demand for the map. With our help, a Christian made an even larger map consisting of eight tables and sold the printing blocks to a printer."

Professional opinions on this eight-table map have long been divided. Professor Hung Wei-lien of China holds that Li Paulo, the man mentioned in a letter written by Fr. Ricci in 1608 as the publisher of the world map, is Li Yin-shih, a staff officer under Li Ju-sung, the commander of the Chinese army during the war between China and Japan over Korea during the reign of Wan-li. However, the map had not been found and Hung's opinion could not be substantiated. Dr. Ayuzawa Sintaro of Japan demonstrated that this map was the "Lang-i-ts'üan-lan-t'u" held by the Hwang family of Kangwon-do, Korea as a family treasure.

Members of the Hwang family of Pyong-he were often appointed to public office during the Song-jo period (1568-1608) in Korea. Hwang Yo-il and his son Hwang Tong-myong were twice sent on missions to Peking in 1603 and 1604. Tong-myong obtained the map in 1604. It is composed of eight tables and each table is approximately the same size as the tables in the 1602 edition. The figure of the land is also the same as the 1602 edition and the fifth table contains the inscription "Made by Paulo Li Yin-shih, a Christian, on the autumnal equinox in the 31st year of Wan-li." From this we can ascertain that it was published in 1603.

This map belonged to Hwang Pyong-in, a descendant of the Hwang family and was later placed in the Christian Museum at Soong Jun University in Seoul. During the Korean war, late prof. Kim Ryang-son, the curator of the museum, buried the map before he fled. When he returned three months later, he dug up the map and found it unharmed. It can still be seen in the museum's collection today.

In the above description of the four editions of Fr. Ricci's World Map, I have relied on the work of D'Elia, Hung, Ayuzawa and Kim. Fr. Ricci writes in a letter dated in 1605, "The World Map has recently been praised by the people of China." In the same year, he writes, "The World Map has been restamped for the tenth time and has given the people a great deal of faith in us. It is because nothing like this had been seen in China until now." Later he mentions, "The literati and nobility have praised our work in writing and this praise has been published with the map."

Only three copies of the 1602 map remain today but it is certain that a large number of copies reached the literati of the time. However, there is some question as to how far the literati believed the descriptions in the map. In a letter dated 1609, Fr. Ricci writes, "Many people have spoken ill of our work and do not believe the contents of it." From this we can see that many people criticised the map because they were frustrated to see that China was represented as a small part of one of the continents of the world. The following excerpt from the *Tai-pi-shan-chi* probably reflects the general opinion of the people at that time. "Recently a man named Matteo Ricci came and made a map of the world in which China was made to look small."

Fr. Ricci thought that if he presented the World Map to Emperor Wan-li he would be sure to incur his wrath and didn't dare present it. However, a eunuch who had received a copy of the World Map from Fr. Ricci gave it to the emperor around the end of 1607. When the emperor saw it, he was far from being indignant because China appeared smaller than he had imagined. On the contrary, he said, "I recognize the scientific achievement of this map and hereby order twelve copies to be printed on silk as gifts." The two sets of printing blocks for the 1602 edition were both so worn that they could not be used for printing, so in 1608, an identical set of blocks were carved in the court and the court was said to have been filled with the maps. The emperor's fondness for the map was not, as Fr. Ricci stated, due

to his recognition of the scientific achievements of the map. Rather it was due to his fondness for novelties and he used it as a decorative screen. At any rate, it does show that the emperor did not harbor any special ill feelings about Fr. Ricci's World Map.

An opinion representative of that was held by the literati during the late Ming and early Ch'ing dynasties can be found in section of the *Ming-shih* dealing with Italy. This section begins with the words "During the reign on Wan-li in China, an Italian by the name of Li Ma-t'ou arrived in the capital. He made a map of the world and wrote thus...". This is followed by Father Ricci's description of the five continents. It goes on to say that "His theory is so vague as to be unthinkable. However, as a large number of people from those countries have come to China, we must recognize the existence of those countries as a fact and we cannot speak ill of his theory." From this it would seem that while only half believing, they did recognize the existence of five continents. However that is not to say that this resulted in a complete change of the Chinese world view based on Chinese thought. In a letter dated February 10, 1703, Fr. Chavagnac writes that the literati of the Ch'ing dynasty were still deeply taken by Chinese thought.

Still, in China we find a map entitled "Shan-hai-yü-ti-ts'üan-t'u" in P'ing Ying-ching's *Yüeh-ling-kuang-i* published in 1602. This map was based on the 1600 edition of the World Map. We also find a world map in Wang Chi's *San-tsai-t'u-hui* published in 1609 but this map was adopted from the one in the *Yüeh-ling-kuang-i*. Father Ricci's World Map also appears in the *Fang-yü-shêng-lüo* published in 1608. This map is made up of two separate maps placed together, one of the eastern hemisphere and the other of the western hemisphere. The world map in Chang Huang's *Tu-shu-pien*(1613) is also clearly taken from Fr. Ricci's World Map. The appearance in the explanatory notes of the term "Ta-lang-shan" in reference to the Cape of Good Hope, a term coined by Fr. Ricci, shows the great extent to which Chang's work relies on Fr. Ricci's World Map. That several other monographs

published at the end of the Ming dynasty have been greatly influenced by Fr. Ricci's World Map indicates that a large number of intellectuals had accepted Fr. Ricci's views.

Moving into the Ch'ing dynasty we find the *Tien-hsia-chiu-pien-wan-kuo-jên-tsi-lu-chêng-ts'üan-t'u*, published in 1663. In this map, a large map of China is pictured in the center, with foreign countries added on the periphery. This is a product of Chinese thought and the five continents are represented much smaller than they really are. Still the recognition of the five continents would seem to indicate the influence of Fr. Ricci's World Map.

Fr. Ricci's World Map is also used in Fang Mi-chih's *Wu-li-siao-shih* published in 1663. In addition, most of the world maps published in the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty reflect the influence of Fr. Ricci's World Map and these are many examples taken from it in the topographical articles found in various publications of the period. Even Wei Yüan's *Hai-kuo-t'u-chih*, 1842, which is considered the best geography book to have come out of modern East Asia and which is considered to have had a great influence on the world view of the intellectuals in Japan at the end of the Tokugawa regime, includes a large number of explanatory notes added to the 1602 edition of Fr. Ricci's World Map. Even into the twentieth century in China, Fr. Ricci's works were used as principal references in explaining the five continents and that the world is round.

In the following section I will examine the influence Fr. Ricci's World Map has had in Japan. Historical records show us that Tokugawa Ieyasu, the first shogun, saw a world map in 1611. It is not certain that the map was Fr. Ricci's but since it has been recorded that the map was drawn on a screen, it is not inconceivable that the screen was one of the many six-table screens of the 1602 edition of Fr. Ricci's World Map produced in that period.

A map by Yasui Santetsu (died 1715), the Edo period astronomer who is known as the creator of the Jyōkyō Calendar, was placed in

the Granz Museum in Leipzig, Germany before World War II. This map, done on four silk panels and simply colored, bears the inscription "Autumn, 1670, by Yasui Santetsu." This inscription tells us that this map is the oldest world map produced by a Japanese. Though the map itself differs slightly from Fr. Ricci's World Map, the descriptions on it and those on Fr. Ricci's are almost identical. Yasui added the Japanese Archipelago to his map and adopted the system used by Fr. Ricci. His disciple's diary also shows that there is no doubt that Sansetsu had a copy of Fr. Ricci's World Map.

Incidentally, the "Bankoku Sōzu", which came out in 1645, was the first world map to be published in Japan. The author is unknown and although close comparison shows a number of differences from Fr. Ricci's World Map, it was clearly influenced by it. Dr. Ayuzawa's investigations have shown that if Fr. Ricci's World map actually was used as the model for this map, an edition other than the 1602 edition was used.

The "Bankoku Sōzu" gave rise to a number of different editions. Maps along this line were distributed under such names as "Sekai Bankoku Sōzu" or "Bankoku no Zu". In his "Bankoku Sōkaizu"(1708), Ishikawa Ryūshū writes that "The shapes of the land in the various maps published long(i.e. world maps along the lines of the "Bankoku Sōzu") were unclear so I have changed the shapes of the countries." Even so, the world map appearing in the center is just as distorted as the 1645 edition of the "Bankoku Sōzu". The only progress that can be perceived is that there are more place names listed in Japan and other countries. Other than that, the 1645 edition is superior in almost all respects. This "Bankoku Sōkaizu" was the product of the independent development of Fr. Ricci's World Map after it arrived in Japan, a nation which had cut itself off from the rest of the world. Although it is greatly inferior to Fr. Ricci's original world map, it is the first world map after the 1645 edition of the "Bankoku Sōzu" for which we can ascertain the date of publication.

In 1720, Harame Sadakiyo published his "Yochizu" in Edo. Little is known about the author but there is no doubt that he modelled his map after Fr. Ricci's World Map. Compared to the 1645 edition of the "Bankoku Sôzu" or the 1708 "Bankoku Sôkaizu", this map is much closer to Fr. Ricci's original map, though it is not completely faithful. The names of many places throughout the world are given in "katakana". This map, too, was probably modelled after Fr. Ricci's World Map but it is possible that there were other maps which came between it and the original.

Nagakubo Sekisui, who died in 1801 at the age of eighty-five, was the foremost geographer of his time. His maps of Japan, which were published throughout the Edo period and even into the Meiji period, were held in high esteem. At the same time, he also conducted research on world geography and his maps of the world include the "Chikyû Sankai Yochi Zenzu", the "Chikyû Bankoku Zenzu" and the "Sankai Yochi Zenzu". These maps were published several times up until the end of the Tokugawa regime and made a great contribution to the development of knowledge of world geography among Japanese. The presence of inscriptions in Dutch led Mr. Nishida Yoshiro to conclude that these maps were not based on Fr. Ricci's original world map, but rather on a Dutch map along the same lines.

Dr. Ayuzawa is opposed to this view. He points out that Arai Hakuseki, in his book *Sairan Igen*, uses the Chinese characters Fr. Ricci used in his World Map and gives the Dutch readings in "katakana" alongside them. Furthermore, a hand copied world map in the Miyagi Prefectural Library gives the Dutch readings of place names in "katakana". For this reason, Dr. Ayuzawa feels it possible for Sekisui to have made the map without making direct use of a Dutch map and concludes that the system and descriptions found in Sekisui's map follow the exact same lines as those in Fr. Ricci's World Map. Sekisui's map bears a close resemblance to the "Yochizu" and it is conceivable that his map was based on it. However, the fact that Sekisui's map includes

explanations and place names not found on Harame's map forces us to conclude that Sekisui consulted one of Fr. Ricci's maps as well.

Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725) is well known as a high official in the shogunate government at Edo, but he also made great achievements in the fields of history, Japanese language and geography. Among these many achievements, two works on geography, the *Seiyō Kibun* and the *Sairan Igen*, have a great influence on later scholars. Neither of these two books were published during the Edo period. They were hand copied and circulated as secret books. In writing the three volumes of the *Seyō Kibun*, Hakuseki put together the information he gathered in Edo in 1709 while interrogating Giovanni Battista Sidotti, who had been arrested in 1708 for secretly entering Japan in violation of the exclusion policy. The second volume is a world geography book and is thought to have been written in around 1715. In writing the *Sairan Igen*, Hakuseki added the information he received as a tribute from the Dutch Capitão to the information base he had gathered by interrogating Sidotti to produce the first systematic geography book in Japan. It was completed in 1725.

What then is the relationship between these two works and Fr. Ricci's World Map? It is said that when Hakuseki questioned Sidotti in the interrogation room at the jail for Christians, he took a map of the world with him. When Sidotti saw it, he remarked, "This map was made in this country and is not precise." Two days later he brought in an old map from the magistrate's office and questioned him again. Sidotti replied that it was "exquisite and difficult to obtain even in the West." Judging from the introduction to the *Sairan Igen*, the second map was Joan Blau's map of the world, published in Amsterdam, Holland in 1639. The one Sidotti said had been made in this country and was therefore imprecise was in fact Fr. Ricci's World Map. It is clear that Joan Blau's map of the world was one of Hakuseki's principal data sources for his research on world geography. However, unfortunately he was not able to understand Dutch and as

a result, he could only make use of the map itself and could not make use of any of the explanations on it. He did have a knowledge of Chinese so he used Fr. Ricci's World Map to understand Blau's. Since Sidotti could not read Chinese, misunderstandings were unavoidable. The 1602 edition of Fr. Ricci's World Map was not a print, but a hand made copy. For this reason, it has been pointed out that there were a number of errors in it.

The second volume of the *Seiyō Kibun* is systematic in its geographical description. It begins with a general explanation of the world, followed by a topographical description of eighteen European countries, three African countries, fifteen Asian countries and one South American country. At the end of the section on each continent, there is a general description of that continent. The *Seiyō Kibun* does not contain nearly the number of place names as the *Sairan Igen*. The reason is that it contains primarily only the names that came out in his conversations with Sidotti. And he states that he "cannot believe that all of the entries on Fr. Ricci's map are true." At the same time, his general explanation of the world at the beginning of the second volume and almost all of the geographical explanations in the book are based on the 1602 edition of Fr. Ricci's World Map. It is said that while he was editing the book he could not let Fr. Ricci's map out of his hand for even a moment. In other words, while the actual map in the *Seiyō Kibun* was based on Blau's map of the world, the geographical descriptions were based on Fr. Ricci's World Map.

A far greater number of place names are given in the *Sairan Igen*. At the beginning of each heading the original pronunciation of the word, for example Euroha, is rendered in "katakana" and then in Chinese characters. Underneath the Chinese characters Hakuseki makes the notation, "The Chinese translation of place names has been taken from the "Konyo Zusetsu" printed by a Chinese. "Yamamura Shohei is correct in his conclusion that the "Konyo Zusetsu" was written by Matteo Ricci. Even though Sidotti had pointed out that there were

many errors in the 1602 edition of Fr. Ricci's World Map, Hakuseki was unable to complete parts of the *Sairan Igen* without it and its explanations. In his discussion of world geography, he uses Fr. Ricci's explanations as a base and compares them with Blau's map and the information he received from the Dutch Capitaōs. Dr. Ayuzawa has detected thirty-two quotations from Fr. Ricci's World Map in the *Sairan Igen*. The descriptions of the Orient found in it also contain many other references to other Chinese works. Throughout the Edo period this work was regarded as having been extremely well done and was the origin of world geography books in that period.

The translations of place names into Chinese characters which Hakuseki used in this book were used until the beginning of the Meiji period and some of them are still in use today. Since all of the names rendered into Chinese characters have their origin in Fr. Ricci's World Map, it must be said that the legacy Fr. Ricci has left Japanese geographers is enormous. In this respect, the same can be said for China as well.

Yamamura Shohei wrote the book *Zōyaku Sairan Igen* in 1803. This book is regarded as the best world geography book written by a Japanese during the Edo period. According to the introduction, it is a supplemented and revised version of Hakuseki's *Sairan Igen*. The author claims to have used forty-one Chinese books as references, but throughout the monograph he makes many references to the 1602 edition of Fr. Ricci's World Map.

In the above description of the influence Fr. Ricci's World Map has had on world geography in China and Japan, I have relied heavily on the views of Dr. Ayuzawa. Ayuzawa devoted his life to research of Fr. Ricci's World Map. One result of this is that we have been able to determine that the "Lang-i-ts'üan-lan-t'u" presently in the Christian Museum of Soong Jun University in Korea is the 1603 edition of the World Map. Since his works were all written in Japanese, they are not widely known outside Japan. As a friend of his, I have taken this

opportunity to introduce his achievements. Up until the time of his death, he was concerned about the whereabouts of the "Lang-i-ts'üan-lan-t'u". He must be happy to know that it is preserved today in Seoul.

In closing, I would like to say a few words regarding research in Japan being done on Fr. Ricci's achievements in areas other than the World Map. Of the research published in the twentieth century, the first truly excellent paper is Nakayama Kyūshiro's *Rimatoden*, 1915, 1917. (*Rekishi to Chiri* 26-2.3, 29-3.5, 30-1). This work has been translated into Chinese and has proved a great benefit to both Japanese and Chinese Fr. Ricci scholars. Since he was one of the foremost Sinologist of his time, he has gathered and presented a broad range of material of Fr. Ricci written in Chinese. His introduction into East Asia of the entire biography of Fr. Ricci in Chinese by Fr. Aleni and presently in the Bibliothèque Nationale is an especially great contribution.

Goto Tomomi is a scholar on the intellectual history of the Ming and Ch'ing periods. Fr. Ricci is mentioned often in a collection of his papers entitled *Minshin Sisō to Kiristokyō*, which was published posthumously by Kenbun Shuppan in 1979. His analysis of the significance of Fr. Ricci's criticism of the indigenous Chinese religions and the process by which that criticism led to a rejection of Catholicism by Buddhist monks and Confucians is excellent and has attracted the attention of young scholars in Japan. He has also published a detailed annotated Japanese translation of *T'ien-chu-shih-i* (1971, Meitoku Shuppansha).

Hirakawa Sukehiro has published an excellent biography of Fr. Ricci entitled *Matteo Ricci Den*. This biography is unique in that it has been written from the viewpoint of a scholar in comparative literature and comparative culture rather than that of a historian. The main characteristics of the work are the introduction of Fr. Ricci's *Chiao-you-lun* in its entirety and the detailed explanatory notes added

to each section.

Fr. Ricci's memoirs, *Della entrata della compagnia di Gesù et christianita nella Cina*, and D'Elia's commentary and notes were published in three volumes between 1942 and 1949 under the title *Fonti Ricciane*. Four of the five sections these memoirs are divided into have been translated by Kawana Kohei with notes by Yazawa Toshihiko and published under the title *Chūgoku Kiristokyō Fukyōshi* (1982, Iwanami Shoten). Through sheer coincidence, this publication came out on the 400th anniversary of Fr. Ricci's arrival in China. The fifth section will be published along with a translation of the first half of Fr. Alvaro Semmedo's *Imperio de la China* (1642, Madrid) sometime in 1983.

〈國文 要約〉

마테오 릿치의 世界地圖과 東아시아에 끼친 영향

야자와 도시히코

마테오 릿치神父의 이름은 日本에서 中等教育을 마친 사람들에게는 널리 알려지고 있는데, 그 까닭은 그들의 世界史 教科書에 릿치가 東아시아에 基督教과 西洋科學을 導入하는데 貢獻한 事實이 잘 叙述되어 있기 때문이다. 日本의 著者들은 특히 릿치가 西洋의 地理學을 導入하는데 있어서의 役割을 강조하고 있다.

텔리아神父, 洪業教授, 鮎澤博士와 金良善氏의 研究에 依하여 밝혀진 릿치神父의 生存 中에 發刊된 네 가지 중요한 世界地圖만 그 概略을 여기에 叙述하려고 한다. 여기서 나는 두 가지 點을 分明히 하여 두려고 한다. 첫째로 1584年版의 世界地圖에서 中國만을 크게 보이게 하기 위하여 世界의 다른 地域을 犧牲시키지는 않았다는 점이다. 둘째로 본래 韓國의 黃氏門中所藏이었던 1603年版을 當時 鮎澤博士가 처음으로 「兩儀玄覽圖」라는 事實을 證明한 것으로서 現在 서울에 保管되고 있는 사실이다. 릿치의 世界地圖가 中國人의 世界觀에 미친 影響의 문제는 多少 복잡하다. 洗禮를 받거나 또는 宣教師들과 어떤 接觸이 있었던 知識人들이 릿치가 說明한 事實을 믿은 것은 사실이지만, 다른 사람들은 半信半疑하고, 또 大部分의 사람들은 그것을 전혀 믿지 않았다고 말할 수 있다. 이러한 觀點에서는 一部の 論者들이 말하는 바와 같이 릿치의 世界地圖가 中國人의 世界觀을 完全히 바꿔 버렸다고 말할 수는 없다.

日本에서는 狀況이 약간 다르다. 江戸 時代에 많은 世界地圖가 여러가지 名稱으로 出版되었는데 그 大部分이 直接 間接으로 릿치의 世界地圖에 依據하고 있다.

日本の鎖國時代に幕府の高官이었던 新井白石이 世界地理에 관한 두卷의 훌륭한 책을 썼다. 이 冊들은 出版되지는 않았으나 秘密稿本으로써 流布되고 海外事情에 관한 새로운 知識을 渴望하던 知識人들에게 甚大한 影響을 끼쳤다. 그는 이 두 卷의 책을 쓰는데 있어서 당시 獄中에 있던 시돗테 Sidotte 神父, 또는 هول랜드 船長에게서 얻은 知識에 根據하였다고 전하여지고 있으나, 사실은 이 책들은 릿치의 世界地圖에 많이 依存하고 있다.

日本에 대한 릿치의 世界地圖의 影響에 대하여 故 鮎澤博士는 우리가 紹介할 가치가 있는 많은 것을 著述하였다. 그러나 그 著述들은 모두 日本語로 쓰여졌기 때문에 그의 業績은 世上에 잘 알려져 있지 않았다. 그리하여 이 機會를 利用하여 本人은 그의 生涯의 業績을 여기에 紹介하려고 한 것이다.

이 報告의 마지막에 日本에 있어서의 릿치에 관한 研究에 대하여 몇 마디 附言하려고 하며, 여기서 本人이 註釋者로서 參加하고 있는 릿치의 回顧錄의 日本語 번역이 끝나서 今年 末까지 刊行된다는 것을 말하여 두고 싶다.

〈討 論〉

李 光 麟

(西 江 大)

矢澤利彦教授의 論文을 要約하면 마테오 릿치神父가 中國에 와서 1584년・1600년・1602년・1603년 네 차례에 걸쳐 世界地圖를 製作하였다는 것, 그리고 그 地圖는 東洋人의 世界觀을 바꾸는 데에는 공헌을 하지 못하였으나 地圖製作에는 큰 영향을 끼쳤다는 것으로서 日本의 江戸時代에 제작된 몇 개의 地圖를 例로 들고 있다. 矢澤教授의 論文은 要領이 있고 說得力이 있어서 배운 바가 많다.

그런데 1603년의 世界地圖, 즉 兩儀玄覽圖에 대한 설명 중에 “黃汝一과 그의 아들 黃東溟이 1603년과 1604년 두 차례 北京에 使節로 派遣되었고, 東溟이 1604년에 그 地圖를 얻어 갖고 왔다”고 하였으나 評者의 調査에 依하면 이 內容은 틀린 것이다. 우선 蔣珍黃氏族譜와 國朝榜目을 보면 黃東溟의 이름은 黃中允이고 東溟은 그의 號이다. 따라서 正確히는 黃汝一과 그의 아들 黃中允이라야 한다.

그리고 宣祖實錄과 光海君日記를 보면 黃汝一이 北京에 간 것은 1598년(宣祖 31년, 明 萬曆 26년)이었고, 그의 아들 黃中允이 北京에 간 것은 1620년(光海君 12년, 明 萬曆 48년)이었다. 그러므로 1603년과 1604년에 갔다는 것은 明白히 錯誤이다. 실은 이와같은 內容은 矢澤教授의 잘못이 아니라고 생각한다. 그 까닭은 즉 矢澤教授는 金良善牧師의 『梅山國學散稿』(崇田大學校博物館, 1972)에서 그것을 引用하고 있기 때문이다. 그러므로 源泉의으로는 金牧師의 잘못에서 생긴 것이다.

다음으로 마테오 릿치의 地圖가 東洋人의 世界地圖 製作에 영향을 주었다는 것에 대해 우선 配置에 있어서 아시아를 中心에 두고 유럽・아프리카를 左側에 미국을 右側에 넣고 있고, 또 오늘날까지 쓰고 있는 大部分

의 世界地名 表記도 마테오 릿치의 地圖의 영향을 받은 것이라고 하였다. 이것은 흥미있는 指摘이다. 그러나 이와 아울러 正確한 地圖製作에도 영향을 주었다는 것을 지적해야 되지 않을까 생각된다. 그러니까 既往의 地圖가 대체로 繪畵的인 粗製圖인데 비해, 마테오 릿치 地圖가 나온 이후 斗學的으로 測定을 하여 正確한 地圖, 이론바 精裝圖가 나오게 되었음을 말한다. 이에 대해서는 李晔光(1563~1628)의 『芝峰類說』 卷 2, 地理部에

萬曆癸卯(明神宗 31 年, 1603 年) 余忝副提學時 赴京回還使臣 李光庭·權愔 以歐羅巴國輿地圖一件 送于本館 蓋得於京師者也 見其圖甚精巧 於西域特詳 以至中國地方 暨我東八道 日本六十州 地理遠近大小 纖悉無遺…(下略)라 있는 것을 參考할 수 있다. 이 引用文을 통해서도 正確한 地圖製作에 영향을 주었을 것으로 알릴 수 있다. 結局 18·19 世紀에 裝作된 鄭尙駟(農圃, 1678~1752)의 『東國地圖』, 金正浩(古山子, ?~1864)의 『靑丘圖』, 『大東輿地圖』와 같은 精製圖가 나오게된 背景에는 必是 마테오 릿치 地圖의 영향이 있음직하다.