

MONUMENTA SERICA

Journal of Oriental Studies of the Catholic University of Peking

MONOGRAPH VIII

THE "MONGOL ATLAS" OF CHINA

by CHU SSU-PEN

AND THE

KUANG-YÜ.T'U

With 48 facsimile maps dating from
about 1555

by

WALTER FUCHS



FU JEN UNIVERSITY, PEIPING

1946

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I

INTRODUCTION*

Of the manifold cultural relations between Persia-Arabia-Byzantium and China during the Mongol dynasty we know the rough outlines, but many of their details must as yet be established from Chinese sources. The West Asiatic representatives of the applied sciences were greatly honoured in China; such names as Ala-ud-Din 阿老瓦丁, Ismail 亦思馬因, Jamal-ud-Din 扎馬魯丁, Isā 愛薛, Yeh-hei-tieh-erh 也黑迭兒, and Shams 瞻思 are closely connected with the promotion of mathematics, astronomy, and geography, as well as with the planning of cities, hydraulics, and gunnery.¹ One may also mention, among the native Chinese, medical men like Chu Li 朱李, Li Kao 李杲, and Chu Chen-heng 朱震亨, mathematicians like Li Chih 李治, and astronomers and geographers like Kuo Shou-ching 郭守敬, Chu Ssu-pen 朱思本, and Li Tse-min 李澤民, who contributed much to the spreading of the knowledge of these new sciences.

General attention in Mongol China was turned more or less to geographical studies following the extension of her political power to the Far West. Unfortunately little evidence of this has been preserved. As late as 1922 Herrmann reiterated the obsolete opinion of Richthofen that during the Yüan period the Chinese knew extremely little of Central and West Asia²; for occidental scholars had paid attention exclusively to the primitive sketch-map of Central Asiatic localities from the *Ching-shih ta-tien* of 1329/32.³

That opinion, however, is no longer tenable, because, as was to be expected, there existed a considerable geographical literature about the West, of which at least the following titles have been handed down to us:

*) These lines may be taken as a revision of an essay published in 1938 in the *Inaba Anniversary Volume* (cf. bibliography); part I has been added, the maps have been reproduced in one-quarter size from the print dating from about 1555.

1) Cf. for details the fundamental study of Ch'en Yüan 陳垣, *About the Sinification of people from western countries during the Yüan dynasty* 元西域人華化考, in *Kuo-hsüeh chi-k'an* I, 1923, pp. 573-653, and *Yen-ching hsüeh-pao*, II, 1927, pp. 171-232; cf. also TRD, II, 462, 2-3, and Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 1939, pp. 354 and 373.

2) Cf. Bretschneider, II, p. 3 ff.; Herrmann, pp. 277-280; Pelliot, TP, 1928, pp. 98-100.

3) Cf. Herrmann, p. 277; Richthofen, *China*, I, 1877, middle of p. 587 and pp. 591-592.

the *Hsi-kuo t'u-ching* 西國圖經 by Shams and the *I-yü-t'u* 異域圖 by Chou Chih-chung 周致中, while fragments had been known for a long time already of the *Ta-i-t'ung-chih* 大一統志, the great official gazetteer of the Yüan dynasty, which certainly included foreign countries.⁴ In addition, the world-map of Li Tse-min 李澤民 — or, more accurately, its Korean version of 1402 and Chinese version of the late 16th century — is the most magnificent example of Mongol cartography. That world-picture which completely overshadows the contemporary Europeo-Arabian maps, at least in regard to Asia and Africa, compensates us for the loss of all the other geographical works. Its description will be found below in part III.

In 1267 the Persian astronomer and geographer Jamal-ud-Din⁵ presented Khubilai Khan with a Persian terrestrial globe and six other astronomical instruments. One may suppose that this greatly extended the western scope of geographical knowledge. The names of the instruments presented are mentioned in the *Yüan-shih*, 48, 10a-12a, with the title, "Western Astronomical Instruments" 西域儀象. The introductory sentence reads as follows:

Jamal-ud-Din manufactured western astronomical instruments in the 4th year of the period chih-yüan (1267). It is succeeded by a descriptive list of the instruments with their Persian equivalents:⁶

4) The three works have been mentioned in chapter 2 of the *Pu Yüan-shih i-wen-chih*, in addition also the *Ta Yüan hun-i yü-ti yao-lan* 大元混一輿地要覽 in 7 chapters by Ho Heng 郝衡 and the anonymous *Sheng-ch'ao hun-i fang-yü sheng-lan* 聖朝混一方輿勝覽 in 3 chapters. It is doubtful to me whether or not the two last-mentioned works contained also the western countries. Regarding the *Ta-i-t'ung-chih* cf. also TRD, V, 442, 3; *Tōyōshi kenkyū*, II, 4, 1937, pp. 371-379; III, 1, 1937, pp. 64-65; *Manshū gakuho*, IV, 1936, pp. 9-42; *Aoyama*, V, pp. 124-132; *Library of Congress, Orientalia Added 1919-1920*, p. 188.

5) About him cf. Wylie, p. 16; TRD, IV, 191-192, s.v.

6) The seven Persian terms have been taken from the article "About an aspect of Islamic culture moving eastwards" by K. Tasaka in *Shigaku zasshi*, 53, no. 4, April, 1942, pp. 404-436. There the author has reconstructed the terms from the Chinese transcriptions and discussed them in detail. Gaubil in his *Astronomie chinoise*, p. 130, has already mentioned the seven instruments, defining them rather vaguely. Zinner, *Geschichte der Sternkunde*, p. 236 has correctly rendered five of the terms. But he wrongly defined no. 2 as a divided circle (Gaubil: Pour savoir les degrés du cercle), and no. 7 as a clepsydra, as the present author found out in a discussion of the Chinese description with the astronomer, the Rev. P. Fr. Hagemann, S.V.D., of Fujen University. Concerning no. 7, the astrolabe, cf. also Zinner, p. 303: "Das Astrolab musste zuerst für alle möglichen Zwecke, für Zeitbestimmung bei Tag und Nacht, ... dienen."

1. 咱禿哈刺吉 tsa-t'u ha-la-chi = Adātu falaki = 混天儀 = armillary sphere.
2. 咱禿朔八台 tsa-t'u shuo-pa-t'ai = Adātu şawābiti = 測驗周天星曜之器 = Jacob's staff (Dreistab, Parallaxen-Lineal).
3. 魯哈麻亦渺凹只 lu-ha-ma-i miao-wa-chih = Rukhāmāh-i muwāzī = solstice gnomon.
4. 魯哈麻亦木思塔餘 lu-ha-ma-i mu-ssu-t'a-yü = Rukhamāh-i mustawī = equinoctial gnomon.
5. 苦來亦撒麻 k'u-lai-i sa-ma = Kur(r)ah-i-samā' = celestial globe.
6. 苦來亦阿兒子 k'u-lai-i a-erh-tzu = Kur(r)ah-i-arz = terrestrial globe.
7. 兀速都兒刺不定 wu-su-tu-erh-la-pu-ting = Usturlāb = astrolabe.

The terrestrial globe has been described as follows:

"*K'u-lai-i a-erh-tzu* denotes in Chinese a representation of the earth. It has been manufactured by the following method: a round ball has been made of wood; seven parts of it represent water, the colour of which is green, and three parts land, the colour of which is white. Streams, rivers, lakes, and seas have been marked in such a way as to extend their lines over the whole ball; [in addition], small squares have been made in order to make it possible to calculate the size of regions and the distances of roads."⁷

Although we do not learn any details about the land represented the estimated proportion of land to water, 30% to 70%, is surprisingly accurate; for, at present the proportion is known to be 29.2% to 70.8%. Nevertheless, this surprising coincidence must be ascribed to lucky chance, because America and Australia were then unknown. Arabian celestial globes of the 13th century are to be found even today in European museums,⁸ but I do not know, whether or not terrestrial globes of that period have been preserved. If they still exist it would be worthwhile to examine the above proportion.

7) fol. 11b: 苦來亦阿兒子。漢言地理志。其制以木爲圓球。七分爲水。其色綠。三分爲土地。其色白。畫江河湖海。脈絡貫串於其中。畫作小方井。以計幅員之廣袤。道里之遠近。Ogawa Takuji has referred to this passage as early as in 1910 in *Chigaku zasshi*, 22, no. 260, p. 603 = *Shina rekishi chiri kenkyū*, pp. 55-56. He stated that the network of squares probably indicated the longitudes and latitudes. But, as the Arabs did not grade their maps, we must assume that it is the usual mesh-net system (Maschennetz-System) of the Chinese, where the size of the individual square meshes indicates the distances. This system was introduced by P'ei Hsiu 裴秀 (died in 271 A.D.); cf. Chavannes, BEFEO, III, 1903, p. 241 ff., Herrmann, p. 255 ff., and TP, 1893, p. 65 = *Lettres édifiantes*, IV, 1877, éd. Panthéon litt., p. 605.

8) Cf. Feldhaus, *Die Technik der Vorzeit*..., 1914, col. 461; Zinner, p. 297.

The above-mentioned Kuo Shou-ching,⁹ 1231-1316, was likewise influenced by these Arabic discoveries in the astronomical and geographical branches of science. The northern latitude of 27 cities was newly determined in consequence of his memorial of the 3rd moon of 1279.^{9a} The farthest points were: the North Sea, or the Lake Baikal, 北海, 65°; the region of the Tölös, 鐵勒,¹⁰ or the Telengites, 55°; Karakorum, 和林, 45°; Kao-li 高麗, i.e., K'ai-ch'eng 開城, the former capital of Korea, 38°; Ch'eng-tu 成都, 31°; Hainan (Ch'iung-chou 瓊州), 19°, and the South Sea, 南海, 15°.¹¹ Kuo Shou-ching also prepared astronomical instruments for the Peking observatory, which were not replaced by new ones until 1673.¹² The 14 m high brick building of a "Meridian-Öhrsonnenuhr" in Yang-ch'eng 陽城, the present Kao-ch'eng-chen 高城鎮, near Teng-feng-hsien 登封縣 in Honan, which was rediscovered in the middle of the thirties, has likewise been attributed to Kuo Shou-ching.¹³

9) Cf. the bibliographical references in my *Jesuiten-Atlas*, Peking, 1943, pp. 315¹; see also Zinner, pp. 234-236, s.v. "Shu-Ging"; Pelliot, JA, 1927, p. 268; Howorth, I, 240 ("Kochauking"); Yüan-wen-lei 元文類, 50, fol. 1-8: Gaubil, pp. 106-115.

9a) The exact date according to the Yüan-shih, 10, 16a-b: "On the day keng-hsü [of the 3rd moon] an imperial command was proclaimed to Kuo Shou-ching to measure the shadow of the sun beginning from Shang-tu and Peking by way of Honanfu down to the South Sea." 庚戌勅郭守敬，繇上都大都歷河南府抵南海。測驗晷景。

10) They resided south of Lake Baikal at the T'ang time, which here has evidently been referred to.

11) I.e., today approximately the latitude of Manila and of the central part of the coast of French Indo-China (cf. also fn. 16). All of the 27 cities have been listed in the Yüan-shih, 48, 12a-13b; 18 of these have already been mentioned by Gaubil, pp. 110-111. In ch. 48, 1b, Lake Baikal and the South Sea have not been listed.

12) Wylie, p. 3, and Zinner, p. 235, have reported that the following four instruments were dismantled at that period: the armillary sphere, the compendium-instrument (Chien-i 簡儀), the celestial globe, and the sector; cf. also Yüan-wen-lei, 17, 5a-7a, and the description of the old instruments of Kuo Shou-ching by Zinner, pp. 235-236.

13) Cf. the report by G. Ecke, *Mon. Ser.*, II, 1936-37, p. 469, with the photograph of the building; according to Zinner, p. 237, it was already known to the old Jesuits: "In the city of Deng Feng in Honan province the Jesuits found also an old observatory with a sun-dial, originating allegedly from Dschou Gung [周公]." This statement has evidently been taken from Martini, *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, 1655, p. 62b; there is mentioned the sun-dial (regula = gnomon) as well as the observatory. Regarding the latter Martini says the following: "... ibidem visitur turris, in qua solitus syderum notare cursus ac conversiones, dicta Quonsing tai [觀星臺], hoc est aspiciendorum syderum turris, hic idem Cheucungus (= Chou Kung) acus pyxidisque magneticae usum jam tum habuit familiarem, uti clarius demonstro in mea Sinensium Historiarum epitome." In the Ta Ch'ing i-t'ung-chih, 163, 河南府二, 4b, s.v. 測景臺, the obser-

THE MAP OF CHU SSU-PEN DATING FROM 1320

Chu Ssu-pen 朱思本 has exercised the greatest influence on Chinese geographers. His view on China's cartographical representation essentially held until the last decades of the 19th century. He was born in 1273¹⁴ and from his youth was interested in geography. During the years 1311-1320 he prepared his great map of China and her border countries from individual maps, basing his work on extensive travels and industrious literary studies. The map had no special title, but was simply called "Terrestrial map," *yü-t'u* 輿圖. To our knowledge, no original copies of it have been preserved, but as late as 1715 a copy was found in the library of Yao Chi-heng 姚際恆; a stone reproduction in the Shang-ch'ing-kung 上清宮 monastery in Lung-hu-shan 龍虎山 in Kiangsi was lost by 1858.¹⁵ Hence, the map of Chu Ssu-pen exists only in its revision by Lo Hung-hsien (cf. p. 11) dating from the middle of the 16th century.

In his preface Chu Ssu-pen himself tells us what regions outside China proper had been included in his map; however, the text is somewhat ambiguous:

vatory 觀星臺 has likewise been mentioned at the end of the note: "In addition, there is an observatory which is situated north of the sundial-terrace; it is 5 chang (about 15 m) high and 2 chang wide, and its brick walls are still intact." 又有觀星臺。在測景臺北。高五丈闊二丈。磚甃尙完。 Cf. also Chou-kung ts'e-ying-t'ai tiao-ch'a pao-kao 周公測景臺調查報告, Com. Press, 1939 (review in T'u-shu chi-k'an, 新 I, 1939, pp. 442-443). According to the Rev. Hagemann, the building would best be called a "Meridian-Öhrsonnenuhr" (= méridienne, cf. Zinner, p. 425). In Yang-ch'eng Ho Ch'eng-t'ien 何承天 in the year 443 (Gaubil, p. 50, and TRD, I, 502-503) and I Hsing 一行, 683-727, (Pelliot, BEFEO, 1903, 187, end of footn. 2; Gaubil, p. 76; Richthofen, China, I, 390²; Zinner, p. 224) made astronomical determinations, because the neighbouring Teng-feng-hsien, situated near the Sung-shan 嵩山, the central holy mountain, was considered the centre of the world; cf. I-t'ung-chih, l.c., and Martini, l.c.: "(Teng-feng) ... quippe quam item in ipso orbis centro ac meditullio constituunt Sinae..."

14) Died between 1335 and 1340. In connection with the expedition of 1280 for the exploration of the upper course of the Huangho, he also translated Tibetan works concerning that topic (梵字圖書) into Chinese. An extract of these translations is to be found in the Yüan-shih, 63, 27b-31b (cf. also TRD, III, 14, 1). Cf. the fundamental study by T. Naitō about the sparse details of his life; see also Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh-chia ta-tz'u-tien, no. 3460.

15) According to Wu Han, p. 22, on the basis of the T'ieh-ch'in t'ung-chien-lou shu-mu (preface of February 2, 1858), 22, 8b. The statement about Yao Chi-heng, born in 1647, originates from his book catalogue, the Hao-ku-t'ang shu-mu 好古堂書目, dating from 1715.

"Regarding the foreign countries of the barbarians southeast of the South Sea¹⁶ and northwest of Mongolia, there is no means of investigating them because of their great distance, although they are continually coming with tribute to the court. Those, who speak of them, are unable to say anything definite, while those who say something definite cannot be trusted. Hence, I am compelled to omit them here".¹⁷

According to this statement the map contained, outside of China, only Mongolia and Central Asia, probably in the form reproduced here on plate 46. Probably Korea was likewise included although it has not been specially mentioned here and the height of 38° for K'ai-ch'eng (cf. above p. 6) has been indicated rather accurately.¹⁸ In contrast, Annam was apparently listed nominally only, but the country was not represented in detail; because the Chinese learned its more or less precise outline only through the travels of Cheng Ho 鄭和 at the beginning of the Ming period, 1405-1433. Gaubil has likewise stated that the map of Annam was added as late as the 16th century in the revised edition by Lo Hung-hsien.¹⁹

Lo Hung-hsien in his preface has made the following remark about the original map of Chu Ssu-pen:

"His map was prepared by the method of indicating the distances by a network of squares²⁰ and thus the actual geographic picture was faithful. Hence, even if one divided [the map] and put it together again, [the individual parts] in the east and west nevertheless fitted faultlessly together... Chu's map, 7 feet (about 2.24 m) long (i.e. wide), was inconvenient to unroll; so, I have arranged it now in book form on the basis of its network of squares.²¹

16) 漲海 indicates the sea between Hainan and the Malacca Straits.

17) 若夫漲海之東南. 沙漠之西北諸蕃異域. 雖朝貢時至. 而遠絕罕稽. 言之者既不能詳. 詳者又未必可信. 故於斯類. 姑用闕如.

18) Particularly, as Li Tse-min's map of about ten years later likewise included Korea. But it was so inaccurate that it had to be replaced by a new reproduction in 1402; cf. footn. 26.

19) "L'Empereur chinois Kia-tsing 嘉靖, 1522-1566, fit faire depuis une nouvelle édition de ces cartes; il fit ajouter celle du Tonking...". TP, 1893, p. 65.

20) Cf. end of footn. 7.

21) 其圖有計里畫方之法. 而形實自是可靠. 從而分合. 東西相俾. 不至背舛... 按朱圖長七尺. 不便卷舒. 今據畫方. 易以編簡.

III

THE WORLD MAPS OF LI TSE-MIN AND CH'ÜAN CHIN

In addition to the map of Chu Ssu-pen, there exist two other, much more important examples for the cartography of the Yüan dynasty. They surprise us by their representation, which covers the whole of the then known world, and also by the indication of numerous geographical names, particularly in North Africa and Europe. These are: the Korean map *Hun-i Chiang-li li-tai kuo-tu chih t'u* 混一疆理歷代國都之圖 by Ch'üan Chin 權近 of 1402, in a copy from about the end of the 15th century, and its Chinese counterpart, the undated *Ta Ming hun-i-t'u* 大明混一圖, presumably a copy of the Wan-li period, i.e., about 1600. Both of these maps are based on the *Sheng-chiao kuang-pei-t'u* 聲教廣被圖 by Li Tse-min 李澤民 at about 1330, which is now lost.

Of Li Tse-min we know only that he was born in Wu-men 吳門, i.e., Suchou, and that he flourished about 1330; because, on the one hand, Lo Hung-hsien named together as his sources "the terrestrial maps of the Mongol period by Chu Ssu-pen and Li Tse-min",²² and, on the other, Ch'üan Chin, after having pointed out that most of the earlier maps were inaccurate, characterized his two sources in the note to the map of 1402 as follows:

"Only the *Sheng-chiao kuang-pei-t'u* by Li Tse-min of Wu-men is very detailed, but the different capitals of the emperors of the succeeding dynasties are completely listed on the *Hun-i Chiang-li-t'u* 混一疆理圖 by the monk Ch'ing-jui 清濬 of the T'ien-t'ai-shan.²³

Hence, we may assume that the map of Ch'ing-jui, which likewise has not survived in its original form, for China proper has paid particular attention to the capitals of the various dynasties. Li Tse-min's map, on the other hand, has served as a model for Ch'üan Chin's drawing of China and foreign countries. Furthermore, from the place names in China proper on Ch'üan Chin's map we may surmise that the incorporated map of Li Tse-min dates from about 1330, while that of Ch'ing-jui, who lived from 1328 to 1392, dates from the beginning of the Ming dynasty, i.e., during the Hung-wu period, between 1368 and 1398.²⁴

22) 元朱思本. 李澤民與地圖; cf. below, p. 13.

23) 惟吳門李澤民聲教廣被圖. 頗為詳備. 而歷代帝王國都沿革. 則天台僧清濬混一疆理圖備載焉. Ch'ing-jui lived from 1328-1392, as has been stated by Aoyama, VIII, pp. 112-113, according to the biography in the *Tseng-chi Hsü Chuan-teng-lu* 增集續傳燈錄, 5.

24) For details see Aoyama, VIII, 114-116.

Both of these maps got to Korea in 1399 through the Korean ambassador Chin Shih-heng 金士衡, who had then been sent to the Ming court as representative for the accession to the throne of emperor Chien-wen-ti 建文帝. Chin Shih-heng studied them in 1402 in Korea, together with his friend Li Mao 李茂. Subsequently the two maps were redrawn and combined into a new map by Li Hui 李蒼. Ch'üan Chin, the author of the postface dated the 8th moon of 1402, revised the presentation of Korea and added Japan.²⁵ Thus originated the *Hun-i Chiang-li li-tai kuo-tu chih t'u*,²⁶ of which a copy, dating from about 1500,²⁷ has been preserved in the Ryūkyō daigaku 龍谷大學 of Kyōto. It is painted in colour on silk, about 162 cm in width and 138 cm in height, and is perhaps the most valuable cartographic document of East Asia.²⁸ It fully replaces the now lost map by Li Tse-min, especially in regard to the Far Western countries. Hence, our judgement about Ch'üan Chin's map proves to be correct for the years around, or rather before, 1330.

An accurate study of Ch'üan Chin's map we owe to Mr. Aoyama in VII, 110-145. He there discusses in detail its relation to the *Kuang-yü-t'u* concerning East, Southeast, and Central Asia, but he has not considered the Far West and has not reproduced it in photograph.²⁹ That is the more regrettable, as just this part conveys a unique Chinese-Mongolian conception of the Far Western world, based on Arabic-

25) After the postface, i.e., pp. 110-111. The following words on Li Tse-min's map prove that Korea was already represented there: "[Li] Tse-min's map was defective in many instances for the east of Liao-shui and for the region of our country [Korea]. Hence, I have now particularly enlarged the map of our country and also added Japan." 其遼水以東及本國疆域。澤民之圖亦多闕略。今特增廣本國地圖。而附以日本。Korea has probably been presented on the basis of Li Hui's 李蒼 Pa-tao-t'u 八道圖, which most likely dates from 1402, Japan, on the basis of the Jih-pen-t'u 日本圖, brought back by the Korean envoy, P'u Tun-chih 朴敦之 in 1401 from Kyūshū (cf. Aoyama, IX, 144-145). Concerning Ch'üan Chin, a well known Korean scholar, 1352-1410, cf. Chōsen jimmei jisho, 1937, pp. 1854-1855. In the Ch'ien-ch'ing-t'ang shu-mu 千頃堂書目, 28, 36b, a Ying-chih-chi 應制集 by him has been mentioned, which was published in 1402.

26) Not to be confused with the painted *Hun-i li-tai kuo-tu Chiang-li chih t'u* 混一歷代國都疆理之圖 of 1526 by Yang Tzu-ch'i 楊子器, which can be traced back to the Hung-chih period, 1488-1505; cf. Aoyama, *Rekishi chirigaku*, pp. 283-288, also V, 147-153, and IX, 150-157.

27) The map of Korea contains a number of place names of the period around 1470. Hence, the Kyoto copy must be a later copy dating from the end of the 15th century; cf. Aoyama, VIII, 111-112.

28) Mentioned for the first time in 1910 by Ogawa p. 606-607 = *Shina rekishi chiri kenkyū*, pp. 59-62.

29) Cf. Aoyama, VIII, plates 2 and 4.

Ptolemaic representation. A complete, as yet unpublished reproduction I owe to the kindness of Mr. Nakamura Hiroshi 中村拓 of Keijō University. Therefrom it becomes apparent that the map includes the whole of Asia as well as Europe and Africa; surprisingly, the latter has already been drawn in the form of a triangle.³⁰ About a hundred place names have been given for Europe, — its extreme northwest being *Alumangnia* 阿魯 (茫³¹) 尼阿 = Alemannia, Germany —, for Africa about thirty-five names. This magnificent world-view of Europe, Africa, and the Near East dates certainly back to the period around 1300. The Chinese, without doubt, became acquainted with it through Persian-Arabic mediation; there might even exist a connection with the terrestrial globe of 1267 (cf. above p. 4). The map extends from Japan to the Azores, from South Africa to Central Russia; it contains very many names and, in spite of some distortions as, for instance, in Southeast Asia, India, and Europe, the map forms a most grandiose picture of the Mongol world empire and of the early Middle Ages as a whole. A preliminary description of its counterpart, the *Ta-Ming hun-i-t'u*, will be published in near future.

IV

THE ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE KUANG-YÜ-T'U OF 1541

Thanks to the well-known scholar Lo Hung-hsien 羅洪先,³² hao: Nien-an 念庵, 1504-64, Chu Ssu-pen's map of 1320 has been handed down to us in a revised and enlarged form under the title of *Kuang-yü-t'u* 廣輿圖. This revision has become significant for the European cartography, because — directly or indirectly (cf. p. 22) — it has formed the foundation for the *Novus Atlas Sinensis* of Martin Martini, ed. Amsterdam, 1655. Martini thereby became "the father of the geographic knowledge of China" and the author of the first European atlas of China.³³

Lo Hung-hsien must have finished his first MS.-draft as early as 1541, because Hu Sung 胡松 has remarked in the preface to his revision of 1561: "It happened that master Lo Nien-an presented me with his work, which he had written 20 years ago (1541)."³⁴

30) Cf. below, p. 14.

31) *mang* supplemented according to the *Ta Ming hun-i-t'u*.

32) Cf. 89-Index, p. 302; TRD, VIII, 320-321; Forke, *Gesch. der neueren chines. Philosophie*, 423-425.

33) To Martini's atlas cf. also Richthofen, *China*, I, pp. 674-677; Bernard in *Mon. Ser.*, I, pp. 446-448; Pfister, *Notices...*, I, 1932, p. 261, and Duyvendak, TP, 32 pp. 305-313.

34) 會念庵羅子以其二十年前所輯見寄 (edition of 1579, 序, 4b). The date of 1541 must refer, as has been mentioned above, only to the MS.-version, but not to the printed edition; Naitō, p. 406, has likewise accepted the above passage. Mr.

We have seen above, on p. 8, that Lo Hung-hsien in his original version divided the great map of Chu Ssu-pen into individual sheets. He limited himself to the original copy, except for the fact that he corrected the reproduction of Korea and added a new map of Annam.³⁵ In addition, his own work consisted in the furnishing of details for the maps of the northern and western border regions (cf. p. 13) and, for China proper, in replacing the obsolete geographical names by modern ones or inserting altogether new ones. For the maps of the Huangho and Mongolia he also prepared historical comments regarding the campaigns of Yung-lo and statistical tables with administrative³⁶ data for all the maps. Thus, the original version was composed as follows according to Lo Hung-hsien's own words in his undated and unsigned preface, the *Kuang-yü-t'u-hsü* 廣輿圖序:³⁷

Names	M a p s	
	no. of sheets	no. of titles
general map, 輿地總圖	1	1
provincial maps, 兩直隸十三布政司圖	16 ³⁸	15
maps of the 9 northern border regions 九邊圖	11 ³⁹	10
maps of the 4 southwestern border regions, 洮河松潘, 虔鎮, 麻陽諸邊圖	5	5
maps of the Huangho 黃河圖	3	1
maps of the Grand Canal 漕河圖	3	1
maps of the sea routes 海運圖	2	1
maps of Korea, Mongolia, Annam, and the western countries, 朝鮮, 朔漠, 安南, 西域圖	4	4
68 sheets of tables	45	38

Aoyama, in V, 154 and 155, also accepted this date, but in VIII, 105 = 148⁵ he declared it to be a misprint for 1551, i.e., Chia-ching 30 instead of 20. Aoyama did so only because he believed the MS.-copy of the work in the Naikaku bunko to be the original version, but he did not consider the enumeration of maps for the original given by Lo Hung-hsien himself (cf. p. 18).

35) Korea has apparently been rendered already on the map of Chu Ssu-pen, but in the case of Annam, similar to the map of Ch'üan Chin, only its name had been entered without a detailed outline. Hence, we are entitled to say that the map of Annam was newly added; cf. also footn. 19.

36) or also with historical data, as in II, fol. 95, — ed. of 1579, II, 66a-67b —, the *Ku-chin chih-ho yao-lüeh* 古今治河要略.

37) Ed. of 1579, 序, fol. 3a; there also the figures for the number of sheets below have been given.

38) Among them the map of Shensi in 2 sheets.

39) Among them the *Chi-chou pien-t'u* 荊州邊圖 in 2 sheets and, in addition, a general map, the *Chiu-pien tsung-t'u* 九邊總圖.

40) A *Chien-ch'ang-t'u* 建昌圖 has also been appended to this.

Accordingly, the original version of 1541, which does not exist today, but has been incorporated in the first edition, contained 45⁴¹ sheets of maps with 38 titles, in addition to 68 text sheets and 1 sheet⁴² with the two prefaces by Chu Ssu-pen and Lo Hung-hsien, not specially mentioned, i.e., a grand total of 114 sheets. All of the earliest known copies of the atlas contain, however, the 2 new maps of Southeast and Southwest Asia, while Mongolia is distributed over two maps; the total number of sheets thus amounts to 117. And as the latest year in the tables dates back to December of 1553,⁴³ these maps, therefore, do not represent the original version, but a later revision (cf. p. 15).

Lo Hung-hsien states in his undated *Postface to the maps of the 9 border regions*, 跋九邊圖, in his *Nien-an Lo hsien-sheng wen-chi* 念庵羅先生文集 ch. 10, fol. 25a-b,⁴⁴ the basis of what material he prepared his maps of the northern and western border regions. He there enumerates the 14 following works: the *Ta Ming i-t'ung-chih*, the *Terrestrial maps* 輿地圖 by Chu Ssu-pen and by Li Tse-min "from the Mongol period", the *Little maps of the 9 border regions* 九邊小圖 by Hsü Lun 許論,⁴⁵ the *Chiu-pien-chih* 九邊志 by Wu Yün-ch'üan 吳雲泉, the *Maps of Liao-tung and Chi-chou* 遼東薊州圖 by his deceased father (先大夫), the *Two maps of the Hsi-kuan* (?) by P'u Tung-mou and Ch'ien Wei-yang 浦東牟錢維陽西關二圖, the *Hsüan-fu t'u-chih* 宣府圖志 by the Censor Li 李侍御, the anonymous *Yün-chung-t'u* 雲中圖, and *Hsüan-ta-t'u* 宣大圖, the *Ta-t'ung san-kuan-t'u* 大同三關圖 by T'ang Ching-ch'uan 唐荆川, the *San-pien ssu-chen-t'u* 三邊四鎮圖 by T'ang Yü-shih 唐漁石, and the two *Shui-t'u* 水圖 by Yang Yü-p'o 楊虞坡 and Hsü Pin 徐斌.

Lo Hung-hsien has consulted the above sources, particularly the *Chiu-pien t'u-lun* 九邊圖論 of 1534 by Hsü Lun. He took the presentation of South Africa on the *Hsi-nan-hai i-t'u* 西南海夷圖 (here no. 44)

41) The figure 44 in the *Inaba Anniversary Vol.*, p. 6, is incorrect. Hence, the total there has wrongly been given as 114, instead of 113. Moreover, the statement is erroneous that the number of sheets in the MS. of 1541 coincides with that of the first printed edition.

42) That is evidently as large-sized as in the first printed edition.

43) Cf. below, p. 15. Aoyama's date in VIII, 105, "about the time of Chia-ching 33" = 1553 for the compilation of the atlas (cf. also footn. 34) has certainly been based on this statement; but according to the above facts it can only refer to the revised edition.

44) Edited after his death in 1567, reprinted (according to the front page) in 1723 by the Tan-lien-tung 石蓮洞 (but with a preface dating from 1732); also cited by Aoyama, VIII, 107.

45) Cited as Hsü Hsi-yü 許西裕 with his hao; the same is true for the other names which as yet wait to be identified.

in the upper left corner, directly or indirectly, from Li Tse-min's above-mentioned *Terrestrial map*, i.e., the *Sheng-chiao kuang-pei-t'u* 聲教廣被圖 described in part III. This map no. 44, however, does not as yet appear in the original version, but only in the edition printed around the year 1555 (cf. part V); hence, we must date the *Postface to the maps of the 9 border regions* after 1541 and before 1555.

The reproduction of South Africa is of particular interest, because it was prepared in the first third of the 14th century, presumably around the year 1300. We notice with surprise that the triangular shape of Africa was already recognized, while all the Europeo-Arabic maps of this period represent its tip turned eastwards. In the map "of Fra Mauro (1453), for the first time, the southern tip has receded largely to its natural position and on the map in the Pitti palace (1447) the fallacious bend has almost completely disappeared."⁴⁶ This representation may not mean for certain that Africa was then known down to the South Cape,⁴⁷ but at least a correct idea had been formed of its southward-pointing form. The centre of the continent is filled by water;⁴⁸ it probably indicates one of the great Central African lakes, the more so, as a river falls into it. On its left side we find the name *Che-pu-lu-ma* 這不魯麻, in the beginning of which we recognize the Arabic *Djebel* = mountain range; above, the name, *Sang-ku-pa* 桑骨八, i.e., Zangebar or Zanzibar, which should be correctly marked on the eastern coast.⁴⁹ East of the two sources of the long river — without doubt the Nile — is inserted the name *Ha-na-i-ssu-chin* 哈納亦思津, ford of *Hanais.⁵⁰ East of Africa are situated two islands, *Ti-pa-nu* 梯八奴 = Island⁵¹-slaves and *Shih-a-la t'u-li-ch'ih* (or *pu?*) 失阿刺禿里赤 (or 布?),⁵² evidently *Siele-diba* = Ceylon⁵³ The southwesternmost island is called *Chu-ma* 苧麻.⁵⁴

46) Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, ed. Ruge, 1877, p. 211. Cf. also Kimble, *The Laurentian world map with special reference to its portrayal of Africa*, in *Image Mundi*, I, Berlin, 1935, pp. 29-33.

47) This in regard to the fact that the represented two river sources — decidedly those of the Nile — extend to the southern tip.

48) Lacking in the MS.-copy of the *Naikaku bunko*, cf. Aoyama, VIII, plate I; it might, therefore, also represent the Sahara.

49) In the edition of 1579 this name has been given as *Sang-ku-nu* 桑骨奴, Zanzibar slaves, instead of the above *Shih-a-la t'u-li-ch'ih*.

50) This might conceivably render the Abyssinian name of the Blue Nile, *Abai na* 納 would then have to be changed into a character of the sound pa, but this suggestion, which has been made for of a better one, is awaiting correction.

51) Arabic *diba* or *diva*, from the Sanskrit *dvipa*.

52) 布 according to the copy of the *Naikaku bunko*.

53) Cf. Herrmann, *Atlas of China*, map 35; cf. also footn. 49.

54) = Jute [island] = ?.

THE FIRST PRINTING OF THE KUANG-YÜ-T'U DATING FROM ABOUT 1555

The undated copy in the library of Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉 in Port Arthur, the maps of which have been reproduced here, represents apparently the earliest printed edition of our atlas. It consists of 4 volumes in the form of an album; its 117 sheets are folded in the middle, and include 48 map sheets and 69 text sheets. The printed area of the first sheet with the prefaces of Chu Ssu-pen and Lo Hung-hsien⁵⁵ is 33.2-5 cm. wide and 34.1-2 cm. high; it contains 34 lines with space for 36 characters each. The general map, *Yü-ti tsung-t'u* 輿地總圖, follows as second sheet, 33.5 cm. wide and 34.2-4 cm. high. The sheets are numbered on a black background, usually in the lower left, sometimes in the right corner. The number of text lines varies from 30, as on the sheets 14 and 27, to 40, as on sheet 117. The edition has to be dated from the period between 1554 and 1558,⁵⁶ the year when the first reprint was published; because the 11th moon of Chia-ching 32 = December, 1553, appears as the latest date in the text, ch. 1, 31b, in the edition of 1579 on fol. 21a. For brevity's sake the term "dating from about 1555" has been used here. The edition contains three more map sheets and two more map titles than the original version, i.e., 48 and 40 respectively; because Mongolia was distributed over two sheets and the maps 43 and 44 for Southeast and Southwest Asia with South Africa were newly added. Evidently there was also planned a general map of China and the border countries, the *Ssu-i-t'u* 四夷圖⁵⁷; because after fol. 114 (朔漢圖二) there follows immediately fol. 115 with details about the border countries, but carrying the title, *Sheet 2 of the Ssu-i-t'u* 四夷圖二. Hence, its first sheet, the map itself, has been left out.

The execution of the maps is exact and makes it plain how carelessly and often distortedly they have been cut in the common editions of 1579 and 1799. In addition, their network of meshes forms squares of 16-18 mm sidelength and not rectangles as in the other two editions.

55) His preface has not been signed.

56) Chang T'ien-fu 張天復 has already mentioned the *Kuang-yü-t'u* (cf. Aoyama, *Rekishi chirigaku*, p. 291) in his preface to the *Huang-yü-k'ao* 皇輿考 (cf. *Mon. Ser.* I, 389¹⁴, and *Orientalia Added* 1926-27, p. 246) dated 1556 (Chia-ching 36). Hence, the year 1558 might be retraced to about 1556/57, provided Chang T'ien-fu has referred to the print.

57) As it is contained in the edition of 1566 and — with the title of *Hua-i tsung-t'u* 華夷總圖 — in the edition of 1579.

Regarding the text following the maps, only statistical details are here given next to the provincial maps, those of the border regions and of the Grand Canal (nos. 39-41). The *t'u-hsü* 圖叙 and *t'u-lun* 圖論 supplements of the editions of 1566 and 1579 — I do not know that of 1561 — are lacking. The brief general references, frequently containing historical observations, have likewise been omitted. Such notes are to be found, for instance, in the edition of 1579, after the text to the maps and are often introduced by the character 按. Only the sheets 89, 94, and 114, i.e., here the maps 32, 36, and 48 contain exceptionally detailed comments of a similar kind. Otherwise non-statistical information is given in five instances on special sheets, after the maps of the Huangho, of the sea-routes (海運圖), of Korea, of Annam, and on the last three sheets, 115-117, with details about foreign barbarians, 四夷圖二, 三, 四. This section ends, in the edition of 1579, with the north-western barbarians, 四夷圖, last line *Jih-lo* 日洛.⁵⁸ But the editions of 1558, of 1566, and presumably also of 1561, have after that another section about the northern barbarians 北夷, namely the Ta-ta 鞑靼, and the Urianghai 兀良哈, and also regarding the northeastern barbarians 東北夷, the Jučen 女直. For these a list of the 114 military districts 衛, of the 20 *so* 所, and of the 58 scattered fortifications 散地城站 of the Nurgan district in the lower Amur region is given, the last name being *Ch'eng-t'ao-wen* 城討溫.

Mr. Lo Chen-yü has added a few words about the origin of his copy at the end of the atlas:

Transmitted editions of the *Kuang-yü-t'u* by Mr. Lo Nien-an are extremely rare and I have only recently received this one from an old Su-chou family. In front there are two seals of Ma Shih-ying 馬士英,⁵⁹ i.e., it is an old piece from . . .⁶⁰ At the end of the Ming dynasty the south-eastern part of China was snatched away from the hands of the Ming through him, but this atlas has been preserved even until today. *Ch'ou-t'ing* lao-min records this in Peking.⁶¹

58) Cf. *Ming-shih*, 332, 22a = *Bretschneider*, II, 314.

59) This general of the pretender to the crown, Fu-wang 福王, was decapitated in 1645 by the Manchus. Cf. *TRD*, VII, 201; *Bland and Backhouse, Court of Peking* pp. 168-172; 89-Index, p. 135, 1.

60) 伊崇; these characters were apparently copied wrongly by myself. Perhaps the hao of Ma Shih-ying has been rendered here, which I have as yet been unable to identify (his tzu is Yao-ts'ao 瑤草).

61) 羅念庵先生廣輿圖傳本至稀。頃乃得之吳中故家。前有馬士英二印。乃伊崇(?)故物。明季東南半壁斷送於其手。而此圖則至今尚存呼(?)。仇亭老民記於都門。

THE SECOND EDITION OF THE KUANG-YÜ-T'U
DATING FROM 1558

The oldest *dated* edition of the atlas is the reprint of 1558, Chia-ching wu-wu. It is completely identical with the edition dating from about 1555, i.e., regarding contents, cutting, and size of the text pages. The last sheet 117 forms the only exception; in the last line, below the title *i-t'u* 夷圖 — the first character 四 has been left open in black — it is stated: "Newly cut by the censorate for the 13 districts at Nanking, in the year wu-wu of the Chia-ching period (1558)."⁶² A further discussion is unnecessary, considering its identity with the edition dating from about 1555. Three copies of this edition are known to me: one is to be found in the Library of Congress at Washington,⁶³ another I happened to see in January, 1939, when it was sold by the Peking book store *Lai-hsün-ko* 來薰閣 to an unknown person to be sent to Japan,⁶⁴ and the second part, i.e., fol. 61-117, of a third, incomplete copy is at present on exhibition in the *Ning-shou-kung* 寧壽宮 of the Peking Palace.⁶⁵

Among the Chinese scholars this edition of 1558, to my knowledge, has only been mentioned by *Shao I-ch'en*, 7, 2a. It is very doubtful, whether or not the copy described by Sun Hsing-yen 孫星衍⁶⁶ in the *P'ing-chin-kuan chien-ts'ang-chi* 平津館鑑藏記 2, 13b, belongs here; this has already been pointed out by *Hummel*, p. 175.

62) 嘉靖戊午南京十三道監察御史重刊。A careful examination shows that it is not a simple reprint of the edition dating from about 1555, but that it had been newly cut. In the *Division of Orientalia* 1937, p. 174 (last section), where this edition has been reviewed, the fact of a new cut has been omitted. The Washington copy has been described as "... what is apparently the earliest extant edition of the Ming Atlas of China, known as *Kuang-yü-t'u*".

63) To the kindness of Dr. A. W. Hummel I owe a detailed description of it and the 4 photostatic reproductions of the first sheet with the two prefaces, and of the sheets 62 (here map 19), 116 and 117.

64) I am not quite certain, whether or not it has been the edition dating from about 1555.

65) The first part is lacking. The first sheet, fol. 61, represents the *Chiu-pien* tsung-t'u 九邊總圖, hence this copy erroneously appears in the *Ch'ing nei-wu-fu* tsao-pan-ch'u yü-t'u-fang t'u-mu 清內務府造辦處輿圖房圖目, 初編, Peking 1936, p. 3, as *Ming-k'o Chiu-pien-t'u* 明刻九邊圖. It has also been wrongly dated from the Wan-li period. As a matter of fact, the first three characters 嘉靖戊 at the end have been obliterated.

66) 1753-1818; cf. *TRD*, V, 413, 2-3.

VII

THE MS.-COPY OF THE KUANG-YÜ-T'U
IN THE NAIKAKU BUNKO⁶⁷

This copy in Tokyo, which has been repeatedly mentioned above, I know only from the brief description in *Aoyama* V, 155 and illustrations 7-8, and VIII, illustrations 1, 3, and 5, where he has designated it as the original manuscript of the atlas submitted to the emperor by Lo Hung-hsien. That is probably correct, but the question is: for what edition was it destined. It is decidedly not the original version of 1541, because the copy contains already the two maps, nos. 43 and 44, for South Asia and South Africa; in addition, Mongolia has already been represented on two sheets.⁶⁸ Moreover, the brief supplementary texts with general, often historical notes about the individual provinces⁶⁹ appear here already, as they have been appended to the maps of China and of the various border regions in the editions of 1566⁷⁰ and 1579. We must assume that it dates from the period between 1558 and 1561, for two reasons: first, these supplements are contained neither in the edition dating from about 1555, nor in that of 1558, with the three exceptions of the maps for Ma-yang 麻陽, Mongolia 朔漠 and the Huangho; secondly, the Naikaku bunko copy includes neither the two maps of Japan and the Liukiu Islands, which were newly inserted in 1561, nor the *Ssu-i-t'u* 四夷圖. After all, the maps sometimes differ very little from those of the first two editions.⁷¹

VIII

THE THIRD EDITION OF 1561

Klaproth, *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 41, 1829, p. 171, and *Baddeley*, I, p. CLXXXVI, and the *Asiatic Journal*, 1832, p. 162, have cited an edition of the *Kuang-yü-t'u* from 1561 in the possession of the former Library of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. I have not seen it, or have I been able to find an accurate description of it. *Baddeley*

67) Chu Ssu-pen has been wrongly named as the author of this MS. in the Naikaku bunko catalogue, II, kansho mokuroku 漢書目錄, 1914, p. 135, 2, as *Aoyama*, V, 182¹¹ has already pointed out.

68) Cf. also above, p. 15.

69) Cf. the Shantung map in *Aoyama*, V, illustr. 7.

70) Here these texts have not been given on the maps of Nan-Chihli, Fukien, and Chekiang themselves, but next to the statistical data.

71) For instance, on the Yü-ti tsung-t'u (*Aoyama*, V, illustr. 8) the island of Hainan is lacking.

has wrongly described it as "the oldest printed edition", his source, the *Asiatic Journal*, expressed itself more carefully, calling it "a copy of the oldest [edition] we know". That would be the revision of the atlas in 1561, Chia-ching hsin-yu, by Hu Sung 胡松. It will be discussed together with the edition of 1566, because I know its contents only from the preface of the latter. Here I shall only mention that the three new maps of Japan, the Liukiu Islands, and probably also of China and the border countries, the *Ssu-i-t'u* 四夷圖, have been included for the first time; thus the number of the map titles has increased to 43, that of the map sheets to 51. These figures are also valid for all the later editions.

IX

THE FOURTH EDITION OF 1566

The copy in the Railway Library at Dairen⁷² comprises 2 *chüan* in 4 volumes. The first *chüan* with 97 fol. contains six prefaces in the beginning: the one by Chu Ssu-pen, the unsigned one by Lo Hung-hsien, two from the year 1561 by Hu Sung 胡松 and Hsü Chiu-cao 徐九臯, the last-named is called *Kuang-yü-t'u* hsü 叙, in addition, another one of the same title by Huo Chi 霍冀 from 1566, and the last one of the same date, by Han Chün-en 韓君恩, entitled *K'o Kuang-yü-t'u hsü* 刻廣輿圖序. *Chüan* 2 has 105 fol. The format is somewhat smaller than that of the edition of 1579. The printed area of the first page of the prefaces is only 24.5 cm. high and 17 cm. wide, but the number of characters in the individual lines is equal, because they are smaller.

Hu Sung remarks already in his preface of 1561 that he has newly inserted at that time the two maps of Japan and the Liukiu Islands. From then on they are included in all the later editions. A note on these maps indicates that they have been borrowed from the writings⁷³ of Cheng Jo-tseng 鄭若會. Evidently, the *Ssu-i-t'u* likewise appears for the first time in the edition of 1561.

72) The Sinological Library at Nanking (cf. Kuo-hsüeh t'u-shu-kuan t'u-shu tsung-mu, 43, 7b) possesses another copy, which is identical with that of Wang Yung, mentioned on p. 10, and with that of Ting Ping 丁丙, described in the *Shan-pen shu-shih ts'ang-shu chih* 善本書室藏書志, ed. 1901, XI, 4b-5a, (cf. also *Duyvendak*, p. 312). A third copy is in the Harvard-Yenching Institute at Cambridge, a fourth one is supposedly in the Tōyō bunko, but that would as yet have to be traced.

73) I.e., from the Cheng K'ai-yang tsa-chu 鄭開陽雜著, reed. Nanking 1932, *chüan* 4, 2b-5, — where the preface to the map of Japan is dated from 1561 — and 7, 1b-2a; cf. also the *Imper. Cat.*, 78, 5a to the maps of Korea, Liukiu, Annam and Japan, and *Mon. Ser. I*, 389¹³. For more details regarding the map of Japan see Fujita Motoharu 藤田元春, *Nisshi kōtsu no kenkyū* 日支交通の研究, 1938, pp. 174-188.

Han Chün-en, the editor of the edition of 1566, also added 15 brief historical-geographical texts to the individual provinces and one about the foreign countries. These were taken from the *Yü-t'u chi-hsü* 輿圖記叙,⁷⁴ written in 1529 by Kuei O 桂萼. He also included the *Discussions regarding the 9 northern border regions* from the *Chiu-pien t'u-lun* 九邊圖論 of 1534 by Hsü Lun 許論. Hsü Lun's general remarks, the *Chiu-pien yü-t'u tsung-lun* 九邊輿圖總論, form in this and the following editions the beginning of the second *chüan*, while his special discussions, with the remark *t'u-lun* 圖論, follow the corresponding statistical tables. The 16 passages from Kuei O's work have been put behind the tables to the individual provinces and are introduced by the characters *t'u-hsü* 圖叙.⁷⁵

The text of this edition is, in comparison to the two first ones, sometimes fuller, as, for instance, for Korea⁷⁶; it has also been enlarged by additions on the left margin of the provincial maps and by 8 of those belonging to the northern border regions. In contrast, the text has often been left out and interrupted by black squares in the description of Japan on fol. 96, but is unabbreviated in the edition of 1579. The statistical data are usually the same as those of the first two editions, but sometimes they differ.

The maps have been executed almost as carefully as those of the editions dating from about 1555 and 1558, but they are smaller by about one-quarter. The Shansi map, for instance, is here 25.8 cm. wide and 25.4-8 cm. high, while in the former editions its measurements amount to 33.3 by 33.6 cm. The sea along the margin of the maps is often taken up by squares, indicating the distance, but in the earlier editions, the space has been left empty.

74) Cf. *Mon. Ser.*, I, 389¹⁷. Regarding Kuei O cf. *Ming-shih*, 196; Giles BD, no. 1015; TRD, II, 393-394; *Yükung*, I, 11, pp. 10-12; Wang Yung, pp. 8-9, and *Shih-ta yüeh-k'an* 師大月刊, no. 29 (Sept. 30, 1926), pp. 219-233, 桂萼之小學四堂法. He became chin-shih in 1511 and died in the 8th moon of 1531.

75) The first section subsequent to the map of Chihli, 北直隸圖叙, has been signed by Kuei O under the date of 嘉靖己丑, 1529 (ed. of 1579, 1, 11a). Directly below has been cited the *Ssu-i-t'u-hsü* 四夷圖叙, however, it does not appear behind the *Ssu-i-t'u* of the editions of 1566 and 1579; instead, we find a *Chiu-pien tsung-lun hsü* 九邊總論叙 in *chüan* 2, 5b-6a of the ed. of 1579. This is followed in the print of 1566 by a passage of two pages (右以上論調操按伏乃今日之弊耳...), which is lacking in the other editions (also in the one of 1561?).

76) Its description contains 367 (370) characters, but in the first two editions only 167. Further examples are to be found in *chüan* 1, corresponding to fol. 6a and 10 a of the 1579 print.

X

THE FIFTH EDITION OF 1572

I became acquainted with this edition only through the following quotation by *Shao I-ch'en*, VII, 2a: The reprint of the book shop Sui-ch'u shu-fang 遂初書房⁷⁷ of the Yang 楊 family from Chien-an 建安 (= Chienning 建寧 in Fukien)⁷⁸ has come down to us from the year jen-shen of the period Lung-ch'ing of the Ming dynasty (1572).

XI

THE SIXTH EDITION OF 1579

This edition of Wan-li i-mao, 1579, in 2 *chüan* and 4 volumes is quite often to be found among the genuine Ming editions, although it has likewise become rare today. The first *chüan* contains 14 pages of prefaces — the six above-mentioned ones (cf. p. 19) and a seventh by Ch'ien Tai 錢岱, entitled *Ch'ung-k'o Kuang-yü-t'u hsü* 重刻廣輿圖叙 — and 93 fol.; the second *chüan* consists of 106 fol. The format of my copy is 35.5 by 28.8 cm, i.e., larger than the edition of 1566. The printed area of the right half of the *Yü-ti tsung-t'u* 輿地總圖 on fol. 1b amounts to 28.3-6 by 19.9-20.3 cm.

A comparison of the maps with those of the earlier editions and particularly with those reproduced here shows a decided decline, because they have been carelessly drawn. It would, therefore, be a mistake to judge Lo Hung-hsien's atlas by this distorted reprint. The coastlines, especially those of Southeast Asia on the *Hsi-nan hai-i tsung-t'u* 西南海夷總圖, are rendered very inaccurately and often misrepresented. The eastwest dimension is greatly exaggerated, so that the *li* squares frequently have become oblong rectangles; this was done with the sole intent to fill out the wider printing space. Thus, for instance, in contrast to the two first editions, the width of Korea has been increased by one-fifth to one-fourth and on the general map, *Yü-ti tsung-t'u* 輿地總圖, the direct distance of the Huangho, where it leaves the Hsing-su-hai 星宿海, to the coastal point situated on the same latitude, amounts to 5 cm more. The Great Wall, which has been omitted in the earlier editions, is inserted here. The number of map titles (43) and of map sheets (51) is the same as that of the edition of 1561.

77) This publishing house has not been mentioned in the *Shu-lin ch'ing-hua* and in its "Pai-hua" version, the *Chung-kuo shu-shih* 中國書史, Comm. Press, 1931 (1935), pp. 196-214.

78) 明隆慶壬申建安楊氏遂初書房重刊本.

The statistical data are partly revised as, for instance, the figures for the *fu* 府, *chou* 州, and *hsien* 縣 in Nan- and Pei-Chihli on fol. 2b: 158, 247, and 1151, while the edition of 1566 contains the corresponding figures: 159, 234, and 1114.⁷⁹ The other totals have remained the same: 69,556 villages, 9,352,015 households, 58,550,801 people, etc. Textual discrepancies from the edition of 1566 likewise often occur. The textual additions in the 1566 print are usually inserted on the left margin of the maps of the provinces and of 8 of the border regions; but here⁸⁰ they are appended to the individual sections and are introduced by the character *an* 按. The text is sometimes abridged; thus, for instance, in *chüan* 2 in the section *Chiu-pien yü-t'u tsung-lun* 九邊輿圖總論 on fol. 1-3, likewise on fol. 6a, 9a, and on 95a at the end of the map of Mongolia, where eight lines of historical remarks about Central Asia are lacking, and particularly the omission of the sections at the end of the volume regarding the Ta-ta, the Urianghai, and the Jučen. On the other hand, the map of Japan contains the characters which are lacking in the edition of 1566.

On p. 11 we have already mentioned the connection between the *Kuang-yü-t'u* with the *Martini Atlas*. Recently Prof. Duyvendak has touched on this problem and has pointed out that the 15 provincial maps of China must have been meant by those to which Martini referred as his source: "e libris Sinicis geographicis quindecim" and that "Klaproth is right in saying that Martini's work was based on these maps" (in the *Kuang-yü-t'u*).⁸¹ It is, however, difficult to decide which edition Martini has consulted; because, quite possibly, in addition to the *Kuang-yü-t'u*, he may have used other secondary works based on it as, for instance, the *Kuang-yü-k'ao* 輿考 (cf. p. 24) or the *Huang Ming chih-fang ti-t'u* 皇明職方地圖 of 1636.⁸² *Cum grano salis*, however, we are justified in continuing to call the *Kuang-yü-t'u* the source of Martini's maps.

79) At present I am unable to establish, whether or not these three figures and their detailed items, as given in the *Inaba Anniv.* Vol., p. 18, are correct: *fu*: 23 + 118 + 19 = 160; *chou*: 6 + 34 + 153 + 47 = 240; *hsien*: 210 + 928 + 6 = 1144; because my totals are different from the above figures. L.c., p. 18, in the second line, between 930 and 158, the figure should read 9, instead of 6.

80) With the exception of the Chekiang and Fukien maps.

81) TP, 32, 1936, p. 313. Herrmann, Westländer, p. 2812, and Pfister, *Notices...*, I, 1932, p. 261, erroneously call the *Kuang-yü-t'u-chi* 記, viz. *Kuang-yü-chi*, by Lu Ying-yang 陸應陽 with a preface dating from 1600 as the model (reed. Ts'ai Fang-ping 蔡方炳, cf. TRD, III, 158-159). Its maps, however, have been taken from the *Kuang-yü-t'u*, although in a rather cruder form.

82) Duyvendak, p. 313, has named two additional works: the *Ti-t'u tsung-yao* 地圖總要 and the *Li-tai ti-li chih-chang-t'u* 歷代地理指掌圖, but the latter must be excluded, because it represents an historical atlas extending to the Sung period (TRD, VIII, 525, 3). Regarding the above titles cf. also *Mon. Ser.*, I, 1935, pp. 388 and 391, and Wang Yung, pp. 13-16.

The statistical data for the 15 provinces may also be consulted in order to trace Martini's source, without claiming, however, that they and the maps must necessarily have been taken from the same work. Martini's figures do not always coincide with those of the 1579 edition of the *Kuang-yü-t'u*; hence, he cannot have borrowed from it exclusively. I am unable to state, whether or not he has drawn from one of the earlier editions — in which the data conceivably differ —, because they are not at my disposal. Martini's figures are identical with those of the 1579 edition for the number of households (戶) and people (口) in Shansi, Shantung, and Hukuang,⁸³ while other discrepancies are apparently due to mistakes.⁸⁴ But, for Kiangsi, Martini and the *Kuang-yü-t'u* fundamentally differ in their figures: the number of households amounts to 1,363,629 and 1,583,917 respectively, the number of people to 6,549,800 and 7,925,185 respectively. It is interesting to note that the *Huang Ming chih-fang ti-t'u*, 上, 60b, contains the same figures as Martini, but gives their date as Hung-chih 4, 1491. On the other hand, the following estimate therein of Wan-li 6, 1578, amounting to 1,341,005 and 5,859,026 respectively, likewise differs. Hence, in order to solve this problem completely, it would be necessary to examine the statistical data contained in all the works of a similar nature during that period, a task which goes beyond the frame of this study.

XII

THE LAST EDITION OF 1799

This latest edition of the *Kuang-yü-t'u* we encounter most frequently.⁸⁵ It is identical with the edition of 1579, but can be recognized

83) 589, 959 and 5,084,015; 770,555 and 6,759,675; 589,296 and 5,106,270 (ed. of 1579: 5,106,107; one of the two figures is due to a typographical error); 531,868 and 4,833,590 (4,335,590; one of the two figures is due to a typographical error).

84)

	Pei-Chihli		Kiangnan		Ssuchuan	
Martini	戶: 418,989	口: 3,452,254	戶: 1,969,816	口: 9,967,429	戶: 464,129	口: 2,204,170
<i>Kuang-yü-t'u</i>	418,789	3,413,254	1,962,818	9,967,439	164,119	2,104,270

Is the number of households for Shensi likewise due to a typographical error (Martini: 831,051; *Kuang-yü-t'u*: 363,027)? The population figure, 3,934,176, and the grain tax estimate, 1,929,057 piculs (石), however, coincide.

85) For instance, Courant, *Cat. des livres chin.*, I, 1900, no. 1926; Moule, *IRAS*, July, 1919, p. 394; K. Himly, *Einiges über das Kuang Yü Thu*, in *Ztschr. Ges. Erdkde.*, XIV, 1879, 181-194; Shao I-ch'en, 7, 2a: 嘉慶中江西張氏刊本, whereby the edition of 1799 has been meant (my doubt in the *Inaba Anniv.* Vol., p. 26, has not been justified, the less, as the statement 一卷 has to be cancelled). Shao I-ch'en's information has been repeated in the *Lü-t'ing chih-chien ch'u'an-pen shu-mu* 邵亭知見傳本書目, 5, 25b; but it has been erroneously added that it is a reprint of the Yüan original (刻元朱思本原本).

because of the rather yellow and soft quality of its paper; in addition, the taboo characters of the personal names of the Manchu rulers of the 17th and 18th centuries have been avoided.⁸⁶ In front is a reddish fly-leaf with the title, *Kuang-yü-t'u ch'üan-shu* 廣輿圖全書; *chüan* 2 starts with a sheet containing a preface by Chang Hsüeh-lien 張學濂 dated 1799, but both were often removed subsequently in order to create the impression that it is the edition of 1579.

XIII

THE FLORENTINE ATLAS AND THE KUANG-YÜ-K'AO

In the former Biblioteca Magliabechiana, the present Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence, there is the MS. of a Chinese atlas, apparently without title, dating from 1595,⁸⁷ — i.e., Wan-li 乙未, 23, — which the Italian traveller, Francesco Carletti, had brought with him from China in 1601. This work has been frequently reviewed and always been described as a new edition of the *Kuang-yü-t'u*.⁸⁸ In the *Inaba Anniversary Volume*, p. 21, however, I had expressed the opinion that the atlas represents a copy of the rare *Kuang-yü-k'ao* 廣輿考 with a postface dating from Wan-li 22, 1594.⁸⁹ At the same time, I pointed out that Naitō's statement, that the *Kuang-yü-k'ao* had not been printed until Wan-li 32, 1604, disagreed with my conjecture. At present I am unable to check Naitō's and my own statement for a solution of this question. For this reason, I first intended to omit this section XIII; however, as the *Kuang-yü-k'ao* is extremely rare, I thought it perhaps useful to reproduce my earlier remarks. It is to be hoped that they will stimulate the reader to give a more detailed account of the work, thus leading to a correct interpretation of the facts.

86) According to Hummel, *Division of Orientalia* 1937, p. 174. In fact, the edition mentioned there as dating from 1579, although its "printing, however, was actually done later than 1579 . . .", must have been issued in 1799.

87) Mr. Nakamura in *Monumenta Nipponica*, II, 1939, p. 120¹⁷, has called this work "édition de 1589 . . . aux Archives de l'État de Florence à la côte » Manoscritti, II, I. 226 « ". I cannot explain the reason for this diverging date.

88) Baldelli Boni, *Il Milione di Marco Polo*, I, Florence, 1827, pp. CIX-CXXII; Klaproth, *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 41, 1829, pp. 169-180; Yule in *The Geographical Magazine*, 1847, p. 148 (cited from Duyvendak, p. 311, as the present writer did not see either of the two); *Asiatic Journal*, IX, p. 162 (anonymous); Nocentini, *JNChBRAS*, XX, 1886, p. 159; Frescura and A. Mori in *Rivista Geografica Italiana*, I, 1894, pp. 417-422 and 475-486 (not seen); Baddeley, I, p. CLXXXVI; Moule, *IRAS*, July, 1919, pp. 393-395; Duyvendak, *TP*, 32, 1936, p. 311; Nakamura Hiroshi in *Monumenta Nipponica*, II, 1939, pp. 104 and 120, footn. 17 and 18.

89) Cf. below, p. 25-26.

According to *Baldelli Boni*⁸⁸ the first volume of the Florentine Atlas contains 15 provincial maps and the second volume 26 maps,⁹⁰ among these the last ones are as follows:

Florentine Atlas		= Kuang-yü-t'u, II, of 1579	
Nos. 20	Divisa in tre carte della Hahon	Nos. 17	Hai-yün-t'u 海運圖
21	La Corea	=19	Ch'ao-hsien-t'u 朝鮮圖
21 (sic)	Arcipelago di Tonlam	=20	Tung-nan-i tsung-t'u 東南夷總圖
23-24	Hanam ossia la Cocina	=21-22	Annam and probably also Southwest Asia 安南+西南海夷總圖
22	Seffieh	=23	Hsi-yü-t'u 西域圖
25+24 (sic)	Sahbo (=沙漠)	=24	Shuo-mo-t'u 朔漠圖
25	Liuquiu	=25	Liukiu 琉球圖
26	ocean ⁹¹	=(?) 26	Japan 日本圖

Strikingly, between the first two maps, nos. 20 and 21, that of the *Grand Canal*, 漕運圖, and at the end, the *General map of China and the border countries*, 華夷總圖, are both missing. In contrast to all the other works of this nature known to me, this holds true only for the *Kuang-yü-k'ao*. This fact makes it probable that not the *Kuang-yü-t'u*, but the *Kuang-yü-k'ao* has formed the model for the Florentine Atlas. The last map of the *Kuang-yü-k'ao* is the *Ssu-i-t'u* 四夷圖; contrary to its title it does not render China and her border countries, but only Japan with the adjacent ocean. Hence, it may possibly be identical with no. 26 of the Florentine Atlas. According to the above list, the *Hsi-nan hai-i tsung-t'u* 西南海夷總圖 is also lacking there, but, presumably, it constitutes part of nos. 23 and 24.

This identification, however, is opposed by Naitō's statement, p. 407,⁹² that the *Kuang-yü-k'ao* was published as late as the 32nd year of Wan-li, 1604; he has named Wang Tso-chou 汪作

90) Both figures are based on sketchy notes taken in Berlin in 1936. Presumably a general map has been included in vol. 1, because both the *Asiatic Journal* and *Baddeley*, have given 42 as the total number of maps.

91) I have been quoting from my notes and am, therefore, unable to establish, whether or not *Baldelli Boni* made a similar statement.

92) = *Wu Han*, pp. 18-19; cf. also *Wang Yung*, p. 12.

舟 as its author. The incomplete copy in the Peking National Library⁹³ does not allow of a verification of these data; the same applies to my sketchy notes from 1936 regarding the complete work in the map division of the Prussian State Library at Berlin, no. E 604. According to these notes, this geographic-statistical atlas is largely based on the *Kuang-yü-t'u* in regard to maps and text, but at the end, fol. 185-222, it contains new texts. The undated preface is signed by Yü I-lung, tzu: Hsien-t'ien, from Hsing-yüan in Hsin-an-fu (in Che-kiang) 新安星源見田余一龍撰.⁹⁴ The postface originates from Wang Feng-yü 汪縫預, tzu: Ming-ch'üan 鳴泉(新安星源庠鳴泉汪縫預撰), who was born in the same region. It has been dated in the *Inaba Anniversary Volume* from the 22nd year of Wan-li, 1594,⁹⁵ i.e., ten years earlier than Naitō implies. The Peking copy being incomplete, for the time being I can state with certainty only the following about the date of this postface, of which only the first part has been preserved: In the 10th moon (Nov. 12th to Dec. 11th) of 1594, 甲午, the father of Wang Feng-yü — presumably Naitō's Wang Tso-chou (?) — on his deathbed handed over to the former his *Yü-k'ao* 輿考, which he had compiled in the course of ten years. Part of this work had already been printed and Wang Feng-yü was requested by his father to publish the rest of the MS. Wang Feng-yü, bowed down with grief, approached this task only after an interval of more than ten months, i.e., between August and September of 1595. He finished the work a year later (更一寒暑而始成), in 1596, with the help of Mr. Hu 胡, hao: Hsing-ch'üan 杏泉, tzu: Te-mei 德美, and of Mr. Chin 金, hao: Pen-jen 本仁, tzu: Kung-ch'en 拱宸.⁹⁶

93) In existence the second part only, fol. 110-222, and also a page of the postface (incomplete, ending with the characters 故有人而得是考). Fol. 110 contains the *Chiu-pien tsung-t'u* 九邊總圖; printed area of fol. 110a: 31,6-8 cm in height and 32,8-33 cm in width. According to Wang Yung, the maps and texts of the nine border regions are identical with those of the *Kuang-yü-t'u*. Naitō has written as follows about its relation to the *Kuang-yü-t'u* on p. 407:

Beginning with the prefaces by Chu and Lo, all prefaces which could have pointed to the authorship of Chu, were omitted in the *Kuang-yü-k'ao*, published later, in the 32nd year of Wan-li (1604), but in the maps themselves, as I believe, all the traces which serve as a proof for Chu's [authorship of the] maps cannot be hidden.

94) Among other things, Yü I-lung wrote also a postface (後序) of Wan-li, 3, 1575, to the *Liang-che hai-fang lei-k'ao* 兩浙海防類考續編 (Imp. Cat. 75, 8b).

95) Provided the postface should really be undated, I should assume, being unable to check this statement, that I asserted rashly on the basis of the above date, "10th moon of 1594."

96) Neither of them could be traced.

According to the above data, the bequeathed work was finished in the summer of 1596. At present considering Naitō's categorical statement, I dare not decide, whether the last part, though finished, was left a MS. or was also printed. Hence, the question must remain open, whether or not the *Kuang-yü-k'ao* can possibly have been the model for the Florentine Atlas, judging from the point of view of time; because Carletti had brought it to Italy by 1601. If that were not the case, the missing maps of the Grand Canal and of China with the border countries make it plausible, as has been stated above, that the Florentine Atlas is at least based on a work closely related to the *Kuang-yü-k'ao*.

XIV

AN ALLEGED EDITION OF THE KUANG-YÜ-T'U DATING FROM 1615

The problems of dating the Florentine Atlas also arise in connection with the geographic-statistical atlas of 1615 with 42 maps, known only from the description in the *Asiatic Journal*, IX, pp. 162-165. It was transferred to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society at London, but since 1916 it has disappeared from there.⁹⁷ I do not know what work it actually represented, because no edition is known of the *Kuang-yü-t'u* dating from 1615, which, incidentally, has been called there wrongly the third edition. The atlas consisted of two volumes and contained, according to the description, the same maps as the *Kuang-yü-t'u* of 1579, except for the fact that the *Hua-i tsung-t'u* 華夷總圖 was missing at the end; instead, "a few supplementary leaves"⁹⁸ with text were added. The *Asiatic Journal*, pp. 162-163, has described it as follows:

"The third edition, which is the subject of this paper, is the most complete one. It was brought to Europe by Sir George Staunton, who has deposited it, with the rest of his invaluable collection of Chinese books, in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society. It was published in 1615, under the same emperor as the preceding, and is likewise in two volumes, square folio; it appears bulkier, but this arises from the thickness of the paper, and a few supplementary leaves. In this edition there is an ex-

97) Baddeley, I, p. CLXXXVI²: "Enquiry at the R.A.S. rooms in the Albemarle Street, in 1916, elicits the lamentable fact that this precious volume has » disappeared «"

98) It has been attributed thereto and to the thickness of the paper that the book "appears bulkier" than the other *Kuang-yü-t'u* editions; hence it is not likely that it has been the question of some 5 or 10 pages, but evidently of more.

planation of the signs employed in the maps; we do not remember whether this is the case with that at Florence. The mountains are represented nearly as they are in our maps; rivers are denoted by a double line; frontiers are marked by a thick black line; roads are dotted; the foo, or cities of the first order, are indicated by a square; the chow, or cities of second order, by a paralleloiped, the hen, or cities of third order, by a circle; post-stages, by a triangle; fortresses by a dark square; towns by a dark paralleloiped; military colonies by a dark circle, and so on, with great minuteness, down to the chhang kwan szu, or hereditary mandarinats which are distinguished by a dark triangle, with a white point in the centre. Instead of degrees of latitude and longitude, the maps of this Atlas are divided into squares of 100 le (300 to the degree of latitude), both ways, length and breadth . . ." (That is followed by a list of all of the 42 maps).

Apart from the above paper, no edition has become known of a *Kuang-yü-t'u* dating from 1615. Hence, from the remark "a few supplementary leaves", as they similarly are contained in the *Kuang-yü-k'ao* on fol. 185-222, we might surmise that it is not the question of an actual new edition of the *Kuang-yü-t'u*; but for the time being, we are dependent upon conjectures, until there appears a second copy of the edition of 1615.

XV

ON THE INFLUENCE OF THE KUANG-YÜ-T'U
DURING THE MANCHU PERIOD

The maps of the *Kuang-yü-t'u* were included in many geographical works of the declining Ming period; down the end of the 19th century they reappear time and again, sometimes revised, sometimes in a distorted form. In addition to the *Fang-yü ch'üan-t'u tsung-shuo* 方輿全圖總說⁹⁹ by Ku Tsu-yü 顧祖禹, must be especially mentioned the anonymous empire map of 1673, which has to be ascribed to Huang Tsung-hsi 黃宗羲¹⁰⁰ and which has been closely modelled upon the *Kuang-yü-t'u*. The development of their later revisions can be traced through maps of the type of the *Ta Ch'ing (wan-nien) i-t'ung t'ien-hsia ch'üan-t'u* 大清(萬年)一統天下全圖 down to the Kuang-hsü period. They prove that Huang Tsung-hsi's map — i.e., actually the *Kuang-yü-t'u* — has been as authoritative for the cartographic picture of China throughout the whole Manchu period, as the Jesuit maps of 1718/21 and 1760 have been.¹⁰¹

99) Cf. Mon. Ser., I, 1935, p. 388¹¹; *Orientalia Added* 1933-34, p. 9.

100) Cf. Mon. Ser., III, 1938, p. 208 ff.

101) Cf. Mon. Ser., III, 1938, p. 212.

XVI

CONCORDANCE OF THREE EDITIONS OF THE KUANG-YÜ-T'U

卷	Edition of 1579	fol.	卷	of 1566	of about 1555 and of 1558
I. 1	輿地總圖	1b-2a	I. 1	8b-9a	2
2	北直隸輿圖	4b-5a		11b-12a	4
3	南直隸輿圖	11b-12a		18b-19a	8
4	山東輿圖	17b-18a		24b-25a	11
5	山西輿圖	23b-24a		30b-31a	15
6	陝西輿圖	29b-30a		36b-37a	19-20
7	河南輿圖	37b-38a		44b-45a	25
8	浙江輿圖	43b-44a		50b-51a	29
9	江西輿圖	48b-49a		55b-56a	32
10	湖廣輿圖	53b-54a		59b-60a	35
11	四川輿圖	60b-61a		66b-67a	39
12	福建輿圖	67b-68a		73b-74a	44
13	廣東輿圖	71b-72a		77b-78a	47
14	廣西輿圖	76b-77a		81b-82a	50
15	雲南輿圖	82b-82a		87b-88a	54
16	貴州輿圖	88b-89a		93b-94a	58
II. 1	九邊總圖	17 4b-5a	II. 1	4b-5a	61
2	遼東邊圖	18 6b-7a		7b-8a	62
3	薊州邊圖	19 9b-11a		10b-11a	64-65
4	內三關邊圖	20 14b-15a		12b-13a	66
5	宣府邊圖	21 18b-19a		18b-19a	69
6	大同外三邊圖	22 24b-25a		24b-25a	72
7	榆林邊圖	23 29b-30a		29b-30a	74
8	寧夏固關邊圖	24 34b-35a		34b-35a	76
9	莊寧涼永邊圖	25 40b-41a		40b-41a	79
10	甘肅山丹邊圖	26 45b-46a		41b-42a	80
11	洮河邊圖	27 51b-52a		50b-51a	84
12	松潘(建昌)邊圖	28 54b-56a		53b-54a	86
13	建昌圖	29 55b-56a		54b-55a	87
14	麻陽圖	30 59b-60a		58b-59a	89
15	慶鎮圖	31 60b-61a		59b-60a	90
16	黃河圖	32 63b-55b		62b-64b	92-94
17	海運圖	33 68b-70a		67a-68b	96-97
18	漕運圖	34 76b-78b		74b-76a	100-102
19	朝鮮圖	35 82b-83a		80b-81a	105
20	東南海夷總圖	36 85b-86a		83b-84a	107 } title without
21	西南海夷總圖	37 86b-87a		84b-85a	108 } 總
22	安南圖	38 87b-88a		85b-86a	109
23	西域圖	39 92b-93a		90b-91a	112
24	朔漠圖	40 93b-95a		91b-92b	113-114. Ending with
25	琉球圖	41 95b-96a		93b-94a	fol. 117.
26	日本圖	42 96b-97a		94b-95a	} lacking
27	華夷總圖	43 102b-103a		99b-100a	
Ending with fol. 106			title: 四夷圖. Ending fol. 105.		

ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE KUANG-YÜ-T'U

	Version of	MS or Print	Titles of maps	Sheets of maps	Existing in	Texts	Statistical data
1.	1541	MS	38	45	Lost	Probably as in 2	Existing
2.	About 1555	Print	40 ¹⁰²	48	Port Arthur	On the maps 3 times, behind them 5 times	"
3.	1558	"	"	"	Washington Peking	—do—	"
4.	1559/60	MS	"	"	Tokyo.	—do—, in addition, 按-texts ¹⁰³ behind the province and border maps	"
5.	1561	Print	43 ¹⁰⁴	51	Leningrad	Probably as in 4	
6.	1566	"	"	"	Dairen Nanking Cambridge, U.S.A.	Partly augmented; ¹⁰⁵ besides also the 圖叙 and 圖論—additions	Partly revised with additions
7.	1579	"	"	"	More frequent	按-texts regrouped; remaining text additions partly augmented, ¹⁰⁶ partly shortened ¹⁰⁷	Partly newly revised
8.	1799	"	"	"	"	As in 7	As in 7

102) The two maps of Southeast and Southwest Asia, 東 and 西南海夷總圖, are new.

103) That are the brief texts of general historical contents. They are mostly introduced by 按 in the 1579 print, usually at the end of the maps of the provinces and border regions. No details have become known about the text of this MS.

104) The three maps of Liukiu, Japan, and China with the border countries are new.

105) Cf. above, p. 20 (next to Korea).

106) As in the case of Japan, where the empty spaces in the edition of 1566 have been filled in here.

107) Cf. above, p. 22.

THE PREFACES TO THE 1579-EDITION OF THE KUANG-YÜ-T'U

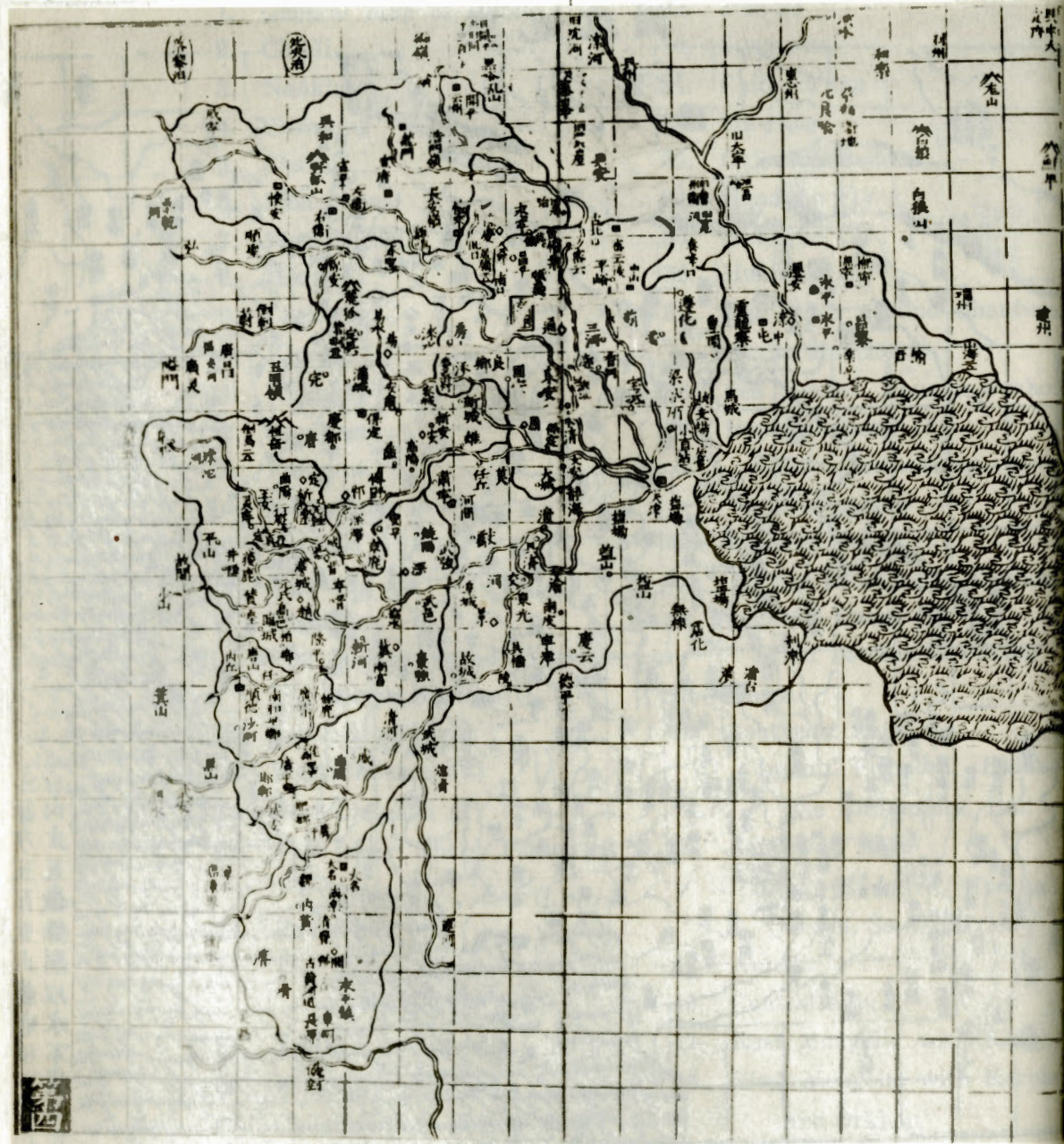
	Year	Title	Author	Date
1.	s. d.	輿圖舊序	Chu Ssu-pen 朱思本	—
2.	" "	廣輿圖序	Unsigned (Lo Hung-hsien 羅洪先)	—
3.	1561	no title	Hu Sung 胡松	嘉靖辛酉
4.	"	廣輿	Hsü Chiu-kaio 徐九舉	
5.	1566		Huo Chi 霍冀	丙寅
6.	"	刻廣輿圖叙	Han Chün-en 韓君恩	
7.	1579	重刻廣輿圖叙	Ch'ien Tai 錢岱	萬曆己卯

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| 3. Nanking | 31. Chien-ch'ang |
| 4. Shantung | 32. Ma-yang |
| 5. Shansi | 33. Ch'ien-chen |
| 6. East Shensi | 34. Huangho (1) |
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| 8. Honan | 36. Huangho (3) |
| 9. Chekiang | 37. Sea Route around Shantung
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| 10. Kiangsi | 38. Sea Route: Yangtze-Fuchou |
| 11. Hukuang | 39. Imperial Canal (1)
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Huang-chia |
| 12. Ssuch'uan | 40. Imperial Canal (2)
From Ssu-t'ing to Te-chou |
| 13. Fukien | 41. Imperial Canal (3)
From Te-chou to Peking |
| 14. Kuangtung | 42. Korea |
| 15. Kuangsi | 43. Southeast Asia
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The Philippines, Bali |
| 16. Yünnan | 44. Southwest Asia
Java, Sumatra, Indian
Ocean, South Africa |
| 17. Kueichou | 45. Annam |
| 18. The Northern and Western
Border Regions | 46. Central Asia |
| 19. South Manchuria | 47. East Mongolia with Kerulen |
| 20. West Chi-chou (2) | 48. West Mongolia with Kerulen
and Orkhon |
| 21. East Chi-chou (1) | |
| 22. The Inner Three Passes of
Honan | |
| 23. Hsüan-hua | |
| 24. The Outer Three Passes of
North Shansi | |
| 25. Yü-lin | |
| 26. Ning-hsia — Ku-lan | |
| 27. Chuang-ning — Liang-yung | |
| 28. Kansu — Shan-tan | |



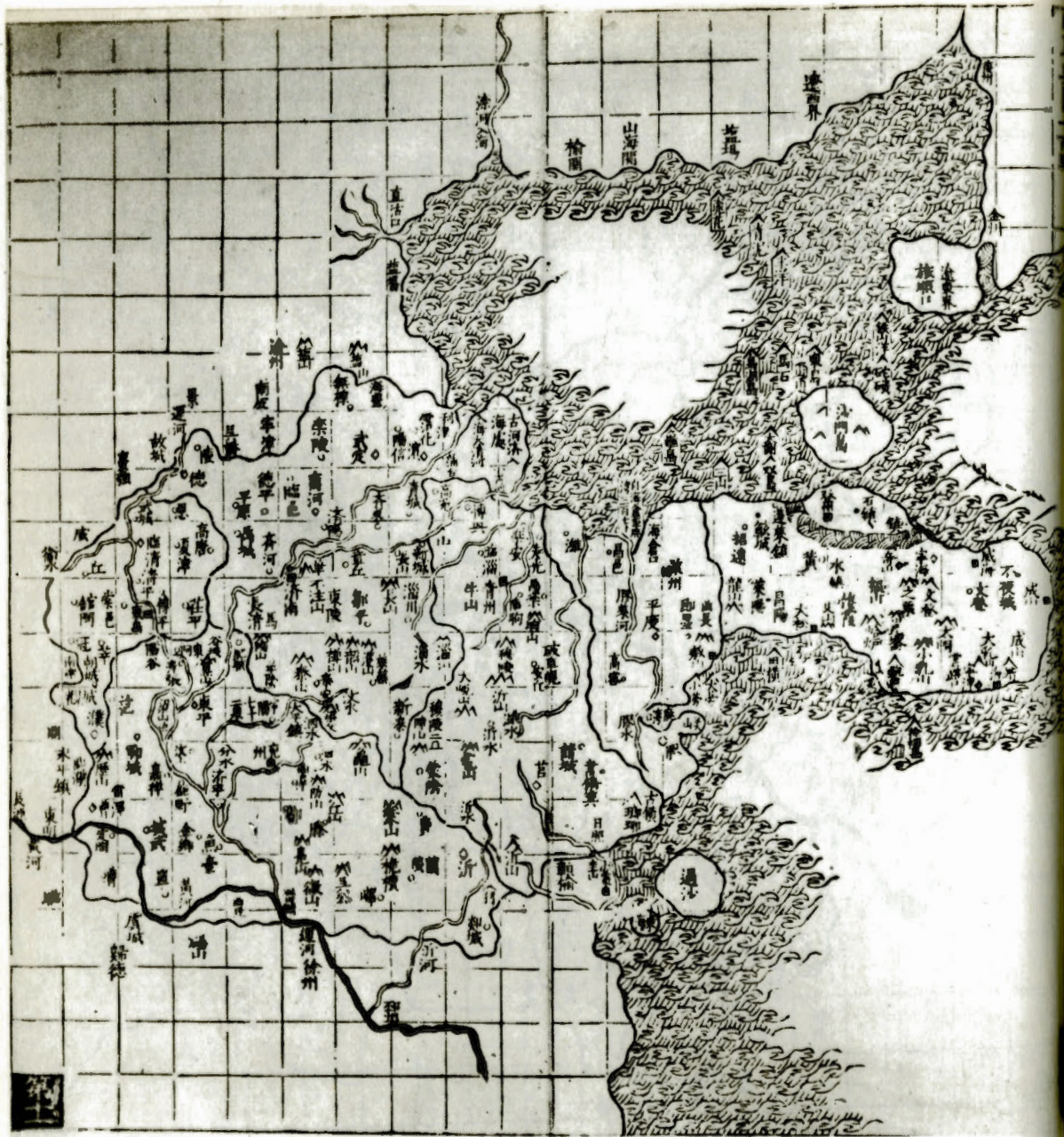
Yü-ti tsung-t'u
General map of China



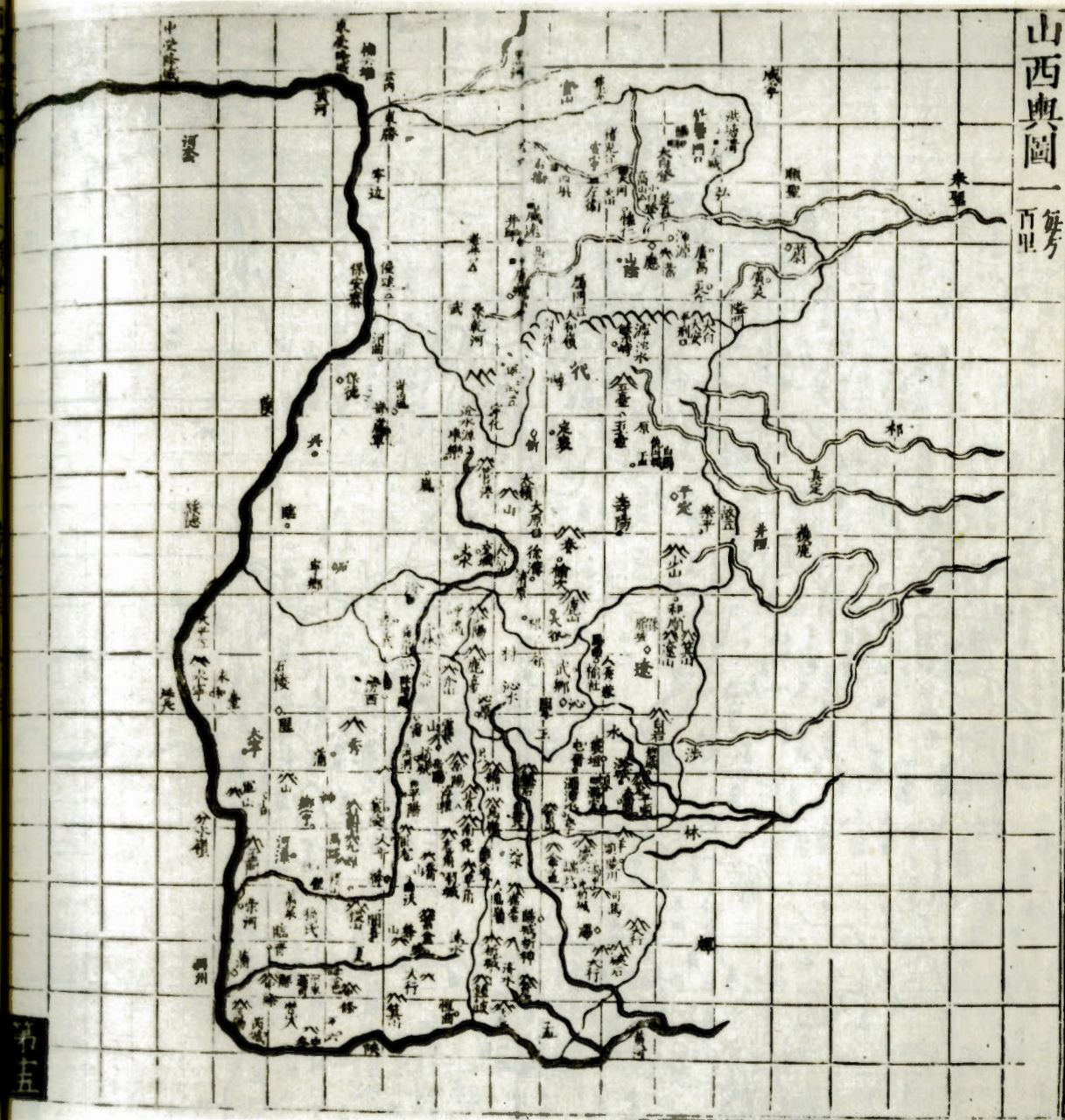
Chihli



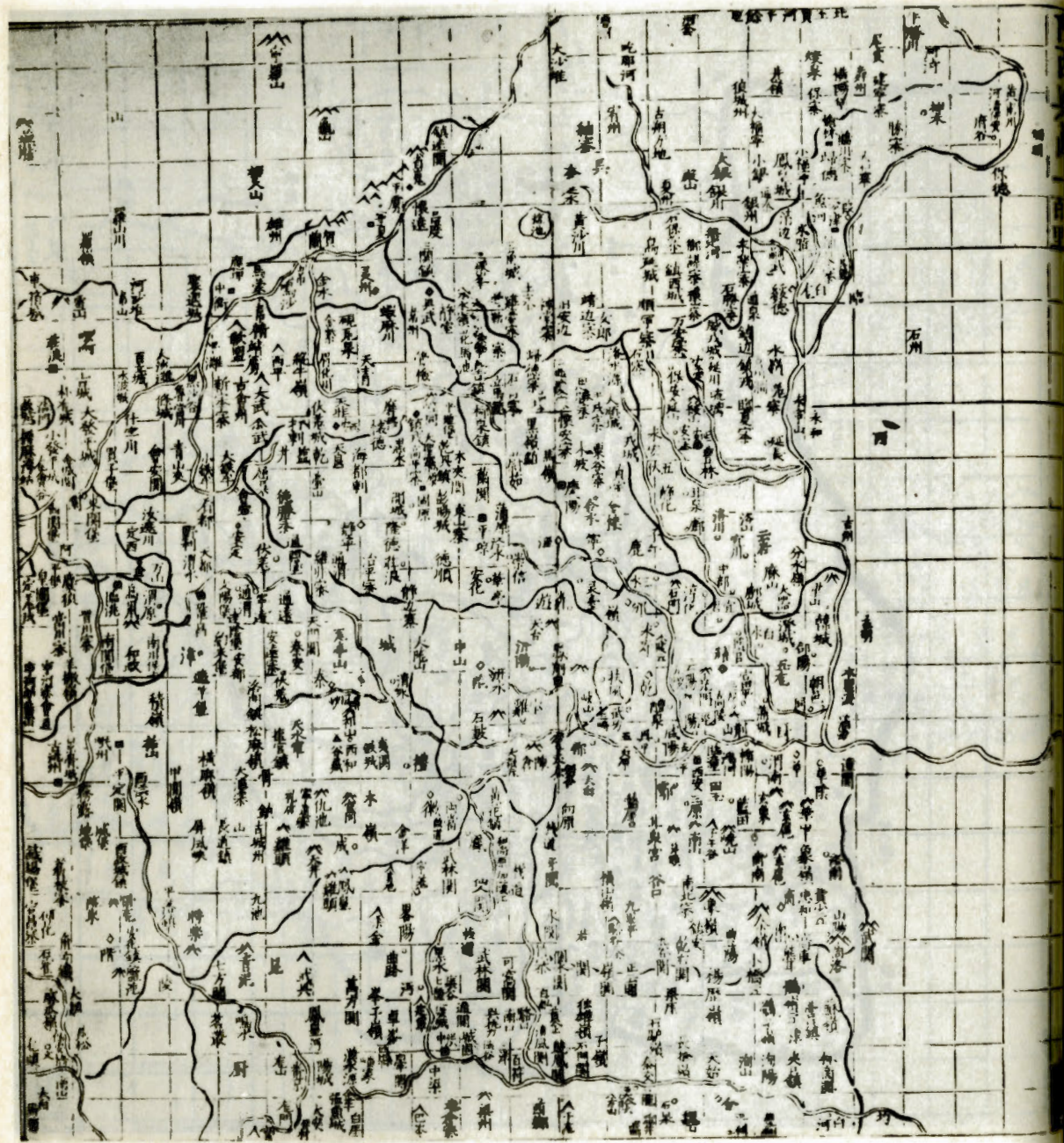
Nanking



Shantung



Shansi



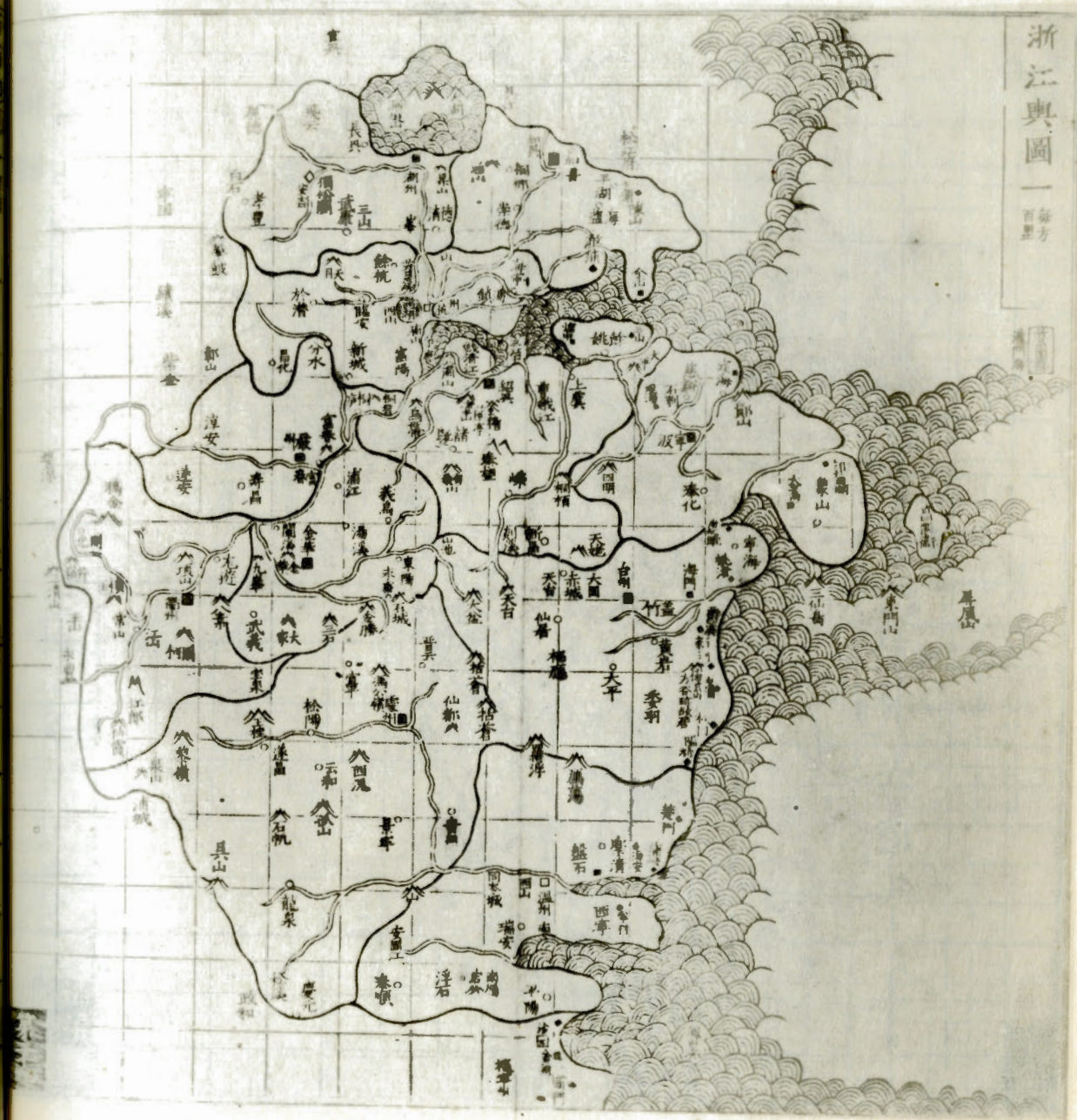
East Shensi



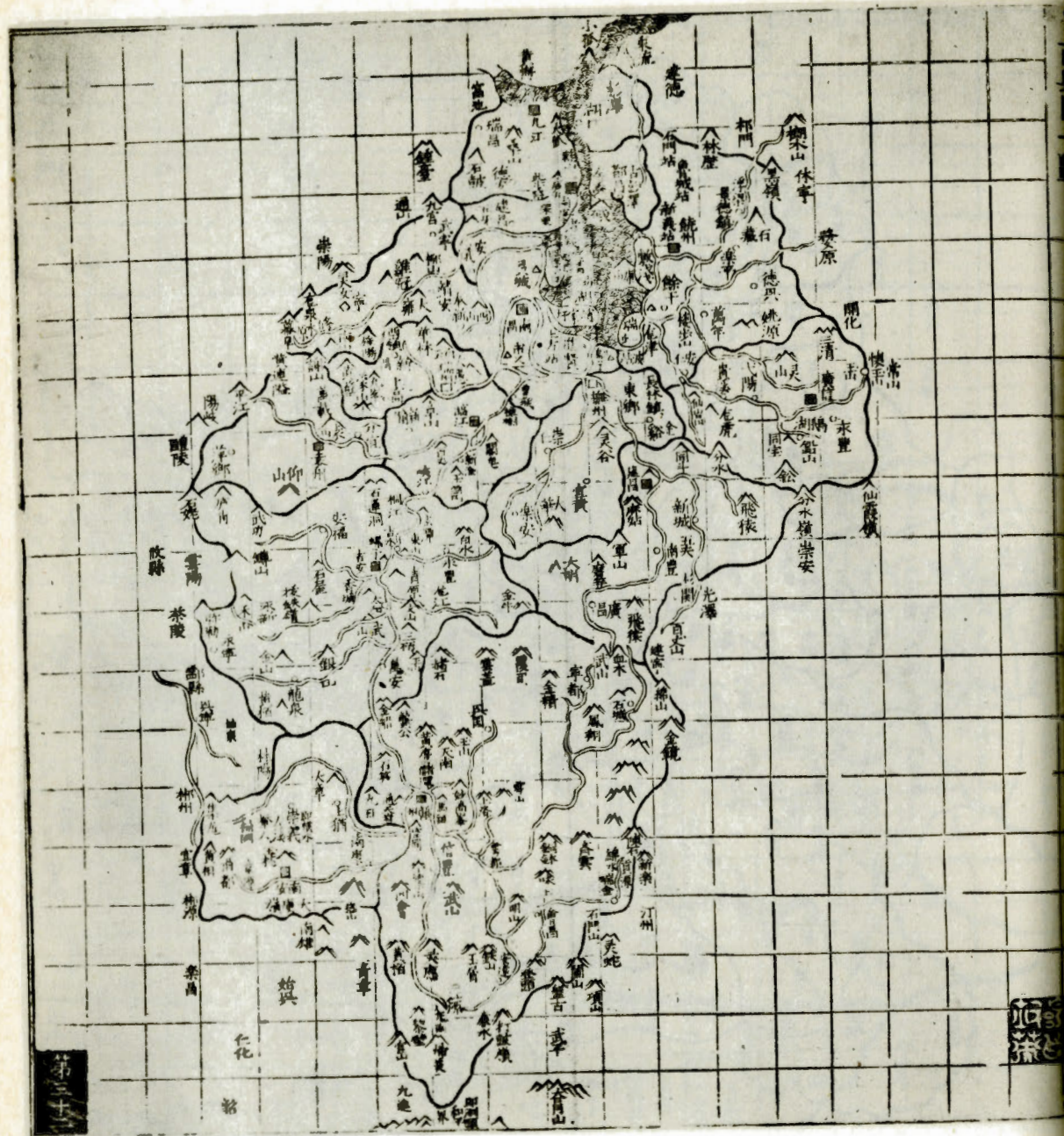
West Shensi



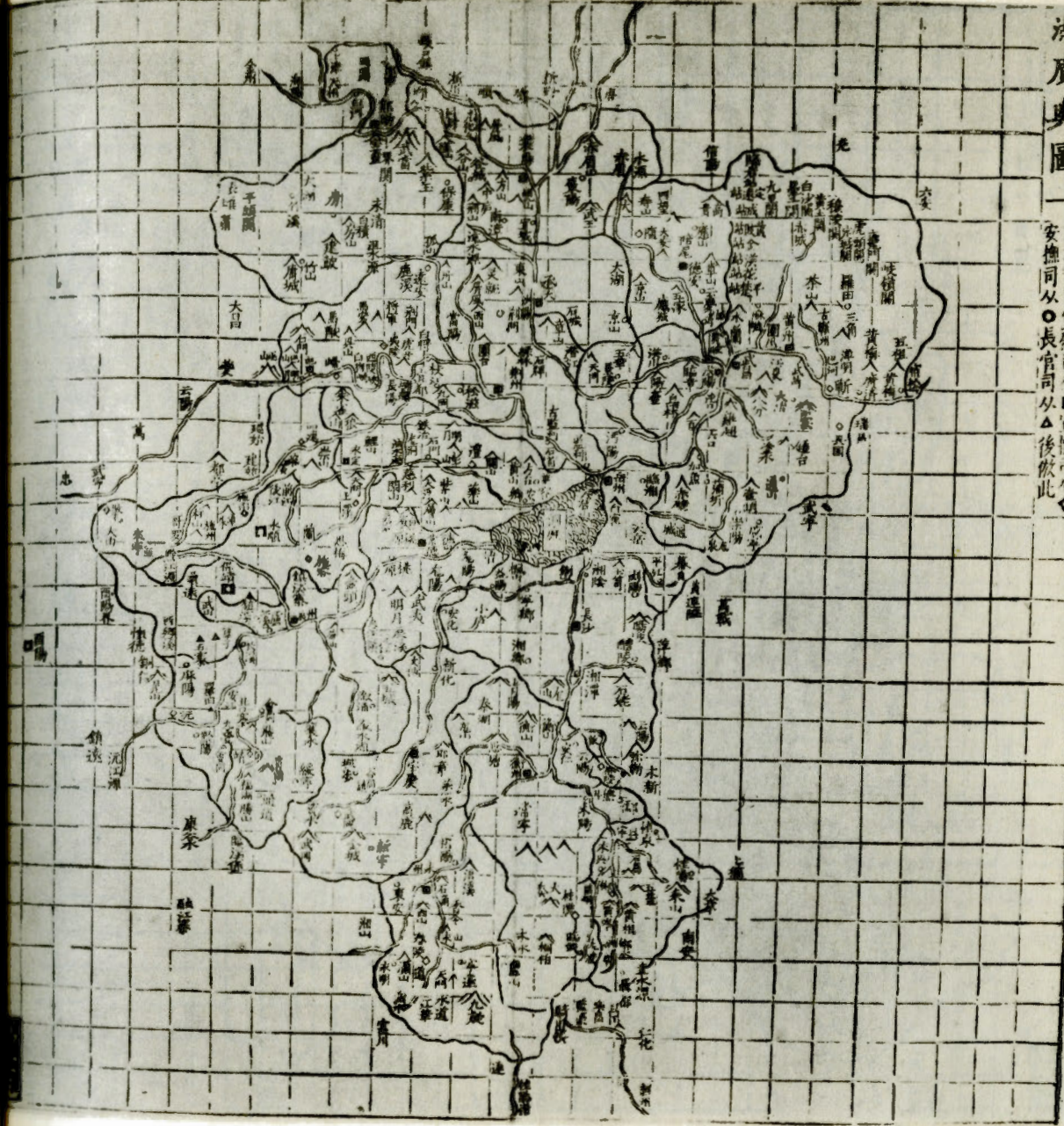
Honan



Chekiang



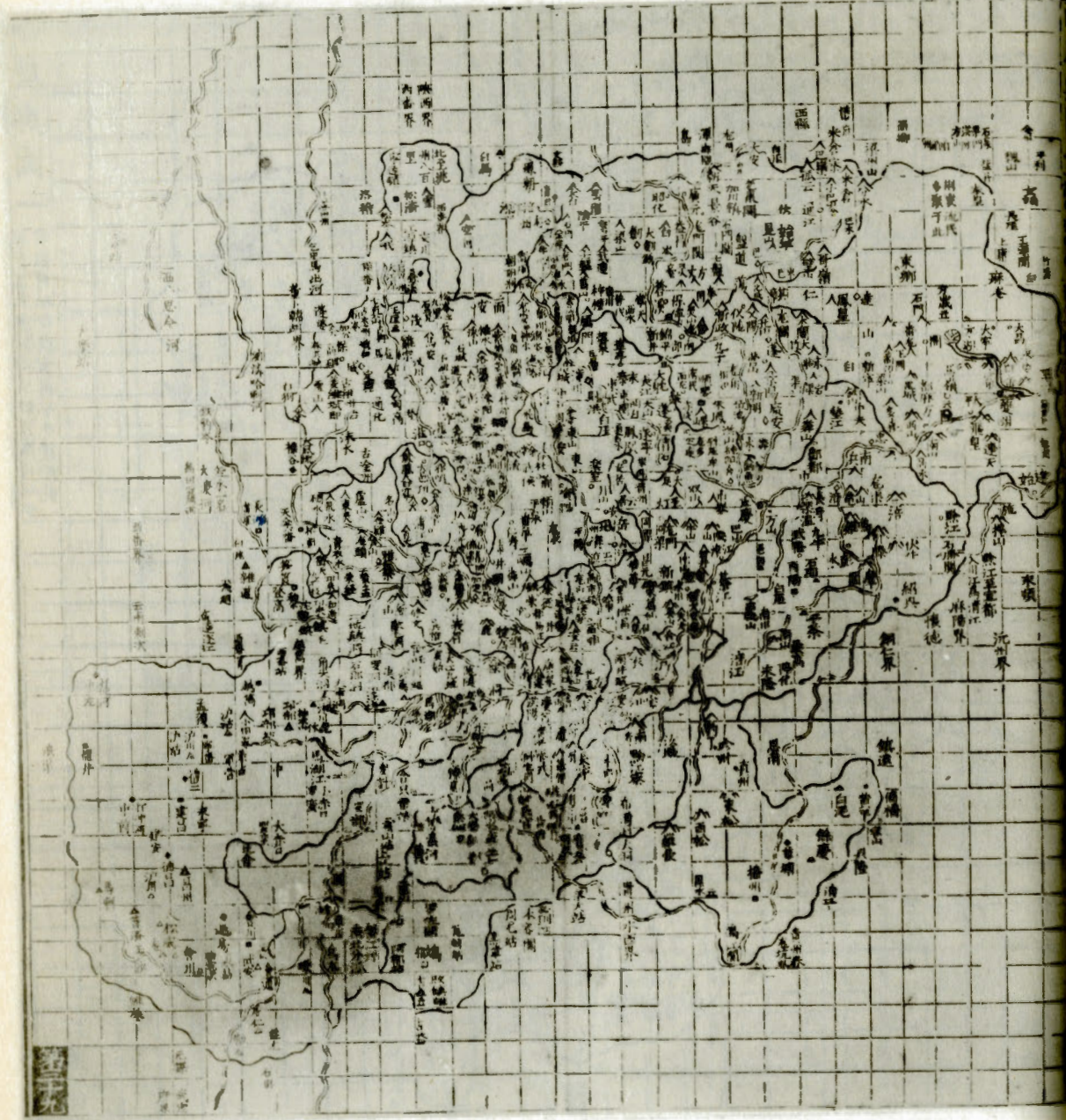
Kiangsi



Hukuang

湖廣輿圖一

每方百里宣慰司以□官廳司以○
 安撫司以○長官司以△後依此

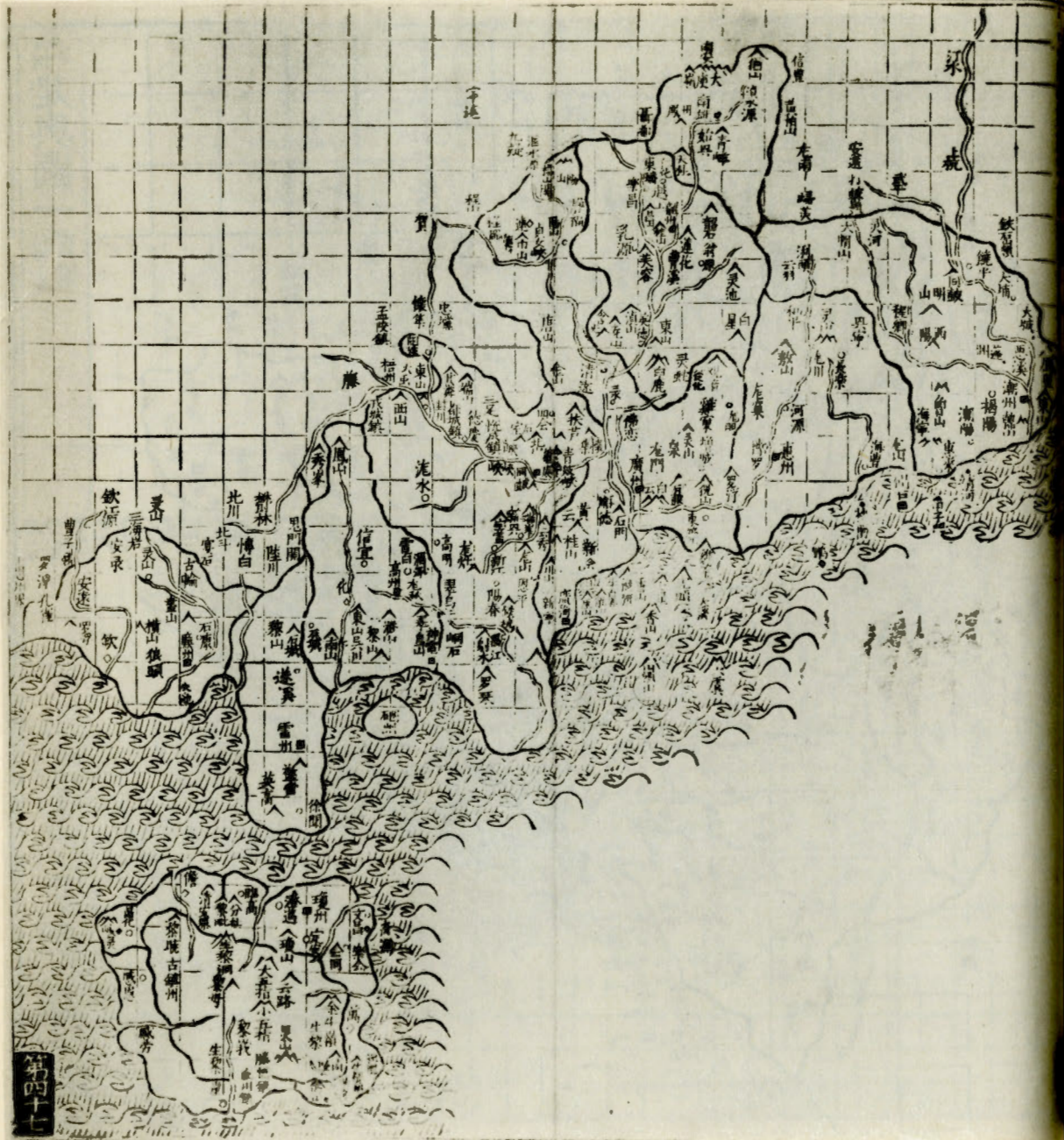


Ssuch'uan

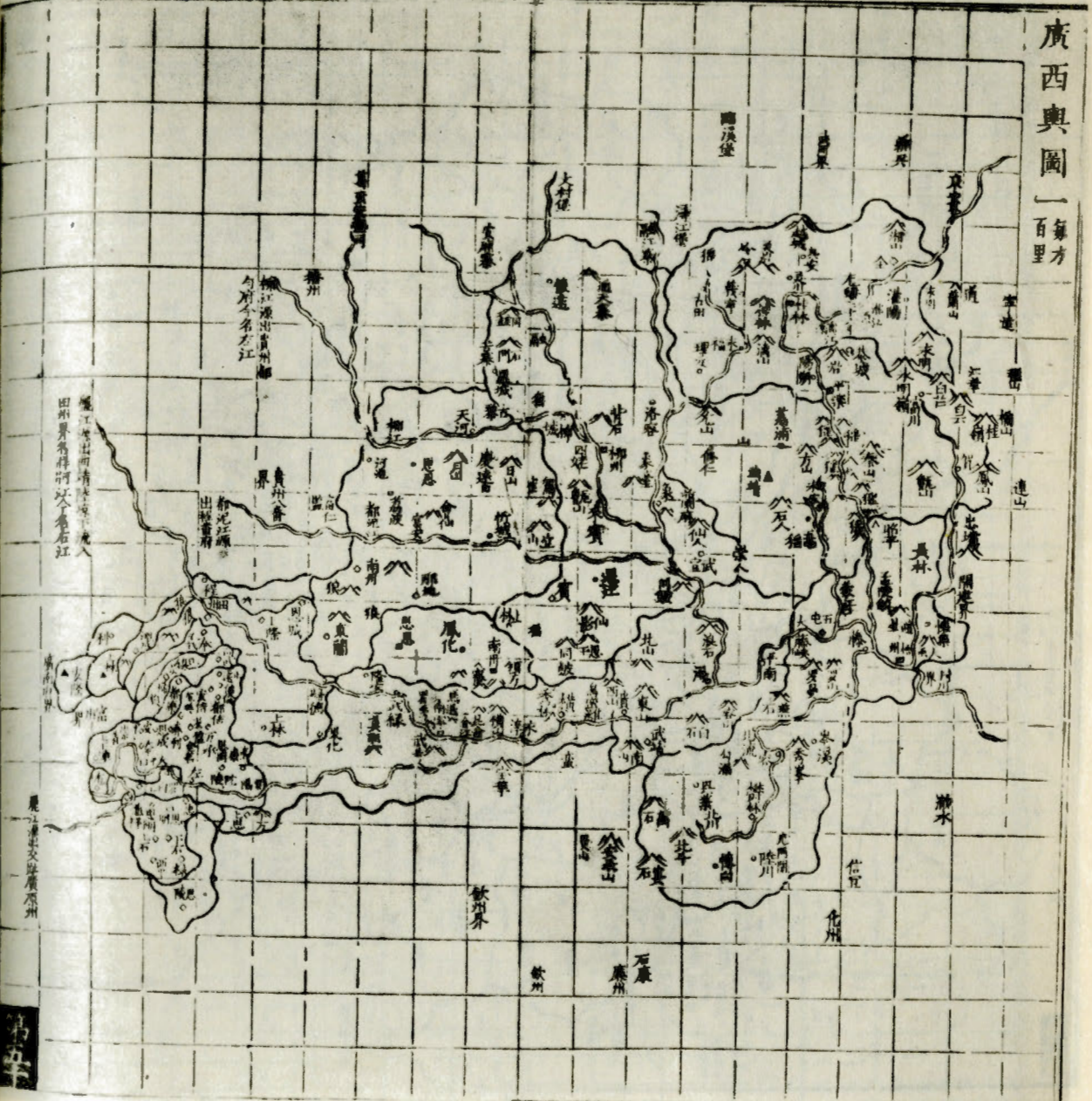


福建輿圖 每方百里

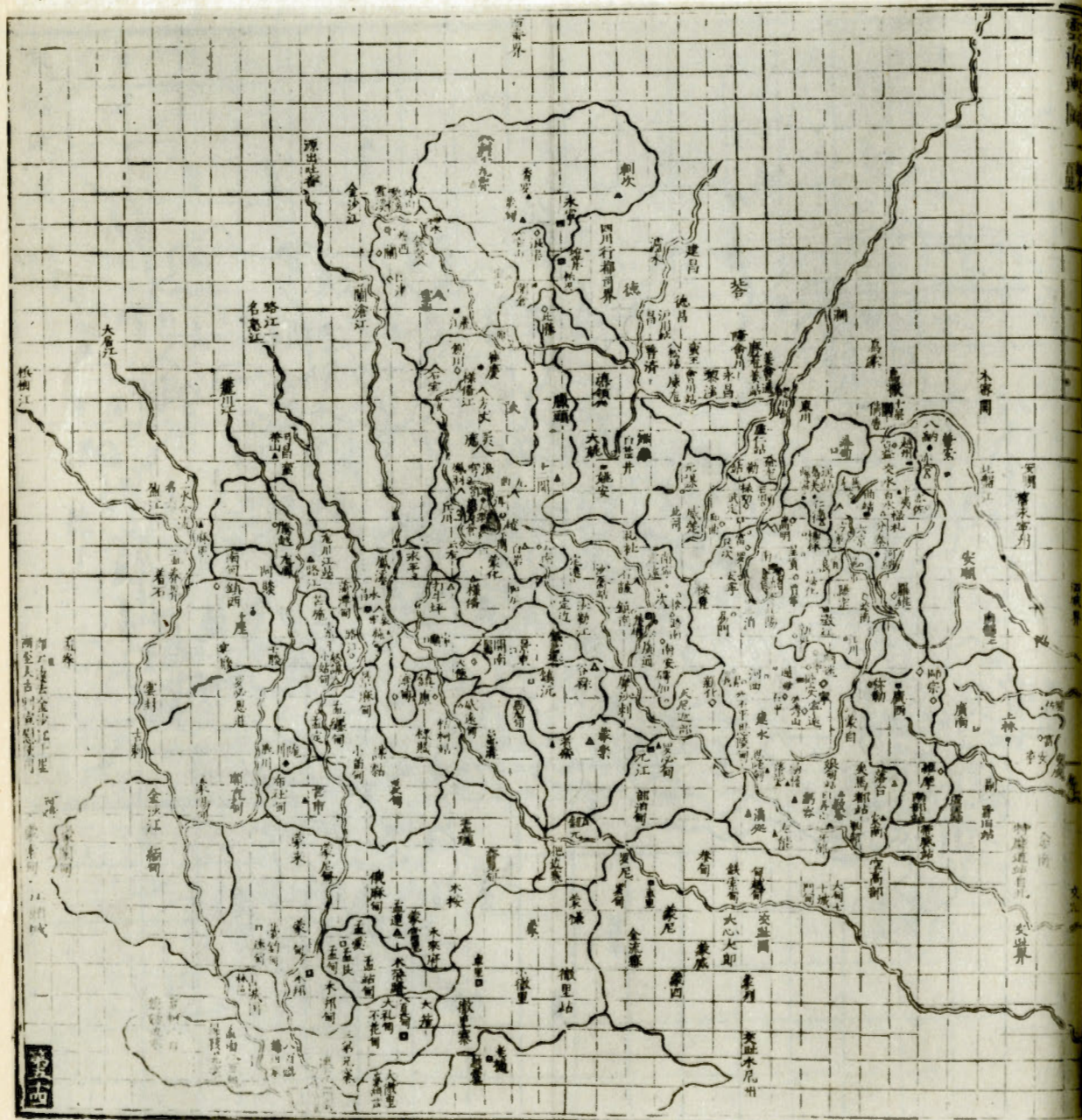
Fukien



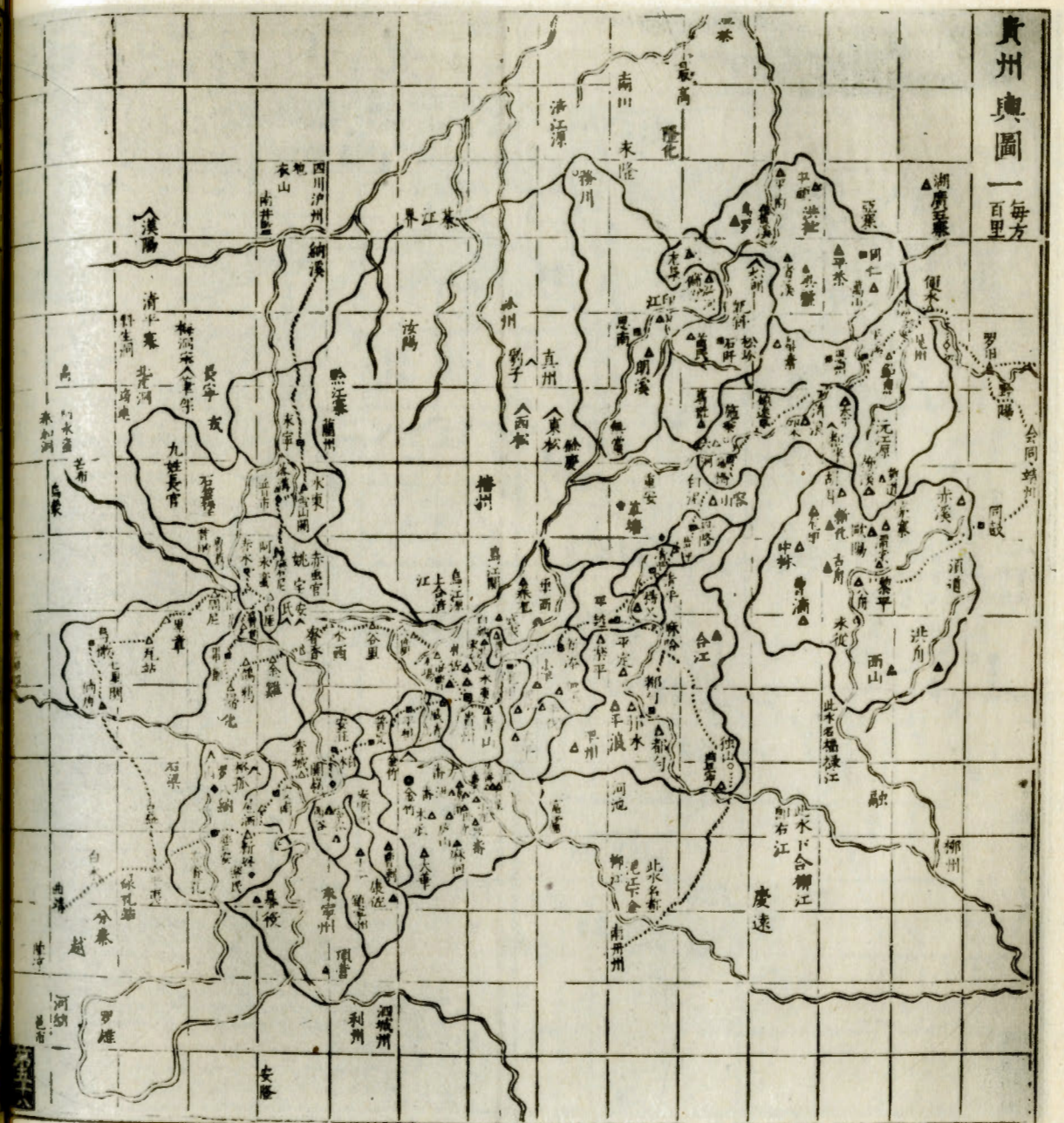
Kuangtung



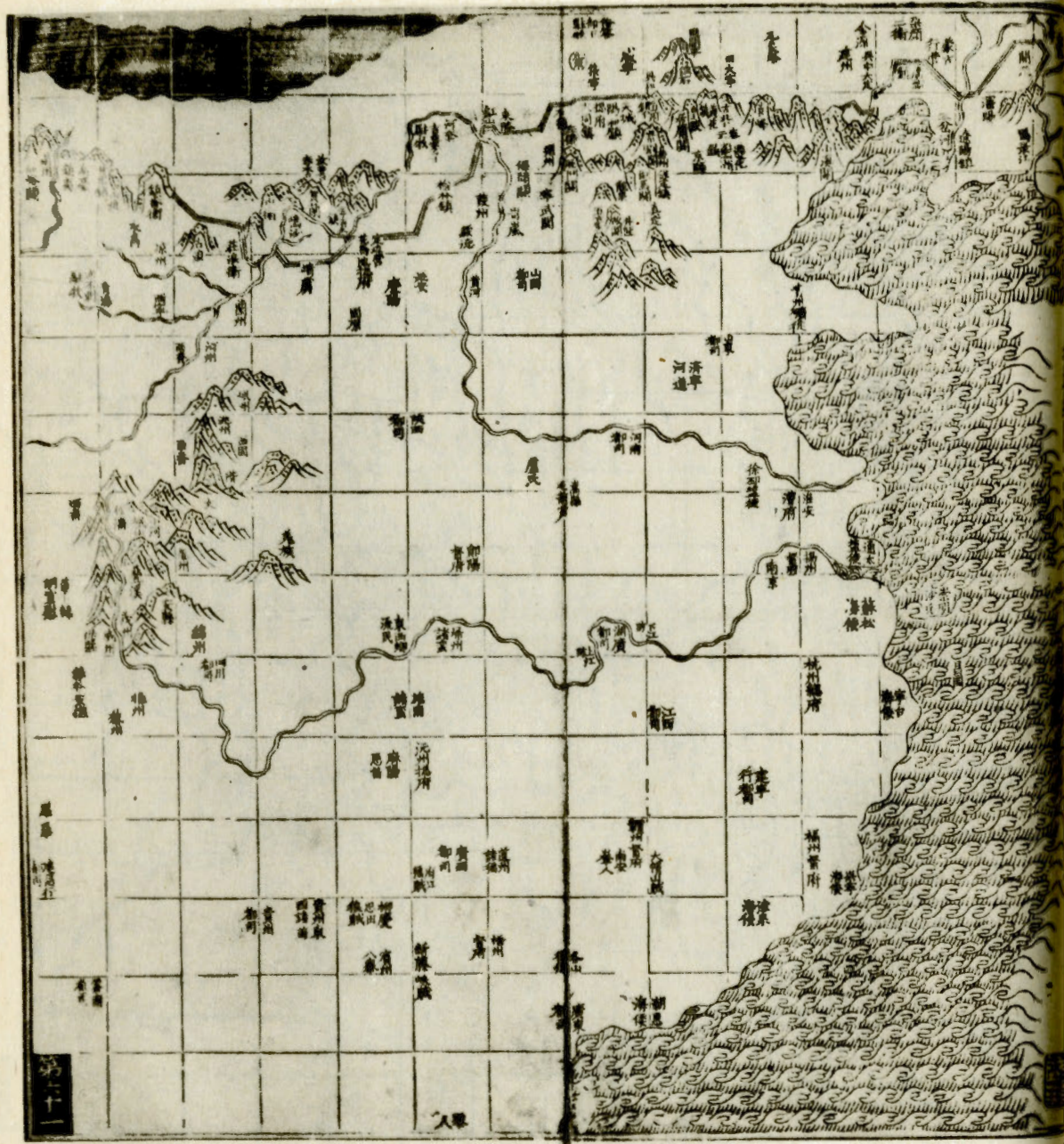
Kuangsi



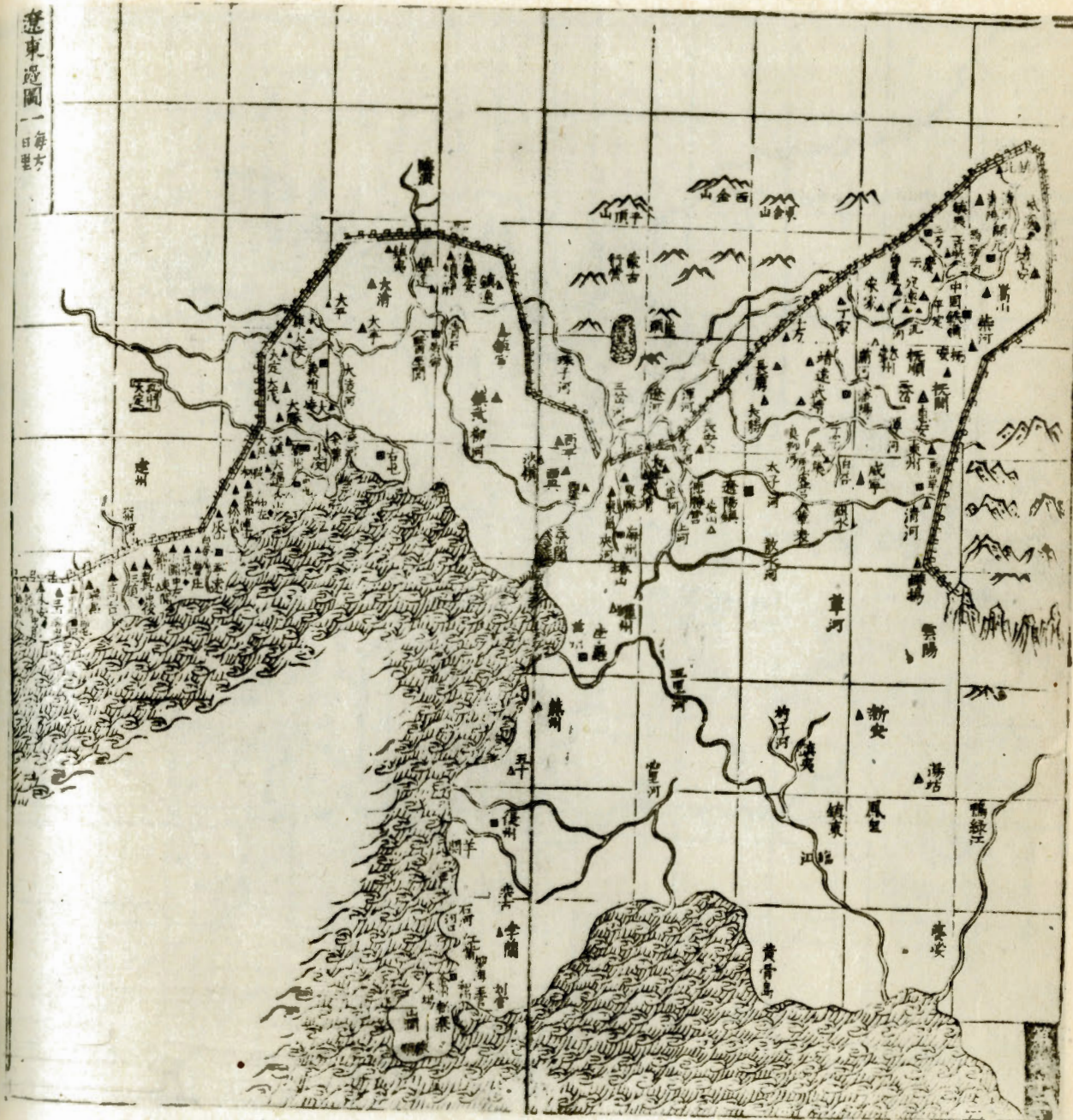
Yünnan



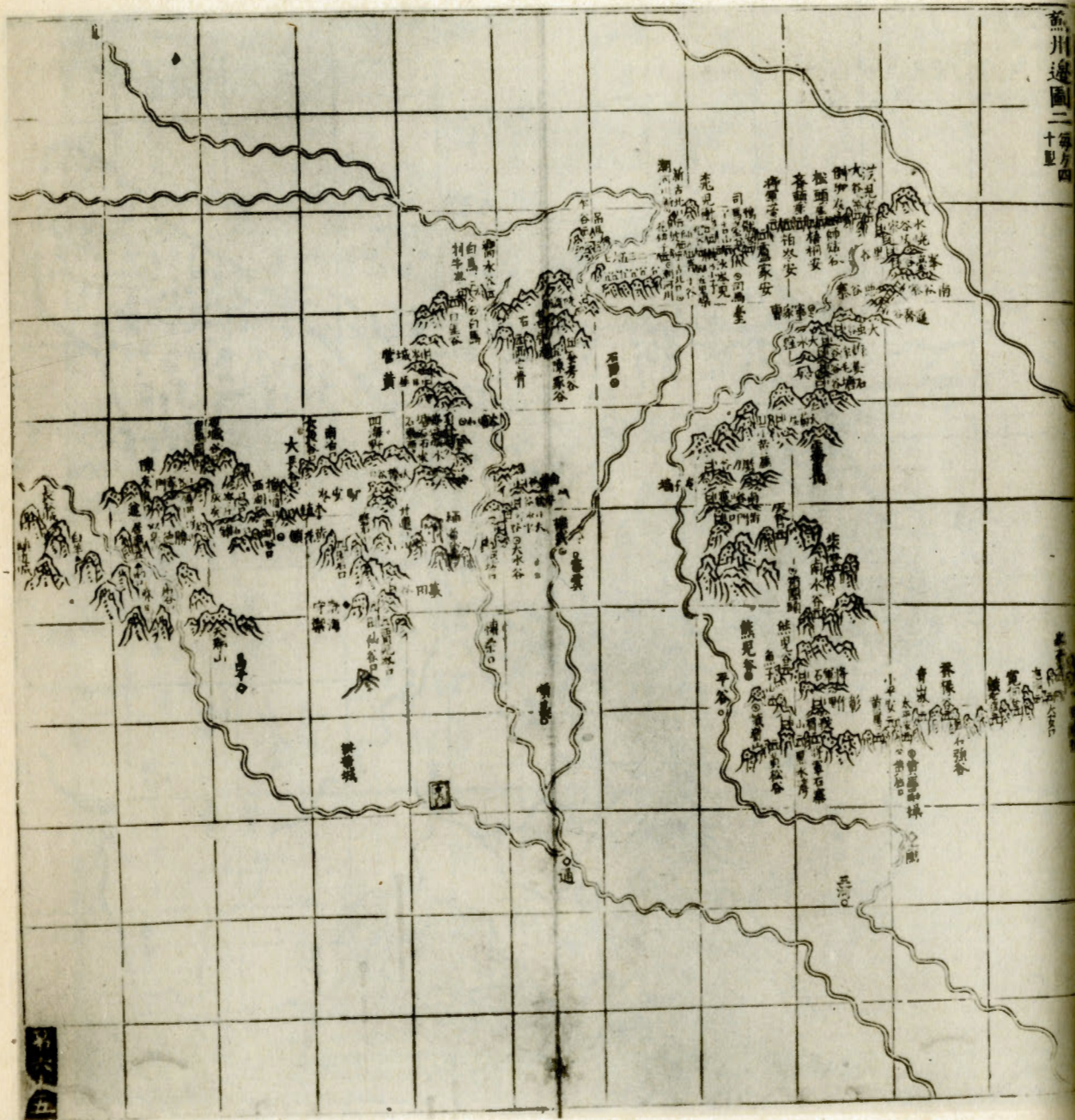
Kueichou



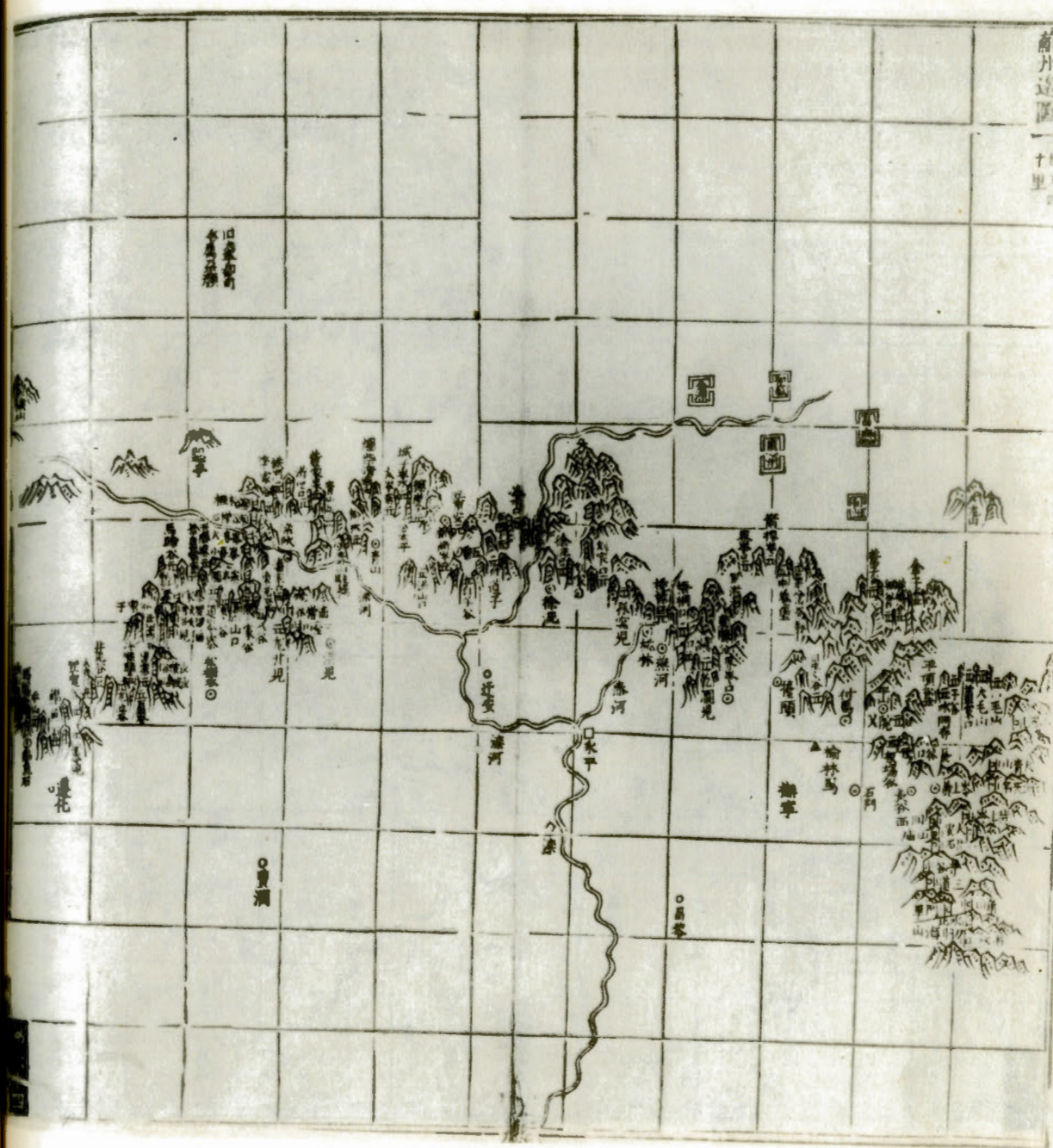
Chiu-pien tsung-t'u
The Northern and Western Border Regions



South Manchuria



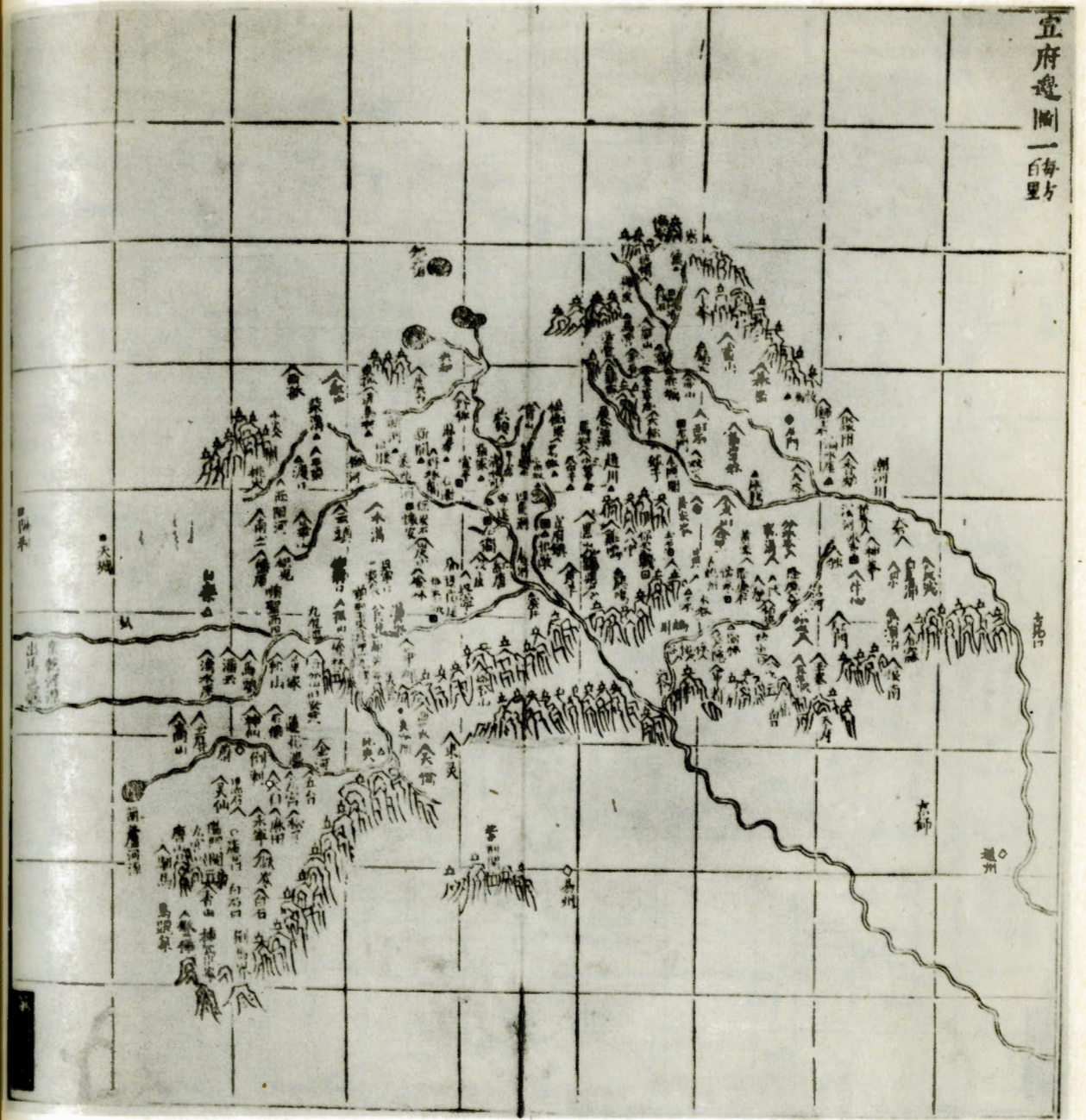
West Chi-chou (2)



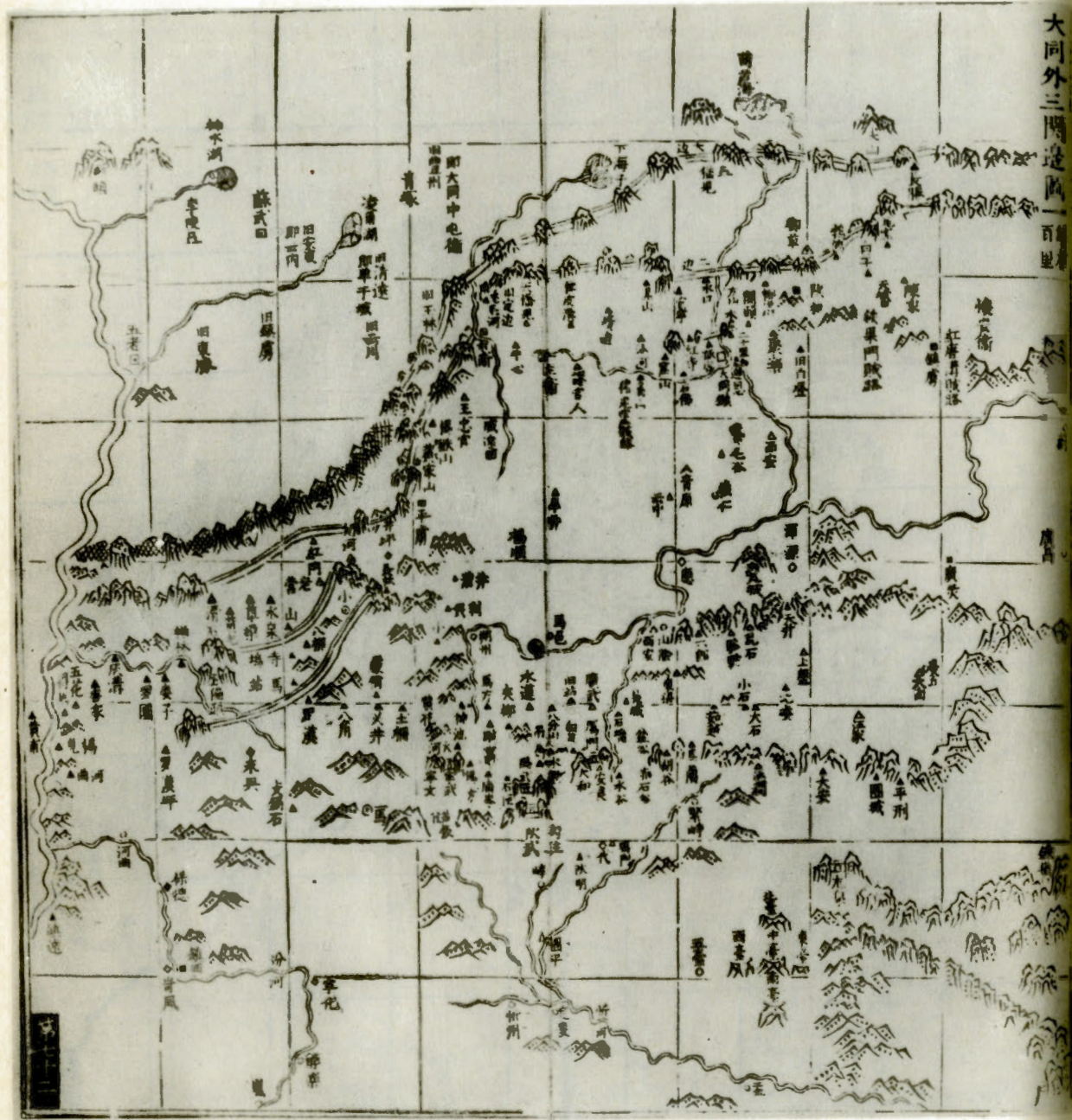
East Chi-chou (1)



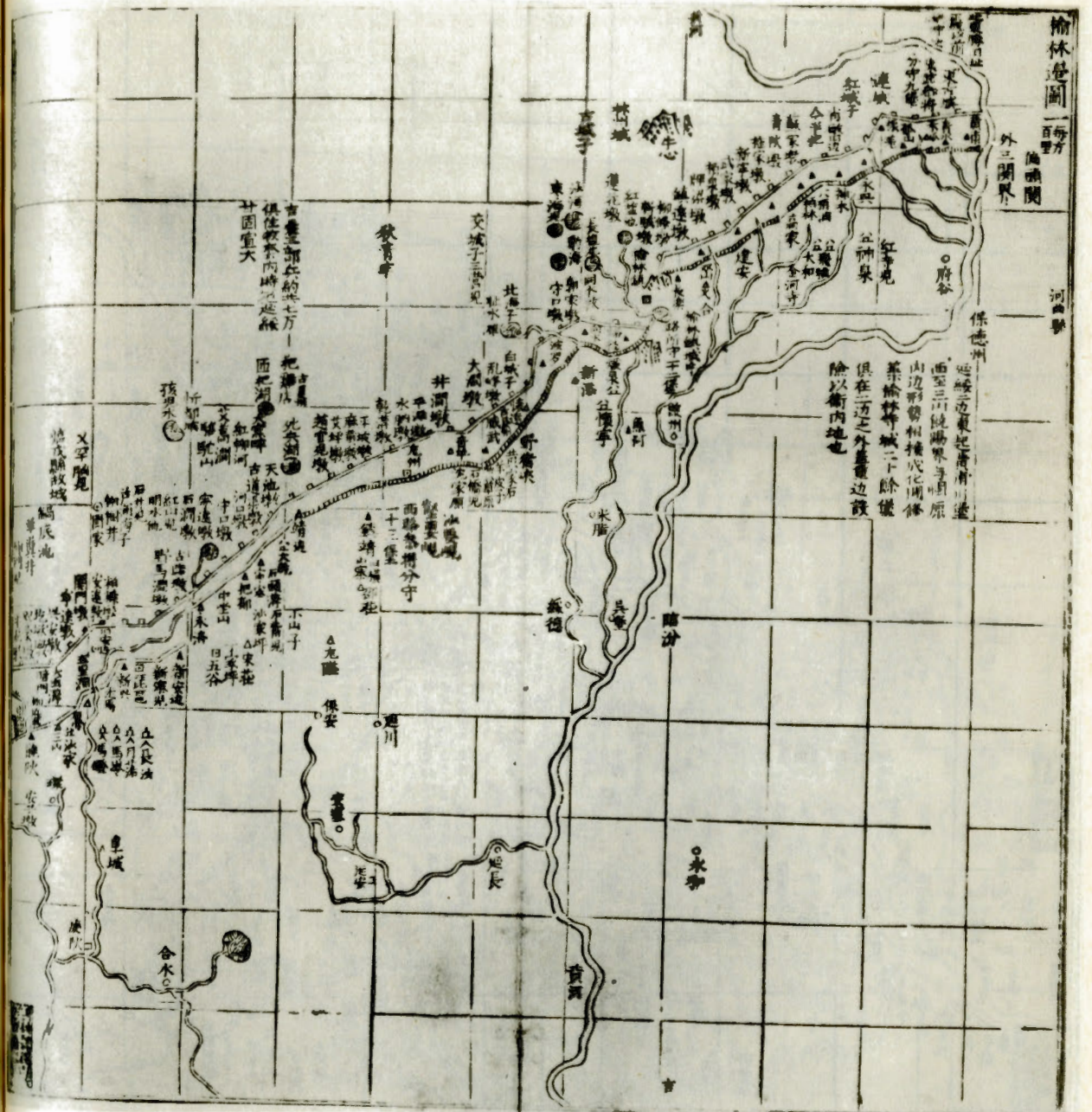
The Inner Three Passes of Honan
居庸, 倒馬 and 紫荆關



Hsüan-hua



The Outer Three Passes of North Shansi
雁門, 寧武 and 偏頭關



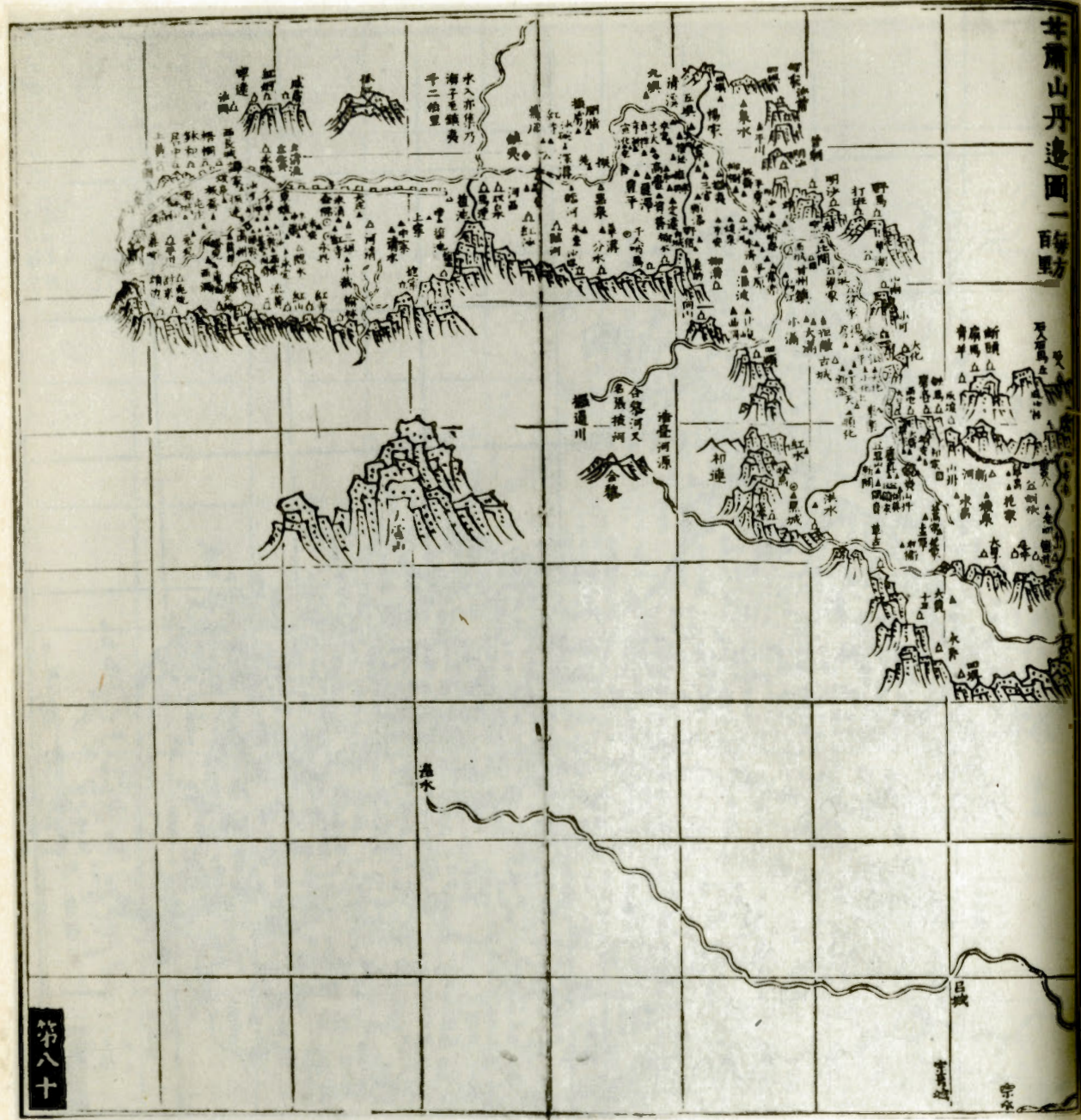
Yü-lin



Ninghsia — Ku-lan



Chuang-ning — Liang-yung



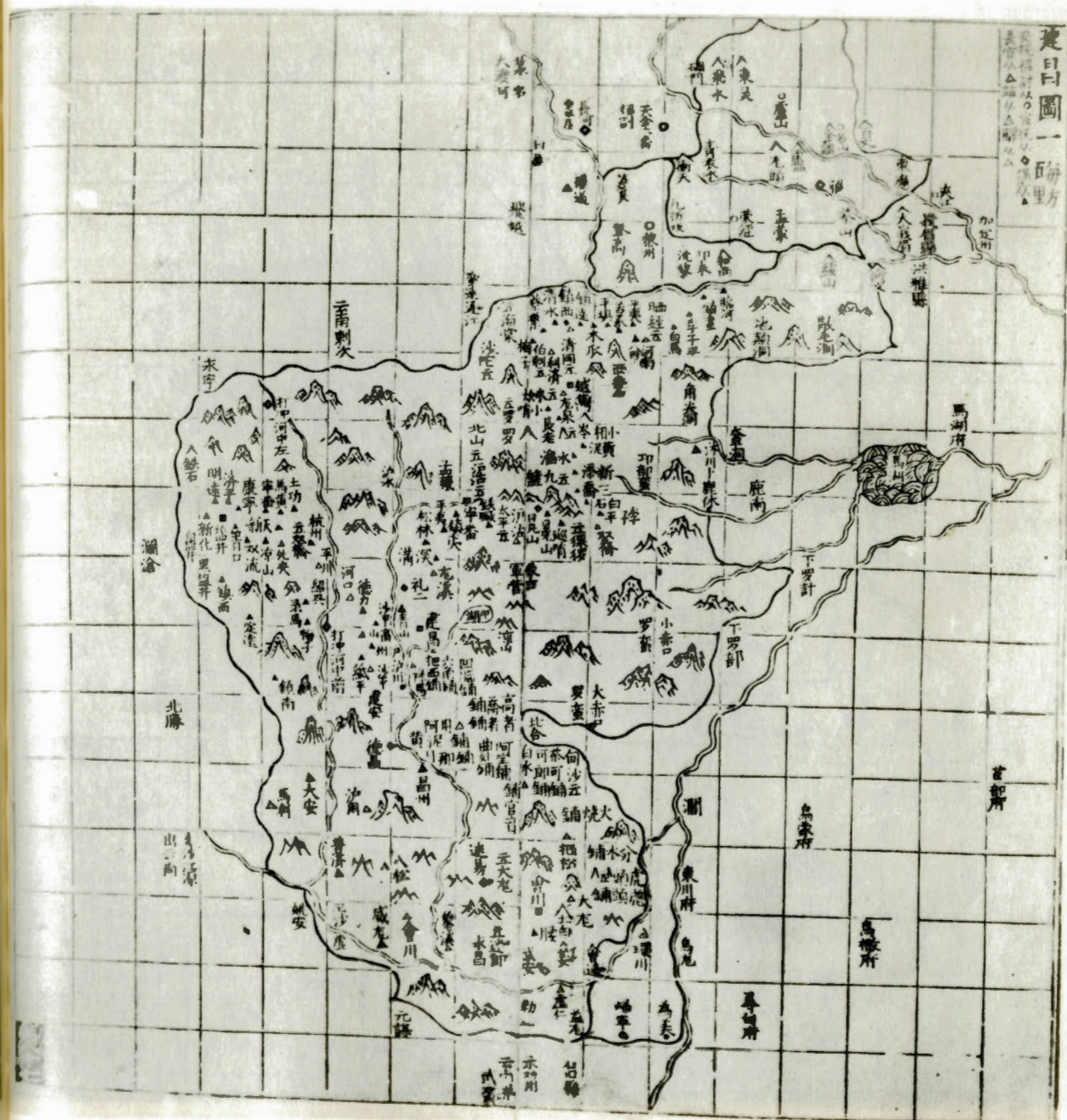
Kansu — Shan-tan



T'ao-ho



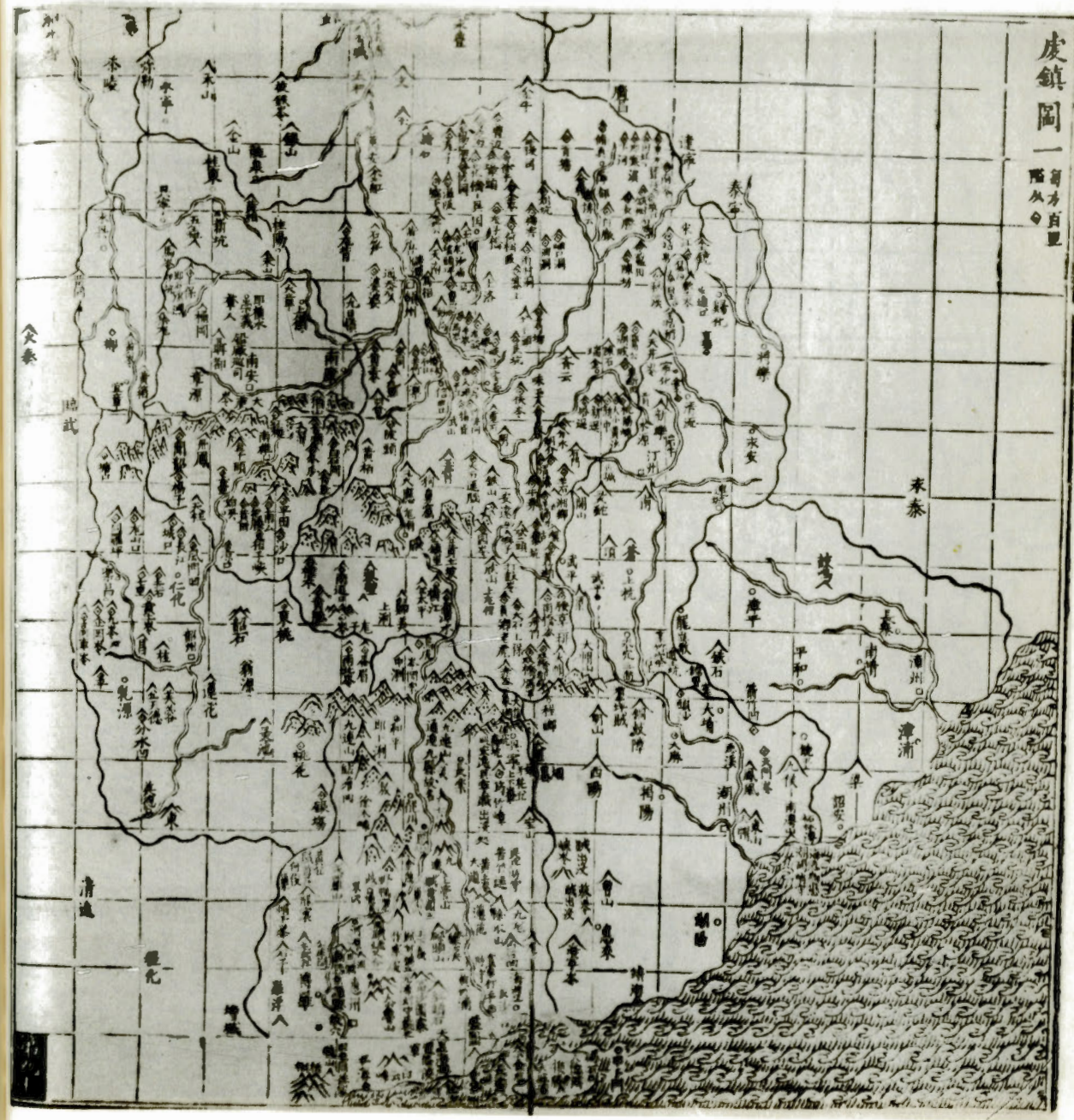
Sung-p'an



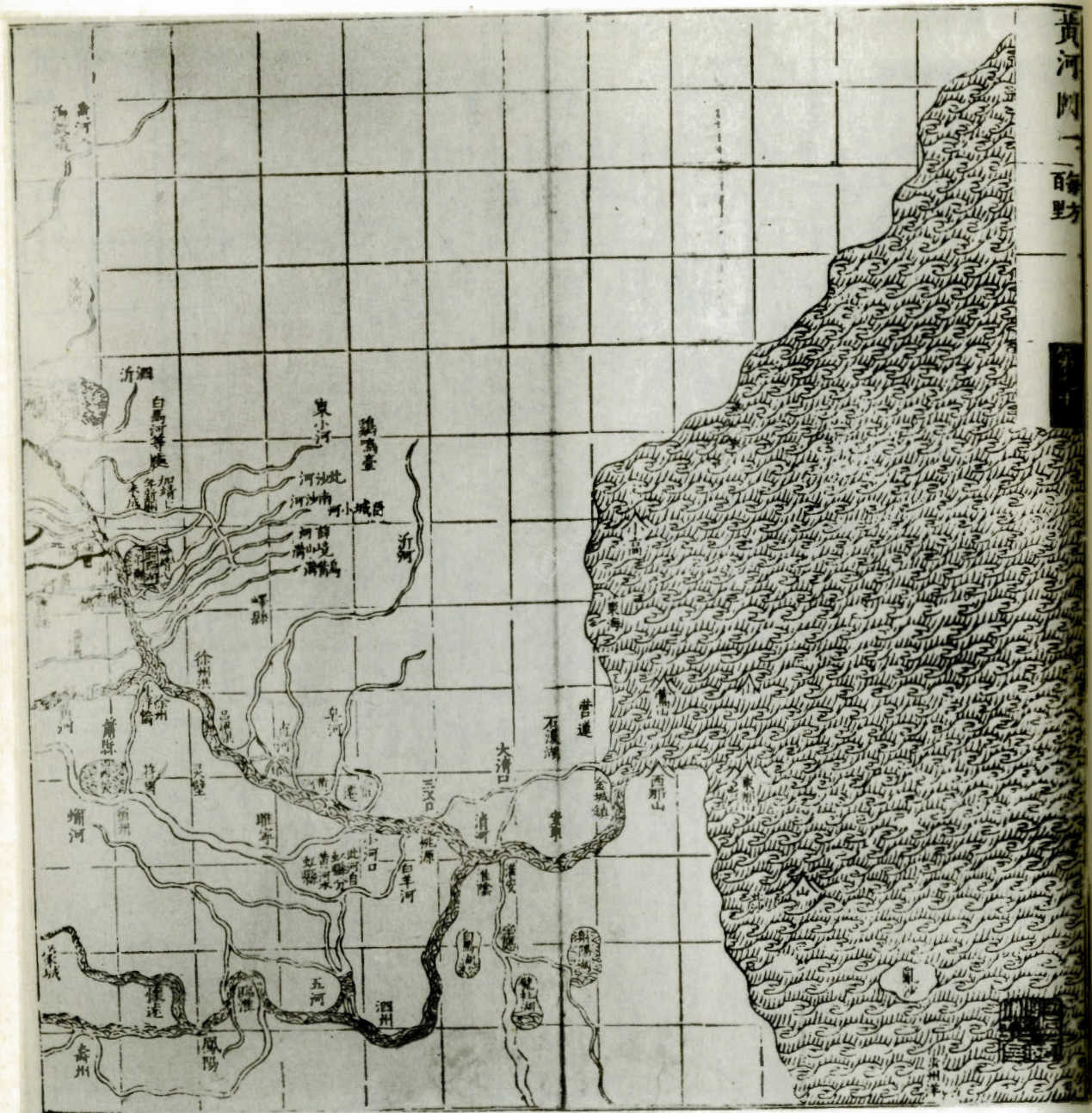
Chien-ch'ang



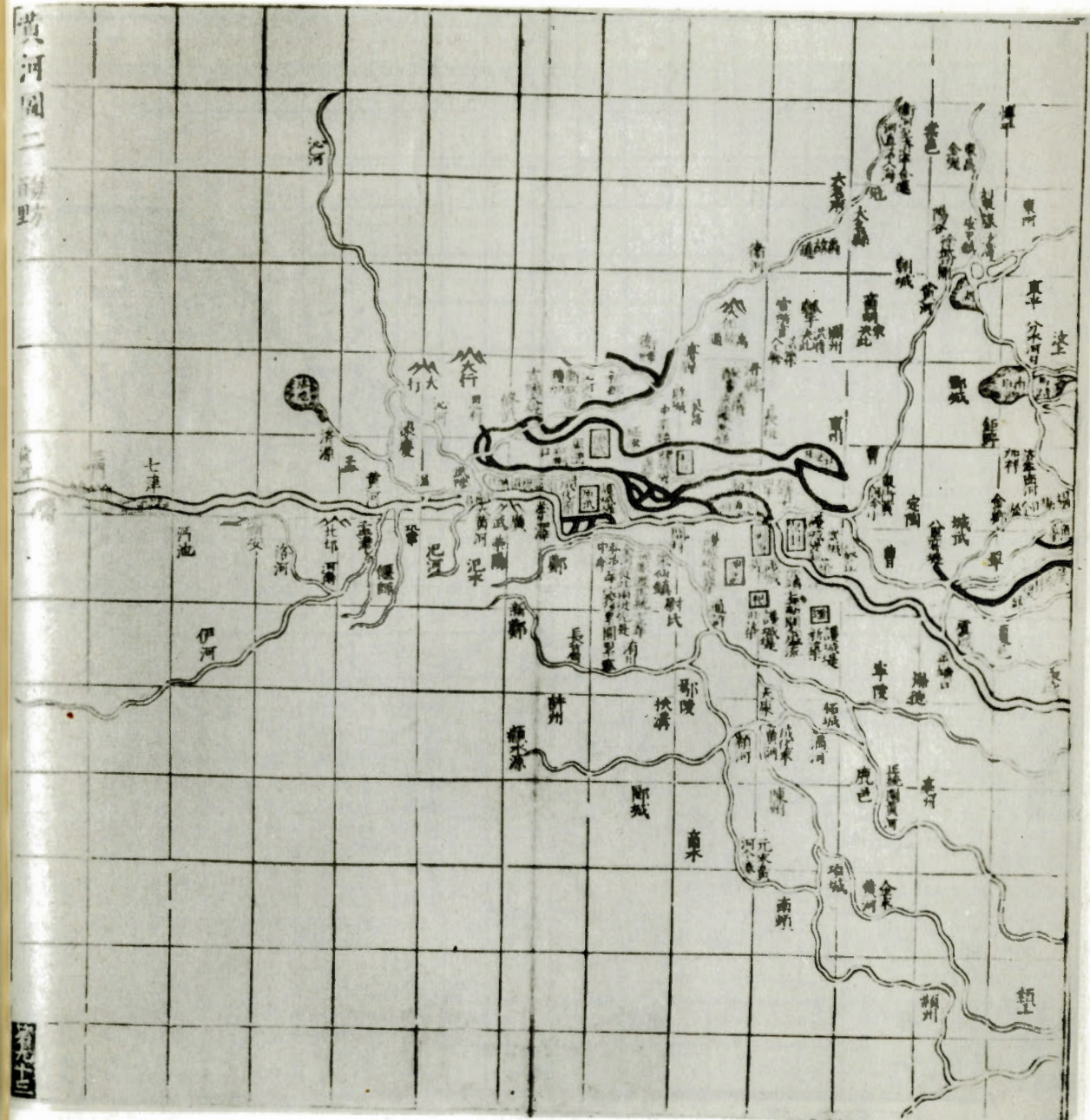
Ma-yang



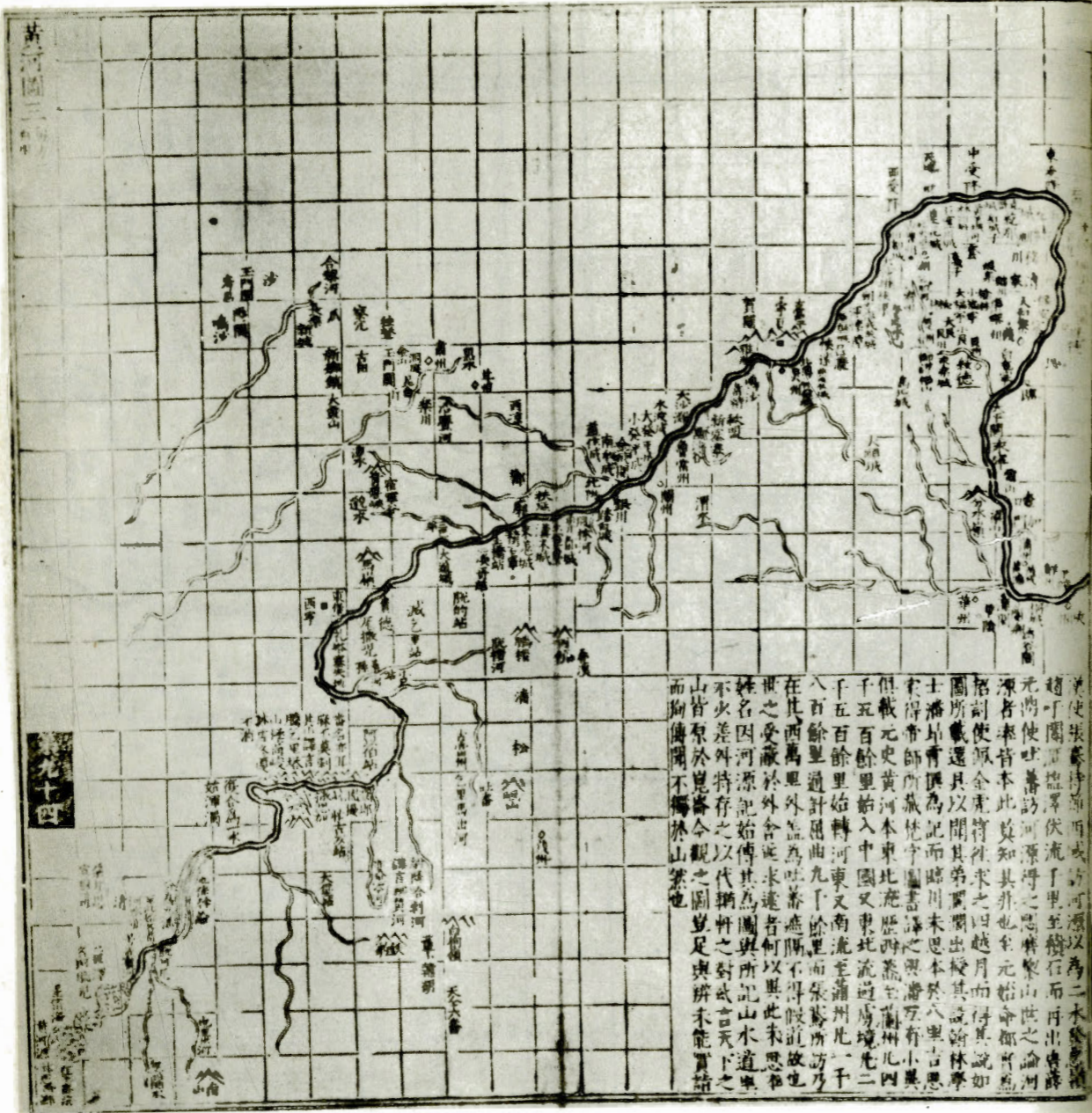
Ch'ien-chen



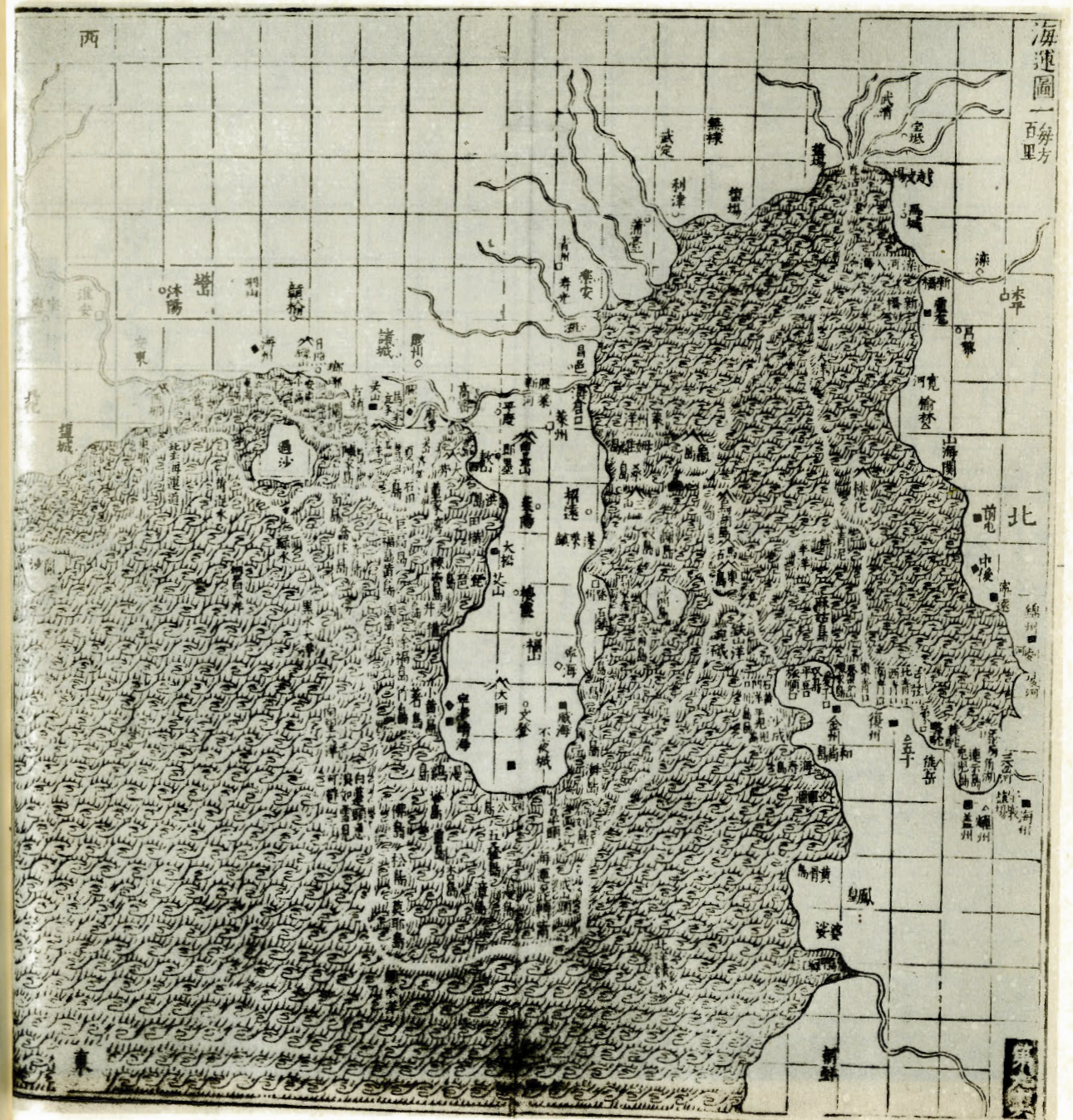
Huangho (1)



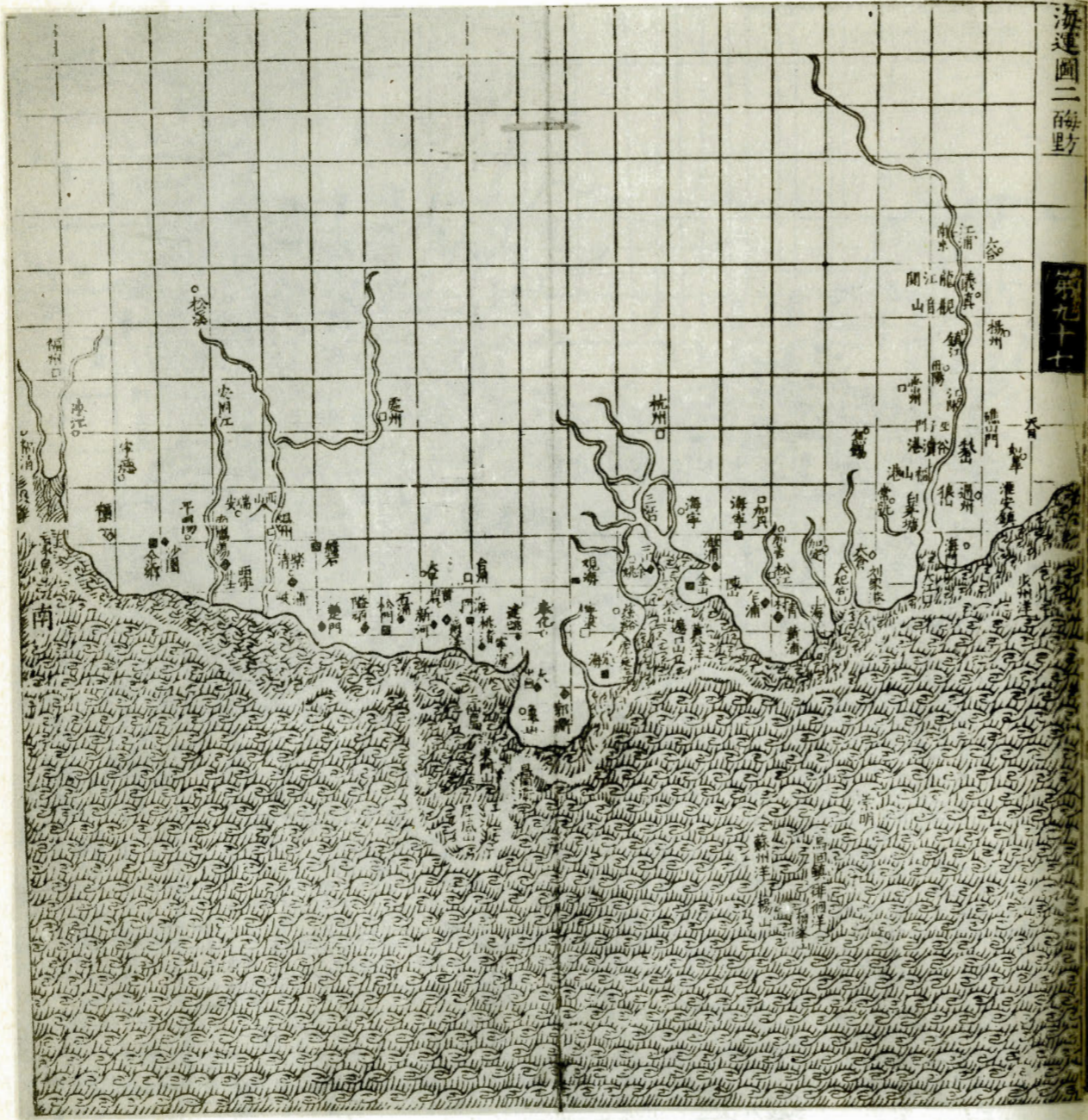
Huangho (2)



Huangho (3)



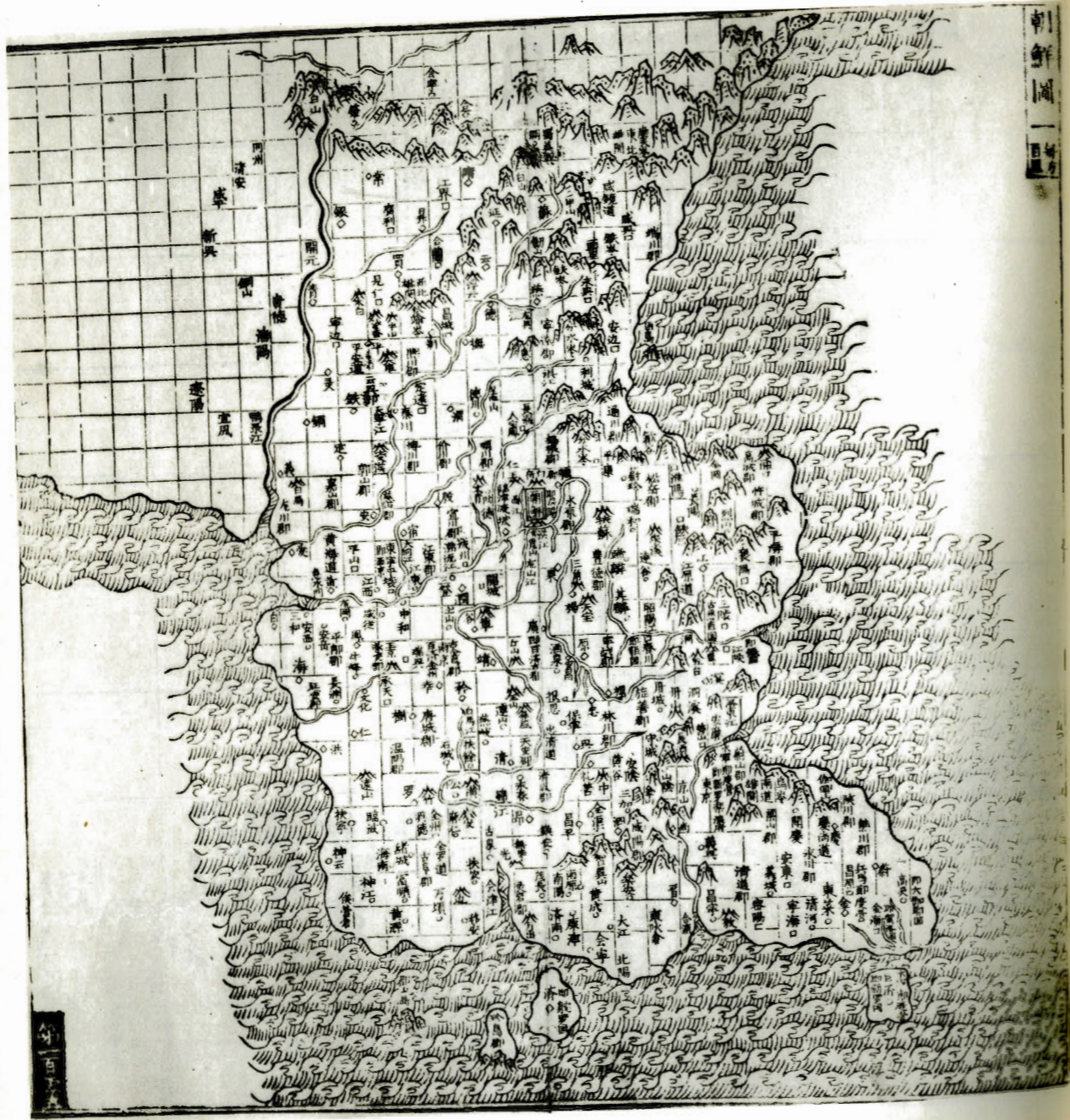
Sea route around Shantung to Manchuria



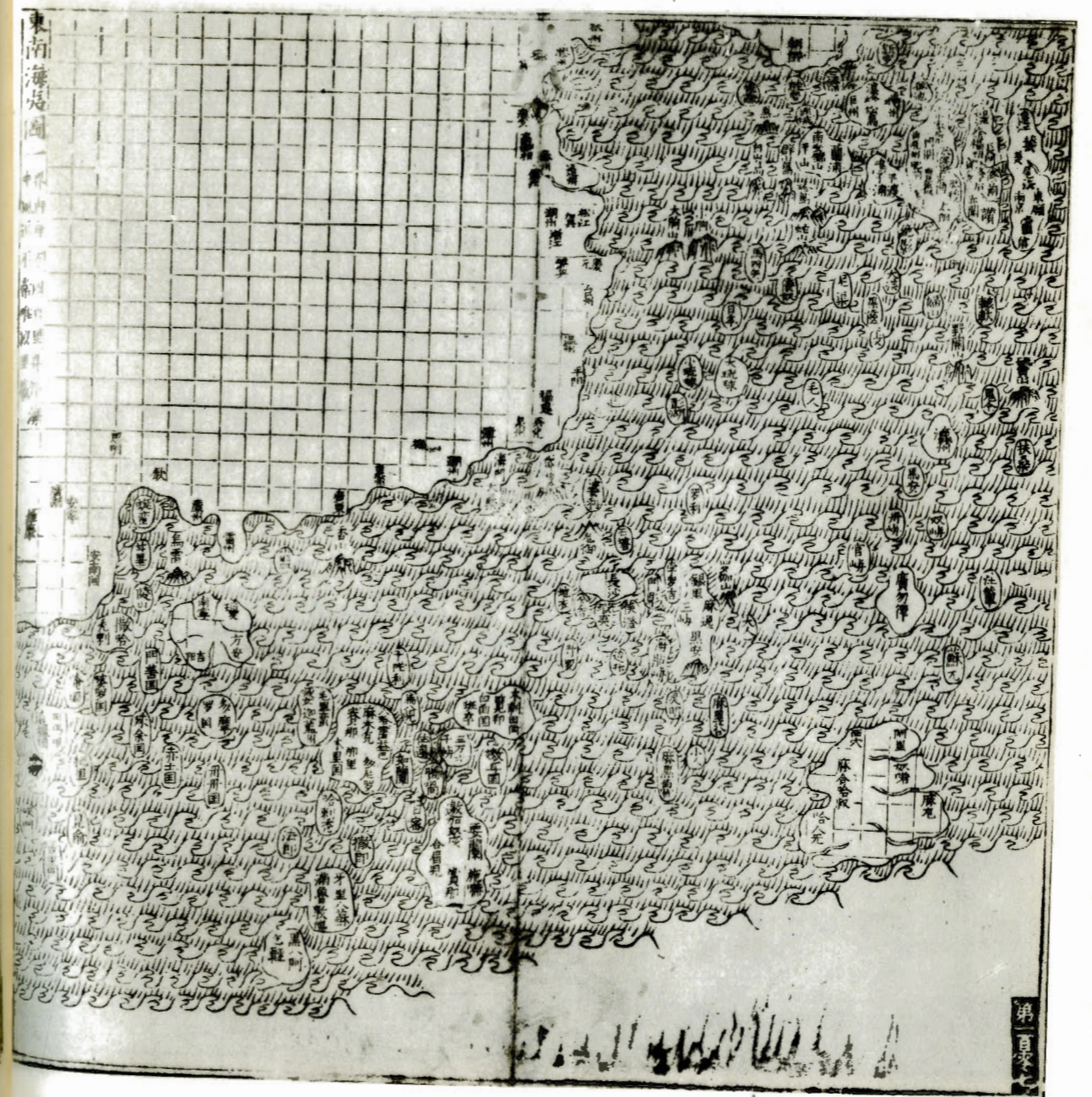
Sea route: Yangtze-Fuchou



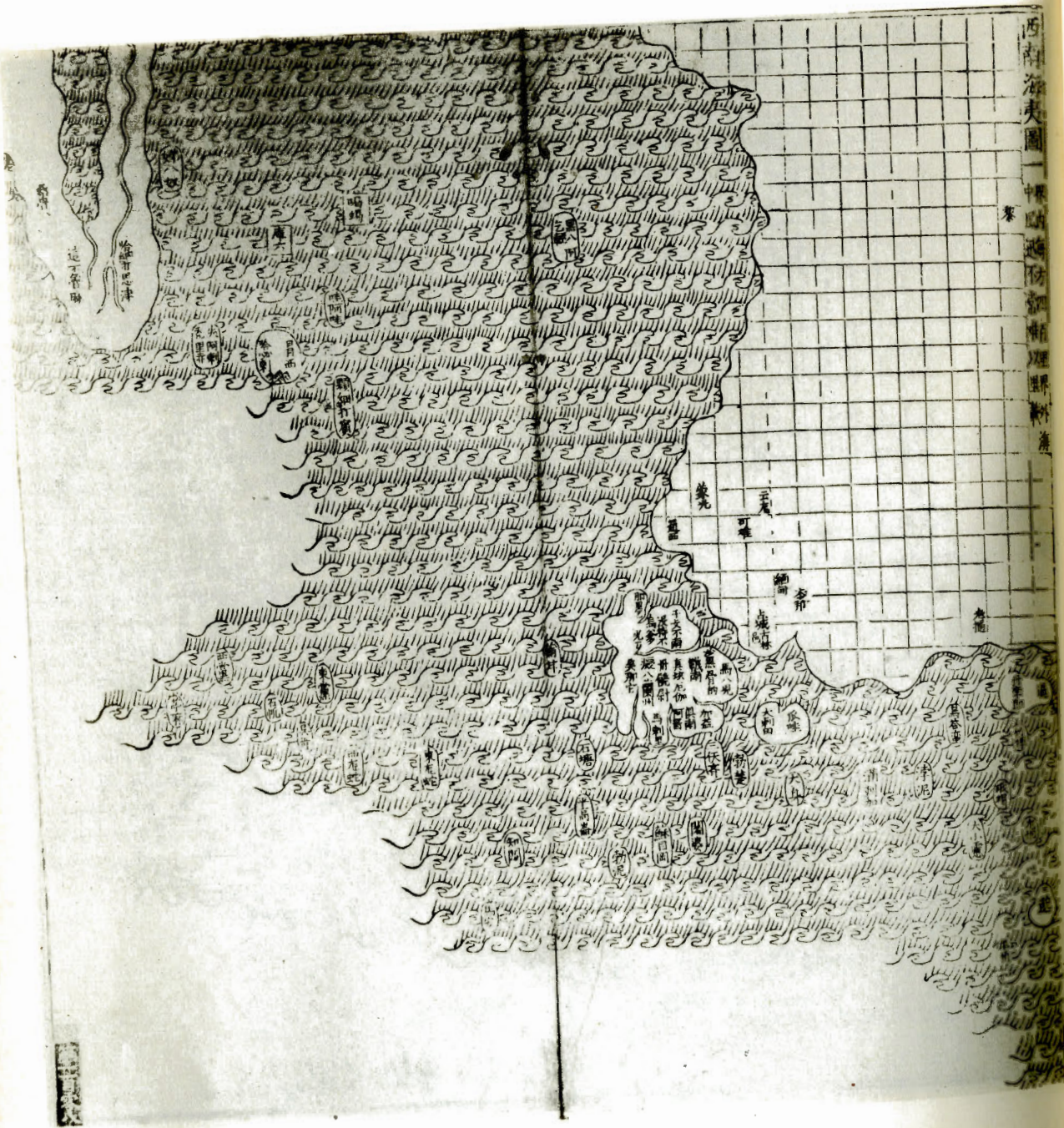
Imperial Canal (1)
From Chen-chiang 江鎮 to Huang-chia 黃家



Korea



Southeast Asia
Japan - Formosa - Hainan - Philippines - Bali

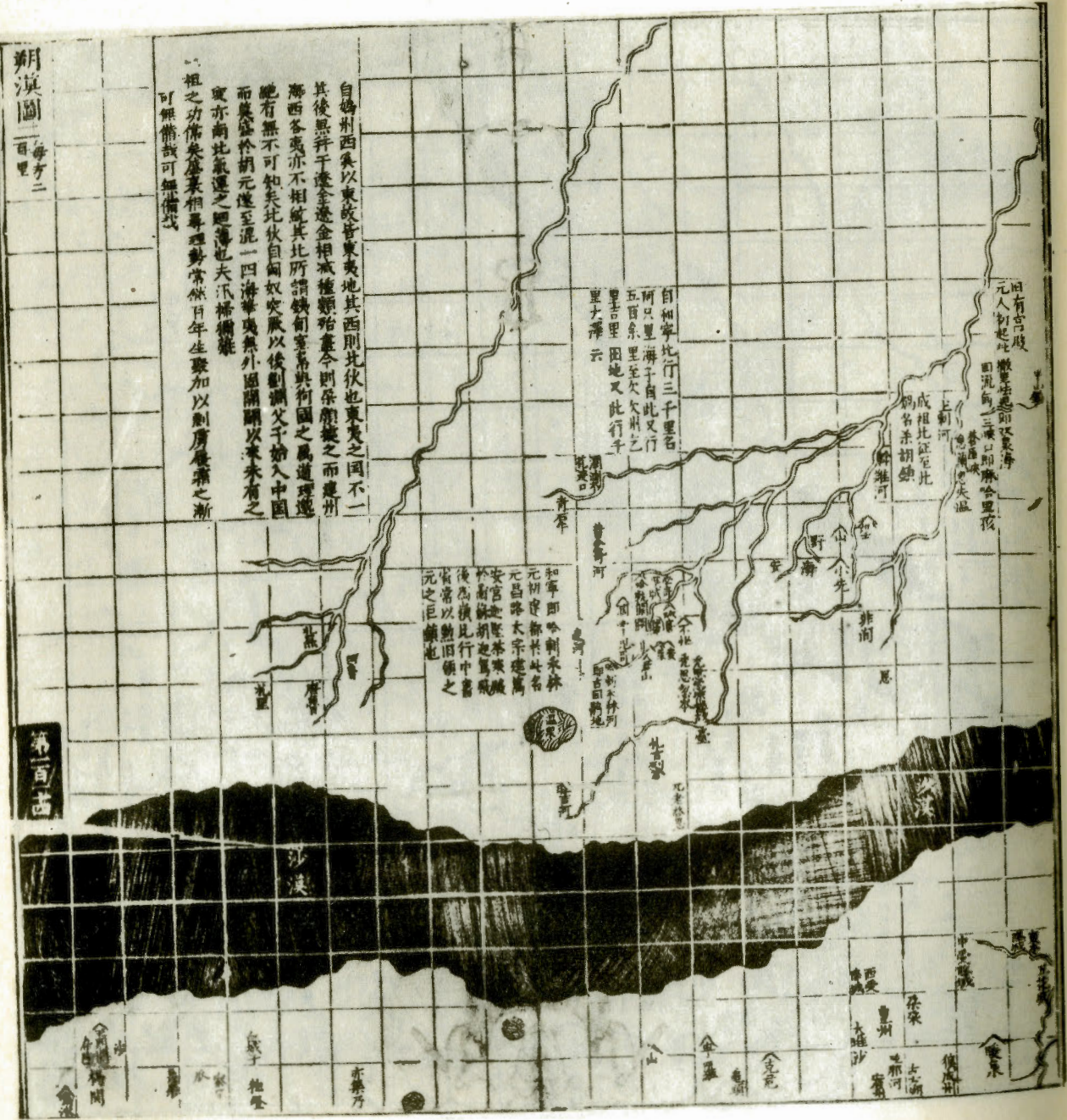


Southwest Asia
 Java - Sumatra - Indian Ocean - South Africa
 For Africa see p. 14



Annam

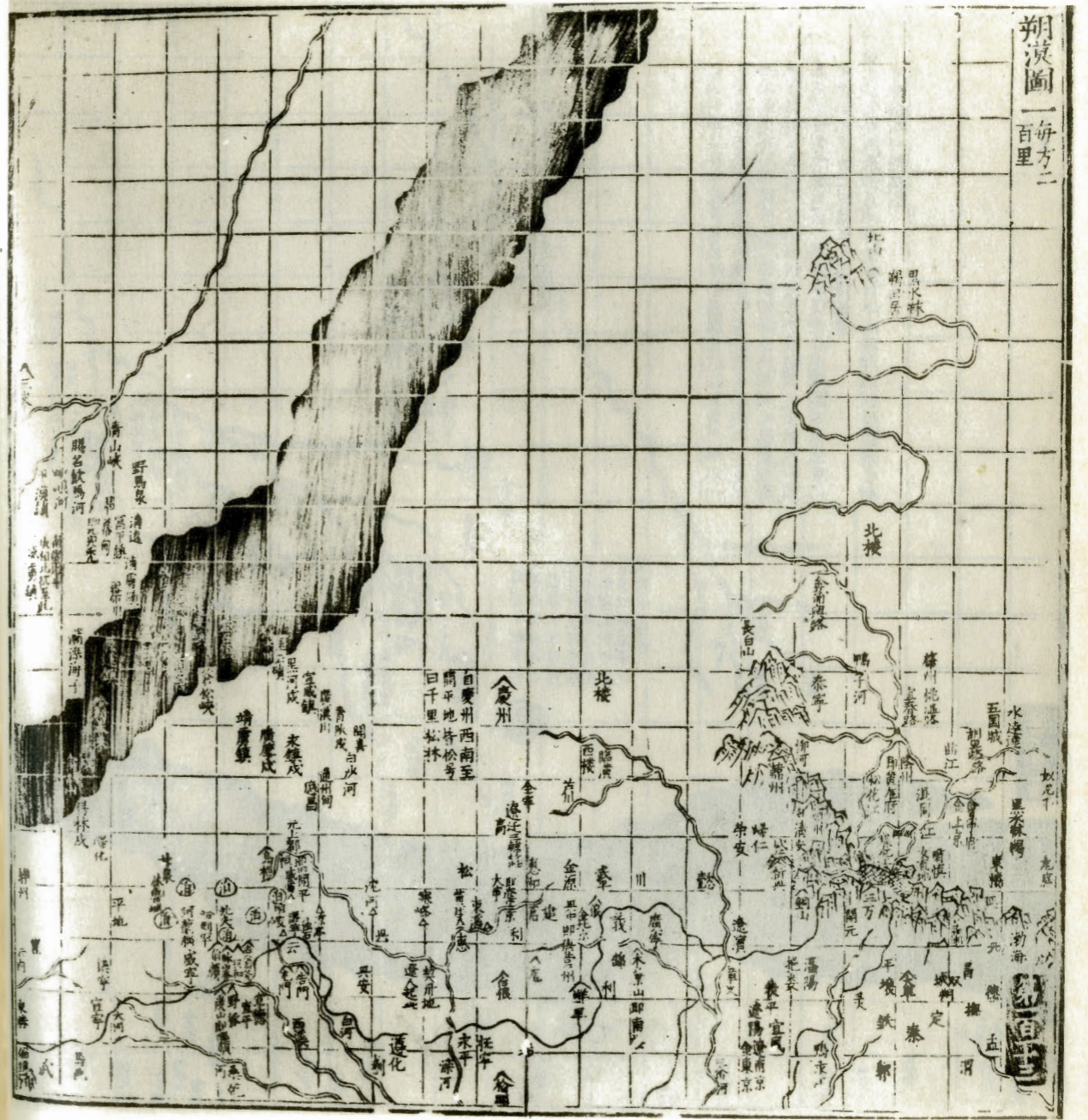
自匈奴西與以東皆東夷地其西則北狄也東夷之國不一其後無并于遠全邊金相滅種類殆盡今則保衛之而建州海西多夷亦不相統其北所謂鐵甸室與柯國之屬道遠絕有無不可知矣北狄自匈奴突厥以後割漢父子始入中國而莫盛於胡元運至混一四海華夷無外固關關以東未有之變亦南北氣運之迴薄也夫天祚掃榻繼一祖之功備矣盛衰相尋勢常倏百年生聚加以剝膚屢痛之漸可無備哉可無備哉



West Mongolia
With Kerulen and Orkhon



Central Asia



East Mongolia
With Kerulen