

Imagined Peripheries The World and its Peoples in Japanese Cartographic Imagination

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... because the thing-in-itself has no abnormality. Anything unusual will appear, after I myself see it: Abnormality belongs not to the thing-in-itself, but to myself.

Kuo P'u (276-324), *Shan-hai ching* (Scriptures of the Mountains and the Seas)

On my first visit to England, nearly twenty years ago, I experienced a poignant moment of realization, understanding finally why Europeans called Japan a "Far Eastern country," for it was then that I first saw a Europe-centered world map: Japan really was a small fringe of islands off at the far right edge of the map, in the "Far Eastern" region, from a European point of view.

Japan-centered (or East Asia-centered) world maps have long been common in Japan at least since the seventeenth century; they are the norm in Japan today, and are used widely in Japanese school atlases (Fig.1), just as European schools undoubtedly use Europe-centered world maps.¹

It will be clear from the map in Fig.1 that the world in the Japanese image, though it ultimately refers to the same "real," physical world, is quite different from that in the European image. Our images of the world are quite subjective: In as much as any map must have a viewpoint, and is necessarily composed by an "ego" or collection of egos, it is hardly surprising that people find it difficult not to compose and use self-centered maps.²

This experience brings me to the question of what self-centered maps are. It is not physical reality, but images, that in the last analysis form the basis of our socio-cultural understanding (including our penchant for distinguishing aliens from ourselves), on which we construct our own conceptions of the world and peoples.³

Our image of the outside world consists mainly of the shape of the world and peoples who live there. This paper will focus on "the image maps of the world," and "the portraits of the imaginary peoples," as visualized images of our conceptions of the world and peoples. Imaginary peoples are important for us to follow changing conceptions of peoples' consciousness toward outsiders. It is also a mirror which reflects the other side of the mentality of the peoples who created them.

I should like to examine in the discussion that follows: (1) the production of a Japanese image of the world out of three different cultural sources, Chinese, Buddhist, and Western, on the basis of which the Japanese built their own image of the world; (2) the historical development of the formation of Japanese images of other human beings (aliens) based on ancient Chinese ideas, and the intermingling of these images with the real peoples actually encountered in later periods; (3) combinations of their world images and the alien portraits on Japanese maps in the early modern period as a visualization of Japanese conceptions of the world and its peoples; (4) based on this understanding of Japanese images of the world and its peoples, I shall conclude the paper by proposing a key conception for interpreting the Japanese experience.

Before proceeding to the issue, it will be useful to give some historical background concerning the Japanese experience prior to the twentieth century.

It must be remembered that Japan has constructed its culture in large measure by drawing on foreign models, selecting, adopting/adapting, and integrating them with indigenous culture, in a series of waves of cultural importation dating at least to the dawn of written records. For over a millennium, until the mid-nineteenth century, Japan's principal cultural role model and cultural source was China, through which Japan also accepted Buddhism. European culture came to Japan in the sixteenth century through Catholic missionaries; fear of Catholic subversion led the Tokugawa shogunate (1603-1867) to implement a policy of excluding both Catholic missionaries, and traders from *Kirishitan* (Catholic) countries, and prohibition of most foreign travel by Japanese; European cultural influence waned. Except for a Dutch trading outpost in Nagasaki, Europeans were barred from Japan

after 1639, while Chinese traders were also kept under strict shogunate control. Although Japan continued to import Chinese culture throughout the Tokugawa era, and began experimenting with European medicine in the mid-eighteenth century, it was only in the mid-nineteenth century that Japan once more accepted European cultures enthusiastically, and started to modernize on the model of Western "civilization and enlightenment."

I. Imagined Worlds

It will necessarily lead us to a comprehensive survey of the historical development of the Japanese conception of the world, when we trace back its roots. The historic Japanese image of the world is the result of the three independent conceptions of the world which are all foreign made: Chinese, Buddhist and European.

The notion of a China-centered world order was first proposed in East Asia before Christ. This world order is a visualized schematization of a Chinese conception of "center and periphery,"⁴ with China at the center, surrounded by the "barbarians of the four directions." This idealized world-order later became the real world order of East Asia and governed both ideology and international relations in the region for more than two thousand years until the mid-nineteenth century.⁵

This image of the world is found in ancient Chinese books written more than two millennia ago. The earliest description is found in the *Shan-hai ching* (The Scriptures of Mountains and Seas, written ca. 3100 B.C.), in which the world was divided into three sections: "within-the-sea," "beyond-the-sea," and the "bizarre regions."⁶ The same sort of world image is also found in *Erh-ya* (the literary expositor, also compiled before Christ), which refers to the uncivilized regions by speaking of the four seas as occupied by the "nine eastern barbarians," the "eight northern barbarians," the "seven western barbarians," and the "six southern barbarians." It is of deep significance that "sea" means, in ancient Chinese, "uncivilized."⁷

The structure of this Chinese world should thus be conceived of as a triple circle with China in the center, surrounded by four

seas, beyond which lies the barbarian world, called the "bizarre regions." It seems quite normal for this world order to be visualized as an image map, which is shown as Fig. 2. This clearly drawn image of the Chinese world order, preserved in a Korean map, dates at least to the seventeenth century.⁸ It is thought provoking to refer to the fact that these round-world maps were made not in China and Japan, but only in Korea.⁹

This map shows the known world as a round land mass, surrounded by a sea, which is inside a doughnut-shaped continent. Inside the continent, lies the sea with scattered islands. In the heart of the map the China-centered continent is drawn. There are 82 countries shown, including three real "countries," Japan, Korea and Ryukyu; but the remaining 79 countries are mostly imaginary nowhere countries, whose names are found in the *Shan-hai ching*.

This visualized China-centered map reminds us of the world map of Hereford Cathedral in England, which is called *Orbis Terrarum* of Medieval Europe. It put Jerusalem at the center and the East at the top; the world is divided into three parts by the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea and the Tanais (present Don); Asia is in the upper half, Europe in the left side of the lower half and Libya (today's Africa) at the right side of the lower half.¹⁰ This is the World as Medieval Europeans saw it, an image derived from the descriptions in the Bible. It may be an expression of our deep image that both the biblically-derived Hereford Cathedral map, and the *Shan-hai ching*-derived Korean map created the world as a round shape. Buddhism was brought into Japan through China and Korea by the sixth century. Buddhism also brought to the Japanese the image of an India-centered world, centering on the land where the historical Buddha was born.

According to the Buddhist conception of the world, human beings live in an ovoid shape continent called *Jambu-dvīpa*, to the south of Mt. Sumeru, a continent that reflects the Indian peninsula. The center of the continent is occupied by Lake Anavatapta, from which the four great rivers flow: the Ganges, the Indus, the Oxud, and the Tarim.¹¹

"*Gotenjiku zu*" (Map of the Five Indies) (Fig.3) is the oldest extant visualized map of this Buddhist idea of the world. It was copied by Jukei, a Japanese Buddhist monk, in 1364, and is pre-

served in the Hôryûji Temple in Nara, Japan.¹² Detailed research has demonstrated that the original from which Jukei's copy ultimately derives, was first made in China, not in India, based on the book of pilgrimage to India by Hsüan Chuang (602-664), a Chinese Buddhist priest. Hsüan's travel route is indicated in cinnabar in this map.¹³

This egg-shaped map reflects not the "real" India, but "India" as conceived by Chinese Buddhists, even though the original Chinese book was based entirely on Hsüan's actual pilgrimage. It was traditionally called a "map of *Tenjiku* (India)," and we must understand that *Tenjiku* was the specific word designating "Buddhist India as imagined in the East Asia."¹⁴

Jukei's map is extremely important, for it seems to be the only surviving map to preserve original Buddhist ideas of the world: it makes no reference to imaginary countries. "World map of China and barbarous countries in the four seas" (1577) is the oldest extant Buddhist world-map preserved in China, as far as I know; it already includes those imaginary countries which first appeared in *Shan-hai ching*.¹⁵

It should be pointed out that the Buddhist idea of India as the center of the world contributed to relativizing the then dominant belief among the Japanese that China was the center of the world. These two rival ideologies concerning the image of the world led the Japanese to develop their own idea of the world, a world of *Sangoku*, or "three countries," comprising India, China and Japan. This *sangoku* world view came into existence in ninth century at the latest.¹⁶ *Tales of Times Now Past*, compiled in the early twelfth century, contains more than 1200 short tales, grouped into three sections: India, China and Japan. This view that the world was composed of the three countries dominating the mind of the Japanese for over a millennium.

The first Europeans to come to Japan were three Portuguese traders, who reached the island of Tanegashima, in far southwestern Japan in 1543. They brought few ideas, but introduced muskets to Japan. They were followed, in 1549, by Francisco de Xavier, who came to Kagoshima and journeyed widely in Japan, then by other Jesuit missionaries and other Portuguese who brought European culture to Japan.

European world maps were brought to Japan by the Europeans, along with the cross and the gun in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These arrived by two different routes. One route led directly from Europe and depended primarily on Iberian traders. The other involved the mediation of Catholic missionaries in China via the world map of Father Matteo Ricci published in 1584. The former were mainly used as decorative folding screens illuminated with bright colors. The latter was mainly used as a valuable practical map because of two characteristics:

The map originally shifted the center from Europe to East Asia, an idea which had long been employed by the Japanese in a Japan-centered world map, but was brought by a local Chinese merchant headman, when he visited Ricci at Macao. The Chinese asked him to make a Chinese version of the world map which Ricci had displayed in his church. Ricci made a map for him, working out the idea of shifting China to the center of the map, which had been located at the far left of the original European map.¹⁷

The European style map, printed in China, also transcribed geographical names in Chinese characters, characters which were also in the Japanese writing system. Ricci's map was brought to Japan in the late seventeenth century, and widely accepted among Japanese as a standard world map.¹⁸ It is important to note that this map (or maps derived from it) has been continuously used in Japan, while it did not survive in China. This contributed, perhaps, to the fact that the Chinese now employ European-centered maps in their school atlases.¹⁹ It is only the Japanese and Koreans who still see the world in its East Asia-centered construction.²⁰

The first Japanese map following Ricci's style (Fig.4), was printed in 1645 as a "Map of the world" for popular use, and was accompanied on the same sheet by 40 pictures of the various peoples of the world. The very idea of publishing map with portraits of foreign peoples shows its European origin. The Japanese and possibly the Chinese had never thought of putting the two together.²¹ It could be said that these three diversely derived views of the world had stood basically as a trio in Japan until in the mid-nineteenth century, each was accepted despite its contradictions with the other two.

The China-centered world view was widely accepted among Japanese intellectuals as an ideological image rather than a visual-

ized one. That is to say, most scholarship in early-modern Japan accepted the assumptions of Neoconfucianism, which proposed a Sino-centric cosmology, while the scholarly ideal was the mastery of the Chinese classics. Yet, there is no evidence of China-centered ideal maps in Japan, of visualizations of that ideological construct.²²

India-centered Buddhist world maps, though often revised and enlarged, were in continuous use until the mid-nineteenth century. Examination of such Buddhist maps readily shows how they strove to keep their original conception of the world consistent with their latest geographical information. Buddhist maps eventually disappeared, without ever achieving a paradigmatic conversion, overcome by the surging inflow of modern European information on world geography in the mid-nineteenth century.

It was only in the late seventeenth century that the real China and Japan appeared in Buddhist maps, and Europe in the early eighteenth century. The shape of the world also became similar to the actual world except for the disproportionately large Indian peninsula, and in the mid-eighteenth century, the size of the Indian peninsula started to be reduced in size, reflecting the influence of Matteo Ricci's world map. The Buddhist map of the world, composed by the priest Egon in 1845, presumably the last Buddhist oriented map of the world, added the American and Australian continents to his map, but could not abandon the idea of India as the center of the world.

It is worth adding that the European maps in the Ricci style had also been printed, together with the Buddhist style world map. After the final expulsion of the Portuguese in 1639, and the ban on foreign travel, Dutch maps were Japan's only source of new information on the latest cartographic conceptions of the world as it evolved in Europe after the seventeenth century.

II. Imagined Peoples

Japanese images of the peoples in the outer world had developed distinctively from their visualized image of the world. It is impossible to start our discussion without referring to the historical development of notions of imaginary peoples in ancient China.

Japan owes much to China in its consciousness. It was *Shan-hai ching* (The scriptures of mountains and seas) that first described the phases of this world and the varieties of different peoples who lived there. It is no exaggeration to say that East Asian ideas of alien peoples depend mostly on this book.

The *Shan-hai ching's* comprehensive descriptions of the various peoples and the countries they inhabited were absorbed into the China-centered map of the world and located, unsurprisingly, in conformity with the descriptions. Cartographies deriving from the *Shan-hai ching* later had a profound influence on Buddhist India-centered maps, in which the same names and countries also appeared. Even European style maps, copied by the Japanese after the sixteenth century, adopted the *Shan-hai ching's* peoples and countries, replicating them until the mid-nineteenth century.

This book, as noted, is the first Chinese book to describe the various countries of this world, and the peoples who inhabit them. Volumes six through nine (descriptions of the countries of within-the-seas, beyond-the-seas, and the bizarre-areas) include portrayals of different human beings, which will be introduced with the name of their countries.²³ It would be useful to add here that descriptions of the *Shan-hai ching* are succinct and clear, and must be understood as explanations of pictures. The portraits to be introduced here are from extensive notes of the *Scriptures of Mountains and Seas* (1667), the oldest extant illustrated text. The illustrations include 144 portraits, comprising 123 deformed or teratoid animals, birds and fishes, and 21 different human beings.²⁴ All these portraits could be said the inventory of the possible capacity of human imagination. The following list and their portraits in Fig. 5 are the 21 different human beings, which formed the basis of East Asian images of the various groups of humanity until the mid-nineteenth century.

- (1) The country of feathered people.
- (2) The country of rostral-headed people (who are also fledged and catch fish.)
- (3) The country of black, beast-bodied, fire-breathing people.
- (4) The country of people with a hole in their chests.
- (5) The county of the cross-legged people.

- (6) The country of the three-headed people.
- (7) The country of the long-armed people.
- (8) The country of the people with one head and three bodies.
- (9) The country of the people who has one elbow and three eyes, able to make long journeys by wind-cart.
- (10) The country of long-legged people.
- (11) The country of bowel-less people.
- (12) The country of one-eyed people
- (13) The country of one-armed and one-legged people.
- (14) The country of long-auricled people.
- (15) The country of fur-covered people.
- (16) The country of owlsh people.
- (17) The country of mermen.
- (18) The country of homuncular people.
- (19) The one-legged, one-bodied, one-eyed and one-nostril people.
- (20) The three-faced people.
- (21) The country of hoofed people.

It should be remembered that the 21 peoples are described by their physical features alone, which will be important in the concluding section. It is also interesting to note the following three additional imaginary creatures in this list with their portraits in Fig. 5, 22-24, and it might be exciting to compare them with the ancient Greek counterparts:

- (22) A winged horse with human head and tiger ride.
- (23) The headless person.
- (24) A fish with human face, hands and legs, and live in the sea.

The countries of the *Shan-hai ching* were popularized by being included in the *San-ts'ai t'u-hui* (Pictorial Book of Heaven, Earth and Human Beings), an illustrated encyclopedia in 106 volumes, compiled by Wang Chi in 1607. The encyclopedia devotes three volumes to introducing the different human beings who live in the outer world.²⁵ It records 176 countries including the 21 imaginary peoples and countries of the *Shan-hai ching*. *San ts'ai t'u-hui* adds at least twenty-three more images, one of which, "The country where the loud roar of sun set echoes," is particularly interesting:

This country is connected with the place where the sun sets, in the western region of this world, and every night the roar of sunset echoes like thunder. The king gathers his thousand vassals to the castle tower to play horns, gongs and drums, to drown out the roar of the sunset. If they did not, the shock of the loud roar would cause children to die.²⁶

It is one of the distinctive features of imaginary countries and peoples newly added by the *San-ts'ai t'u-hui* that they were identified by non-physical characteristics, such as the "immortal" people, the "amazon" or the "virtuous" people, etc. Forty-seven countries, at least, out of one-hundred seventy-six, are real countries scattered all around Asia and East Africa. This sharp increase in the number of real countries reflects the geographical knowledge of late-Ming China. (The exception is Europe, where the only country identified is Holland.)

We have now established the necessary background to return to the question of Japanese images of other human beings. *Wakan sansai zue* (A *San-ts'ai t'u-hui* for China and Japan), compiled by Terashima Ryoan in 1712, propagated new notions of the alien in eighteenth-century Japan. Closely patterned on Wang Chi's *San-ts'ai t'u-hui*, this 105 volume, illustrated encyclopedia covers a different topic in each chapter, with wide references and scrupulous indication of the sources. Subjects range from astronomy to tools, animals to geography, herbs to wine.

Wakan sansai zue includes entries on 180 foreign countries, including at least 26 imaginary countries (vols. 13, 14). Terashima clearly divided foreign countries into two categories: The total of 13 countries in vol. 13 are called *ikoku* (different countries; strange countries) which is defined as "countries where people use Chinese letters and can understand the Chinese classics." The 169 countries in vol. 14 are called *gai'i* (outer barbarians), which are defined as "the country where people write horizontally [in contrast to the Chinese vertical writing], can not understand Chinese letters and do not eat with chopsticks."²⁷

Terashima's wide-ranging references, including 16 reliable geographical works like *Ta-Ming I-t'ung-chih* (A geography of Great Ming and the other countries), on the world and its peoples, enriched his geographical knowledge, and his careful citation of sources made his descriptions seem reliable. These two volumes

primarily introduce real countries, but also include at least 26 imaginary countries, together with such European countries as Spain and Portugal. This encyclopedia enjoyed a wide audience, and formed a basic image of the world and peoples in Japanese imagination until the mid-nineteenth century.

This Japanese image of the world and its peoples was also spread through such media as textbooks and maps: *Tosho zôho kunmô zui* (Extended illustrated textbook, with superscription, 1695) includes such imaginary peoples as the long-armed people, long-legged people, etc. in vol. 4. These “peoples” are portrayed along with such real peoples as the Chinese, Koreans, and Dutch.

We should not forget the influence of the popular comic literature, which also contributed to popularize those images. Hiraga Gennai’s *Fûryû Shidôken den*, (The life of a Shidôken, a man of taste, 1763) is one from the genre, an account of Shidoken’s adventure traversing foreign countries, including the countries of giants, homunculi, long-legged people, people with a hole in their chests, and amazons.

It must have been nearly impossible, we must understand, for most people of Terashima’s or Gennai’s day to distinguish an imaginary country from a real one: Who could say, for example, that “Moshiri” is a real country, and Kogankoku is imaginary, from the following description:

“Moshiri: ... in this country, though there is a big river, [it rains so rarely that] some people in their seventies or eighties have never experienced rain. ...” “Kogankoku: ... the country where back-eyed people live. ...”²⁹

III. Imagined Peoples in Imagined Worlds

It is fascinating to note that the original picture of the varieties of imaginary countries from the *Shan-hai ching*, remained current in Japan until the mid-nineteenth century, largely because of the restricted contact with Europe between the 1630s and 1854.

It is the nature of things that China-centered world maps located the imagined countries as shown in Fig. 2. All of the listed imaginary countries in Fig. 2 also appear on the wheel-map of the world preserved in Korea.³⁰ It is of interest that those imaginary

peoples again appeared later both in Buddhist- and in Western-style maps of the world. Below, we will trace Japanese images of the other, rooted in these two different world maps.

Buddhist maps of the world, from the earliest extant version, by the Japanese map of 1364, showed no imaginary countries until the edition of the seventeenth century. The fusion of the original Chinese imaginary peoples of the *Shan-hai ching* and the Buddhist image of the world first appeared in a Chinese Buddhist map of 1577, and a 1709 Japanese Buddhist map. The former, the "World map of China and barbarians in all the four seas," depicted the long-legged people and the long-armed people in northern Japan, the homuncular people in the far south of Japan, the bowel-less people in the north of Europe and the hoofed people between Rome and Persia in the Chinese Buddhist-oriented map.³¹ In Japan, the Buddhist map of 1709 records the imaginary peoples together with European countries; the homuncular people are located next to Germany, the dark-midday country and the land of the three-headed people in the North Aea; the long-legged people and the long-armed people in Siberia. The locations of those imaginary countries and peoples are unsettled through the later maps: Hotan's "Buddhist map of the world" (1710) locates the country of tall persons in the north of Europe, the country of furred people to the south of Japan and the hoofed people in both regions.³² It is important to note that the last edition of this map was published in 1841, which means that the Buddhist image of the world, together with the other edition of the same maps, remained current in Japanese thinking until mid-nineteenth century.³³

The Western map of the world contains few imaginary countries; Matteo Ricci's map of the world (1602) describes only two such non-human countries, both in Siberia: the country of dogs and the country of demons. Julio Alleni, an Italian Jesuit missionary in China, refers to one-eyed people, homuncular people, and amazons, near the Black Sea, and the country of tall people in South America in his *Chih-fang wai-chu* (World atlas, 1632), which he wrote and published in Chinese, based on Ricci's conception of the world.

Western maps, brought directly from Europe by the Spanish and Portuguese, contained no imaginary countries, and the same is true

of the Dutch-made maps that were Japan's sole source of new European cartographical knowledge for the two centuries after 1639.

Many copies of these Western maps were made by the Japanese, among which Nishikawa Joken's works contributed to popularizing those exact images of foreign countries and peoples through such works as *Ka'i tsûshô kô* (Study of commercial intercourse with the Chinese and barbarians, Edo, 1708) and *Shijûnikoku jinbutsu zûsetsu* (Illustrated explanations of the peoples of forty-two countries, Edo, 1714). It must be pointed out that even Nishikawa could not refrain from putting two imaginary peoples (the homuncular and the giant) among the forty-two peoples; the remaining forty portraits were copied from illustrations in Western maps.

Nishikawa's works found such followers as, for example, *Gaiban yôbô zue* (Portraits of foreign peoples, Edo, 1714), Morishima Churyo's *Bankoku shinwa* (New tales of all the countries on earth, Edo, 1789) and Nagata Nankei's *Kaigai jinbutsu hen* (Overseas peoples, Edo, 1854) until the mid-nineteenth century. Reality, however, would soon become apparent from the inflow of Western cultures after the opening of the country in 1854. Yet it is of great interest that the two independent images of the world visualized in maps, Buddhist and Chinese, had coexisted for centuries.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, signs of international unrest appeared around Japan, which had enjoyed two centuries of international peace. The disturbance came in the form of visits of European and American ships to the waters off Japan and increasingly often forced landings on Japan's shores. The most symbolic event was the appearance of a flotilla of American ships commanded by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, which anchored in Edo Bay in 1853 with the mission of demanding that Japan open the country to Western trade. These foreign shocks ultimately awakened and raised Japanese interest toward foreign affairs. This interest was reflected as a matter of course in world maps, and a flood of new world maps began to be published. It should be remarked that most of them, following the European maps in Ricci style, contain the imaginary countries of ancient Chinese origin, and their portraits are boxed in the map after the model of the European maps, except for the Ricci style, which the

East Asian maps did not have so far. One typical map is shown as Fig. 6: "Map of the six continents."

The "Panoramic map of the world" in Fig. 7, made in the mid-nineteenth century, seems to be the ultimate fusion of all the images Japanese had up to this point: It is based on Ricci-style European maps, adopts portraits of all the imaginary peoples from *Wakan sansai zue* with their countries, depicts China, India and Holland on a large scale, and locates Japan in the center, with an enlarged Mt. Fuji and the sun.

The boom of interest in the outer world led the Japanese to publish a "Japanese picture backgammon of a voyage round the world" in 1868, which of course included the imaginary countries. It might be said that the Western map finally incorporated the imaginary countries and peoples of Chinese origin in mid-nineteenth century Japan, but such maps suddenly disappeared from the scene in the 1870s.

The wave of popular interest in Western learning was paralleled by an outpouring of serious scholarly works. Quite rapidly, popular maps were rendered outdated through the publication of exact world maps. The introduction of national compulsory school education in 1872 served to promote the diffusion of scientific knowledge of world geography. But we must remember that those popular maps formed a persistent Japanese image of this world, which survived in popular stories such as Kanagaki Robun's 1870 bestseller, *Seiyô dôchû hizakurige* (The Western world on shank's mare).

IV. Homo Subjectivus

We conclude this essay by returning to the problem posed at the outset: Why did the Japanese use the Japan-centered world map for centuries? Or we could restate this problem in a general form: What does the existence of a self-centered world map mean?³⁴

It seems to me that the original idea of the self-centered world map was the reflection of our mentality of justifying human beings as a "positive" existence by locating the imaginary peoples as a "negative" existence at the peripheries. This sustained a sense of

human superiority. The sense of superiority is reflected in the naming of those peoples (except the amazons) in terms of their physical features.

It is hard for us to have a sense of unity without positing the existence of "the other beings", or in other words, "the uncultured", "the barbarian", "shadow", "darkness" or "the outsider" etc. We need two coordinate values: Human beings produce a center and place themselves there by keeping the peripheries away; for without the existence of peripheries, the center loses its *raison d'être*.

The three types of world maps which we examined so far satisfy the human instinct of self-preservation. The China-centered world map, as compiled in early modern Korea, is a faithful visualization of the ancient Chinese conception of the world. It seems a typical example of "center and periphery". Those maps locate the imaginary countries and peoples at the peripheries, and then those countries are again surrounded by strange animals and spirits living in the bizarre areas.

It was an inevitable procedure for the Japanese to add the imaginary countries and peoples of ancient Chinese origin to their later prints of the India-centered Buddhist maps. Earlier Buddhist world maps described few peripheral peoples because of Buddhism's strong religious power for existence as the center, but the Japanese islands in the cruel eastern sea seemed a sort of peripheral country. The Japanese needed to locate Japan as a member of the center together with China, and they required other peripheral countries instead, which they found in the imaginary countries of Chinese origin in the early eighteenth century, even though the idea itself was already expressed in Japanese literature in the ninth century. In the Japanese world view, the world consisted of the three countries: India, China and Japan. European countries and the American continents were later added to the Buddhist world map, in the eighteenth century, but the Japanese managed to integrate them without losing consistency between the original view of the world and the changing information on the shape of this world. This development is interesting as a human mental behavior of persistent search for consistency on the eve of a "paradigm shift." The sudden disappearance of Buddhist world maps

in the mid-nineteenth century proclaims the termination of one human mentality: It no longer had any reason of existence without the center, because it became clear that Buddhist India had come to naught.

Japan's constant, favorable acceptance of Ricci-style world maps since the seventeenth century reflects their idea of "center and periphery." The same idea can be found in Western world maps from the medieval Hereford Cathedral map to the early modern world map which pictured strange fishes in their peripheral seas. The self-centered map is necessary for us to see the relation between our own center and the rest of the world. It is the primitive and the ultimate invention in both West and East, we could say, for human beings to reaffirm and justify their being. Without a point of view, we cannot see.

The map we are discussing should be called a "mental map," which, rooted in the very nature of human mentality, can not be replaced by a "scientific map:" Both of them are called "maps," but are quite different in nature. Modern cartography itself developed toward the making of a more accurate and objective map, which is nothing but the abstraction of a center from the map. The recent developments of map projection, in spite of their great contribution towards our objective understanding of this world, continue to cast aside our deep ontological needs.

It is the maps and portraits as visualized ideologies concerning human existence that we have been searching for. The very existence of "negative beings" at the periphery vitalizes our being as "positive." It was an inevitable consequence that the world map and the imaginary peoples produced: The linkage of the Western map and the imaginary peoples of ancient Chinese origin in nineteenth-century Japan was a quite natural and symbolic reaction of peoples whose identity was threatened by the invasion of the peripheries.

"Peripheries" in this sense will be found not only in geographical contexts but also in social ones. We could say that the former is now replaced by the cosmos where humanity now searches for new peripheries. The latter peripheries are being searched for among us. Human beings cannot exist without peripheries: We are *homo subjectivus* by nature.

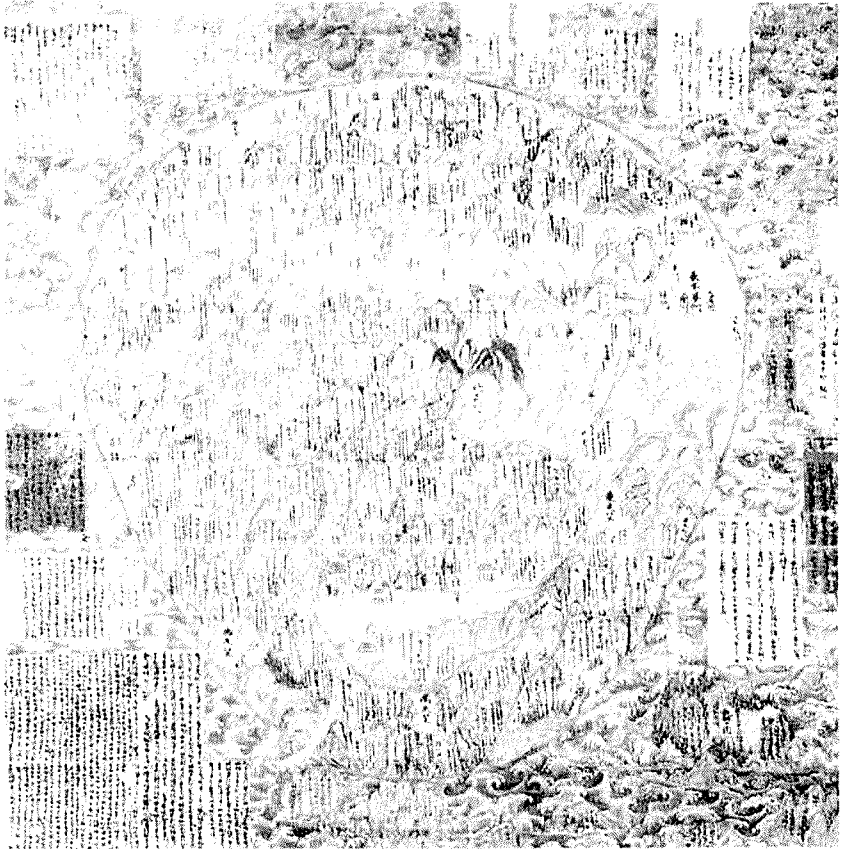
It seems to me that Kuo P'u (276-324) had already realized this when he said in his introduction to the *Shan-hai ching*: "The thing-in-itself has no abnormality. Therefore, anything unusual will appear after I myself see it. Abnormality belongs not to the thing-in-itself, but to myself."

[Fig. 1] A world map in a Japanese school atlas (Teikoku shoin, 1992)



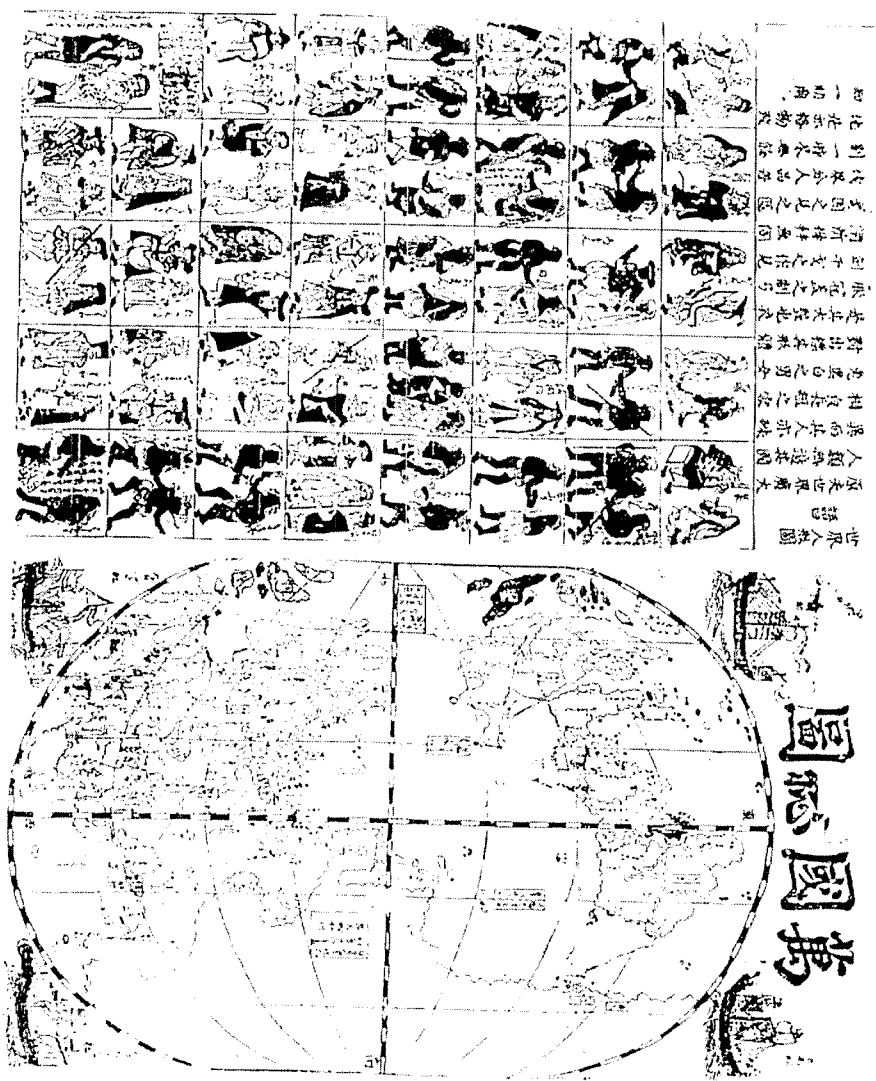


[Fig. 2] China-centered world map made by Korean in late Yi dynasty,
The Korean Library Science Research Institute (ed.), *Old Maps of Korca* (Seoul, 1977)



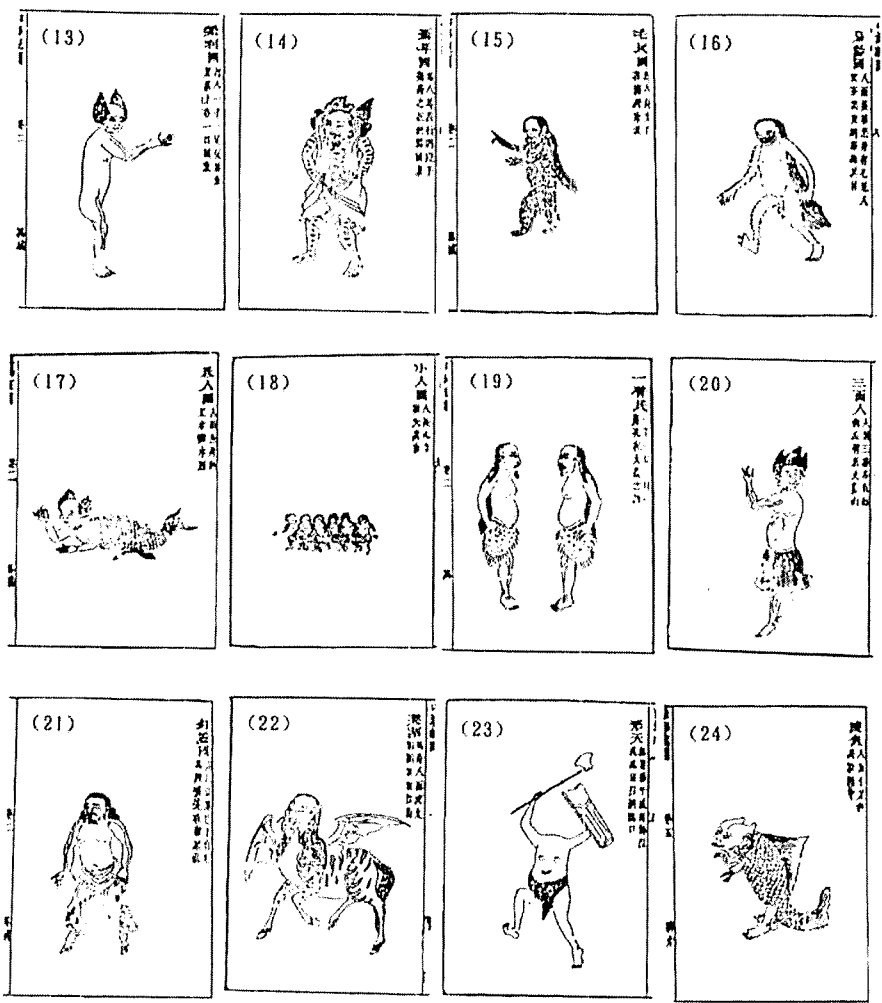
[Fig. 3] Gotenjikuzū (Buddhist Map of India) by Jukei 1364,
Horyūji Temple Japan. From T. Oda et al (ed.), *The World in Japanese Maps
until the Mid-19th Century* (Tokyo, 1975)

[Fig. 4] Map of the world and pictures of the various peoples (1652) (Kobe City Museum)



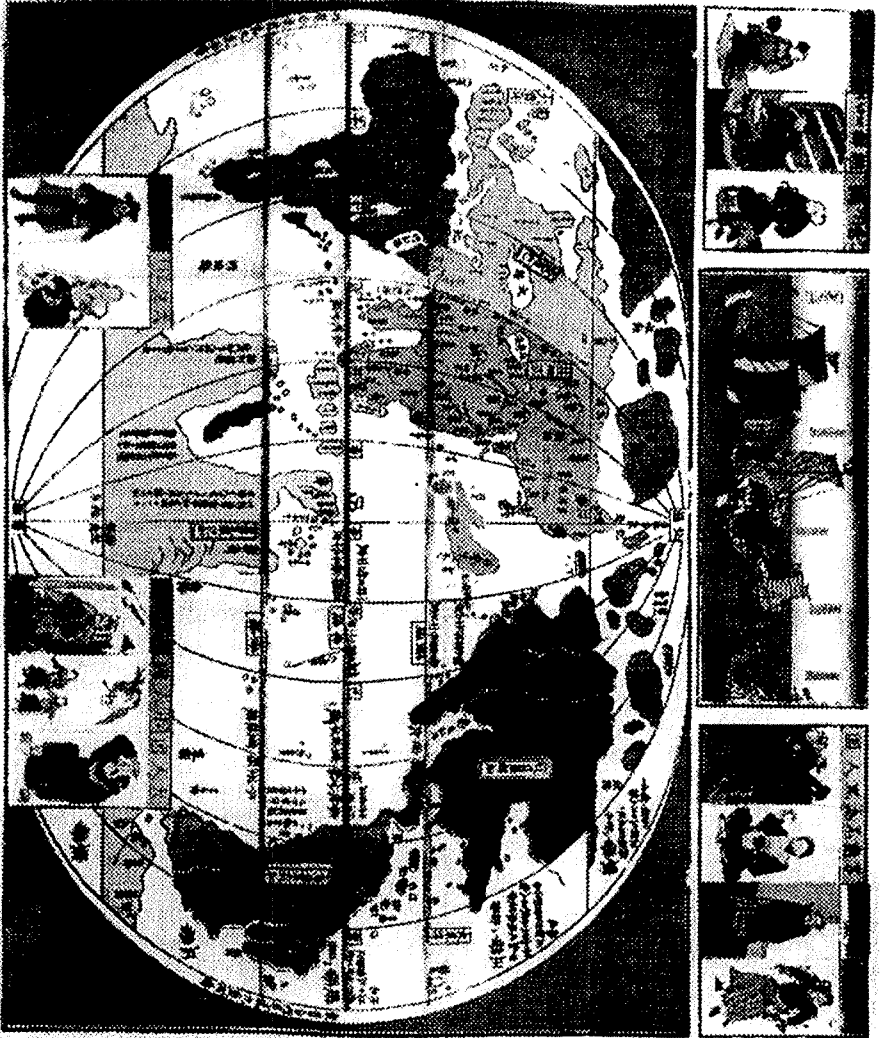


[Fig. 5] – 1 Portraits of 21 imaginary human beings and 3 imaginary creatures.
 Wu Jen-ch'en, *Shan-hai-ching kuang-chu* (1667)



[Fig. 5] - 2 continued

[Fig. 6] Sekai Rodudaishu (Map of six continents) from a mid-nineteenth century woodcut color print



世界六洲圖
 此圖係由西人繪成，其法以地球為圓，分作六洲，即亞細亞、歐羅巴、亞非利加、亞墨利加、南亞墨利加、及大洋洲。其間之經緯線，皆以度數表示之。此圖之製，實為世界地圖之始也。

[Fig. 7] Bankoku jinbutsu zue (Panoramic map of the world) from a mid-nineteenth century woodcut color print



Notes

1. It should be pointed out that a spherical globe will not solve the difficulty: Our power of cognition is not spherical, but flat. We are able to visualize the spherical body itself, but can not put together in our mind what is on the surface of the other side of the globe in one plain.
2. It may support the notion of the subjectivity of world maps that the Australians made an Australia-centered South-up world map.
3. This paper will not discuss the other world, but the different countries and peoples imagined by the Japanese before the late nineteenth century.
4. The Chinese name for China, *Chung-kuo*, as is well known, means "middle kingdom."
5. The Sino-centric order was neither universally accepted, nor uniformly effective. See, e.g., Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Diplomacy in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu*, Princeton, 1984, on Japanese alternative conceptions; Morris Rossabi (ed.), *China among Equals*, Berkeley, 1980, on Chinese foreign relations at the nadir of Chinese power.
6. *Shan-hai ching* is a book of unknown authorship, though tradition ascribes it to Po-i, a legendary Chinese sage. It is now believed to have been written c.500-300 B.C.
7. Unno Kazutaka, *Chizu no Shiwa*, Tokyo, 1985.
8. The Korean Library Science Research Institute (ed.), *Old Maps of Korea*, Seoul, 1977.
9. Hiroshi Nakamura "Old Chinese World Maps Preserved by the Koreans," *Imago Mundi*, IV (1947), pp. 3-22.
10. Kenneth Nebenzahl, *Maps of the Bible Lands*, London, 1986, p. 41.
11. Nobuo Muroga and Kazutaka Unno, "The Buddhist World Map in Japan," in: *Chirigakushi-kenkyu*, No. 1 (1957), p. 5. Sadakata Akira, *Shumisen to gokuraku*, Tokyo, 1973, pp. 10-28.
12. Five Indias means the division of the terrestrial world into five: the East, the West, the South, the North and the center.
13. See S. Beat, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated from the Chinese of Iliuen Tsiang*, 2 vols., London, 1884.
14. The change of wording from "Tenjiku" to "Indo" in Japanese occurred in the late nineteenth century and reveals the acquisition of exact geographical information.
15. Chung Huang (ed.), *T'u-shu-pien* (1577), vol. 29, pp. 50-51.
16. Ochi Toshiaki, "Echizu ni arawarela sekaizo," in: *Nihon no no shakishi*, vol. 7 (1987), pp. 299-338.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 320.
18. Funakoshi Akio, "'Konyo bankoku zenzu' to sakoku Nihon," in: *Toho gakuho*, 41 (1970), pp. 595-710.
19. See the Chinese school textbook *World Geography*, Peking, 1984.
20. See the Korean school textbook *National Geography* (Japanese edition), Tokyo, 1980.
21. Muroga Nobuo, *Kochizu sho*, Tokyo, 1983, pp. 14-18.
22. There is considerable debate as to whether Neoconfucianism constituted an (or "the") "official ideology" in early-modern Japan, enjoying the sponsorship of the

- State. This long-accepted position has recently been challenged by Hori Isao, Hayashi Razan, Tokyo, 1983, and Herman Ooms, Tokugawa Ideology, Princeton, 1984.
23. *Shan-hai jing* does not distinguish peoples from countries: both of them are used synonymously.
 24. The 21 imaginary human beings are selected following the principle that most of the succeeding works of *Shan-hai ching* depict the 21 imaginary creatures as the other human beings. Another common feature is that those 21 peoples are called by the names of their countries, except for 19 and 20. It is not easy to distinguish the human beings out of the 144 portraits. The portrait of the headless person might be listed as a member of humanity, but the idea was not accepted by the later works.
 25. We must withhold judgment on whether or not the portraits of *Shan-hai ching* were the model of *San-ts'ai t'u-hui*. Wang Chi's explanation follows entirely that of *Shan-hai ching*.
 26. Wang Chi, *San-ts'ai tu-hui* (1607), vol. 12, p. 21.
 27. Terashima Ryoan, "Wakan sansai zue," in: I. Shimada et al. (eds.), *Heibousha*, Tokyo, 1986, vol. 3, p. 281.
 28. Moshiri (Ch. Wu-sa-li) is specified as Mosul in Iraq in the latest edition. *Ibid.*, 322.
 29. *Ibid.*, p. 368.
 30. The Korean Library Science Research Institute (ed.), *Old Maps of Korea*, Seoul, 1977, pp. 191-196.
 31. This map was the last Buddhist map in China which I researched. See Chung Huang (ed.), *T'u-shu-pien* (1577), vol. 29, pp. 50-51.
 32. Oda et al. (ed.), *Nihon kochizu taisei: sekaizu hen* (The World in Japanese Maps until the mid-19th century), Tokyo, 1975, "Explanatory notes." This is the latest collection of Japanese world maps.
 33. Oda Takeo, *Chizu no rekishi*, Tokyo, 1974, p. 34.
 34. On the very existence of a "Japan-centered world order" in East Asian international relations in the early modern period, see Ronald Toby, "Contesting the Centre: International Sources of Japanese National Identity," in: *The International History Review*, vol. vii, no. 3 (1985), pp. 347-363.