

## **First Western Contacts**

For long Gregorio de Céspedes (1550-1611) was believed to be the first westerner to visit Korea (*Ledyard, the Dutch come to Korea*, page 102-103), though he wrote no account of the country. He actually did visit Korea -- he arrived on December 27, 1593 in Korea, invited by the Christian 'daimyo' Konishi Yukinaga (alias Augustin Arimandono), one of the three leading generals of the Japanese invasion army. Céspedes was a Jesuit. (*Gompertz, G.St.G.M. "Some Notes on the Earliest Western Contacts with Korea." Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 33 (1957): 41-54*). He stayed until April 1594 in Korea. It was reported by a letter of Father Luís Fróis (1532-1597) that around 300.000 Korean prisoners of war -- mostly "slaves" it seems -- were brought to Nagasaki as converted Christians. In Francesco Carletti's 'Discourses' we find that Carletti in 1597 bought 5 of them, according to him, for ridiculously low prizes:

*"The country of Korea is said to be divided into nine provinces, the names of which Cioseien, which is the capital province and gives it's name to the city in which the King resides, Quienqui, Conguan, Honliay, Cioala, Hienfion, Tioneion, Hanquien, Pianchien. From these provinces, but particularly from those nearest to the coast, had been brought as slaves a large number of men and women of all ages, among them some quite pretty children. These were all being sold indifferently at a very cheap price, and I bought as many as five for a litle more than twelve scudi."*

One of Carletti's converted Korean pupils later went together with Carletti to Holland and later to Rome, Italy and lived there -- the first Korean to visit Europe -- his name was Antonio Correa (1578?-1626). In the 1610s the Vatican send him to Manchuria to reenter Korea as a missionary, but he wasn't successful.. He seemingly married an Italian girl! -- his grandgrandgrand....daughter visited Korea in the late 1980s. At least that's what the people in Albi, Italy thought, however a chromosome test proved that they had no Korean blood. However, Céspedes wasn't the first westerner to enter Korea. This was a man to which Korean sources refer to as "Pingni" or "Mari," who landed together with some Chinese on Cheju-do in spring of 1582. He was immediately deported to China.

## **Dutch and English commercial attempts prior to Hamel**

In the late 16th century, foreign trade in Korea was virtually non-existent. There were only two places that trade was conducted: At Wiju, a small village in the northwestern part of Korea along the Chinese border from which the Chinese conducted their trade, and at Pusan, where the Japanese conducted theirs.

The Japanese were restricted to their conclave, any attempts to trade outside of the conclave was punished with death. Trade was conducted with the representatives of the Daimyo of Tsushima Island, and only so many ships were allowed to come per year.

The Daimyo of Tsushima Island, profited from the revenues of the monopoly that he held.

*"... the keeping of the junks.. on [costs of the] state ... by the Lord of Tsussima (with licenses or passes of the emperor and exercising the trade on Corea with certain number of junks) has now already for some years the previously mentioned passes, both from the Keijser to the Coreesen as from the High [and mighty] in Corea to the Keijser, to keep up and to write others, according to his pleasure and most profit"*  
**(Missive Chief Couckebacker, Edo April 23, 1635).**

The Portuguese were the first to have maintained commercial relations with the Far East. Their galliots (spelling?) and navettes had sailed the waters of the Far East long before the other Europeans and had arrived in Japan in 1542. The Dutch and English were both eager to claim at least part of the monopoly that the Portuguese had and began looking for methods to do so.

It was with the coming of a Dutchman named Dirck Gerritszoon Pomp, nicknamed [ Dirck China] that the Dutch first became aware of Korea. Dirck was in the service of the Portuguese and went to sea in 1584 aboard the Portuguese ship [ Santa Cruz] . This ship was heavily laden with merchandise and sailed via the trading post Goa, India to Macao, and from there to Japan. He arrived at Nagasaki in 1585 and was probably the first Dutchman to set foot on Japanese soil. (Willem van Gulik, *Nederlanders in Nagasaki 1998*, publisher Terro Incognita Amsterdam) Dirck gave oral information to Jan van Linschoten, who took this information, and information that he gained from Portuguese seafarers and missionaries and conveyed them in his Itinerary (1595):

*"From this corner off, so stretches the coast [from Japan] again to the north, recedes after that inward, northwest ward, to which Coast coming those of Japan traffic with the People of those parts, which one calls Cooray, and one has there Harbors and inlets, have a harness of small and not tight woven work, which the Japanese come to trade there, of which I have good, wide and truthful information, as well of the Navigation to this Land, from the Pilots, who have inquired into it and sailed there, as follows, From this corner from the bight of Nanquin, 20 mijlen southeastward on, are located several Islands on the end, of which, to know on the eastside lies a very big and high island inhabited by many people, by foot and on horseback. These Islands were called by the Portuguese As Ylhas de Core, or the Islands of Core: but the previously described big Island is called Chausien, has from the northwest a small inlet, having an Islet in the mouth, which is a harbor: but has little depth, here has the Lord of the country his residency: from this Island on, 25 mijlen southeast on, lies the Island of Gotô, one of the Islands of Iapon, which lies from the corner of the bight of Nancquin of, east to north seaward 60 mijls to go or a little more."* **(Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, *Reys-Gheschrift van de Navigatien der Portugaloyers in Orienten etc. [1595], page 70).***

This will have been the first message that the merchants and the ship owners in Holland have heard about the realm Korea. After the ship "de Liefde" drifted ashore in Japan on April 19, 1600, developments went fast and in vain both the Dutch and the English have tried to draw that trade to themselves, or at least get a part of it.

As a result of the decision of "*the Broad Counsels having gathered on the ship the Rooden Leeuw met pijlen, lying in the harbor of Firando*" Jacques Specx acted on September 20, 1609 as Chief and Chief Merchant. (**De Jonge, De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in O. I. Vol. III, page 300; and Van Dijk, Iets over onze vroegste betrekkingen met Japan, 1858, page 29.**) ("Firando = Hirado. In West Japan, H before i is pronounced F, and e is inserted before d." (**The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1900, page 78, note 4**),

*"Our trade there is still young compared in regard to the Portuguese, Japan having frequented over 100 years"* (**Patr. Miss, August 31, 1643**).

Jacques Specx moved very fast and in March 1610, sent one of his assistants to Tsushima Island with a cargo of peppers to be traded to Korea, but he met with failure:

*"... with the Chinese in Nangasack and those of Corea not were bought"*  
Hirado December 3, 1634. (**Opperhoofd Couckebacker to the Governor of Taiwan, Putmans**).

Later however, there seems to have been a market for peppers:

*"At our returne to the English house [at Hirado], I found three or four Flemmings there; one of them was in a Iapan habit, and came from a place called Cushma [Tsushima], within sight of Corea. I understand they sold Pepper and other Commodities there, and I thinke haue some secret trade into Corea, or else are very likely to haue "* (**The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, page 170**),

*"Pepper was sold there [Japan] for 15 and 16 tael per picol; these were partly sold in Japan, partly transported to Corea"* (**Gen, Miss. February 3, 1626**).

Specx would might have had a better market for tin, if he had carried it:

*"Nangasacki November 3, 1610. Tin is bought much in Corea, that's why [it] is much retained here, I have requested if it were possible if we could do some trade on Corea here from Japan; for this purpose I have sent on March lastly with 20 picol pepper to the island Tuxcijma being around 30 mijlen from here, who [=where they], with those of Corea, which is still another 25 mijlen from there, trade and make their journey 3 to 4 times a year hither, however previously mentioned is because of the strict laws found to be impossible, that the Governor of previously mentioned island wouldn't consent, since it would do him damage, then*

*will previously mentioned had not taken place, have further requested since a big profit can be made, so with silk work, leather, medicine and other things which can be brought there" (To Heeren XVII; unsigned but probably from Speex. Also in translation in Nachod, Die Beziehungen etc. Enclosures 8, page XXIII).*

However it is unlikely that he would have had much better luck. There were "*the strict laws of the country*" not to mention the Daimyo of Tsushima's own self-interest that would have prevented the desired trade. Prince Maurits, in a letter to "*the great mightiest Emperor and King of Japan*" dated December 18, 1610, appealed to him to assist him in his request for trade with Korea:

*" Furthermore my subjects are willing to visit and trade sincerely all countries and places, I thus request Your Imperial Majesty that the same trade on Corea may favor Your Majesty's help, so that at the right time, we can sail also the north coast of Japan, thereto my particular friendship will happen" (December 18, 1610), (Van Dijk, Iets over onze vroegste betrekkingen met Japan, page 38).*

According to a later English report, it does appear that the Dutch were able to open a "small entrance into Corea", but it does not appear to have ever amounted to much.

*"The Flemynges... have som small entrance already into Corea, per way of an iland called Tushma, which standeth within sight of Corea and is frend to the Emperor of Japan" (30 November 1613). (Diary of Richard Cocks (Correspondence) II, page 258)*

The English didn't fare any better off than the Dutch. They were met with suspicion and jealousy; the Korean market being kept from them.

*"I make noe doubt but your seruant Edward Sares is by this tyme in Corea, for from Tushina I appoynted him to goe thither, beinge encouraged by the Chineses that our broad cloath was in greater request ther than hear. It is but 50 leagues ouer from Iapann and from Tushina much less" (October 17, 1614). (The voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, page 210).*

*"We cannot per any meanes get trade as yet from Tushma into Corea, nether have them of Tushma any other privelege but to enter into one little towne (or fortresse), and in paine of death not to goe without the walles thereof to the landward" (November 25, 1614). (Diary of Richard Cocks II, page 270).*

*"Sayer is out of hope of any good to be done there [Tsushima] or at Corea" (Hirado 9 March 1614). (Letters written by the English Residents in Japan, page 130).*

*"Ambassadors from the King of Corea to the Emperor of Japan were attended by about 500 men and were royally entertained by the Emperor's command, by all the Tonos or Kings of Japan through whose territories they passed, and at the public charge... Endeavoured to gain speech with the Ambassadors, but was unsuccessful, the King of Tushima (Tushima) the cause, he fearing that the English might procure trade if Cocks got acquainted with the ambassadors"* (Hirado 15 Feb., 1618)  
**(Letters written by the English Residents in Japan, page 222).**

## **The fear for Korea**

For the V.O.C. it had to be hard to digest that the monopoly of the trade with a country like Korea, was in other hands than hers, and she was intended to change this. The "*discovery of Corea*" was initially not to take place by lack of suitable ships and the idea will later have been abandoned because of the gained knowledge about the hostility of the population. (See **Missives Commander Cornelis Reijersen on September 10, 1622, November 20, 1622 and March 5, 1623, as well as the Missive of the Government Batavia to Reijersen on April 2, 1624; and Gen, Miss, on September 6, 1622 and June 20, 1623.**)

More of this would have gotten through to us if the journals had been saved of the ships that have been sailing in the seventeenth century between Taiwan and Japan. The hostile position and the firm action of the Korean coastguard when the ship "*de Hond*" in 1622 sailed into de waters of Korea produced the following notice:

*"Camps advises us that the Hondt, returning back from the bight of Spirito Sancto to Japan, had fallen on Corea and was jumped upon by the 36 war junks which the Coreers keep there for the liberation of her coast and furiously fought with cannons, firelocks, bows and numerous wooden lances, however without damage, after that manly have fought against the Coreers, be prepared that the ships or jaghts, which are send that way, to warn them and order them to be alert for such encounters and this or similar people not to expect too much good".* (**Missive Reg. Batavia to Reijersen April 3, 1623 Compare also: Instruction Martinus Sonck June 11, 1624 and Gen. Miss. June 20, 1623**). (The advise to Camps was not found in the Col. Arch.).

This must have worked frightening since the crew of the flute the "*Patientie*" certainly wasn't treated friendly there in 1648. De V.O.C. will have abandoned the idea to expose her ships for these doubtful profits. In 1637 the following question about the chances of a journey to Korea was asked to the chief of Hirado:

*"We understand from your honorable letters how the envoy of Corea passed through Firando with a retinue of 500 servants to Jedo to do the reverence for the Keijser. We had well wished that was written to us what [they] conducted there or [what they] requested. Also with what [kind of] presents they appeared before the Majesty; occurred occasion*

*would be desirable to research by your honorable the location of that country, with whom [they] correspond, what trade [is] conducted there, if [they] also allow foreigners and what commodities [they] spend, if there are also gold or silver mines and the like. We have understood here that the same wealthy islands have especially silk, which we certainly consider your honorable can best learn there.. besides a description of the location and the peculiarities of abovementioned Corea with which the Compagnies service is promoted" (Missive Batavia to Hirado, June 25, 1637).*

The answer to this was so discouraging that the Batavian Government couldn't bring up the enthusiasm to risk such an adventure. What this Chief then wrote about "*the location of Corea*" was:

*"... Concerning the location of the country of Corea we could learn nowadays nothing else as your honorable from accompanying notice or notes please will have in mind..." (Missive Hirado to Batavia, November 20, 1637).*

*"Understood also from the mouth of previously mentioned, Daniel [Reijniers, who remained with three trumpet players behind in Edo]... that last January 4, that the Coreesche envoys, being two principal Lords with their retinue being accompanied within the Imperial city Jedo by excellent Japanese nobility, were arrived and in the following way to their lodging house: First etc." (Witsen 2nd edition I, page 48).*

*"[With] what reason the envoys of Corea have arrived; have done with the State Counsels, what gifts have presented to the Majesty and finally her release have received, was in large inserted in the daily registers, where we have seen that for the Compagnie, in that land as much as is revealed, not to be retrieved." (Missive Batavia to Hirado, June 26, 1638).*

Obviously he had heard this from the Japanese and from Koreans living in Japan; the first message is, as far as can be seen, the oldest paper about Korea what can be found in the archives of the V.O.C. and therefore certainly worth more study. From the following it appears that in the end of the 16th century Korea was not known yet in Holland:

*"A little above Iapon on 34. and 35. degrees, not far from the Coast of China, lies another big Island, named Insula de Core, of which till now, not yet any document is nor about the size nor what kind of goods there are." (J. H. van Linschoten, Itinerario etc. page 37).*

The, on July 7, 1639 to Commander Quast given order to "*discover the country Corea*" has given no result either.

".... at north to turn [to] Japan, the coast of Tartarien, China as well to discover the country Corea and to understand what profitable traffic about that can be obtained for the General Compagnie...." (**Instruction Quast July 7, 1639**).

## **New hope after Hamel's return**

At the arrival of the first seven castaways of the "**Sperwer**" in Holland, they gave such a favorable impression of the prospects of the trade with Korea, that the *Heeren XVII* thought that they had to focus the attention of the government in Batavia to that. The information of the same castaways, which they had given one year before, had made a completely different impression on the General Governor and the Counsels of the Indies. In such that they couldn't have high expectations of the profits to be gained there, with an enterprise as was suggested. The rulers in China and Japan wouldn't have welcomed this. This could have been a dangerous and risky enterprise for the V.O.C. Would the castaways have been influenced in Holland by "*the call of the East*"? Would the memories of the distress and the discomfort which had been their share in this faraway country, already been forgotten? Or would the desire for their women and children who have been left behind in Korea, have been that strong that they judged too favorable about the prospects of a journey to Korea, for which they were eager to sign in?

"With the eight Dutchmen mentioned before, pretending [=saying] that on Corea for the Compagnie a favorable merchandize could be traded in such goods as we generally bring to Japan, is afterwards found not to be said this broad...." (**Van Dam, Beschrijvinge, etc. Book 2, volume 1, caput 21, f 324**).

A disappointment was spared for both them and the V.O.C.; based on the advise of her representatives in Japan, the government in Batavia advised against the adventurous journey and obviously the *Heeren XVII* reconciled with their opinion. The idea for trading with Korea seems to have been abandoned altogether.

"Concerning Corea, there from the Japanders their big need of merchandize getting, is there for the Compagnie nothing to do, as a result that Island under the contribution standing of China and of Japan; those sovereigns don't want to admit any other Traders, except that one, according to the order of Japan are not to trade anywhere else outside Nangasackij" (**Van Dam, Beschrijvinge, etc, Book 2, volume 1, caput 21, fol. 428**).

"By Dutch seafarers the Coasts of Korai stayed unvisited from now on" (**Von Siebold Nippon, VII, page 27**).

The jaght *Corea*, was build in 1669 for the Chamber of Zeeland (**Van Dam, Beschrijvinge, Book 1, volume 1, caput 17, fol. 343**). On May 20, 1669 it ran for the open sea (**Patr. Miss. August 25, 1669**), and arrived in Batavia on December 10, 1669 (**Kol. Arch. number 1159**); it was considered to be so unsuitable on Onrust in 1679, so

it was decided to sell it to the highest bidder (**Res. November 11 and December 2, 1679**). If the plans would have been carried out, then this jaght was probably destined to bring the salvaged seven back to Korea voluntarily. The country which they fled with such great peril shortly before.

## Cartography by Western Countries

It took a long time before the region around Korea was "decently" mapped, both in position and in shape. Since the middle-ages Japan was depicted as Chipangu or Zipangu. The Portuguese reached Japan in 1542. Till in 1641 all foreigners, except the Dutch, had to leave the country, missionaries offered most of the cartographic information about the country. The data from the Jesuits was accordingly revised by the official Portuguese cartographers, like Fernao Vaz Dourado (1520 - c. 1580). Korea however was depicted as a kind of circle. We find this shape on several maps thereafter. He gave Japan the shape of the back of a tortoise, like it was depicted already in the second half of the sixteenth century. The changes went so fast that in the same period several anachronisms coexisted. On the small world maps and the maps of Asia the 16th century shape is still to be seen, while in Jan Huygen van Linschoten's Itinerary of 1595 Japan can be seen in the traditional shape of Vaz Dourado. Korea however he depicted as a kind of circle. We will call this shape, which is not used by van Linschoten, the Vaz Dourado type. The one used by van Linschoten will be called the Linschoten type. To recognize his map one has to realize that the east is up on this map. Fernao Vaz Dourado is called "one of the foremost of all cartographers." Six of his manuscript atlases survived, dated from 1568 to 1580. He worked mostly in Goa, India. Born around 1520 probably in India, he died probably in or shortly after 1580. During 1568-71 he made maps of the Indies including a World Map and from 1568-80 he published a Sea Atlas.

## Van Linschoten

Initially the ships from the Dutch provinces of Holland and Zeeland imported spices and other oriental goods from Portugal. But when this country was occupied in 1580 by the Spanish, this was, due to the Dutch 80-year independence war against Spain, impossible. Dutch ships harbored in Portuguese ports were repeatedly confiscated by the Spanish. The Dutch were forced to acquire these products directly from the East. The problem was how to find the right route. In order to find out, Jan Huygen van Linschoten sailed on a Portuguese vessel to the Indies. Once returned to his hometown Enkhuizen, he wrote and published two books in which he revealed his findings: "**Reisgheschrift van de Navigatien der Portugaloyers in Orienten**" (1595) ( Travel document of the navigation of the Portuguese to the Orient ) and "**Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert van J.H. van Linschoten naar Oost ofte Portugaels Indien**" (1596) (Itinerary of the voyage by ship from J.H. van Linschoten to the East or the Portuguese Indies ).

Jan Huygen van Linschoten lived since 1579 as a merchant in Spain and from 1583-1598 as secretary from the Portuguese archbishop in Goa. There he succeeded with the help of Dirck Gerritszoon Pomp, nicknamed "Dirck China " to retrieve the secret sail instructions, with the help of which the Portuguese ships sailed there from harbor to harbor. Pomp, a Hollander, also in the service of the Portuguese, went to sea in 1584 aboard the Portuguese vessel "Santa Cruz". The ship was richly laden with merchandise and had sailed by way of the trade-settlement in Goa, India, to Macao in China and from there to Japan. He arrived in Nagasaki in 1585, perhaps the first Hollander to set foot on Japanese soil. Dirck gave oral information to Jan van Linschoten. We can find his texts earlier in this paper.

The Flanders-born theologian Petrus Plancius, whose original name was Pieter Platvoet (Peter Flatfoot ) published in 1592 an atlas under the title: **Nova et exacta terrarum Tabula geographica and hydrographica** (New and exact geographical and nautical maps). In this we find not yet any of the data van Linschoten obtained. Plancius is considered to be a useful amateur.

Skippers stayed away from the coast of Korea, the Portuguese, the English and Dutch have had several encounters with the Koreans. We would have known more about this if the journals of the ships sailing to Japan had survived the ages. The hostile attitude and the forceful actions of the Korean coastguard, were reported when the Dutch ship "de Hond" in 1622 sailed accidentally into the waters of Korea. Accordingly we can read: *"Immediately the ship was attacked, by not less than 36 war-junks, who shelled de Hond with 'bassen, roers, boogen ende ontalrijcke hasegajen'* (cannons, firelocks, bows and numerous wooden lances)". So all the skippers received a sail order to avoid the coast of Korea.

It's interesting to know that Koreans themselves depict Korea also as an "almost" island, with one mountain connecting Korea to the mainland. The two rivers (the Yalu and the Tumen) flowing from that mountain (Mount Peaktu), were drawn that wide that the shape of the early Western maps were more or less in concordance with the image the Koreans themselves had of their country.

## **Ortelius and Texeira.**

Ludovico (Luís) Texeiro came from a family which was for some generations busy as cartographers. At least we know that two portolans of the Atlantic (1525 -1528) were from his father Pero Fernadez. The first mentioning of Luís was found when he was examined by the royal chief cartographer Pedro Nunez (1492 - 1577). In 1596 he received a patent to make maps and navigation instruments for the royal fleet. All in all there are 15 known maps from the hand of Luís Texeira. He did pioneering work with the cartography of the Azores and in 1575 was in Brazil, neither his birthdate nor death are known.

He had intensive contacts with the mapmakers in Holland, amongst others Jodocus Hondius, Lucas Jansz. Wagenaar and Joannes von Deutecom. He was already in touch with Ortelius since 1582. Their first mutual work was a map of the main island of the

Azores, Terceira. For one or the other reason this map was issued as a single map and not in the Theatrum.

With a letter dated at February 2, 1592 Texeira sent to Ortelius "*dos piasas de las descriptiones de la China y del Japan.*" Ortelius had asked for these maps in a previous letter, which has not been found. At the same time he promised a map of Brazil, but only the map of Japan and Korea was used for the Theatrum since 1595. The resources of Texeira are probably based on the work of Jesuits, but, unless new documents show up, we will never know for sure.

Ortelius made this map and gave it the title **Iaponia Insulae Descriptio**. The map is the first reasonably accurate and recognizable European depiction of Japan and was to remain the standard for more than half a century. Little was known of this mythical and remote island. Korea is shown as an island on the same map and even less was known about it. We will call this shape, the long upside down cone: the Teixeira type. This map has three decorative ships and two cartouches, one with the title and one with the distance scale.

The example of Ortelius was followed quite some while and the Teixeira type can be seen on all the maps of the beginning of the 17th century.

Natalius Metellus (1520 - 1597) **Iaponica Regnum** in: Giovanni Botero: Theatrum..., 1596 Cologne. Giovanni Botero's work was first published in Rome (**Delle Relationi Universali**) in the second edition, which was published in many languages, contained a description of the most important kingdoms of the world. For the German edition the, under a Latin name working, Frenchman Jean Matal, added the example in the Theatrum of Ortelius, whom he knew personally. His map is the earliest known copy of the Ortelius map, which was published only one year earlier.

## Jodocus Hondius

But also another Dutch cartographer Jodocus Hondius shows Korea in 1606 in the same way as Ortelius. Mercator's heirs sold the copperplates by auction in Leiden in 1604. Jodocus Hondius probably bought the copperplates of Mercator's Atlas and Ptolemy's Geographica in a private transaction before this auction. He used them to publish a reissue of the Ptolemy's Geographica in 1605 and a new enlarged edition of the Atlas in 1606. Hondius shows clearly that Mercator's Atlas was an unfinished work. He was the one who had finally made a complete Atlas of it. Several atlases were made and when Hondius died in 1612, his heirs continued his work. For 25 years after the publication of the first Mercator Hondius atlas the firms of the Hondius-Janssonius cartel were able to profit from their monopoly in the atlas field. Therefore there were no new developments since there were no competitors.

Another example of this type is the map by John Speed. The cartouche says: "*A newe mape of Tartary, augmented by John Speede and are to be sold in Popshead Alley by George Humble. Anno 1626*" (40cm x 51cm). Speed was one of the few English cartographers who produced maps as well as a famous atlas.

Another curious example is the map of Barbuda. The curious thing about this map is that it shows Korea as an island, and combining elements of Barbuda's map of China and Teixeira's map of Japan (both published earlier by Ortelius). Amongst the decorative features a sea monster, deer on the North American coast, Dutch and Japanese ships, and a Chinese wind-blown land-vehicle can be seen. A scene in a panel on the right shows an ancient Japanese torturing technique. [crucifixion of Christians]

Jodocus Hondius d.J. (1594 -1629) **Asiae Nova descriptio Auctore Jodoco Hondio** from: Hondius, **Gerardi Mercatoris Atlas Sive Cosmographicae** ....., Amsterdam 1623. After the death of Jodocus Hondius, the by Mercator based Atlas, was re-published. The Jodocus Hondio Asia map comes in fact from Henricus elder brother Jodocus d.J. This is also a Teixeira type:

Also the John Speed's map of 1626 has the same design. *"The cartouche bears the following text: The Kingdom of China, newly augmented by I.S. [John Speede], 1626. Are to be sold in Popshead Alley by G. Humble."* (42.5cm x 52.5cm) ( 128)

Some manuscripts however survived and are worth mentioning because of their remarkable shapes of Korea.

The Italian Jesuit Giralamo de Angelis was the first missionary to go up north. He was the first European to set foot on Ezo (Hokkaido). After the second trip he became a victim of the purge of the Christians and was burnt on the stake in 1623 in Ezo. On the map he describes his trip and shows a remarkable shape of Korea.

The manuscript of Isaac de Graaf, 17th century shows these discoveries. Since this type of map never made it to the official mapmakers, we can only describe it as peculiar.

## **Willem Jansz. Blaeu.**

Around 1630 a new atlas publisher appeared on the scene; Willem Jansz. Blaeu. With him a new trend in the Amsterdam atlas production began, characterized by competition and increase in the number of maps. The history of the successive publications is extremely complicated and falls beyond the scope of this presentation. Suffice to say that the quality of the maps grew thanks to the increase of the competition.

The oldest son of Hondius, Jodocus jr., had taken over the production of atlases and the management was taken over by younger brother Henricus, in about 1620. The relation between the two brothers was obviously not good, since the eldest conceived the plan of bringing a new atlas onto the market by himself. He had around 40 new maps engraved in copper for the purpose, but died before he could execute his plan. One way or the other, Willem Jansz Blaeu laid hand on the copper plates of Jodocus before his brother Henricus and his brother in law Johannes Janssonius could.

Blaeu entered the atlas market and became a competitor. Blaeu produced a new map and called his new atlas: **Alantis Appendix, sive pars altera** (Supplement to the Atlas). The word Atlas referring to that of Mercator.

Willem Janz. Blaeu (1571 - 1638) *Asia Noviter Delineata*. From **Novus Atlas**. Amsterdam 1635. Since the second decade in the 17th century Willem Jansz. added the surname Blaeu to be distinguished from Jan Jansz. (Janssonius). He added the characteristics of Hondius work: the pictures of people and views of cities. Korea is shown as Texeira.

After that the situation becomes complicated, since Henricus and Johannes wanted to publish a supplementary atlas as soon as possible. In March 1630 they gave the order to replace the missing plates. The new ones were true copies of the originals, since they were made by the same engravers.

The result of all this competition was that Blaeu produced a two-volume atlas (around 210 maps) in four languages, Hondius and Janssonius made an atlas in three volumes with around 320 maps (1638) Willem Jansz. Blaeu died in 1638 and his son Joan Blaeu succeeded him.

We can see on the map from Willem and Joan Blaeu's **China Veteribus Sinarum**, an image of Korea. It was printed in 1640 in Amsterdam. Below it we can see the same image in Johannus Janssonius' **Nova et Accurata Iaponiae**, of which the first edition was printed in 1652. This one is from the 1657 edition, both printed in Amsterdam. It was a sea chart which was based on Maarten Gerritszn Vries who in 1643 headed the first European expedition. The weather was bad which explain the many mistakes but we can see that the shape of Korea was the same as in Blaeu, yet we will call this the Janssonius type, because of above mentioned reasons.

Joan decided to shunt off the head start which Janssonius enjoyed with his **Novus atlas absolutissimus** from 1658. Joan Blaeu's **Atlas Maior sive Cosmographia Blaviana**, published in 1662, was the most prestigious book and the "greatest and finest atlas ever published". In these series of atlases he also produced the **Novus Atlas Sinensis** by Martinus Martini, published by Joan Blaeu in Amsterdam around 1655. In which we find a map of Korea.

On the back a description of Korea is printed. Since nobody really knew what Korea and Japan looked like, the map makers busily copied from each other or added some details which they received from British or Dutch sailors.

In Blaeu's **Novus Atlas Sinensis** we find another map of Korea. Here we see a major jump forward. This work was based on the work of the Jesuit father Martinus Martini. On his turn Martini had the data for these maps based on the revised Chu Ssu-pen's maps, Kuang yü-t'u made by the Chinese scholar Lo Hung-hsien (1504 - 1564). Shannon McCune points out that Martini's (Wei Kuangguo) map is based on a Chinese map from 1320, which was then (re)published in the 16th century. And this Chinese map is again based on a Korean map of the early 14th century. So on the map of Martini

the contours of Korea come closer to the real shape. Cheju-do was called Fungma on this map and is Chinese for wind and horses, Cheju-do was famous for that.

## **Martinus Martini.**

Martinus Martini, was born in 1614 in Trente and lived since 1643 in China, where he died on June 6, 1661. With four other Jesuits he came in June 1642 with the English ship *The Swaen* from Goa to Bantam and send from there to G.G. van Diemen a letter in Latin (delivered on June 18, in Batavia) with which he requested "*to deliver passage to Macassar, Siam, Cambodia or the realm of Tonkin, to arrive through China in Japan*". This letter was send to the Chief in Nagasaki to "*hand this over to the Regents of Nagasakqui to the Commissioners as to have them examine and estimate order(s) against such hostile undertaking.*" (Reg. from Batavia to Japan June 28, 1642 and Chief van Elseracq to G. G. van Diemen October 12, 1642). "*Martin Martini was sent to give informations to the Holy See; to his influence and abilities it is due that Alexander VII decreed in a manner perfectly contrary to the former Edict [with which some dogmas from the Jesuits were condemned as heresy].*

*While on his journey the great traveller passed Batavia.....*

*Living in Holland Martini prepared his maps of China and gave them over to the great cartographer Johannes Black [read: Blaeu] to be printed while he himself gave a full geographical description of the whole empire together with historical, political and scientific explanations..... In 1655 the whole work came out" (Dr. Schrameier, **On Martin Martini, Journal of the Peking Oriental Society**, Vol. II, 1888, pp. 105 en 106).*

Martinus Martini arrived on July 15, 1652 from Macassar in Batavia and received permission to travel with the return ships to Holland. With the "Oliphant" he left Batavia at February 2, 1653 and arrived on November 16 of the same year in the "Vlie" (near Texel, an island in Holland) he left to Amsterdam. With a resolution of the Chamber of Amsterdam of the VOC he was granted a "*Gratuiteijt van honderd rijksdaalders, ten aanzien van de goede diensten die hij toegeseijt heeft en van hem verwacht worden*" (A gratuity of 100 "rijksdaalders", with regard to the good services he had promised and which were expected from him).

Fungma can also be seen on the following map, a copy from the **Atlas Sinensis**. We will call this shape and the mentioning of Cheju-do as Fungma alone as the Martini type.

Pieter Goos (c. 1616 - 1675) *Noordoost cust van Asia van Iapan tot Nova Zembla*, from **De Zee Atlas ofte Water-Weereld...**, Amsterdam, 1666. In the second half of the 17th century the interest in Siberia awakes, since it was hardly explored. To make the coastline of respectively Korea and Japan, Goos was mainly guided by assumptions. North of Japan he shows the by de Vries discovered coast of Ezo according to the map of Jansonius edition of 1658. This is a Martini type

Robert Morden's (died in 1703) *Japonae Ac Tarrae Iessonis Novissima Descriptio*, from **Geography rectified**. Morden used the Martini type. On the map he connects the west

point of the land discovered by de Vries with the coast of Korea. Note the peculiar I. d' Ladrões or Quelpaarts.

After the death of Johannes Janssonius in 1664 and Joan Blaeu in 1673 the Dutch cartography was already in decline.

## **Hendrick Hamel.**

The shape of and information about Korea change drastically, when Hendrick Hamel and his companions returned from their adventures on the Korean peninsula. The *Sperwer*, with sixty-four men on board left Batavia on June 18 1653. On August 16 1653, the *Sperwer* was lost in a storm and twenty-eight men perished. Thirty-six survivors, driven ashore on the western coast of Cheju Island, were all interned and spent ten months on the island. One of their biggest surprise was their encounter with their contemporary, Jan Janse Weltevrede, a Dutchman in the service of the Korean king. They were transferred to Seoul where they were employed as bodyguards to a general for about three years. They appealed to the King to release them but they were always told that it was not his policy to send foreigners away from his land. The King apparently did not want facts about his country to become known to other nations. Then, when a Manchu envoy came to Seoul, the senior navigator and one sailor approached him in an attempt to return to the Holland by way of China, they were immediately captured and jailed. After this incident, the remaining thirty-four Dutch sailors were transferred to Pyongyang, an army camp near Kangjin in Cholla province.

They lived seven years in Pyongyang and eleven of them died during that period. After three successive famines in 1660, 1661 and 1662, they were divided into three groups since Pyongyang could hardly afford to support them and were sent to Saesong (12 men), Sunchon (5 men) and Namwon (5 men). At the time of their escape attempt, sixteen men were still alive, of whom eight succeeded in reaching Nagasaki. In his section, "Description of the Kingdom of Korea" Hamel's observations on a wide range of subjects with which he came into contact or which caught his observant eye, are described. Hamel examined Korean life and customs from the perspective of his own cultural background, Holland and Western civilization in the seventeenth century. Hamel could make observations at close hand because the Dutch sailors were allowed to go about relatively freely with few restrictions. Moreover, Hamel could observe the lifestyle of upper class people because curiosity prompted these people to invite the Dutch to their homes. Many of Hamel's observations are verifiable either by the looking at established historical facts or observing customs which still survive from former times. (more about the adventures of Hendrick Hamel can be found on the Internet at <http://www.henny-savenije.pe.kr/> where one can find an English and Korean translation of the manuscript and all the 17th-century documents relating to this event and his original manuscript)

When 8 of the 16 escaped, the Heeren XVII (the board of directors of the VOC) were of course interested in possible mercantile contacts with Korea and Hendrick was asked to write down his report by the opperhoofd (chief) of the factory in Deshima. For about

200 years this was basically the only information which was available about Korea, and reprinted in many different ways (upon his arrival back in Holland, it was printed already by 3 different Dutch publishers!) while every publisher and translator added his own distortions and fantasies, sometimes to make it more attractive to their readers. But when one goes back to the original manuscript his report appears to be as accurate as possible under the circumstances. He also uses native resources when he mentions the distances from Pusan to Shimonoseki (which has been read by his publishers for a long time as Osaka), but also the length and width of Korea. He uses the "dietse mijl" (Dutch mile) which caused a lot of confusion in translations in later times, since they were translated as German miles, leagues and other contemporary distance measurements. Using these contemporary measures, Dutch cartographers could make better cartographic assumptions.

Hamel already said that the Koreans themselves made maps with Korea shown like an oblong. Though Hamel made no maps himself, his descriptions of the country influenced cartographers. Hamel landed on Cheju-do which appeared on Portuguese maps before as Ilha de Ladrones (island of thieves), but also the Mariana Islands were referred to as the Ladrones.

Interesting in this regard is the fact that Cheju island existed with two different names and was thought to be two islands as well: Fung-ma and Quelpaert island. Quelpaert is probably named after a type of galleon. Though there is no reference to this type of ship other than in the documents from Batavia found in the VOC archives. Unfortunately we will never know for sure, but probably it was the result of a copying error in a document to the east and therefore this type of ship was only known in the east.

Cheju-do was doomed to be called Quelpaert island for the next two centuries thanks to Hamel's document. The Dutch cartography however was already in decline and the Hamel type never made it to the Dutch maps. Due to the fact that he was the first westerner to write an account of Korea, Hamel is called the "discoverer" of Korea.

In connection with Hamel I have to mention briefly Nicolaas Witsen (1641-1717). He provides us with much interesting information about Korea in his "Noord en Oost Tartaryen", the second edition. Witsen, whose motto was *Labor omnia vincit*, was the scion of a prominent and wealthy family in Amsterdam. He studied law, philology, mathematics and astronomy at Leyden University where he took his L.L.D. in 1664. He also applied himself to the study of geography, cartography and hydraulic engineering. He was an able etcher and became a specialist in shipbuilding. In 1697 - 98 he taught this art to Czar Peter the Great who was then studying in the Netherlands. Between 1682 and 1705 he was thirteen times mayor of Amsterdam; he represented that city nearly continuously in the States of Holland and the States General of the Netherlands. As a young man he had also served his country as a diplomat in Moscow." For his description of Korea Witsen made use of the following sources: Martini , Martinus, **Novus atlas sinensis**, Amsterdam 1655; Montanus , Arnoldus, **Gedenkwaerdige Gezantschappen aen de Kaisaren van Japan** (Memorable Envoys to the Emperors, i.e. Shogun, of Japan), Amsterdam 1669; a report of a court journey (Nagasaki-Edo) made by the Dutch in 1637; a description of Korea by a "*certain Slavonic* (i.e. Russian)

*author*"; information provided by Anreas Cleyer, chief merchant at Dejima in 1683 and 1686; "a" report from Japan and the account of Hamel's shipwreck. Eye-witness information was furnished by Benedictus Klerk and Master Mattheus Eibokken , two of Hamel's companions-in-distress. Remarkable is the list with Korean words Witsen provides (can be found on my [website](#)). In his first (unpublished) edition he had a remarkable image of Korea the map bears the title *Nova Tabula Imperii Russici* below: It was supervised by Everardus Ysbrants Ides. Amsterdam. On this map we find Corea, Chausin (=Choson) with Japan in the middle. This map is unique but nevertheless a type: the Witsen-type.

In the second edition he uses the Martini type.

The text in the cartouche of the following map has the following content: "*corrected from the observation communicated to the Royal Society at London and the Royal Academy at Paris / by John Senex, FRS, at the Globe against Dunstons Church, Fleet Street in London*" (67cm x 99cm) -- [early 18th Century] 134 Hamel-type

The cartouche on another map contains the following text: "*Carte de Tartarie, dressee sur les relations de plusieurs voyageurs de differentes nations et sur quelques observations qui ont ete faites dans ce pais la, par Guillaume De l'Isle, premier geog. du Roy de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, a Paris chez l'auteur sur le quai de l'Horloge a l'Aigle d'Or avec privilege, 1706*". (51cm x 67.5cm) Hamel-type

A similar map, also from the De l'Isle for instance shows a pure "Hamel" type, though the French transcription of Chinese characters are used.

## French Cartography

It lasted to 1732 before a more accurate map of Korea was made. France was the next country where the cartography started to bloom. The new century brought great political changes and under the absolutist rule of Louis XIII and XIV map makers were granted a degree of royal support and patronage unknown elsewhere. By the last years of the century Dutch maritime power was in decline and France became the center of geographical science, her cartographers producing the most advanced and beautiful maps of the time.

Whilst the members of the Cassini family were concentrating on the mapping of France, other French cartographers maintained and, indeed, surpassed the standards of excellence set by Sanson and his successors in the previous century. Prominent among the new generation of scientific cartographers were Guillaume Delisle, whose maps of Africa and America were especially influential, Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville (1697-1782) with notable maps of Africa and the Far East, Didier Robert de Vaugondy (1723 - 1786) (**Atlas Universel**, 1757) and Jacques Nicolas Bellin (1703 -1772), famous for his sea charts. At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, the explorers Comte de la Pérouse (1785-88), Louis de Freycinet (around 1812) and others added to charts of the Pacific and the Australian coastline and Dumont

d'Urville completed three voyages (1822-40) to New Zealand, and later issued a series of new improved charts of that country.

Jacques Nicolas Bellin Cartes Isles du Japon et la presque isle de Coree, avec les costes de la Chine depuis Pekin jusqu'a Canton. From Antoine-Francois Prevost, Histoire General des Voyages, Bd. 2 Paris 1746. (this one comes from a Dutch edition) Bellin added this map to Prevost itinerary which have been published in French, Dutch, German, Italian and Danish. The maps were also published in separate atlases, which have been colored later. Bellin actually had three completely three different maps of Korea, published even in the same atlas. We will call these the Bellin type.

## **d'Anville and his Korean source.**

Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville (1697-1782) engraved his first map at the age of fifteen and produced many maps of high quality throughout his career. He became the finest cartographer of his time and carried on the French school of cartography developed by the Sanson and the de L'Isle families. Although he apparently never left the city of Paris, he had access to the reports and maps of French explorers, traders, and missionaries. During his long career he accumulated a large collection of cartographic materials that has been preserved. He was particularly interested in Asia and produced the first reasonably accurate map of China in 1735. He became Royal Geographer and Cartographer to the King of France in the middle of the eighteenth century, at a time when French cartography was still considered to be the best in the world. He was the successor of Guillaume Delisle as the chief proponent of scientific cartography, and his influence on his contemporaries was profound. D'Anville was the finest cartographer of his time, *"his attention to detail was exemplary, his maps having a great delicacy of engraving"* (Tooley).

In his *Tartariae Sinensis* which was first printed in 1732, d'Anville showed Korea fairly accurate, though it becomes clear that he had used Korean sources for the first time.

## **Korean developments.**

In Korea, administrative geography has a long tradition. It followed as a thumb of rule the Chinese models. Both countries had a central government, which directly administrated the nation down to a local level. Since the local government constantly changed fiscal and political details of the system, there were frequently changes to record. A district which at one time may have had a local magistrate, might be subordinate to another and had a name change in the process as well. Districts were ranked according to their political and military importance. The earliest surviving treatise on Korean geography is found in the *Samguk sagi* (history of the Three Kingdoms), compiled in 1145 by Kim Pusik.

The Choson dynasty made many changes in local administration after it came to power in 1392, when King Sejong ordered a survey of the nation's provinces and districts. Very important for cartography were the precise data on distances from district to

district, collected in a way that a mapmaker could have the data needed with a high degree of redundancy and verification. These surveys have been repeated, and were, particularly the military data, for government use only, but it would have been available for the various cartographic projects that went on. The Sunghnam comprehensive geographical reference work was published and became known in a final version in 1531.

The geomantic approach to land in life coexisted with the bureaucratic concern for the more practical approaches to geography. It was a more intuitive way of seeing the land, combining various emotional and religious elements in landscape perception with an often insightful and shrewd analyses of the physical features of the earth. The feature that draws the most criticism from Korean scholars is the general outline of the country, which, roughly spoken well defined, suffered from a flattening and radical shortening of the northern border area. The northern border was more or less established during king Sejong's reign by 1441. It was not till the 17th and early 18th century that these parts were permanently settled and organized. The frontier from the craterlake and summit of Mount Paektu to the headwaters of the Tumen, was fixed by formal agreement with the Qing dynasty in 1712, the final step in Korea's present day borders. The Japanese invasions of the 1590's and a long-term series of Manchu suppressions and two invasions created an atmosphere where the Koreans were afraid to be too detailed on their maps, since this information might be used against them.

Three important developments helped transform Korean culture and nurtured new trends in cartography. The first was the bitter anti Manchu hostility which developed after two invasions and the overthrow of the Ming dynasty by the Manchus. Indirectly this encouraged however a more independent Korean self-consciousness and a burst of cultural creativity. Second, new trends in scholarship encouraged a fresh interest in science and pragmatic research. Geography was one of the disciplines which became fashionable among many scholars. Last but not least, early Sino-Jesuit cartography continued to find its way to Korea.

King Sejong ordered an interesting polar altitude project, but no further information on geodetic measurement is available until western survey methods were introduced in 1713, when a Manchu envoy arrived and sent a Jesuit-trained Chinese surveyor to the center of Seoul. The rise of the Manchus resulted at first in favorable development for Korea. Around 1600, the Jurchens (who only started to call themselves Manchus in 1636) abandoned the Paektu-Tumen region to join the campaigns of their leader Nurhaci. To meet the growing Russian expansion the Manchus reorganized the defenses of the Manchurian homelands in the 1650s and 1660s. A Manchu survey inspected the region of the Changbaishan, the Chinese name for Paektusan, in the summer of 1677. In 1679 the Manchus had made or acquired maps of the whole of the Korean side of the border from one side of the peninsula to the other and they visited a Korean commander in the north and requested information on "*present installations, maps and 'floating iron' [compass] bearings in the area of Changbaishan.*" They allowed him to copy their own map. The Qing prompted for stricter controls on Korean frontier dwellers. In 1699 Korean envoys were ordered by the Manchu authorities to execute a map of Korea's eight provinces with route and distance data.

The Manchu's emperor Kangxi made a project to map his empire and it took on new energy when the Jesuits joined the effort in 1709. Before the year was over they had mapped Manchuria and the borders of Korea. By 1716, they and their Chinese and Manchu assistants had mapped the entire Chinese empire plus Tibet and Korea. These maps were printed in Chinese versions in 1717 and 1719, and in a definitive version in 1721.

An explanation of the Jesuit map of Korea by father Jean-Baptiste Regis (1664-1738), who with Fathers Pierre Jartoux (1669-1720) and Erhernberg Xavier Fridelli (1643-1743) had done the Manchurian and Korean regions in 1709 and 1710, is given by Jean Baptiste du Halde's (1674 - 1743). Since the Jesuits were not allowed in Korea the "*Tartar lord*" (Mukedeng a troubleshooter and trusted assistant for the Kangxi emperor) was accompanied by the previously mentioned Chinese surveyor who was trained by the Jesuits. They made measurements and made observations. While in Korea the team was under constant surveillance, but the Tartar lord was given a map, which was kept at the royal palace. Regis produced a map that came out in the Kangxi atlas and that was used and edited by d'Anville and published in 1735 in du Halde (**description de la Chine**) and as "**Royaume de Coree**" (**atlas de la Chine** 1737). Du Halde was a French Jesuit, and geographer of Paris.

Despite the broadening of the southern part of the peninsula, this map was pretty accurate and it was widely copied for the next 150 years (McCune 1977). Seeing a map like this it is hard to interpret the names, since the names are French transcription of the Chinese characters. We will call this shape AND the mentioning of Quelpaert AND Fung-ma as two separate islands the Anville type.

## Jean-François de Galoup.

Noteworthy however is the cartographic trip of the Jean-François de Galoup, Comte de La Pérouse. Since he was the first who really used the name "the Sea of Japan" and his example was followed thereafter, his short biography will follow. He was born on 23 August, 1741 near Albi, France. He entered the Navy when he was fifteen, and fought the British off North America in the Seven Years' War. Later he served in North America, India and China. In August 1782 he made fame by capturing two English forts on the coast of the Hudson Bay. The next year his family finally consented to his marriage to Louise-Eléonore Broudou, a young Creole from modest origins he had met on Ile de France (present-day Mauritius). He was appointed in 1785 to lead an expedition to the Pacific. His ships were the *Astrolabe* and the *Boussole*, both 500 tons. They were storeships, reclassified as frigates for the occasion.

La Pérouse was a great admirer of James Cook, tried to get on well with the Pacific islanders, and was well-liked by his men. Among his 114 man of crew there was a large staff of scientists: An astronomer, a physicist, three naturalists, a mathematician, three draftsmen, and even both chaplains were scientifically schooled.

He left Brest on August 1785, rounded Cape Horn, investigated the Spanish colonial

government in Chile, and by way of Easter Island and Hawaii he sailed to Alaska, where he landed near Mount St. Elias, in late June 1786 and explored the environments. A barge and two longboats, carrying 21 men, were lost in the heavy currents of the bay they arrived in (called Port des Français by La Pérouse, but now known as Lituya Bay). Next he visited Monterey, where he examined the Spanish settlements and made critical notes on the treatment of the Indians in the Franciscan missions.

He crossed the ocean to Macao, where he sold the furs acquired in Alaska, dividing the profits among his men. The next year, after a visit to Manila, he set out for the northeast Asian coasts. He saw Quelpaert Island (Cheju) on May 21, 1787. He saw the island of Ullûng-do on May 27 and called it Dagelet after an astronomer who sighted it. He wrote the following:

"We sighted it on May 21 in the finest weather imaginable and in most favorable conditions for observations. I coasted along the southeast shore at a distance of leagues and we surveyed with the utmost care a length of 12 leagues. One would be hard put to find a more pleasing prospect. ... The various crops which presented a wide range of colors made the appearance of this island even more pleasing,"

However, he did not anchor on the island where the Dutch castaways were shipwrecked in 1653, worrying for the safety of his crew members.

*"Unhappily, it belongs to people who are forbidden to communicate with strangers and who currently enslave those unfortunate enough to be shipwrecked on their coast. This story, of which we had an account before us was not of a nature to encourage us to send a boat ashore,"*

adding that their appearance caused some alarm among the locals, who began to light signal fires on all the headlands along the coasts.

They spotted the present Ullûng-do in the East Sea (which he called for unknown reasons, the Sea of Japan) and some of its inhabitants on May 27. The crew wanted to set foot on the new found island, with the good intention of making friends with the locals who ran away at the sight of the foreign vessels.

*"I endeavored to approach it but it was exactly in the wind's eye; fortunately it changed during the night and at daybreak I sailed to examine this island, I was very desirous of finding an anchorage to persuade these people by means of gifts that we were not their enemies, but fairly strong currents were bearing us away from the land."*

The French navigators then crossed over to Oku-Yeso (Sakhalin). La Pérouse was enthusiastic about the people of Sakhalin and their friendliness and did not come to back to Korea.

The map La Pérouse made of Cheju-do, is not very accurate. The general coast line and the islands are drawn with quite some fantasy. There are no city names shown, nor any

indication where harbors were. The scale is interesting though since the on the map nautical miles are mentioned, there were 20 nautical miles in a degree, which makes a nautical mile (Lieu Marine) 5600 meter. The south point's latitude is accurate, though the longitude mentioned is about 250 km too much west. However when one looks at the meridian of Paris (which is probably used by La Pérouse, since no self respecting 17th century French cartographer would use the Greenwich meridian), then again it's pretty accurate. The island of Kapado is recognizable but it is drawn west of the peninsula Songaksan, instead of south of it. Even on a distance of 10 km, one can see those details, so one can start to wonder if they really saw the island or made the map on the oral account from somebody else. On the same map one can find Dagelet or Ullûndo.