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Father Matteo Ricci's Chinese World-Maps, 1584-1608

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on Ecuador from one who was a member of the American Legation in that country, Mr. Stabler. He knows it well, and can tell us a great deal which I am sure will be fresh to everybody here with regard to that region. I will ask Mr. Stabler to read his paper.

(Mr. Stabler then read the paper printed above and a discussion followed.)

Sir WILLIAM HAGGARD, who was twenty-five years ago Her Majesty's minister at Quito, contributed an interesting and amusing account of his experiences in Ecuador, and of the manners and customs of the people at that time. He has requested that it should not be printed, as he does not consider it as a serious contribution to the geography of the country.

The PRESIDENT: I am afraid I must wind up the discussion without contributing to it anything of much value. Ecuador is only familiar to me through the work of a very old friend of mine, one of our Gold Medallists, who will always be associated with the mountains of Ecuador, of which we have seen photographs this evening—Edward Whymper. His book on Ecuador is quite a classic of travel, and if any of you, after coming here to-night, are seized with a desire to know more about the country I strongly recommend you to get it. Whymper was not only a mountaineer, but an ardent naturalist, and he also paid a great deal of attention to the primitive antiquities of Ecuador.

I was struck to-night by the fact that we heard very little of the commercial products of Ecuador, and I am sure if there had been much to say Mr. Stabler would have told us, because, I think, nothing has been more conspicuous in his lecture than the admirable use he made of his opportunities during the two years he was in the country. Very few people sent on a diplomatic mission would have wandered about so much and at so great a profit as our lecturer. I am sure you will wish me to express our thanks to Mr. Stabler for his paper, and our hope that it may not be the last paper he will give us, for he has been in many different lands in his country's service, and I am sure has other recollections from the Far East as well as from the Far West which would be of value.

FATHER MATTEO RICCI'S CHINESE WORLD-MAPS, 1584-1608

J. F. Baddeley

HAVING occasion to look through the Chinese maps in the collection of the Society, I found among them a map of the world, about 12 feet by 6, presented by Dr. W. Lockhart in 1858 and labelled and catalogued "Ricci Map." This seemed curious, inasmuch as Col. Yule had in 1874 published in the *Geographical Magazine* a short account of Ricci's map with a small-scale hypothetical reconstruction of it, in the belief, evidently, that no copy of the original survived. A first reference to written authorities showed that Dr. Ettore Ricci in 1904 had stated that no copy of the Peking edition was known to exist. In 1911, however, Father Tacchi Venturi, in publishing for the first time the original account by Father Ricci of his life and work in China, reproduced a twelfth part

of a copy found in the Barberini collection at the Vatican, and there believed to be unique in Europe.

A brief examination by Mr. C. W. Campbell showed that the Society's map, which is entirely in Chinese, bore the name of Ricci, the monogram of the Society of Jesus, and the date 1602. Its identity with the Vatican map was fairly obvious, but its relationship to a Chinese map attributed to Ricci in the Ambrosiana Library at Milan, and assumed to be of the original Shao-king edition of 1584, called for further examination. I turned, therefore, again to the published accounts of Ricci's life and to other Jesuit works to see what light they might throw on the history of the map, and inversely what light the map itself might cast upon them. Also, through my brother, Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, I communicated with the Librarians at the Vatican and the Ambrosiana, both of whom evinced a keen interest in the map; and, finally, with a view to gauging its rarity, I wrote, at the suggestion of our President, to Dr. Morrison in Peking, who not only made inquiries himself, but most kindly put me in communication with Father Kennelly, S.J., in Sikawei. From these gentlemen I learn that though copies of the map may and probably do exist in China none is at present known to them. Provisionally, therefore, one is justified in regarding the Society's copy of the map as a rarity, though, when once attention has been called to it, other copies of one or more of the numerous editions it went through may turn up, even in Europe.

The map (of which a small reproduction is given herewith) is printed from wood blocks on thin Chinese paper, backed with several thicknesses of coarse paper, and mounted (probably after it came into our possession) on linen in one sheet, folded into twelve. The surface has suffered in some places from rubbing, and in others, where green paint was used, from corrosion; and the whole was in a delicate condition requiring immediate attention. On the advice of Mr. Chubb, of the Map Department, British Museum, and of Mr. Sabin, of the Department of Prints, Victoria and Albert Museum, it was decided to remount the map on a flat sheet of linen, and to cover it with the very fine silk gauze used to preserve tender manuscripts. By the kindness of the British Museum authorities this work has been carried out under their supervision; and the map is now rolled in a large case, pending the time when it may be framed and hung. For the purposes of study and editing it has been photographed in six sections, half-size, by Mr. Robert Macbeth, as well as on the smaller scale of the present reproduction.

The map is covered with names, descriptions, and explanations in Chinese. It is hoped that some Chinese scholar will in course of time examine these minutely; and that some day the Society may be willing to publish the whole map in facsimile, with a critical translation of the Chinese text. Meanwhile we must be content with a general examination of the map and an account of the way in which it was made. Its history

I shall try to elucidate in what follows ; with its sources Mr. Heawood deals in a separate article.

To the Chinese Ricci's map had once a geographical value beyond computation, but for us in Europe its interest is mainly historical. For the first edition was merely a Chinese version of a current European world-map, and though modifications were introduced then and subsequently it is improbable that any original geographical work was either contemplated or achieved. This, however, is a matter I leave to the more competent judgment of Mr. Heawood. Meantime we must bear in mind that Father Ricci's immediate object was not to make additions to European knowledge, but to convey that knowledge to the Chinese ; his real aim being the conversion of the latter to Christianity.

It was the Jesuits who first understood—and the merit is largely Ricci's—that to preach the Word in China with any chance of success a start must be made by winning over men in authority, and that to attain this result the best, indeed the only way, was to make appeal to their love of learning. Respect for European science might lead to acceptance of Christian beliefs, or so it seemed. In any case the attempt was worth making. It was as learned men, then, but above all as cosmographers, mathematicians, and astronomers, that Ricci, his colleagues, and successors made their appeal in China ; and no single work of theirs gained them so quickly and so surely the suffrages of the more enlightened Chinamen as the map under consideration. It is even possible that the wonderful interest it excited first gave Ricci, and through him the Jesuit authorities at home, an inkling of the above truth and shaped the policy to which their success in China was so largely due.

The map had long been forgotten, in England at least, when in 1874 Colonel Yule called attention to it once more. In the paper printed in the *Geographical Magazine* for July of that year he wrote that Ricci, "seeing the dissatisfaction of the Chinese with European maps, in which China held an insignificant place, set about constructing a map of the world on a great scale, so adjusted that China with its subject states filled the central space of the hemisphere, and, without deviation from truth of projection, occupied a large space in proportion to the other kingdoms gathered round it. . . . This map obtained immense favour."

By way of illustration Yule gave a small map, being "a perspective projection of the hemisphere from a point at the distance of one diameter from the surface, and situated on the production of the radius which passes through the intersection of 115° E. long. (from Greenwich), with 30° N. lat. Something pretty near this must have been Matteo Ricci's projection." Evidently Yule knew nothing of any existing copy of the map, which is the more remarkable as he was a friend of Dr. Lockhart and elsewhere gratefully acknowledged his help.

The legend upon which Yule based his deduction had, as we shall see,

THE WORLD MAP BY FATHER MATTEO RICCI
in the Collection of the Royal Geographical Society

but a modicum of truth in it, and, even as he wrote, a contemporary example of Ricci's map, a glance at which would have revealed the truth, lay ready to hand in Savile Row. This map differs about as widely as possible from the one imagined and drawn by the illustrious author of 'Cathay' and 'Marco Polo'; and one cannot but regret that he should have died without ever knowing that Ricci's work survived, much less that one copy of it was in the possession of the Society of which he was so distinguished a member, another safely housed in the Vatican.

Ricci's autobiography was, unfortunately, not published until after Yule's death; otherwise, undoubtedly, he would have corrected his mistake and dealt with the whole subject in his own masterly fashion. As it is, this recent publication of Ricci's own account of his life and work in China* enables me to give, for the first time, a connected story, if not yet a complete one, of the genesis and growth of a work for which the least that can be claimed is that it played a large part in securing for the members of the Order of Jesus a favourable reception on their first entry into the Middle Kingdom.

Matteo Ricci, called the Apostle of China, as St. Francis Xavier was of the Indies, first saw light at Macerata in Central Italy on 6 October 1552, the year of Xavier's death at Sancian—by express design of Providence to replace that grievous loss, as F. Michel Boym declared publicly in church at Smyrna a century later. He was received into the Society of Jesus in 1571, a few weeks before the battle of Lepanto, and sailed for Goa from Lisbon in 1578, in company with Father Michele Ruggieri (often spelt Ruggiero), a compatriot, who in 1579 reached Macao, where Ricci joined him three years later.†

When once they had established themselves at Macao, the Jesuits at certain seasons, when fairs were held, were allowed to visit Canton with the Portuguese traders, but, like them, were not suffered to pass even

* 'Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S.I.,' *edite a cura del Comitato per le onoranze Nazionali, con prolegomeni, note e tavole dal P. Pietro Tacchi Venturi S.J.* Volume primo. *I commentarj della Cina.* Macerata, 1911. This is the original work of Ricci printed for the first time from his own manuscript in Italian, which Trigault brought home with him from China and published in a Latin paraphrase, 'De Christiana Expeditione,' etc., Lugduni, in 1616, with, it seems, considerable omissions but also some valuable additions.

† The successes of the Minorite friars in China under the Yuens came to an end with the fall of that dynasty. The Cape having been doubled the Portuguese reached China by sea in 1514, and in 1556 the Dominican Order made its entry into that country in the person of Gaspar de la Croix, who in 1556 preached the Faith, but attacked the "idolatry" of the Chinese so zealously that he was promptly deported. In 1575 an Augustin friar, Martin Rada, met a like fate. The enemies of the Jesuits are apt to vaunt the fact that they were not the first in the field, but the point is that where others failed they succeeded. See 'Anecdotes sur l'état de la religion dans la Chine,' 7 vols. Paris, 1733. Vol. 1, p. v.: a defence of Cardinal de Tournon and scurrilous attack on the Jesuits. Of Ricci it is written, "the Devil in him found a faithful minister, who so far from destroying his reign amongst the infidels confirmed it; and even extended it amongst the Christians themselves."

one night on shore. Ruggieri, however, succeeded in gaining the favour of the *Hai-tao* (commander of naval forces) at Canton, who made an exception in his case, permitting him to reside, while the fair lasted—two months and more—in the house of the Siamese ambassadors, where he set up a chapel and celebrated Mass for the benefit of the Portuguese.* During this period, moreover, Ruggieri twice visited Shao-king,† the residence of the Viceroy of Quantung, the second time remaining there five months; and in 1584 he and Ricci established themselves there, this being the earliest Jesuit foundation in China save that on the patch of land leased to the Portuguese at the extremity of the Hiang-shang peninsula (Macao). At Shao-king certain Chinese men-of-letters, seeing a World-map on the wall of the Mission-room, and being informed as to its purport and contents, were sufficiently open-minded to accept as true the—to them—astonishing revelations it contained—the world a sphere; the major part of it covered by water; and, above all, a small area only occupied by the Chinese Empire, which till then, in common with all their countrymen, they had believed to cover the main of the habitable Earth.

"Wherefore," Ricci tells us—he speaks of himself throughout in the third person—"the Governor ordered F. Matteo, who already had some understanding of their characters, to translate the World-map, with all the legends inscribed upon it, as he wished to have it printed and made known throughout China; wherewith the Chinese would be very grateful to him." Ricci accordingly prepared a Chinese version of the map, larger than the original—to make room for the Chinese characters as Trigault tells us—which, when ready, he presented to the Governor. The latter, on receiving it, "immediately gave orders to have it engraved, with all the notes and legends on it, and began to give copies away as presents to all his friends in that province, and to send copies to other provinces." This was at Shao-king, in 1584. The notes and legends, Ricci tells us, were altered to suit the circumstances, and this map, he declares, was "the best and most useful work that could be done, at that time, in order to dispose China to belief in matters appertaining to our Holy Faith. For the Chinese up till then had printed many maps bearing the title "Description of the Whole World," in which nearly the whole space was taken up by the fifteen provinces of China, with only a fringe of sea round them, in which were islands bearing the names of such foreign

* 'Avvisi del Giaponé de gli anni 1582, 3, 4. Con alcuni altri della Cina dell 1583 and 1584.' In Roma, 1586. See p. 169. Letter of Ruggieri of 7 February 1583, from 'Sciauchino.'

† *Shao (or Shau)-king-fu* of modern English maps; Italian *Schiaochin*; in Trigault Sciaquin (Latin, 1615), Xau-kin (Span., 1621): in Dr. Ricci's 'Per un Centenario,' wrongly, Xanchin throughout, probably owing to the same mistake in the article in *Razón y Fe* referred to presently. Father Kennelly writes: "In English (that is considering the value of vowels and consonants in the English language) the correct equivalent of Schiao-kin is Chaok'ing-fu."

kingdoms as the Chinese had heard of, all these together not equalling in size a single small Chinese province." The majority, it is true, laughed when they first saw this European "Description of all the Known World," "but the more intelligent and educated men grasped the truth when they perceived the good order of the parallels and meridians, the equinoctial and tropical lines, and the five zones, with the various customs of the countries *), and the whole Earth full of different names transcribed from the original map, and engraved, which latter fact gave credibility to so much novelty and convinced them that it was all true."

In the 'Avvisi' already quoted we have a letter of Ricci's giving a rather different account of the matter: "The Warden (*Conservatore*) made me make a map after the European fashion, but with the measurements and names of countries in the Chinese language; and he caused it to be printed offhand, without letting me see it again, I not dreaming that it was to be printed. And he valued it so highly that he kept the block by him and would not allow any copies to be printed save those that he wanted to give to the principal persons in China." A few days later (8 December 1584) F. Francisco Cabrale, who had been on a visit to Ricci at Shao-king, writes that the "Lancitano" (the "Conservatore," but just promoted) had made him a present of a piece of white silk, six fans, and four maps, "of those of F. Matteo, which he (the giver) reserved for his friends." He made the same present to F. Ruggieri, a fact that impressed the population of Shao-king very favourably. Father Cabrale tells us that people visited the Jesuits' house and took great delight in the European novelties there, especially the glass prisms and "the map with Chinese lettering" ('Avvisi,' etc., *loc. cit.*).

"Moreover" ('Commentarij,' p. 142) "the fathers, in all the following years, whether at the courts [capitals] or in other parts of China, worked continuously at improving and revising this work, and it was printed again and again. So that all China was filled with it, much to our credit and to the renown of European letters." One good result was that, seeing the vast spaces of land and ocean that lay between Europe and China, the Chinese lost that fear of European invasion which till then, we are told, had been a chief hindrance to their conversion.

Trigault, who often speaks out plainly where Ricci's modesty keeps him in restraint, says: "This bait undoubtedly drew many Chinese into the net of the Church. He [Ricci] extended, then, the surface of that map so as to give ample room for the Chinese characters, which are larger than ours; and he put in, not the same legends but others, suited to the mind of the Chinese and to his own design; for in convenient places he mixed up with the various customs of the nations sacred matters appertaining to our most Holy Law, never before heard of by the Chinese, in order that

* "Le cinque zone con varij costumi" (*costumi* in the original MS.) "de paesi," *op. cit.*, p. 142. On p. 578, again, of the 3rd (Peking) edition, we have it said, "con tanti regni e varij loro costumi strani." Trigault, p. 180, has "lectis tot gentium ritibus."

the fame thereof might quickly penetrate throughout the Chinese empire." *

It will be asked, of course, which of the many World-maps of that day did the Jesuits, in 1584, hang up in their room at Shao-king? Father Tacchi Venturi thinks, and perhaps with reason, that the indications given by Ricci are too vague to allow of identification, but mentions as possibilities the *mappæ-mondi* of Waldseemüller, Mercator, and Ortelius.

The indications are contained in Ricci's statement, already quoted, as to the parallels and meridians, equinoctial and tropical lines, the five zones, and the various customs of the countries, and it seemed that a glance at the Ambrosiana example would enable one to answer this question with little or no hesitation. Such is not the case. But the following passage in Ricci's 'Commentarij' (vol. 1, p. 358) seems to throw some light on the subject. The eunuch Mathan, we are told, who treated Ricci very badly, made him deliver up all the articles intended for the present to the Emperor Van-li, and insisted on something more being added. "Thus to the two large pictures (*ancone* †) of the Madonna and a small one of the Saviour, two clocks, one large with weights, the other small with springs, two triangular glasses [prisms, which excited great wonder and admiration, the Chinese, who had never seen them before, calling them 'the precious stones beyond all price'], and a Breviary, gilt and bound in cloth of gold; there was added the clavicorde, which the eunuch thought would do well, and also a 'Theatrum Orbis,' admirably bound in gilded covers," upon which Father Venturi makes this comment: "That is to say, an example of the 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum' of the celebrated Abraham Ortelius, published at Antwerp in 1570. The name of the author, not mentioned here by Ricci, or indeed by Pantoja, may be found in Trigault, p. 391" ('Addidit clauicordium, et orbis Theatrum Ortelij'). However, Mr. Heawood will tell us the results of his inquiry.

Simultaneously with the first edition of the map, Ricci published in Chinese a Christian catechism, followed at intervals by other works, both religious and secular, in that language. He constructed, moreover, globes

* *Op. cit.*, p. 179. It is possible that here Trigault is mixing up the maps of 1584 and 1599. Semedo adds his testimony: "Nor did our people, especially F. Matteo Ricci, cease to gain credit for Europe and make friends with persons of note, through the mathematical sciences, but chiefly by a description of the world in a new World-map" ('Relazione della grande monarchia della Cina,' del P. Alvaro Semedo, Portuguese, della compagnia di Giesu. Romæ MDCXXXIII.).

† *Ancona* is used more properly for the niche containing a sacred picture, over an altar; but in this case we have Father Pantoja's statement, in a letter quoted by Father Tacchi Venturi, p. 348 n., that the present included "tre immagini fatte a oglio et molte belle; due grandi, d'Altezza poco più di mezza canna, [ell] et una piccola. Delle due grandi l'una era la figura, et ritratto di Nostra Signora del Popolo, fatto da S. Luca: la seconda era pur di Nostra Signora col Bambino Giesù et s. Giovanni. La terza era un Salvatore più piccolo; tutte tre fatte da mano eccellente." Evidently then those *immagine* are the *ancone* of Ricci. Semedo calls them "bellissime imagine dipinti in tela."

FATHER RICCI AND HIS GREAT CONVERT LI PAUL

From Kircher's 'China Illustrata'

of brass and of iron, terrestrial and celestial, and solar time-pieces. All this, he says, was absolutely new to China; the utmost curiosity was excited; the mission-house became the meeting-place of intelligent men from near and far; and, on Ricci's own evidence, confirmed by that of his translator and, to some extent, biographer, Trigault, it seems evident that the European conception of the world and of the material and moral universe, now for the first time opened to their view, came upon the Chinese with the force of revelation. The map, then, must assuredly mark an epoch in the history of Chinese world-knowledge if not of Chinese thought.

The map in the Ambrosiana Library is there attributed to Ricci, and assumed to be of the original issue of 1584. With this attribution and assumption I was at first disposed to agree; but further examination shows that the latter, at least, is untenable. The map is in Chinese characters on Chinese paper, and has the same elliptical projection as the map of 1602. Its derivation from one or more of the Gastaldi-Ortelius series of world-maps is obvious; and it is undoubtedly the outcome of Ricci's labours. But (*a*) it has only names, not a single legend inscribed upon it; and (*b*) it is of the same size as the Ortelius map of 1570, or slightly smaller (the difference may possibly be due to photography). It cannot, therefore, be the map of 1584; a conclusion confirmed by Mr. Heawood from purely geographical considerations.

We know that the Viceroy of Kwei-chow made a reduced version of the map of 1699, to be considered presently, and put it in a book containing descriptions of all the kingdoms it contained and annotations of his own (*op. cit.*, p. 317). In this case the legends must have been transferred from map to book, and I suggest that this may account for the Ambrosiana copy, here reproduced.* Mr. Heawood's alternative may, however, be the correct solution.

Ricci had left Shao-king in 1589 to establish himself further north, but still in Kwan-tung Province, at Shao-chou-fu on the Peking. In 1595 he made another and ampler stride towards the goal of his longing, namely, to *Fan-chang*, in Kiang-si, just south of the Poyang Lake.† Here he had

* Father Grammatica, S.J., the librarian, has most kindly sent me a photograph of the Ambrosiana map, "the exact size of the original." The dimensions (within the inner border) prove to be 48.5 × 24.3 cm., or 19.1 × 9.6 inches. The Ortelius world-map of 1570 measures, on the same basis, 49.8 × 25 cm., or 19.6 × 9.8 inches, whilst the new edition drawn in 1587 is practically identical in size with the Ambrosiana map, measuring 18.9 × 9.7 inches.

Father Grammatica writes that the map is thought to have been acquired by Cardinal Federigo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan (made Cardinal 1587, founded the Ambrosiana Library 1587, died 1609). If so, evidently it has belonged to the library from the beginning, and came to it during Ricci's lifetime. There is nothing on it to show its provenance, nor any definite information concerning it in the Library Archives.

† Father Kennelly writes: "Nancian is Nanch'ang-fu, the provincial capital of Kiang-si. It was originally built on the brink of the Poyang Lake, but [the latter] is nowadays about 30 miles northward, the alluvial deposits of centuries having gradually filled up the shallow bottom of [this part of] the lake, and transformed into 'terra firma.'

the good fortune to conciliate the Viceroy, whom he calls "King of Chiengan." Of him he says ('Commentarij,' p. 265): "But that which he valued most was two books bound with plates after our fashion, with a map of Japan very fine and firm. One of them contained the "Description of the Whole World," with other maps of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Magalhaenica, together with diagrams of the nine spheres and the four elements and other things mathematical, never before seen in their country, and all with explanation in their writing." *

Father Venturi, editor, as stated, of Ricci's 'Commentarij,' thinks the work referred to is the map published by Ricci at Shao-king; but this is surely a mistake. It may have been the Atlas of Ortelius with MS. translations of the titles, principal names, etc., added in Chinese. But this does not entirely agree with the description, and Mr. Heawood suggests that it may have been an independent MS. work put together by Ricci from various sources, and that this supposition gives all the more force to the expression "bound with plates after our fashion." Ricci transferred the nine spheres and other features to the third edition of his own map, if not to the first and second.

Thanks to the Viceroy's protection Ricci in 1598 succeeded in reaching Peking, but the visit proved abortive. Disregarding friendly advice he remained there a month, striving in vain to obtain recognition by Van-li. He then retired, but, the waterways being frozen, the journey by road proved long and arduous. At Su-chow, we read, he gave a glass prism to a friendly mandarin, Quitaizo, who set it in silver and gold, and sold it for five hundred crowns.

In February 1599 Ricci, again, reached Nanking, the penultimate stage in his steady progress towards the northern capital. Here, on arrival, he was confronted by the governor with a Chinese map, lithographed and printed at Su-chow, of much the same content as his own, the intention being to show that native cartographers were by no means so ignorant of the world outside China as these foreigners chose to think. But Ricci had no difficulty in proving that the map was a mere copy of his own, thereby increasing the estimation in which he was already held. This lithographed sheet was, as we shall see, the first of several surreptitious versions, all bearing testimony to the avidity with which the Chinese

The lake is actually 90 miles long by 20 broad. In the flood season (July-August) the water rises 30 feet over the ordinary level and overflows the neighbouring country, causing great damage to property and crops."

* "Ma quello che egli piu stimo furno doi libri ligati con tavole al nostro modo, con carta di Giappone che è molto dura e bella. Nell'uno stava la *Descrittione di tutto il mondo universale* con altre tavole di Europa, Asia, Africa, America e Magaglianica, et insieme la figura de' nove cieli con i quatro elementi et altre cose di matematica, mai viste in sua terra, e tutto con la dichiarazione in loro lettera." Father Venturi says that by Magalhaenica we must understand the Philippines. But, on the Ambrosiana map we have the word written right across the (imaginary) Antarctic continent of the Straits of Magellan.

Mr. Heawood tells me that "the suggestion of the name for the southern continent

seized upon this new and surprising evidence of a knowledge greater than their own.

At Nanking, at the request of a friendly mandarin, Huzohai, Ricci produced an enlarged and very much improved second edition of the world-map, which was promptly engraved and distributed far and wide, copies being sent by the Jesuits themselves even to Japan. Moreover, plagiarists were again to the fore and, as Ricci himself tells us, "per questo, altri ne retagliarno altre tavole." *

Semedo † writes: "While there" [at Nanking in 1599] "F. Ricci gained great renown for himself and for European science, especially mathematics. He made a new map of Cosmography with the explanations in Chinese language and characters, by which he obtained much credit not only for himself but for Europe, thanks to the splendour of the Cities and great number of Kingdoms: wherefore Quitai po [? Quitaizo] himself and others became with solemn ceremonies the disciples of F. Ricci."

I have not dwelt upon the trials and sufferings—alternating with much kindness and appreciation—endured by Ricci and his fellow-labourers at the hands of the Chinese during all this time, especially at first; nor does he do so himself. But that they would have broken the constancy and endurance of men less brave and devoted may be gathered from the pages of Father Semedo. ‡

In May 1600 Ricci left Nanking, and on 24 January 1601, an ever-memorable date, entered the capital for the second time, and, there after two months or more—the term is variously stated—of strict confinement, succeeded in gaining, not access to, as sometimes said, but the favour of the Emperor Van-li, § and laying, firmly, the foundations of that Jesuit

seems to have come from *Plancius*, who uses it in most of his maps, together with the designation *Mexicana* for North America, and *Peruana* for South America. Ortelius and Mercator refer to the use of *Magellanica* (or *Magellanica regio*) by some, but give no prominence to the name on their maps. All three names reappear, however, on the engraved title-page of later editions of Mercator's *Atlas*, as extended by Hondius, and *Magellanica* is used throughout for *Tierra del Fuego* in De Brosse's collection of voyages to the Pacific."

* This map of 1599 was entitled 'Uen kue in t'u-mappa decem millium regnorum,' Sommervogel, VI. 1793, n. 16, where, however, the date is erroneously given as 1598. Father Kennelly writes: "*Wan* means ten thousand, a myriad; *kwoh*, kingdoms. *T'u* means a plan, drawing or chart; *yu*, foundation, a basis, the earth, because it bears up its inhabitants. The literal rendering would be 'map of ten thousand kingdoms,' i.e. of the world."

† *Op. cit.*, p. 224.

‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 219.

§ The Emperor, we read, "was very desirous of seeing the fathers; but, being unable to depart from the established custom which made him invisible, he caused them to be painted life-size, from nature, contenting himself with the portraits only of those by whom he could not be seen" (Semedo, *op. cit.*, p. 230). This custom of having portraits painted of distinguished foreigners was continued by the Manchus, as in the case of the Russian ambassador Spathary in 1676.

Mission in Peking the annals of which are so full of suffering and of glory.

At Shao-king and at Nanking the interest excited by the map and the friendships that ensued had been of vital worth; nor was it otherwise in Peking. Hardly were Ricci and his companions at liberty when a mandarin named Lingo zuon undertook the engraving and printing of yet another version of the map, making the third edition if we leave out of account the surreptitious versions and native imitations already mentioned. The scale this time was large. The map was engraved on six blocks of wood, measuring each (when printed), according to the R.G.S. specimen, 24·3 inches broad by 71·2 inches high, equivalent in metric measurement to c. 64·2 cm. broad by 179·9 cm. high, the dimensions of the whole map being roughly 12 feet by 6 feet.*

Thanks to this enlarged size Ricci was able to gratify his Chinese friends by adding much and varied information to his map, in the form of new names and legends, which are lavishly scattered over it; but also graphically, that is to say by two hemispheres with the north and south poles, respectively, as centres; a representation of an armillary sphere; diagrams illustrating the cause of eclipses of the nine spheres, etc., etc. So that, as Ricci himself tells us, "this work was even better received throughout China, being so fine an engraving." He adds—

"And while Lingo zuon was engraving his version, the engravers surreptitiously produced another of the same form, so that two editions were published at one time; nor did even these suffice to satisfy the demand. Wherefore a certain Christian,† aided by our people, made another version; larger still, in eight sheets, and, having engraved it, sold it to the printers, making thus three editions in this capital."‡

This last version, in eight sheets, makes the fourth legitimate edition.§ Ricci adds that the map took more than a year to engrave, and as he is, evidently, referring to his own, third, version it could not have been published earlier than 1602. This agrees with the date on the R.G.S. map, which Mr. C. W. Campbell tells us is the month 17 August—16 September 1602.

In 1904 Dr. Ettore Ricci published a memoir of his illustrious

* Father Tacchi Venturi gives 69 cm. by 179 cm. for the Vatican map. The difference in height is insignificant, absolute accuracy of measurement being difficult to ensure in the R.G.S. example at least, owing to the binding. The difference in breadth, on the other hand, is very considerable, equalling 4·8 cm. or 1·9 inches for each sheet, if we divide it up; but as there is nothing missing at the joins or at the outside edges the whole difference, amounting to 28·8 cm. or 11·2 inches, must be a matter of margins only.

† The celebrated convert Li Paul, as we learn later on (*op. cit.*, p. 578), who is figured with Ricci in an engraving in Kircher's 'China Illustrata.'

‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 395.

§ Nothing seems to be known of its existence in Europe; it may, of course, survive in China.

namesake * in which he called attention to a letter of Father Ricci's, then recently published in Madrid,† addressed to Juan Battista Roman, factor at Macao for the Philippines in 1584, in which a brief but highly interesting account is given of contemporary China, the first we have from the hand of a Jesuit. The state of things therein described goes far to explain the ease and rapidity of the Manchu conquest sixty years later.

This letter, never before printed, was discovered by Father Pablo Pastello, S.J., in the 'General Archives of the Indies,' and with it a map of China, in Chinese, which is reproduced photographically with the letter, apparently in the belief that the two are related. The map may well be of the sixteenth century—or earlier—but it appears to be in no way remarkable,‡ and its connection with Ricci's world-map of 1584 is problematical. The letter however throws fresh light on his cartographical labours in the following passage: "I cannot, this time, send you the whole of China drawn in plane maps, in our fashion, and then each province separately in its own map, because I have not yet put them in order: but I trust in God to be able to send them you soon, wherever you may be, and therein you will see all these provinces and cities most beautifully portrayed."

It will be noticed that Ricci in this letter speaks only of maps he could not send. Yet this map of China bears an inscription stating that it accompanied Ricci's letter above mentioned, dated 28 September 1584. The contradiction, however, is in appearance only, as this is merely a Chinese map, and not one of his making. Judging from the reproduction there is European writing on the margin, which might possibly furnish a clue to its provenance. Of a world-map there is not the ghost of a hint in the letter.

Of the Peking edition Dr. Ettore Ricci wrote § that not one copy was known. But in 1911 Father Tacchi Venturi, in the 'Comentarj,' gave a facsimile reproduction (reduced to one-third) of one section of an example in the Barberini collection at the Vatican (fondo orientale 150), the area chosen being the upper (northern) half of the sheet containing China proper. He dates it 1601, but this I venture to think is a mistake. As

* 'Per un Centenario, xxv. Gennaio MDCL.-MDCCCL. ; Macerata MDCCCL.-IV.' This little book is dedicated after a charming fashion prevalent in Italy, "alla cara bambina Giulietta Cavanna, in ricordo del lieto giorno della prima Comunione, 21 Augusto 1901." Marriages especially are celebrated in this way, and of the "Nozze" issued on such occasions the London Library, thanks to Dr. Hagberg Wright, has a valuable collection.

† In Tomo IV., Num. 4, December 1902 of the Spanish Jesuits' monthly review, *Razón y Fe*.

‡ Mr. C. W. Campbell and Prof. E. H. Parker have, in turn, most kindly looked it over for me. Letter and map were, I believe, again reproduced by the well-known scientific writer, Father Pietro Gribaudi in the *Rivista di Fisica, Mat. e Sc. Nat.* [Pavia], anno IV., Ott. 1903, No. 46, pp. 321-355, but this review I have been unable to find in London.

§ 'Per un Centenario,' p. 253, n.

far as can be judged from this reproduction (one-twelfth of the whole) the Vatican map is of the same edition as that at the Society's house, but better preserved.

That the map is rare even in China would appear from what Dr. Morrison wrote me from Peking under date, 8 November 1916: "I have made inquiries, but I cannot ascertain the existence of any copy of the Chinese map referred to," *i.e.* Ricci's. Father Kennelly, who most kindly sent me (through Dr. Morrison) extracts from a lithographed biography of Matteo Ricci in the Sikawei Library, near Shanghai, has likewise no knowledge of any existing copy in China, but thinks that of the Nanking edition (of which, not having seen the 'Comentarj,' he takes the Peking editions to be merely copies) examples may still be found in private Chinese libraries; "I say private, for public or national libraries (in our sense) do not exist in China."

Father Ricci had been established in Peking just seven years when, in January 1608 ('Comentarj,' p. 577):—

"One day we [the Jesuits] were sent for in great haste because the King wanted to demand from us a certain thing. When Fathers Ricci and Pantoja * reached the residence of the eunuchs of the Mathematical Board they found the rector and others who were there greatly disturbed, the King having sent a message from inside the palace demanding twelve copies of the World-map printed on silk, of six sheets each, examples, that is to say, of the map that Lingo zuon had caused to be engraved in former time in that capital. This was Father Matthew's map in six sheets, each sheet a cubit in width and two more in height, which, when engraved, were pasted on to other sheets, as paper windows are, and fastened together along the edges with ribbons so that they could be rolled up or spread out" ("Per potersi raccogliere e stendere") "in rooms, without any difficulty. The eunuchs of the inner apartments had shown the King F. Matthew Ricci's name on the map, whereupon His Majesty had told them to ask him for copies of it.

"One of the eunuchs—I do not know which—to whom the Fathers had made presents of many of these maps, variously coloured, had presented a copy to the King himself, who was so gratified with the sight of such a fine work, with so many kingdoms and their various strange customs" (see note, p. 260, *ante*), "a thing never seen in this country before, that he desired to have more copies—to give, it seems, to the prince and to other of his relations to put up in their rooms.†

"Now, the Fathers had never given a copy of the map to the King, nor proffered to do so, lest he, seeing China—which according to the Chinese included the greater part of the world—so small, should be offended, thinking that our people had shown it thus in contempt, such, indeed, being the belief of

* Pantoja, Diego de, born 1571, in Spain; embarked for China, 1596; suffered much; died Macao, January 1618. There is an important letter of his in Purchas, 1625, vol. 3, book II., ch. 6.

† The World-map was presented to the Emperor Van-li in January 1608. On the 22nd of that month Ricci wrote thus to Acquaviva, General of his Order (Claudius Acquaviva, born 1543, died 1615): "At the beginning of this year the King was presented with a World-map, one of those large ones, and wanted many others to be printed" (Note by F. Tacchi Venturi).

many Chinese men of letters, who made plaint against us, saying that *we had enlarged our foreign kingdoms, but made China appear small*" [my italics]. "Herein, however, was made evident the good sense of this King, who of himself understood that the map of the world was properly drawn to scale, and that no insult had been intended to China.

"This map had been engraved in Peking twice in the same form, *i.e.* by Lingozuon, who on his return to his own part of the country had taken the plates with him, and by the engravers themselves, to print and sell, as they did, disposing of a great many copies at a good price. But the year of the great rainfall in Peking, the house they were in fell down during the night; two of the engravers were killed, and the wood-blocks were broken. The eunuchs, hearing this, and realizing that they would be unable to fulfil the commands of the King, thought that, for one reason or other, we had spoken falsely; so four of them came to our house to make further inquiries; after which they caused to be brought to them, from the house of the engravers, such pieces of the wood-blocks as still remained.

"Our people then sent for the blocks [of the other edition] that our Christian Li Paulo had caused to be engraved on eight tables of considerably larger size; but the eunuchs did not dare to present to the King a different edition to that for which he had asked, the more so that the legends of the two to some extent differed. In this way they remained two or three days in great perplexity, considering what to do. At last we offered to engrave for them a new map a good deal better than the former ones, intending to add many things of greater advantage to Christianity, and to do all this, at our own expense, within a month. The eunuchs were very well pleased with this offer, and wrote a memorial to the King, telling him that the old blocks were broken, and what we had suggested. The King, however, was unwilling to give us so much trouble; and instead ordered that, in addition to what was already available, we should be told to engrave for the use of the palace other blocks, to make up again, exactly, the 6-sheet map. So said, so done, in great haste; after which they printed off as many maps as they wanted, inside the precincts." This may be reckoned the fifth and last legitimate edition.

"It was no small favour that the King thus showed to this work of ours, at a time when many still abused the map, and either did not or would not believe the truth of its contents, the more so that in it are exposed various matters concerning the truth of Christianity and the falsities set forth by other religions. And as the map remains always in the King's apartments it is to be hoped that either he himself or his son, or other of his family, may some day wish to know or ask questions as to our Holy Laws, there being no other opening for us to speak to them, we being so confined, having speech of none [of them]; besides which, seeing their kingdom so small in comparison with so many others, it may be that they will somewhat abate their pride and condescend more readily to enter into relations with foreign kingdoms."*

There remains a question of special interest to our Society. The origin, namely, and validity of the legend by which Yule was led astray.

As Father Tacchi Venturi tells us ('Commentarij,' p. 143 n.), "Daniele Bartolo" (*op. cit.*, lib. ii. cap. vi., p. 15) "wrote that Ricci, in

* Bartoli, 'Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu. L'Asia,' Terza parte (Torino, 1825), Lib. ii., cap. ccxlix, pp. 475-477. Father Tacchi Venturi gives authority for saying that the map bore the stamp of the Company of Jesus "in our writing." The R.G.S. map bears the IHS clearly stamped upon it in more than one place.

distributing the parts of the terraqueous globe, placed China in the middle ;” and in a paper called “*Idée Générale de la Chine et des premières Relations avec l’Europe*,” we find “on a dit que ce missionnaire disposa la carte de la Chine de façon que cet Empire se trouvoit placé au milieu du monde à fin de plaire à l’Empereur *ce qui est contraire à la vérité suivant le témoignage de tous les auteurs*” (*Mémoires Concernant*, etc., vol. 16).

The erroneous notion as to Ricci’s reprehensible conduct in this matter gained credit from a passage in a very celebrated work. M. Henri Cordier in ‘*L’Imprimerie Sino-Européenne en Chine*’ (Paris, 1901) (*sub nom.* Ricci), quoting Riccioli’s ‘*Almagestum*,’ p. xl., writes: “*Wan Kouo yu l’ou*. Grande ‘*Carte de l’Univers*’ de forme elliptique. Cette mappemonde fut imprimée sur soie, en douze grandes tables, par les soins du mandarin Ligotzum” (a curious jumble of errors). “Ricci la fit pour les Chinois ; il s’y conforma à leurs habitudes, en plaçant la Chine dans le centre de la carte et en déposant les autres pays autour du Royaume du Milieu. Riccioli ajoute que, pour se conformer encore d’avantage aux idées des Chinois, Ricci, au lieu de suivre la projection stéréographique ordinaire, selon laquelle la partie centrale est vue plus en petit qu’aucune autre, y representa au contraire la Chine plus en grand. . . . Le continuateur de Léon Pinelo croit que cette mappemonde de Ricci est la même que Gemelli-Careri dit avoir vue dans la Bibliothèque de Peking.”

If the first part of this story of Riccioli’s misled Yule, the last statement did as much for Léon Pinelo’s ‘*Continuateur*,’ Torre Nueva ; for, had he either seen Ricci’s map, or not read Riccioli, he could never have supposed that the map described by Gemelli-Careri was Ricci’s.*

What Gemelli-Careri says is: “The [Jesuit] missionaries have a fine library in Peking of Chinese and European books ; I saw there a map of the world in Chinese characters, but it is square, because this nation thinks the world has that shape, with China in the middle and all the other kingdoms round it, like islands.”† This description fits various Chinese maps, notably one five-foot square, block-printed, shown me by Dr. Dahlgren, in the King’s Library, Stockholm, and thought to be of 1700,

* Riccioli, Giov. Batta, Italian astronomer, born at Ferrara, 17 April 1598 ; died at Bologna, 25 June 1671. Entered the S.J. 6 October 1614. His most celebrated work, here quoted, is ‘*Almagestum novum, astronomiam veterem novamque complectens*’ (2 vols. Bologna, 1651), in which he demolishes the Copernican system—to his own entire satisfaction.

Léon Pinelo (Antonio de), a Spaniard, wrote ‘*Epitome de la Biblioteca oriental i Occidental, Nautica i Geographica*,’ etc. Madrid, 1629. A new edition was published at Madrid, 1737-1738, by A. Gonzalez de Barcia Carballido y Zuniga, in 3 vols., “añadido y enmendado . . . por mano del marques de Torre Nueva.” Of this edition Brunet says, “malheureusement les titres des livres y sont tous exprimés en Espagnol et avec peu d’exactitude.”

† ‘*Voyage du Tour du Monde*,’ vol. 4, p. 195. Ed. Paris, 1719. Churchill’s Collect., vol. 4, p. 336. Original edition ‘*Giro del mondo*,’ part iv. fol. 198 (Napoli, 1699-1700), 6 vol. in 12°.

but possibly the very map seen by Gemelli-Careri. In any case a map such as he describes can by no possibility have been the world-map of Ricci. This, however, by the way.

Reverting to the accusations brought against Ricci, he has Peking on the meridian 129° E. of Ferro, whereas the central (vertical) meridian of his map is 170° E., well out in the Pacific Ocean. China therefore is by no means literally "in the middle." Incidentally I may remark that this determination of the position of Peking, though some five degrees out, is far nearer the truth than the majority of European cartographers attained to for nearly a century after the date of Ricci's work, Peking being placed, in maps of the end of the seventeenth century, and even later, as far east as 150° and even 160° from Ferro. What Ricci did was merely to copy the European map he had with him, shifting the surface of the globe along the equatorial line until China was brought reasonably into view. Trigault indeed says, "He changed our projection somewhat and rejecting the prime meridian of the Fortunate Islands made the margins at the right and left parts of the map in such a way that the Chinese Empire might be seen in the centre of the map, not without applause and approval of the Chinese themselves." But this, as far as concerns the projection, is incorrect.

Riccioli declares that Ricci purposely exaggerated the magnitude of the Chinese Empire; but the native charge against him was, as we have seen, exactly the opposite—that he had made China too small! As to currying favour with the Emperor it is evident that Van-li never set eyes on Ricci's work until 1608, and that the Jesuits, so far from attempting anything of the sort, deliberately abstained from all endeavour to bring the map to his notice, for fear of the consequences.

To conclude: the fact that, in the Peking edition Ricci makes 170° not 180° the central meridian, coupled with what has already been said as to the position he gives China, constitutes, apparently, the sole basis of the legend accepted in all good faith by Yule; and, that being so, we must acquit Father Ricci, in this connection at least, of all charge of undue subservience. As to Chinese prejudice, there is nothing in the whole story, as revealed in the authentic pages of the 'Commentarij' and of Trigault's 'De Christiana Expeditione,' at once so well attested and so honourable to China's *litterati* as the ready way in which large numbers of them accepted a view of the world by which all their cherished ideas as to the distribution of land and water and the relative importance of their own country were for ever demolished—ideas intimately bound up with that extra dose of racial vanity with which the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire are not unjustly credited.

NOTE I.

There is a curious echo of all this in a passage wherein De Mailla's editor, quoting another Jesuit at doubtful second-hand, attributes to Kang-hi the

attitude falsely ascribed already to Van-li, an emperor of another century and different dynasty:

"Le père Laureati raconta à la Barbinais le Gentil [*sic*] dont on a un Voyage autour du Monde, & qui étoit à la Chine en 1716. . . . Sa vanité [Kang-hi's] ne pouvoit souffrir disoit-il, que dans les cartes géographiques on ne plaçât pas son empire au centre du Monde; & quelques Jésuites furent obligés pour lui plaire, de renverser l'ordre dans une carte Chinoise qu'il leur fit faire à Pe-king. Il rejetta deux globes d'une rare beauté, qu'un négociant Anglois lui avoit offerts, par la seule raison que la Chine n'y étoit pas située comme il le désirait" (De Mailla, 11, p. 366 n.; and see L. G. de la Barbinais, 'Nouveau Voyage autour du Monde.' Paris, 1728).

In the Amsterdam edition of 1731 this author's name appears as Le Gentil and De la Barbinais Le Gentil.

NOTE II.

Ricci's was not the only World-map made by the Jesuits in China. Verbiest made a large one in two hemispheres in 1672 (?), of which there are copies in the British Museum and elsewhere. From that preserved in the Upsala University Library a reduced facsimile was made in 1903 and published with text by K. Ahlenius, in 'Skrita K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, 8, 4. In De Mailla (11, 580) I find the following:—

"L'année 1761 fut remarquable par de grandes rejoissances qu'on fit à la cour & dans les provinces pour célébrer la 50^e année de l'âge de Kien-long. Un Européen * profita de cette circonstance pour présenter à ce prince une mappemonde conforme aux expériences & aux découvertes les plus récentes. Cette carte, tracée sur de la gaze, occupoit dans les deux hemisphères, y compris la bordure, 13 à 14 pieds de longueur sur sept de hauteur. L'empereur fut si satisfait de cette mappemonde, que, trois ans après, il chargea le même Européen de tracer les deux globes terrestres & celestes, destinés à être placés à côté du trône dans la grande salle d'audience de son palais de Pé-king."

A SHORT CHRONOLOGY OF FATHER RICCI.

6 Oct.	1552.	Born at Macerata.
24 March	1578.	Sets sail for the Indies.
13 Sept.	"	Reaches Goa.
7 Aug.	1582.	" Macao.
10 Sept.	1583.	Settles in Shao-king.
Autumn	1584.	First edition of World-map.
28 Aug.	1589.	Settles in Shao-chow.
28 June	1595.	" Nancian.
Sept.-Nov.	1598.	Abortive visit to Peking.
6 Feb.	1599.	Settles in Nanking.
	"	Second edition of World-map.
18 May	1600.	Leaves Nanking.
24 Jan.	1601.	Reaches Peking the second time and settles there.
Autumn	1602.	Third and fourth editions of World-map.
Jan.	1608.	The Emperor sees the map for the first time and orders twelve copies on silk. Consequent fifth edition or re-issue of fourth, with new blocks in place of some that had been broken.
18 May	1610.	Death of Father Ricci.

* "Le P. Benoit. Ce trait est tiré d'une Lettre écrite de Pé-king, le douze Septembre 1764; elle m'a été communiquée par M. l'Abbé Brotier."