# **Chapter 4**

# Maps and Shan Shui Paintings

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Until now, pre-modern Chinese maps and *shan shui* 山水 paintings were regarded as completely different from each other. The maps were seen as the preserve of geographers and historians, while the *shan shui* paintings as subject matter for art historians. In reality, the difference is much less clear: some of the maps feature mountain images that are drawn in a style resembling those used in *shan shui* paintings, while some *shan shui* paintings contain cartographic elements.

Figure 1 shows an example of a map that resembles a *shan shui* painting. The picture is of Gao'an County (*Gao'an Xian tu* 高安県図, Kangxi 康熙 reign, National Library of China 中国国家図書館 in Beijing). Figure 2 shows an enlarged view of the map.

Figure 3 presents an example of a *shan shui* painting with cartographic elements. The painting is of the Shu River (*Shuchuan tu juan* 蜀川図巻) attributed to Li Gonglin 李公麟 (Northern Song original, Freer Gallery of Art). Figure 4 shows an enlarged view of the painting.

There are even cases of "map-shan shui hybrids" (ditu shan shui hua 地図山水画). These pictures represent a blend of a map and a shan shui painting.¹

Figure 5 shows one such hybrid. The image is *Map of the Yellow River* (*Huanghe tu* 黄河図, Qing 清 era, National Central Library 国家図書館 in Taipei).

In these hybrids, it is hard to tell the *shan shui* elements apart from the cartographic elements.

Unlike the case with the *shan shui* paintings, few researchers have considered pre-modern Chinese maps as part of art history. There is a historical reason for this. During the Ming era, a time when mapmaking flourished, research on *shan shui* painting had already started emphasising authorship in art. Yet maps from this era gave no clear indication of authors. Accordingly, most Chinese scholars did not regard such "authorless" maps as art, even when they resemble a *shan shui* painting. Another factor, undeniably, is that the maps are much less aesthetic than a professional artist's *shan shui* painting. The key issue, then, was whether the image had artistic merit or not.

The relationship between the practical and the aesthetic is itself a crucial issue to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a discussion of how to think about the two elements of the work, maps and landscape paintings, see the discussion made by Cordell D. K. Yee on the topic of perspective and Wang Wei's work [Yee 1994a, especially the section "Maps as Paintings/Paintings as Maps"].

examine in research on Chinese paintings. It is important to note, however, that as tempting as it is to classify maps as practical and *shan shui* painting as aesthetic, this simplistic framework does not always work in reality. In any case, I argue that the map-*shan shui* hybrids can offer vital clues to understand what pre-modern Chinese people regarded as beauty and art.

Just what is a map? As obvious as the answer may seem, it may be worthwhile citing a dictionary definition. Nihon kokugo daijiten 日本国語大辞典, a Japanese dictionary, defines "map" (chizu 地図 in Japanese) as "a representation of the Earth's terrain, or part of it, on a flat surface and at a certain scale, with symbols, text, colour, and so on" [Nihon Daijiten Kankōkai 1972–1976]. Another Japanese dictionary, Kōjien 広辞苑, presents a definition that is broadly similar, but with some notable differences. First, the definition omits "colour" from the list of examples and, even more notably, omits "and so on" [Shinmura 2018]. According to this more restrictive definition, a map is something that consists exclusively of symbols and text. Contour lines count because they are symbols, more or less. This definition gives us a clear standard on how abstract or diagrammatic an image must be to qualify as a map.

Actual pre-modern Chinese maps seldom contain just symbols and text. The maps contain text but have minimal symbolisation, meaning that the level of abstraction is low. Therefore, insofar as we follow the definition, we could not call these images maps as such; we would sooner call them *shan shui* paintings.

As for the *shan shui* paintings, the definitions are much more nebulous than those for maps. The *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*, defines *shan shui* as follows: "paintings that depict natural landscapes, such as mountains, rivers, and trees." This definition seems problematic. First, the definition could equally describe Western landscape paintings. Second, pre-modern *shan shui* paintings often feature human characters: in fact, they appear more often than not. The definition fails to account for the important role these characters play. We should also remember that the Chinese concept of "landscape" (*fengjing* 風景) differs from the European concept in that it emphasises wind and light. Ogawa Tamaki 小川環樹 underscored this point in his article about the role of *fengjing* in Chinese poetry [Ogawa T. 1967].

An important distinction must be made before going any further. Shan shui painting, which literally means "mountain-water," could theoretically describe any pre-modern Chinese painting that depicts mountainous and riverine scenery. What we must bear in mind, however, is that pre-modern Chinese art placed importance on representing qi = 1. As such, shan shui painting can refer to one of two different concepts.

In the first concept, *shan shui* paintings represent the qi making up mountains and rivers. By extension, the images illustrate how qi lies behind everything in the world. In other words, the artists were using visual forms, like mountains and rivers to represent qi which is unseen as it is. Alternatively, they may have been trying to depict the world as it

actually appears. Either way, they were painting representations of the world. Figure 6 is an example. The figure shows a Song era painting by Guo Xi 郭熙 titled *Early Spring (Zaochun tu* 早春図, National Palace Museum 国立故宮博物院, Taipei). It also expresses the presence of the *qi* in the mountain.

In the second concept of *shan shui* painting, the mountain and river images serve simply as tangible manifestations of the artist's inner *qi* or psychological state. The artist would use tangible landforms, like mountains, rivers, and bamboo, to express something intangible and subjective. This approach was typically advocated by the school of "literati painting" (*wenren hua* 文人画). Such paintings are also "self-portraits" as they express the artist's inner state.

The latter kind of *shan shui* paintings are completely different from maps in both meaning and purpose. They lack any cartographic elements. Figure 7 gives an example of a *shan shui* painting functioning as a psychological self-portrait. The painting is Ni Zan's 倪瓚 *Autumn Sky over Fishing Village* (*Yuzhuang qiuji tu* 漁莊秋霽図, Shanghai Museum 上海博物館).

Some have likened this latter kind of *shan shui* paintings to the "mindscapes" (*xiongzhong qiu he* 胸中丘壑—"hills and valleys within the breast") in which the literati sought to express their psyche as tangible landforms. This mindscape aspect is another factor that differentiates the second class of *shan shui* paintings from maps.<sup>2</sup>

However, we should note one issue. "Journey in laying down" 臥游 is thought to be an origin of *shan shui* painting. By viewing *shan shui* painting, people who were too old to travel could recall the scenery they visited in the past and enjoy them afresh as if they were really there. Its purpose becomes more similar to that of a map.

Having clarified the two classes of *shan shui* painting, we can address the question of how *shan shui* differs from maps.

There are two well-known sources referented in this matter: Collection of Paintings of Sound (Shenghua ji 声画集) and Poems on Paintings of All Dynasties (Lidai tihuashi lei 歷代題画詩類). Here is a brief summary of its contents. The subject matter in the collections of poems was categorised by painting genres, with categories, such as shan shui paintings, "human figure paintings" (renwu hua 人物画), and "bird-and-flower paintings" (hua niao hua 花鳥画).

The first of the two collections is titled *Collection of Paintings of Sound* in order to convey the idea that poems were paintings in spoken ("sound") form. The collection consists of two kinds of paintings: "mountains and rivers of commanderies/provinces" (*zhou jun shan chuan* 州郡山川) and *shan shui. Zhou jun shan chuan* evidently denotes realistic depictions of local landscapes, but the compilers provided no clear definition of the catego-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For more on the relationship between paintings and the painter's mental state, or inner qi, see Usami [2014].

ry.

The second source, *Poems on Paintings of All Dynasties*, is much more helpful in this regard, as the notes include an explanation on the difference between maps and *shan shui* paintings. According to these notes, maps are classified under the "geography category" (*dili lei* 地理類) and defined as follows: "scaled-down representations of terrain encompassing several thousand *li* 里" or "broad descriptions of the situation of mountains or sea." *Shan shui*, on the other hand, is classified under the "*shan shui* category" (*shan shui lei* 山水類), and defined as follows: "representations of imaginary scenery, in which the mountains and rivers are unspecified."<sup>3</sup>

Contrary to what the notes say about maps/geography, the "geography" section contains only a few cases where the poem's pictorial subject matter resembles a map; in most cases, the subject matter is a particular place. As such, it would be more accurate to describe these pictures as "real-landscape *shan shui*" (*shijing shan shui* 実景山水). Still, the definition itself does differentiate maps (the geography category) from *shan shui* paintings (the *shan shui* category): the former depicts real landscapes (*shijing* 実景) while the latter does not. This notional criterion gives us something to work with for now. Relatedly, in discussing particular *shan shui* paintings, scholars of art history have often highlighted matters, such as whether the painting depicts actual scenery and how faithfully it does so. Paintings that do depict the actual scenes are classified by these scholars as "real-landscape *shan shui*."

Thus, let's consider the "real-landscape shan shui" in Figure 8: The West Lake Painting (Xihu tu 西湖図) attributed to Li Song 李嵩 (Shanghai Museum). This painting would fall under the "geography" category according to the above source, but it is doubtful that anyone today would describe this picture as a map.

Thus, we must consider other criteria for sorting maps from *shan shui*. I propose the following three criteria:

- Does the picture depict a real landscape?
- Is the picture panoramic?
- Does the picture depict any human figures?
- A map's purpose

## 1. Does the picture depict a real landscape?

<sup>&</sup>quot; 『歷代題画詩類』凡例「輿圖、廣遠地理盡之、尺幅之中、該括數千里、凡具山海形勢之 大觀者、則為地理類。若憑空寫意、或作重巒疊嶂、或作遠岫平林、隨意點染、不指名為何 山何水者、則為山水類。至山水中名勝之區、如泰華嵩衡洞庭瀟湘之類、模景繪圖者、別為 名勝類。其名勝中、地以人傳、繪其遺蹟、如桃源赤壁蘭亭釣臺等圖、則又別為古蹟類。」

Let's begin with the criterion used in *Poems on Paintings of All Dynasties*: whether the painting depicts a real landscape or not. Pre-modern Chinese *shan shui* paintings generally rarely depict an actual landscape. Maps, needless to say, are supposed to represent an actual landscape. Then, what actually is a "real landscape" (*shijing*) in the first place? We will return to this question later; for now, it will suffice to define a real landscape as one that exists in reality.

In using the criterion of whether the picture depicts a real landscape, we must return to the issue of "symbols." This issue concerns the way a map represents mountains, rivers, and other geographical features. The issue also relates to the question of what a "real landscape" is. *Shan shui* paintings are far from photo-realistic reproductions; but they do not deviate too far from the actual forms of mountains, at least as the painter perceived them. By contrast, the symbolisation in maps makes no attempt to distinguish the form of one mountain from another. Both appear as the same notional mountain. Each mountain image would be drawn in the style of *shan shui* paintings, but the mountain images were all diagrammatic representations. This cartographic practice was directly linked to how *shan shui* painters drew descriptive features: in drawing the mountains, rivers, and other landforms, they followed a formula of sorts.

This symbols issue is also related to the issue of perspective. I will discuss perspective in more detail below, but suffice it to say, the *shan shui*-style mountain images in maps are nothing more than notational *symbols*. They are not as abstract as some symbols are (they do look like mountains), but they are "symbols" all the same.

In maps, symbolisation turns each mountain, river, school, and post office into a diagrammatic, generic symbol that does not account for the specific form of each feature. By "form," I mean how the feature appears in reality.<sup>4</sup> In the case of Chinese maps, what most concerns us is the mountain's form—the way it appears. Crucial, then, is the perspective from which the mountains are seen.

The issue of perspective is illustrated by the following two examples. The first, in Figure 9, is the Complete Map of Ganzhou Prefecture, Gansu Province (Gansu Ganzhou Fu quantu 甘肅甘州府全図, 1753–1912, Peking University Library 北京大学図書館). In this example, the terrain is depicted from a single perspective, and each mountain appears as though it were viewed from a single direction. The second, in Figure 10, is the Map of Mengyin District, Shandong Province (Shandong Mengyin Jian yutu 山東蒙陰県興図, 1875–1908, Peking University Library). In this example, the terrain as a whole is, again, depicted from a single perspective. The mountains, however, vary in terms of the cardinal direction from which they are viewed. Ultimately, though, the mountain images and everything else fall into an elevated vertical perspective (a bird's-eye view). The use of such a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In a separate work, I argue that when it comes to the question of "what is form?" we should think of form as visual representation—how the thing appears to the viewer. The discussion is in the preface ("What is form") in Usami [2015].

fixed spatial perspective is a clear indication that the picture is a map.

By contrast, *shan shui* painters generally depicted mountains from terrestrial perspectives, as they may be seen in real life. Admittedly, most of the mountains in *shan shui* paintings are configured in ways that seem inconceivable from a terrestrial perspective, but the perspectives themselves are never imaginary.

To summarise, maps depict "real landscapes" from an "imaginary" perspective. By contrast, *shan shui* paintings depict imaginary landscapes, but the perspectives are always realistic.

Adopting an imaginary perspective is directly linked to a vertical view of the world.

Real landscapes have two crucial criteria. First, the images in the paintings must be of things that exist in reality. Second, the images must depict these things as they appeared to the painter. Maps fail this test: their cartographic symbols represent things that do exist, but they do not represent these things as they appear. So, what about the hybrids? Although they are diagrammatic to some degree (the mountains are rather generic), they do indeed meet the two criteria.

Inasmuch as *shan shui* paintings originated from the "journey in laying down," it has always emphasised realistic perspectives. While maps are concerned with the objective configuration of the terrain, *shan shui* paintings are concerned with what appears and how it appears.

It should, now, be possible to summarise the differences as shown in the following table.

	Мар	Shan shui	Hybrid
Subject matter	Real	Imaginary	Real
Perspective	Imaginary	Real	Imaginary
Drawing Style	Imaginary	Real	Real

In the "drawing style" row, I used the descriptors "real" and "imaginary" for convenience sake. In this context, "real" means "realistic" (depicted in a way that is faithful to how it actually appears), and "imaginary" means "diagrammatic" (represented with a symbol). Admittedly, the style of the hybrids is diagrammatic to some degree, featuring generic images that are somewhat akin to symbols; however, I classified the style as "real" none-theless, as these images are markedly different from cartographic symbols.

## 2. Is the picture panoramic?

As mentioned earlier, maps typically show terrain from a vertical perspective, whereas *shan shui* paintings use a variety of perspectives. Another key characteristic of *shan shui* 

painting is that they mix several perspectives together in a single picture. Additionally, they never use a vertical perspective. Thus, this variable (whether the picture takes a vertical perspective or not) provides an unambiguous criterion for sorting maps from *shan shui* paintings.

The question is whether *shan shui* paintings depict ground. Oftentimes, *shan shui* paintings use a panoramic perspective for the foreground and a horizontal perspective for the background. Since maps are supposed to represent the Earth's surface (a word for map in Chinese is *ditu* 地図—literally, "description of the ground"), their perspective must be limited to one that can capture an expanse of terrain. A horizontal perspective will not work: a map must use a vertical perspective or panorama. We must therefore ask whether the picture is panoramic, but in assessing this, we must be mindful of the reasons for depicting ground. For a map, depicting terrain is the most important requirement. *Shan shui* paintings, however, do not need to show ground: mountain and river images will suffice. There are two reasons to depict ground. The first reason is to give a sense of depth or distance with an elevated panorama.

The second is to depict people and their lives.

Let us remember that *shan shui* paintings combine river and mountain images. A descriptive river image is only possible if painted from a vertical or panoramic perspective, but the same cannot be said for a mountain image, for which a horizontal perspective is best. A panorama reconciles these requirements. Notably, the panorama is an ancient Chinese tradition stretching back to the Later Han era. Figure 11 presents an example of an ancient Chinese panorama. The image is a rubbing from a pictorial brick unearthed in Sichuan. Figure 12 gives another example: a rubbing from a pictorial brick excavated from Yangzishan 羊子山 Tomb 2 in Chengdu 成都. You can clearly see the panoramic configuration in both images.

Let's consider some even earlier examples. The earliest example of Chinese cartography is thought to be the *Zhaoyu tu* 兆域図, a tomb plan engraved on a bronze plate in 310 BC and unearthed from Hebei Province, once part of the Zhongshan Kingdom 中山国. However, there is some contention about whether the plan is categorically a map. Another example, shown in Figure 13, is a wooden map created between 250 and 300 BC and unearthed from Fangmatan 放馬灘 of Tianshui 天水 City, Gansu Province. This picture is clearly a river map, and as such, it can be considered a precursor to *shan shui* painting. The river is the main focus, and the perspective is undeniably vertical. The *Zhaoyu tu*, likewise, has a top-down view. From Fangmatan, there is another paper map created between 179 and 141 BC. It might be hard to make out in the photograph, but the map is notable for depicting cliff-like river banks, evidence that a panoramic perspective was already in use at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> This view differs somewhat from the view of Michael Sullivan, who in Sullivan [1962] postulated that *shan shui* painting originated from *fengjing*.

the time.6

Maps need not to be panoramas as such. However, panorama helps achieve the map's purpose, to depict terrain and show depth/distance. The map in Figure 14 depicts Defenses along the Great Wall in Shanxi 山西辺垣布陣図 (Kyoto University 京都大学). This map is clearly panoramic. A person familiar with shan shui painting would recognise the shan shui configuration here, in which the foreground is panoramic and the background has a horizontal perspective (an example of this configuration can be seen in Figure 15: Spring Trees after Rain (Yuyu chunshu tu 雨余春樹図, National Palace Museum, Taipei) of Wen Zhengming 文徵明). The map depicts mountains in the shan shui style and adopts the same panoramic configuration that shan shui painters adeptly deployed, making it resemble a shan shui painting.

## 3. Does the Picture Depict Any Human Figures?

People do not appear in early-modern Chinese maps. In *shan shui* paintings, however, human figures seem to be an important requirement, as evidenced by the debate over why no figures appear in the Ni Zan painting for example. I mentioned earlier that in the second concept of *shan shui* painting, the paintings serve as self-portraits. In such self-portraits, human figures do not appear. Accordingly, the kind of *shan shui* paintings we should be comparing maps with are those that depict the world and contain human figures.

In summary, given that the figure-free *shan shui* paintings are special cases, this variable (whether the picture depicts any human figures or not) provides a clear demarcation between maps and *shan shui* paintings. Stated differently, if a map has human figures in it, we can classify it as similar to a *shan shui* painting.

### 4. A Map's Purpose

Cordell D. K. Yee underscored the importance of a map's purpose: primarily, maps served a military purpose, as exemplified in the famous anecdote about Jing Ke 荊軻, and we must therefore consider their political, or practical, function. Given this, it should now be clear that one of the key characteristics of the hybrids was that they were designed to be practical, yet were drawn with *shan shui* techniques.

Having considered the practical purpose of maps, we now come to the matter of

What makes a map even more "map-like" is the use of cartographic symbols. Cordell D. K. Yee argued that the Mawangdui maps themselves had some level of symbolisation [Yee 1994b]. The use of scale is another factor. I did not consider scale in this article, as it applies only to maps, but it is worth bearing in mind.

aesthetic purpose. Given that some maps, such as the aforementioned *Map of the Yellow River*, do have aesthetic value, we should explore this matter further and consider what Guo Xi said, in *The Lofty Taste of Forests and Streams* (*Linquan gaozhi* 林泉高致), about how the viewer should be present in the *shan shui* painting. Specifically, the human figures appearing in the paintings must be like alter egos for the viewers so that the viewers can feel they inhabit the *shan shui* space. An example of this principle can be seen in Figure 16: *Walking with Staff* (*Ce zhang tu* 策杖図, National Palace Museum, Taipei) of Shen Zhou 沈周 (Figure 17 contains part of the image). The person with a walking stick is part of the picture—a figure present amid the landscape (the *fengjing*). At the same time, he is the very embodiment of the viewer.

If we think along this line, it might make sense to think of hybrids as images that are intended to be purely visual. The purpose is purely for the viewer to see a visual image of physical terrain, not for the viewers to get themselves in the picture. Although the mountains might be drawn in the *shan shui* style, the viewer never goes beyond the surface image to become one with the picture, as they would with a *shan shui* painting.

Given this, hybrids seem to constitute a third class of *shan shui*, in which the painting represents neither the way the artist perceives the world nor his own inner state. The picture I presented earlier in Figure 8, the *West Lake Painting*, is one example of a *shan shui* painting intended for purely visual image.

That much is true when we focus on how hybrids differ from pure *shan shui* paintings, but what if we approach the hybrids from the other direction—how do they differ from pure maps? One factor to consider when taking the latter approach is the use of panorama, as discussed earlier, but here too, we must consider purpose. Earlier, I argued that maps and *shan shui* paintings can be differentiated simply by their purposes (maps are practical, while *shan shui* paintings are aesthetic). However, in an earlier example, *The Shu River* (Figure 3), we saw a picture that contained some "practical" cartographic elements, yet was still ultimately "aesthetic" (being an artwork created by an artist for aesthetic purposes). Conversely, Ming-era cartographers themselves had started adopting some *shan shui* techniques. Perhaps the idea behind these aesthetic touches was that if people were going to be looking at your map, you might as well make it pleasing to the eye.

The earlier suggestion that hybrids were intended to be purely visual brings to mind modern-day paintings, but the hybrids are certainly not modern paintings. The hybrids emerged offering aesthetic value while retaining their practical use as maps. They were maps that were worthy of aesthetic appreciation (eliminating elements, such as the *qi* and how the viewer inhabits the picture). This phenomenon has few comparable examples in the world, and it is attributable to the historical role of *shan shui*. Another traditional Chinese art that imbibes aesthetic value without sacrificing practicability is pottery. Thus, hy-

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brids combined the practical and the aesthetic.7

When considering *shan shui* paintings that were intended to be purely visual, it is worth referring to the late Ming trend led by Dong Qichang 董其昌, which advocated a freer style of *shan shui*, in which artists depicted the subject matter in whatever form they pleased, unbound by generic rules about *qi.*<sup>8</sup> I mentioned earlier that "form" refers to how something actually looks, but what Dong Qichang and others attempted was to visually portray forms as they were *seen*. A case in point is the image in Figure 18: Dong Qichang's *Wanluan Thatched Hall (Wanluan caotang tu* 婉變草堂図, private collection). Thus, the late Ming era was arguably a "visual age," although more research is needed to demonstrate this assertion.

## **Concluding Remarks**

The enterprise of depicting the world around us began with cartography. Pre-modern Chinese cartographers would create representations of the Earth's surface. They would represent real geographical features, but they would do so using an imaginary, vertical perspective and by deploying geographic symbols or generic, diagrammatised images. By contrast, *shan shui* painters adopted a panoramic style, enabling them to depict mountains (that must be drawn in a horizontal perspective) and rivers (that must be drawn in a vertical one). Against this backdrop, there emerged map-*shan shui* hybrids that adopted the horizontal and panoramic perspectives of *shan shui* paintings. These hybrids were intended for aesthetic consumption as well as practical use. As such, they represent a third class of *shan shui*, in which the picture is intended to be purely visual.

The matter of perspective should be obvious to anyone, so I went only so far as to outline and clarify the matter. What I want to emphasise, however, is that perspective is a new factor to consider in relation to aesthetic value.

Researchers have frequently examined literary sources and paintings held to be artworks in an effort to determine what pre-modern Chinese people considered to be art or

That said, there is a crucial difference between artistic maps and pottery. Where pottery once combined practical purpose and aesthetic value, the former is now separated from the latter in many cases. There are many examples of artistic ceramics crafted with no thought for practical purposes. In many cases, it is hard to imagine the ceramic vessel serving its original function (to contain something), as is palpably illustrated by modern ceramic artworks. Then again, maps of real land-scapes did not always serve a military function. Hence, just as we considered the role of real-land-scape shan shui, we must also consider the role of real-landscape maps. According to Cordell D. K. Yee, real-landscape maps were supposed to indicate territorial boundaries. Territorial boundaries would have been of cardinal importance to the government, but they would have been far less important in tourist maps. Tourist maps, then, would have been closer to shan shui paintings. Although territorial boundaries only become an issue in real-landscape maps, we should bear in mind that, in reality, mountains and rivers in maps often indicate natural territorial boundaries anyway.

For more on this trend, see Usami [2014].

beauty. In this article, I have demonstrated that map-shan shui hybrids offer crucial insight into this question. By making their maps as close as possible to shan shui paintings, cartographers were trying to see just how aesthetically pleasing a practical product could be. The hybrids represent the results of their efforts. They also reflect the historic art discourse about what makes something beautiful.

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**Figure 1.** The Map of Gao'an County (Gao'an Xian tu 高安県図, Qing era, Kangxi 康熙 reign, National Library of China in Beijing)

Source: Cao et al. 1997, fig. 23.



Figure 2. Cropped image of Figure 1

**Figure 3.** The Shu River (Shuchan tu juan 蜀川図巻 attributed to Li Gonglin 李公麟, Original: Northern Song, Freer Gallery of Art)

**Figure 4.** Cropped image of Figure 3

**Figure 5.** Map of the Yellow River (Huanghe tu 黄河図, Qing era, National Central Library in Taipei)

Source: Zhongguo Cehui Kexue Yanjiuyuan 1998, fig. 118-2.

**Figure 6**. *Early Spring (Zaochun tu* 早春図 by Guo Xi 郭熙, Northern Song era, National Palace Museum in Taipei)

Source: Ogawa H. and Yuba 1998, fig. 35.

**Figure 7.** Autumn Sky over Fishing Village (Yuzhuang qiuji tu 漁荘秋霽図 by Ni Zan 倪 瓚, Yuan era, Shanghai Museum)

Source: Ebine and Nishioka 1999, fig. 73.

**Figure 8.** The West Lake Painting (Xihu tu 西湖図 attributed to Li Song 李嵩, Southern Song era, Shanghai Museum)

Source: Shimada and Nakazawa 2000, fig. 149.

**Figure 9.** The Complete Map of Ganzhou Prefecture, Gansu Province (Gansu Ganzhou Fu quantu 甘肅甘州府全図, Qing era, Qianlong 乾隆 18—Xuantong 宣統 3, Peking University Library)

Source: Beijing Daxue Tushuguan 2008, 140.





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Figure 12. A rubbing of a brick depicting a courtyard (Later Han era, excavated from Yangzishan 羊子山 Tomb 2 in Chengdu 成都)

Source: Chang et al. 1988, fig. 238.

Figure 13. A wooden map excavated from Tianshui 天水 County, Gansu Province (Gansu Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology)

Source: Zhongguo Cehui Kexue Yanjiuyuan 1998, fig. 3-3.

Figure 14. Defenses along the Great Wall in Shanxi (Shanxi bian yuan buzhen tu 山西辺 垣布陣図, a part of vol. 3, late Ming—early Qing era, Library of Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University)

**Figure 15.** Spring Trees after Rain (Yuyu chunshu tu 雨余春樹図 by Wen Zhengming 文 徴明, Ming era, National Palace Museum, Taipei)

Source: Zhongguo Gudai Shuhua Jianding Zu 2000, fig. 9.

**Figure 16 (left).** Walking with Staff (Cezhang tu 策杖図 by Shen Zhou 沈周, Ming era, National Palace Museum, Taipei)

Source: Nishioka and Miyazaki 1999, fig. 24. **Figure 17 (right).** Cropped image of Figure 16

**Figure 18.** Wanluan Thatched Hall (Wanluan caotang tu 婉孌草堂図 by Dong Qichang 董其昌, Ming era, private collection)

Source: Nishioka and Miyazaki 1999, fig. 86.