

Chapter 5

Landscape-Style Maps in Early Modern China

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1. Introduction: *Huangyu tu*

The *Huangyu tu* 皇輿圖 (Map of imperial territory) manuscript is a large map consisting of twelve parts (fasc.) that was stored at the Momijiyama Bunko 紅葉山文庫 (Momijiyama Library) during the Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 era and is now held at the National Archives of Japan (Call mark: 史212-0001). It is a valuable example of a late Ming dynasty landscape-style map that depicts the land mass from east to west, from Japan and the Ryukyus in the first volume to “Xingxiu hai” 星宿海 (Constellation sea) at the source of the Yellow River, Hamiwei 哈密衛, and a large lake seeming to be Puchang hai 蒲昌海¹ in volume twelve. The verso side of the *Huangyu tu* has the second revised edition of Li Madou’s 利瑪竇 (Matteo Ricci) *Kunyu wanguo quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖 (Map of all countries on the earth), published in Wanli 萬曆 30 (1602), attached to it with various illustrations removed and only the pseudo-cylindrical world map showing. While the importance of the Ricci map is being stressed today, the *Huangyu tu* has received little attention. However, the Ricci map has been affixed on the other side of the map whose title was shown on the manuscript. Today, the *Huangyu tu* has been released in the Digital Archive, National Archives of Japan, with both sides displayed making it possible to view both maps² (see Figure 1).

There already exists an old introduction to *Huangyu tu* written by Aoyama Sadao 青山定雄 [Aoyama 1935]. Unno Kazutaka 海野一隆 has also previously taken up the sections showing the area around Shandong, which when joined together create a large map measuring 444 cm × 348 cm [Unno 2004b, 114; 2010, 233]. As Aoki Chieko 青木千枝子 states in “A Study of the *Huangyu tu*,” the *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki* 幕府書物方日記 (Daily records of the officers of Momijiyama Library) contains that along with other enu-

¹ Beyond the desert, north of the Constellation Sea, there is a lake with two rivers flowing into it. In the map of the Western Regions (*Xiyu tu* 西域圖) in the *Guangyu tu* 廣輿圖, vol. 2, this lake is called Puchang hai (Lop Nor).

² The *Huangyu tu* (*Kōyo zu* in Japanese) can be found on the page for *Konyo bankoku zenzu* under the sub-category “Maps, Drawing etc” of the category “Various Holdings” on the Digital Archive (<https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/pickup/view/category/categoryArchives/En/0200000000/0402000000/00>). The author has previously examined the *Huangyu tu* using this website [Ōsawa 2016, 61–100].

merated local gazetteers (*fangzhi* 方志), it was delivered for storage in the Momijiyama Library, having been offered by the Nagasaki magistrate (*bugyō* 奉行) in Kyōhō 享保 19 (1734) under the eighth shogun of the Tokugawa shogunate [Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 1978, 108–111; Aoki 1993]. Moreover, Aoki Chieko judged the manuscript to have been made around Shunzhi 順治 10–14 (1653–1657) during the early Qing dynasty by a Ming loyalist who was influenced by the Eccentric School of painting (*kisō ha* 奇想派) that had arisen in south China. Aoki also assumed that the main focus of interest would probably have been on Matteo Ricci's map on the verso side.³

On the other hand, Unno believes that the reverse side of the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* was intended to show both the world and the Chinese mainland on both sides of the map. Since the second revised edition of the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* was published in Wanli 30 (1602), it is assumed that it was created close to that time [Unno 2010, 238]. Unno also points out that the map of Japan and the map of the Ryukyu Islands are in the form of *Guangyu tu* 廣輿圖 (Enlarged terrestrial map), and that the shape of Japan is the same in the Wanli 7 edition of *Guangyu tu* [Unno 2004b, 116n8].

Huangyu tu shows transportation routes, but it does not draw the boundaries of administrative divisions. Although city castles are depicted at the prefectural (*fu* 府) level, at the level of subprefectures (*zhou* 州) and counties (*xian* 縣) only the name of the subprefecture or county is given. The names of some rivers and places such as “Masha” 麻沙 and “Ehu” 鵝湖 are sometimes annotated, and buildings such as temples, mausoleums, and barrier stations are illustrated.

In fact, among the names of places shown in the *Huangyu tu*, we find Yuzhou 禹州 in Henan (formerly Junzhou 鈞州), which was changed in Wanli 3 to avoid the name taboo of the Wanli emperor's given name Yijun 翊鈞, and Zhangning Xian 長寧縣 Ganzhou Fu 贛州府 in Jiangxi, which was established in Wanli 4; hence, we can trace it back to Wanli 4 or later. Moreover, as there is still a place named Jinzhou 金州 in Shaanxi, which was renamed Xing'anzhou 興安州 in Wanli 11 (1583), this raises the possibility that its information was gathered before Wanli 11 (see Figure 2).

As old Chinese landscape-style maps were never published, there are very few examples remaining. Although some collections of landscape-style maps with administrative comments added at the prefecture, subprefecture, and county levels from the Wanli era in the late Ming dynasty survive, there are no other known examples of continental maps drawn in this landscape-style. However, there was a collection of illustrated maps (landscape-style maps) created by government offices that were not published in China. Illustrations made in this manner since the Ming dynasty are held in various museums and archives in various locations [Ōsawa 2010]. These landscape-style maps are thought to have

³ According to Aoki [1993], this is estimated to have been drawn based on the depiction of the city walls of Liaoyang 遼陽 in Liaodong Province, around Shunzhi 10–14 of the early Qing dynasty.

been created by various local government offices long ago in order to meet the needs of the local administration. Let us now turn to an overview leading up to the creation of the *Huangyu tu*.

2. Genealogy of Landscape-Style Maps

In China, maps for each region have existed since ancient times. The two Han maps discovered at Mawangtui 馬王堆, the so-called *Garrison Map* (*Zhujun tu* 駐軍圖) and *Topographic Map* (*Dixing tu* 地形圖), are well-known examples of such maps. The *Shiji* 史記 (The records of the grand historian) has a story of the map of Dukang 督亢 that Jing Ke 荊軻 carried with him to assassinate King Zheng 政 of Qin 秦 (in vol. 86), and a story in Yuanshou 元狩 6 (117 B.C.), relating how Wudi 武帝 of the Han enfeoffed his sons as the kings of Qi 齊, Yan 燕, and Gangling 廣陵, and the censor-in-chief (*yushi dafu* 御史大夫) submitted maps of territory (*yudi tu* 輿地圖) and asked for the names to be assigned to the states (in vol. 60).⁴

Moreover, it is well known that during the Three Kingdoms period, Sun Quan 孫權 attempted to make a map depicting the geographical features of mountains, rivers, and military camps, and his wife, the sister of Prime Minister Zhao Da 趙達, embroidered a map of the “five mountains, rivers, sea, cities, and military camps” (五嶽河海城邑行陣之形) and offered it to him.⁵ That embroidery was a pictorial representation, and could be termed as either a landscape-style map or a panoramic map.

Considering this, the terms *ditu* 地圖 and *yudi tu* were probably used as general terms to refer to maps, as we understand them today. Individual map names seem to be known from the time of *Yugong diyu tu* 禹貢地域圖 (Regional maps for the *Yu gong* [tribute of Yu]), produced by Pei Xiu 裴秀 of the Western Jin dynasty in the third century. Pei Xiu systematised theories of map-making, such as scale, direction, distance, and altitude, in the “six principles of map-making” (製圖之體有六), and he is thought to have established the principles of grid maps (*Jinshu* 晉書 35, “Pei Xiu zhuan” 裴秀傳 [Biography of Pei Xiu]). It has been said that Pei Xiu created the *Yugong diyu tu*, as well as the *Dixing fangzhang tu* 地形方丈圖 (Topographical one-zhang-square map), with a scale of one hundred *li* 里 to one inch (*cun* 寸; 1/1,800,000),⁶ and it is safe to assume that he was engaged in creating a grid map.

By the time of the Sui-Tang era, which unified the Northern and Southern dynasties,

⁴ *Shiji* 史記 60, “San Wang shijia” 三王世家, and *Shiji* 86, “Cike zhuan” 刺客傳.

⁵ Wang Jia 王嘉, *Shiyiji* 拾遺記 8, as well as Zhang Yanyuan’s 張彥遠 *Lidai minghuaqi* 歷代名畫記 (Famous Paintings through History), vol. 4.

⁶ Yu Shinan 虞世南, *Beitang shuchao* 北堂書鈔 (Transcriptions from the Northern Hall) 96, “Yiwen” 藝文 2, “Tu” 圖 9.

a nationwide administrative organisation had been established and regional government offices were obliged to submit *tujing* 圖經 (map and topography) to the central authorities. According to the *Suishu* 隋書, during the Daye 大業 era, the prefectures throughout the realm were ordered to submit “local customs, products, and maps” (風俗物產地圖) to the imperial secretary (*shangshu* 尚書).⁷ Thus, the Sui dynasty produced the *Zhujun wuchan tusu ji* 諸郡物產土俗記 (Products and customs of prefectures of the Sui dynasty), the *Quyū tuzhi* 區宇圖志 (Records and maps of the districts of the Empire of Sui), and the *Zhuzhou tujing ji* 諸州圖經集 (Collection of local topographies and maps of the Sui dynasty). According to the *Sui daye shiyi* 隋大業拾遺, quoted in the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Readings of the Taiping era), many maps were included in the *Shijun zhi* 十郡志, compiled under the leadership of Yu Shiji 虞世基, and its opening page seemed to depict *shan-chuan tu* 山川圖 (map of natural scenery), *guoyi tu* 郭邑圖 (city map), and *gongguan tu* 公館圖 (map of government offices).⁸ These types of thematic maps are thought to have been carried over since the Sui and Tang dynasties, and they can be seen, for example, in local gazetteers (*fanzhi*) illustrations of Song dynasty such as *Jiading Chicheng zhi* 嘉定赤城志 (Local gazetteer of Taizhou Prefecture during Southern Song; it was named after Chicheng 赤城 Commandery during Liang 梁).

Later, in the Tang dynasty, the Bureau of Operations (*Zhifangsi* 職方司) of the Ministry of War (*Bingbu* 兵部) was responsible for maps, and from then, it was stipulated that *tujing* had to be submitted every three years.⁹ From then until the end of the Qing dynasty, maps remained under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Operations of the Ministry of War.

In the Tang dynasty, *shidao tu* 十道圖 (maps of the ten circuits) were repeatedly created and recorded in the *Yuhai* 玉海 (Sea of jades), vol. 14, “Dili tu” 地理圖 (geographical maps), and vol. 15, “Dili shu” 地理書 (geographical works). Moreover, *Tang shidao tu* 唐十道圖 was also included in vol. 8 of the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題, and its opening pages are said to have recorded “the total number of prefectures and counties, the numbers of civil and military officials, and salaries” (州縣總數, 文武官員數, 俸料).¹⁰ Moreover, the *shidao tu* were also compiled during the Song dynasty as a collective map of the provinces of the nation, and they included the ranks of the prefectures and counties, and the number of civil and military officials as well (*Jingde chongxiu shidao tu* 景德重修十道圖 [Maps of the ten circuits revised during the Jingde era], *Yuhai* 14). The reason that

⁷ *Suishu* 隋書 33, “Jingji zhi” 經籍志, “Dili lei zongxu” 地理類總敘.

⁸ *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 602, “Wenbu” 文部 18, “Zhushu xia” 著書下.

⁹ Du You 杜佑, *Tongdian* 通典 (Comprehensive institutions) 23, “Bingbu” 兵部 (Ministry of War). According to Hibino Takeo, the presenting of maps in the Tang dynasty was, according to the surviving fragments of the *Shazhou Dutufu tujing* 沙州都督府圖經 (Topography of Shazhou Prefecture, a Dunhuang 敦煌 excavation), akin to preparing a common table of question items for covering the complete empire and seeking answers. See Hibino [1992]. For more information about institutional changes to the submission of regional maps by local governments, see Tonami [2007].

¹⁰ *Yuhai* 玉海 15, “Shidao zhi” 十道志, as well as Chen Zhensun 陳振孫, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 8, “Tang Shidao tu” 唐十道圖 (1 fasc.).

the Ming-period *Guangyu tu* and the *Huang Ming zhifang ditu* 皇明職方地圖 (Complete map of the Ming Empire) included the ranking of subprefectures and counties, population figures, and tax levies, is likely because these figures were considered essential for a national census atlas.

The *shidao tu* included segmented maps of each region, but during the Tang dynasty, in Zhenyuan 貞元 17 (801), Jia Dan 賈耽 created a huge world map, the *Hainei huayi tu* 海內華夷圖 (Map of Chinese and barbarian [lands] within the seas), 9.1 m in length and 10 m in height, using a grid-scale converting one hundred *li* to one inch.¹¹ The *Hainei huayi tu* continued to be influential after the Song dynasty, and the stone rubbing *Huayi tu* 華夷圖 (Map of China and the barbarian countries) created in Fuchang 阜昌 7 (1136), during the reign of Qi, which was a puppet government under the Jin, is a Chinese-style world map that includes its neighbouring countries, such as Korea, the countries of Central Asia, and India.

As Unno states, the prototype of a pictorial map that illustrates the entire country, like the *Huangyu tu*, may be traced back to Jia Dan's *Hainei huayi tu* from the Tang dynasty. At the very least, it can be traced back to the *Jingde shanchuan xingshi tu* 景德山川形勢圖 (Map of the geographical layout of mountains and rivers during the Jingde era) from Jingde 景德 4 (1007) of the Northern Song, when painters were dispatched throughout the country to draw the "topography of mountains and rivers and geographical distances," and their drawings were then deposited with the Bureau of Military Affairs (*Shumi yuan* 樞密院) and used for military planning and taxation (*Yuhai* 14).

In addition, it can often be seen from historical documents that maps were drawn directly on the walls of the imperial court during the Tang and Song dynasties, such as the *Tang shanchuan xianyao tu* 唐山川險要圖 (Map of strategical points of mountains and rivers of Tang), the *Tang Hebei xianyao tu* 唐河北險要圖 (Map of strategical points on the north bank of the Yellow River), and the *Zhidao Zifudian guan ditu* 至道滋福殿觀地圖.¹² While some large maps seem to have been painted or hung on the walls,¹³ others were set up using folding screens. In Qiandao 乾道 3 (1163) of the Southern Song dynasty, Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 had the circuits shown on a large gold-lacquered screen behind the throne in the Hall for Selecting Virtue (*Xuande dian* 選德殿), with the names and positions of regional officials inscribed on yellow labels in two lines, one for circuit supervisors (*jiansi* 監司) and the other for prefects (*junshou* 郡守), and on the back of this screen there is said to have been a world map (*huayi tu* 華夷圖).¹⁴ In addition, Miya Noriko points out that the Yuan dynasty's provincial government offices created pictorial maps of areas under

¹¹ *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 394, Jia Dan 賈耽, "進海內華夷圖及古今郡國縣道四夷述表."

¹² *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 180, Biography of Li Deyu 李德裕; *Yuhai* 14.

¹³ *Songshi* 宋史 246, Biography of Zhen Wang Hong 鎮王玠 in Biographies of the imperial household 宗室傳.

¹⁴ *Yuhai* 91, "乾道選德殿御屏風華夷圖."

their jurisdiction on folding screens [Miya 2006b, 520].

We do not know whether these were in the form of maps, but an example of a list of local government officials on a folding screen has previously been found in the *Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要 (Essentials of government in the Zhenguan reign).¹⁵ During the Ming dynasty, a screen with a national map (*zhiguan shuping* 職官書屏) was presented by Zhang Juzheng 張居正 to the infant Wanli emperor and placed in the Hall of Literary Brilliance (*Wenhua dian* 文華殿). This made it possible for the family names, addresses from the family register, degrees and qualifications of civil and military officials, capital and regional, as well as local officials of rank *zhifu* 知府 (prefect) and higher, to be written on tags that could be removed and replaced with others.¹⁶ It is likely that the names of regional officials were maintained in the form of a list near the emperor's throne.¹⁷

The fact that these were hung on walls or set up on folding screens rather than being placed on a table within the imperial court may have contributed to establishing the northward orientation of large maps.

It is unclear whether the large maps on the walls of the imperial court were grid maps, but among the inscribed maps still in existence is the *Yuji tu* 禹跡圖 (Map of the tracks of Yu), which records a grid of “one hundred *li* to one inch,” inscribed with the date Fuchang 7 (1136). Moreover, the *Yudi tu* 輿地圖 (Terrestrial map) by Zhu Siben 朱思本, which was completed in Yanyu 延祐 7 (1320) during the Yuan dynasty, incorporated the results of a survey of the source of the Yellow River conducted during the Yuan dynasty, and it is inferred to have been a traditional grid map [Unno 2010, 80].

With the unification of the north and south under the Mongols, the term *huayi tu* ceased to be used to refer to a world map. The term *huayi* 華夷 (Chinese and barbarian), which contained neo-Confucianist values, was replaced by the terms *yitong* 一統 (united under one rule) and *hunyi* 混一 (amalgamated into one), and they took on new meanings appropriate for the unified Yuan dynasty, which included the area outside the Great Wall. Well-known examples of this usage include the *Da Yuan yitong zhi* 大元一統志 (Complete gazetteer of the Yuan) and *Hunyi jiangli lidai guodu zhi tu* 混一疆理歷代國都之圖 (Map of amalgamated territory with capitals of successive dynasties). In addition, the geographical book *Da Yuan hunyi fangyu shenglan* 大元混一方輿勝覽 (Easy guide to the amalgamated territory of the Great Yuan) and the map *Da Yuan liuhe hunyi tu* 大元六合混一圖 (Map of the amalgamation of the six directions under the Great Yuan) were also created under the Mongol rule [Miya 2006b, 539–552].

The *Da Ming hunyi tu* 大明混一圖 (Amalgamated map of the Great Ming Empire, held at the First Historical Archives of China) was created at the beginning of the Ming

¹⁵ *Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要 3, “Zeguan” 擇官 7.

¹⁶ Tan Qian 談遷, *Guoque* 國權 69, entry for Wanli 2/12/renzi 壬子.

¹⁷ Each history of government officials like this would likely become the basis for the Ming dynasty and subsequent reigns' list of bureaucrats for easy reference (*jinshen bianlan* 縉紳便覽).

dynasty. The Ming dynasty first sought to use the term *huanyu* 寰宇 (the whole earth, the universe), but ultimately used the term *yitong* and compiled the *Da Ming yitong zhi* 大明一統志 (Comprehensive gazetteer of the Great Ming). However, although foreign countries were mentioned, it seems that the original sense of *yitong* had somewhat been lost.

By contrast, the term *huangyu* 皇輿 was a word originally used to refer to the emperor's imperial carriage and, by extension, the emperor himself. Subsequently, the term came to refer to the state, and from the late Ming onwards it seems to have come to refer to state territories, eventually becoming a term with nationalistic connotations referring to China's territories, different from common nouns such as *fangyu* 方輿 and *yudi* 輿地, signifying "earth" or "land."

Although the *Huangyu quanlan tu* 皇輿全覽圖 (Map of a complete view of imperial territory) from the Kangxi years is well known, an earlier example of the use of *huangyu* as a geographical concept appears to be the *Huangyu kao* 皇輿考 (Geographical investigations of imperial territory; 12 fascs.) by Zhang Tianfu 張天復, which has a preface by the author dated cyclic year *dingsi* 丁巳 of the Jiajing 嘉靖 era (Jiajing 36 [1557]). Later, during the Wanli era, the *Huangyu yaolan* 皇輿要覽 (Brief guide of imperial territory; 4 fascs.) by Hu Wenhuan 胡文煥, included in the *Gezhi congshu* 格致叢書, was published, and its significance to the realm was established.

3. Local Government Offices' Landscape-Style Maps

Apart from the Sui dynasty's *Shijun zhi*, China's landscape-style maps can be traced back to at least the Song dynasty. Although the *Jingde shanchuan xingshi tu* (Yuhai 14), mentioned above, was created in Jingde 4 (1007) of the Northern Song dynasty, cartographic landscapes such as *Shuchuan tujian* 蜀川圖卷 (The Shu River) attributed to Li Gonglin 李公麟 (held at the Freer Gallery of Art) already existed in Northern Song. Cordell D. K. Yee emphasises the pictorial nature of the maps, and he claims that the boundary between landscape paintings and maps is unclear [Yee 1994].¹⁸

Usami Bunri has analysed the method of depiction employed in the *Shanxizhen bianyuan buzhen tu* 山西鎮邊垣布陣圖 (Defense map of the Great Wall in Shanxi), considered to date from the late Ming and held by the Kyoto University Museum. He states that the method of depiction is the same as that to be seen in the *Jiangxi quansheng tushuo* 江西全省圖說 (Map of Jiangxi Province with explanations) and the *Nanjing fuxian dituce* 南京府縣地圖冊 (Atlas of the prefectures and counties of Nanjing Province), which are described below. Compared, moreover, with the *Shanjian xinglü tu* 山間行旅圖 (Travel-

¹⁸ In note 74, Yee refers to Unno Kazutaka's report presented at an academic conference in Amsterdam in 1989, "Maps as Picture: The Old Chinese Views of Maps" in describing the characteristics of "maps as picture" [Yee 1994, 153; 2006, 187].

ling in the mountains; Cave 103, Mogao 莫高 Grottoes, Dunhuang) from the high Tang, in the Five Dynasties' *Wutaishan tu* 五臺山圖 (Mt. Wutai; Cave 61, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang) from the Five Dynasties, and the *Jiuyu shouling tu* 九域守令圖 (Administrative map of nine districts), dating to Xuanhe 宣和 3 (1121) of the Northern Song dynasty, the plane surface of the map (the horizontal part of the map) is depicted as if viewed from above, whereas the mountains alone are not shown as if viewed from above [Tanaka et al. 2010, 31].¹⁹ Furthermore, as an example of a map-like landscape painting in which the names of mountains, counties, and Daoist temples have been directly inscribed on the painting, Usami also mentions the *Shuchuan tujuan* and, as an example of a landscape painted from nature although without anything written on the painting itself, he cites the *Xihu tujuan* 西湖圖卷 (West Lake) attributed to Li Song 李嵩 (Shanghai Museum) [Usami 2010, 34].

If one considers that map-like landscape paintings such as these could be found already during the Northern Song, then one can readily imagine the realities of cartographic landscapes during the Song, when, according to the *Yuhai*, painters were dispatched to draw maps.

We can also infer the information recorded from maps documented in publications such as local gazetteers in the Song dynasty. For example, the Southern Song rubbing of the *Yudi tu*, transmitted by the Rikkyokuan Subtemple 栗棘庵 of Tōfukuji Temple 東福寺 in Kyoto, includes descriptions of mountains and rivers, and shows the transportation routes connecting cities. The map of *Qidan dili zhi tu* 契丹地理之圖 (Geographic map of Khitan) on the *Qidan guo zhi* 契丹國志 (Records of the Khitan State) in the Yuan edition depicts mountains, rivers, lakes, and the Great Wall, as well as the names of provinces and checkpoints written in white (intaglio) [Cao et al. 1990, fig. 113]. Other maps include those thought to have been created in the Song and Jin dynasties and compiled in Ming dynasty print publications, which also show mountains, rivers, and roads.²⁰ Those maps could suggest what kind of information was contained in the landscape-style maps from the Northern Song dynasty onwards.

In addition, as already described, the provincial government offices of the Yuan dynasty set up pictorial maps of their jurisdictions on folding screens. The circumstances of the provincial government offices during the Song dynasty are unclear, but as pictorial maps existed on folding screens, it is likely that during the Yuan dynasty, landscape-style maps existed not only within central government offices but also in other locations. Landscape-style maps were produced by local government offices during the Ming dynasty, and

¹⁹ For more information on these maps, refer to Tanaka and Kizu [2011]; Tanaka et al. [2012].

²⁰ *Xixia dexing tu* 西夏地形圖 (Topographical map of Western Xia) [Cao et al. 1990, fig. 102] and *Shanxi wulu zhi tu* 陝西五路之圖 (Map of the five districts of Shaanxi) [Cao et al. 1990, fig. 114] are included in the appendix of the Ming dynasty Wanli 37 publication *Chongjiao Fan Wenzhenggong ji* 重校范文正公集, describing mountains, rivers, and routes that connect post-stations [Huang and Wang 1990; Xi 2013, 66–70].

regarding Sesshū's 雪舟 *Tōdo shōkei zukan* 唐土勝景圖卷 (Scenic views in China, held at Kyoto National Museum), which was created during his stay in Ming China (1467–1469), Unno Kazutaka argues that Sesshū appears to have learned to use painting as a means of communicating geographical information during his sojourn there.²¹ Therefore, we can easily imagine that during the Ming dynasty, people in Japan had the opportunity to view some types of cartographic landscapes or landscape-style maps as well.

The earliest examples of landscape-style maps that can actually be viewed today are those produced by local government offices during the Ming dynasty. Besides the maps of the prefectures, subprefectures, and counties created by government offices, maps of the Yellow River, the Grand Canal, frontier defences and so forth, were produced, coloured, and presented as required.

As already introduced by Wang Yong 王庸, it is known that there were examples of Ming dynasty maps being coloured. When Yang Shen 楊慎 mentioned Lü Wen's 呂溫 *Dizhi tu xu* 地志圖序 (Preface to topographical map), he described the colouring of a map of his age *dili tu* 地理圖 (geographic map); yellow for rivers, red for routes, and blue for mountains.²² This Ming dynasty *dili tu* may or may not depict the same contents as the stone rubbing map dating to Chunyou 淳祐 7 (1247) of the Southern Song dynasty, housed in the Suzhou Confucian Temple (Suzhou Wenmiao 蘇州文廟). However, here as well the rivers are coloured yellow, the roads red, and the mountains blue, suggesting that this is a landscape-style map.

It was previously quite rare to be able to view the originals of maps produced by government offices in the late Ming, but since the mid-1980s photographic reproductions of extant late-Ming atlases have begun to become available. The most notable of these are the maps of Jiangxi Province, including the National Library of China in Beijing holds *Jiangxi quansheng tushuo* 江西全省圖說 (i.e., *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* 江西輿地圖說 [Geographical descriptions of Jiangxi]) drawn at the end of the Ming dynasty, as well as several other prefectural maps of Jiangxi, such as *Jiangxi shisanfu daoli tu* 江西十三府道里圖 (Atlas of Jiangxi Province, held at the British Library) from around Kangxi 康熙 21 (1682) [Xie and Lin T. 2015, 39–41], and *Jiangxisheng quantu* 江西省全圖 (Complete atlas of Jiangxi Province, held at the Beijing University Library), which dates to between Yong-

²¹ Unno Kazutaka describes Sesshū's *Ama-no-hashidate zu* 天橋立圖 (View of Ama-no-hashidate, held at the Kyoto National Museum) as being “clearly drawn with the intention of conveying geographical information, as it records the names of places and buildings” and it is “nothing more than a single-viewpoint oblique projection based on maps and local sketches.” Moreover, since the names of places and buildings are already annotated in Sesshū's *Tōdo shōkei zukan* from his time in Ming dynasty China, he appears to have learned to use painting as a means of communicating geographical information [Unno 1996, 10].

²² According to Lü Wen's *Dizhi tu xu* (*Quan Tangwen* 628), the *Dizhi tu* created by Li Gai 李該 of Guangling 廣陵 depicts mountains, rivers, and city walls, while by contrast, Yang Shen 楊慎 writes about *dili tu* during the Ming dynasty and describes the colouring of maps at that time, in *Yang Sheng'an quanji* 楊升庵全集 76, “Baichuan” 百川 [Wang Yong 1956, 134].

zheng 雍正 9 (1731) and Qianlong 乾隆 8 (1743) [Beijing Daxue Tushuguan 2008, 91–104].

In the 1990s, photographic reproductions of maps with explanatory descriptions that were drawn using the traditional techniques of the Ming and Qing dynasties, such as the *Nanjing fuxian dituce* stored at the Zhenjian Museum and *Jiangxi quansheng tushuo* held by the National Library of China in Beijing, were published [Cao et al. 1994; Zhongguo Cehui Kexue Yanjiuyuan 1998]. Today, the Ming dynasty *Jiangxi quansheng tushuo* can be viewed online.²³

In the maps of prefectures and counties included in the Beijing *Jiangxi quansheng tushuo*, the mountains in the distance are hazy, but otherwise, mountains and water are depicted in blue and green, with the names of mountains annotated in gold paint. Buildings are annotated in black ink within white squares, and the majority of such buildings are public facilities.

Here, I would like to take the *Jiangxi quansheng tushuo*, created by Jiangxi Province at the end of the Ming dynasty, as an example of landscape-style maps created by a Chinese local government office that has thus far been overlooked. The reason the early Wanli provincial atlas *Jiangxi quansheng tushuo* has drawn attention is that it is believed to be the earliest surviving atlas of landscape-style maps created by a government office, and because it can be compared with other documents from the same period, such as Zhao Bingzhong's 趙秉忠 *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* in the *Jilu huibian* 紀錄彙編 (Compilation of records) 208 and Wang Shimao's 王世懋 *Rao Nan Jiu sanfu tushuo* 饒南九三府圖說 (Geographical descriptions of three Prefectures of Raozhou, Nankang, and Jiujiang) in the *Jilu huibian* 209.

Although the details have already been described in a separate article, it can be confirmed from photographs of maps and explanatory descriptions collected in the *Zhonghua guditu zhenpin xuanji* 中華古地圖珍品選集 that the original *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* from the early Wanli era is exactly the *Jiangxi quansheng tushuo* currently held at the National Library of China in Beijing, and it has become possible to examine the details of its explanatory descriptions compiled at government offices. A comparison of these explanatory descriptions with those in the version of the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* in the *Jilu huibian* reveals that they are virtually identical. In view of the above, it may be assumed that actual versions of the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* that were revised on the basis of a Wanli-era version have been preserved down to the present day [Ōsawa 2010].

According to the *Sanjun ditushuo ba* 三郡地圖說跋 (Postscript attached to the *Rao Nan Jiu sanfu tushuo*) of Wang Shimao's *Rao Nan Jiu sanfu tushuo* in *Jilu huibian*, it is stated that in order to investigate each area's complexity (*fanjian* 繁簡), importance

²³ The *Jiangxi quansheng tushuo* (i.e. the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo*) on World Digital Library, accessed March 17, 2023, <https://www.wdl.org/en/item/3049/>.

(*chongpi* 衝僻), and lawlessness (*nanyi* 難易), Zhao Yao 趙燿, the regional inspector (*xun'an yushi* 巡按御史) at the time ordered the head of each prefecture and county to submit a map of the area under their jurisdiction together with an explanation. The surviving copy of the *Jilu huibian* version does not include maps; however, as the *Sanjun ditushuo* 三郡地圖說 (Geographical descriptions of the three prefectures) and its postscript state, each map was drawn and each commentary was appended, so can therefore be said to have been compiled to meet the needs of local administration from the standpoint of the regional inspector.

By drawing on the above, it can be concluded that *yudi tushuo* 輿地圖說 (geographical descriptions) were maps with depictions of the areas of sub-prefectures and counties' jurisdictions, followed by explanations describing conditions there, and that the featured illustrations with administrative comments attached to facilitate consideration of regional matters such as complex (*fan* 繁) or simple (*jian* 簡), bustling (*chong* 衝) or remote (*pi* 僻), and difficult (*nan* 難) or easy (*yi* 易) to govern, were submitted to the regional inspector and compiled on his own initiative.²⁴

Although there are only a few extant examples of these, the geographical descriptions reveal the true state of affairs of regions from a perspective that differs from those of local gazetteers (*fangzhi*). They record the situations candidly: the land is barren, there is overpopulation, there are many lawsuits, flooding damages are extremely serious, and so forth. In other words, unlike local gazetteers, the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* showed an awareness of responding directly to administrative needs.

It is thought that these geographical descriptions and geographical commentaries like *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* had been compiled in many regions by the end of the Ming dynasty. The *Qianqingtang shumu* 千頃堂書目, which lists Zhao Bingzhong's *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* (1 fasc.) and Wang Shimao's *Rao Nan Jiu sanfu tushuo* (1 fasc.), also lists in fascs. 6 and 7 several works that appear to be maps rather than local gazetteers that were produced by local government offices. These contain eight kinds of maps with explanatory descriptions related to Shandong, such as *Laiyang dili tushuo* 萊陽地理圖說 (1 fasc.) and *Penglai dili tushuo* 蓬萊地理圖說 (1 fasc.), and Wang Yong considers them to be related to maritime defences [Wang Yong 1956, 116].²⁵

In addition, the catalogue of the National Palace Museum *Heyue haijiang* [Lin T. 2012], which was the catalogue of the exposition on Historical Maps, held at the National Palace Museum in Taipei, contains a variety of landscape-style maps produced and submit-

²⁴ Although somewhat later, similar maps in which travelling censors were involved include Li [2007], which introduces the *Shanxi bianyuan tu* 山西邊垣圖 and *Shanxi sanguan bianyuan tu* 山西三關邊垣圖 (held at the Library of National Palace Museum 圖書文獻處 in Taipei). They were presented to the Shanxi travelling censor during the reign of Shunzhi in the early Qing dynasty. However, it is unknown whether this document had any commentary included.

²⁵ However, the fact that such a map with commentary exists in Jiangxi does not necessarily mean that it is specific to coastal defence.

ted by government offices since the beginning of the Ming dynasty, including *Jiangnan ge daofu tubiao* 江南各道府圖表 (Maps and tables of the regions and prefectures in Southern China) [Lin T. 2012, 134–137] from the beginning of the Ming dynasty, as well as *Zhejiang Hangzhou Fu diyu tushuo* 浙江杭州府地輿圖說 (Text-narrated atlas of Hangzhou Prefecture, Zhejiang Province) [Lin T. 2012, 46–51] and *Zhejiang Taizhou Fu diyu tushuo* 浙江台州府地輿圖說 (Text-narrated atlas of Taizhou Prefecture, Zhejiang Province) [Lin T. 2012, 106–109] from the Qing dynasty.²⁶

The Library of Congress holds the Ming dynasty *Yangzhou Fu tushuo* 揚州府圖說 (Illustrated album of Yangzhou Prefecture), as already introduced by Wang Zhongmin [Wang Z. 1983, 193]. It has been published in a facsimile edition [Liang 2016], and it is also available online.²⁷ Furthermore, the recent *Huangyu soulan* [Lin T. 2013] introduces the *Quanzhou Fu yudi tushuo* 泉州府輿地圖說 (Illustrated atlas of Quanzhou Prefecture) on silk, postdating Wanli 30 and formerly titled *Fujian Sheng haifang tu* 福建省海防圖 (Map of coastal defence of Fujian Province) [Lin T. 2013, 284–290]. On it the mountains are depicted in blue, while rivers and seas are depicted in green; it comprises 29 illustrated maps and 28 explanatory descriptions, starting with *Quanzhou Fu tushuo* 泉州府圖說 (Geographical description of Quanzhou Prefecture) and covering counties, defence commands (*zhen* 鎮), local police offices (*xunsi* 巡司; also, *xunjiansi* 巡檢司), battalions (*qianhusuo* 千戶所), and so forth, and as can be understood from its former title, the explanatory descriptions emphasise matters of coastal defence. The National Library of France also holds a manuscript of the Ming dynasty, *Huai'an Fu tushuo* 淮安府圖說 (Text-narrated atlas of Huai'an Prefecture), which is publicly available on Gallica.²⁸ The above-mentioned prefectural atlases with geographical descriptions are from the Ming dynasty and they include explanations at each prefecture and county level.

Since the beginning of the Ming dynasty, local government offices were often tasked with presenting maps. In Hongwu 洪武 16 (1383), regional military commissions (*duzhi-huishi si* 都指揮使司) were ordered to submit maps of the walls and moats of garrisons and maps of waterways, and overland routes (*weisuo chengchi shuilu dili tu* 衛所城池水陸地里圖).²⁹ Again, in May of Hongzhi 弘治 14 (1501), provincial administration commissions (*buzhengshi si* 布政使司) were ordered to submit maps.³⁰ Even in the Ming dynasty, maps were in the hands of the Bureau of Operations (*zhifang si* 職方司) of the Ministry of War. According to the *Mingshi*,

²⁶ Lin Tianren [2012] presents a variety of landscape-style maps held in the Library of National Palace Museum in Taipei.

²⁷ *Yangzhou Fu tushuo* 揚州府圖說, the Library of Congress, on World Digital Library, accessed March 17, 2023, <https://www.wdl.org/en/item/4443/>.

²⁸ *Atlas: Région de l'embouchure du Houang-ho* in BnF, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55009527n>.

²⁹ *Mingshi* 明史 90, “Bingzhi” 兵志 2, “Weisuo” 衛所.

³⁰ *Mingshi* 15, “Xiaozong benji” 孝宗本紀 (Basic annals of Xiaozong).

The Bureau of Operations is in charge of maps, military institutions, walls and moats of cities, frontier guards, military training, and military campaigns. It owns illustrated books showing the geography of the realm, the degree of safety or risk and the distances involved, and the borders of frontier regions and hinterlands, and a report is submitted every three years together with the numbers of government troops, carriages, and horses.³¹

This indicates that the Ming dynasty system had a regulation stipulating the submission of “illustrated books” (*tuben* 圖本) every three years.

According to the *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 (Collected statutes of the Ming dynasty), the Ministry of Revenue 戶部 had “illustrated gazetteers” (*tuzhi* 圖志) that recorded a region’s history, the relative dangers of its mountains and rivers, and figures for the amount of tax and population, while the Ministry of War had *tuben* for each frontier region which provided information about the topography to be used for drawing up defence plans.³² In other words, the Ministry of Revenue’s *tuzhi* was part of the main elements of each region’s local gazetteers, aside from biographies and literary works, while the Ministry of War’s *tuben* was made of documents which had a common character with geographical descriptions and illustrated descriptions that were compiled to understand and strategize defence in various frontier and coastal regions.

In contrast to these *tuzhi* and *tuben*, which were collected by the Ministries of Revenue and War in the capital, which were central government bodies, the *yudi tushuo* were likely compiled and stored independently at a local level, as seen in Wang Shimao’s post-script.

It should be emphasised that by the end of the Ming dynasty, rather than the traditional local gazetteers (topographical surveys), “geographical descriptions” were compiled as administrative materials, from the perspective of practical local administration, and they were produced directly by order of censors and local government offices. The *Guanfeng bianlan* 觀風便覽 (Brief Guide of Local Administration), which was compiled toward the end of the Ming dynasty by several provincial administration commissions (*buzhengshi si*), can also be considered a local administrative document [Ōsawa 1996].

More research is needed to determine the intriguing question of whether the creation of these atlases was the result of changes brought about by the formulation of the administrative commentary that evaluated prefectures and counties (*richi no hyōgo* 吏治の評語), or whether it preceded that time.³³

³¹ *Mingshi* 72, “Zhiguanzhi” 職官志 1, “Bingbu” 兵部.

³² Zhengde 正德-era *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 17, “Hubu” 戶部, “Minke” 民科, “Zhouxian” 州縣 1, “Tuzhi” 圖志 1; *Da Ming huidian* 114, “Bingbu,” “Tuben” 圖本.

³³ Concerning the administrative commentary of prefectures and counties (*richi no hyōgo*), see

Mentioned above are examples of illustrated maps at the prefecture and county level used for administrative purposes. However, apart from these, maps for various purposes were often created and presented to meet particular needs. Among such maps, those that depict wide areas include the *Huanghe tushuo* 黃河圖說 (Illustrated description of the Yellow River), the *Yunhe tushuo* 運河圖說 (Illustrated description of the Grand Canal), and the *Shanxi yutu* 陝西輿圖 (Terrestrial map of Shaanxi). On the other hand, as for Ming maps of the western regions, there is an illustrated scroll from the first half of the Jiajing era that depicts the lands from Jiayu guan 嘉峪關 (Jiayu Pass) as far as Mecca and Constantinople.³⁴

Recent atlases and catalogues contain various landscape-style maps, such as maps of frontier defences, construction work at the Yellow River, and so on. The *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Mingdai* [Cao et al. 1994] includes a number of such illustrated maps, e.g. maps of frontier defences, such as the *Jiubian tu* 九邊圖 (Maps of nine frontier fortifications) with a colophon by Xu Lun 許論, director (*langzhong* 郎中) of the Bureau of Operations in the Ministry of War, dated cyclic year *jiawu* 甲午 of the Jiajing era (Jiajing 13 [1534]); the *Hefang yilan tu* 河防一覽圖 (Map of the overview of river management) prepared by Pan Jixun 潘季馴 in Wanli 18 when flood-prevention work was carried out on the Yellow River; and another *Jiubian tu* prepared in Wanli 30 by Shen Yongmao 申用懋, likewise director in charge of the Bureau of Operations in the Ministry of War at that time. *Zhonghua guditu zhenpin xuanji* includes the *Huanghe tu* 黃河圖 (Map of the Yellow River) of Kangxi 康熙 [Zhongguo Cehui Kexue Yanjiuyuan 1998, 160–167], which were previously stored at the Grand Secretariat Archives (Neige daku 內閣大庫), now stored at the National Central Library in Taipei, and the *Jing Hang daoli tu* 京杭道里圖 (Route map from Beijing to Hangzhou, in Zhejiang Sheng Bowuguan 浙江省博物館) [Zhongguo Cehui Kexue Yanjiuyuan 1998, 202–204].

Moreover, the *Bihua qianli* [Feng and Lin T. 2008] includes *Jing-Hang yunhe tu* 京杭運河圖 (Map of the Grand Canal between Peking and Han-chow) [Feng and Lin T. 2008, 80–85], while the *Heyue haijiang* [Lin T. 2012] mentioned above includes landscape-style maps of wide areas such as *Huaihe liuyu tu* 淮河流域圖 (Map of the Huaihe River basin) [Lin T. 2012, 30–31], *Hanjiang yinan sanshengbian yutu* 漢江以南三省邊輿圖 (Map of the three provinces in the south bank of the Han River) [Lin T. 2012, 56–57], *Hanjiang yibei sishengbian yutu* 漢江以北四省邊輿圖 (Map of the four provinces in the south bank of the Han River) [Lin T. 2012, 58–59], and *Jilin jiuhe tu* 吉林九河圖 (Map of Nine Rivers in Jiling Province) [Lin T. 2012, 64–65], which are stored at the National Palace Museum in Taipei [Feng and Lin T. 2008; Lin T. 2012].

Ōsawa [1992, 1993].

³⁴ The informal title does not express the true nature of the map, which was printed under the title *Menggu shanshui ditu* 蒙古山水地圖 [Lin M. 2011]. This was produced in Jiajing era in Ming dynasty, and formerly held in the Yurinkan Museum collection in Kyoto.

On the other hand, the Qing dynasty also gave rise to long-perspective picture scrolls such as the *Huanghe tu* and *Qianlong shiliu nian nanxun gedi xiangtu* 乾隆十六年南巡各地詳圖 (Detailed drawing of the inspection tour of the south in sixteenth year of Qianlong era) [Zhongguo Guojia Bowuguan 2007]. As Cordell D. K. Yee comments on these, here we may be able to see the influence of Western perspective drawing techniques brought over by the Jesuits [Yee 1994, 153n73; 2006, 180].

There are many other examples of maps related to the Grand Canal, waterways, and the Yellow River. The *Yunhe tu* 運河圖 (Map of the Grand Canal; Guimet: BG58299), stored at the National Museum of Asian Arts-Guimet Library, has the title *Map of the Grand Canal in the Annual Report of Jiaqing 20 (1815)* (*Jiaqing er-shi nian Hedao zongdu Li suibao yunhe tu* 嘉慶二十年河道總督李 歲報運河圖) written on its silk cover. And judging by the title “annual report” (*suibao* 歲報), it can be assumed that it was a map attached to regular reports to the emperor from the director-general of the Grand Canal (*Hedao zongdu* 河道總督) that are believed to have been created on a yearly basis.³⁵ Moreover, the museum also holds other Qing dynasty works in its collection, such as *Huang Yun quantu* 黃運全圖 (Complete map of the Yellow River and the Grand Canal; Guimet: BG58204) that involves two maps concerning the Grand Canal and Yellow River, *Yunhe laishui guijiang quantu* 運河來水歸江全圖 (Complete map of the Grand Canal to the Yangtze River) and *Huanghe fayuan guihai quantu* 黃河發源歸海全圖 (Complete map of the Yellow River from the source to the sea; 2 fascs.) and *Huanghe choufang tu* 黃河籌防圖 (Map of the construction of flood-prevention of the Yellow River; Guimet: BG58207) [Ōsawa 2019].³⁶

These writings on river construction, canal transportation, and coastal defence were sometimes compiled as bureaucratic works and were sometimes published with schematic diagrams engraved. The maps in publications such as Pan Jixun's *Hefang yilan* 河防一覽 (The overview of river management), Wang Qiong's 王瓊 *Cao He tuzhi* 漕河圖志 (Illustrated records of the grain transportation of the Grand Canal), and Xu Lun's *Jiubian tulun* 九邊圖論 (Maps and comments on the nine border sections) can be considered to have been based on original landscape-style illustrations.

One map that may demonstrate the proliferation and popularity of landscape-style maps is the seventeenth-century Selden Map of China in the Oxford University collection. This depicts the Chinese mainland and its surrounding waters, with the South China Sea at

³⁵ According to Qian [1980], the Director-general of the Grand Canal in Jiaqing 20 was Li Hongbin 李鴻賓. However, in May of the lunar calendar, he resigned because of mourning 服喪, and he was hence succeeded by Li Fengheng 李逢亨. Although attributed to either of these men, since this was an annual report, it should probably be attributed to Li Fengheng, who was in charge during the latter half of the year.

³⁶ As for *Yunhe laishui guijiang quantu* and *Huanghe fayuan guihai quantu*, the Library of Chinese Academy of Sciences holds two maps of the same name during the Jiaqing era. See Sun [2012, 274–275]. For maps related to the Qing dynasty Grand Canal, see Wang Yao [2016].

its centre, and since no government office was involved, it may be that its drafting technique employed forms of map-making that would have been familiar to the people at the time. The style of expression can be described as landscape style, depicting plants, mountains, and waves on a greenish sea.³⁷

However, several aspects of the map are quite different from those of the landscape-style maps produced by government offices, such as setting a compass rose and scale ruler, and depicting naval routes. A compass rose and gauge are drawn on the north side of the upper section of the Great Wall, and it shows shipping routes from Zhangzhou 漳州 (Yuegang 月港) and Quanzhou 泉州 northward to Nagasaki 長崎 and Hirado 平戸 in Japan (forking off to Ryukyu 琉球), eastward to the Philippines and the Maluku Islands, and southward to various ports in Southeast Asia. In this regard, Timothy Brook, who wrote a book about the Selden Map, says that the secret to the Selden Map's creation was that the "shipping routes were drawn first" [Brook 2015, 244]. Indeed, Selden's will states that the map was obtained from an English captain, and concludes that it was probably made around 1608, and that "it is likely that [John Saris, Captain of the Eighth Voyage] obtained it from a Chinese merchant in Banten."³⁸

In other words, it is safe to assume that the Selden Map is roughly contemporaneous to the *Huangyu tu*, which is thought to depict the situation in the early seventeenth century. However, the fact that it was a sea-lane chart used by Chinese engaged in business with Java (Banten) means that it was not created by a professional artist at the imperial court or a government office. Apart from the fact that it emanated from the drawing of sea lanes as a nautical chart, depictions of land can also be seen in other landscape-style maps, so it is safe to say that it was not a unique cartographic representation at the end of the Ming dynasty.

4. Local Government Offices and Grid Maps

What is highly interesting when considering the creation of landscape-style maps is that in some examples of them a grid remains. Examples include the aforementioned *Huangyu tu*, and the map of the Great Wall, held at the National Library of France [Hofmann 2012, 38, 39]. These cases may indicate that the grid was left in place as it was considered to be required during the production process. The latter, the map of the Great Wall region, is said

³⁷ "The Selden Map of China," Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, <http://seldenmap.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>.

³⁸ Timothy Brook believes that, just as Samuel Purchas's maps of China were obtained through John Saris' seizure of maps in Banten from Chinese merchants who were unable to repay their debts to the East India Company, Selden's map was similarly seized from a Chinese merchant unable to repay their debts to the East India Company, and that they were obtained by Selden from Hakluyt by way of Purchas [Brook 2015, 255, 259–260].

to have been sent to Paris by a missionary in Beijing and provided by d'Anville for the map in Jean-Baptiste Du Halde's *Description of the Empire of China and Chinese Tartary*.

A typical example of grid maps (*fangge tu* 方格圖) is the type of map typified by Luo Hongxian's 羅洪先 *Guangyu tu*. The fact that *Guangyu tu* contains various statistical figures and rankings of prefectures and counties, indicates that this grid map was created based on principles differing from those of landscape-style maps which attempted to depict the nature of the land. While the various road maps published at the end of the Ming dynasty attempted to record distances independent of direction, the grid map attempted to express directions and distances more accurately.

The influence of grid maps spread with the publication of the *Guangyu tu*. Examples can also be seen of the influence of *Guangyu tu* prompting the creation of grid maps in the local gazetteers in the Wanli period of the Ming dynasty. The *Yong'an xian zhi* 永安縣志 (published in Wanli 14), the local gazetteer of Yong'an County that was newly established in Guangdong Huizhou 惠州 Prefecture in Longqing 3, contains maps of the entire Yong'an County with 20-*li* grids, and maps of the three towns Guming 古名, Qinjiang 琴江, and Kuande 寬得, with 15-*li* grids. Moreover, the slightly more recent *Huizhou Fu zhi* 惠州府志 (published in Wanli 23) also contains grid maps [Cao et al. 1994, figs. 45–48, 207–210].³⁹ In addition, it can be assumed that even if they were not printed, grid maps were produced in the government offices of various provinces during the Ming dynasty.

A well-known example of a grid map in a local gazetteer is the *Huangchao Jiankang fujing zhi tu* 皇朝建康府境之圖 (Map of Jiankang Prefecture in Zhizheng 至正 era of Yuan dynasty), featured in the *Zhizheng Jinling xinzhì* 至正金陵新志 (New chronicle of Jinling of the Zhizheng reign), vol. 5 from the Yuan dynasty.⁴⁰ It is possible to consider the map to be related to the so-called Mongolian maps, which were influenced by Islamic cartography from the West; however, the impression it gives is quite different from that of *Map of Jiankang Prefecture*, which also depicts rivers, lakes, and castle walls, and the *Jingshi dadian dili tu* 經世大典地里圖 (Geographical map of the *Canon of Practical Administration of the Yuan Dynasty*), which only shows the place and clan names within the grid with the upper left corner set as the south.⁴¹

The basis for the *Jinling xinzhì* 金陵新志 was the *Jingding Jiankang zhi* 景定建康

³⁹ In preface by Ye Chun 葉春, which was quoted in the commentary on maps of *Yong'an xian zhi* [Cao et al. 1994, figs. 207–210], the *huafang jili* 畫方計里 is a technique from Luo Hongxian, and Ye Chun stated that he created grid maps in the local gazetteers of Hui'an 惠安 County and Shunde 順德 County. In the same map collection, according to Hu [1994], after the explanation of the *Yong'an xianjing zhi tu* 永安縣境之圖 (Boundary map of Yong'an County) the editor's comments on the gazetteer follows, which states that, Luo Hongxian's *Guangyu tu* being the best technique for producing maps, Gu Yan 顧言 the Prefect of Huizhou Prefecture 惠州知府 learned from Luo Hongxian's *Guangyu tu* and produced the *Huizhou yutu* 惠州輿圖 (Map of Huizhou Prefecture).

⁴⁰ Concerning *Zhizheng Jinling xinzhì*, see Hu [1990b].

⁴¹ In Daoguang 道光 27 (1847), this map was reprinted from *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (Great Encyclopedia of the Yongle Regein), in Wei Yuan's 魏源 *Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志 2 in the 60 vols. edition.

志 made during the Song dynasty. In Jiaqing 嘉慶 6 (1801) of the Qing reign, Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 and others reprinted this local gazetteer (孫星衍等據宋本重刊本) according to the Song dynasty edition. It contains the *Jiankang fujing zhi tu* 建康府境之圖 (Map of Jiankang Prefecture) also included in the original Song dynasty's version (*Jingding Jiankang zhi*). And the Song dynasty's *Map of Jiankang Prefecture* is thought to have been the original map for Zhizheng's *Jiankang fujing zhi tu*. Concerning the *Jiankang fujing zhi tu*, although the grid does not remain in the Sun Xingyan's reprint edition, there remains an annotation saying *fangkuo shili* 方括十里 (one grid represents 10 *li*) in the upper right corner, suggesting that the grid was removed when it was reprinted or abridged during the Qing dynasty; however, it is thought to have been present in the Song original of the map [Hu 1990a, 70]. Since a grid existed in the Song dynasty stone inscribed *Yuji tu* 禹迹圖 (禹跡圖), it would not be surprising if a grid map were actually present in Southern Song local gazetteers.⁴²

Examples of grid maps in local government offices during the Qing dynasty have been featured in various catalogues. The *Yanling Xian yuhe tu* 鄢陵縣輿河圖 (Map of Yanling County) made after Qianlong 6 (1742), which features in Sun [2012, 94], is imprinted with an official seal inscribed with Manchurian and Chinese characters, and can therefore be assumed to be made by, and stored in, a local government office. Moreover, in the Guangxu 光緒 era *Henan Jiyuan Xian yutu* 河南濟源縣輿圖 (Map of Jiyuan County in Henan Province) [Beijing Daxue Tushuguan 2008, 120], a grid is applied to the landscape-style representation while it has no mention of the length of *li* in the grid. In addition, a number of characteristic grid maps are collected in a work of Hua et al., for example, we can here find *Dongming Xian quanjing yutu* 東明縣全境輿圖 (General boundary map of Dongming County) where county city, market towns (*ji* 集), and beacon-bases (*duntai* 墩台) are stamped as symbols [Hua, Li C., and Zhou 2015, 135].⁴³

Since these date to the late Qing dynasty, it has not been possible to determine when the creation of grid maps became widespread among local government offices. It can, however, be assumed that local government offices also had grid maps, because grid maps already had been published in local gazetteers in the Song and Yuan dynasties. As can be seen from the use of stamps for county city, market towns, and so on, symbolisation and schematisation had advanced to some extent in local government grid maps by the end of the Qing dynasty. Hence, it can be assumed that their creation had already come to be considered part of offices' routine duties, and, in a sense, several types of grid maps were being created for practical use. In other words, grid maps would have been available for day-to-day reference in the course of clerical work, as well as the materials necessary for their preparation.

⁴² Concerning *Yuji tu*, see Unno [2004c].

⁴³ It is stated that 39 of the 99 Zhili 直隸 maps and 24 of the 61 maps of Shandong Province have "a grid" (*fangge* 方格) [Hua 2009, Preface].

The local government offices in late Imperial China were occasionally required to create pictorial maps for reporting to higher levels of government. It is possible that this information was based on the materials discussed above. Where necessary, the stored grid maps may themselves have been submitted, while in other cases, grid maps may have been used as the basis to create landscape-style depictions in addition to maps of river constructions and maps of waterways and roads to be sent to the higher levels of government offices. As administrative documents, however, these coarse grid maps may not necessarily have come into sight of senior bureaucrats.

As we saw earlier, the Song dynasty *Jiankang fujing zhi tu* seems to have been drawn with a grid; however, the repeatedly published Qing dynasty *Huangchao Jiankang fujing zhi tu* by Sun Xingyan et al. lacks such a grid. The omission of grids in the transcribing and reprinting processes of original maps may have been due to a sense among the intellectuals that grids lacked finesse and were unsuitable for local gazetteers' maps.⁴⁴

5. Conclusion: The Creation and Publication of Landscape-Style Maps

From the publication of *Guangyu tu* during the late Jiajing years, grid map drawings of that genealogy proliferated, and they were included in various late Ming dynasty geographical works, such as *Guangyu ji* 廣輿記 (Geography of the empire) and *Huiji yutu beikao quan-shu* 彙輯輿圖備考全書 (Pandect of maps collected for reference), as well as in the works on political institutions, e.g. *Da Ming guanzhi daquan* 大明官制大全 (Bureaucratic system of the Great Ming). But as the representation of maps, it was not grid maps that intellectuals preferred in local gazetteers for a long time. The general and provincial maps in the *Da Ming yitong zhi* contain simplified pictorial maps that seem to depict the structures of mountains and rivers, and similarly, the same simplified pictorial maps can often be seen in local gazetteers' maps.

According to the Taiwanese scholar Zhang Zhejia 張哲嘉, the maps in local gazetteers reflected the perspective of local bureaucrats, and consequently, they came to stress the political and cultural authority of government offices, schools, and so on rather than the cartographic accuracy to be seen in grid maps such as the *Guangyu tu* [Zhang 2003, 205]. As we have already seen, the maps of local gazetteers published in Imperial China essentially favoured pictorial representations, and they can be said to have emphasised the char-

⁴⁴ On the other hand, the original *Huangchao Jiankang fujing zhi tu* was published in the form of a grid map because it was created during the Mongol period, during which time clerks' statuses were relatively high. As shown in note 39, as in *Yong'an xian zhi*, during the Wanli years of the Ming dynasty, some people in Huizhou Prefecture of Guangdong Province appreciated Luo Hongxian's map-making technique as exemplified in *Guangyu tu*, and grid maps were published in local gazetteers. However, these grid maps seem to have been exceptions when compared to all local gazetteers.

acteristics of landscape-style maps over grid maps. It is likely that the landscape-style expression, which depicts the character of rivers and mountains, was considered more suitable than grid maps when depicting objects of authority.

In other words, it can be said that landscape-style maps in the *Da Ming yitong zhi* were published as an image of the world from the perspective of the emperor himself, while local gazetteers depicted images of the world in landscape style from the perspective of local bureaucrats. In Imperial China, it may have been desirable to illustrate objects concretely, whether in large or small scale, in what were commonly imagined as maps. The method employed as a means of expressing authority was to depict scenery in landscape style.

At first, the *Da Ming yitong zhi* was printed and published within the imperial court. At that time, colour was often used in the books of the imperial court. Even maps that were simplified in printing, such as the provincial maps of the *Da Ming yitong zhi*, might originally have been coloured. The reasoning behind this is that examples of imperial editions (*neifuben* 内府本) being printed in black ink and subsequently coloured are commonly seen [Chen 2014].⁴⁵ Examples of the use of black ink printing followed by the addition of colour in the imperial editions include the *Shishi yuanliu yinghua shiji* 釋氏源流應化事蹟 (Life and activities of Shakyamuni Buddha incarnate) during Chenghua 成化 era of Ming dynasty (held at the Library of Congress), which can also be viewed online.⁴⁶

Hence, even if the manuscript of *Da Ming yitong zhi* would have existed in the Ming imperial court, it would not have been particularly remarkable if the maps it contained had been coloured. However, we can offer the interpretation that, engraved editions of coloured landscape-style maps published using only black ink printing would have been those of a simplified map, with schematised structures of mountain and river systems. Examples of maps rendered in black ink with colour added include the *Qingchu zhifang dayitong dituji* 清初職方大一統地圖集 (Complete atlas of the early Qing period; unofficial title), held at the National Library of France, based on the late Ming dynasty *Huang Ming zhifang ditu* 皇明職方地圖 (Complete map of the Ming Empire), which is included in the *Diyu zonglan*, a collection of ancient Chinese maps in the National Library of France [Xie and Chen 2018, 92–102].

In fact, judging by examples of maps from the Song and Yuan dynasties, such as *Yudi tu* (held at Tōfukuji Temple's Rikkyōkuan), *Qidan dili zhi tu*, and *Xixia dixing tu* 西夏地形圖 (Topographical map of Western Xia), which are mentioned above, it can be concluded that besides place names, the detailed information that could be included was limited,

⁴⁵ “Korean Editions and Imperial Editions in Ming-Qing Dynasties” 朝鮮本與明清內府本. Examples of coloured imperial manuscripts of Ming dynasty include the *Mingjie zenghe Qianjiashi zhu* 明解增和千家詩注 [Guojia Tushuguan 2006, 52].

⁴⁶ Examples of coloured imperial editions of Ming dynasty include the *Shishi yuanliu yinghua shiji* held at the Library of Congress, on World Digital Library: <https://www.wdl.org/en/item/293/> (accessed March 17, 2023).

and the most that could be depicted on woodblock maps of the time were depictions of mountains, rivers, lakes, the Great Wall, and traffic routes.

These published maps are invariably printed in black and white, but from the perspective of ease of viewing, coloured maps are thought to have existed since ancient times. Mawangdui's *Zhujun tu* is also thought to have once been coloured. The embroidered map presented to Sun Quan during the Three Kingdoms period mentioned earlier would naturally have been coloured. The early Ming dynasty *Jiangnan ge daofu tubiao*⁴⁷ and *Nanjing zhi Gansu yipu tu* 南京至甘肅驛舖圖 (Post road map from Nanjing to Gansu), which survive to the present day, were coloured [Liu 2019, 414–426]. Yang Shen's colour scheme of yellow for rivers, red for roads, and blue for mountains, mentioned above, seems to have been typical for such manuscripts; hence, maps drawn only in black ink were likely rare.

The maps contained in the local gazetteers that can be considered landscape-style maps include the *Zhoujing tu* 州境圖 (Prefectural map [of Taizhou 台州]) and *Tiantai Xian jing tu* 天台縣境圖 (Boundary map of Tiantai County) in *Jiading Chicheng zhi* (Local gazetteer of Taizhou Prefecture during Song) [Cao et al. 1990, figs. 126–129], and the *Tengzhou jing tu* 藤州境圖 (Boundary map of Tengzhou) and *Tengzhou Cheng tu* 藤州城圖 (Map of Tengzhou Prefectural City) in the *Yongle dadian* 2337 “Wuzhou Fu” 梧州府 [Cao et al. 1994, figs. 161, 162]. Even assuming that there were coloured landscape-style maps in the local gazetteer manuscripts, for engraved editions these would have been printed in monochromatic black ink, as seen in *Da Ming yitong zhi*, and the map itself would have been a simplified schematic of the structure of mountains and rivers.

Although dating to the late Qing dynasty, what is thought to have been the original drawings of the local gazetteer maps reside in the Arnold Vissière collection at the Guimet Museum. These coloured maps include *Ningyuan Zhou tu* 寧遠州圖 (Map of Ningyuan Subprefecture City; Guimet: BG58432, see Figure 3), *Luochuan Xian ji qi fujin ditu* 洛川縣及其附近地圖 (Map of Luochuan County and its environs; Guimet: BG58479, see Figure 4), *Baihe xiancheng tu* 白河縣城圖 (Map of Baihe County City; Guimet: BG58432), etc. In addition, Beijing Daxue Tushuguan [2008], Hua [2009], Sun [2012], Lin T. [2013], Xie and Lin T. [2015], and Hua, Li C., and Zhou [2015] similarly provide information about the maps that existed at local government offices in the late Qing dynasty.

These landscape-style maps, which have recently come to light, were likely drawn by local government offices and were originally kept in those offices without being printed or published. Then, if the work were to be presented to the emperor, a clean copy of the manuscript would be made on silk and bound in a suitable manner before being presented. The silk atlas of Jiangxi held in Beijing, *Jiangxi quansheng tushuo*, for example, may be such an example. On the other hand, there may have been other works drawn on paper and stored at the local level, such as those by provincial or prefectural administrators.

⁴⁷ See note 26 and Lin T. [2012, 134–137].

Clarifying the relationship between the landscape-style maps produced by local government offices and the published local gazetteer maps is a necessary task for understanding the maps of Imperial China. First, useful hints will probably be gained by comparing maps of the *yudi tushuo* produced at the prefectural and county level with local gazetteers' maps. It may also be helpful to compare the atlases of Jiangxi Province, where several Ming and Qing dynasty landscape-style maps have been preserved. Moreover, examining examples that have survived either as manuscripts or in published form, such as the *Jiubian tu* and the *Hefang yilan tu*, may open new research perspectives that also involve the publishing process. Although many topics remain to be addressed in the future, it is hoped that the discovery and publication of primary sources such as these will further deepen the study of ancient Chinese maps.

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⁴⁸ The chapters of which he took charge were published in Chinese as Yee [2006].



Figure 1. “Xingxiu hai” 星宿海 (Constellation sea) from *Huangyu tu* 皇輿圖, vol. 12, Digital Archive, National Archives of Japan



Figure 2. *Huangyu tu*, vol. 7, Digital Archive, National Archives of Japan. Yunyang 鄖陽 and Jingzhou 荊州, the left edge, near the fold we can see the name of Jinzhou 金州 in Shaanxi.

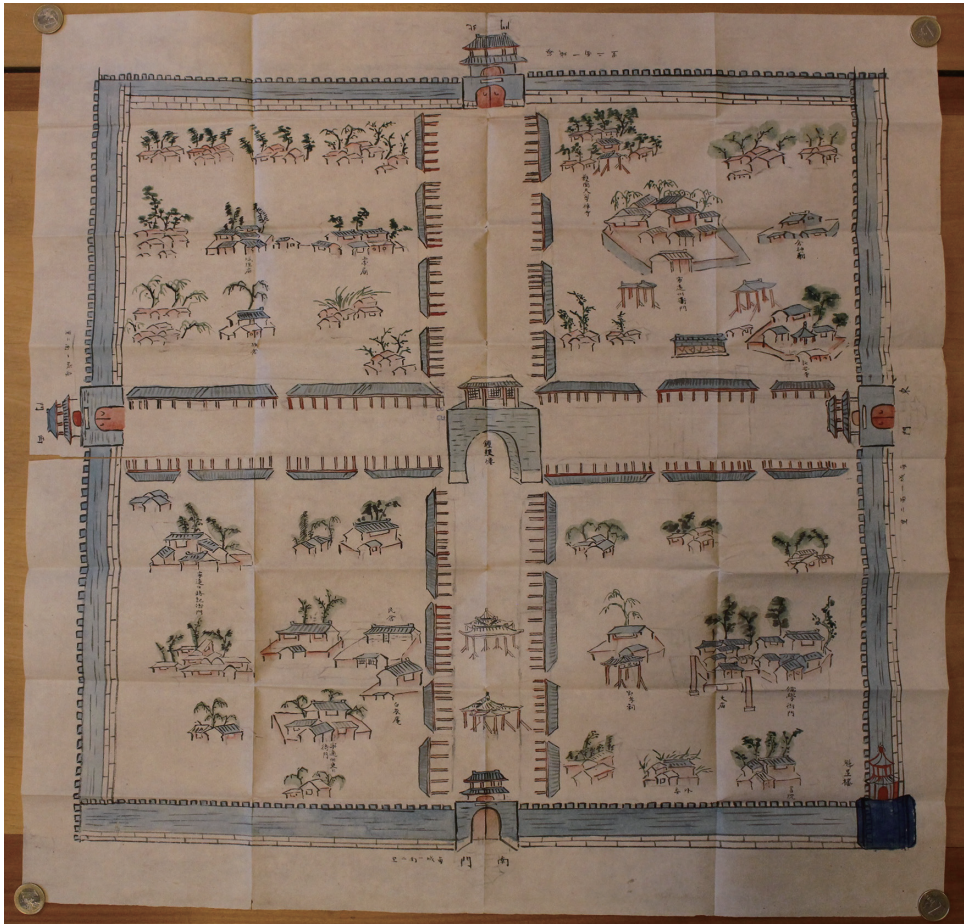


Figure 3. *Ningyuan Zhou tu* 寧遠州圖 (*Plan de Ningyuan-tcheou*), National Museum of Asian Art-Guimet Library (call no. chinois 58432)

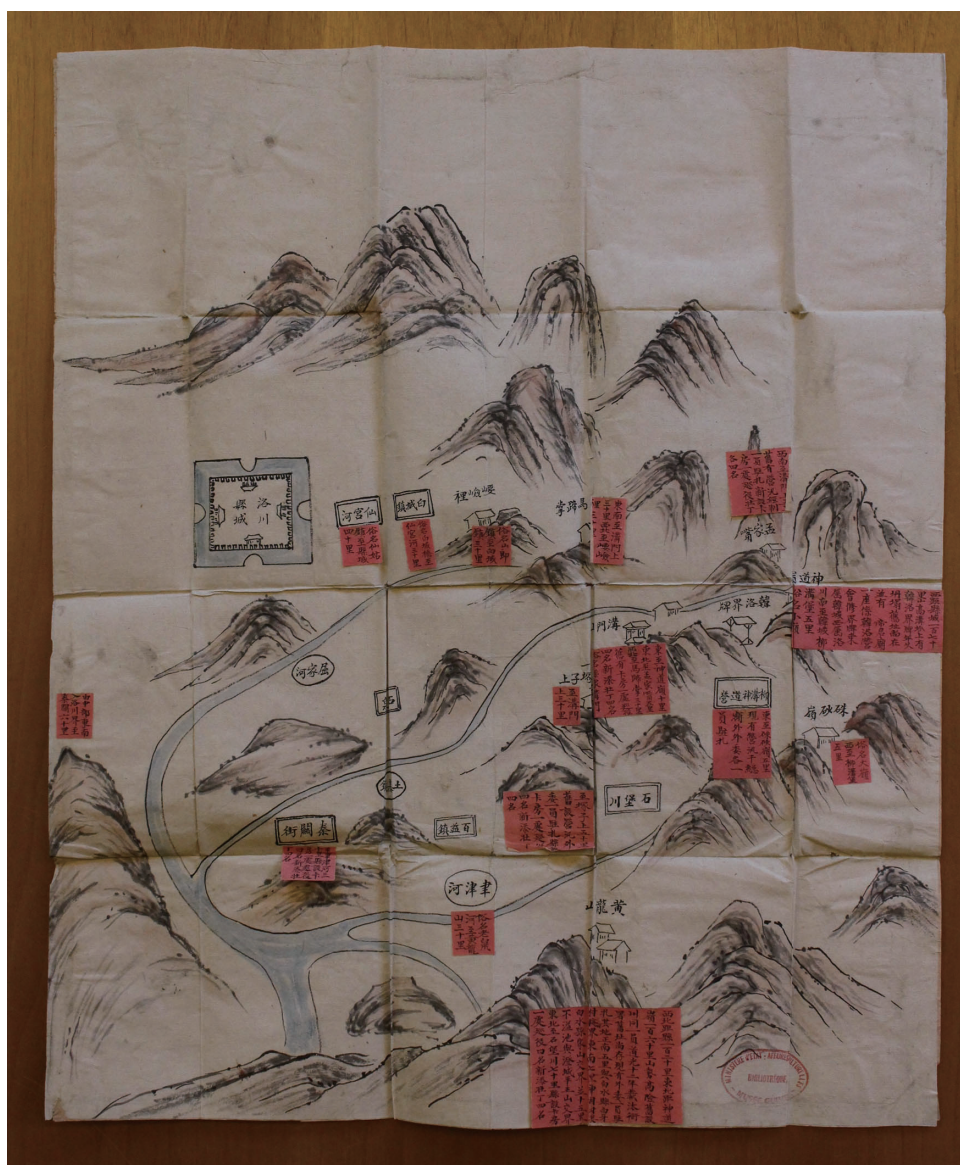


Figure 4. *Luochuan Xian ji qi fujin ditu* 洛川縣及其附近地圖 (*Cartes pittoresques de Lo-tch'ouan-hie et de ses environs*), National Museum of Asian Art-Guimet Library (call no. chinois 58479)