

Landscape-style Maps in Early Modern China: Maps and the Representation of Historical Geography

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Introduction

In Europe, sumptuous atlases were produced and sold to royalty, nobles, and merchants. They depicted trading partners in distant lands, unusual goods, dangers en route, strange monsters, and so on and explained how the owners had amassed their wealth and from where it had come. As is indicated by the background in some of Vermeer's paintings, atlases and maps served as symbols of wealth and power for merchants.

In China, on the other hand, maps do not appear to have been hung on walls as symbols of wealth, and detailed maps were not items that were published commercially. Maps were essentially produced by government offices for the use of government officials, and they showed regions within the country under government rule. They were something in which only officials evinced an interest, and they were drawn primarily from the perspective of officials and not from the perspective of merchants.

In the accession edict of the Longqing 隆慶 emperor issued in the latter part of the sixteenth century, subprefectures and counties are ranked in three grades in accordance with the simplicity or complexity of their administration.¹⁾ Yang Bo 楊博, Minister of Personnel (*libu shangshu* 吏部尚書), submitted a memorial titled “Fengzhao zhuoyi junyi fanjian shu” 奉詔酌議郡邑繁簡疏, and in the eighth month of Longqing 1 (1567) the “Dili fanjian kao” 地里繁簡考 obtained imperial sanction. This “Dili fanjian kao” was subsequently quoted in many works, starting with the *Da Ming guanzhi* 大明官制, and provincial regions began to be described from the vantage point of local government. The administrative comments that evaluated prefectures and counties in terms of categories such as “complex” (*fan* 繁), “easy” (*jian* 簡) “bustling” (*chong* 衝), and “remote” (*pi* 僻) were recorded in the *Da Ming guanzhi* and took root in a way that was divorced from the wishes of local inhabitants. Through these administrative comments a link was forged between the evalu-

ation of prefectures and counties and the posts assigned to local officials, and this later led in the Qing period to the system of ranking posts in accordance with how many of the four categories—"bustling" (chong 衝), "complex" (fan 繁), "exhausting" (pi 疲), and "difficult" (nan 難)—applied to the locality in question.²⁾

The nationwide land survey and enforcement of discipline among government officials ordered by Zhang Juzheng 張居正 could also be said to have been an extension of the institutional reforms carried out in the first years of the Longqing era. As a result, there was an overall change during the reign of the Wanli 萬曆 emperor in the number of villages known to the prefectural and county authorities through household registration. The number of villages under the system of household registration recorded in the 4-fascicle version of the *Da Ming guanzhi* included in the Wanli 7 (1579) edition of the *Huang Ming zhishu* 皇明制書, in the *Da Ming yitongzhi* 大明一統志 published by Wanshoutang 萬壽堂 in the second decade of the Wanli era, and in the Wanli edition of the *Da Ming guanzhi daquan* 大明官制大全 represented complete revisions of the figures given in the Tianshun 天順 edition of the *Da Ming yitongzhi*. It was also around this time that Luo Hongxian's 羅洪先 *Guangyutu* 廣輿圖 (Enlarged Terrestrial Map) was expanded by Qian Dai 錢岱 (Wanli 7).

However, the route books (*luchengshu* 路程書) and encyclopaedias for daily use (*riyong leishu* 日用類書) that were in general circulation at the time contained almost no maps apart from some very simple maps of the entire country. It could be said that maps were not needed because people only travelled along fixed routes, and there was little need for maps in everyday life.

For example, the contents of the section on "Geography" in daily-use encyclopaedias of the Ming would seem to follow the section on "Prefectures and Commanderies" in the Yuan-period *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記, but there is generally only a single national map. The sections on "Geography" and "Official Ranks" list place-names, but they provide no substantial geographical information apart from administrative divisions. The section on "Geography" in the *Santai wanyong zhengzong* 三台萬用正宗 by Yu Xiangdou 余象斗 includes only "Ershiba xiu fenye huang Ming gesheng diyu zongtu" 二十八宿分野皇明各省地輿總圖 (General Topographical Map of the Ming Dynasty by Province of the Divisions and Correspondences of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions), while the travel routes given under "Liangjing shisansheng lucheng" 兩京十三省路程 (Routes between the Two Capitals and Thirteen Provinces) have merely been taken from the *Yitong lucheng tuji* 一統路程圖

記 (preface dated Longqing 4 [1570]) by Huang Bian 黃汴, and the sections titled “Lidai guodu” 歷代國都 (Capitals of Successive Dynasties), “Yudi jiyuan” 輿地紀源 (Geographical Origins), and “Liangjing lucheng ge” 兩京路程歌 (Songs of Routes between the Two Capitals) are similarly no more than lists of place-names.

Likewise, little importance was attached to knowledge of geography in the *Sanzi jing* 三字經 or Xiao Liangyou’s 蕭良有 *Longwen bianying* 龍文鞭影 used in elementary education. Kim Moonkyong surmises with regard to the irrationality of the routes taken by Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 in his northern expeditions as described in the *Sanguozhi yanyi* 三國志演義 that the geographical confusion came about because the tale was composed on the basis of geographical works that contained many errors.³⁾

Following the incorporation of “administrative comments” from the *Da Ming guanzhi*, a great variety of privately compiled works of geography were produced to meet the requirements of the time. Maps, too, adopted grid-mapping, deriving from the *Guangyutu*, and they spread in a veritable flood from the rich body of diverse works that emerged owing to political stimuli. Maps deriving from the *Guangyutu* also began to be appended to books on statecraft such as the *Huang Ming jingshi yaolie* 皇明經世要略 (Wanli 42 [1614]) by Huang Renpu 黃仁溥.⁴⁾

Judging from extant annotated maps (*tushuo* 圖說) that were produced by provincial government offices in the late Ming, there is a possibility that the Longqing emperor’s accession edict provided the impetus for the compilation of annotated maps around the country which were then submitted to the central government. A memorial dated Longqing 3/11/2 and placed at the start of the *Jiubian tushuo* 九邊圖說 by Huo Ji 霍冀 (“Ti wei yangzun mingzhao gongjin Jiubian tushuo yi bian shenglan shi” 題爲仰遵明詔恭進九邊圖說以便聖覽事) notes how in response to the emperor’s accession edict officers throughout the empire drew maps, added explanatory notes, and sent them to the central authorities.

This change, which attached importance to local realities, became quite pronounced from the Wanli era onwards and can be confirmed on the basis of extant atlases and annotated maps from local government offices. An early example indicative of this trend is the *Linghai yutu* 嶺海輿圖 by Yao Yu 姚虞, which is included in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 and is judged to be valuable for providing detailed information about contemporary affairs and defences and for having established a different format for local gazetteers.⁵⁾ It is said to have been compiled when Yao Yu was regional inspector (*xun’an yushi* 巡按御史) of Guangdong and to have a preface by Zhan Ruoshui 湛若水 dated Jia-

jing 嘉靖 21 (1542). One reason that various maps from around the country, including annotated maps, have survived may be that a need for them came to be widely felt in government offices.

I. Late Ming Manuscripts of the *Jiangxi Yudi Tushuo*

From the first half of the Ming onwards, maps deriving from the *Da Ming yitongzhi* were regarded as the benchmark for maps produced during the Ming. Later, after the publication of the *Guangyutu* in the latter part of the Jiajing era, maps deriving from this work were also added to administrative works such as the *Da Ming guanzhi daquan* and geographical works such as the *Guangyuji* 廣輿記 and *Huiji yutu beikao quanshu* 彙輯輿圖備考全書. But there still remains much that is unknown about late-Ming maps that were produced and held by government offices.

According to the summary of the *Yangzhoufu tushuo* 揚州府圖說 (1 fasc.; held by Library of Congress), a Ming manuscript described by Wang Zhongmin, its maps are in colour, and the map of Yangzhou 揚州 prefecture is followed by maps of the counties of Jiangdu 江都, Guazhou 瓜州, Yizhen 儀真, Taixing 泰興, Gaoyou 高郵, Xinghua 興化, Baoying 寶應, Taizhou 泰州, Rugao 如皋, Tongzhou 通州, and Haimen 海門. It contains twelve maps in all, and each map is followed by explanatory notes that describe the county's history, with the Ming dynasty being referred to as the "our dynasty" (*guochao* 國朝). Judging from the contents and style of characters used in the explanatory notes on Tongzhou, the *Yangzhoufu tushuo* is thought to have been compiled during the Wanli era of the late Ming,⁶⁾ but regrettably Wang does not give its dimensions.

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. In addition, collections of reproductions of old maps have also been published one after another, starting with *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji—Mingdai* 中國古代地圖集—明代 (Cao Wanru 曹婉如 et al., eds., Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社, 1994) and also including *Zhonghua guditu zhenpin xuanji* 中華古地圖珍品選集 (Zhongguo Cehui Kexue Yanjiuyuan 中國測繪科學研究院, ed., Ha'erbin: Ha'erbin Ditu Chubanshe 哈爾濱地圖出版社, 1998), *Huangyu xialan—Beijing Daxue Tushuguan cang Qingdai caihui ditu* 皇輿遐覽—北京大學圖書館藏清代彩繪地圖 (Beijing Daxue Tushuguan 北京大學圖書館, ed., Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin Daxue Chubanshe 中國人民大學出版社, 2008) and *Fangyu soulan—Daying Tushuguan suocang Zhongwen lishi ditu* 方輿搜

覽—大英圖書館所藏中文歷史地圖 (Xie Guoxing 謝國興, ed., Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Taiwanshi Yanjiusuo 中央研究院臺灣史研究所, 2015), as well as *Huangyu soulan—Meiguo Guohui Tushuguan suocang Ming-Qing yutu* 皇輿搜覽—美國國會圖書館所藏明清輿圖 (Lin Tianren 林天人, ed., Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Taiwanshi Yanjiusuo, 2013), which brings together maps held by the institutions abroad. These publications provide photographs of what might be called landscape-style or panoramic maps of China's provinces together with the explanatory descriptions that were produced during the Ming-Qing period, and they make it possible for us to examine these vividly coloured illustrated maps.

The existence of explanatory descriptions produced by government offices and the maps to which they were attached was first introduced to the wider public in the journal *Wenwu* 文物 (1985, no. 1) in the form of the *Nanjing (bufen) fuxian ditu(ce)* 南京(部分)府縣地圖(冊), a silk map of a part of Nanjing held by Zhenjiang Bowuguan 鎮江博物館. In addition to a photographic reproduction of the coloured maps, this study also included monochrome photographs of the maps and explanatory descriptions, and the format of contemporary atlases became clear for the first time.⁷⁾ In the following, this map will be referred to as the *Nanjing fuxian dituce*.

Since then, the *Zhongguo guditu ditu ji—Mingdai*, mentioned above and published in 1994, has included, in addition to six photographs of maps from the *Nanjing fuxian dituce*, four photographs from the Wanli-era *Huai'anfu tushuo* 淮安府圖說 held by the National Library of China in Beijing and six photographs of maps included in the polychrome *Jiangxi quansheng tushuo* 江西全省圖說 on silk.⁸⁾

In addition, the *Zhonghua guji zhenpin xuanji* includes photographs of the map and explanatory description of Taihe 泰和 county from the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* 江西輿地圖說.⁹⁾ Furthermore, *Zhongguo Guojia Tushuguan guji zhenpin tulu* 中國國家圖書館古籍珍品圖錄 (Ren Jiyu 任繼愈, ed., Beijing: Beijing Tushuguan Chubanshe 北京圖書館出版社, 1999) includes photographs of the description of Jiangxi province from the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* as well as photographs of the map and explanatory description of Ji'an 吉安 prefecture, and these have made it possible to examine its contents in greater detail. The catalogue of an exhibition of holdings of the National Library of China that was held in the United States also includes the maps of Jiangxi province, Ji'an prefecture, and Linchuan 臨川 county.¹⁰⁾

Further, *Zhongguo kexue jishu shi—tulu juan* 中國科學技術史—圖錄卷 (Jin Qiupeng 金秋鵬, ed., Beijing: Kexue Chubanshe 科學出版社, 2008) includes a photograph of the description of Huai'an 淮安 prefecture from the *Nanjing*

fluxian dituce, and this apprises us of further details of the contents of two late-Ming atlases held in Beijing and Zhenjiang. It is to be hoped that further light will be shed on the *Nanjing fluxian dituce* through a comparison with the Ming-period manuscript of the *Yangzhoufu tushuo* listed by Wang Zhongmin.

These could all be regarded as amongst the oldest extant examples of so-called landscape-style maps of the Ming-Qing period produced by traditional techniques, and they are valuable extant examples of Wanli-era landscape-style maps with accompanying explanatory descriptions. Worthy of particular note are the atlases of Jiangxi province, and in addition to the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* produced in the late Ming and held by the National Library of China in Beijing, there also exist several prefectural maps of Jiangxi province, including the post-Kangxi 康熙-era *Jiangxisheng fluxian fentu* 江西省府縣分圖 and the post-Yongzheng 雍正-era *Jiangxisheng quantu* 江西省全圖 (held by Beijing University Library).¹¹⁾ On the one hand, the Qing dynasty employed Jesuits to conduct surveys and produce the *Huangyu quanlan tu* 皇輿全覽圖 (Map of a Complete View of Imperial Territory), but at the same time traditional illustrated maps also continued to be produced.

What is worth noting in particular about this late-Ming *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* is that, as well as being one of the earliest illustrated maps preserved by a government office, there have also survived the contemporaneous *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* by Zhao Bingzhong 趙秉忠 (*Jilu huibian* 紀錄彙編 208) and the *Rao Nan Jiu sanfu tushuo* 饒南九三府圖說 by Wang Shimao 王世懋 (*Jilu huibian* 209) with which it can be compared. There have thus been preserved actual exemplars of contemporary maps of Jiangxi province, and it has become possible to compare the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* compiled by Zhao Bingzhong with photographic reproductions of maps and explanatory descriptions of Taihe county and Ji'an prefecture. As a result, it has become clear that, apart from some revision, they basically tally with Zhao Bingzhong's *Jiangxi yudi tushuo*.¹²⁾

The catalogue of extant geographical works in the *Siku quanshu zongmu* 74 lists Wang Shimao's *Sanjun tushuo* 三郡圖說 (an abbreviated title of the *Rao Nan Jiu sanfu tushuo*) in 1 fascicle.¹³⁾ The "Siku tiyao" 四庫提要 states in connection with the *Sanjun tushuo* that it gives all the essential details about whether the district in question is an important transport hub, whether the local customs are frivolous or unsophisticated, and what the vested interests involved in civil administration are, but it does not attach much importance to mountains, rivers, historic sites, locals who have passed the civil service examinations, officials who have held posts there, local songs, and so on, and this is a vestige of the methods employed in maps of former times.

Wang Shimao's postscript attached to the *Rao Nan Jiu sanfu tushuo* in the

Jilu huibian includes the following passage:

The duties of a censor (*yushi* 御史) are to make inspections of the regions in lieu of the Son of Heaven, observe the conditions of the people in each region, and examine the administrative achievements of the officials in accordance with the locality's complexity or simplicity. Now, Censor Zhao 趙 of Donglai 東萊 invariably ordered the head of the prefecture or county wherever he went to draw a map of its territory, add an explanation after the map, and investigate how complex or simple, bustling or remote, and difficult or easy to govern it was. The three prefectures of Raozhou 饒州, Nankang 南康, and Jiujiang 九江 were under Shimao's jurisdiction.¹⁴⁾

This suggests that maps of each prefecture, subprefecture, and county were drawn, followed by an explanation describing conditions there, and these were presented to the censor and brought together in a single volume.

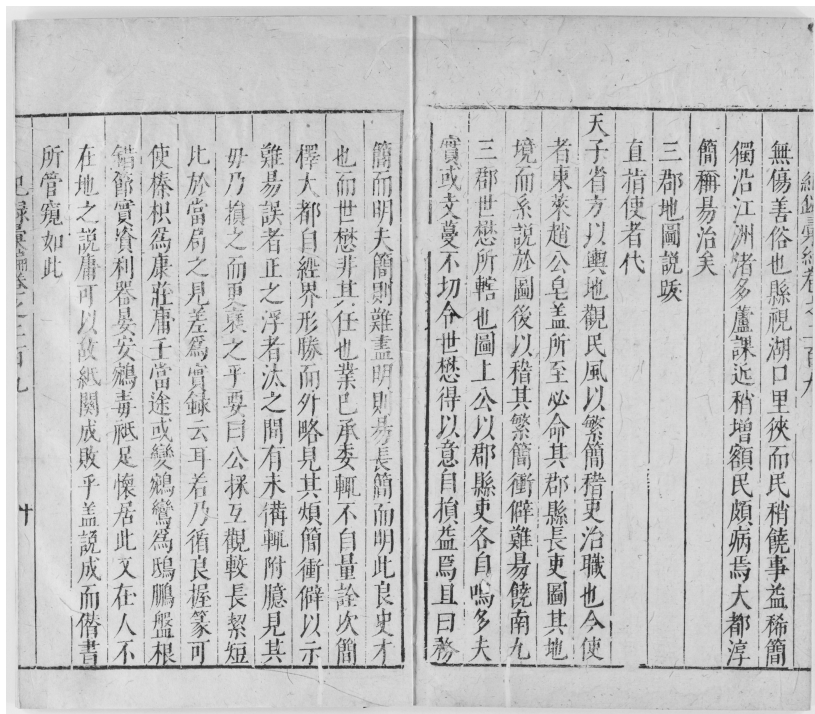


Fig. 1 “Sanjun tushuo ba” 三郡圖說跋 (Wang Shimao's postscript to the *Rao Nan Jiu sanfu tushuo*) in the *Jilu huibian* 209, stored at Toyo Bunko (call no. XI-3-A-e-5).

The fact that the three prefectures of Raozhou, Nankang, and Jiujiang were under Wang Shimao's jurisdiction would suggest, judging from his career, that the *Sanjun tushuo* was compiled when he became commissioner of the general administration circuit (*fenshoudao* 分守道) of Raozhou, Nankang, and Jiujiang. According to Wang Shizhen's 王世貞 "Wangdi Zhongshun dafu Taichangsi shaoqing Jingmei xingzhuang" 亡弟中順大夫太常寺少卿敬美行狀 (*Yanzhou shanren xugao* 弇州山人續稿 140), Wang Shimao held this post in Wanli 4–7, and so the *Sanjun tushuo* was presumably compiled around this time.¹⁵⁾

In Wang Shimao's postscript it is stated that in order to investigate how complex or simple, bustling or remote, and difficult or easy to govern prefecture, subprefecture, and county were, the regional inspector Zhao Yao 趙耀 ordered the head of each prefecture and county to submit a map of the area under their jurisdiction together with an explanation. The extant version in the *Jilu huibian* does not include any maps, but as is indicated by the words "Sanjun ditushuo" 三郡地圖說 in the postscript's title, it consisted of maps followed by explanatory notes, and it could be said to have been compiled for the needs of local government from the position of a regional inspector.¹⁶⁾

Although dating from a slightly later period, other maps in which a regional inspector was similarly involved include the *Shanxi bianyuan tu* 山西邊垣圖 and *Shanxi Sanguan bianyuan tu* 山西三關邊垣圖 (held by National Palace Museum Library in Taipei), which were submitted by the regional inspector of Shanxi during the Shunzhi 順治 era in the early Qing. Qian Dai, who published an enlarged version of the *Guangyutu* in Wanli 7, had also served as regional inspector of Shandong.¹⁷⁾

Zhao Bingzhong's *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* is similar in format to the *Rao Nan Jiu sanfu tushuo* and provides maps with explanatory descriptions for all of Jiangxi province. It begins with an outline of the entire province, followed by explanatory descriptions of each prefecture and county, starting with Nanchang 南昌 prefecture. Judging from the fact that mention is made of Luxi 瀘溪 county in Jianchang 建昌 prefecture, which was established in late Wanli 6, it can be confirmed that it was compiled some time after Wanli 7.

The compiler Zhao Bingzhong probably corresponds to the person mentioned in the Kangxi-era *Ouning xianzhi* 甌寧縣志 6 ("Xuanju" 選舉) as the magistrate of Leping 樂平 county, Raozhou prefecture, Jiangxi, who hailed from Ouning 甌寧 county in Fujian and became a "presented scholar" (*jinshi* 進士) in Wanli 2. According to the Tongzhi 同治-era *Leping xianzhi* 樂平縣志 6 ("Zhiguan" 職官), he was appointed county magistrate in the eleventh month of Wanli 9, which means that his *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* probably slightly postdates

Wang Shimao's *Rao Nan Jiu sanfu tushuo*, thought to have been compiled in Wanli 4–7.

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 government offices. These are maps with explanatory descriptions related to Shandong, eight in number, which include the *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.¹⁸⁾

The *Huangyu soulan*—*Meiguo Guohui Tushuguan suocang Ming-Qing yutu* includes the *Quanzhoufu yudi tushuo* 泉州府輿地圖說 on silk, postdating Wanli 30 and formerly called “Fujian sheng haifang tu” 福建省海防圖. It comprises 29 illustrated maps and 28 explanatory descriptions, starting with “Quanzhoufu tushuo” 泉州府圖說 and covering counties, defence commands (*zhen* 鎮), local police offices (*xunsi* 巡司 [= *xunjiansi* 巡檢司]), battalions (*qianhusuo* 千戶所), etc., and mountains are rendered in blue and rivers and the sea in green. As is indicated by its former title, the explanatory descriptions place an emphasis on maritime defences. The above are all similar annotated maps produced at a prefecture or county level.

Next, I wish to consider the manuscript of the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* in comparison with Zhao Bingzhong's *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* included in the *Jilu huibian*. The *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* was first taken up in the *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji*—*Mingdai* under the title *Jiangxi quansheng tushuo*, and it reproduces six maps (figs. 62–67), i.e., two facing maps by the Jiangxi Provincial Administration Commission (*Jiangxi buzhengshisi* 江西布政使司) and maps of Raozhou prefectural capital, Ganzhou 贛州 prefecture, Fuliang 浮梁 county, and Taihe county.¹⁹⁾ According to Sun Guoqing's 孫果清 explanatory comments, 37 maps are extant, consisting of a general map of the entire province (26 cm × 56.5 cm) and 36 maps of prefectures and counties (28 × 26.5 cm), and all are accompanied by explanatory descriptions; the maps show mountain ranges, rivers, lakes, trees, city walls and moats, and buildings such as government offices, temples and shrines, and courier stations and are brightly coloured and very beautiful, as well as being rich in content, and not only are the maps and descriptions outstanding works of cartography, but they are also valuable works of art that reflect the magnificent mountains and rivers of Jiangxi. However, since the prime focus of the publication in question is on old maps, the explanatory descriptions could be said to lie outside its sphere of interest even if mention is made of them.

According to Xi Huidong, copies of the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* are held in the National Library of China in Beijing and the National Palace Museum in Taipei.²⁰⁾ The *Mingshi* 明史 (“Dili zhi” 地理志) states that Jiangxi had thirteen prefectures (*fu* 府), one subprefecture (*zhou* 州), and seventy-seven counties (*xian* 縣), and thus some maps apart from the thirty-seven mentioned by Sun Guoqing may be held by the National Palace Museum in Taipei.

The *Zhonghua guditu zhenpin xuanji* includes the same atlas held by the National Library of China in Beijing under the title *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* and reproduces three maps (figs. 89–91), namely, the overall map of the province by the Jiangxi Provincial Administration Commission and maps of Yuanzhou 袁州 prefecture and Taihe county. According to the explanatory comments, the maps have been rendered with the techniques of China’s ancient cartographic traditions that give expression to natural features, and by combining the explanatory descriptions with maps they depict in careful detail the geographical conditions of Jiangxi province and its prefectures and counties and record the situation regarding history, geographical features, natural defence positions, local customs, etc. (p. 124). The *Zhonghua guditu zhenpin xuanji* reproduces the map of Taihe county across two facing pages (fig. 91), with the map on the right-hand page, while on the left-hand page it shows the explanatory description of Taihe county in nine 16-character lines.²¹⁾

The *Zhongguo Guojia Tushuguan guji zhenpin tulu* that was subsequently published in 1999 includes two photographs from the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo*, and they reproduce two “geographical descriptions” (*yudi tushuo* 輿地圖說; p. 280, fig. 305). One is the opening section of the explanatory description of Jiangxi province, covering ten 14-character lines and reproduced across two facing pages, while the other is that of Ji’an prefecture, with the map on the right and the explanatory description in fourteen 18-character lines on the left.

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.

These constitute only a small number of examples, but these geographical descriptions shed light on actual conditions in the regions from a vantage point that differs from that of local gazetteers. They record the situation at the time in plain terms, describing how the land is barren and densely populated, or how there are many lawsuits, or how there is much damage from floods.

Unlike local gazetteers, the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* records administrative

comments on whether the prefectures and counties are “bustling,” “remote,” “complex,” or “simple,” indicative of an intent to respond directly to administrative needs. In the maps of prefectures and counties, mountains in the distance are veiled in mist, but otherwise they are rendered in the manner of the “blue-and-green” style of landscape painting, and the names of mountains are inscribed in gold letters. Buildings are noted in black ink inside white squares, and most of them are public facilities such as the censorate (*duchayuan* 都察院), prefectural and county offices, local police offices, battalions, city god temples (*chenghuang miao* 城隍廟), public relief homes (*yangjiyuan* 養濟院), schools, government storehouses, relay stations (*yi* 驛), transport offices (*diyunsuo* 遞運所), post stations (*bu* 鋪), altars to the gods of soil and grain (*sheji tan* 社稷壇), Buddhist and Daoist temples, pagodas, city gates, etc.

Differences between the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* and *Nanjing fuxian dituce* include the fact that the latter has no administrative comments on how bustling or remote or how complex or simple the locality is; like the *Da Ming yitongzhi*, the explanatory description invariably begins with an account of its historical geography; and the descriptions touch on past battles in which there figured people such as Xiang Yu 項羽 of the Qin (map of Quanjiao 全椒 county) and Yuan Shu 袁術 the late Eastern Han (map of He 和 subprefecture) and on local places of strategic importance.

Maps such as those in the *Da Ming yitongzhi*, which were simplified to show only mountains represented by symbols, rivers, and place-names, were simplified versions of landscape-style maps, and it may be assumed that when maps were printed rather than drawn, it was these simplified maps that were engraved on woodblocks.

II. The *Huangyutu* Formerly Held by Momijiyama Bunko

A national map that is thought to have been produced by bringing together information from landscape-style provincial maps is the *Huangyutu* 皇輿圖 formerly held by Momijiyama Bunko 紅葉山文庫, the former shogunal library in Japan. A well-known example of the use of the word *huangyu* 皇輿 in a geographical context is *Huangyu quanlan tu*, a map produced by order of the Kangxi emperor. But originally it signified the emperor’s carriage and, by extension, the emperor himself. It then came to refer to the state, and from the late Ming it seems to have come to refer to state territories, eventually changing from a common noun similar to *fangyu* 方輿 and *yudi* 輿地, signifying “earth” or “land,” to a term with nationalistic connotations referring to China’s territories.

An early example of the use of *huangyu* as a geographical concept appears to be the *Huangyu kao* 皇輿考 (12 fascs.) by Zhang Tianfu 張天復, which has a preface by the author dated cyclic year *dingsi* 丁巳 of the Jiajing era (Jiajing 36 [1557]). Later, during the Wanli era, the *Huangyu yaolan* 皇輿要覽 (4 fascs.) by Hu Wenhuan 胡文煥, included in the *Gezhi congshu* 格致叢書, was published, whereafter *huangyu* became established as a geographical term.

The manuscript copy of the *Huangyutu* formerly in the possession of Momijiyama Bunko and now held by the National Archives of Japan (史212-0001) is bound in twelve albums, and on the verso side there has been affixed the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖 (Map of All Countries on the Earth) by Li Madou 利瑪竇 (Matteo Ricci). Currently, images of the *Huangyutu* can be viewed on the website of the National Archives of Japan Digital Archive under Important Cultural Properties (Japanese Books): *Kunyu wanguo quantu*.²²⁾ The following observations are based on these images. Unno Kazutaka has previously taken up the section showing the area around Shandong, and when joined together it is a large map measuring 444 × 348 cm.²³⁾ According to Unno, the *Huangyutu* is listed in the *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki* 幕府書物方日記 together with other local gazetteers, and it is known to have been presented to the shogun by the Nagasaki magistrate (*bugyō* 奉行) in Kyōhō 享



Fig. 2 *Huangyutu* (included in National Archives of Japan Digital Archive):
Cover of vol. 6. The page on the left is a part of a map
depicting the desert north of Beijing and Xuanfu 宣府.

保 19 (1734).²⁴⁾

Aoki Chieko, meanwhile, considers the *Huangyutu* to have been produced around Shunzhi 10–14 in the early Qing by Ming loyalists influenced by the Eccentric School of Painting (Qixiangpai 奇想派) in southern China. She further surmises that, judging from the reference in the *Bakufu shomotsu-kata nikki*, it was deposited with Momijiyama Bunko during the time of the eighth shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune 德川吉宗 and that the main focus of interest would probably have been on Matteo Ricci's map on the verso side.²⁵⁾

The *Huangyutu* has been bound in twelve albums with light-blue silk covers decorated with various auspicious items such as an arabesque pattern of chrysanthemums, clove flowers, scrolls, and so on. A circular title slip is inscribed with the title *Huangyutu*, while the range and administrative divisions of the maps included in each album are inscribed on a square subtitle slip. Excluding the cover, each album consists of twelve panels measuring 36.8 × 28.8 cm, and at the start of each album there has been affixed an official seal reading “Hikaku tosho no shō” 秘閣圖書之章 (Seal of Book of Shogunal Archives), indicating that it was formerly held by Momijiyama Bunko. On the verso side there has been pasted only that part of the second revised version of the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* published in Wanli 30 (1602) that shows the world map, with all the explanatory descriptions having been removed. On this basis Unno surmises that it would have been produced not all that long after Wanli 30. Further, according to Unno, the maps of Japan and Ryūkyū take a form deriving from the *Guangyutu*, with the map of Japan being similar to that in the Wanli 7 edition of the *Guangyutu*.²⁶⁾

The place-names on the maps include Yuzhou 禹州 (formerly Junzhou 鈞州), which was altered in Wanli 3 to avoid the name taboo of the Wanli emperor's given name Yijun 翊鈞, and Changning 長寧 county in Ganzhou prefecture, Jiangxi, which was established in Wanli 4, and therefore the map must postdate Wanli 4 (1576). Furthermore, in view of the fact that one can still find the place-name Jinzhou 金州, renamed Xing'anzhou 興安州 in Wanli 11 (1583), the map may preserve information predating Wanli 11.

The subtitle of vol. 1 reads “Dongyi Ribenguo 東夷日本國 (Japan), Liuqiuguo 琉球國 (Ryūkyū),” that of vol. 2 reads “Dongyi Chaoxianguo 東夷朝鮮國 (Korea), Ribenguo 日本國, Liuqiuguo 琉球國,” and that of vol. 3 reads “Dongyi Chaoxianguo 東夷朝鮮國, Donglu Nüzhi guo 東虜女直國 (Jurchens), Haixiwei 海西衛, Jianzhouwei 建州衛.”

Next, vol. 4 covers “Nanzhi Songjiangfu 南直松江府, Shandong Dengzhoufu 山東登州府, Zhejiang Ningbofu 浙江寧波府, Taizhoufu 台州府, Jiubian Liaoyangzhen 九邊遼陽鎮, Donglu Tainingwei 東虜泰寧衛, Fuganwei

福幹衛.” Vol. 5 covers “Beizhi Yongpingfu 北直永平府, Nanzhi Yingtianfu 南直應天府, Fengyangfu 鳳陽府,... (prefectures in Shandong, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, and Fujian), Jiubian Jizhouzhen 九邊薊州鎮, Daningcheng 大寧城, Donglu Naiyanwei 東虜乃顏衛,” and these include the northern regions and frontier regions beyond Shanhai 山海 Pass. Vol. 6 covers Beizhi Shuntianfu 北直順天府, etc. and Nanzhi Anqingfu 南直安慶府, followed by provinces and prefectures in Shandong, Shanxi, Henan, Huguang, Jiangxi, Fujian, and Guangdong, and lastly “Jiubian Xuanfuzhen 九邊宣府鎮, Datongzhen 大同鎮, Kaipingwei 開平衛, Lingnan Qian... (zhen?) 嶺南虔□ (鎮?).”

Vol. 7 covers the prefectures of Shanxi, Henan, Huguang, Guangdong, and Guangxi, followed by “Jiubian Songlinzhen 九邊松林鎮, Dongshengcheng 東勝城, Shuofangjun 朔方郡, Dongshouxiang 東受降, and Zhongshouxiang 中受降.” Vol. 8 covers the prefectures of Shaanxi, Sichuan, Guangdong, Guangxi, and Guizhou, followed by “Huguang Mayangzhen 湖廣麻陽鎮, Jiubian Ningxiazhen 九邊寧夏鎮, Guyuanzhen 固原鎮, Xishouxiang 西受降, Nanyi Annanguo 南夷安南國.” Vol. 9 covers the prefectures of Shaanxi, Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guizhou, followed by “Jiubian Zhuanglangwei 九邊莊浪衛, Zhenfanwei 鎮番衛, Xiningwei 西寧衛, Liangzhouwei 涼州衛, Yaozhouzhen 洮州鎮, Minzhouzhen 岷州鎮, Hezhouzhen 河州鎮, Chuanman Mangbu 川蠻芒部, Wusa 烏撒, Nanyi Annan 南夷安南.” Vol. 10 covers the prefectures of Yunnan, followed by “Jiubian Liangzhouwei 九邊涼州衛, Shandanwei 山丹衛, Ganzhouwei 甘州衛, Suzhouwei 肅州衛, Sichuan Songpanwei 四川松潘衛, Maozhouwei 茂州衛, Jianchangwei 建昌衛, Ningfanwei 寧番衛, Huichuanwei 會川衛, Wumengcheng 烏蒙城, Dongchuancheng 東川城, Luoman Dachikou 羅蠻大赤口, Xiaochikou 小赤口, Xifan Handongwei 西番罕東衛, Quxianwei 曲先衛, Andingwei 安定衛, Tukahun 吐苦渾, Tufanguo 土番國, Nanyi Annanguo 南夷安南國.”

Vol. 11 shows a desert region named “Daqikou” 大磧口 to the west of Guazhou 瓜州 along the Silk Road in the west. Vol. 12 shows in the centre a lake called Constellation Sea (Xingxiu hai 星宿海), the source of the Yellow River, and to its north a large lake with swirling waves is depicted, surrounded by mountains and with two rivers seemingly debouching to the southwest. To the east lies Hamiwei 哈密衛.²⁷⁾

As well as rivers, the *Huangyutu* also shows roads, marked by dotted lines. Also worth noting is that a white band links Ningyuan 寧遠 and Jinzhou in Liaodong beyond Shanhai Pass with Tianjin 天津 and then Dengzhou 登州 in Shandong, cutting through the waves of the Bohai 渤海 Sea. This band, indicating a sea route, passes around Shandong Peninsula to Mawan 麻灣 in Jiaozhou 膠州 and Haizhou 海州 in Jiangsu and then passes south across the

sea between Shanghai and Chongming 崇明 Island and then between Ningbo 寧波 and the Zhoushan 舟山 Islands down as far as Fuzhou 福州 in Fujian. A similar white band is shown in the “Haiyun tu” 海運圖 (Maritime Transport Map) in *Guangyutu* 2, similarly cutting through the waves from Liaodong to Fuzhou. There would have been sea routes to the south of Fuzhou too, but there was presumably no need to indicate them since they were not sea routes for maritime transport known to the government.

Although the *Huangyutu* shows roads, it does not mark the boundaries between administrative divisions. Cities are depicted at a prefectural level, but at the level of subprefectures and counties only the name of the subprefecture or county is given. The names of some rivers are also given, along with some place-names such as Masha 麻沙 and Ehu 鵝湖, and buildings such as temples and barrier stations are also shown.

If we examine Quanzhou 泉州 prefecture in Fujian and its environs in vol. 5, we find that the prefectural capitals of Quanzhou, Xinghua 興化, and Zhangzhou 漳州 are depicted, surrounded by walls. The names of counties are enclosed in oval-shaped double red lines, the names of garrisons (*wei* 衛) are written inside ovals enclosed by a rectangle (Zhendongwei 鎮東衛, Pinghaiwei 平海衛, Zhenhaiwei 鎮海衛), and the names of battalions are enclosed



Fig. 3 *Huangyutu* (included in National Archives of Japan Digital Archive): vol. 5, Quanzhou and environs.

in lozenges (Meihua 梅花, Wan'an 萬安, Pufu 蒲福, Chongwu 崇武, Gaopu 高浦, Jinmen 今門 [Jinmen 金門], Liu'ao 六鰲, Tongshan 銅山, Xuanzhong 玄鍾). Ningyang 寧洋 county in Quanzhou prefecture is not shown, but the name of the county to the east of Tong'an 同安 county is given as Jinmen 今門. Such errors were presumably due to mistakes made in determining the spatial relationships between counties. In addition, the grid lines in the vicinity of Haicheng 海澄 county have been clearly misaligned.

Next, if we look at the north of the area from Shuntian 順天 prefecture (Beijing) to Xuanfu 宣府 in vol. 6, we find that counties such as Huairou 懷柔, Shunyi 順義, Fangshan 房山, and Liangxiang 良鄉 are indicated by oval-shaped double red lines, while subprefectures such as Tongzhou 通州, Yizhou 易州, Yanqing 延慶, Changping 昌平, and Bao'an 保安 are indicated by rectangular double red lines. There are also garrisons and battalions attached to Wanquan 萬全 regional military commission (*du zhihuishi* 都指揮使司), the garrisons (Huai'an 懷安, Bao'an 保安, Huailai 懷來, Kaiping 開平, Longmen 龍門, etc.) being marked by double rectangles with rounded corners and Longmen battalion by a lozenge. In addition, the names of fortresses (*bao* 堡) such as Qingquan 清泉, Diao'e 鵬鶚, Chicheng 赤城, Yunzhou 雲州, Maying 馬營, Geyu 葛峪, Baiyang 白羊 (Baiyang 白陽), Yangfang 羊房, Tumu 土木, Xinhe 新河, Shanfang 膳房, Chaigou 柴溝, Ximalin 洗馬林, Dukou 渡口, and Xiyanghe 西陽河 are encircled by a red line.

Further, to the northwest of the garrisons of Kaiping and Dushi 獨石 is a note reading "Huangtaiji *buluo*" 黃台吉部落, and near Zhenlu 鎮虜 in the mountains to the northeast of Yingzhou 應州 are notes reading "Hongtang-gou *zeilu*" 紅唐溝賊路 and "Tieguomen *zeilu*" 鐵裹門賊路. Huangtaiji refers to the eldest son of Altan Khan, who inherited the latter's title of Shunyi Wang 順義王 after his death in the late Ming.²⁸⁾ Tieguomen was a strategic position near Yanmen 雁門 Pass, located on the route taken by Altan Khan when he invaded China in Jiajing 15 (1536).²⁹⁾

Aoki Chieko places emphasis on the towered walls of Liaoyang 遼陽 as grounds for identifying this map as a copy made in the early Qing. But if it was copied by Ming loyalists, they are unlikely to have been overly concerned with a prefectural capital established by the Qing. The terms "Beizhi" 北直 and "Nanzhi" 南直 used in the subtitle slips preserve the terms North Zhili 直隸 and South Zhili used during the Ming. In addition, the lower half of the character *lu* 虜 in Donglu 東虜 looks like it has been crossed out with black ink, suggesting that the map may have been produced in the late Ming, with the lower half of the character *lu* having been later crossed out during the Qing. Conversely, if, in view of the emphasis placed on the city walls of



Fig. 4 *Huangyutu* (included in National Archives of Japan Digital Archive): vol. 4, Liaodong.

Liaoyang, the map is considered to have been produced during the Qing, then Shenyang 瀋陽, the earlier capital of the Manchus which after the Manchus established themselves in China proper remained the secondary capital, has not been depicted in a manner befitting its position.

As is pointed out by Unno Kazutaka, in the section showing Liaodong in the *Huangyutu* (vol. 4) towered buildings are also depicted in other places apart from the city walls of Liaoyang, and these include one at the mouth of the Liao River (Liaohe 遼河) named Sancha 三岔, while the foremost one on the Korean side to the east of the frontier wall (*bianqiang* 邊牆) is named Fuguan 撫關. In addition, places with city walls to the north of the Great Wall include Huining 會寧 (Shangjing 上京 of the Jin) (vol. 3), Beijing of the Jin, Duoyan 朵顏 (formerly Daning 大寧), and Jizhou 薊州 (vol. 5), Huanghua 黃花, Xuanfu, and Datong 大同 (vol. 6), Shuofangjun 朔方郡 and Yulin 榆林 (vol. 7), Ningxia 寧夏 (vol. 8), and Ganzhou 甘州 and Suzhou 肅州 (vol. 10). In Liaodong the symbol for garrisons (apart from Sanwan 三萬) is a double rectangle with rounded corners. This may be a symbol for walled fortifications. In connection with symbols, it may be noted that in the vicinity of Ningxia in Jiubianzhen Yuquan 玉泉, Weizhen 威鎮, Heishan 黑山, and Qingshui 清水 are marked by oval symbols resembling two horseshoes

that have been joined together vertically, and these would seem to represent some kind of walled fortification.

Both Unno and Aoki surmise that the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* on the verso side was pasted onto the *Huangyutu* when it was bound in the form of albums. But it is uncertain whether or not the *Huangyutu* itself was from the outset created in the form of albums. In order to paste the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* onto the verso side, I would argue, a copy was made of the original version of the *Huangyutu* produced in the second decade of the Wanli era, and it seems to me that one cannot reject the possibility that this copy was reformatted into twelve albums in order to take it to Japan. The *Huangyutu* was brought from Nagasaki to Edo during the time of Yoshimune, and it is difficult to imagine that someone during the Qing would have deliberately violated a ban and produced a fresh copy of a Ming map in order to sell it to Japan.

Each album leaf has been divided into grids, seven north to south and nine east to west. There are places where a joint can be clearly seen along the grid line between the third and fourth sections from the bottom, as in, for example, the colour tone of the mountain mass and the frontier wall in Liaodong and Liaoyang city walls on panel 2 of vol. 4, the rendering of the waves on panels 5 and 6 of vol. 4, and the Yellow River on panel 2 of vol. 8, and this would suggest that originally the map was not joined together in the same way as it now is in album form. There are also instances in which the joints are clearly out of alignment, as in Jiangshan 江山 county, Zhejiang, along the boundary between the third and fourth sections from the top on panel 7 of vol. 5 and in the sea to the west of Changhua 昌化 on Hainan 海南 Island on panel 11 of vol. 8. Further, on panel 8 of vol. 7 the outline of a mountain mass has been drawn in the vicinity of Daozhou 道州 in Hunan, but it has not been coloured in.

What may be inferred from these slips is that when the extant *Huangyutu* was drawn, it was divided into squares of a fixed size that were drawn separately and then joined together to produce the overall map, and this led to some unnatural-looking joints. As regards the question of whether the original map representing the situation prior to Wanli 10 has been preserved or whether a copy made after its completion has been preserved, one must take into consideration the relationship with the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* on the verso. It would seem safe to regard it as a late-Ming manuscript, but we must await further investigations that also take account of the patterns on the covers that should indicate the covers' provenance.

It is also not known whether the “Yudi tu” 輿地圖 by Zhu Siben 朱思本, on which the *Guangyutu* was based, also adopted a landscape-style mode

of expression. Nor is it clear whether or not landscape-style provincial maps that followed on from the illustrated maps of the Southern Song were produced during the Mongol period. But in view of the fact that landscape-style provincial maps may be assumed to have been produced during the Ming and to have been widespread, there would seem to be no need to reject the influence of the *Guangyutu* on account of the landscape-style rendering of mountainous areas, as does Aoki. It is to be surmised that landscape-style modes of expression were normal in maps that were not printed.

Further, the method of depiction to be seen in the 17th-century Selden map of China, dating from around the same time as the *Huangyutu*, may represent a mode of expression to be generally seen in illustrated maps produced around this time in view of the fact that government offices were not involved in its production. The Selden map shows plants and mountains, the greenish ocean is depicted with waves, and it may be described as a landscape-style map.³⁰⁾ 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 嘉峪 Pass as far as Mecca.³¹⁾ In China it may have been deemed uniformly desirable for maps to depict realia in concrete detail regardless of the map's scale. Cordell D. K. Yee (Yu Dingguo 余定國) has emphasized the pictorial character of maps and argues that the boundary between landscape painting and maps was not clear-cut.³²⁾

Usami Bunri has analyzed 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, and states that the method of depiction is the same as that to be seen in the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* and *Nanjing fuxian dituce*. Compared, moreover, with the “*Shanjian xinglü tu*” 山間行旅圖 (Travelling in the Mountains; Cave 103, Mogao 莫高 Grottoes, Dunhuang 敦煌) from the high Tang, the “*Wutaishan tu*” 五臺山圖 (Mt. Wutai; Cave 61, Mogao Grottoes) from the Five Dynasties, and the “*Jiuyu shouling tu*” 九域守令圖 (Administrative Map of Nine Districts) dated Xuanhe 宣和 3 (1121) during the Northern Song, the plane surface of the map is depicted as if viewed from above, whereas the mountains alone are not shown as if viewed from above.³³⁾ Furthermore, as an example of a maplike landscape painting in which the names of mountains, counties, and Daoist temples have been directly inscribed on the painting, Usami also mentions the “*Shuchuan tujian*” 蜀川圖卷 (Shu River) attributed to Li Gonglin 李公麟 (Freer Gallery of Art) and, as an example of a landscape painted from nature although without anything written on the painting itself, he cites the “*Xihu tujian*” 西湖圖卷 (West Lake) attributed to Li Song 李

嵩 (Shanghai Museum). If one considers that maplike landscape paintings such as these could be found already during the Northern Song, then one can readily imagine the realities of illustrated maps during the Song, when, according to the *Yuhai* 玉海 to be discussed below, painters were dispatched to draw maps.

III. The Background to the *Huangyutu*: The Meaning of Landscape Paintings

In the *Mingshi* there are passages going back to the start of the Ming in which mention is made of orders given to regional government offices to submit maps. In Hongwu 洪武 16 (1383) regional military commissions 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).³⁴⁾ Again, in the fifth month of Hongzhi 弘治 14 (1501) provincial administration commissions were ordered to submit maps.³⁵⁾ According to the *Mingshi*,

The Bureau of Operations (*zhifangsi* 職方司) is in charge of maps, military institutions, walls and moats of cities, frontier guards, military training, and military campaigns. It has 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.³⁶⁾

There was thus a regulation stipulating the submission of “illustrated books” (*tuben* 圖本) every three years.

According to the *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典, the Ministry of Revenue 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 levied on its population, while the Ministry of War had *tuben* for each frontier region which provided information about the topography for drawing up defence plans.³⁷⁾

The existence of maps for various regions had been recorded since ancient times. In Yuanshou 元狩 6 (117 B.C.), when Wudi 武帝 of the Han enfeoffed his sons as the kings of Qi 齊, Yan 燕, and Guangling 廣陵, the censor-in-chief (*yushi dafu* 御史大夫) submitted maps (*yudi tu* 輿地圖) and asked for names to be assigned to the states.³⁸⁾

By the time of the Sui-Tang empire, which unified the Northern and Southern Dynasties, a nationwide administrative organization had been established and regional government offices were obliged to submit *tujing* 圖經 to the central authorities. According to the *Suishu* 隋書, during the Daye 大業 era commanderies throughout the realm were ordered to submit “maps of local customs and products” (*fengsu wuchan ditu* 風俗物產地圖) to the imperial secretary (*shangshu* 尚書).³⁹ In this fashion, during the Sui works such as the *Zhujun wuchan tusu ji* 諸郡物產土俗記, *Quyū tuzhi* 區宇圖志, and *Zhuzhou tujing ji* 諸州圖經集 were compiled. The *Shijun zhi* 十郡志 includes many maps, and it would appear that maps of natural scenery (*shanchuan tu* 山川圖), maps of towns and cities (*guoyi tu* 郭邑圖), and maps of government offices (*gongguan tu* 公館圖) were being produced.⁴⁰ The subject matter of these maps may be considered to have been carried over in the maps included in local gazetteers from the Song period onwards.

During the Tang, the Ministry of War’s Bureau of Operations was responsible for maps, and it was stipulated that *tujing* had to be submitted every three years.⁴¹ Maps remained the responsibility of the Bureau of Operations until the end of the Qing.

Further, during the Tang period “maps of the ten circuits” (*shidao tu* 十道圖) were frequently produced. They are listed, for example, in *Yuhai* 15 (“Dili shu” 地理書) and the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* and are said to have recorded the total number of subprefectures and counties, the numbers of civil and military officials, and salaries.⁴² “Maps of the ten circuits” were also compiled during the Song as sectional maps of the entire country, and they recorded the ranking of subprefectures and counties and the numbers of civil and military officials.⁴³ The reason that the Ming-period *Guangyutu* and *Huang Ming zhi-fang ditu* 皇明職方地圖 included the ranking of subprefectures and counties, population figures, and tax levies was that such figures were considered indispensable in maps showing national resources.

Whereas these were regional maps, Jia Dan 賈耽 of the Tang produced an enormous world map called “Hainei huayi tu” 海內華夷圖 (Map of Chinese and Barbarian [Lands] within the Seas),⁴⁴ which continued to have an influence even in the Song and later. The “Huayi tu” 華夷圖 (Map of Chinese and Barbarians) engraved on stone in Fuchang 阜昌 7 (1136) of the Qi, a puppet régime of the Jin, was a world map centred on China, which was surrounded by Korea, the countries of Central Asia, and India.

Again, in Qian dao 乾道 3 (1163) of the Southern Song, Xiaozong 孝宗 had the circuits shown on a large gold-lacquered screen behind the throne in the Hall for Selecting Virtue (Xuandedian 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”).⁴⁵⁾ Miya Noriko has also pointed out that in regional government offices during the Yuan there were illustrated maps of the region under the office’s jurisdiction that took the form of screens.⁴⁶⁾

Although it is not known whether or not they took the form of maps, examples of lists of regional officials written on screens can already be found in the *Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要.⁴⁷⁾ During the Ming, a screen with a national map (“Zhiguan shuping” 職官書屏) was presented by Zhang Juzheng to the infant Wanli emperor and placed in the Hall of Literary Brilliance (Wenhadian 文華殿). It listed the names of civil and military bureaucrats and of regional officials of the rank of prefect and higher together with their place of domicile, birthplace, and qualifications, which were written on slips of paper so that they could be changed.⁴⁸⁾ A list of the names of regional officials was placed near the emperor’s throne.

The prototype of illustrated maps of the entire country such as the *Huangyutu* may, as maintained by Unno, go back as far as Jia Dan’s “Hainei huayi tu” of the Tang. At the very least, it should be possible to trace such maps 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) of 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 (*shumiyuan* 樞密院) and used for military planning and taxation (*Yuhai* 14).

It is frequently mentioned in historical sources that maps were drawn directly on palace walls during the Tang-Song period (“Tang shanchuan xianyao tu” 唐山川險要圖, “Tang Hebei xianyao tu” 唐河北險要圖, and “Zhidao zifudian guan ditu” 至道滋福殿觀地圖).⁴⁹⁾ Large maps, as well as being drawn on screens, seem to have been also drawn or hung on walls.⁵⁰⁾

It is not known whether or not the above maps were grid maps, but extant maps engraved on stone include the “Yuji tu” 禹迹圖 (Map of the Tracks of Yu) dated Fuchang 7 (1136), in which grids of 1 *cun* 寸 represent 100 *li* 里. In addition, Zhu Siben’s “Yudi tu,” completed in Yanyu 延祐 7 (1320) of the Yuan, incorporated the findings of expeditions sent to find the source of the Yellow River during the Yuan, and it is thought to have been a traditional grid map.⁵¹⁾

Under the Mongol Yuan dynasty the term *huayi tu* in the sense of “world

map” fell into disuse, and with the unification of northern and southern China the Neo-Confucian term *huayi* 華夷 (Chinese and barbarian) also seems to have fallen out of use. Instead the words *yitong* 一統 (“united under one rule”) and *hunyi* 混一 (“amalgamated into one”) were given fresh meaning as terms suited to the Yuan dynasty, which had unified an area that extended beyond the Great Wall, and well-known examples of this usage include the *Da Yuan yitongzhi* 大元一統志 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). Under Mongol rule maps such as the *Da Yuan hunyi fangyu shenglan* 大元混一方輿勝覽 (Easy Guide to the Amalgamated Territory of the Great Yuan) and “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 produced.⁵²⁾ During the Ming, the word *yitong* continued to be used in the meaning of national unification, but the sense of a world map faded.

The fact that the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo*, compiled at a provincial level, took the form of a landscape painting is probably indicative of the fact that the maps brought together by the Bureau of Operations in the Ministry of War were in the form of landscape paintings. Although the maps found in the *Da Ming yitongzhi* and various local gazetteers differ in their relative detail, they may generally be described as landscape-style maps, and this would have been because the maps compiled by government offices at various levels in the bureaucratic hierarchy were originally drawn in the style of landscape paintings. The originals of these coloured landscape paintings were produced in the provinces and then gathered together by the central government. When printing them, the focus in their subject matter varied depending on what was given emphasis.

In the local gazetteers of Old China importance was attached to recording the history of a region and the literary works it had produced, delving into its history, and celebrating the land and its people. There had traditionally been a demand for pictorial representation, i.e., illustrated maps, in local gazetteers. In the *Da Ming yitongzhi* the illustrated maps were drawn from the perspective of the emperor, while in local gazetteers they were drawn from the perspective of local officials. There were also specialized monographs on military affairs, river works, transport, and so on, which concentrated on a particular topic, such as frontier defences and maritime defences in the case of military affairs. Printed versions were produced in line with such topics, and it did not matter if the maps were sometimes crude. The landscape-style illustrated maps included in a simplified form in local gazetteers are probably exemplified by the maps found in the section on Wuzhou 梧州 prefecture.

ture in the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (“Wuzhou jingtu” 梧州境圖 and “Wuzhou chengtu” 梧州城圖).⁵³⁾ In contrast, the *Guangyutu* took the form of a large-scale map of 100-*li* grids which gave priority to administrative place-names rather than pictorial representation and demanded spatial accuracy.

According to Zhang Zhejia, the maps in local gazetteers reflected the perspective of local officials, and consequently they came to stress the political and cultural authority of government offices, schools, and so on rather than the accuracy to be seen in grid maps such as the *Guangyutu*.⁵⁴⁾ If the two kinds of perspective—noncontinuous and divergent—appearing in the *Shanxi bianyuan buzhen tu* as noted by Usami Bunri may be regarded as an expression of the interests of officials seated in local government offices, then this would be similar to the depiction of mountains viewed from the same level as government offices, fortifications, and temples in the territorial maps of local gazetteers.⁵⁵⁾

Local government offices at the time were required to prepare an illustrated map whenever they reported to a superior office about some matter. The “Chongjian juncheng quantu” 重建郡城全圖 included in the *Chongjian Taiwan juncheng tushuo* 重建臺灣郡城圖說 (National Palace Museum, Taipei) depicts a small west gate and a bamboo palisade added in Qianlong 乾隆 40 (1775), and it shows the situation in Taiwan prefecture (Tainan 臺南) prior to Lin Shuangwen’s 林爽文 rebellion. This map is thought to have been submitted by Jiang Yuanshu 蔣元樞, prefect of Taiwan, together with a report on the completion of construction work that included rebuilding the city gates in stone.⁵⁶⁾

In addition, *Yutu zhiyao—Zhongguo Kexueyuan Tushuguan cang Zhongguo guditu xulu* 輿圖指要—中國科學院圖書館藏中國古地圖敘錄 (Sun Jingguo 孫靖國, Beijing: Zhongguo Ditu Chubanshe 中國地圖出版社, 2012) includes several grid maps and illustrated maps produced by local government offices during the Qing. The “Yongning zhoucheng tushi” 永寧州城圖式 (p. 110) and “Yongningzhou shensong cheng tushi” 永寧州申送城圖式 (p. 112) are illustrated maps that were prepared in order to apply to a superior office for money to repair the city walls and river embankments that had been damaged in Yongning 永寧 subprefecture in Fenzhou 汾州 prefecture, Shanxi, during the Guangxu 光緒 era in the late Qing. In addition, the “Yanlingxian yuhe tu” 鄆陵縣輿河圖 (p. 94), postdating Qianlong 6 (1742), and the “Kaifengfu Lanyixian diyu quantu” 開封府蘭儀縣地輿全圖 (p. 102), postdating Daoguang 道光 4 (1824), have grids.

As examples of maps produced at Qing-era local government offices, I present a map of embankments in 18th-century Chaozhou 潮州 prefecture,

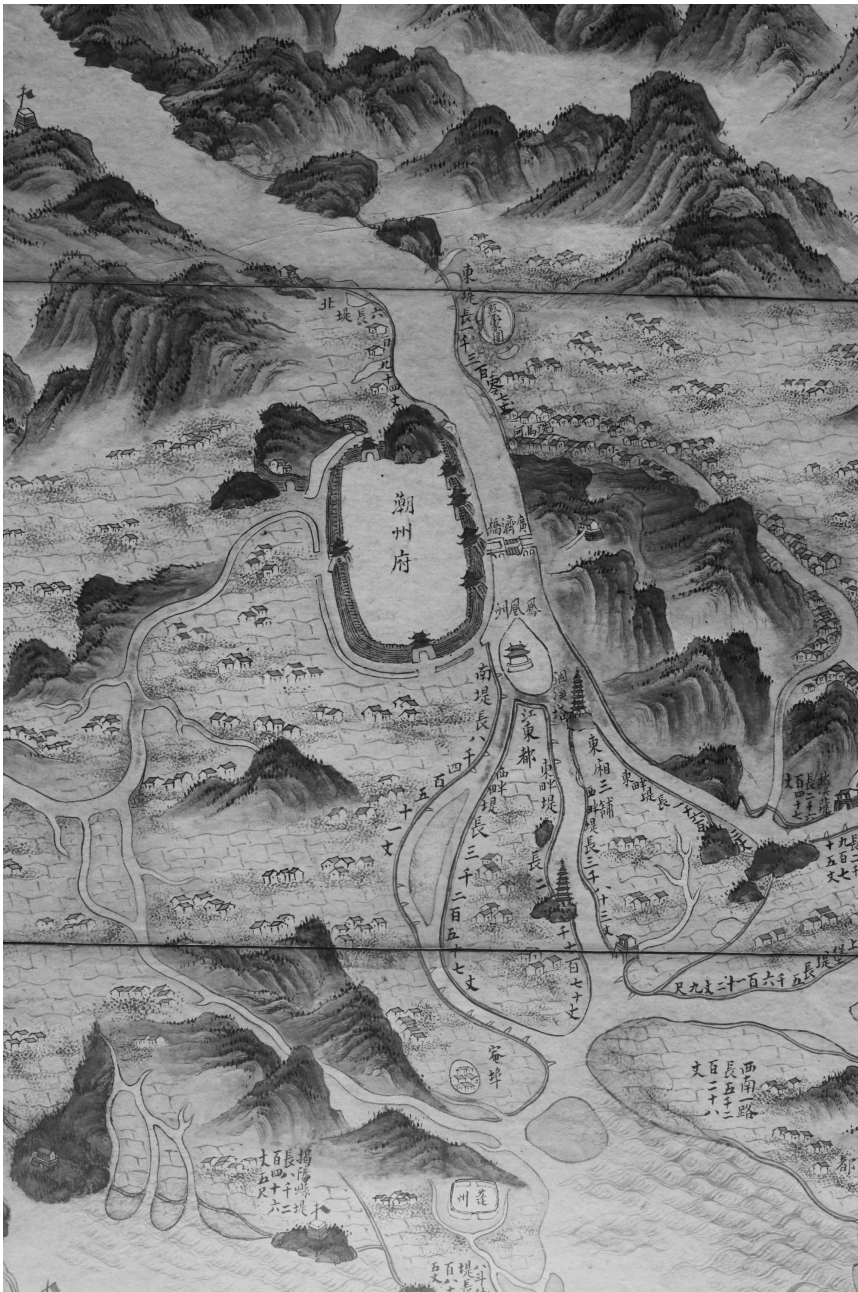


Fig. 5 “Chaozhoufu shu ti'an tu” 潮州府屬堤岸圖 (Grande carte chinoise de la préfecture Tch'ao-tcheou; part), stored at National Museum of Asian Arts Guimet Library (call no. chinois 58301).

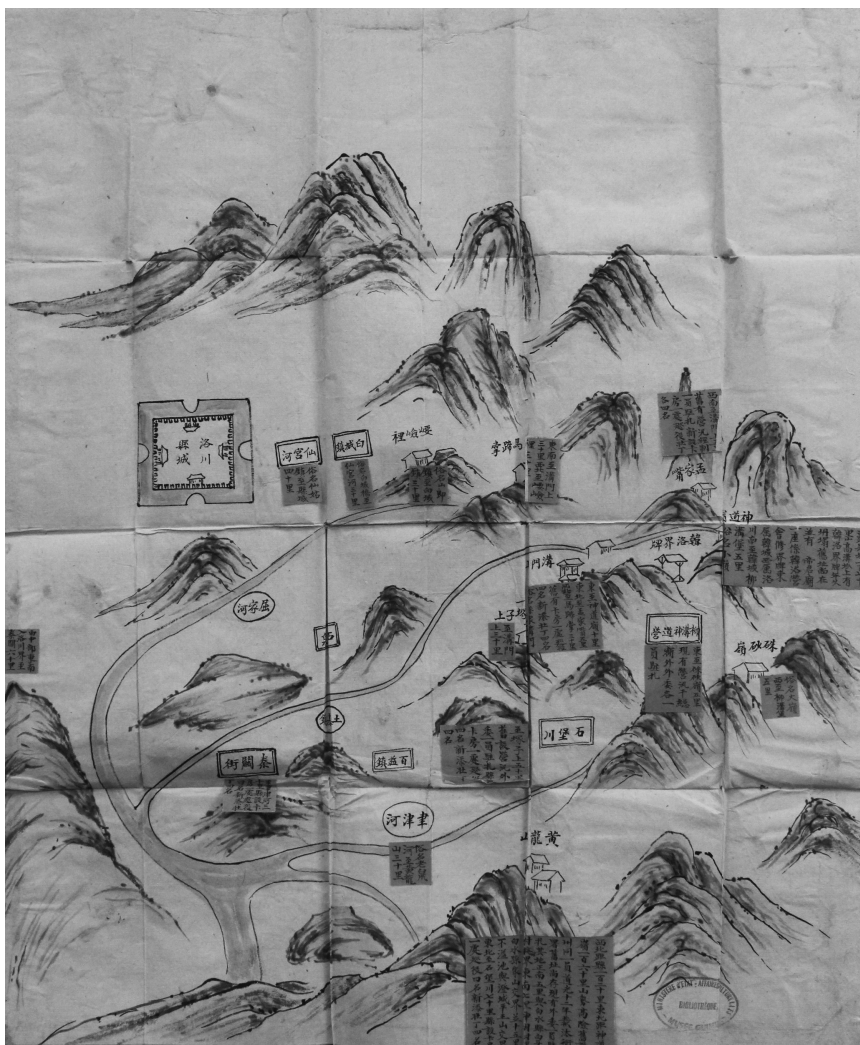


Fig. 6 “Luochuan xian ji qi fujin ditu” 洛川縣及其附近地圖
(Cartes pittoresques de Lo-tch’ouan-hien et de ses environs
(prov. Chansi)), stored at National Museum of Asian
Arts Guimet Library (call no. chinois 58479).

Guangdong (Fig. 5), and a map of the area around Luochuan 洛川 county, Yan'an 延安 prefecture, Shaanxi, at the end of the Qing era, both stored at National Museum of Asian Arts Guimet Library. While the former is a landscape-style map with place-names, with embankments depicted with red double lines and their total length noted besides the lines, on the latter red slips are pasted besides geographical points, describing the popular version of their names, their distances to the county office and the principal landmarks, the numbers of government officials and security guards 壯丁 stationed at them, etc.

There do in fact exist a small number of local gazetteers that include grid maps.⁵⁷⁾ The map of Yong'an 永安 county, Huizhou 惠州 prefecture, Guangdong (established in Longqing 3), with 20-*li* grids, and the maps of the three towns of Guming 古名, Qinjiang 琴江, and Kuande 寬得, with 15-*li* grids, all included in the Wanli-era *Yong'an xianzhi* 永安縣志, show how grid maps were actually brought together. The boundaries with the neighbouring counties of Guishan 歸善, Haifeng 海豐, Changle 長樂, and Heyuan 河源 are noted in brief comments such as "In the north one reaches Kanghe and after 30 *li* one arrives at the boundary with Heyuan" (北至康和三十里抵河源界), and this is done for all four cardinal and four intermediary directions.

The incorporation of grid maps into local gazetteers may have been partly due to the transitional period in the early Wanli era. Local surveys were undertaken during the time of the nationwide land survey instigated by Zhang Juzheng, and it may be supposed that data providing the basis for grid maps were collected at this time. Land surveys represented the direct exercise of power by the state over local society, and the figures underpinning state finances were checked. It is recorded that in Hongwu 26 (1393) in the early Ming the total area of cultivated land in regions under the jurisdiction of provincial administration commissions and in prefectures under the direct supervision of the central government was 8,507,623 *qing* 頃 68 *mu* 畝; in Hongzhi 15 (1502) this had fallen to 6,228,058 *qing* 81 *mu*, but in Wanli 6 (1578) it had again risen to 7,013,976 *qing* 28 *mu*.⁵⁸⁾

In addition to the illustrated maps of prefecture, subprefecture, and county produced by government offices, maps focusing on particular subjects, such as the Yellow River, the Grand Canal, or frontier defences, were prepared for special requirements, had colours added to turn them into illustrated maps, and were then submitted to the authorities. The *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji—Mingdai* includes a number of such illustrated maps, e.g., maps of frontier defences, such as the "Jiubian tu" 九邊圖 (Map of Nine Frontier Fortifications) with a colophon by Xu Lun 許論 dated cyclic year *jiawu* 甲午

of the Jiajing era (Jiajing 13 [1534]); the *Hefang yilan tu* 河防一覽圖 (Map of a General Survey of Flood-Prevention Work Done on Rivers) prepared by Pan Jixun 潘季馴 in Wanli 18 when flood-prevention work was carried out on the Yellow River; and the “Jiubian tu” prepared in Wanli 30 by Shen Yongmao 申用懋, director (*langzhong* 郎中) of the Bureau of Operations in the Ministry of War. Illustrated maps of the Yellow River that have been published and can be viewed, such as Pan Jixun’s *Hefang yilan tu*, were presumably based on illustrated landscape-style maps such as these.

It may thus be assumed that during the Ming landscape-style provincial maps were produced throughout the country, and these gradually accumulated, being either sent to the central authorities or kept by local government offices. A variety of illustrated maps prepared and submitted by government offices since the early Ming, starting with the “Jiangnan ge daofu tubiao” 江南各道府圖表 (Table of Maps of Regions and Prefectures in Southern China), can be seen in exhibition catalogues of the National Palace Museum in Taipei.⁵⁹⁾

The *Huangyutu* formerly held by Momijiyama Bunko was probably drawn on the basis of this accumulated corpus of maps, and such maps were presumably taken over by the Qing. The *Guochao gongshi xubian* 國朝宮史續編, compiled by imperial command by Qinggui 慶桂 and others in Jiaqing 嘉慶 11 (1806), lists in fascs. 99 and 100, under an inventory of maps held by the Map Office (“Yutufang tumu” 輿圖房圖目), atlases and so on that had accumulated in the imperial palace during the Qing.⁶⁰⁾

IV. Maps and Historical Geography: Describing the Stage of History

Maps originally had close connections with military affairs and were under the supervision of the Bureau of Operations in the Ministry of War. Geographical knowledge among the general public could be broadly divided into knowledge of historical geography required for sitting the civil service examinations and knowledge related to fortune-telling, represented by geomancy and astronomy.

The *Wujing daquan* 五經大全 of the early Ming includes historical maps such as the “Shiwu guofeng dili zhi tu” 十五國風地理之圖 (Map of the Geography of the Airts of the Fifteen States [in the *Shijing*]) and the “Dongpo zhizhang Chunqiu lieguo tu” 東坡指掌春秋列國圖 (Map of States in the *Chunqiu* Pointed Out by Su Dongpo). The early-Ming *Da Ming qinglei tianwen fenye zhi shu* 大明清類天文分野之書 in 24 fascicles by Liu Ji 劉基 is a geographical work based on the theory of astral demarcation and terrestrial correspond-

ences (*tianwen fenye* 天文分野), and among daily-use encyclopaedias that developed in the late Ming there appeared some that added national maps that were based on this theory and recorded the names of the twenty-eight lunar mansions, such as the “Huang Ming yitong ershiba xiu fenye diyu zhi tu” 皇明一統二十八宿分野地輿之圖 (Map of the Territories of the Unified Ming Empire Demarcated in Accordance with the Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions) in the *Wuche bajin* 五車拔錦 2 (“Diyu men” 地輿門). There is also a reference to the theory of astral demarcation and terrestrial correspondences in the *Dushi fangyu jiyao* 讀史方輿紀要 by Gu Zuyu 顧祖禹, and it could be said to have been a matter of common knowledge at the time. Wang Shixing’s 王士性 assertion of the unreasonableness of this theory in his *Guangzhiyi* could be said to conversely demonstrate its popularity in the late Ming.⁶¹⁾

Meanwhile, the *Dili renzi xuzhi* 地理人子須知, a grand summation of geomantic theories in the late Jiajing era (first printed in Jiajing 43 [1564], reprinted in Wanli 11 [1583]) includes a map based on a geomantic world-view called “Zhongguo sanda ganlong zonglan zhi tu” 中國三大幹龍總覽之圖 (Map of a Comprehensive View of China with Three Main Dragons),⁶²⁾ and this was cited in encyclopaedias of the Wanli era such as Wang Qi’s 王圻 *Sancai tuihui* 三才圖會 16 and Zhang Huang’s 章潢 *Tushu bian* 圖書編 30. The *Sishu yinmeng yijing tujie* 四書引蒙翼經圖解 by Yu Yingqiu 余應虬, a reference work for studying the Confucian classics published by a publishing house in Jianyang 建陽 around Chongzhen 崇禎 13 (1640), included a map called “Tianxia sanda gan fu lidai didu jiuzhou ershiba xiu fenye zongtu” 天下三大幹附歷代帝都九州二十八宿分野總圖 (General Map of the Three Main Dragons under Heaven with Imperial Capitals of Successive Dynasties, Nine Provinces, and Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions), which covered all bases, as it were.⁶³⁾ Selden’s map of China, which depicts maritime East Asia in the seventeenth century, records, in addition to the names of prefectures and higher-level place-names, the names of the lunar mansions on the basis of the theory of astral demarcation and terrestrial correspondences.⁶⁴⁾

Further, late-Ming encyclopaedias for daily use also take up geomancy in sections other than geography (*diyu*), such as house-building (*yingzhai* 營宅), geography (*dili* 地理), graves (*yingzhai* 塋宅), and geomancy (*kanyu* 堪輿). As well, the section on barbarians (*zhuyi* 諸夷) refers not only to Korea, Japan, Ryūkyū, and countries in Southeast Asia but also to imaginary places deriving from the *Sanhai jing* 山海經.

In addition to geomantic maps of China, Zhang Huang’s *Tushu bian* (published in Wanli 41 [1613]) also includes Buddhist and European world maps. The “Yudi shanhai quantu” 輿地山海全圖 (Complete Map of Lands and Seas

on the Earth) and “Yudi tu” (2 pts.) in fasc. 29 derive from Matteo Ricci’s world map, while the “Sihai huayi zongtu” 四海華夷總圖 (General Map of Chinese and Barbarian [Lands] within the Four Seas) is based on the Buddhist “Nanzhanbuzhou zhi tu” 南瞻部洲之圖 (Map of Jambudvīpa). Zhang Huang would have been compelled to present a Buddhist world map as a counterpoise to world maps of European provenance.⁶⁵⁾ China lies in the eastern part of a continent centred on the Himalayas and Lake Anavatapta, and in surrounding areas across the sea there are located not only Japan and Ryūkyū but also nonsensical countries such as the Country of Little People (Xiaorenguo 小人國) and the Country of the Long-Armed (Changbiguo 長臂國), which would have also been a cartographic expression of Sinocentric thought to counter European maps. According to the chapter on the Great Wilderness in the East (“Dahuang dong jing” 大荒東經) in the *Sanhai jing*, the Country of Little People lies beyond the sea in the east, and this “Sihai huayi zongtu” also reflects Chinese indifference to regions outside China, based on the distinction between Chinese and barbarians. The *Yiyu tuzhi* 異域圖志, held by Cambridge University Library and thought to have been published in the early Ming, conveys information about the Western regions, but it also lists nonsensical countries such as the Country of Dogs (Gouguo 狗國), where the inhabitants have human bodies and canine heads, and the Country of Di People (Direnguo 氏人國), where the inhabitants have human faces and the bodies of fish, as well as the Country of the Three-Headed (Sanshouguo 三首國), Country of Long People (Changrenguo 長人國), Country of Little People, Country of Ear-Graspers (Nie’erguo 聶耳國), Country of the Cross-Legged (Jiaojingguo 交脛國), Country of the Long-Armed, Country of the Long-Legged (Changjiaoguo 長腳國), Country of the Chest-Pierced (Chuan-xiongguo 穿胸國), Country of Women (Nürenguo 女人國), Country of the Great Qin (Daqingguo 大秦國), Country of the Strange-Armed (Qigongguo 奇肱國), and Country of Simian Descendants (Housunguo 猴孫國). In the case of regions outside China for which there existed no reliable sources, the only classic to which reference could be made was the *Sanhai jing*.

On the other hand, maps placing importance on practical utility were also drawn to meet actual political and military demands. The annotated maps compiled by government offices in the late Ming recorded the actual state of affairs from the vantage point of administrative needs. Maps of the current situation were, properly speaking, administrative materials. The advent of a period when works such as the *Lianghe guanfeng bianlan* 兩河觀風便覽, criticized in the “Siku tiyao” as scraps of paper from public documents,⁶⁶⁾ were being published could also be said to have had an influence on the pub-

lication and circulation of maps of the current situation, which had a strongly administrative significance. Maps of the current situation that derived from the *Guangyutu* began to enter the world of scholar-officials generally from the Wanli era onwards, and this reflected a change in views of local government. The absence of any reference to Luo Hongxian's compilation of the *Guangyutu* in the "Rulin zhuan" 儒林傳, *Mingshi* 283, was probably because attitudes towards maps of the current situation differed from the present day.

When one stepped away from the viewpoint of administrators, whose interests lay in local government and military affairs, the interests of users of maps in local gazetteers seem to have concentrated on preparing for the civil service examinations and on being provided with literary guidebooks that covered famous sights and historical events rather than on information about trade routes and local products. But perhaps because this sort of knowledge was regarded as separate from that required for composing poems, the original edition of Lu Yingyang's 陸應陽 *Guangyujì* did not include any maps. Maps deriving from the *Guangyutu* began to be revised and enlarged from the time of the edition published by Ningxiangge 凝香閣 in Hangzhou 杭州, in which Huang Ruheng 黃汝亨 was involved, and this is thought to have occurred from the Wanli 30s onwards.⁶⁷⁾

From the latter part of the Wanli era these changes also affected books related to literature and travel, and books were published that included illustrated maps of famous mountains and places of scenic beauty to assist in their appreciation. Helpful maps were also useful when reading historical fiction. The uses to which maps themselves were put were primarily those of examination reference books, travel guides for famous historical places, and guidebooks for places with literary associations. Literary research turned towards past historical events. In his *Da Ming yitong mingsheng zhi* 大明一統名勝志 (preface dated Chongzhen 3), Cao Xuequan 曹學佺 appears to give expression to the view that rivers and mountains become celebrated only when they are linked to literary works or historical events.

When considered in this light, the greatest significance of maps in Old China lay in showing the stage of historical events. Daily-use encyclopaedias too always included sections on the "national capitals of successive dynasties" and "geographical origins." When searching far and wide in classical texts, the focus of interest would have been on the historical geography of the Confucian classics, as exemplified by the "Shiwu guofeng dili zhi tu." Zhu Siben, who produced the "Yudi tu," had a strong interest in historical geography.⁶⁸⁾

Small-scale maps of vast areas give the names of places as the stages of

history as recorded in the Confucian classics. Guidebooks to famous sights and literary guidebooks also evolved from a similar interest in the stages of history. Illustrated maps such as were included in specialist monographs on specific topics, on the other hand, were expected to fulfil a role primarily as administrative material giving expression to the targets of government rule. It was the various kinds of annotated maps preserved down to the present day that gave concrete form to this administrative material.

Concluding Remarks

As has been pointed out by Unno Kazutaka, many of the maps in traditional China served as historical maps.⁶⁹⁾ It would have been because historical geography and historical figures and events were inseparably related to historical maps that the *Da Ming yitongzhi* focused on these subjects, and this would also seem to have been for the purpose of explicating historical maps. The maps of Old China did not seek to explore and describe the actual world out of an interest in unknown lands. Interest in the blank areas on maps was dispensed with, and maps were deemed to be material for interpreting the classics which projected events from the classics onto the present day.

As a result, there appeared in the late Ming canonical studies such as the *Shuijing zhu jian* 水經注箋 by Zhu Mouwei 朱謀瑋 (preface dated Wanli 43) and the *Yugong huishu* 禹貢滙疏 by Mao Ruizheng 茅瑞徵 (preface dated Chongzhen 5). There also emerged works of historical geography such as the *Junxian shiming* 郡縣釋名 by Guo Zizhang 郭子章 (preface dated Wanli 43) and the *Jingu yudi tu* 今古輿地圖 by Wu Guofu 吳國輔 (preface dated Chongzhen 16). It is not without reason that Gu Zuyu's *Dushi fangyu jiyao* is regarded as the supreme masterpiece of traditional works of geography.

The motivation to depict unknown lands on a map is underpinned by curiosity in what lies across the sea or on the other side of the desert. European maps had the direct goal of opening up sea routes, and there was a clear intent to explore unknown lands and produce accurate maps of them.

Since the earth is spherical, distortion must be compensated for when rendering its spherical surface on a two-dimensional map. Even if a map is not accurate, on land one can reach one's destination by following landmarks, but on the open sea, where there are no signposts, one cannot reach one's destination unless the distortion is compensated for on the map. At sea, if one's map is not accurate, one will most certainly meet with a mishap. Timothy Brook writes that the coastline on Selden's map is so accurate because it was in essence a "chart of sea routes," and accurate sea charts were being

produced at the time in order to show merchants where to go.⁷⁰⁾

In contrast, in the traditional Chinese view, according to which heaven is round and the earth square, the earth was flat, and on land, moreover, there was no need to be aware that the earth was spherical. There was nothing like the Mediterranean Sea, which brought together different civilizations. China's culture is essentially a continental culture, and politics, not commerce, lay at the centre of its civilization. The geographical knowledge that was widely accepted in China centred on knowledge of historical developments required for sitting the civil service examinations and knowledge based on canonical texts. While the *Lidai dili zhizhang tu* 歷代地理指掌圖 attributed to Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 was widely published and disseminated, detailed current maps were kept hidden as administrative material and were not made public. The majority of maps that have survived from the Song period are stone-engraved maps preserved in school precincts, and the Southern Song rubbing of the "Yudi tu" transmitted by the Rikkyoku'an 栗棘庵 subtemple of Tōfukuji 東福寺 temple in Japan, was not unrelated to the civil service examinations, as is clearly indicated by the reference to "the quota of candidates to be forwarded from circuits, prefectures, and counties" (*zhu luzhouxian jie'e* 諸路州縣解額). Even among printed maps, various kinds of maps, such as were included in the *Shilin guangji* of the Mongol period, are not found in daily-use encyclopaedias of the late Ming. There seem to have been major differences in perceptions of world maps between periods that were open to the outside world, such as during the Tang and Yuan, and periods when Han-Chinese dynasties such as the Song and the Ming ruled. Cultural control through the civil service examinations was deep-rooted.

In accordance with Confucian morality there ought to be no need for measures against barbarians, if the land is properly ruled. As is indicated by designations such as "Huayi tu," "Yuyu tu" 禹域圖 and "Huangyu tu," many of China's maps depict a certain area on the basis of its relationship with the emperor, and they are strongly imbued with a worldview inseparable from Sinocentric attitudes. The fact that these same maps nonetheless record the existence of nonsensical countries is not unrelated to a sensibility going back to the account of five concentric domains described in the "Yu gong" 禹貢 chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書, in which relations with and distance from China are equated with different levels of civilization.

Historical geography could be said to explore regions along a temporal axis, while exploration of foreign lands naturally turns towards what lies spatially beyond the borders. Perhaps because of the character of its civilization, which regarded what was old to be close to rightness or truth, in traditional

China curiosity about unknown lands was eclipsed by an interest in history. By continuing to place itself at the centre at the level of consciousness, Chinese civilization was unable to cultivate an interest in the other. Rather than turning their gaze to what lay beyond the horizons where barbarians dwelt, be it on land or across the sea, poets sought inspiration by going back in history and being drawn to the centre of civilization and the glories of antiquity. The orientation of their curiosity and spirit of inquiry was utterly different from that in Europe and Japan.

Acknowledgement

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Notes

- 1) *Muzong shilu* 穆宗實錄 1-9b, Jiajing 45/12/*renzi* 壬子. See Ōsawa Akihiro 大澤顯浩, “Chirisho to seisho—shōko no arawashita chiiki” 地理書と政書—掌故のあらわした地域 [The relationship between geographical works and works on political institutions in the late Ming period], in *Minmatsu Shinsho no shakai to bunka* 明末清初の社會と文化 [Society and culture in the late Ming and the early Qing period], ed. Ono Kazuko 小野和子 (Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 京都大學人文科學研究所 [Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University], 1996), pp. 457–501.
- 2) Ōsawa Akihiro, “‘Shishō no gaku’ kara ‘yochi no gaku’ e—chirisho ni mieru Minmatsu” 「詞章之學」から「輿地之學」へ—地理書にみえる明末 [Some characteristics of late Ming studies as revealed by geographical works from that period: From literary geographical works to practical geographical works], *The Shirin/The Journal of History* 史林 76-1 (1993), pp. 1–32.
- 3) Kim Moonkyong 金文京, *Sangokushi engi no sekai* 三國志演義の世界 [The world of the *Sanguozhi yanyi*] (Tokyo: Tōhō Shoten 東方書店, 2010 (enl. ed.)), chap. 3, “*Sangokushi* kara *Sangokushi engi* e, mutabi Kizan ni izu” 『三國志』から『三國志演義』へ、六出祁山 [From the *Sanguozhi* to the *Sanguozhi yanyi*: The six campaigns to Mt. Qi], p. 120.
- 4) Unno Kazutaka 海野一隆, *Chizu bunkashijō no Kōyozu* 地圖文化史上の廣輿圖 [The *Kuang-yü-t'u* in the cultural history of Chinese maps] (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫, 2010), p. 204.
- 5) *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目, “Shibu” 史部 24, “Dili lei” 地理類 1, *Linghai yutu* 嶺海輿圖, 1 fasc. (held by family of Zheng Dajie 鄭大節 in Zhejiang).
- 6) Wang Zhongmin 王重民, *Zhongguo shanbenshu tiyao* 中國善本書提要 [Outline of Chinese rare books] (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1983), p. 193.

- 7) There are some publications, such as Cao Wanru et al., eds., *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji—Mingdai* 中國古代地圖集—明代 [An atlas of ancient maps in China: The Ming dynasty, 1368–1644] (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1994), which refer to this *Nanjing (bufen) fuxian ditu(ce)* as *Lianghuai diqu fuxian tuce* 兩淮地區府縣圖冊, but both designations refer to the same atlas.
- 8) Cao Wanru et al., *Zhongguo gudai dituji—Mingdai*, figs. 25–28 (*Huai'anfu tushuo*), figs. 62–67 (*Jiangxi yudi tushuo*), and figs. 68–71 (*Nanjing fuxian dituce*).
- 9) Zhongguo Cehui Kexue Yanjiuyuan, ed., *Zhonghua guditu zhenpin xuanji* 中華古地圖珍品選集 (Ha'erbin: Ha'erbin Ditu Chubanshe, 1998), fig. 91, *Jiangxi yudi tushuo*, “Taihexian tushuo” 『江西輿地圖說』泰和縣圖說 (p. 124). This publication has also been published in English under the title *China in ancient and modern maps*, compiled by Ancient Map Research Team of Chinese Academy of Surveying and Mapping (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1998).
- 10) Philip K. Hu, ed., *Visible traces: Rare books and special collections from the National Library of China* (New York: Queens Borough Public Library; Beijing: National Library of China, 2000).
- 11) Beijing Daxue Tushuguan, ed., *Huangyu xialan—Beijing Daxue Tushuguan cang Qingdai caihui ditu* 皇輿遐覽—北京大學圖書館藏清代彩繪地圖 [Overviewing imperial maps: Qing-era colored maps in the University of Beijing Library] (Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin Daxue Chubanshe, 2008).
- 12) Ōsawa Akihiro, “Chirigakushijō no Minmatsu—Gamon no chizu to sansui-zushiki chizu no keifu” 地理學史上の明末—衙門の地圖と山水圖式地圖の系譜 [Cartography in late Ming period: Each lineage of government maps and panoramic maps], *Gengo, Bunka, Shakai* 言語・文化・社會 [Language, Culture and Society] 8 (2010), pp. 23–54.
- 13) *Siku quanshu zongmu* 74, “Shibu,” “Dili lei cunmu” 地理類存目, *Sanjun tushuo*, 1 fasc. (donated by salt supervisor [yanzheng 鹽政] of Lianghuai 兩淮).
- 14) Wang Shimao, “Sanjun ditushuo ba” 三郡地圖說跋, *Rao Nan Jiu sanfu tushuo*.
- 15) Censor Zhao of Donglai mentioned in Wang Shimao's postscript was probably Zhao Yao 趙燿 (zi 字: Wenming 文明). From Ye 掖 county, Laizhou 萊州 prefecture, Shandong, he became a “presented scholar” (*jinshi* 進士) in Longqing 5 (1571) and served first as a Hanlin bachelor (*shujishi* 庶吉士) and then as regional inspector of Shaanxi and Jiangxi, whereafter he became grand coordinator (*xunfu* 巡撫) of Liaodong and Baoding 保定. He appears to have been demoted as a result of the controversy that surrounded Zhang Juzheng's failure to resign his position in order to mourn his father's death. See Qianlong 乾隆-era *Ye xianzhi* 掖縣志 4 (“Zhengzhi” 政治) and *Guoque* 國樞 81, entry for Wanli 37/4/*dingmao* 丁卯.
- 16) Li Xiaocong 李孝聰 (trans. Fujimoto Takeshi 藤本猛), “Chūgoku kochizu no saikai—Taihoku Kokyū Hakubutsuin shozō zu no seiri to kōsatsu” 中國古地圖の再會—臺北故宮博物院所藏圖の整理と考察 [A reunion with old Chinese maps: Sorting and examining maps held by the National Palace Museum in Taipei], in *Daichi no shōzō—Ezu, chizu ga kataru sekai* 大地の肖像—繪圖・地圖が語る世界 [Portraits of the earth: The world related by maps], ed. Fujii Jōji 藤井讓治, Sugiyama Masaaki 杉山正明, and Kaneda Akihiro 金田章裕

(Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Gakujutsu Shuppankai 京都大學學術出版會, 2007), pp. 410–424.

- 17) According to Qian Dai's "Ke Guangyutu xu" 刻廣輿圖敘, Wang Qi, who compiled works such as the *Xu wenxian tongkao* 續文獻通考 and *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖會, was one of those involved in the revision of the *Guangyutu* (乃檄郡僚王世能、王圻、王相、重加校梓). This occurred when Wang Qi was magistrate of Cao 曹 county in Shandong, and this is said to have led to the re-producing of various maps from the *Guangyutu* in the *Sancai tuhui*. See Unno, *Chizu bunkashijō no Kōyozu*, p. 50.
- 18) Wang Yong 王庸, *Zhongguo dili tuji congkao* 中國地理圖籍叢考 [Collected studies of Chinese geographical maps and books] (Shanghai: Shanghai Shangwuyin Shuguan 上海商務印書館, 1956 (rev. ed.)), vol. 1, "Mingdai haifang tuji lu" 明代海防圖籍錄 [Catalogue of Ming-period maps and books on maritime defences], p. 116.
- 19) In *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji–Mingdai* it is given the title *Jiangxi quansheng tushuo*, but judging from the contents of the explanatory descriptions, discussed below, it ought to be titled *Jiangxi yudi tushuo*.
- 20) According to Xi Huidong 席會東, *Zhongguo gudai ditu wenhuashi* 中國古代地圖文化史 [Cultural history of ancient Chinese cartography] (Beijing: Zhongguo Ditu Chubanshe 中國地圖出版社, 2013), p. 176, the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* was compiled by another homonymous Zhao Bingzhong of Qingzhou 青州 in Shandong, who was placed first in the palace examination in Wanli 26, and it was drawn in Wanli 40–45. But Xi's grounds for assuming that a first-placed graduate who had held prominent positions in central government was actually involved in its preparation are unclear.
- 21) Below I have collated the photographic reproduction of the "*Jiangxi yudi tushuo*, Taihexian tushuo" in the *Zhongguo guditu zhenpin xuanji* with the same section of the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* in *Jilu huibian* 208.

泰和縣 最衝 最繁 刁

泰和濱贛水、而邑原隰畏潦、鄉谷畏盜、地勢然也。訟蜩興而賦獸逸割課稱艱。且路當吳楚閩越之周、館人津吏頗繁苦矣。邑西十里爲破塘口、正贛水所擊射、數十年來洪濤襄圯、江勢將遶邑背而東徙。民虞蕩墊、（日皇皇奔訴）堤障之謀、岌維孔棘哉。（多方籌濟、近日七里隄始告成、民賴無怨。）若乃崇雅砥（卽）節文獻雲蒸則自昔號彬彬云

The characters in parentheses are absent in the *Jilu huibian*, while the underlined characters are found only in the *Jilu huibian*. In content, this description is virtually identical with the "Fanjian kao" 繁簡考 in the section on Taihe county in Zhao Bingzhong's *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* included in the *Jilu huibian*. It is evident that the river embankments had not yet been completed when the version in the *Jilu huibian* was written, and that the *Jiangxi yudi tushuo* was subsequently emended to reflect their completion (近日七里隄始告成). There is mention of a breach in the embankment in the Daoguang 道光-era *Taihe xianzhi* 泰和縣志 3 ("Yudi" 輿地), and the embankment is said to have been constructed by the magistrate Tang Boyuan 唐伯元 in Wanli 3.

- 22) National Archives of Japan Digital Archive
(<https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/pickup/view/category/categoryAr->

- chives/0400000000/0402000000/01; visited on December 1, 2016).
- 23) Unno Kazutaka, “Kaiga to shite no chizu” 繪畫としての地図 [Maps as picture: The Chinese view of maps], in id., *Tōyō chirigakushi kenkyū—Tairiku hen* 東洋地理學史研究—大陸篇 [Monographs on the history of geography in the East: Volume on continental Asian societies] (Osaka: Seibundō Shuppan 清文堂出版, 2004), pp.110–117. See also Unno, *Chizu bunkashijō no Kōyozu*, p. 233.
 - 24) *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki*, entry for Genbun 元文 2/6/13 (1737) *Dai Nihon kinsei shiryō* 大日本近世史料 84 (1978), pp. 108–111).
 - 25) Aoki Chieko 青木千枝子, “Kōyozu kō” 「皇輿圖」考 [A study of the *Huangyutu*], *Kitanomaru—Kokuritsu Kōbunshokanpō* 北の丸—國立公文書館報 [Kitanomaru: The Journal of the National Archives of Japan] 25 (1993), “Jinshin yoroku” 壬申餘錄, pp. 133–139, surmises that it was copied around Shunzhi 10–14 on the basis of a depiction of the city walls of Liaoyang in Liaodong.
 - 26) Unno, “Kaiga to shite no chizu,” n. 8.
 - 27) In the map of the Western Regions in *Guangyutu* 2 this lake is called Puchang hai 蒲昌海 (Lop Nor), and the two rivers seem to be flowing into the lake from the west.
 - 28) *Shenzong shilu* 神宗實錄 134, entry for Wanli 11/int. 2/jiazi 甲子.
 - 29) It is frequently mentioned in Yan Congjian 嚴從簡, *Shuyu zhoushi lu* 殊域周咨錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 1993), vol. 22, “Dada: Xuan Da zongdu Weng Wanda” 韃靼、宣大總督翁萬達 (pp. 702, 708). See also Yongzheng-era *Shanxi tongzhi* 山西通志 11, “Guan’ ai: Yanggaoxian, Ming Yanghe weizhi” 關隘、陽高縣、明陽和衛制 (*Siku quanshu* edition).
 - 30) This is based on information provided by the website of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford (<http://seldenmap.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/map>). Rendering the ocean in green may be due to the traditions of Islamic maps.
 - 31) Reproduced in Lin Meicun 林梅村, *Menggu shanshui ditu—Zai Riben xin faxian de yifu shiliu shiji sichou zhi lu ditu* 蒙古山水地圖—在日本新發現的一幅十六世紀絲綢之路地圖 [Mongolian landscape maps: A 16th-century Silk Road map recently discovered in Japan] (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2011).
 - 32) Cordell D. K. Yee, “Chinese cartography among the arts: Objectivity, subjectivity, representation,” in *Cartography in the traditional East and Southeast Asian societies*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). In n. 74 (p. 153) he mentions Unno Kazutaka’s “Maps as Picture: The old Chinese views of maps” (paper presented at the 13th International Conference on the History of Cartography held in Amsterdam and The Hague in 1989) and touches on the character of “maps as pictures.”
 - 33) Tanaka Kazuko 田中和子, Kizu Yūko 木津祐子 and Usami Bunri 宇佐美文理, “*Sansei chin hen’en fujin zu* (kashō) ni kansuru chirigaku, bunkengaku, kaironteki chōsa—Yobiteki kōsatsu” 『山西鎮邊垣布陣圖』 (假稱) に関する地理學、文獻學、繪畫論の調査—預備的考察 [Study on “Defense Map along the Great Wall in Shanxi” from the viewpoints of geography, Chinese philology, and Chinese theory of arts: a preliminary observations], *Kyōto Daigaku Bungakubu Kenkyū Kiyō* 京都大學文學部研究紀要 [Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University] 49 (2010), pp. 1–53 (p. 31). On this same map,

- see also Tanaka Kazuko and Kizu Yūko, “Kokuritsu Kokyū Hakubutsuin zō *Sansei hen'en zu oyobi Sansei sankan hen'en zu to Kyōto Daigaku zō Sansei hen'en fujin zu to no hikaku*” 國立故宮博物院藏『山西邊垣圖』および『山西三關邊垣圖』と京都大學藏『山西邊垣布陣圖』との比較 [Comparative study on maps along the Great Wall in Shanxi stored in the National Palace Museum of Taiwan and Kyoto University], *Kyōto Daigaku Bungakubu Kenkyū Kiyō* 50 (2011), pp. 1–29; and Tanaka Kazuko, Kizu Yūko and Usami Bunri, “Kokuritsu Kokyū Hakubutsuin narabi ni Kyōto Daigaku shozō no ‘Sansei hen'en zugun’ no byōzu patān no hikaku to bunrui” 國立故宮博物院ならびに京都大學所藏の「山西邊垣圖群」の描圖パターンの比較と分類 [Classification of map series depicted along the Great Wall in Shanxi stored in the National Palace Museum of Taiwan and Kyoto University on the basis of their mapping patterns], *Kyōto Daigaku Bungakubu Kenkyū Kiyō* 51 (2012), pp. 1–32.
- 34) *Mingshi* 90, “Bingzhi” 兵志 2, “Weisuo” 衛所.
 - 35) *Mingshi* 15, “Xiaozong benji” 孝宗本紀 [Basic annals of Xiaozong].
 - 36) *Mingshi* 72, “Zhiguanzhi” 職官志 1, “Bingbu” 兵部.
 - 37) 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; *ibid.* 114, “Bingbu,” “Tuben” 圖本.
 - 38) *Shiji* 史記 60, “Sanwang shijia” 三王世家.
 - 39) *Suishu* 33, “Jingji zhi” 經籍志, “Dili lei zongxu” 地理類總敘.
 - 40) *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, “Wenbu” 文部 18, “Zhushu” 著書 2, *Shijun zhi*.
 - 41) *Tongdian* 通典 23, “Bingbu”; *Da Tang liudian* 大唐六典, “Bingbu.” For details on institutional changes in the submission of regional maps, see Tonami Mamoru 礪波護, “Chūgoku no bunshō chizu—Senseishō zu wo chūshin ni” 中國の分省地圖—陝西省圖を中心に [Chinese provincial maps: With a focus on maps of Shaanxi province], in Fujii et al., eds., *Daichi no shōzō*, pp. 425–447.
 - 42) Chen Zhensun 陳振孫, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 8.
 - 43) *Yuhai* 14, “Jingde chongxiu shidao tu” 景德重修十道圖.
 - 44) *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 394, Jia Dan, “Jin hainei huayi tu ji gujin junguoxian-dao siyi shubiao” 進海內華夷圖及古今郡國縣道四夷述表.
 - 45) *Yuhai* 91, “Qiandao Xuandedian yupingfeng huayi tu” 乾道選德殿御屏風華夷圖.
 - 46) Miya Noriko 宮紀子, *Mongoru jidai no shuppan bunka* モンゴル時代の出版文化 [Publishing culture during the Mongol period] (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai 名古屋大學出版會, 2006), chap. 9, “Kon'itsu kyōri rekidai koku-to no zu e no michi” 混一疆理歷代國都之圖への道 [The path to the “Hunyi jiangli lidai guodu zhi tu”], p. 520.
 - 47) *Zhenguan zhengyao* 3, “Zeguan” 擇官 7.
 - 48) *Guoque* 69, entry for Wanli 2/12/*renzi*.
 - 49) *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 180, “Li Deyu zhuan” 李德裕傳 [Biography of Li Deyu]; *Yuhai* 14.
 - 50) *Songshi* 宋史 246, “Zongshi” 宗室 [Imperial household] 3, “Zhenwang Hong zhuan” 鎮王竑傳 [Biography of Zhenwang Hong].
 - 51) Unno, *Chizu bunkashijō no Kōyozu*, p. 80. In addition, the “Jiankanfu jing zhi tu” 建康府境之圖 [Map of Jiankan Prefecture] included in the *Jinling xinshi* 金陵新志 dating from Zhizheng 至正 4 (1344) in the late Yuan also has

10-*li* grids. There are no grids in the map of the same title in the Jingding 景定-era *Jiankang fuzhi* 建康府志 of the Southern Song, on which the above map is based, but it is evident from the note “squares enclose 10 *li*” (方括十里) in the upper right that the original map had grids. cf. Zhang Zhejia 張哲嘉, “Mingdai fangzhi de ditu” 明代方志的地圖 [Maps in Ming-period local gazetteers], in *Huazhong you hua-jindai Zhongguo de shijue biao shu yu wenhua goutu* 畫中有話—近代中國的視覺表述與文化構圖 [When images speak: Visual representation and cultural mapping in modern China], ed. Huang Kewu 黃克武 (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo 中央研究院近代史研究所 [Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica], 2003), pp. 179–212 (p. 190).

- 52) Miya, *Mongoru jidai no shuppan bunka*, pp. 539–552.
- 53) Cao Wanru et al., *Zhonghua gudai ditu ji—Mingdai*, figs. 161 and 162.
- 54) Zhang Zhejia, “Mingdai fangzhi de ditu,” p. 205.
- 55) As an example of a map that presents a natural panorama commanding an overall view in contrast to this “divergent” perspective, Usami mentions a map of the Yellow River. This kind of natural panoramic view can also be seen in the “Qianlong shiliu-nian nanxun gedi xiangtu” 乾隆十六年南巡各地詳圖 (in *Zhongguo Guojia Bowuguan guancang wenwu yanjiu congshu—Ming-Qing dang'an juan, Qingdai* 中國國家博物館藏文物研究叢書—明清檔案卷 清代 [Studies of the collections of the National Museum of China: Ming-Qing archives, Qing period] (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2007)). These were both produced during the Qing, and there is a possibility that European techniques of perspective, introduced by Jesuits and others, had an influence on this kind of painting technique.
- 56) Xi Huidong, *Zhongguo gudai ditu wenhuashi*, p. 180.
- 57) Cao Wanru et al., *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji—Mingdai*, figs. 45–48 and 207–210. See also Hu Bangbo 胡邦波, “Wanli Yong'an xianzhi he Huizhou fuzhi zhong de ditu yanjiu” 萬曆永安縣志和惠州府志中的地圖研究 [A study of the maps in *Yong'an xianzhi* and *Huizhou fuzhi*], *ibid.*, pp. 92–95.
- 58) Wanli-era *Da Ming huidian* 17, “Hubu” 4.
- 59) *Bihua qianli—Yuancang guyuditu tezhan* 筆畫千里—院藏古輿地圖特展 [Outlining geographical expanses with a brush: Historical maps in the collections of the National Palace Museum] (Taipei: Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan 國立故宮博物院, 2008) and *Heyue haijiang—Yuancang guyuditu tezhan* 河嶽海疆—院藏古輿地圖特展 [Mapping the imperial realm: An exhibition of historical maps] (Taipei: Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan, 2012). There are also the *Shanxi bianyuan tu* 山西邊垣圖 and *Shanxi Sanguan bianyuan tu* 山西三關邊垣圖 submitted by the regional inspector of Shanxi during the Shunzhi era in the early Qing (National Palace Museum Library, Taipei). See Li Xiacong, “Chūgoku kochizu no saikai,” pp. 410–424.
- 60) A catalogue of maps formerly held by the Grand Secretariat Archives (*Neige Daku* 內閣大庫) of the Qing was prepared by Wang Yong 王庸 in the Republican period and published under the title *Guoli Beiping Tushuguan tecang Qing neige daku yutu mulu* 國立北平圖書館特藏清內閣大庫輿圖目錄 [Catalogue of the special map collection of Qing-era Neige Daku stored in the National

- Library of Beiping] (Beiping: Guoli Beiping Tushuguan 國立北平圖書館, 1932).
- 61) Wang Shixing, *Guangzhiyi* 廣志釋 1, “Fangyu yalüe” 方輿崖略.
 - 62) Cao Wanru et al., *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji—Mingdai*, fig. 201.
 - 63) Unno Kazutaka, “Kan minzoku shakai ni okeru rekishi chizu no hensen” 漢民族社會における歴史地圖の變遷 [Changes in the historical cartography of Chinese society], in id., *Tōyō chirigakushi kenkyū: Tairiku hen*, pp. 58–109, fig. 26.
 - 64) Timothy Brook, *Mr. Selden’s map of China: The spice trade, a lost chart and the South Chinese Sea* (London: Profile Books, 2015), chap. 8, “Secrets of the Selden Map.”
 - 65) Unno Kazutaka, “Min-Shin ni okeru Mateo Ritchi kei sekaizu” 明清におけるマテオ・リッチ系世界圖 [Chinese world maps of the Ming and Ch’ing dynasties derived from the work of Matteo Ricci: An examination of new and neglected materials], in id., *Tōzai chizu bunka kōshōshi kenkyū* 東西地圖文化交渉史研究 [Monographs on the history of cartographical exchange between the East and the West] (Osaka: Seibundō Shuppan, 2003), pp. 33–92 (p. 68).
 - 66) *Siku quanshu zongmu* 77, “Dili lei zaji cunmu” 地理類雜記存目. On the *Lianghe guanfeng bianlan*, see Ōsawa, “Chirisho to seisho.”
 - 67) Ōsawa Akihiro, “Kōyoki no Minpan ni tsuite” 『廣輿記』の明版について [Ming editions of the *Guangyuji*], *Shirin* 77-3 (1994), pp. 444–468.
 - 68) Unno, *Chizu bunkashijō no Kōyozu*, p. 77.
 - 69) Unno, “Kan minzoku shakai ni okeru rekishi chizu no hensen.”
 - 70) Brook, *Mr. Selden’s Map of China*, pp. 162, 169.