

**Cartographic Empire: Production and Circulation of Maps and Mapmaking Knowledge in the
Song Dynasty (960-1279)**

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Abstract

My dissertation is a study of the social meanings of maps and various forms of geospatial knowledge in Song China (960-1279). I argue that geographical knowledge was produced, reproduced and transformed through mapmaking and circulation within the contexts of print culture, civil service examinations, and political reforms. I divide the maps and other graphic representations I examine into three categories according to their subject matter and social functions: (1) imperial maps and diagrams commissioned by the Song court serving administrative and military purposes; (2) maps, tables and charts made by literati scholars in constructing the geography of a canonical past based on the “Tribute of Yu”; and (3) gazetteer maps made primarily by local scholars as a venue in which both the consciousness of the “local” and its bond with the state were formulated and negotiated. Maps in these three categories, viewed as *objects* within the context of social relations, were produced and commissioned by various echelons of the social elite. I conclude that both the Song literati’s social identities and understanding of the empire were shaped by the interactions and exchanges of geospatial and cartographic knowledge.

Abstract

Ma dissertation est une étude sur les significations sociales des cartes et des différentes formes de connaissances géospatiales dans la Chine des Song (960-1279). Je soutiens que les connaissances géographiques étaient produites, reproduites et transformées par la cartographie et par la circulation, dans des contextes de culture d'imprimé, d'examens impériaux et de réformes politiques. Je divise les cartes et autres représentations graphiques que j'examine en trois catégories selon leurs thèmes et fonctions sociales : (1) cartes et diagrammes impériaux commandés par la cour des Song ayant une utilité administrative et militaire; (2) cartes, tableaux et graphiques faits par des élites lettrées en construisant la géographie d'un passé canonique basé sur le « Tribut de Yu »; et (3) des cartes de répertoires principalement faites par des élites locales dans des circonstances où la conscience de la localité et ses liens avec l'État étaient tous les deux formulés et négociés. Les cartes de ces trois catégories, vues comme des *objets* dans le contexte de relations sociales, étaient produites et commandées par divers échelons de l'élite sociale. Je conclus que les identités sociales des lettrés Song et la compréhension de l'empire étaient tous les deux formés par l'interaction et les échanges de connaissances géographiques et cartographiques.

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Abbreviations

<i>SKQS</i>	<i>Siku quanshu</i> 四庫全書
<i>SHY</i>	<i>Song huiyao</i> 宋會要
<i>SYFZCK</i>	<i>Song Yuan fangzhi congkan</i> 宋元方志叢刊
<i>XXSKQS</i>	<i>Xuxiu siku quanshu</i> 續修四庫全書
<i>XZZTJCB</i>	<i>Xu zizhi tongjian changbian</i> 續資治通鑒長編
<i>YGJC</i>	<i>Zhongguo lishi dili wenxian jikan: Yugong jicheng</i> 中國歷史地理文獻輯刊: 禹貢集成

Chapter 1 Introduction

In July 1997, an exhibition titled the *History of Maps* was held at the Hong Kong Museum of History as one of the cultural events in conjunction with the Handover.¹ As the city celebrated the return of sovereignty from the United Kingdom to China, ending one hundred years of British rule, an exhibition on historical maps was more than just coincidence. According to the chief curator of the exhibition, China's failure to make accurate maps was one of the reasons why it lost the First Opium War (1839-1842), which subsequently led to the cession of Hong Kong. Therefore, in marking the end of colonial rule, the public display of historical maps can be seen as the culmination of a century of collective memory characterized by an intricate socio-psychological complex of humiliation, self-loathing and, finally, self-confidence.

Eighty-eight maps from the collection of the National Library of China, the Hong Kong Museum of History, and the renowned private collector S.C. Tam were grouped into seven sections in chronological order: China and the world, administrative divisions, old cities, scenic spots, military significance, economic activities, and Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macau. Through the rhetoric of this thematic arrangement, the geopolitics of Hong Kong was convincingly woven into that of China both spatially and temporally. It is noteworthy that a rubbing of the *Map Tracing the Tracks of Yu* (*Yuji tu* 禹跡圖) (fig. 1-1), originally carved on a stele in 1136 and known for its accuracy, is placed on the first page of the exhibition catalogue. Provided by the National Library of China, this rubbing was rendered in red, which is not only a

¹A catalogue was published for the special exhibition. See Ding Xinbao 丁新豹, ed., *Heyue cangzhen—Zhongguo gu ditu zhan* 河嶽藏珍--中國古地圖展 (Hong Kong: Xianggang linshi shizhengju, 1997).

symbol for auspiciousness in traditional Chinese culture but also the color of the field of the People's Republic of China flag.

Geographical information, therefore, is not the only message conveyed by maps. The meaning of any given map is produced not only through the lines and shapes on paper, but also through the means of display, circulation and reproduction. Seen in museums and catalogues, the original context, function, and embedded meanings of historical maps are often overlooked. By examining maps from Song China (960-1279), this dissertation focuses on the social and cultural history of mapmaking rather than its actual techniques. I intend to place the production, circulation and reproduction of maps and geographical knowledge within the larger social context including print culture, civil service examinations, and political reforms.

Subjects and Perspectives: Why Maps?

The Oxford Dictionary defines a map as a “chart, plan, diagram, etc.,” which encompasses a wide range of drawings or other forms of representations showing the earth's surface or the spatial distribution of a certain theme.² At first sight, a map seems to be a relatively candid and straightforward device—one can learn to read a map within minutes, and the goal of a map seems to be to objectively represent actual geography and topography. Conventionally, maps, including charts, plans or diagrams, would not have constituted a serious research topic, since they did not stand alone as an independent genre in the fields of history or art history, which heavily rely on either written records or “proper” art objects.

² Retrieved from the website of Oxford English Dictionary, at <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/113853?rskey=xcCSkr&result=3#eid> on June 1, 2013.

For a long time, the history of mapmaking was primarily studied within the framework of the history of geographical science. At least in the west, it was largely that of the increase in the mathematic accuracy, and a fundamental theme in the field was the scientific development of mapmaking towards a form of precise science and technology.³ Therefore, the evolution of maps from tools serving transcendental and political purposes in the medieval period to scientific and reliable devices in the modern period was considered the triumph of science. In this regard, we should not forget the pioneers, such as Wang Yong 王庸 and Joseph Needham, whose scholarship covers a wide range of sources and provides a thorough examination of the development of cartographic history in China.⁴ Their scholarship provides a solid foundation for historical survey of Chinese maps in the later decades.⁵ Needham's massive project, *Science and Civilisation in China*, viewed in its general historical context, was a response to the prevailing Western-centric understanding of science and civilization after the mid-nineteenth century--an industrialized, modernized and developed Europe and North America versus a backward and superstitious China. To this end, his work on Chinese geography and cartography was extremely meaningful in countering some of the biases against Chinese systems of knowledge. However, Needham also fell into a scientific positivist approach himself. While he

³ J. B. Harley, *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, in *History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 3-4.

⁴ Wang Yong 王庸, *Zhongguo ditu shi gang* 中國地圖史綱 (Beijing: Sanlian, 1958); Joseph Needham, *Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth*, in *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), vol. 3.

⁵ To list the most important works: Chen Zhengxiang 陳正祥, *Zhongguo ditu xueshi* 中國地圖學史 (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1979); Lu Liangzhi 盧良志, *Zhongguo ditu xueshi* 中國地圖學史 (Beijing: Cehui chubanshe, 1984); *Zhongguo cehui shi bianji weiyuanhui* 《中國測繪史》編輯委員會, *Zhongguo cehui shi* 中國測繪史 (Beijing: Cehui chubanshe, 2002); Yu Cang 喻滄 and Liao Ke 廖克, *Zhongguo ditu xueshi* 中國地圖學史 (Beijing: Cehui chubanshe, 2010).

strove to show the effectiveness of Chinese cartography and astronomy in representing terrains and universes, he was also limited by trying to fit Chinese systems of rational thought and quantifiable systems of knowledge into European categories of knowledge.⁶ As a result, the social significance of visibility and materiality in Chinese mapmaking was to a large extent left out in Needham's work.

It was J. B. Harley who opened a new door to scholars interested in the cultural and social values of maps. For Harley, existing rhetoric and vocabularies do not suffice to study cartographic history in cultural and social contexts, so he draws from poststructuralist and Marxist theories, Panofsky's iconographical theory in particular, to embark on this mission. He considers maps a living graphic language and argues that maps are not as objective or neutral as they were once regarded. Although the making of maps is always manipulated by the most powerful people in society, mapmakers do not belong to a particular professional community but to society in a broader sense. Harley believes that a map is not just made up of conventional signs, but also a vehicle that conveys symbolic meaning and meant to be rhetorically persuasive. His claim that cartographers manufacture power and create a panopticon shows an obvious influence from Michel Foucault, although the latter did not systematically theorize geography but only provided some passing comments.⁷ Harley holds

⁶ The work and legacy of Joseph Needham has been profusely discussed. See Timothy Brook, "The Sinology of Joseph Needham," *Modern China* 22.3 (July, 1996): 340-48; Robert Finlay, "China, the West, and World History in Joseph Needham's 'Science and Civilisation in China'," *Journal of World History* 11.2 (2000): 265-303; Gregory Blue, "Joseph Needham, Heterodox Marxism and the Social Background to Chinese Science," *Science & Society*, 62.2 (1998): 195-217.

⁷ In an interview with the editors of the journal *Hérodote*, Foucault considers the discipline of geography as a form of "human sciences," which falls under his examination of the "archaeology of knowledge." Therefore, geographical notions, such as territory, domain, region and landscape, are fundamentally metaphors for political,

that powers intersect and are embedded in knowledge production through maps. By examining maps from ancient Greece up to the present day, he argues that maps universally help those who exercise power to wage war, to levy taxes, to enforce law and order, to administer justice, and to manage landed property. Therefore, in the present day, nation-states still use them as an instrument to maintain control over acquired territory and assert sovereignty over it.⁸ The most fruitful product of his theory is manifested through the *History of Cartography* Project, initiated by Harley himself and David Woodward.⁹

Harley's work has inspired a number of historians and cartographers to reevaluate the nature and the role of maps in the light of cultural and sociopolitical studies.¹⁰ Thongchai Winichakul examines an intriguing phenomenon that although, Siam was never colonized, Western technology and concepts of mapping finally led the Siamese rulers to adopt modern European geography and cartography in order to map a unified nation.¹¹ Inspired by

strategic and judicial concepts. See Foucault, "Questions on Geography," in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings: 1972–1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), pp. 63–77.

⁸ Harley, "Text and Contexts in the Interpretation of Early Maps," and "Maps, Knowledge and Power," in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 33–81. His ideas were well explained by Denis Wood, *The Power of Maps* (New York: Guilford Press, 1992).

⁹ The three volumes have been published so far focus on the history of maps in medieval Europe, Islamic societies, the traditional East, America, Africa, other Pacific societies, and European Renaissance. Three more volumes on cartography in the European enlightenment, the nineteenth century and the twentieth century are forthcoming. For more information, see "The History of Cartography" website at <http://www.geography.wisc.edu/histcart/>. Accessed June 10, 2013.

¹⁰ Most socio-cultural map historians have more or less followed the tone set by Harley, but quite a few scholars, including Martin Brückner and others, also argue that there is more to maps and mapping than just ideology. See Brückner, "Beautiful Symmetry: John Melish, Material Culture, and Map Interpretation," *Portolan* 73 (2008): 28–35. For more detailed information on this issue and the historiography of cartography during the past half century, see Matthew Edney, "Academic Cartography, Internal Map History, and the Critical Study Of Mapping Processes," *Imago Mundi* 66 (2014), forthcoming. Here I would like to thank Professor Edney for generously sharing his works.

¹¹ Thongchai, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994).

Thongchai's work, Benedict Anderson further argues that, through the making of maps, museums and censuses, the colonial state imposed powerful systematic surveillance on the colonial subject.¹² Moreover, the visual and material aspects of maps in addition to their geographical purpose became a pivotal issue discussed in the works of Denis Cosgrove, Jeremy Black, and others.¹³ When the study of mapmaking is released from the confinement of science and technology, it is immediately placed under a larger scope of vision, art, and culture.

"Cartography in China" by Cordell Yee and John B. Henderson, in *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, was a major departure for research on the cartographic history in China.¹⁴ Their scholarship marks a sharp contrast with the previous scientific positivist attitude towards Chinese maps, represented by Needham as mentioned above. Yee argues that mathematical and quantitative approaches should not be considered the only, or even the major concern in the history of Chinese mapmaking. Maps provide spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world. In his discussion of the production and value of historical maps, politics, cosmology, aesthetics, and

¹² Anderson, "Census, Map, Museum," in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 2006), pp. 163-185.

¹³ Denis Cosgrove writes prolifically on mapping, vision and landscape; see *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1984). Christian Jacob discusses the links between maps, seeing and logic and defines maps as the art of persuasion and as the instruments of power; see "Toward a Cultural History of Cartography," *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 191-98; *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). Jeremy Black examines the relationship between mapping and world structure from a sociopolitical perspective in his *Maps and Politics* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997). See also Arthur Robinson, "Cartography as an Art," in *Cartography: Past, Present and Future*, ed. D. W. Rhind and D. R. F. Taylor (London; New York: Published on behalf of the International Cartographic Association by Elsevier Applied Science, 1989), pp. 91-102.

¹⁴ Yee and Henderson, "Cartography in China," in *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, in *History of Cartography*, pp. 35-231.

artistic representations came to be his major concerns. Therefore, his book is structured according to the themes and functions of mapmaking but not its chronology.

Along the same lines, Richard Smith elaborates many issues that have been raised in Yee's work, although he focuses more on the dynamics between cartographic practice and the formation of "Chineseness." The enduring self-assertion of "Chineseness," argues Smith, was the driving force for Chinese cartographers to reject Western scientific techniques before the twentieth century, the time when Needham claimed a reciprocal transmission between China and the West took place.¹⁵ Chinese attitudes toward the so-called "barbarians" informed Sino-centric superiority, although "Chinese" was more of a cultural and moral concept than an ethnic and geographical one. Smith also points out that Chinese cartographers never valued graphic techniques for accuracy and objectivity as much as Western mapmakers did. Instead, on Chinese maps, more attention was devoted to written texts to provide accurate and detailed information on location and distance. Moreover, Smith takes issue with the classification of Chinese maps. In contrast to the way in which secular Renaissance maps broke away from cosmography in sixteenth-century Europe, the presence of cosmological components never

¹⁵ The magnitude of Jesuit influence on Chinese cartographic practice at the end of Ming and early Qing was also subject to discussion. Needham believed that the Jesuits had a significant influence on Chinese cartography during the late imperial period, and his opinion was expounded by Laura Hostetler while assessing the mapmaking practice from the Kangxi (r. 1661-1722) period to the Qianlong (r. 1735-99). However, Yee argues that the employment of western technology was not dominant throughout the Qing dynasty, despite its short period of acceptance at the Kangxi court. See Hostetler, pp. 4-10; Needham, p. 590; Yee, p. 184. Richard Smith suggests that the Western mapmaking techniques introduced by the Jesuits changed Chinese understanding of the West, but only lasted for a short duration on Chinese mapmaking practices; see Smith, *Chinese Maps: Images of All under Heaven* (Hong Kong and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 42-49.

disappeared on Chinese imperial maps. The confluence of geomancy, geography and cosmography on maps is closely associated with Chinese political and philosophical traditions.¹⁶

Similarly, in this dissertation, historical maps are understood as more than just visual aids which can provide historical evidence on landed properties and geophysical boundaries. They are considered to be products of political, social and cultural discourses during specific historical periods, and are active participants in the shaping of the notions on empire and local regions on both geophysical and cultural levels.

Why the Song Dynasty and Song Maps?

In the eyes of historians, the Song dynasty, despite the military loss to its non-Han neighbours in the north, was a brilliant, vibrant and innovative age, which was characterized by profound social changes: the decline of aristocratic ideals, the growth of literati education, the sophistication of Neo-Confucianism and Chan Buddhism, the thriving of artistic and literary achievements, and the refinement of all kinds of technology.¹⁷ For Naitō Konan, the most crucial change among all the above was that the aristocracy of the Tang (618-906) had already reached a dead end and the local gentry of the Song gained more power in their communities.

As a consequence, argues Naitō, the new social structure of the Song opened a new page to

¹⁶ Smith, *Chinese Maps: Images of All under Heaven; Mapping China and Managing the World: Culture, Cartography and Cosmology in Late Imperial Times* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013).

¹⁷ John Fairbank sees the conquest of the Song as a paradox in that it was defeated by outside powers at its acme of civilization; see Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 108; Jacques Gernet also argues that Chinese civilization reached its highest point before the Yuan took over the Southern Song in 1276; see Gernet, *Daily Life in China on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion, 1250-1276*, trans. H. M. Wright (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), pp. 16-18. Mark Elvin holds that the Song dynasty produced the most advanced economy in the world, which the Mongol Yuan was not able to continue; see Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973), p. 7.

early modernity.¹⁸ Although the issue of early modernity is still open to debate, the Tang-Song transition from an aristocratic society to a bureaucratic society remains well-accepted among many Song scholars.¹⁹

As reflected in the works of John Fairbank, the Tang-Song transition leads to a stagnant post-Song society lacking changes until the blast of the West in the mid-nineteenth century.²⁰ During the past few decades, however, scholars started to understand late imperial China as an ever-changing society, in which continuities and ruptures existed simultaneously in many aspects. The introduction of much higher yield rice hybrids during the Song finally allowed it to become a staple food, and allowed the economic development of the region south of the Yangtze River. Robert Hartwell drew our attention to the demographic, political and social transformations between the late medieval and late imperial periods, based on William Skinner's model of the seven macroregions. He argues that the expansion of the densely populated areas posed administrative difficulties, which led to the disintegration of central

¹⁸ The notion of the so-called "early modernity" (*kinsei* 近世) that Naitō raises will be assessed in detail in Chapter 5. Naitō Konan, "Kinsei shi no yigi" 近世史の意義, in *Shina kinseishi* 支那近世史, in *Naitō Konan zenshū* 内藤湖南全集, vol. 10, pp. 335-522 and "Sōdai ni shigaku no okeru shigaku no shinten" 宋代に於ける史學の進展 in *Shina shigaku shi* 支那史学史, in *Naitō Konan zenshū*, vol. 11, pp. 194-252. Miyazaki Ichisada further developed Naitō's theory. Miyazaki compares the cultural revival movement during the Song with the Renaissance in fourteenth-century Europe, thus the crucial mechanism leading its history into the so-called *kinsei* period. See Miyazaki, "Tōyō shi," in *Miyazaki Ichisada zenshū* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1991-1994), vol. 2, pp. 299-300.

¹⁹ For a comprehensive introduction on the Tang-Song transition, see Luo Yanan, "A Study of the Changes in the Tang-Song Transition Model," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 35 (2005), 99-127. Nicolas Tackett, *Destruction of the Medieval Chinese Aristocracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014).

²⁰ Fairbank argues that the political system of early modern China, starting from the late Tang and Song was so stable and well-balanced that it could only be changed by massive blows from the outside, the West to be specific. Fairbank and Edwin O. Reischauer, "The Late T'ang and Sung: The Flowering of Chinese Culture," in *China: Tradition and Transformation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989), pp. 150-51.

authority, and increasing autonomy of local regions, especially at the level of counties.²¹ Relatively recent responses to this topic are presented in *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History* and *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China*, with contributing scholars viewing the shift from the Song to Yuan (1271-1368) as a logical transformation in many social and economic aspects rather than a simple rupture.²²

Scholars also try to complement the monotone represented through the Song official history with other perspectives informed by sources from alternative regimes, including the Liao (907-1125), Jin (1125-1234), and Xi Xia (1038-1227). The rhetoric that had once supported the tribute system until the Tang dynasty could no longer be maintained by the Song, when the latter was increasingly regarded as equal, if not inferior, to its northern neighbours. As a consequence, it adopted more flexible ways in dealing with foreigners both politically and economically.²³ The choice of identity and allegiance made by the locals was often as elastic as the shifting boundaries during those shaky years at the northern border, as Naomi Standen has observed.²⁴

²¹ Hartwell, "Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China, 750-1550," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42.2 (1982): 365-442, especially 405-25. In order to analyze the urbanization and regional development, Skinner divided late imperial China into nine physiographic macroregions; see Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), pp. 211-20. Seven out of the nine (excluding Manchuria and Yun Gui) macroregions were situated within the political boundaries of the Song dynasty.

²² Paul Smith and Richard von Glahn, eds., *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003). Robert Hymes and Conrad Schirokauer, eds., *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

²³ Morris Rossabi, ed., *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

²⁴ Standen, *Unbounded Loyalty: Frontier Crossings in Liao China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

At the local level, as the already-cumbersome bureaucratic system was not able to handle various issues, the emergence of local public welfare, the organization of local ritual and cultural networks, and the self-determining distribution of natural resources stimulated the agency of local communities and gentry.²⁵ Local gentry and scholars collaborating with governments, as I will discuss in Chapter 6, became the main source of cultural production.

All the above issues were unavoidably projected onto the history of mapmaking during the Song. Indeed, it is not a coincidence that the Song, among all dynasties, was the first one to leave us a substantial number of maps with diverse themes, styles, and representational techniques. While no pre-Song maps apart from a few excavated pieces were passed onto later generations,²⁶ many maps from the Song were preserved through transcribing, printing, rubbing, or carving on steles. In all, the transmission and preservation of Song maps primarily benefitted from the profound social changes discussed above, manifesting in the proliferation of printing technology, the institutionalization of the civil service examinations, and the spread of literacy. As Hilde De Weerdts observes, the publicity that these maps had received from the twelfth century on marked a transition in Chinese cartographic history and imperial political culture.²⁷

During the past decades, Song maps have been largely examined from the perspective of social and political history. Pan Sheng 潘晟 provides a meticulous and comprehensive account

²⁵ The subject of the local perspective will be elaborated in Chapter 5.

²⁶ Except for a few ancient maps retrieved by archaeological excavation that I will discuss in Chapter 1.

²⁷ De Weerdts, "The Cultural Logics of Map Reading: Text, Time, and Space in Printed Maps of the Song Empire," p. 239.

of the development of geography during the Song, and especially interrogates the meaning of mapmakers and readers of the Song and Ming (1368-1644) dynasties;²⁸ Martin Hofmann focuses on the monographs commenting on the “Tribute of Yu” during the Song, and argues that their diverse hermeneutic approaches offered rich understandings of both the classic text and present geography.²⁹ De Weerdts takes a socio-historical approach in her evaluation of the impact of print culture on mapmaking and circulation, the “cultural logic” of reading and interpreting maps, and the construction of the consciousness of an empire;³⁰ Julia C. Orell divides the topographical landscape paintings of the Yangtze River into three categories: imperial geography, local historical geography, and personal geography of notable sites, and examines that how they stimulated the production of geographical knowledge;³¹ Ruth Mostern examines the political and social mechanisms of the constant ordering and reordering of the jurisdictions by the Song local and regional administration;³² Zhang Cong discusses the role that

²⁸ Pan Sheng, “Song dai dilixue de guannian tixi yu zhishi xingqu” 宋代地理學的觀念體系與知識興趣, PhD dissertation (Peking University, 2008); *Ditu de zuozhe ji qi yuedu: Yi Song Ming wei hexin de zhishi shi kaocha* 地圖的作者及其閱讀: 以宋明為核心的知識史考察 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2013).

²⁹ Martin Hofmann, “Reconsidering the Spatial Order of the Great Yu: Song Commentaries on the Yugong,” PhD dissertation (University of Würzburg, 2007).

³⁰ Hilde De Weerdts, “Maps and Memory: Readings of Cartography in Twelfth- and Thirteenth- Century Song China,” *Imago Mundi: International Journal for the History of Cartography* 61:2 (2009), 145-167; “The Cultural Logics of Map Reading: Text, Time, and Space in Printed Maps of the Song Empire,” in *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China, 900-1400*, ed. Lucille Chia and Hilde De Weerdts (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 239-70.

³¹ Orell, “Picturing the Yangzi River in Southern Song China (1127-1279),” PhD dissertation (The University of Chicago, 2011).

³² Mostern, *Dividing the Realm in Order to Govern: The Spatial Organization of the Song State (960-1276 CE)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011).

travel played on the production of literati identity as well the making of cultural geography.³³ In sum, recent research on mapmaking has broadened from the historical aspects of maps to cultural connotations surrounding the making and reading of the maps.

My dissertation aims at furthering that inquiry in considering mapmaking a catalyst for the imagination and construction of the Song Empire rather than just a side effect of social changes. The state and maps mutually affirmed the existence of each other. Maps, charts, together with various kinds of images, constituted an integral repertoire of geographical knowledge used to zoom in and out of the empire. As I will discuss in Chapter 4, the emperor frequently requested that maps, diagrams and other images be submitted alongside reports and initiatives about local projects, land reclamations and administrative affairs. The function of these images should be treated as more than mere visual aids to the written words -- they functioned as a parallel, sometimes a contradiction, to the information carried by the written words. It is crucial, therefore, to place mapmaking in the larger context of Song visual politics where the ruling class employed multiple means of painting and mapping to represent and comprehend various aspects of the empire, including its geophysical space, landscape, urban and rural life.

The foundation of this complex system started with the land survey and mapmaking conducted by local governments. The maps of villages were assembled into those of a county, thereafter a prefecture, a circuit and eventually the entire country. However, similar to Michel de Certeau's sense of strategy-tactic relationship,³⁴ this seemingly holistic and unified empire

³³ Zhang Cong, *Transformative Journeys: Travel and Culture in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011).

³⁴ De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California, 1988), pp. 34-39.

on maps, as in reality, was also under the risk of being deformed and encroached on by forces from within and without. As I will discuss in Chapter 4, the central government required each circuit to make its own map, as the contours of the prefectural maps often did not always match those of their neighbors. As a result, this neatly-planned structure had to be maintained by a large body of well-trained government bureaucrats who knew how to remove the glitches and combine maps into comprehensible ones. In addition, both the Song government and its northern regimes attempted to prevent the leaking of geographical information, including maps, to their neighbors, although in reality it happened all the time.

Moreover, this system provided both a platform and raw materials for Song scholars to produce more maps to elucidate historical and contemporary issues. Therefore, the usage and circulation of maps and diagrams eventually led to the making of new maps. The process of map production and reproduction added a new dimension to knowledge production and transmission. Diverse styles, media, and techniques involved in mapmaking reflected the plurality of the patrons, mapmakers and users. As I will discuss in Chapters 4 and 5, in the fervor of searching for antiquity, scholar officials, school teachers and civil service examination candidates also started to interrogate geographical issues in the past. For example, the *Map of Chinese and Foreign Lands* (*Huayi tu* 華夷圖), which originally was preserved in the court setting, was adapted to serve scholars' purpose of constructing the canonical past.

Continuity and changes took place simultaneously. Although the Song inherited some of the mapmaking practices from the Tang and the Five Dynasties as I will discuss in Chapter 1, knowledge was understood and consumed in a new social and cultural context that was different from before. It was not merely transmitted from one social echelon to another, but

was also transformed when it was passed onto different social realms. If we understand knowledge production as a means of exercising power, then the interplay of power was clearly manifested through the production and transmission of maps at various levels of government and among various levels of Song society.

Visuality of Maps--Representation and Construction

The primary meaning of visuality derives from the experience of looking and seeing. Although ontologically different from paintings, maps can be associated with visuality in two ways: how mapmakers and patrons “look” at the world that would be eventually materialized on maps, and how the modes of looking inform and affect how others read a map. Building on Hal Foster’s definition of sight as a historical and social fact,³⁵ I take the cultural and political authority – the hegemonic and elite statuses – of the court and literati scholars to be the deciding factor for the meaning of “looking” at maps.

A map, whether it is as precise as a Google map or as speculative as a medieval European map (fig. 1-2), must correspond to a designated space, no matter whether physical or imaginary. The designated space is *a priori* when it comes to the issue of representation. The duality between the “real” space and the map reflects the tension between the real and the simulacrum, or the anxiety between the gigantic and the miniature. A map reduces the size that

³⁵ Hal Foster, *Vision and Visuality* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1988), p. ix. Vision and visuality has become a major subject in the field of art history, see Norman Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) and Robert Nelson, ed., *Visuality before and beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw* (New York: Cambridge University, 2000). Craig Clunas informs us there were multiple ways and ideas of visuality co-existing in the Ming society, instead of a single one; see *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997); *Empire of Great Brightness: Visual and Material Cultures of Ming China, 1368-1644* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007).

it represents, flattens the geophysical space on an absolute two-dimensional surface, and filters what is to be depicted and what omitted. As I will discuss in Chapters 4 and 6, the instatement of fish-scale maps during the Song assured that every piece of landed property was documented on maps, and making the map of the Song Empire once used as much as one hundred bolts of silk. This attempt of maximizing the details on maps reflects the megalomania of the central authority, as told in the Borges' story of a map covering the exact size of the territory.³⁶

The process of mapmaking converts the seeing of the territory into the reading of the map after a map is made. The underlying logic of what is to be represented and how is further strengthened and enriched through the reading of maps. People who were involved in different stages of seeing and reading during the Song could be patrons, mapmakers and users, which ranged from the emperor to scholars, officials, or even commoners at the bottom of the social scale.

Materiality of Maps as Objects

In this dissertation, maps are also examined as objects or things. I look at the material aspects of maps through the process of their production, usage and circulation, especially since we know very little about the individual cartographers, their names, positions, or their own thoughts about their works. As maps were usually commissioned by governments, mapmaking

³⁶ Jorge Luis Borges, *Collected Fictions* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 1999), p. 325. Susan Steward's theorization of the gigantic resembling the state authority and the miniature representing the bourgeois everyday life poses an interesting question about where maps should lie in the discourse between the public and individual. Steward, *On Longing* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), pp. 37-103.

was normally considered part of their administrative functions and mapmakers were never an independent profession. Therefore, it is my belief that tracing the transmission and circulation of these maps would be a useful approach in understanding the role of maps and mapmaking in Song society.

Considering a map as an object or a thing is to align with the methodology grounded in the “thing theory” of Martin Heidegger, Arjun Appadurai, Alfred Gell, and the like.³⁷ As Appadurai shrewdly points out, “even though from a theoretical point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a methodological point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context.”³⁸ The formal and material aspects of a map shape one’s experience of seeing and reading it, and distinguish its function from that of other media, such as a written text or a landscape painting. The primary concern surrounding mapmaking in my dissertation is about how they mediated social relationships, and how they formulated and transformed the ways in which the past and present world was imagined. The material aspect of maps would seem to be a trivial issue for some, but the traits of physical existence also contributed to producing or adding to their meanings, including what they were made of, and how they were used and circulated. For example, the *Map of the Tracks of Yu* mentioned above was carved on two steles almost simultaneously, but the different locations, one at an academy

³⁷ Martin Heidegger, “The Thing,” in *Poetry, Language, and Thought* (New York: Harper Collins; Bill Brown, ed., *Things* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1998). Other foundational works also include Bruno Latour, “The Berlin Key or How to Do Words with Things,” trans. Lydia Davis, in *Matter, Materiality, and Modern Culture*, ed. P. M. Graves-Brown (London: Routledge, 2000). For an overview of the subject, see Brown, “Thing Theory,” *Critical Inquiry* (28.1) 2001: 1-22.

³⁸ Appadurai, “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,” in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 5.

in the short-lived Great Qi 齊 (1130-1137) (historically recognized, and hereafter, referred to as Liu Qi) and the other in the Southern Song, signified very different political agendas, attracted different audiences, and invoked different emotions. Meanwhile, the medium of these two maps, e.g. immovable stone stele, also makes a difference in comparison with portable format in terms of its audience, agency and function. The material aspects of Song maps discussed in the chapters that follow include their size, media, margins, inscriptions, living environment, and their history of transmission.

Gell specifically argues that technology plays a significant role for objects to assume their active value, as Walter Benjamin observes in the cinema industry of the 1920s.³⁹ Inspired by historians of the book, map historians have also attempted to examine maps as things mass-produced to be circulated and consumed in social networks.⁴⁰ For instance, a printed book bearing cartographic illustrations of Ptolemy's *Geographia* in the late fifteenth century marks the moment of transition from manuscript to prints; while this widely-disseminated book was sent to Constantinople from Florence as a diplomatic gift, it conveyed the European imagination of the Mediterranean world to the Ottoman milieu.⁴¹ Print technology of early

³⁹ Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), pp. 217-51.

⁴⁰ Edney provides an insightful discussion about the introduction of material culture into the research of cartographic history, see Edney, "Academic Cartography, Internal Map History, and the Critical Study of Mapping Processes," *Imago Mundi* (May 2013), forthcoming.

⁴¹ Sean E. Roberts, *Printing a Mediterranean World: Florence, Constantinople, and the Renaissance of Geography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013).

modern Japan, for another example, is considered to be an intrinsic factor which contributed to the emergence of public information and shared identity.⁴²

In terms of Song maps, print technology was also crucial in the circulation of maps, especially maps interpreting a canonical past. In most cases, printed maps were circulated among school teachers and examination candidates, and the literati scholars who studied for the sake of learning. They were also the same group of people who were interested in deciphering the meaning of canons from the past and reconstructing rituals from antiquity. Two issues in this process are of particular interest to me: the relationship between the maps and their annotations while both interpreting the geography in the canons; and the transformation and pluralization of knowledge while maps were reproduced.

Maps, Texts and Landscape Paintings

The relation between visual representation and language, or more broadly, word and image, has differentiated art history as a discipline from others which primarily deal with verbal expression, such as literature and history.⁴³ Ontologically, maps, which one can *look at* and *read* at the same time, lie at the intersection between images and words. Therefore, the discussion surrounding this topic is most relevant to maps in that a map constructs a complex of “encoding

⁴² Mary Elizabeth Berry, “Maps are Strange,” in *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 54-103.

⁴³ The debate is grounded on theories articulated by Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and others. See Foucault, *The Order of Things*, tr. Alan Sheridan (London: Routledge, 1970) and *This Is Not a Pipe*, tr. James Harkness (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982); Deleuze, “The Visible and the Articulate,” in Deleuze, *Foucault* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988); W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

space” with signs, lines and words.⁴⁴ Hence, looking at a map conversely evokes a different reading experience, and thus a different type of literacy.

Marginalia of the maps in the forms of visual images and inscriptions reveal rich cultural messages and ideological agenda.⁴⁵ Decorative arts that are often equipped in Western maps, argues G. N. G. Clarke, should not be simply taken as a source of pleasure or a distraction from the main content of a map, but should be considered interrelated indexes to maps understood as cultural texts and ideological images.⁴⁶ More often than not, Song Chinese maps are heavily loaded with written information, including inscriptions on the map and lengthy explanations following the map. Meanwhile, an observation that Yee has correctly made is that the mathematical accuracy of maps is presented more through the means of writing rather than that of drawing. The boundary and size of a given space is usually expressed in detail via written words, but the drawing does not have to be to scale or even close to an accurate shape.⁴⁷ It is

⁴⁴ In a case study on mapmaking in America after the sixteenth century, William Boelhower argues that “America” was largely made by the Euro-American expansion. The seemingly accurate mathematical construction of America was also a process of constructing cultural identity, nationhood, and a narrative about aboriginal people; see Boelhower, “Inventing America: A Model of Cartographic Semiosis,” *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 4.2 (1988): 475-97.

⁴⁵ For example, Bronwen Wilson and Matthew Edney examine the meaning of decorative portraits and other visual images in sixteenth-century Venice and seventeenth-century England separately. Bronwen Wilson, “From Myth to Metropole: Sixteenth-Century Printed Maps of Venice,” in *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), pp. 23-69. Edney, “Simon de Passe’s Cartographic Portrait of Captain John Smith and a New England (1616/7),” *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 26:2 (2010): 186-213.

⁴⁶ Clarke especially discusses the cartouches in eighteenth-century American maps. These small images on the edge of maps, depicting local flora, trade, black people, and the British presence, were a powerful way to celebrate colonization and dominion, and to visualize the control of order in America; see Clarke, “Taking Possession: The Cartouche as Cultural Text in Eighteenth-Century American Maps,” *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 4.2 (1988): 455-74.

⁴⁷ Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt also observes that the graphic plan and even the descriptive scheme of a city might not conform to its actual shape. For example, the plan of the Western Zhou capital—Wangcheng—that is

not difficult to understand this if we contextualize this issue in a society where the entire bureaucratic system was built on writing. However, a question that an art historian might ask would be: then how do we understand the visual significance of a map? As I will discuss in this dissertation, in certain contexts a map like the *Tracks of Yu* acts as an icon representing the empire, a map in front of a gazetteer functions as a visual index to configure its content, and a map about a local project requested by the emperor reveals the desire of seeing with the “imperial eye.” Therefore, the intersection between image and writing on maps provides an alternative perspective to problematize and complicate the dominating authority of writing throughout Chinese imperial history.⁴⁸

Landscape painting has long had an intricate relationship with mapmaking, especially the making of topographical maps. As Svetlana Alpers has observed, when mapmaking techniques were introduced into landscape painting in the sixteenth century, it distinguished Dutch paintings from the illusionistic Italian model.⁴⁹ In his comparative study of landscape paintings

represented in *The Records of Examination of Craftsman* (*Kaogong ji* 考工記) does not closely resemble the shape of the actual site as attested by excavated evidence. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), p. 44.

⁴⁸ Mark Edward Lewis points out that the authority of the writing in early China derived from the use of the writing in religious practice and state administration, and was consolidated through imagination and construction shared by the intellectuals; see *Writing and Authority in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999). Hajime Nakatani terms the interlocking relationship between writing and the cultural world in medieval China the “graphic regime,” in that writing not only shaped the social, cultural and cosmological orders, but also led to the rise of an autonomous gentry society in the wake of the Han dynasty’s collapse; see “Bodies and Signs in Early Medieval China” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2004).

⁴⁹ Alpers characterizes Dutch maps and landscape paintings as “realistic” and “descriptive” in that the mapping practice in Holland characterized an impulse to record or to describe the land and Dutch landscape painting was like a map without a frame. Therefore, the Dutch paradigm was the antithesis of the Italian ideal, which was still dominated by the narrative and historical Albertian models. See Alpers, “The Mapping Impulse in Dutch Art,” in *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 119-68.

and maps from different cultures, Edward Casey points out that the boundary between the two genres was rather fragile due to the shared techniques and perspectives applied in representing the “surveyable space.”⁵⁰ In China, the categorization of maps never came close to art or painting after the Song, but the boundary between the drawing of maps, geomantic diagrams, and landscape painting could not be clearly defined in terms of their techniques of representation and institutional practices. As I will discuss in Chapters 3, professional painters in the Painting Academy were involved in mapmaking in local regions, and certain notions manifested through painting techniques were shared by geomantic, cartographic and painting practices.

Structure of This Study

In order to appropriately situate mapmaking practice during the Song in its historical, social and cultural contexts, I first look at the conceptual and ontological nature of maps. Song maps did not emerge independently, so it is crucial to understand the continuity and rupture of notions of maps and mapmaking between the Song people and their predecessors. Accordingly, Chapter 2 is an overview of the political dimension of mapmaking and the ontological features of maps before the tenth century. In summarizing general features of mapmaking practice during this period, I hope to avoid generalization and essentialism without historical

⁵⁰ Casey, “Cartography and Chorography,” in *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2002), pp. 154-70. Casey also argues that the severance of painting from cartography in the modern period to a large extent reflects the pervasive alienation between humanistic values and those in science and technology. He also demonstrates the ways in which contemporary landscape installation and abstract painting could reshape our landscape and our understanding of it. See Casey, *Earth-Mapping: Artists Reshaping Landscape* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2005).

discernment. Therefore, the primary goal of this chapter is to provide a context to better understand what knowledge of and practice in mapmaking people might have received at the beginning of the Song dynasty.

Chapter 3 examines the relationship of mapmaking with painting in the context of art history. It starts with a discussion of how the transformation of the concept of *tu* affected mapmaking during the Song dynasty, and situates the status of maps in the complex relationship between images and texts. This chapter further examines techniques and makers of topographical maps, a genre at the intersection of maps and painting.

As forms of knowledge about geography and space, maps and other graphic representations are the primary focus of this dissertation. In addition, written records about their production are also investigated as these documents provide us with valuable information supplementing their “lived environment.” In general, I divide these visual and written sources into three categories according to their subject matter and social functions, and provide in-depth analysis for each category in Chapters 4-6. Chapter 4 takes as its subject imperial maps and diagrams commissioned by the central government for administrative and military purposes. They include a wide array of maps ranging from maps of the whole empire to military maps made for specific campaigns and diagrams detailing the layout of construction projects. These images visualized the composite nature of the imperial “surveillance system.” In this way, I elucidate the ways in which the Song Empire was constructed through image-making, mapping in particular, and how this visual imagination was exercised through statecraft.

Chapter 5 focuses on maps, tables and charts made by literati scholars in reconstructing the geography of a canonical past, which was in fact influenced by the Song notion

of empire. The geographical past was to a large extent informed by the chapter of “Tribute of Yu” (*Yu gong* 禹貢) of the *Book of Documents* (*Shangshu* 尚書), but the actual representation was undoubtedly reframed by Song imperial geography. In turn, knowledge about a canonical past interpreted through visual means was built into the epistemological system of the study of the classics (*jingxue* 經學) and the complex of reviving a canonical antiquity, which was further spread and fed back to the lettered men through the imperial bureaucracy and intellectual networks.

Chapter 6 concerns the issue of local identity production. During the Song, an increasing number of regional map guides and gazetteers were commissioned by local governments and produced by local scholars. While acknowledging regional maps undoubtedly reflected and contributed to the construction of regional consciousness or identity, I argue that they also embodied strong bonds to and constant negotiation with the state.

The boundaries of the categories discussed above were rather permeable and elastic, since the maps produced and commissioned by various privileged groups interacted and updated the knowledge about terrestrial space on different levels. During the Song, a new dimension of visual representation of geophysical and geospatial knowledge became active agents participating in the constitution of a complex of social relations, and constantly transforming the imagination and understanding of the empire.

Chapter 2 The Ontological Nature and Practice of Mapmaking: A Prehistory of Song Maps

Maps fulfill the desire of eyes and mind. While you hold a map in your hand, it satisfies you with a sense of possession: it does not matter if you own the territory that is represented on the map, because the feeling can come directly from the physical control of the simulacrum. The experience of reading a map can be translated into the power over territory or the grasping of spatial knowledge, which might be of a region, a country or even the world.

Today, maps of different scales and themes are easily accessible either through print or the Internet; Google Earth seems to lend everybody a perspective from a satellite to enjoy our planet as a virtual globe floating in space. However, maps not only represent space itself, but also present the power and knowledge over this space. Accessibility to, or ownership of, a map has never been automatically granted to anyone either in history or today. And in the past, they were never presented or preserved in the way we see them nowadays. As Harley has reminded us, central to the nature of a map is its relationship to the power of the state.⁵¹

Rarely have maps dating from before the Song dynasty been transmitted to the present, but this does not necessarily mean that early and medieval Chinese people lacked techniques or motivation for mapmaking. Unearthed maps and abundant textual records have demonstrated the versatile techniques and theories in mapmaking before the Song. The continuity and rupture between the past and present maps impels us to pose the same question about the Song maps: what kind of knowledge surrounding maps, including the

⁵¹ Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, pp. 36-37.

notions of maps, and the material natures of maps, and mapmaking practice, did Song people receive from their predecessors?

Symbols of Political Power: Birth of Maps

An emphasis on political power remains true of both pre-modern and modern cartography. There is a close connection between mapmaking and the defining of boundaries: maps are used to assert territorial claims and to settle disputes over frontiers.⁵² By the same token, maps from their nascent stage in ancient China were closely linked with control over territory.⁵³

The earliest surviving records about maps and mapmaking are inscriptions found on two bronze vessels from the Western Zhou (1100-771 BCE): the *gui* vessel of the Marquis Ce from Yi (*Yi hou Ce gui* 宜侯矢簋) (fig. 2-1; Appendix 1.1) and the *pan* vessel of the San family (*San shi pan* 散氏盤) (fig. 2-2; Appendix 1.2). The *gui* vessel was cast during the reign of King Kang (r. 1005-978 BCE) when the King held an investiture ceremony at the ancestral temple of the Zhou to enfeoff Lord Ce with the domain at Yi in present-day Jiangsu province.⁵⁴ The ceremony began with the King's inspections of two maps (*tu* 圖): one had been used by his grandfather, King Wu

⁵² Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), pp. 9-10.

⁵³ Here I adopt Li Feng's notion of delegatory states. Li Feng reevaluates all the state models and characterizes the Western Zhou as a delegatory kin-ordered settlement state. "Delegatory" includes two aspects: first, the reigning Zhou King delegated his power to the regional rulers; second, the Zhou King ruled with a power that originated from the dynastic founders. Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China: Governing the Western Zhou* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 294-95. As for other definitions of the state in early China, see Robin D.S. Yates, "The City State in Ancient China," in *The Archaeology of City States: Cross-Cultural Approaches*, eds. Deborah L. Nichols and Thomas H. Charlton (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), pp. 71-90. In this case, I argue the Yi lineage, and the San and Ze families, mentioned in the following two inscriptions constituted the proto-form of the delegatory states of the Zhou Kingdom.

⁵⁴ Edward L. Shaughnessy, "Historical Geography and the Extent of the Earliest Chinese Kingdoms," *Asia Major* (1989.2): 14-16.

(1049/45-1043 BCE), and father, King Cheng (1042/35-1006 BCE), to conquer the Shang, and the other represented the eastern domains. Now preserved in the ancestral temple, the maps were used again to approve the cession of land as a gift to the Lord at the witness of the ancestral spirits of the Shang kings. It seems that collecting maps and housing them in the ancestral temple had already become a practice by this time at the latest. They were not only used as practical tools in wars, but were also considered evidence for the glorious past and legitimacy of the lineage. Therefore, storing the maps in the ancestral temple, where decisions on significant state affairs, namely wars and sacrifice,⁵⁵ would have been divined and made, demonstrates that, first, the origins of maps derives from political authority; and second, and the function of maps should also be viewed in a ritual context.

A long treaty between the San and Ce families inscribed on the *pan* vessel, which was cast during the late Western Zhou, recorded how the two parties settled their territorial dispute by making a map.⁵⁶ Among the witnesses, two were Supervisors of Works (*sigong* 司工) in charge of construction, and one was Supervisor of Land (*situ* 司土) in charge of landed property, suggesting they were probably the actual mapmakers. Some boundary marks took advantage of existing landmarks, such as roads, fields, rivers, and mountains; whereas others were made on the spot, such as heaping up mounds around trees. The enacting of physical boundary in the

⁵⁵ *Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui* 《十三經注疏》整理委員會, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), j. 27, p. 867.

⁵⁶ In order to avoid any conflict in the future, the two families underwent a land survey of the newly-settled boundaries. Fifteen supervisors from the Ce family and ten from the San oversaw this process, and made an oath and a map as evidence. See Shaughnessy, "Western Zhou Hoards and Family Histories in the Zhouyuan," in *Chinese Archaeology: New Perspectives on China's Past in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Yang Xiaoneng (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 264-66.

natural landscape paralleled the drawing of the boundary on the two-dimensional map. Through the whole process of “making,” including laying physical landmarks, bronze casting, and mapmaking, the notion of a state was visually defined on the map.

The two inscriptions, spanning three hundred years from the early to the end of the Western Zhou, were associated with the idea of control over and distribution of territory and power. At the beginning of the dynasty, it was the Zhou King who defined the ownership of land and distributed land on the Plain of Zhou, the homeland of the Zhou lineage, among lesser lineages. By the end of the Western Zhou, the convention of demarcating boundaries between the lesser lineages was also established. The San and Ce families dealt with conflicts precisely: they not only laid out physical boundaries, but also drew them on maps and made detailed written records as proof.

As indicated in the above cases, various textual records of the Zhou also demonstrated that mapmaking and using, as significant state affairs, was usually carried out in ancestral temples through rituals. Cordell Yee, for example, particularly observed the role of maps in divination and sacrifice.⁵⁷ Maps were placed in imperial palaces as the power center was shifted from ancestral temples to palaces in the Eastern Zhou (770-256 BCE). The reason that the maps could perform as active agents in the ceremonies was because of both their practical use and symbolic power. Therefore, Han Fei 韓非 (280-233 BCE) commented on the function of a map,

⁵⁷ The “Proclamation concerning Luo” in the *Book of Documents* recorded how the site of Luoyi (present Luoyang, in Henan province) was chosen through divination; see *The Book of Documents*, trans. Bernhard Karlgren, *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 22 (1950): 51. A passage in the *Book of Odes* (*Shi jing* 詩經) also describes the Zhou kings using maps in sacrifices. It is not all clear that the *tu* 圖 in the above two cases refer to a map or a chart, but the Han commentator Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200) was prone to believe that the Zhou kings had already made sacrifices as they did during the Han; see Yee, p. 72.

To serve a great power does not always leads to profit, as one has to offer up one's map and the state seal for military aid. If the map is offered up, the territory will be cut up; if the state seal is handed over, prestige will be diminished. When the territory is cut up, the state will be cut up; when prestige is diminished, the government will fall into chaos.⁵⁸

事大未必有實，則舉圖而委，效璽而請兵矣。獻圖則地削，效璽則名卑，地削則圖弱，名卑則政亂矣。

Here a map is the signifier of the territory that it represents. Submitting a map of one state to another during Han Fei's time was considered a symbolic gesture to offer up its territory to another power. In the story of the failed assassination on the King of Qin, Ying Zheng 嬴政 (259-210 BCE), Jing Ke 荊軻 (d. 227 BCE) used a map of Dukang, a fertile region of Yan in present-day Hebei, as a token to show submission to cover up his real mission of assassination.⁵⁹

The Framework of the Known World: The Tribute of Yu

Neither the maps of the Zhou Kingdom nor those of its subordinate lineages and states have survived. However, an overarching notion of the known world was gradually formed alongside the legend of Yu and the text of the "Tribute of Yu" (*Yu gong* 禹貢). As I will discuss in Chapter 5,

⁵⁸ Han Fei, "Wu du 五蠹," in *Han Feizi jijie* 韓非子集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), j. 49, p. 453. The translation modifies that of W. K. Liao, trans., *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu*, 2 vols. (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1939-59), 2: 292. Yee, p. 73.

⁵⁹ Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 8/2526-38.

it had an enduring influence on scholars' understanding of the geospatial framework of the world throughout the imperial period, including the Song.

“How great is the achievement of Yu! His bright virtue has reached afar. Without Yu, we would have lived like fish” 美哉禹功！明德遠矣。微禹，吾其魚乎！ Lord Ding 定 of Liu 劉 (6th century BCE) lauded Yu in ardent admiration when he stood on the banks of the Luo River, where Yu was believed to have visited on his great journey of flood-taming.⁶⁰ In fact, not only was Yu remembered as the controller of the great flood, but also as the one who eventually restored the cosmological and geophysical order out of the chaos. “In the vastness of Yu’s tracks, nine provinces were delimited and nine roads were opened. Thereupon, people were able to have residences, and animals plentitude of grassland; each being had his place, and it did not bother the others” 芒芒禹迹，畫為九州，經啓九道。民有寢廟，獸有茂草；各有攸處，德用不擾。⁶¹

The nine provinces were laid out in the chapter of “Tribute of Yu” of the *Book of Documents*, which was recognized as an official canonical work under the reign of Emperor Wu (r. 141-87 CE) of the Western Han (202 BCE-23 CE).⁶² Scholars generally agree that the “Tribute of Yu,” although claimed to be written about a very early period, even before the legendary Xia (supposedly 22nd century BCE), was actually one of the latest texts in the *Book of Documents* to

⁶⁰ *Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui*, ed., *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhengyi*, j. 41, p. 1322.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, j. 29, p. 963.

⁶² Before the Western Han, the *Book of Documents* was considered no more than a collection of governmental archives of varying authenticity and applicability, consisting mainly of speeches of the ancient kings and their worthy ministers. However, under the reign of Emperor Wu, the *Book* started to gain recognition as the part of official canon, as a result of the collaboration between the centralized government and intellectuals. Michael Nylan, *The Five “Confucian” Classics* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 128.

be composed, most likely during the Warring States Period (475-221 BCE).⁶³ Unlike other chapters in the *Book of Documents*, which were mainly speeches given by the exemplary kings and ministers, “Yu gong” contains a narrative sequence and an established geographic system: Yu traveled from one province to another to control the flooding rivers; after the nine provinces (*jiu zhou* 九州) were settled, he introduced the five-domain (*wu fu* 五服) system.

His great adventure started with the province of Ji 冀 in the northeast of the territory, and continued with the other eight of Yan 兗, Qing 青, Xu 徐, Yang 揚, Jing 荆, Yu 豫, Liang 梁, and Yong 雍. Rivers, no longer a dangerous cause of flood after being tamed, now became the boundaries of the provinces, the source of irrigation, and, most importantly, the means of transporting the tribute and revenue to the central authority.⁶⁴ The resources of each province, such as the soil, cultivated fields and revenue, were ranked; products unique to the locality, such as metal, silk, lacquer, and water products were singled out as items of tribute. After this, a route was pointed out to connect each province to the main rivers. By this means one can imagine how the whole domain was tied to the center economically and geophysically. The

⁶³ Shaughnessy holds that “the Tribute of Yu,” “Canon of Yao” (Yao dian 堯典), “Consolations of Gaoyao” (Gaoyao mo), and “Declarations at Gan” (Gan shi 甘誓) certainly do not date from the time of the semi-legendary emperors Yao and Yu, but rather were composed in the last centuries of the Zhou dynasty. Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (Berkeley: University of California, 1993), pp. 377-78. Gu Jiegang and Liu Qiyu 劉啓鈞 suggest that the “Tribute of Yu” was written down during the Eastern Zhou period. Gu, “Yu gong” 禹貢, in *Zhongguo gudai dili mingzhu xuandu* 中國古代地理名著選讀, eds. Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 et al. (Beijing: Zhongguo kexue chubanshe, 1959), vol. 1, pp. 4-6; Liu, *Shangshu xueshi* 尚書學史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), p. 66. The recently discovered bamboo manuscript, “Rongcheng shi” 容成氏, also supports the opinions of Gu and Liu, see Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭, “Xin chutu xian Qin wenxian yu gushi chuanshuo” 新出土先秦文獻與古史傳說, in *Zhongguo chutu guwenxian shijiang* 中國出土古文獻十講 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2004), pp. 18-45. Mark Edward Lewis, *The Flood Myths of Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006).

⁶⁴ *Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), pp. 158-99.

relationship between the central authority and the local areas were interconnected through tribute (*gong* 貢) and revenues (*fu* 賦). The tribute of specific local products was exotic to the central capital; the revenue referred to the regular grains that could be used for logistical purposes.

The five-domain system undoubtedly presented a hierarchical structure surrounding the central capital (see fig. 2-3). It was designed on the basis of the relative distance to the capital, with each five hundred *li* away from the other. They are as follows: from the center, royal domain proper (*dian fu* 甸服), and prince's zone (*hou fu* 侯服), pacification zone (*sui fu* 遂服), the zone of compacts (*yao fu* 要服) and the wild zone (*huang fu* 荒服) in consecutive order.⁶⁵

In fact, both systems revealed a centripetal configuration of the territory although the exact location of the capital was far from clear. The nine provinces cover more territory than that of the old Zhou Kingdom, and the five-domain system can also be enlarged conveniently without losing its essential structure. For instance, the five domains are expanded into nine domains in the *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhou li* 周禮) as an ideal structure for a China-centered framework.

As far as we know, the nine provinces and five domains were never a practiced reality in early China, although certain concepts, such as *hou* 侯, *dian* 甸, and *sui* 遂, in the five domains might have derived from the Western Zhou bureaucracy and they were indeed applied in a

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 199-203. Translation based on James Legge and Bernhard Karlgren. Legge, *The Shoo King in The Chinese Classics* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), pp. 142-47; Karlgren, "The Book of Documents," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 22 (1950): 18.

context to deal with the geographical relations to the capital.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, the systematic frame of “Yu gong” presented a new political ideal that provided the rhetorical basis for the claim of a holistic sovereignty in later history. Accompanying the canonization of the *Book of Documents*, the nine provinces and five domains became the governing logic for aligning space with political and cultural identity. Through the imperial period, however, the “Tribute of Yu” was never treated as a static or fixed text: while being articulated and explained in different contexts, its status was continuously reinforced; the interpretation and elaboration of this text through maps and commentaries also constituted a dynamic, sophisticated repertoire of knowledge, which involved political manipulations, cultural practices and academic explorations. This process will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

What parallels the canonization of the “Tribute of Yu” is the transformation of the image of Yu in written texts: various origins of the sage were eventually subsumed into a univocal version during the course of the formation of the empire. The discrepancy of Yu’s origins was alluded to in another two texts in the *Book of Documents*, “The Counsels of the Great Yu” (Da Yu mo 大禹謨) and “The Great Plan” (Hong fan 洪範). The latter text, dated to the fourth century BCE, depicts Yu as a messenger that the Divine Lord sent down to the human world after Gun 鯀 failed to control the flooding rivers, whereas the former, appearing much later, connects Yu with Yao and Shun, all as human, through the emerging system of throne

⁶⁶ Li Feng, *Bureaucracy and the State in Early China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 45-47; 172-73. A system of nine layers of domains was also proposed in the *Zhouli* 周禮, see *Shisanjing zhushu zhengli* weiyuanhui, *Zhouli zhushu* 周禮註疏 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), j. 33, p. 1030.

abdication (*shanrang* 禪讓).⁶⁷ The complexity of Yu's image was well interpreted in Gu Jiegang's 顧頡剛 theory of the "stratigraphy of history": traditional Chinese sources were increasingly elaborated as they passed through time.⁶⁸ In the case of Yu, Gu argues that "in the Zhou dynasty, the most ancient hero in people's minds was Yu, but by the time of Confucius they were Yao and Shun."⁶⁹ Under the brush of the great historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 (d. 86 BCE), a canonical image of Yu emerged out of various sources. Eventually, he was placed into genealogies as a human sage: he was the son of Gun and father of Qi 啓, and also a sage king succeeding Yao 堯 and Shun 舜.⁷⁰

Furthermore, Yu not only appeared in the Confucian classics, but also in other social contexts, for example, in the early Daoist practice of the so-called the "Pace of Yu (*Yu bu* 禹步)". As seen in both transmitted and recently-excavated texts, Yu was originally recorded as having a limping gait, the result of overwork during the flood-taming activities, but his walk was later mythologized as the ritual dance the "Pace of Yu" during the Warring States Period (475-221 BCE) and was widely applied in shamanic healing practices.⁷¹ By the fourth century, the

⁶⁷ Although a forged text of the fourth century, the "Da Yu mo" reassembles a recently-discovered text, *Rongchengshi*, dated from the Warring States, and this may suggest some parts of it might derive from an earlier source.

⁶⁸ Gu Jiegang, "Yu Qian Xuanton xiansheng lun gushi shu" 與錢玄同先生論古史書, *Nuli zhoubao* 努力周報 (1923). Gu Jiegang, "Gun Yu de chuanshuo 鯀禹的傳說," in *Gu Jiegang gushi lunwenji* 顧頡剛古史論文集 vol. 2, 1988, pp. 88-138.

⁶⁹ Gu Jiegang, "Gun Yu de chuanshuo," pp. 102-4.

⁷⁰ *Shi ji*, 1/1-48.

⁷¹ The earliest extant record on the "Pace of Yu" is found in a Qin tomb at Zhoujiaitai in Hubei province, see Hubei sheng Jingzhou shi Zhouliangyu qiao yizhi bowuguan 湖北省荆州市周梁玉橋遺址博物館, ed., *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu* 關沮秦漢墓簡牘 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), pp. 126-37. The "Pace of Yu" is a major component of the

practice had already been adopted into Daoist rituals. Mountains in early China were always considered the other world full of mystery, danger and uncertainties where gods and immortals resided, but it was also the place where the practitioners cultivated themselves and gathered herbs for traditional medicine.⁷² Ge Hong 葛洪 (284-363) turned to the efficacy of the “Pace of Yu” on the occasion of traveling in mountains, and he documented it in detail as a ritual to ward off evil spirits.⁷³ Central to this practice, as other narratives mentioned above, is again the symbolic power of Yu to manage known and unknown space.

By Han times, the legend of Yu as a god gradually merged with that Yu as human being. Both the figure of Yu and the “Tribute of Yu” were taken as historical reality, especially when Ban Gu 班固 (32-92) placed the “Tribute of Yu” in the “Treatise on Geography” (“Dili zhi” 地理志) to construct a historical sequence of geographical layout.⁷⁴ Maps of the “Tribute of Yu” appeared around the same time as the authoritative visual interpretation of canonical geography. When Wang Jing 王景 (1st century), for example, was sent to construct dams and locks on the Yellow River from Yingyang 滎陽 in Henan province to the sea, Emperor Pingdi 平

prescriptions (*bingfang* 病方) at Zhoujiaitai. Other texts excavated from Shuihudi in Hubei province and Mawangdui in Hunan also proved the prevalent usage of “Pace of Yu.” For selected examples, see *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu*, ed., *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), p. 240; Donald Harper, *The Wu Shih Erh Bing Fang: Translation and Prolegomena* (University of California, Berkeley, 1982), pp. 265; 278; 361; 367; It was also recorded in transmitted texts, such as *Master Shi* (*Shi zi* 尸子); see Wang Jipei 汪繼培, ed., *Shizi* 尸子, in *XXSKQS*, vol. 1121, p. 239; Paul Fischer, *Shizi: China's First Syncretist* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), pp. 114-15.

⁷² Wang Ming 王明, ed., “Dengshe” 登涉, in *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi* 抱朴子內篇校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), p. 299.

⁷³ Wang Ming, ed., “Xian yao” 仙藥 and “Dengshe” 登涉, in *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi*, pp. 183, 276-77.

⁷⁴ Ban Gu, *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 28/1523-38.

帝 (r. 1 BCE-5 CE) of the late Western Han gave him *The Map of the Tribute of Yu* (*Yugong tu* 禹貢圖) together with another two books, *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shan hai jing* 山海經) and *The Book of Rivers and Canals* (*Hequ shu* 河渠書).⁷⁵

The Map of the Tribute of Yu represented the standard in imperial geography. At the beginning of the Western Jin (265-316), the emperor ordered Pei Xiu 裴秀 (ca. 3rd century) to make a new map. Pei, after examining the Han maps preserved in the imperial library, complained that they were either out-of-date or lacked objectivity, so he drafted *Maps of the Regions in the "Tribute of Yu"* (*Yugong diyu tu* 禹貢地域圖), eighteen sheets in total. It was on this occasion that Pei enunciated his famous six principles for the standard to be used in mapmaking: proportional measure (*fenlü* 分率), standard or regulated view (*zhunwang* 准望), road measurement (*daoli* 道里), leveling of heights (*gaoxia* 高下), determination of diagonal distance (*fangxie* 方邪), and straightening of curves (*yuzhi* 迂直).⁷⁶ The six principles are commonly understood as involving various types of direct and indirect measurements, and it is very likely that they represented a culmination of the traditional wisdom instead of the

⁷⁵ Fan Ye 范曄. *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 76/2465. Gu Jiegang once pointed out that the "Tribute of Yu" and *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* represented the traditions of pragmatic geography and imaginary geography separately. See Gu, *Zhongguo gudai dili mingzhu xuandu*, vol. 1, p. 6. Véra Dorofeeva-Lichtmann argues that the relative locations outlined in the texts were not used to convey topographically accurate knowledge, but were meant to refer to conceptual and cosmological organization of space. See Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Mapless Mapping: Did the Maps of the *Shan hai jing* Ever Exist?" in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China: The Warp and the Weft*, eds. Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann and Georges Métailié (Leiden -Boston: Brill, 2007), pp. 217-94.

⁷⁶ Translation based on Yee, *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2: *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, p. 110. The exact meaning of the six principles is still under discussion; see Xin Deyong 辛德勇, "Zhunwang shiyi 准望釋義," *Jiu zhou* 九州 (4): 243-76.

innovation of Pei.⁷⁷ A central question surrounding the discussion on the principles as a whole is to what extent the theory of Pei had to rely on quantitative measurements. Chavannes, Needham and their followers considered Pei the father of cartography in China, who originated or inherited a set of scientific, quantitative traditions. Cartographic grids, as they argued, had already been in use by Pei's time, and the governing logic of grid-making is parallel to that of the well-field system and the design of diviner's board.⁷⁸ However, Yee, taking a more careful position, argues that no evidence can prove the usage of cartographic grids in Pei's practice.⁷⁹ Yee's analysis of Pei's principles, therefore, brings us back to the issue of writing and drawing. As it is recorded in the *History of Jin*,

Moreover, as his position belonged to the Office of Earth, [Pei] found that the names of mountains, rivers, and places in the "Tribute of Yu" had changed many times since antiquity. As a result, the meaning of these names, under the forced interpretations of later expositors, gradually became obscure and clouded. Therefore, he examined ancient writings, rejected what was dubious, listed ancient names which had disappeared, and finally finished the eighteen sheets of the *Maps of the Regions in the "Tribute of Yu."* They were housed in the secret archives after being presented to the emperor.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 110-13.

⁷⁸ Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 3: *Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth*, 538-42. Édouard Chavannes. "Les Deux Plus Anciens Spécimens de la Cartographie Chinoise," *Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême Orient*, Hanoi, 1903, 3, 214.

⁷⁹ Yee, *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2: *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, pp. 48-50.

又以職在地官，以禹貢山川地名，從來久遠，多有變易。後世說者或強牽引，漸以闇昧。於是甄擿舊文，疑者則闕，古有名而今無者，皆隨事注列，作《禹貢地域圖》十八篇，奏之，藏於祕府。⁸⁰

Therefore, while considering the six principles that Pei proposed, one should not forget that in practice Pei seems to have relied heavily on textual sources to match the textual record, map and reality.⁸¹ The textual sources added a temporal vector to the making of *The Maps of the Regions in the "Tribute of Yu"*: what Pei investigated were not only administrative units and transportation routes of the sixteen provinces of his own time, but also topographical landmarks (e.g., mountains, seas, rivers, plains, marches) of the nine provinces of the past since Yu's time. Although the maps are now lost, it is clear that using "Tribute of Yu" as a reference to identify a place became a norm throughout later history. The locations in the Jin dynasty, for example, were defined as follows: "Qin province originally belonged to Yong province according to the 'Tribute of Yu.' Since the Wei, it started to be under the charge of Longyou" 秦州。案禹貢本雍州之域，魏始分隴右置焉。⁸² Therefore, the "Tribute of Yu" constituted the reference for geophysical imagination about a known place in the canonical past. As a tradition, whenever pre-modern Chinese scholars intended to track changes in the name of a location, they turned

⁸⁰ Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 et al., *Jin shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 35/1039. Translation based on Yee, 112.

⁸¹ Yee, *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2: *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, pp. 48-50.

⁸² *Jin shu*, 14/435.

to the “Tribute of Yu,” the origin of both history and geography. And this is the reason why mapmakers and exegetical scholars repeatedly sought an “original” image of the land of Yu.

Jia Dan 賈耽 (730-805), the most well-known cartographer of his day and Grand Councilor at the court of Tang Emperor Dezong 德宗 (r.779-805) was an ardent advocate of Pei’s principles and the “Yu gong.” Nonetheless, the accuracy that Jia pursued was to a large degree achieved through words and writings. According to Jia, the knowledge of the Tang court about Inner Asia in the late eighth century was much limited due to the Tibetan occupation of this area, so he could only make *The Map of the West of Long Mountain* (Longyou tu 隴右圖) on the basis of historical texts. By the same token, his *Map of Chinese and Foreign Lands within the Seas* (*Hainei huayi tu* 海內華夷圖) and a text, *Descriptions of the Commanderies, States, Counties and Marches, and Four Barbarians of the Past and Present* (*Gujin junguo xiandao siyi shu* 古今郡國縣道四夷述), forty *juan* in total, also drew upon a wide range of written records by travelers, envoys and traders on topography and customs of remote regions. However, whenever other texts had a conflict with the “Tribute of Yu,” Jia was always careful not to rush to a conclusion,

“The Supervisor of Quarters” of the *Zhou Rites* takes Zi and Shi as the lakes in You Prefecture, and Mount Hua the garrisons of Jing River. This neither corresponds with the “Tribute of Yu,” nor with the [original] Yanzhong version of the *Book of Rites*.⁸³

Therefore I would rather reject it, and will not take the liberty to include them. 《周禮

⁸³ Yanzhong in present-day Shandong province here refers to an ancient version of *the Book of Rites* that was found here; see *Han shu*, 28/1523-38.

- 職方》，以淄、時為幽州之浸，以華山為荊河之鎮，既有乖於《禹貢》，又不出於淹中，多聞闕疑，詎敢編次。⁸⁴

In fact, by the Tang dynasty, the “Tribute of Yu” was not just considered as a chapter in the *Book of Documents*, but also as a reference frame of the past and the present, and a model for other maps. This significance, as I will discuss in Chapter 4, was well transmitted to and visually interpreted in the Song.

Knowledge of Map Reading: Map Literacy

Maps are composed of coded languages and made on a basis of specific logic and techniques, so map reading is also a skill that needs to be learned and to be trained in. The most obvious example would be military maps frequently made during the Spring and Autumn period (770-476 BCE), a period when the rival states were preoccupied with campaigns over territory, and siege and defense of their townships. A well-trained strategist was the most needed talent at this time, as his skillful use of topographical features, timing and human resources would affect the result of a war. When the famous militarist Sun Wu 孫武 (ca. 5th century BCE), who was native to the state of Qi but finally served the Wu, repeatedly discussed in his treatise the significance of calculating the advantages and disadvantages of all the geographical characteristics, it is almost impossible to imagine that this could have been done without using maps.⁸⁵ The reckoning of all these conditions and features would have been undertaken “with

⁸⁴ Liu Xu 劉昫, *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 138/3786.

⁸⁵ Sun Wu 孫武, “Xingjun” 行軍, “Di xing” 地形 and “Jiu di” 九地, in *Shiyijia zhu Sunzi* 十一家注孫子, ed. Yang Bing’an 楊丙安 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), pp. 183-275.

counting rods in the ancestral temple” (*miao suan* 廟筭).⁸⁶ We should not forget the significance of maps being stored in the ancestral temple since the Western Zhou as mentioned above.

The conditions specified by Sun Wu were further articulated in *Guanzi* and the texts excavated from Yinqueshan in present-day Linyi, Shandong province.⁸⁷ One chapter in *Guanzi* thus comprehends what features one should pay attention to while reading a map,

All military commanders must first carefully examine and come to know maps. They must know thoroughly the dangers of winding roads, streams which may inundate their chariots, significant mountains, passable valleys, seasonal rivers, plains, and hills; where grasses, woods, and trees flourish, the distances of the roads, the size of the city and suburban walls, famous and deserted towns, and barren and fertile land. They should thoroughly store up (in their minds) the relative location of the configurations of the terrain. Then only afterwards can they march their armies and raid towns. In the disposition [of troops] they will know [what lies] ahead and behind, and will not lose the advantages of the terrain. This is the constant [value] of maps.

凡兵主者，必先審知地圖。輾轉之險，濫車之水，名山、通谷、經川、陵陸、丘阜之所在，苴草、林木、蒲葦之所茂，道里之遠近，城郭之大小，名邑、廢邑、

⁸⁶ Sun Wu, “Ji” 計, p. 20.

⁸⁷ Interestingly the location of the tomb originally belonged to the state of Qi, where Sun Wu was born.

困殖之地，必盡知之。地形之出入相錯者，盡藏之。然後可以行軍襲邑，舉錯知先後，不失地利，此地圖之常也。⁸⁸

Early maps, such as the maps found in a Qin tomb at Fangmatan 放馬灘 in present-day Gansu province, exhibited careful recording of distance and landmarks in the represented area, which was located at the border area next to the Qiang 羌 people in the West (figs. from 2-8 to 2-14). Certain military concerns are reflected through specific symbols: rivers, mountains, settlements, and passes, temples, roads, and even remarkable trees are marked out with legends; the distance between two locations are identified through graphs.⁸⁹ In fact, while making decisions on starting an expedition or other military deployment, these factors had to be considered in relation to knowledge on calendars, such as weather, timing, etc. Therefore, reading a map carefully was the departure point to plan out the whole military campaign. “Military affairs involve carefully examining maps, checking on calendars, measuring the fodder and supply and gathering brave warriors. To know all-under-the-heaven completely and carefully plan strategies is the responsibility of a military commander” 兵也者，審於地圖，謀于日官，量蓄積，齊勇士，徧知天下，審御機數，兵主之事也。⁹⁰ A text similar to the wording of *Guanzi* was also found in the Qi area, and it reads:

⁸⁸ Guan Zhong, *Guanzi jiaozhu* 管子校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), f.10, pp. 528-30. Translation based on W. Allyn Rickett trans., *Kuan-tzu: A Repository of Early Chinese Thought; A Translation and Study of Twelve Chapters* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press), Vol. 1, p. 234.

⁸⁹ Zhang Xiugui, “Fangmatan Zhanguo Qin mu chutu gu ditu,” in *Zhongguo lishi dimao yu gu ditu yanjiu*, pp. 519-54. Zhang suggests that the Fangmashan maps belonged to a civil official of lower rank.

⁹⁰ Guan Zhong, *Guanzi jiaozhu*, p. 120.

Therefore, a general should carefully examine topography, select talented officers, count fodder and supply, train brave warriors, investigate and know the entities of all under heaven, ... plan strategies, and map the dangerous and difficult places. [These places include] the dangerous places that boats and chariots would encounter, rivers that would submerge the wheels, mountains and hills, forests and plains, mounds and ruins, wetlands and reed beds, marsh lakes, alkaline soils, fords, mires, large farm lands, and deep trenches. After measuring ditches and swamps, the depth of rivers, the size of the settlements, and the interlocking of ... of the townships, one can manage troops on the march, besiege settlements, manoeuvre movements and stationing, and be aware of the priorities, so as not to lose the advantages of territory.

是故將者，審地刑(形)，選材官，量蓄積，譔勇士，察知天下，□御機數，而圖險[月+且(阻)：舟車之險、濡輪之水、山陵、林陸、丘虛、[月+且](沮)澤、蒲葦、平[艹+易] (蕩)、尺(斥)魯(鹵)、津洳、涂淖、大畝、深基。經溝下澤，[冫+賊] (測)水深淺，邑之小大，城.....入相錯者，乃可以行軍圍邑，舉措起居，知先後，毋失地便。⁹¹

The above passages throw light on how a map could be used to gain advantage in planning wars, and also suggest that map reading could be fundamentally different from text reading: the latter is by nature linear and single-dimensional; whereas a map presents juxtaposition of signs denoting places on a two-dimensional surface, and thus denies the possibility of linear

⁹¹ *Yinqueshan Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu* 《銀雀山漢墓竹簡》整理小組, "Wang bing" 王兵, in *Yinqueshan Han mu zhujian [yi]* 銀雀山漢墓竹簡[壹] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985), p. 135. The above paragraph is quoted with minor changes in punctuation.

reading. The mode of map reading, as entailed in *Guanzi*, involves meticulous “calculation” on topographical, natural and other human-related features. The reading of the map requires specific skills --“map literacy”: not only to recognize signs and legends, and to evaluate distances, but, more important, to correctly devise strategies and tactics with respect to the topographical features, logistical situations, population and resources. It allows various combinations of factors depending on conditions of attack, marching, or storage. Therefore, what map literacy demands is quite different from that of a written text: the ontological nature of a map involves multiple ways of calculation, and therefore multiple possibilities.

The Garrison Map (fig. 2-4) excavated from Tomb 3 at Mawangdui in present-day Changsha, Hunan province clearly illuminates the significance of map literacy. Considering its specific social and historical contexts, it demonstrates how map reading could affect decision-making in military affairs. This map, together with *The Topographical Map* (fig. 2-5), was interred no later than 168 BCE in the tomb of the son of the marquis Dai 戴, the prime minister of the Changsha kingdom.⁹² The tomb owner was probably a general of the kingdom considering the finds of

⁹² According to the inventory written by the chamberlain in charge of the funeral service, the tomb was buried in the twelfth year in the reign of Emperor Wen of Han (168 BCE). The damp situation in the coffin caused great difficulty for the archaeologists to restore it. Zhang Xiugui 張修桂 points out several problems in the patching up of the maps: especially the part in the middle left on the map. In addition, both maps did not come with titles originally; the current titles were given by archaeologists and historians. In some cases, *Zhujun tu* is also named as *Shoubei tu* 守備圖.

After the Mawangdui maps were excavated in early 1970, a few scholars immediately examined their cartographic techniques and assessed their influence on later maps. Mei-ling Hsu first drew our attention to the ways in which symbols and graphs are treated differently in these maps and would have an impact on later ones; see Mei-ling Hsu, “The Han Map and Early Chinese Cartography,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 68.1 (1978): 45-60; A. Gutkind Bulling and R.R.C de Crespigny provide a detailed introduction to these two maps; see Bulling, “Ancient Chinese Maps: Two Maps Discovered in a Han Dynasty Tomb from the Second Century B.C.,” *Expedition* 20:2 (1978:Winter): 16-25 and de Crespigny, “Two Maps from Mawangdui,” *Cartography* 11.4 (1980): 211-22.

weapons and military-related manuscripts in his tomb.⁹³ During the transitional period from the late Qin to the early Han, bitter disputes were stirred up between this region and its southern neighbor Nanyue. At times when the conflicts were intensified, the region including the Changsha kingdom became the battle frontier.⁹⁴

The *Garrison Map* covers the valley of the Xiao 潇 River in southern Hunan.⁹⁵ In such an area that was battered by wars, residents' loyalty to one side or the other and their presence could affect supplies, espionage and many other military activities. This is the reason why Guanzi valued "famous and deserted towns" (*ming yi fei yi* 名邑廢邑) and Sunzi valued "the accordance of the intentions of people with that of the ruler" (*ling min yu shang tongyi* 令民與上同意)⁹⁶ Accordingly, the map marked the villages with the graphs "no returning" (*bufan* 不

Chinese scholarship includes: Tan Qixiang 譚其驤, "Mawangdui Han mu chutu ditu suo shuoming de jige lishi dili wenti" 馬王堆漢墓出土地圖所說明的幾個歷史地理問題; Zhan Libo 詹立波, "Mawangdui sanhao Han mu chutu de *Shoubei tu tantao*" 馬王堆三號漢墓出土的守備圖探討, in *Gu ditu lunwen ji* 古地圖論文集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1977), pp. 24-40; 50-56; Fu Juyou 傅舉有, "Mawangdui Han mu chutu de Zhujuntu" 馬王堆漢墓出土的駐軍圖, in *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Zhanguo-Yuan* 中國古代地圖集: 戰國-元, Cao Wanru 曹婉如 et al. eds. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 9-11; Zhang Xiugui 張修桂, "Mawangdui Han mu chutu gu ditu" 馬王堆漢墓出土古地圖, in *Zhongguo lishi dimao yu gu ditu yanjiu* 中國歷史地貌與古地圖研究 (Beijing: Shehui kexue chubanshe, 2006), pp. 437-510. More recent scholarship includes Hsing I-tien 邢義田, "Lun Mawangdui Han mu Zhujun tu ying zhengming wei Jian dao fengyu tu" 論馬王堆漢墓"駐軍圖"應正名為"箭道封域圖", *Hunan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 湖南大學學報 (社會科學版) 21:5 (2007): 12-19; Yang Hong 楊泓 and Li Li 李力, "Kaogu faxian de gudai bingshu yu ditu" 考古發現的古代兵書與地圖, in *Zhongguo gubing ershi jiang* 中國古兵二十講 (Beijing: Sanlian, 2013), pp. 309-13. Yang Hong and Li Li, "Kaogu faxian de gudai bingshu yu ditu," pp. 309-13.

⁹³ Yang Hong and Li Li, "Kaogu faxian de gudai bingshu yu ditu," pp. 309-10.

⁹⁴ After the Qin was overthrown in 207 BCE, Zhao Tuo 趙佗 (d. 137 BCE), a former Qin general who had already established himself in the Nanyue region, annexed the Guilin and Xiang commanderies and declared independence. In the following decades, this region became a thorn in the side of the Han rulers. *Shi ji*, 113/2967-68.

⁹⁵ Zhang Xiugui, "Mawangdui Han mu chutu gu ditu," in *Zhongguo lishi dimao yu gu ditu yanjiu*, p. 474.

⁹⁶ Guan Zhong, p. 529; Sun Wu, p. 3.

反),⁹⁷ “no people now” (*jin wu ren* 今毋人), “to be annexed to so-and-so village” (*bing xx li* 並xx里), or the number of the families if there was any population. These three types of remarks are all made for villages within the square delimited by the solid lines, unlike the villages beyond the limit of the square. After a careful examination, one may find that the area is left with no inhabitants. Some villages are directly marked with “no people now” or “no returning”; other villages, although containing certain numbers of households, are eventually annexed to the villages which are marked “no people now” (fig. 2-6).⁹⁸ “No returning” and “no people now” seem to refer two different situations of the inhabitants that had already moved away: the former might refer to those who were relocated by the government, so it is known that they would not return; the latter might refer to those who had escaped, not uncommon in the early Western Han. However, in either case, the accurate statistics and situation of the households in each village must be drawn from administrative accounts. In any case, with this kind of information the general could effectively speculate the difficulty of passing an area, and the possibility of raising supplies and recruiting labor or soldiers.

Mapmakers, Users, and Patrons: Managing the Empire

Maps, registers and books were often mentioned together in historical records of early China: they were always preserved together, and were regarded as holding the same significance. The

⁹⁷ An alternative translation would be the village people “have not revolted [against the Han],” see Fu Juyou, “Mawangdui Han mu chutu de Zhujuntu,” p. 11. As discussed below, “not returning” seems to make more sense here, as it turns out the residents were probably evacuated from the region that was on the verge of a war.

⁹⁸ The village of Shangshe 上蛇 on the lower left corner of the map seems to be an exception at first sight, since it is recorded to have twenty-three households, but “no people now” or “no returning” might have been originally written on the map which is now partially damaged.

first task of the Han Prime Minister Xiao He 蕭何 (d. 193 BCE) after occupying the Qin capital of Xianyang, was to collect the images and books (*tushu* 圖書) from the imperial library. With these materials, Liu Bang 劉邦 (r. 202-195 BCE), the first emperor of Han, was able to acquire information on population, locations of passes and the defensibility of towns, so it was very likely that maps were a significant part of Xiao He's trophy.⁹⁹ It is still unclear how the enforcement restricting popular access to books, such as the enactment of the Statutes on Holding Books (*Xieshu lü* 挾書律) and the ill-famed bibliocaust, would affect production and circulation of maps,¹⁰⁰ but rulers were well aware of the danger and the advantage of certain types of knowledge, especially history and geography.¹⁰¹ Even the abolition of the Statutes on Holding Books in the early second century BCE did not lead to free access to imperial knowledge. Su Chang 蘇昌 (1st century BCE), for example, was dismissed from his position of the Chamberlain for Ceremonials for lending books of the imperial library without permission.¹⁰² By the same token, when the younger brother of Emperor Yuan 元帝 (48-33 BCE), taking the chance of a court visit, attempted to borrow books written by Grand Scribes and philosophers, the emperor, after seeking advice from his Grand General, rejected this

⁹⁹ *Shi ji*, 53/2014.

¹⁰⁰ The Statutes on Holding Books (*Xieshu lü* 挾書律), which was issued by the Qin Prime Minister Li Si 李斯 (d. 208 BCE) to limit the access to books, was effective until the reign of Emperor Hui 惠帝 (r. 195-188 BCE); see *Han shu*, 2/90. During this period, the ill-famed bibliocaust under the order of the First Emperor was the extreme case of this command; see *Shi ji*, 6/254-55.

¹⁰¹ It is worth noting that the rules encouraged a moderate level of literacy in the society so that the economic and administrative system could function more efficiently; see Yates, "Soldiers, Scribes, and Women: Literacy among the Lower Orders in Early China," in *Writing & Literacy in Early China: Studies from the Columbia Early China Seminar*, eds. Li Feng and David Prager Branner (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), pp. 352-81.

¹⁰² *Han shu*, 19/796.

request. The Grand General commented on the works of the Grand Scribes as follows, these books “wrote about conspiracies during the Warring States, tricky plans of the ministers at the beginning of the Han, disasters and signs of heaven, and the passes and topography. It is not appropriate for princes to get hold of any of them 太史公書有戰國從橫權譎之謀，漢興之初謀臣奇策，天官災異，地形 隱塞：皆不宜在諸侯王。”¹⁰³

Due to the limited access and the high cost of production, ownership of maps was symbolic of the privilege over the corresponding territory. Princes and meritorious officials were often given local maps of their enfeoffed land by the central government through a series of rituals. While submitting a map and a memorial to the Emperor Wu, the Grand Assistant Gongsun He 公孫賀 (2nd century BCE) reported to the emperor that he had divined the auspicious date to hold the ceremony to enfeoff the princes. Thus Gongsun pleaded with the emperor to look over the map and determine which kingdoms would be given to the future lords.¹⁰⁴ In this case, Emperor Wu was the putative and legitimate viewer of the map that represented the whole empire, and the conferral of land was actually carried out through giving maps as gifts. “Dividing the domain to establish the kingdoms” (*liedi liguo* 裂地立國), which was regarded as an ancient tradition that the Han dynasty should follow,¹⁰⁵ was undertaken and visualized on a map. The map in this context became the active participant of the delegation of authority.

¹⁰³ *Han shu*, 80/3324-25.

¹⁰⁴ *Shi ji*, 60/2110.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 60 2106.

In contrast, the failure of Wang Mang's 王莽 (9-23 CE) proposal of a new empire and its map demonstrated the material and symbolic significance of a map from another perspective. Three years after the Western Han ended, Wang, following the *Book of Documents* and *Rites of Zhou*, made a blueprint containing two capitals, nine provinces, and fiefs for 1,800 designated lords and an equal number of sub-vassals. In reality, however, Wang could not afford, and probably control, the tremendous area that he promised, so the experts that he called to court on geography, maps, and registers could never make a map for Wang.¹⁰⁶

Apart from the rulers and their fiefs, another group of people being allowed to have access to maps were the agents of the ruler--the ministers and officials of the government. On a number of occasions the *Rites of Zhou* lists dozens positions that are associated with mapmaking and the handling of maps, including *sishu* 司書, *da situ* 大司徒, *xiao situ* 小司徒, *suiren* 遂人, *tuxun* 土訓, *gongren* 井人, *zhongren* 冢人, *sixian* 司險, and *zhifang* 職方. Another position, *liangren* 量人, was probably associated with mapmaking, as it was designated to take charge of construction of the whole state, such as the division of the nine provinces, and building the townships, palaces, and roads and canals.¹⁰⁷

Although the book is an idealized reconstruction of the Zhou bureaucracy, it undoubtedly reflected the relationship between mapmaking with state building in early China. Among these positions, the Bureau of Operations (*Zhifang shi* 職方氏), under the Ministry of War (*Xia guan* 夏官) that primarily oversaw and supported warfare became a government branch taking

¹⁰⁶ *Han shu*, 99B/4128-29, 4149-50.

¹⁰⁷ *Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui*, *Zhouli zhushu*.

charge of mapmaking in the later dynasties. The definition of this position in the *Rites of Zhou* is as follows,

The Bureau of Operations takes charge of maps of all domains, so as to take charge of the land of all domains. It is also to discern the various states, capitals and villages, the four *yi* peoples (from the east), the eight *man* peoples (from the south), the seven peoples from Min, the nine *he* people (from the north), the five *rong* peoples from the north, and six *di* people from the west, as well as their wealth and expenditure, the amount and significance of their nine types of grain and six types of livestock. This way, we will have full knowledge of their advantages and disadvantages.

職方氏掌天下之圖，以掌天下之地，辨其邦國、都鄙、四夷、八蠻、七閩、九貉、五戎、六狄之人民與其財用、九穀、六畜之數要，周知其利害。¹⁰⁸

Therefore, an able official had to be familiar with maps, because a map is not just filled with place names, but also loaded with strategic information associated with these places. For example, Zhang Cang 張蒼 (253-152 BCE), the most capable official in the early Han court, was recorded to be versed in dealing with writings, maps and reports of the local governments from the Qin dynasty.¹⁰⁹

Since administrative maps were expected to reflect actual land ownership, it was crucial to verify and update their information regularly. The central government during the reign of

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., j. 33, pp. 1020-21.

¹⁰⁹ *Shi ji*, 96/2676.

Emperor Cheng (r. 32-28 BCE), for example, used the report of every commandery to verify its administrative map.¹¹⁰

Previously, [Kuang] Heng was enfeoffed in the district of Le'an of Tong,¹¹¹ the fields of which were originally about three thousand one hundred *qing* and with their south border on the Road of the District of Min. In the first year of the Chuyuan Era (48 BCE), the commandery map took the road of Min as that of Zhenpingling by mistake. More than a decade later, when [Kuang] Heng was enfeoffed in Linhuai Commandery, the boundary of his fief was drawn on the road of the Pingling, thus having four hundred *qing* of extra land. When it reached the first year of Jianshi Era (32 BCE), then the commandery was able to rectify the boundary of the Kingdom, submit their accounts, and correct the map. They informed the Chancellor's office about this

初，衡封僮之樂安鄉，鄉本田隄封三千一百頃，南以閩佰為界。初元元年，郡圖誤以閩佰為平陵佰。積十餘歲，衡封臨淮郡，遂封真平陵佰以為界，多四百頃。

至建始元年，郡乃定國界，上計簿，更定圖，言丞相府。¹¹²

The so-called *shangji* 上計, submission of reports to higher authority, had been practiced since the Qin,¹¹³ and remained a mature administrative procedure of submitting local accounts, including the number of registered population, the acreage of land, and the revenue in the

¹¹⁰ *Han shu*, 81/3346.

¹¹¹ The place is located in Linhuai Commandery, in present Jiangsu.

¹¹² *Han shu*, 81/3346.

¹¹³ For a detailed discussion of the "*shangji*" system during the Qin, see Yates, "State Control of Bureaucrats under the Qin: Techniques and Procedures," *Early China* 20 (1995): 331-65.

form of cash or grain, to the higher bureaucratic levels each year.¹¹⁴ In the above story, the commandery officials handled annual reports as well as maps together. It is likely that, by this time, the making of local administrative maps had been well institutionalized, and map auditing was undertaken throughout the empire upon the succession of a new emperor, since the auditing mentioned here was carried out in the first year of Yuandi's reign and the first year of Chengdi's separately.

The mistake on the 48 BCE map granted Kuang some 400 *qing* of extra land to which he was not entitled, but when the commandery officials figured it out in 32 BCE, he was reluctant to return it. The next year, Kuang and some commandery officials conspired to cover up the mistake so that he could continue to receive illicit income. In the end, two officials who oversaw the investigation and impeachment of officials, the colonel of internal security (*sili xiaowei* 司隸校尉) and the Superintendent of Trials (*tingwei* 廷尉), one of the top officials in the land, impeached Kuang for his misappropriation of land and his conspiracy with other commandery officials.¹¹⁵ The story, ending with the dismissal of Kuang from his post as Chancellor and the revocation of his noble status, shows that the functionality of the well-established institution of mapmaking was safeguarded through supervisions at various administrative levels.

¹¹⁴ Michael Loewe, *The Men Who Governed Han China: Companion to A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), p. 44.

¹¹⁵ *Han shu*, 81/3341-46.

Mapping for Military Expansion

Due to the close relationship between maps and territory, it is not surprising that mapmaking accompanies the aggressive and intrusive activities that are associated with the expansion of the empire. In the case of the *Garrison Map* mentioned above, Hsing I-tien points out that the accurate figure of population and the detailed names of villages suggests that it was probably an administrative map of Jian 箭 march (*dao* 道), which is also written in the triangle representing the encampment [fig. 2-6]. A march in the Western Han referred to an area under the control of a commandery that included non-Han inhabitants. In terms of this map, it is probably the Yue people in present-day Jianghua Yao Minority Autonomous County in Hunan province who used to live in this area, and they had not fully adapted to Han culture by this time.¹¹⁶ Li Junming 李均明, after reading this map and the documents unearthed from Juyan 居延 in present-day Gansu province, concludes that strategies used in both areas were actually very similar, since they might be governed under a similar set of offices that combined military and administrative bureaucratic functions.¹¹⁷

In this case, it might not be a coincidence that Lu Bode 路博德 (2nd century BCE) was ordered to serve in both places. In 113 BCE, Lu commanded a force to fight against Nan Yue, based in Guiyang in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region; in the *Garrison Map*, the force in Guiyang was deployed to the east of Jian march. Under the expansionist policy of Wudi 武帝 (r.

¹¹⁶ Hsing, "Lun Mawangdui Han mu *Zhujun tu* ying zhengming wei *Jian dao fengyu tu*," p. 13. For establishment of the marches, see *Han shu*, 19/742 and Hans Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 99-100.

¹¹⁷ Li Junming 李均明, "Guanyu *Zhujun tu* junshi yaosu de bijiao yanjiu" 關於《駐軍圖》軍事要素的比較研究, in *Chuxue lu* 初學錄 (Taipei: Tailan, 1999), 406-13.

141-87 BCE), Lu was commanded to construct defense lines at Juyan from 102 BCE.¹¹⁸ A few decades later, General Li Ling 李陵 (d. 74 BCE) was sent to defend the newly-annexed Juyan. When Li departed from Juyan to lead an attack on the Xiongnu, he had maps made of the surrounding topography and submitted them to the emperor.

Eastern Han documents found at Juyan also reported, “Xu Luren and others made maps on silk, which is thin and no plain (silk) is left” 徐路人等以治輿地圖，帛薄，毋餘素.¹¹⁹ Xu and his team were probably ordered to make maps under this sort of situation. This way, the Han bureaucracy and administrative procedures provided sufficient data and channels for the central government to take charge of maps.

Quite a few examples show that maps became an essential tool in early China to understand the territory which was still unknown but of military and strategic importance. For example, when the Han government and the Qiang people waged a war, the general Zhao Chongguo 趙充國 (137-52 BCE) who was already in his seventies proposed to visit the battle front so that he could make a map for the campaign. These maps would have helped to set up military colonies as a means of maintaining a Han presence in the border regions.¹²⁰ The envoy Li Xun 李恂 (ca. 1st century CE), whom the Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (75-88) sent to communicate

¹¹⁸ *Shi Ji*, 130/2975. *Han shu*, 6/201, 55/2493, 94/3776.

¹¹⁹ Xie Guihua 謝桂華 et al., *Juyan Han jian shiwen hejiao* 居延漢簡釋文合校 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), 217.7, 49.15, p. 348.

¹²⁰ Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods, 221 B.C. –A.D. 24* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), pp. 701-3; *Han shu*, 69/2975-76.

with the Di people to the North of the Han domain, recorded landscape, fields, and settlements in more than one hundred *juan* of maps.¹²¹

When the Eastern Han collapsed and the Three Kingdoms, namely Wei (220-265), Shu (221-263) and Wu (222-280) were established, each of them had ambition to reunify the empire. Therefore, maps became essential for each kingdom to know the others. Sun Quan 孫權 (182-252), for instance, thought to find someone who was good at drawing to make a topographic map of Wei and Shu. It happened that his wife née Zhao was good at drawing, so she not only made a map, but also embroidery of all the kingdoms. Meanwhile, when Liu Bei 劉備, the ruler of Shu Kingdom, received Zhang Song 張松 (a. 3rd century) in audience, he inquired about the demographic, logistic and geographic situation of Yizhou 益州 in present-day Sichuan province.¹²² Zhang, upon his request, not only answered his questions, but also drew a map containing mountains, rivers, and sites of Yizhou. The *de facto* ruler of the Wei Kingdom, Sima Zhao 司馬昭 (211-65), also sent his officials to search for maps of Wu and Shu. Right after conquering the Kingdom of Shu, Sima order his troops to check maps and records and correct the wrong information on distances between locations, the accessibility of mountains and rivers, and the situation of routes on their way.¹²³

Mapmaking, in theory and practice, accompanies the aggressive and intrusive activities that are associated with territorial expansion.

¹²¹ *Hou Han shu*, 51/1683.

¹²² Chen Shou 陳壽 et al., *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 32/881.

¹²³ *Jin shu*, 35/1040.

***Ditu* 地圖 and *dili* 地理: Preservation and Categorization of Maps**

Apart from excavated maps, most early and medieval maps did not survive to the present day. Tan Qixiang offers a sound explanation for the loss of maps: first, copying maps was technologically harder than transcribing texts, and as a result, some of them were never reproduced; second, sizes of maps were usually not identical, which made it impossible to bind them like books with same-size sheets; third, a large number of maps were destroyed during dynastic transitions and warfare;¹²⁴ fourth, most maps were preserved by the government, but not in private libraries.¹²⁵ Moreover, as mentioned above, a large number of administrative maps might have been submitted to the higher levels of government through the reporting system, but the old maps were probably discarded after new ones were made, just like other government archives.¹²⁶ The above concerns lead us to think about the epistemological and taxonomical features of maps.

Maps in early Chinese records, depending on the context, were usually called *yuditu* 輿地圖 (lit. “image of carriage-land”), *ditu* 地圖 (lit. “terrestrial image”), or sometimes simply *tu* 圖

¹²⁴ This is particularly true during the time of division, such as the Southern and Northern Dynasties: each short-lived dynasty had to restart gathering books and remake the library catalogues from scratch. The sacking of the Western Jin capital, Luoyang, in 316, for example, left the relocated government with only 3,014 fascicles (*juan*) of books, and then, through ages of accumulating, the library collections of the Liang (502-57) reached 64, 582 fascicles in 431, but only two decades later the invasion of the northern “barbarian” power caused the fall of Emperor Yuan 元帝 (r. 552-54), who set his whole library collection of more than 70,000 books on fire. Wei Zheng 魏徵 et al., *Sui shu* 隋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 32/906-8.

¹²⁵ Tan Qixiang, “Preface” to *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Zhanguo-Yuan*, pp. 1-3.

¹²⁶ On a basis of the current excavated texts, Li Ling 李零 estimates that the government documents were disposed every 13 years; see Li, “Jianbo de maicang yu faxian” 簡帛的埋藏與發現, in *Jianbo gushu yu xueshu yuanliu* 簡帛古書與學術源流 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2008), pp. 78-80.

(“image”). Among the three terms, *tu* was the broadest and most inclusive concept in that, in addition to maps, it generally refers to all forms of visual representations rendered on a flat surface, such as paintings and charts. In this case, *tu* is often mentioned alongside the book (*shu* 書) as a binary pair.¹²⁷ On the contrary, both *ditu* and *yuditu* are restricted to maps. The term *yuditu* had already been frequently seen in the early imperial period.¹²⁸ Its naming reflected a larger cosmological model: the heaven covers the earth like the canopy of a chariot (*yitian weigai, yidi weiyu* 以天為蓋, 以地為輿).¹²⁹ Therefore, *yuditu* usually referred to maps covering a vast domain. *Ditu*, however, covers a more flexible range: its usage could be interchangeable with *yuditu*, but could also refer to topographical maps.

In addition to administrative maps, the central government also collected writings and maps summarizing local customs and products.¹³⁰ Maps and registers during the Han dynasty were housed at a few places in the imperial palace: Lan tai 蘭臺, Qilin ge 麒麟閣, Tianlu ge 天祿閣, and Shiqu ge 石渠閣.¹³¹ Among them, Lan tai was where the assistant of the Imperial

¹²⁷ On other occasions, *tu* was also used together with registers (*ji* 籍 or *bu* 簿).

¹²⁸ The earliest extant usage of *yuditu* is seen in the Liye (in Hunan province) find; see Yates, “Jiedu Liye Qin jian—Qindai defang xingzheng zhidu” 解讀里耶秦簡—秦代地方行政制度, *Jianbo* 簡帛 8(2013): 89-137.

¹²⁹ Liu Wendian 劉文典, ed., “Yuandao xun 原道訓,” in *Huainan Honglie jijie* 淮南鴻烈集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), pp. 8-9. Similar ideas are also seen in *Zhoubi suanjing* and *The Book of Changes*; see Christopher Cullen, *Astronomy and Mathematics in Ancient China: The Zhou bi suan jing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 50; *Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), j. 9, p. 389.

¹³⁰ *Sui shu*, 3/ 987-88.

¹³¹ *Han shu*, 19/725. He Qinggu 何清谷, *Sanfu huangtu jiaozhu* 三輔黃圖校注 (Xi'an: San Qin, 2006), pp. 398-402.

Chancellor took charge of maps and registers, and communicated between the emperor and commanderies and kingdoms.¹³²

During the Sui, local governments were required to report their customs, products and maps to the central government, which assembled them into a single work:

In the Daye Era (605-18) of the Sui dynasty, an edict was sent to all the commanderies, requesting them to submit their customs, products and maps to the Department of State Affairs. The Sui thereby collected 115 *juan* of records on the local products and customs, 129 *juan* of local maps and gazetteers, and 100 *juan* of map guides from all regions.

隋大業中，普詔天下諸郡，條其風俗物產地圖，上于尚書。故隋代有諸郡物產土俗記一百五十一卷，區宇圖志一百二十九卷，諸州圖經集一百卷。¹³³

In the above examples, a map was considered as a type of *tu*, and this leads to the issue of categorization. *Tu* and *shu* were frequently used together and can be used as both verbs and nouns: as verbs, *tu* means to draw and *shu* to write; as nouns, *tu* means drawing—both the action of drawing and what has been drawn, and similarly, *shu* the action of writing and what has been written down. However, with a large amount of texts transmitted, very few works with *tu* have survived, and even when they do, the *tu* are lost.

Liu Xin 劉歆 (53 BCE-23 CE) completed the *Seven Summaries* on the basis of the *Bibliography* (*Bielu* 別錄), which was compiled by his father Liu Xiang 劉向 (77-6 BCE), who

¹³² *Han shu*, 19/725.

¹³³ *Sui shu*, 33/88.

started the systematic organization of the imperial collections. Modeled on the *Seven Summaries*, Ban Gu's "Bibliography" in the *Han History* initiated the structural building for dynastic histories and library cataloguing. He divided the entire body of 13,269 *juan* into the following categories: six arts (*liuyi* 六藝), philosophical works (*zhuzi* 諸子), poetry and prose (*shifu* 詩賦), military works (*bingshu* 兵書), mantic arts (*shushu* 數術) and techniques (*fangji* 方技).¹³⁴ Although *tu* was recorded in many occasions in the *Han shu*, they were subsumed into the texts as appendices.¹³⁵ Moreover, there was no separate category for geography, so, as a result, topographical maps were sporadically placed in the subcategories of "military works," "yin yang works" and "astrological works (*tianwen* 天文)" and the "calendrical works (*lipu* 曆譜)." For example, among the seven hundred and ninety "military works" composed by fifty-three authors, there were forty-seven *juan* of drawings.¹³⁶ However, we have no idea if the drawings were separate works, or just attachments to the texts. The library catalogue system of the Han dynasty provided no discrete category for images, including maps.

The exclusion of administrative maps in the bibliography probably resulted from an understanding that maps were not considered to be part of this imperial knowledge system: as noted above, they were probably considered as *tu* to be attached to the registers, but not the

¹³⁴ *Han shu*, 30/1701-2.

¹³⁵ For example: three scrolls of images are listed under two titles in "Six Arts" (*liuyi* 六藝); *Illustrations of Biographies of Exemplary Women* (*Lienü zhuan song tu* 列女傳頌圖) in "Various Masters" (*zhuzi* 諸子); 47 scrolls under 14 titles in the "Military Texts" (*bingshu* 兵書); and *Geng Chang yuexing botu* 耿昌月行帛圖 of 232 scrolls in "Techniques and Numbers" (*shushu* 術數). It is likely that *Lienüzhuan song tu* was actually attached to *Lienü zhuan song*, and *Geng Chang yuexing botu* was attached to *Geng Chang yuexing du* 耿昌月行度. See *Han shu*, 30/1727, 1766.

¹³⁶ *Han shu*, 30/1762.

category of *shu*. Alternatively, they were considered to be secret knowledge that should not be divulged. The Liu's system laid the foundation for the organization of knowledge in the next half millennium. Except for very short periods, maps were never considered to be an independent category.¹³⁷

The cataloguing system of the Sui dynasty was fixed into the four categories: classics (*jing* 經), histories (*shi* 史), philosophers (*zi* 子) and collected works (*ji* 集). Since the Sui, collections of maps, when there were any, were usually listed in the subcategory of *dili* under the category of history (*shi* 史). *Dili*, an equivalent for “geography” in modern Chinese, has a different meaning in ancient China. Literally meaning the configuration of the land, *dili* was used as the obverse imagery of *tianwen* 天文, the patterns of heaven, as in the “Appendices” (“Xi ci” 繫辭) of the *Book of Changes*, “to raise one's head to observe the patterns of heaven, and lower one's head to inspect the configuration of land.”¹³⁸ Sima Qian marveled at the grandeur of the mausoleum of the First Emperor, because its inner layout resembled *tianwen*, the pattern of heaven above, and embraced *dili*, the pattern of the earth below. Therefore, the obvious implication of this pair of concepts was the intrinsic principles underlying the natural phenomena. *Dili*'s denotation and connotation made it an open term which goes beyond geography in a modern sense. When Ban Gu finished the *History of Han* during the first century,

¹³⁷ Only Xun Xu 荀勗 (3rd century) and Wang Jian 王儉 (ca. 5th century) singled out charts and maps as a separate category. Xun Xu, the Director of the Palace Library during the reign of the Wei (220-265) listed *tu* and *zan* 讚 (remarks) as a subcategory under the category of “Collected works” (*jibu* 集部), which also included poetry, rhapsodies, and the excavated texts from the Ji County in present Henan province. These subcategories rather seem to be placed together like miscellaneous materials. In the year 473, Wang Jian 王儉 (5th century) made seven divisions, and the last one was maps and charts. See *Sui shu*, 32/ 906-7.

¹³⁸ *Shisanjing zhushu zhengli weiyuanhui, Zhouyi zhengyi*, j. 7, p. 312.

he composed a treatise on *dili*, a sketch of the geographic aspects of the whole domain in history. Eventually, mapmaking, as I will discuss in Chapter 5, was oriented towards and dictated by the writing of history.

Visual and Material Concerns: Orientation and Media

Maps are two-dimensional by nature, and they were usually made on single sheets. Therefore, orientation became one of the first issues when a map was made or read. As the south is where the sun dwells, it was prioritized in ritual and social practices. Therefore, some maps of early China followed the “south above and north below” tradition, such as *The Map of Graveyard* (*Zhaoyu tu* 兆域圖) (fig. 2-7) and the Mawangdui maps. However, this was not always the case. As Li Ling observes, it is likely that the orientation was conditioned by perspectives of the mapmakers.¹³⁹ In the case of Fangmatan maps (figs. 2-8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14), except for Map 5 which is indicated as north-up,¹⁴⁰ the orientation does not seem so self-evident on the remaining six maps. The color of the ink, the style of the brushwork, and materials of the boards suggests that they probably came from the same hand. The sizes of these maps are also identical, 26 cm in length, 15-18 cm in width, and 1-2 cm in thickness. Map 1 (fig. 2-8) and 2 (fig. 2-9) on the same board seem to have signs of wear and tear; whereas the rest were relatively new when deposited in the tomb, and Map 5 (fig. 2-12) was left unfinished. Each of the seven

¹³⁹ Li Ling, “Shuo zaoqi ditu de fangxiang” 說早期地圖的方向, in *Zhongguo fangshu xukao* 中國方術續考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), pp. 206-15. Li Xiaocong 李孝聰 also shares the similar opinion on the flexible orientation of maps, see “Gudai Zhongguo ditu de qishi” 古代中國地圖的啓示, *Dushu* 讀書 (1997.7): 140-44.

¹⁴⁰ The character *shang* 上 is marked on Map 5, which is believed to signify the direction of north; see Zhang Xiugui, “Fangmatan Zhanguo Qin mu chutu guditu,” in *Zhongguo lishi dimao yu gu ditu yanjiu*, pp. 524-26.

Fangmatan maps presents a river system, with the main stream in the middle and branches on both sides; mountains, if there are any, are arranged on the margin of the map. Meanwhile, the orientation of written characters points to different directions, allowing the maps to be read from various angles.¹⁴¹ Directions of these characters are regulated by the flows of rivers. Visually, the seemingly flexible orientations of the Fangmatan maps suggest that the map was not designed to be viewed from a single perspective.

Changing perspective was already a common practice in visual representations. Similarly, *The Map of a City* (*Chengyi tu* 城邑圖), which was also unearthed from Tomb 3 at Mawangdui, also exhibits the combined perspectives (fig. 2-15).¹⁴² As I will discuss in Chapter 6, this technique remained useful in mapmaking throughout the later periods, even when the orientation is clearly indicated.

Another significant consideration in mapmaking concerns the medium of the maps. Maps are usually drawn on larger square and rectangular surfaces instead of bamboo or wooden strips. They are rendered on various media, such as paper, wooden boards, silk, and other materials. The media are not randomly chosen, but are usually determined by the function of the maps. *The Map of Graveyard* (fig. 2-7), is a grave plan made around 310 BCE for King Cuo (興+昔) (d. 310 BCE) of Zhongshan 中山. It was cast on a bronze board of 48 cm in width and 96 cm in length. The silver-inlaid lines and graphs stand out from the flat bronze background. The map is a precise plan that enumerates the sizes and dimensions of tombs, coffins, and

¹⁴¹ Yong Jichun 雍際春, “Fangmatan ditu banshi fangxiang de queding” 放馬灘地圖版式方向的確定, *Tianshui Fangmatan muban ditu yanjiu* 天水放馬灘木板地圖研究 (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 2002), pp. 62-65.

¹⁴² It could also be a diagram of the mausoleum of Marquis Dai; see Cao Wanru, *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji*, p. 2.

memorial halls of the King and his consorts. In order to make sure that the project was carried out correctly, the king had an edict issued and also carved on the bronze board,

The King orders the minister Zhou to construct the graveyard according to the regulations on sizes and scales. When a question is raised, one should follow the map. Whoever violates the regulations should be executed without amnesty; the disaster of those who disobey the command of the King will extend to his sons and grandsons. One copy is buried in the tomb, and the other stored in the palace” 王命賁為兆乏[法], 闢狹大小之制, 有事者官圖之, 進退□法者死無赦, 不行王命者殃連子孫。其一從, 其一藏府。

The map mentioned here not only demonstrated the authority of the King, but embodied his presence. Placed in both this world (palace) and the other (tomb), one map would be always the mirror image of the “other.” When the King was still alive, the map in the tomb governed the construction of the mausoleum; after he was buried in the residence for the afterlife, the map in the palace was intended to ensure the continuous function of his order. The map was the silhouette of his place/tomb and the proof of the existence of the King’s authority. Gold, silver and bronze, as precious and enduring media, could preserve traces of the King, simultaneously negating the impermanence of his body. Ironically, the tombs of his consorts were never finished as ordered in the edict, given what we have learned from the archaeological excavations in the surrounding area.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Sun Zhongming 孫仲明, “A Study on *The Map of Graveyard of King Cuo of the Zhongshan State* of the Warring States and Its Modes of Representation,” *Zhanguo Zhongshan wang mu Zhaoyu tu jiqi biao shi fangfa de yanjiu* 戰國中山王墓兆域圖及其表示方法的研究, in “Notes on the Plates,” *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Zhanguo-Yuan*, pp. 1-3.

By contrast, mapmakers were inclined to use portable materials to make maps for the living world, and thus these maps were usually made of silk and paper that were light to carry, such as the silk maps from Mawangdui. In the Juyan document mentioned above, Xu Luren and his team also made maps on plain silk, which was provided by the government.¹⁴⁴ Due to the high value of silk, the amount being used or left had to be precisely recorded and reported.

At first sight, the seven maps drawn on wooden boards from Fangmatan seem to be an exception, since the double-sided wooden boards would be inconvenient to use and carry. However, on careful examination, it is clear that these maps were still unfinished drafts for a larger map. Maps 1 and 2 on the same board seem to have been made earlier, whereas the rest were relatively new when deposited in the tomb, and Map 5 was left unfinished. The area represented on Map 2 is part of Map 1; the area represented on Map 3 is just next to the area on Maps 4 and 6; Map 4 is also part of Map 6.¹⁴⁵

If these maps were only drafts, it is also possible that they were made by the tomb owner. The relative position of burial objects to the dead body is also revealing. A brush made of hair was placed beside his head, suggesting the significance or relevance of writing or drawing during his life. Two versions of calendars, one narrative story, maps, and counting rods were also arranged just outside of the inner coffin, but closely to the head of the tomb owner. Among them, calendars and maps orientated and regulated temporal and spatial dimensions of

¹⁴⁴ Xie Guihua et al., *Juyan Han jian shiwen hejiao*, 217.7, 49.15, p. 348.

¹⁴⁵ Zhang Xiugui 張修桂, "Fangmatan Zhanguo Qin mu chutu gu ditu 放馬灘戰國秦墓出土古地圖," in *Zhongguo lishi dimao yu gu ditu yanjiu* 中國歷史地貌與古地圖研究 (Beijing: Shehui kexue, 2006), pp. 519-54. He Shuangquan, Cao Wanru, and Yong Jichun also proposed other ways of reconstructing these maps; see Yong Jichun 雍際春, "Tianshui Fangmatan ditu de xingzhi wenti" 天水放馬灘地圖的性質問題, *Tianshui Fangmatan muban ditu yanjiu* 天水放馬灘木板地圖研究 (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 2002), pp. 49-57; 70-84.

the world, and the counting rods would have been used to configure different combinations of various factors. The identity of tomb owner is still uncertain, but given by the size of the tomb and the value of the burial objects, he was probably a lower-rank scribe.¹⁴⁶

The Han dynasty was also a period of experimentation with new writing materials, especially paper. A fragmentary map from a Han tomb at Fangmatan proved to be the earliest paper bearing traces of writing and drawing. As it was seriously damaged and only a patch 5.6cm long and 2.6 cm wide survives (fig. 2-16),¹⁴⁷ it is impossible to determine the location that it was supposed to represent. However, this map suggests that the mapmakers of that time must be keen to experiment with light and low-cost media.

Conclusion

During the past decades, the impact of bureaucracy and literacy on empire building has been the entry-point for the research on mapmaking. On various occasions, Cordell Yee has

¹⁴⁶ A story of Dan 丹 was found in the tomb, but it is unlikely that he was also the tomb owner. Dan was first executed after committing an injury to someone else, but revived three years after his funeral. The story, written in the form of an official letter addressed to the minister of the Gui County, was the only narrative text in the tomb, but the largest part is devoted to the miraculous revival of Dan and his experiences in the underworld. Therefore, instead of being the epitaph of the tomb owner, the text might be just a useful record on afterlife practices and customs. See Donald Harper, "Warring States Natural Philosophy and Occult Thought," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, eds. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 813-84. Li Xueqin, "Fangmatan jianzhong de zhiguai gushi 放馬灘簡中的志怪故事," in *Jianbo yiji yu xushushi 簡帛佚籍與學術史* (Nanchang: Jiangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001). Sun Zhanyu 孫佔宇, "Fangmatan Qin jian yi 360-366 hao 'Muzhu ji' shuo shangque" 放馬灘秦簡乙360-366號“墓主記”說商榷, *Xibei shida xuebao (shehui kexue ban) 西北師大學報(社會科學版)* 47.5 (2010 September): 46-49. Poo Mu-chou, "Religion and Religious Life of the Qin," in *Birth of an Empire: The State of Qin Revisited*, ed. Yuri Pines, Gideon Shelach, et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), p. 194.

¹⁴⁷ This map was found in tomb #5 at Fangmatan. As for the debate as to whether this is a map, see Cordell Yee, p. 40. Chen Qixin and Li Xing-guo, "The Unearthed Paperlike Objects are not Paper Produced before Tsai-Lun's [Cai Lun's] Invention," *Yearbook of Paper History*, vol. 8 (1990), pp. 7-22. The analysis reports by Chinese Science Academy and Kochi Paper Technology Center confirm the existence of paper and the map. See *Tianshui Fangmatan Qin jian 天水放馬灘秦簡*, p. 158.

articulated that the status of mapmaking in ancient China has to be considered in the broader historical context of writing.¹⁴⁸ This has three implications: first, it was written text, rather than drawing, that constituted the primary means of conveying accurate and significant information; second, after the Tang dynasty, lengthy written explanations often accompany maps to describe a place; third, as the status of writing improved, maps gradually became a subgenre of written history. Yee's argument is very useful for us to understand the relationship between map and writing, or more broadly, the role that maps played in the political history in early imperial China. However, it is equally important that we regard and examine maps as visual images and objects. In early and medieval China, maps of various types were produced with diverse of media, orientation, scale, and function. Yet, maps continued to serve as the application of state power since their first appearance. State power not only dictated the modes of their production and channels of distribution, but also determined their material form and life cycle. Therefore, maps were not only representations of geophysical space, but were also the epitome of empire building.

¹⁴⁸ Yee, *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2: *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, pp. 37-53.

Chapter 3 Art in Technology or Vice Versa: Dynamic Relationship between Maps and Painting and Their Epistemological Transformation in the Song

There has been a long-standing debate regarding the relation of mapmaking to painting and regarding the extent to which mapmaking relies on painting techniques. Various records that I will discuss in this chapter indicate certain maps, as a genre of *tu*, were once regarded as paintings until the Tang, although this concept started to change during the Song. Meanwhile, painters were involved in cartographic practice, and finished maps were imbued with artistic and geomantic notions. Despite the fact that certain maps were drawn with simple lines, a substantial amount of maps during the Song period still demanded skillful painting techniques, and borrowed visual vocabulary from landscape painting to represent mountains, rivers and forests. This chapter discusses the relationship of maps with texts and painting in the context of art history. It starts with a discussion of how the transformation of the concept of *tu* affected mapmaking during the Song dynasty, and is followed by an examination of the convergence of visual logic and mapping logic on maps, especially topographic maps.

Epistemological Transformations of *Tu* 圖, *Hua* 畫, and *Xiang* 象

Among the many terms that are associated with vision and images, *tu*, *hua* 畫, and *xiang* 象 are particularly relevant to the process of image making and the practice of vision. However, it is not easy to find their equivalent translations in modern English, and these terms are not

necessarily employed in the same way through different historical periods.¹⁴⁹ Willard Peterson's definition of *xiang* can help us first distinguish *xiang* from *tu* and *hua*. Considering it in the philosophical background of the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經), Peterson argues that it is crucial to understand the phenomenological disjunction between *xiang* and the subject. It conveys *a priori* knowledge independent of human engagement or intervention. Like the hexagrams in the *Book of Changes*, the *xiang* figures are just "out there," no matter if we look at them or not.¹⁵⁰

Conversely, the etymology of the other two terms, *tu* and *hua*, are rooted in the active intervention of subjects through their coded practices. The graph of *tu* (fig. 3-1), when first appearing on bronzes, symbolizes the action of drawing an enclosed boundary around a walled settlement. As the *gui* vessel of the Marquis Ce and the *pan* vessel of the San family in Chapter 2 show, the earliest usage of this graph, dating to the Western Zhou period, was associated with the mapping practice for administrative and military purposes. Its other meanings were generated from this point: "a map, a picture, a diagram, a portrait" as a noun; "to plan, surmise, and to scheme" as a verb.¹⁵¹

The graph of *hua* in early China (fig. 3-2) consists of symbols of a brush on the top and cultivated fields at the bottom, signifying the activity of drawing boundary or dividing a space. Therefore, *hua* can be executed either in real physical space, or in represented space on a flat

¹⁴⁹ Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), p. 102.

¹⁵⁰ Peterson, "Making Connections: 'Commentary on the Attached Verbalizations' of the *Book of Changes*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46.1 (June 1982): 80-81.

¹⁵¹ Yee thoroughly discusses the etymology of the term as it appears in the earliest dictionaries. See Yee, "Chinese Maps in Political Culture," in *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, pp. 71-95.

surface of silk or bronze, and, after the Han, on paper. Nonetheless, the etymological origin of these two words determined their shared feature: different from *xiang* that was a manifestation of the external reality, *tu* and *hua* represent human engagement with the objects, particularly through the process of making visual images (e.g., maps) or physical intervention (e.g., laying out land marks or building dividers).

Although the usages of these two terms are interchangeable in some circumstances, in which they can be translated as “image,” “painting,” or “pictorial representation,” they do not always overlap. Since the early Song dynasty, these two terms had already been imbued with specific connotations in an art historical context different from before. The most famous treatises on painting that Song scholars were able to access, such as *Classified Records of Ancient Paintings* (*Guhua pinlu* 古畫品錄) by Xie He 謝赫 (ca. 500-535) and *Records of Famous Paintings throughout Dynasties* (*Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記) by Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (ca. 815-877) manifest the subtle difference between *tu* and *hua*.¹⁵² At the beginning of *Classified Records of Ancient Paintings*, Xie states that “there is no painting or drawing which does not illuminate didactic persuasions or does not accentuate the ups and downs (in history). Although the events during the past thousands of years have fallen into silence, they are mirrored in paintings” 圖繪者, 莫不明勸戒、著升沈, 千載寂寥, 披圖可鑑. This sentence is immediately followed by his theoretical tenets of the six principles on painting techniques (*hua you liufa* 畫

¹⁵² For a comprehensive list of the art historical writings in circulation during the Song, see Chen Baozhen 陳葆真, “Zhongguo huihua yanjiu de guoqu yu xianzai” 中國繪畫研究的過去與現在, in *Hanxue yanjiu tongxun* 漢學研究通訊 28.3 (2009): 3-4.

有六法).¹⁵³ Within this context, I first hypothesize that at the starting point of my discussion of *tu* and *hua*, (1) *tu* refers to an individual product made out of a set of mental processes, an embodiment of concepts, ideas, agendas and aesthetic modes; (2) *hua* refers to the product in a generic and collective sense, which is made out activities involving techniques of drawing.

This hypothesis can be proved through a close examination of the usage of *tu* and *hua* in other art historical treatises. First, paintings of all sizes and media were usually *collectively* categorized as *hua* since the Southern Dynasties, *Classified Records of Ancient Paintings* and *Records of Famous Paintings throughout Dynasties* for instance; second, the use of *hua* was also frequently associated with the activity and techniques of drawing, as in the *Treatise of Drawing Mount Yuntai* (*Hua Yuntai shan ji* 畫雲臺山記) by Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (344-405) and the *Preface to Drawing Mountains and Rivers* (*Hua shanshui xu* 畫山水序) by Zong Bing 宗炳 (375-443).¹⁵⁴ In comparison, *tu* was frequently named after an *individual* painting, the themes and media of which ranged broadly from a wall painting, such as *Illustrations of Records on the West Where a Solar Eclipse Occurred* (*Zhangri xiyu ji tu* 障日西域記圖) made for the Zhaocheng 昭成 Temple

¹⁵³ As translated by Susan Bush and Hsiao-yen Shih, the Six Principles are “First, Spirit Resonance which means vitality; second, Bone Method which is [a way of] using the brush; third, Correspondence to the Object which means the depicting of forms; fourth, Suitability to Type, which has to do with the laying on of colors; fifth, Division and Planning, that is placing and arrangement; and sixth, Transmission by Copying, that is to say the copying of models.” See Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 40.

¹⁵⁴ Fragments of the *Treatise of Drawing Mount Yuntai* and *Preface to Drawing Mountains and Rivers* were preserved in *Lidai minghua ji*. Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1964), pp. 112, 129.

in Tang Dynasty Luoyang,¹⁵⁵ to a handscroll of maps, such as *Maps of Cosmological Districts* (*Quyu tu* 區宇圖).¹⁵⁶

In *Records of Famous Paintings throughout the Dynasties* written in 847, Zhang Yanyuan listed ninety-seven *tu*-images in a category of “secret *hua* and precious *tu*” (*mihua zhentu* 秘畫珍圖). These images, as opposed to the sizable lavish wall paintings that were the most prevalent form of visual culture, especially in palaces and temples at the two Tang capitals, were primarily paintings and charts on silk and paper collected by individuals, most of which are supposed to be the socially privileged group of elite families as discussed below. The portability of these objects reveals different viewing experiences and different purposes of image-making from the perspectives of patrons, artists and the viewers. Zhang claims that these entries are only a small number of the paintings among those that he has seen in the past, but these titles already cover a variety of themes and representational modes. The list discloses an approximate idea about what types of images were valued among individual collectors. The rough order that Zhang provides also suggests a conscious arrangement with some taxonomic principles: mantic arts, sacred landscape, palace and capital layouts, Confucian classics and apocryphal texts, military battle formations, cosmology, physiognomy, geomancy, transcendental beings, sages and famous historical figures, maps, omens, herbs and insects,

¹⁵⁵ The “Sun Was Blocked” in the title is associated with an event in which King Aśoka (304-232 BCE), while planning to inter the relics of Śākyamuni at various sites, made an appointment with others that all the parties should seal pagodas at the same moment when the sun was blocked by a hand of god. See Xuanzang 玄奘, *Da Tang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1977), pp. 174-75. Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1964), p. 109.

¹⁵⁶ Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji*, p. 74.

and foreign envoys and traveling experiences.¹⁵⁷ The titles that are included in the above categories reveal to us the conscious effort of the Tang elite to collect knowledge about a world that is beyond the reach of mundane knowledge. Correspondingly, a substantial amount of images are graphic representations, such as maps, cosmographs, diagrams of battle formations, geomantic and physiognomic diagrams, and architectural plans.

It is worth noting that changes took place during the Song on some of the above themes. Painting catalogues, such as *Xuanhe Painting Catalogue* (*Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜), exclusively recorded paintings, the themes of which include Buddhist and Daoist figures, portraits, landscape, birds and beasts, bamboo, flowers, and architecture. However, graphic representations disappeared from the so-called “painting catalogue” (*huapu* 畫譜),¹⁵⁸ and were collected in books on their specific themes instead, as I will discuss in Chapters 4 and 5. Although the term *tu* continued to be used in titles of individual images, it was also increasingly taken as a term for diagrams, charts, and maps. Francesca Bray attempts to define *tu* in the latter sense as an instructive image or spatial layout which encodes special technical knowledge of factual information.¹⁵⁹ Bray’s definition offers us a useful departure point to single out these images as belonging to a separate cartography, but limiting *tu* to “technical and factual images” also rules out their transcendental, religious, and philosophical dimensions, which were intrinsic to their functions upon production.

¹⁵⁷ Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji*, p. 81.

¹⁵⁸ Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, ed., *Xuanhe huapu* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1964).

¹⁵⁹ Francesca Bray et al., *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China*, pp. 2-3.

To understand the meaning of *tu*, one should first situate the production of *tu* in the context of the intellectual and institutional transformations at the Tang-Song transition. The “secret” and “precious” in the *Records* by Zhang Yanyuan implies its very limited access to viewers, as these objects were said to be “mostly vanished among the multitude of people, so it was difficult to see them” 固多散逸人間，不得見之。¹⁶⁰ In another location in his book, Zhang stated that the portable paintings and images that he had seen were usually collected by the aristocratic families, and were only shared among this small circle of the social elite.¹⁶¹ Therefore, their limited circulation was determined by the hierarchical structure of the society rather than legal restrictions. In comparison, the Song dynasty, despite the prolific production of *tu*, actively instituted regulations to limit the circulation of books on some themes that had once appeared in Zhang’s *Records*. In 977, the second year after Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 976-97) ascended the throne, an edict was issued to confiscate books that were related with “supernatural” beliefs and practices,

After being sent to the court and being enquired about their practice, those who lived on *yinyang*, crack-making divination, and milfoil stalk divination in the two capitals [of Bianliang in the east and Luoyang in the west] and all the circuits were found ignorant and useless. They made profit by talking about fortune and misfortune deceitfully, swindling and boasting to those ordinary people. From now on, apart from books on

¹⁶⁰ Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji*, p. 76.

¹⁶¹ Zhang discussed the ranking, pricing and dealing of art works among the elite families before and during the Tang in another two sections of his book, “Lun mingjia pindi 論名價品第” and “Lun jianshi shoucang gouqiu yuewan” 論鑒識收藏購求閱玩. See Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji*, pp. 42-48.

geomancy of the “two residences” [for the living and the dead] and books on the *Changes* and milfoil divination, all other *yinyang* books on astronomy, physiognomy, “six heavenly branches,” escaping techniques, fortune-telling on the “three fates” should be handed over to governmental offices within a month.

兩京、諸道陰陽卜筮人等，向令傳送至闕，詢其所習，皆懵昧無所取，蓋矯言禍福，誑耀流俗，以取貲耳。自今除二宅及易筮外，其天文、相術、六壬、遁甲、三命及它陰陽書，限詔到一月送官。¹⁶²

As I have discussed in Chapter 1, the *tu*-images no longer constituted an independent category after the late Western Han. Therefore, relevant images on the subjects listed in the edict must have also been censored alongside the applied books. Nonetheless, its goal was not to completely eliminate this knowledge, but rather to regulate its circulation through confiscating books and confining the specialists. Although they were said to be “ignorant and useless,” among the three hundred fifty one people who were brought to the court under escort, sixty-eight were detained at the Bureau of Astronomy (*Sitian tai* 司天臺) but given positions. The rest were tattooed on their faces and transported to remote islands in the sea.¹⁶³ Meanwhile, it is very likely that the impounded books, instead of being destroyed, were taken into the imperial library: its preserve had slightly more than ten thousand books at the beginning of the dynasty, but by the reign of the third emperor Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 998-1022), its collection was tripled through gathering images and books from local regions and newly-conquered

¹⁶² Li Tao 李燾, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), j. 18, p. 414 (hereafter abbreviated *XZZTJCB*).

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 18/416. The rest of the *yinyang* specialists were exiled to remote islands in the sea.

areas.¹⁶⁴ Therefore, the censorship placed on these books and the restraining order on these specialists derived rather from the threat of their knowledge than their “ignorance.” Zhenzong ordered the officials at the Bureau of Astronomy to sort books on cosmology, geomancy (*dili*),¹⁶⁵ *yinyang* and mantic arts. As a result, an encyclopedia titled *Treasured Canons on the Cosmos* (*Qiankun baodian* 乾坤寶典) of a selection of 417 *juan* was compiled and stored at the Secret Pavilion (*bige* 秘閣), the library reserved solely for the emperor. As a matter of fact, the censorship on the above themes existed throughout the dynasty and was enforced from time to time.¹⁶⁶ The decision, therefore, was made due to the power of the knowledge contained in these books, which overrode the position of the emperor as the medium between human beings and “heaven.”

Warp and Weft: A Dynamic Relationship between Images and Texts

As mentioned above, the *tu*-images were usually excluded from the *hua* catalogues, but were collected separately in monographs instead. It is important to examine how the Song scholars understood the role that *tu* played in the repertoire of their knowledge system. Although writing was a necessary skill in the operation of the bureaucracy and a pastime of literati scholars, image-making also became a crucial part of the same aspects of their lives. Zheng Qiao

¹⁶⁴ Tuotuo 脫脫 et al., *Song Shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 220/5032.

¹⁶⁵ As for the connotation of *dili* 地理, see Chapter 2.

¹⁶⁶ *XZZTJCB*, 89/2045. In one case in 1017, the diviners who collected censored books and passed down knowledge of astrology were executed; officials who sought after advice from these fortune-tellers were also demoted and exiled. In another case of the same year, quite a few officials in the central government were also found guilty of making divinations but were finally exempted from punishment thanks to the understanding and protection of the chief chancellor, Wang Dan 王旦 (957-1017).

鄭樵 (1104-1162) was the first historian who paid attention to the neglect of *tu* in contemporaneous discourse. He lamented the loss of a tradition that ancient scholars used to give equal weight to *tu* and *shu*,

The images are the warp threads and the written words are the weft. As warp threads and weft threads alternate to form the pattern of a fabric, [images and writings should alternate to constitute a text.] Ancient scholars, placing paintings on the left and writings on the right, never gave a bias to either. However, the *Seven Summaries* (*Qilue* 七略) composed by Liu Xin] only collected written words but not images. On the basis of Liu's work, Ban Gu 班固 (32-92) compiled the "Treatise on Bibliography" ("*Yiwen zhi*" 藝文志). From then on, images and charts gradually got lost, as writings became more bulky day by day.

圖成經，書成緯，一經一緯，錯綜而成文。古之學者，左圖右書，不可偏廢。劉氏作七略，收書不收圖，班固即其書為藝文志。自此以還，圖譜日亡，書籍日冗。¹⁶⁷

In this context, *tupu* (image and charts) and *tu* were not confined to maps, but refer to images for the purpose of illustrating written words. As I have discussed in Chapter 2, images were not all excluded in the "Bibliography" by Ban Gu as Zheng Qiao criticized, but they were all attached to corresponding written texts. To be more accurate, *tu* were not considered as an independent category starting from the Han, although they were not all excluded from the imperial

¹⁶⁷ Zheng Qiao, *Tong zhi* 通志 (Wenjing Siku quanshu edition), 12a, 72.3a. Translation adapted from Bray, *Graphics and Text*, p. 1.

bibliography, which reflected the collection of the imperial library. Although Zheng never took any official position and was not granted access to the imperial library, the reference system of his discussion on taxonomy was still the imperial knowledge system, which was reflected through compilation of history and the categorization of the imperial collection.¹⁶⁸ Behind the lament of Zheng was his attempt to revitalize the significance of *tu* in history and to theorize and establish its status in his own time.

When Zheng Qiao argues that the ideal format of juxtaposing writing on the left and image on the right in antiquity was to a large extent lost after Liu Xiang and Liu Xin, it is likely that he refers to the lost images during the process of transmission, which is especially revealing in the case of geographical *tujing*.¹⁶⁹ For instance, *Maps and Treatise of Shazhou* (*Shazhou tujing* 沙州圖經) compiled during the Kaiyuan period (712-741) and *Maps and Treatise of Xizhou* (*Xizhou tujing* 西州圖經) of the Qianyuan period (758-760) were originally accompanied by maps, but these images had already been omitted in the copies discovered at Dunhuang. However, this passive loss during transmission should not cancel out the fluorescence of image production.

Nonetheless, combining texts with images did not completely disappear during the Song, and this practice can be divided into two paradigms according to the relationship between images and texts. In the first paradigm, pictorial images were made to illustrate already-existent texts. In other words, the creation of the pictorial image was inspired by the texts and thus was attributed to the text. For instance, the *Illustration of Nymph of the Luo River* (*Luoshen*

¹⁶⁸ Li Geng, *Song dai guange jiaokan yanjiu*, pp. 218-19.

¹⁶⁹ James Hargett, "Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in the History of *Difangzhi* Writing," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 56. 2 (Dec., 1996): 409-10.

fu tu 洛神賦圖) attributed to Gu Kaizhi and inspired by *Nymph of the Luo River* (*Luoshen fu* 洛神賦) by Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232), had already been canonized as a chef-d'oeuvre by Zheng Qiao's time. Among seven copies that survive today, the one preserved at Liaoning Provincial Museum bears complete texts, with twelve scenes separated by paragraphs of the original prose (fig. 3-3).¹⁷⁰ Although some painters still maintained this tradition, such as *The Illustrations of "The Classic of Filial Piety"* by Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1041-1106) (fig. 3-4) and *Illustrations of the Book of Odes* by Ma Hezhi 馬和之 (*jinshi* 1131) (fig. 3-5), this paradigm experienced a decline in number. The majority of the Song emulations of Gu's paintings, for example, were not accompanied by original prose, but with innovative alternatives to its original compositions.

In contrast, the second paradigm, texts written after already-made diagrams, was flourishing, although the image might be first made to explain other texts. These works included *tujing* 圖經 or *tu* 圖 in their titles. The *tujing* that will be discussed in Chapter 6 are limited to map guides, but in fact, the term is pervasively used for many themes as a genre that signifies the treatise accompanying the already-existent images.

More than fifty titles containing *tujing* were listed in various public and private bibliographies of the Song, with themes ranging from geography, geomancy, and cosmology to medicine.¹⁷¹ *Tujing* literally means illustrations and treatises, and *jing* in general also refers to

¹⁷⁰ Ch'en Pao-chen 陳葆真, *Luoshen fu tu yu Zhongguo gudai gushi hua* 洛神賦圖與中國古代故事畫 (Taipei: Shit'ou, 2011), 113-36; Wu Hung, "The Origins of Chinese Painting (Palaeolithic Period to Tang Dynasty)," in *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, ed. Yang Xin, James Cahill et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press; Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1997), pp. 48-49.

¹⁷¹ *Song shi*, 204/5152-66, 206/5231-66, 207/5303-20.

classics or established texts of many traditions. Therefore, the compilation of *tujing* in most cases has an official background. The compiling of *tujing* was an imperial attempt to standardize and systemize knowledge through visual means. The Medical Institute (*Yiguan yuan* 醫官院) of the Song court, for example, compiled the *Illustrated Canon Explaining the Practice of Acupuncture Using the Bronze Figure* (*Tongren zhenjiu tujing* 銅人鍼灸圖經) in 1027, which publicized standard acupunctural practice.¹⁷² The *Illustrated Materia Medica* (*Bencao tujing* 本草圖經) compiled by Su Song 蘇頌 (1020-1101) was based on the rare books that he had been able to access in the imperial library, and it systematically categorized herbs and minerals according to their pharmaceutical uses.¹⁷³ Li Zong'e 李宗諤 (964-1012), academician of the Hanlin Academy, was ordered to compile the *tujing* of every circuit, which embodied an imperial attempt to gather geographic information.¹⁷⁴ In other texts and bibliographies, these works, although combining both images and texts, are only called *tu*, for example, *Investigations of Antiquities Illustrated* (*Kaogu tu* 考古圖) by Lü Dalin 呂大臨 (1044-1093), or the *Illustrations of Six Classics* (*Liujing tu* 六經圖) discussed in Chapter 5.

¹⁷² See XZZTJCB, 105/2454. For a detailed explanation of the bronze figure and the book, see Asaf Goldschmidt, *The Evolution of Chinese Medicine: Song Dynasty, 960-1200* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 31-36.

¹⁷³ It is also worth noting that other works of Su Song also contain a number of illustrations. Su was also accomplished in cosmology and mechanical inventions, and he invented a water-driven astronomical clock tower to observe the movement of constellations on the basis of the Han and Tang precedents, and composed *The Essentials of A New Method for (Mechanizing the Rotation of) an (Armillary) Sphere and a (Celestial) Globe* (*Xin yixiang fa yao* 新儀象法要) between 1094 and 1096, a complete and detailed introduction to the machine with sixty-three illustrations. Joseph Needham et al., *Science and Civilisation in China: Volume 4, Physics and Physical Technology, Part 2, Mechanical Engineering* (Cambridge: University Press, 1965), pp. 446-58.

¹⁷⁴ *Song shi*, 7/145.

The two paradigms mentioned above seemed to further resolve in two distinctive directions: representational paintings and graphic paintings. In terms of the first paradigm, even inspired by specific texts, representational paintings aligned more with drawing techniques epitomized by *hua* and gradually develop towards painting without accompanying original texts. As a result, writing was presented in paintings as inscriptions that kept a loose and dynamic relationship with the composition and content of the paintings, but no longer as an integral part to identify its contents. In terms of the second paradigm, charts, maps and other graphic paintings were produced in tremendous numbers, although sometimes they were dropped out from texts during the course of transmission and transcription. Still, the many ways in which maps were read and used suggest their close bond with written texts. This relationship could take on multiple parameters and trajectories: first, so-called “maps” should be considered as images related with mapping knowledge, such as those made to illustrate the condition of local projects, military activities and ancient classics; second, maps did not exist alone, but were usually juxtaposed with other statistical information, such as registers and information from other sources. A map alongside the accompanying written texts can convey specific ideas, agendas, and claims in a subtle manner.

Maps and Painting in the Perspective of Topographical Maps

The relationship between maps and landscape paintings is tricky. Orell argues that there was no conscious distinction between these two types of representations of specific places during the Song, although a map-like painting could be considered as a bad one as it was not able to catch

the quintessential characteristics of mountains and rivers.¹⁷⁵ Indeed, in his landmark treatise on landscape painting, *The Lofty Message of Forest and Streams* (*Linquan gaozhi* 林泉高致), the great court landscapist Guo Xi 郭熙 (1000-1090) makes clear that the aesthetic values of a landscape painting and a map are completely distinct. He warns painters who fail to seek out the quintessential features of a landscape that they would simply end up with producing a map.

What is meant by not discovering the quintessential? In a thousand mile stretch of mountains it is impossible to appreciate all the wonders. In ten thousand miles of water how can one appreciate all the beauties? The Taihang mountain range is pillowed against the Huaxia region while it faces Linlü. Mount Tai bestrides the Qi and Lu districts of Shandong, while its most remarkable scenery is at Longyan. To paint the whole extent in one would simply produce a map. All works which do so suffer from the fault of not discovering the quintessential.¹⁷⁶

何謂所取之不精粹？千里之山，不能盡奇；萬里之水，豈能盡秀？太行枕華夏而面目者林慮，泰山占齊魯而勝絕者龍巖。一概畫之，版圖何異？凡此之類，咎在於所取之不精粹也。¹⁷⁷

In Guo Xi's view, maps, which unselectively and passively reflect landscape, cannot be comparable to paintings in terms of their originality. The "quintessential" here is referred as the

¹⁷⁵ Orell, "Picturing the Yangzi River in Southern Song China (1127-1279)," PhD dissertation, pp. 158-59.

¹⁷⁶ The translation is based on Bush and Shih eds., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University, 1985), pp. 181-82.

¹⁷⁷ Guo Xi and Guo Si 郭思 (d. after 1123), *Linquan gaozhi*, in *Zhongguo hualun leibian* 中國畫論類編, ed. Yu Jianhua (Beijing: Zhongguo gudian yishu, 1957), vol. 1, p. 637.

most outstanding and unique feature of a landscape, which not only defines the landscape but also distinguishes one place from another. Maps, on the contrary, only treat scenes of a place homogeneously.

The treatise of *The Lofty Message* was written around 1070, the heyday of monumental landscape paintings executed by court painters, such as the *Early Spring* (*Zaochun tu* 早春圖) by Guo Xi himself and the *Traveling amid Streams and Mountains* (*Xishan xinglü tu* 谿山行旅圖) by Fan Kuan 范寬 (11th century) (fig. 3-6). The “quintessential” features of the monumental mountains in the Northern Song art historical contexts equate to grandeur and figurative authority in the court milieu, as Guo Xi comments in the same treatise:

The imposing grand mountain is the master of the [other] mountains. So the hills, mounds, forests, and valleys have to be appropriately arranged to the second level. Therefore, the grand mountain is the overlord of those far off and nearby, big and small. Its figure is like a great ruler who matches the sun, and one hundred lords rush to pay respect without any delay, obstacle, betrayal or retreat.

大山堂堂為眾山之主，所以分布以次岡阜林壑，為遠近大小之宗主也。其象若大君當陽，而百辟奔走朝會，無偃蹇背卻之勢也。¹⁷⁸

In comparing the above two remarks made by Guo Xi, we can have a glimpse of his anxiety over the blurred boundary between a monumental landscape painting and an inert map-like painting. This makes us wonder about the reason why there was such a kind of anxiety in the first place, or, in other words, a series of questions follows: why was mapmaking considered to

¹⁷⁸ Guo Xi and Guo Si, *Linquan gaozhi*, in *Zhongguo hualun leibian*, vol. 1, p. 635.

be a passive mode of representation during the Song? What did the difference between painting and maps mean to the value of an image in a map guide or a gazetteer?

To answer these questions, maybe it is useful to examine how the interaction between mapmaking and landscape painting was interpreted in works by other painters, such as the painter and scholar-official Li Gonglin. The *Mountain Villa* (*Shanzhuang tu* 山莊圖) by Li has been considered a milestone for literati paintings for ages. This painting was produced two decades after *The Lofty Message* was written down.¹⁷⁹ Different from Guo Xi's monumental style, Li's hand-scroll provides an alternative way to personalize the landscape to present intimate friendship and literati lifestyle.

One of the techniques that Li applied was to borrow topographic vocabularies from mapmaking and geomancy (fig. 3-7).¹⁸⁰ As Harrist observes, opposing horizons and combinations of aerial and frontal views which appear in Li Gonglin's *The Mountain Villa*, had also been frequently used in Chinese cartographic traditions since as early as the second century BCE (fig. 3-8). Similarly, this type of technique is also commonly seen in map guides and gazetteers. A clear manifestation would be the topographic map of the mausoleum of Emperor

¹⁷⁹ Robert Harrist, after an examination on the chronology of Li's friendship with Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036-1101) and Su Che 蘇轍 (1039-1112) and their inscriptions on the painting, believes that *Mountain Villa* was painted most likely in the late 1080s and early 1090s when the three of them were living in Kaifeng, the capital of the Northern Song. See Harrist, *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 28-30.

¹⁸⁰ Harrist, *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 93-96.

Taizong 太宗 (r. 626-649) of the Tang dynasty (fig. 3-9). Commissioned by You Shixiong 游師雄 (1038-1097), it was later collected in the *Chang'an zhi* 長安志.¹⁸¹

Meanwhile, geomantic principles also influenced the representation of townships in terms of their relationship to nature, namely mountains and rivers. The geomantic tradition has a long history dating back to early times, but it became more popularized, diversified and sophisticated under the influence of the flourishing philosophical and religious ideas, printing technology and the spread of literacy in the Song.¹⁸² The manual on geomancy, *Dili xinshu* 地理新書, was compiled and released by the central government in 1057.¹⁸³ This text prescribes the ways of construction for townships, the residential buildings and tombs based on the dynamic configurations between the features of human beings and the surrounding natural environment. All the geomantic elements can be reckoned with in various frameworks, such as the Five Phases, Eight Hexagrams, calendar, music, and surnames. Hence, the natural landscape was never neutral to the human world in terms of its value. If a place, for example, were surrounded by mountains and faced a river, it would have been considered to be the abode of a minister; whereas a river running down on the side of a mountain, that of a priest who would take charge of a temple (fig. 3-10).

¹⁸¹ The maps which had originally been made for *Chang'an zhi*, compiled by Song Minqiu 宋敏求 (1019-1079), were lost in the Yuan. While Li Haowen 李好文 (*jinshi* 1321) recompiled the *Chang'an zhi*, he included these two maps into the book. See Li Haowen, *Chang'an zhitu*, in SYFZCK, vol. 1, pp. 212-13.

¹⁸² Richard Smith, *Fortune-tellers and Philosophers: Divination in Traditional Chinese Society* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), pp. 41-44.

¹⁸³ Wang Zhu 王洙, *Chong jiaozheng dili xinshu* 重校正地理新書, in XXSKQS, vol. 1054, pp. 1-123.

The ways in which people engaged with the nature would have affected the ways in which people understood and represented their relationship with nature. The *Wangchuan Villa* (*Wangchuan tu* 輞川圖) attributed to Wang Wei 王維 (692-761) (figs. 3-7 & 11) is an example of the painterly reflection of an ideal geomantic schema. Its composition evokes a sense of protection and security, and thus a sense of mutual reliance between the “self” and the surrounding environment. The framing of the villa in this painting is not only a reflection of its geophysical location, but also a claim of its geomantic value and a definition of its relation with its environment. A close follower of Wang Wei, Li also imposed his interpretation of auspiciously-sited buildings on the viewer with combined cartographic and geomantic vocabularies. The scene of *Mountain Villa* (fig. 3-11) was a conscious emulation of the *Wangchuan Villa* (fig. 3-12), which is especially manifested through the composition in both paintings. This geomantic pattern of a dwelling being embraced by mountains and rivers is also seen in other Song paintings, such as the *Illustration to the Second Prose Poem on the Red Cliff* (*Hou Chibi fu tu* 後赤壁賦圖) by Qiao Zhongchang 喬仲常 (ca. 11th century) (fig. 3-13).

Local maps of different levels, from temple and school compounds (figs. 3-14 & 3-15) to townships (fig. 3-16) and prefectures (fig. 3-17), also created a sense of self-contained space, which is surrounded by walls, moats, mountains and rivers. For example, the Lingyan Temple is surrounded by mountains on four directions and rivers in the south and west (fig. 3-15). Both natural and man-made boundaries were visually underlined through image-making.

Certainly, these principles are also presented as overarching patterns in the process of mapmaking for a given administrative unit. The composition of these maps all conformed to a

pattern of situating a prefecture, county or township in a protective surrounding environment. For example, the maps in the *Map Guide of Yanzhou during the Chunxi Era* (*Chunxi Yanzhou tujing* 淳熙嚴州圖經) emphasize the geomantic aspects of the prefecture. The map of the prefectural territory is surrounded by layers of walls, rivers and mountains from the inside to the outside. Security, stability and solidity are highlighted by the centrally-located government complex, which is out-of-proportionally large in size, and the surrounding counties in the outskirts. The Zhe River and Xin'an River, meandering through the mountain and merging with their branches, flow around the city. With the orientation of the inscription turning in the direction of the water flow, the rivers are given a sense of movement and flow (fig. 3-17).¹⁸⁴ Similarly, this pattern is also seen in the maps of the other six counties in the same gazetteer (fig. 3-18).¹⁸⁵

Here, mapmaking and landscape painting are not considered to be a pair of opposite genres, but instead, their techniques and vocabularies are interconnected. The possibility and extent of this exchange lies in the ontological features of maps and paintings. As I have mentioned above, maps make sense through identifying locations with words and signifying the relative positions between them. Likewise, what is inbuilt in the modes of visual representation, as Xie He summarized, is the principle of composition, “dividing and planning, positioning and arranging” 經營位置.¹⁸⁶ Central to both mapmaking and painting is to observe and visualize relative

¹⁸⁴ Liu Wenfu comp., *Chunxi Yanzhou tujing*, in SYFZCK, p. 4282.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 4282-85.

¹⁸⁶ Xie He, *Guhua pinlu*, in *Zhongguo hualun leibian*, vol. 1, p. 355. As for the translation, see Thorp and Vinograd, *Chinese Art and Culture*, p. 177.

positions between places or spatial marks. Inscriptions and legends identifying locations function as synchronic signs that differentiate one place from another; the relative positioning among them is diachronic, denoting the connections between the one and the other. Reading a map through combining written signs and their relative positions is not unique to Song maps, but a technique generic to visual representation that involves composition. A physiognomic diagram made in 945, for example, explains signs of fortunes and misfortunes through correlating facial parts with the Nine Provinces (fig. 3-19). Their relative positions construct a coherent narrative or a unified space.

Topographical maps in map guides and gazetteers, thus, through mediating the skills of landscape painting and cartographic layout, enjoy a different mode of representation. This adoption of elements from landscape painting in turn evokes a sense of intimacy between the readers and the landscape, which is inherently lacking in the maps. Symbols for rivers, mountains and architecture in topographical maps attempted to convey a corporeal experience of space (fig. 3-20). Painting techniques are borrowed to use as legends in mapmaking, as I will discuss in Chapter 6, the prefectural and county gazetteers maps took a further step to break the boundary between paintings and maps.

Map Producers, Mapmakers and Painters

In pre-modern societies, many parties contributed in the production of a map. As Harley argues that, although the making of maps is always manipulated by the most powerful people in

society, mapmakers do not belong to a particular professional community but to society in a broader sense.¹⁸⁷ This observation also applies to the process of mapmaking in China.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, abundant records in early and medieval history show officials and even emperors “made maps” on their expeditions, during wars and for administrative purposes. Translated into our modern vocabulary, these maps were very likely produced by specialists, such as those who participated in surveying and drawing, whereas the emperors and officials were in fact their commissioners. Painters were also involved in the mapmaking process during the Song. In 969, on his way back from the attack on the Northern Han (951-979) at Taiyuan, Shanxi province, Emperor Taizu stayed at Zhending 真定 prefecture in Hebei province. After learning of the dilapidation of the famous statue of Avalokiteśvara, he ordered it to be rebuilt and relocated to a larger temple. To make this happen, he first requested to see *ditu* of surrounding monasteries.

The emperor ordered to search for a spacious temple in the town and cast another statue with copper and gold for Avalokiteśvara, Bodhisattva of Compassion. In no time he also dispatched three groups of Palace Foremen (= chief eunuchs). One group entered Longxing temple, surveyed the size of its land, and called upon an artisan to make a *tidu* for this purpose. Another group went to the Kaiyuan temple, and the other to Yongtai Temple. Plans were made for both temples. The [*ditu* of] the three temples were submitted [to the emperor].

¹⁸⁷ Harley, “Text and Contexts in the Interpretation of Early Maps,” and “Maps, Knowledge and Power,” in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 33-81. His ideas were well explained by Denis Wood, *The Power of Maps* (New York: Guilford Press, 1992).

帝言郭內踏逐寬大寺舍，別鑄一尊金銅像觀音大悲菩薩。尋時差三道殿頭，一道入龍興寺，量度田地寬狹，遂喚畫匠，特第畫地圖。一道入開元寺，一道入永泰寺，亦畫地圖。三寺並將進呈。¹⁸⁸

Although the images did not survive, the *ditu* here should refer to an architectural plan or a topographical map. On the basis of the three images, Emperor Taizu decided to expand the Longxing temple to accommodate a bronze statue of Avalokiteśvara of more than twenty meters in height. These temple plans have long been lost, but the surviving Song architectural complexes in the monastery and their spatial arrangement can help us recuperate what these images might have looked like.¹⁸⁹ Meanwhile, the surviving map in the *Illustrations and Treatise on the Precept Altar (Jietan tujing 戒壇圖經)* was circulated during the Song (see fig. 3-21),¹⁹⁰ and likewise the topographical map made for Mount Hua (fig. 3-22).¹⁹¹ Both images, although containing traces of the Tang, exhibit a strong ability to execute spatial details through painting skills. It is obvious that cartographers shared some techniques with contemporary painters, such as “ruled-line paintings” (*jiehua* 界畫) and “textural strokes” (*cunfa* 皴法) used in landscape paintings. As for the dynamic relationship between landscape paintings and

¹⁸⁸ Wang Chang 王昶, *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編 (reprint of 1805 Jingxun tang 經訓堂 woodblock), f.123, p. 24, in *XXSKQS*, 890.125a.

¹⁸⁹ For detailed information on the surviving architecture, see Liang Sicheng 梁思成, *Zhongguo jianzhu shi* 中國建築史 (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 1998), pp. 179-84.

¹⁹⁰ Daoxuan 道宣, *Guanzhong chuangli Jietan tujing* 關中創立戒壇圖經 (reprint after Song woodblock), in . *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, eds. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et al. (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubangongsi, 1980-1992), T45/1892/813-14.

¹⁹¹ Song Minqiu 宋敏求, *Chang'an zhi tu* 長安志圖 (reprint of 1784 Jingxun tang woodblock), f.1, 3b-4a, in *SYFZCK*, 1.205.

topographical maps, I will discuss these in more detail in Chapter 6 on local maps. It is very likely these artisans were among the attendants accompanying the emperor on his journey to attack the Northern Han, so that they could respond at any time to the need for mapping of unexplored territory and documenting the journey.

Emperor Taizong, after local maps of prefectures were gathered at the court, called upon artisans (*huagong* 畫工) to make a “great map of all domains” (*tianxia datu* 天下大圖), a general map of the empire in 993. The map, which was later preserved at the Secret Pavilion, was said to have used up one hundred bolts of silk.¹⁹² Not too long after, professional artisans who served in the Painting Academy (*tuhua yuan* 圖畫院) also took on the duty of mapmaking. The Painting Academy of the Song, under the Hanlin Academy (*Hanlin yuan* 翰林院) of the Palace Domestic Service (*Neishi sheng* 內史省), was also variably named *huayuan* 畫院, or *Hanlin tuhua yuan* 翰林圖畫院.¹⁹³ The Painting Academy was officially associated with cartography through an imperial edict in 1007,

This edict orders the Hanlin Academy to send artisans to each circuit separately, making maps of the topography of mountains and rivers, geography, and distance, and

¹⁹²Xu Song 徐松, *Song huiyao* 宋會要, in *XXSKQS* 續修四庫全書 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), vol. 778, 563b (hereafter abbreviated *SHY*).

¹⁹³ As for the development of the Painting Academy during the tenth century, see Xu Shucheng 徐書城, “Song dai gongting huayuan de jizhi” 宋代宮廷畫院的機制, *Zhongguo huihua duandai shi: Song dai huihua* 中國繪畫斷代史: 宋代繪畫 (Beijing: Renmin meishu, 2004), pp. 124-39. It is disputable if the Painting Academy still existed during the Southern Song as a body with a definite site and certain number of staff. Peng Huiping 彭慧萍 argues that professional artists serving the Southern Song court either were loosely associated with various divisions of the Ministry of Works (*gong bu* 工部) or attended the emperor directly, but the Painting Academy for this period only remained as a nominal term in imagination of the post-Song literati scholars through their writings. See Peng, “Nan Song huayuan’ zhi shengshe zhizhi yu huashi xiangxiang” 南宋畫院之省舍職制與畫史想象, PhD dissertation (Chinese Central Academy of Fine Arts, 2005).

submit them to the Bureau of Military Affairs. These maps will be ready to be examined each time when troops are to be dispatched to station or guard, and to transport taxes.

詔翰林遣畫工分詣諸路，圖上山川形勢、地理遠近付樞密院，每發兵屯戍，移徙租賦，以備檢閱。¹⁹⁴

Here, the edict does not specify if these artisans (*huagong* 畫工, literally painting workers) should only be responsible for mapmaking or also for other duties. The Northern Song government established the Painting Academy in 984, which to a large extent inherited the structure and some of the painters from the academies of the Ten Kingdoms (907-979).¹⁹⁵ By the mid-eleventh century, the Painting Academy had already developed into a highly organized and regulated institution: apart from two eunuch officials (*goudang* 勾當) in charge of administrative affairs, there were two Editorial Assistants (*daizhao* 待詔), six Art Specialists (*yixue* 藝學) and forty students (*xuesheng* 學生).¹⁹⁶ If this were the normal size of the Painting Academy, the artisans who were sent to each circuit to make maps would count for more than one third of the total members of the Academy. This might be the reason why Li Congzheng 李從正 (ca. 10th century), the eunuch official in charge of the Academy, complained that the academy had dwindled in numbers due to the long-term transference of artisans to other

¹⁹⁴ XZZTJCB, 66/ 1476.

¹⁹⁵ The Painting Academies were first founded during the Ten Kingdoms (907-979) at the courts of Former Shu (907-925), Later Shu (934-965) and Southern Tang (937-975). See Xu Shucheng, *Zhongguo huihua duandai shi*, pp. 124-27.

¹⁹⁶ SHY, 779/264b.

governmental bureaus.¹⁹⁷ Artisans in the Painting Academy might have been accompanied by assistants or might have owned a workshop to support their mission, and they might have also collaborated with some other government bureaus, such as the Bureau of Military Affairs and Bureau of Operations (*zhifang* 職方). These bureaus were probably the same bureaus that preoccupied the artisans and thus weakened the productivity of the academy.

It seems to have been a common practice during the Song that painters got involved in mapmaking, and their duty in this process was to make the drawing under the supervision of other civil scholar-officials. An edict issued 1071 can help us better understand this practice,

On the eighteenth day of the second month of the fourth year during the Xining Era (1068-1077), Shenzong (1068-1085) issued an edict to order Wine Tax Officer of Dan Prefecture, Assistant Minister of the Court of the Imperial Sacrifices, Subeditor of Academy of Scholarly Worthies, Zhao Yanruo (a. 11th century), to return to the Academy and take charge of drawing the maps of all the prefectures, superior prefectures, military prefectures, industrial prefectures, counties and townships. Before this, the Secretariat-Chancellery had ordered the Editorial Assistant(s) of the Painting Academy to draw the map, but the imperial edict ordered an official to examine the maps and books so as not to lose the truth. Therefore (the emperor) ordered Yanruo to take charge of it.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 265a.

神宗熙寧四年二月十八日，詔監單州酒稅、太常丞、集賢校理趙彥若歸館，管勾畫天下州、府、軍、監、縣、鎮地圖。先是，中書差圖畫院[侍][待]詔繪畫，而詔差有記問朝臣一人稽考圖籍，庶不失真，故命彥若領之。

Zhao was appointed to be the supervisor of the mapmaking project, and it is clear that at least one Editorial Assistant of the Painting Academy was sent to make maps. As mentioned above, Editorial Assistants were the most capable painters at the Academy and there were only two of them. Hence, one can tell the significance of mapmaking and its close relationship with painting.

The Painting Academy was also one of the major venues where imperial power controlled the representation of every aspect of imperial life. Competitive enrollment, education, ranking, and reputation attracted talented painters to serve the court. Emperors collected and appreciated art works with officials and their favored attendants, which not only showcased their refined taste, but also their power over the outside world through making miniatures in forms of paintings, sculptures, calligraphy and maps. The reason for paintings of rural and social themes once being popular in the palace was no different from maps being favored from the perspective of emperors.¹⁹⁸ The manipulation of art climaxed at the court of Emperor Huizong

¹⁹⁸ Surviving paintings attributed to court artist Li Song 李嵩 (ca. 1190-1230), such as *Knickknack Peddlers* (*Huolang tu* 貨郎圖) and *The Skeletons' Illusionary Performance* (*Kulou huanxi tu* 骷髏幻戲圖), and by anonymous painters, such as *Farce on Eye Medicine* (*Zaju yanyao suan tu* 雜劇眼藥酸圖) and *Drink Vendors* (*Maijiang tu* 賣漿圖) exhibit the popularity of the rural scenes at the court. Jeehee Hong discusses how these paintings reflected multifaceted notions of life, death and society, see Hong, "Theatricalizing Death and Society in *The Skeletons' Illusory Performance* by Li Song," *Art Bulletin* 93 (March 2011): 60-78. In addition, the famous court artist and art historian of the Southern Song, Deng Chun 鄧椿 (ca. 12th century) recorded how the paintings of rural and popular scenes depicted by Yang Wei 楊威 (ca. 12th century), a local artist from Jiangzhou in present Shanxi, were favored by the court artists. This record implies his paintings were either directly presented to the emperor, or used as an archetype to produce paintings on similar themes but tuned to the court taste. See Deng Chun, *Huaji* 畫繼 (reprint of *Wangshi huayuan* 王氏畫苑 edition), in *Zhongguo lidai huashi huibian* 中國歷代畫史彙編, ed. Yu Yu'an 于玉安

through his accumulation and categorization of antiques, paintings and books. Patricia Ebrey convincingly tells us Huizong's involvement in art production and collection revealed great political finesse and skill that finally paved his way to the throne and solidified his authority.¹⁹⁹

Although mapmaking was closely linked to professional painters, it fell out of the categories of “*hua*” during the Song. Unlike from the Tang catalogue, *Records of Famous Paintings throughout Dynasties*, not a single map is listed in the imperial painting catalogue of the late Northern Song, the *Xuanhe Painting Catalogue* (*Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜), nor is it associated with any of its broadly covered themes—Daoism and Buddhism; figure, palace, foreigner, dragon and fish; mountain and water, animal and beast, flower and bird, ink bamboo, and vegetable and fruit. The ruling-out of maps in the categories of *hua* does not necessarily lead us to conclude that maps were less important in the galaxy of Song representational forms. Apart from maps, other types of graphic representation of “secret knowledge” were also excluded. However, these types of *tu* did not fade away from the matrix of visual culture; they survived in one form or another through venues of governmental documents, scholars' works, and popular prints that I will discuss below in the following chapters.

It is also worth noting that the notion of maps include various types of image as representations of different terrestrial features, so different types of mapmakers were

(Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1997), vol. 1, p. 453. Similarly, the *Water Mill*, which was commissioned by the imperial court during the early Northern Song, can be also seen as reflecting the social and economic agendas of the state. According to Heping Liu, the painting transformed the everyday machine into an imperial symbol, signifying its economic and scientific importance; see Liu, “‘The Water Mill’ and Northern Song Imperial Patronage of Art, Commerce, and Science,” *The Art Bulletin* 84.4 (2002): 566-95.

¹⁹⁹ Ebrey, “Huizong as a Collector,” in *Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2008), pp. 102-31.

associated with different types of images. The painter-cartographers discussed above were to large extent related with the production of administrative maps. They should be distinguished from the surveyors of local projects that I will discuss in Chapter 4.

Conclusion

As the Song dynasty experienced profound social transformations from the Tang, the idea of map also underwent a paradigm shift in the changing epistemological framework: first, maps were increasingly considered a genre of *tu* instead of *hua*; second, graphic representations, such as maps and charts, became an integral part of the new form of monographs interpreting classics; third, the Painting Academy as a newly-emerged institution played a significant role in the drawing of administrative maps; fourth, techniques of painting and mapmaking mutually influenced each other, particularly on topographical maps.

Chapter 4 Imperial Maps and the Concept of *Tu* during the Song

No previous dynasty engaged so actively in representing its geophysical space as the Song. The images examined in this chapter are loosely termed *ditu* or *tu*, which includes maps, plans, and diagrams. Those who were fascinated with the making and using of images during the Song were definitely not limited to the court, but also included men of all social strata. However, image-making played a significant role in the operation of the empire through the pervasive use of *tu* and *ditu* in supervising public works, communicating with generals on battle fronts, and mapping the territory. Since I have discussed the concept of *ditu* in general in the first chapter, here I will focus on the ways in which the perception of territory and space during the Song changed, and *tu* and *ditu* became effective means to visualize imperial space, to plan many public works and to communicate between different levels in the imperial power structure.

The Position of the Practice of Mapping among Ways of Visualizing the Empire

Modern people are acclimatized to having access, when needed, to maps and other visual means to visualize spaces or places beyond the scope of their eyes. However, this was not the case when it came to the visual practice of Song people. Of course, this issue, depending on the relative position of the subject vis-à-vis the imperial institution, would be answered differently in various strata of the society. An illiterate peasant, whose routine life and daily activities might not have exceeded the perimeter of a few markets within walking distance, would have had no need to acquire maps, and, in fact, had no access to them. However, a routine traveler, who might be a literatus scholar or a merchant, would definitely need to rely on a detailed

route map.²⁰⁰ However, images, maps and relevant written records that were made by different levels of the imperial government demonstrated that image-making to a large extent recorded and governed the operation of the empire.

Despite the factionalism between the reformists and conservatives, scholar officials during the Song enjoyed a relatively relaxed political environment compared with those in other periods of imperial China. The absolute authority of the emperor was institutionally negotiated with the rising scholar officials. “Sharing the (administration of) domains” (*gong [zhi] tianxia* 共[治]天下) was a powerful rhetorical discourse when literati officials appealed to the emperor.²⁰¹ Moreover, the institutionalization of the bureaucracy chosen through the examination system accelerated the mobility of government officials. Although the Tang government had set a series of regulations on location and term for officials’ appointment, the Song government further enforced these regulations due to the increasing number of bureaucrats. Officials were appointed to counties and prefectures other than those of their own birth origin, with a short term of two to three years.²⁰² Xin Deyong argues that these

²⁰⁰ Li You 李有 (ca. 13th century), a literatus scholar of the late Southern Song, reported that *Route Map of Making Pilgrimage to the Capital* (*Chao jing licheng tu* 朝京里程圖) was sold at the bridge of White Tower on the post road close to the Imperial Palace. This map was supposed to provide the route connecting the capital Lin’an and other places. See Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀, *Shuo fu* 說郛 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), 5.2192a.

²⁰¹ The issue regarding the complex dynamic between individual agency of literati scholars and the absolute power of the emperor will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. For a comprehensive introduction of this debate, see Luo Yinan, “A Study of the Changes in the Tang-Song Transition Model,” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 35 (2005), 99-127; Peter Bol, “Emperors Can Claim Antiquity Too: Emperorship and Autocracy under the New Policies,” in Patricia Ebrey and Maggie Bickford eds., *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China: The Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 173-205. Cheng Minsheng 程民生, “Lun Song dai shidafu zhengzhi dui huangquan de xianzhi” 論宋代士大夫政治對皇權的限制, *Henan daxue xuebao (Shehui kexue ban)* 河南大學學報 (社會科學版) (1999.3): 59-67.

²⁰² Xing Lin 邢琳, “Song dai zhixian xianling de renqi” 宋代知縣縣令的任期, *Zhongzhou jingu* 中州今古 (2000.3): 46-48.

newly-established regulations drastically stimulated the compiling of *tujing*, which had already existed for a few centuries: when officials were appointed to places that they had never been to, they could use *tujing* to familiarize themselves with the local geography, resources and customs.²⁰³ This became an even more normative practice during the Song. When the Chief Chancellor Kou Zhun 寇準 (961-1023) was dismissed and demoted to Leizhou in present-day Guangdong province, one of the first affairs that he attended to was to check the local *tujing* presented by prefectural officials. Upon reading the first sentence, he figured out his office was only five kilometers away from the ocean.²⁰⁴ In another instance, Li Du 李度 (ca. 10th century), on his way from Kaifeng to Jiaozhou in present-day Guangdong province as the Vice State Courier-envoy (*guoxin fushi* 國信副使), made a request to see the local *tujing* when he reached a new prefecture.²⁰⁵ Meanwhile, copies of these *tujing* and maps, which I will discuss below, were also regularly submitted to the central government.

Apart from officials, people belonging to other social strata also traveled for various purposes. It was common that the candidates moved to less competitive regions to attend civil service examinations;²⁰⁶ merchants frequently traveled from flourishing cities to the remote countryside and foreign countries; monastic clergy and lay believers joined pilgrimages to sacred sites. Inns and taverns, temples and shrines, official posts, personal residences, and

²⁰³ Xin Deyong, “Tang dai de dilixue” 唐代的地理學, in *Tang dai diyu jiegou yu yunzuo kongjian* 唐代地域結構與運作空間, ed. Li Xiaocong 李孝聰 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2003), pp. 439-63.

²⁰⁴ Hu Zi 胡仔, *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua houji* 苕溪漁隱叢話後集 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1962), p. 138.

²⁰⁵ *Song shi*, 440/13021.

²⁰⁶ Bao Weimin 包偉民, “Song ren jiguan guannian shulun” 宋人籍貫觀念述論, *Zhejiang daxue xuebao (Renwen shehui kexue ban)* 浙江大學學報 (人文社會科學版) 31 (2007.1): 36-46.

boats became venues to house travelers on their journey.²⁰⁷ Mobility changed many aspects of people's lives: their self-identification with place of origin, connection to their lineage, way of perceiving distance, and experience of imperial space. Not all of these people can be proved to have used a physical map, but the way they orientated their trip would have definitely relied on certain types of mapping knowledge.

Paradoxically, an emperor, the putative and ultimate viewer of all imperial maps, had little experience in traveling through the physical space represented on the map. As the named ruler of all domains (*tianxia* 天下), Song emperors, except the first and second, had no physical access to their territory beyond the confines of the palace during the majority of their life. For instance, after Emperor Zhenzong, whose held the *fengshan* sacrifices at Mount Tai in Shandong province to offset the humiliations of the Shanyuan 澶淵 Treaty with the Liao empire to the north, succeeding emperors stopped journeying to this site during the Song.²⁰⁸ The inspection tour, due to its luxurious expense and the negligence of imperial affairs, was criticized as a sign of decadence and self-indulgence of the ruler.²⁰⁹ In this sense, the physical and spatial confines of the sacred body of the emperor can be termed "*homo sacer*."²¹⁰ This

²⁰⁷ Wu Yating 吳雅婷, "Buan de xiehou: Song ren yu lüsu changsuo de hudong yu qi gongjian yinxiang" 不安的邂逅——宋人於旅宿場所的互動與其空間印象, *Xin shixue* 新史學 21.4 (2010.12): 141-202.

²⁰⁸ Lau Nap-yin and Huang K'uan-chung, "Founding and Consolidation of the Sung Dynasty," in *The Cambridge History of China*, ed. Denis Twitchett and John Fairbank (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), *Volume 5, Part One: The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors, 907-1279*, p. 270.

²⁰⁹ *XZZTJCB*, 74/1699-1702. In a series of memorials, Sun Shi warned Emperor Zhenzong that his frequent inspection tours were repeating the mistake made by Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang, whose distraction from administration caused the irreversible decline of the dynasty.

²¹⁰ Giorgio Agamben examines the paradoxical power of the sovereign from the judicial and theological perspectives, and I argue that his observation can also be applied to the spatial aspect, and to be specific, the

paradox was mediated by the “paper works” submitted by the bureaucrats to the emperor. Throughout the course of Song history, the imperial court strove to establish effective channels to communicate between central and local governments.²¹¹ All their efforts were realized through maps, reports and other types of documents from local regions, and maps and other types of *tu* were the visual media between the emperor and the imperial space he controlled.

When moving and traveling became more frequent by literati scholars in the political, economic and material life of the Song Empire, a complex visual culture was created to fulfill the desire to see and experience these spaces. Coded values were not explicitly given on maps, but implied through the process of their production and circulation. To position mapmaking in the spectrum of visual culture, it is useful to fathom the parameters of mapmaking within the contexts of social and intellectual practices.

The first parameter to be considered concerns the role of cartographer. Richard Smith has made a general speculation that there were no professional cartographers in ancient China before the late nineteenth century, and most maps were made by literati officials.²¹² Although it is true that no special term was reserved for professional cartographers, mapmaking was not an activity that any literatus was able undertake. At least during the Song, it was a duty that required professionals, artisans in many cases, to undertake.

emperor’s controlling or being confined by the imperial space. Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

²¹¹ Deng Xiaonan 鄧小南, ed., *Zhengji kaocha yu xinxi qudao: Yi Song dai wei zhongxin 政績考察與信息渠道—以宋代為重心* (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2008). This volume investigates the communication of information between the central and local from three perspectives: the inspection of local officials; the communication channels between government and local people; the communication of government documents in urban areas.

²¹² Smith, *Chinese Maps: Images of “All-Under-Heaven”* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press), p. 2.

Imperial Regulation of Mapmaking and the Circulation of Maps

Many Song policies regarding the production and circulation of maps were derived from the practices of the Sui and Tang dynasties or even before, such as the submission of local maps and treatises. The notions of *tujing* extended back to the Qin and Han, and the earliest recorded *tujing* is the *Bajun tujing* 巴郡圖經 by Dan Wang 但望 (2nd century).²¹³ As reported in the *Sui History*, during the Daye (605-617) reign, “it was decreed that all commanderies throughout the Empire would prepare [accounts of] their customs, products, and maps, and submit them to the Department of State Affairs.”²¹⁴ Although only commanderies are mentioned here, titles of individual *tujing* preserved in the bibliography of the *Sui shu* indicates that *tujing* were compiled for prefectures as well.²¹⁵ Hargett argues that surviving passages from the *tujing* of the Tang dynasty reveal that the main purpose of these texts was to supply the central government with factual information on the local communication networks (roads, rivers, canals, and postal stations), the evolution of local administrative institutions, customs and legends, local products, and landmarks and famous sites, as well as to provide up-to-date maps.²¹⁶ This structure is also clearly seen through the surviving portions of *Maps and Treatises*

²¹³ The earliest recorded *tujing* is the *Bajun tujing* 巴郡圖經 by Dan Wang 但望 (2nd century). Chang Ju 常璩, *Huayang guo zhi* 華陽國志 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 2000), pp. 6-7.

²¹⁴ *Sui shu*, 33/988.

²¹⁵ Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in the History of *Difangzhi* Writing,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 56. 2 (Dec., 1996): 409-10.

²¹⁶ Fragments of *Suizhou jun tujing* 隋州郡圖經 by Lang Mao 郎茂 (ca. 6th century) and *Jizhou tujing* 冀州圖經 are preserved in Wang Mo 王謨, *Han Tang dilishu chao* 漢唐地理書鈔 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), pp. 207-24, 299-303.

of Shazhou and Maps and Treatises of Xizhou.²¹⁷ Although surviving titles and fragmentary writings suggest *tujing* had been pervasively compiled in commanderies during the Tang, their submission must have been much less frequent than that of maps. In a recent study on the Tang geography, Xin Deyong perceptively points to an entry in the *New Tang History* (*Xin Tang shu* 新唐書), stating the requirement that *tujing* be submitted every five years was just practically impossible. Xin, after carefully comparing the texts in the official histories and collected statutes, points out that the word “*tujing*” 圖經 in the text was actually a result of an error that occurred during careless transcription, and in fact only maps (*tu* 圖) but not the written guides (*jing* 經) were submitted.²¹⁸

In comparison, it is possible that prefectures were required to submit maps once every three to five years,²¹⁹ although it might not be always practically feasible. The vulnerability of this practice was immediately seen in the years of turmoil. The late Tang period, for example, witnessed the autonomy of high-ranking military officials and the Tibetan occupation of western regions after the second half of the eighth century. It is even more revealing in the case of Jia Dan 賈耽 (730-805) when he took on the responsibility of making a map of Longyou 隴右 (present northwestern China and eastern Central Asia) and Shannan 山南 (present

²¹⁷ Wang Zhongluo 王仲羣 and Zheng Yixiu 鄭宜秀, *Dunhuang shishi dizhi canjuan kaoshi* 敦煌石室地志殘卷考釋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), pp. 109-41, 208-14.

²¹⁸ Xin Deyong, “Tang dai de dilixue,” pp. 443-44.

²¹⁹ After 780, the regulation was changed from every three years into five years, but was reinstated to three years shortly after. This term, according to the statute, was only applied to regular situations, meaning that additional maps should be made with notable changes of landscape and administration. See Wang Pu 王溥, *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1955), vol. 2, f.59, pp. 1032-33. See Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 46/1198.

Sichuan, Hubei and Hunan) Prefectures after they were recaptured from the Tibetans.²²⁰ Jia complained of the lack of sources since the Bureau of Operations had lost track of mapping these regions during the previous decades.²²¹ The requirement of map submission at such a high frequency from another perspective reveals the anxiety of the central government to keep state affairs under its firm control.

The Song to some extent maintained a cohesive tradition with its immediate past as it did with many other political measures, but at the same time, it also considerably enforced its practice. The making and use of maps was thereby built into the routine of imperial affairs. The mechanism of this intensification lay in the political imperative of a centralized power and the necessity of transforming the ideological imagination into visual form. Only decades after the founding of the Song dynasty by Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤 (r. 960-76) was the empire finally settled in relative peace. His younger brother and successor, Zhao Guangyi 趙光義 (r. 976-97) ordered the resumption of the practice of regularly collecting local maps and registers. The circuits and prefectures were required to turn in their local maps and registers during the intercalary year during the Yongxi era (984-987), and every other intercalary year during the Chunhua era (990-994).²²² An intercalary year on Chinese lunar-solar calendar usually takes

²²⁰ After the outbreak of the An Lushan Rebellion (755-63), Tibetan forces gradually advanced into the west of Tang territory, and even captured the capital Chang'an in 763. Although the Tang had taken over the regions that Xia Dan represented in the map, most parts of the western territory were not taken over from the Tibetan occupation until 840. See Michael Dalby, "Chapter 9: Court Politics in Late T'ang Times," in *Cambridge History of China, Vol. 3: Sui and T'ang China, 589-906 Part I*, pp. 568-69, 607-8, 676-67. For a detailed discussion on the Sino-Tibetan relationship during the late Tang, see Twitchett, "Tibet in Tang's Grand Strategy," in *Warfare in Chinese History*, ed. Hans van de Ven (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 106-76.

²²¹ *Jiu Tang shu*, 138/3784.

²²² *XZZTJCB*, 18/410.

place every two or three years; the extra month allowed local officials to have spare time to attend to additional duties. A historical entry reported that the amount of one year's submission of the prefectural and county maps could add up to four hundred *juan*.²²³

These maps were submitted to various units of the central government, such as the Bureau of Operations, the Bureau of Military Affairs, or the Bureau of the Presented Phoenix (*yiluansi* 儀鸞司) in the central government. The Bureau of Operations, during the Song, was a branch under the Ministry of War (*bingbu* 兵部), responsible for the preservation of military maps, construction of frontier fortifications and signal systems. The Bureau of Military Affairs was the paramount central government agency in control of the military forces of the state, and its significance for most time of the Song overtook that of the Ministry of War.²²⁴ The Bureau of the Presented Phoenix, named after a palace hall since the Tang, was responsible for assembling, maintaining, and providing equipment used in important state ceremonies. By the Song, charged under the Court of Imperial Regalia (*weiwei si* 衛尉寺), it was responsible for ceremonies associated with imperial sacrifices, audiences, tours, and banquets.²²⁵ Therefore, receiving and accommodating envoys was one of its functions during the Song dynasty. The Bureau of Operations, at least since the Han dynasty, had been assumed to be the right place to collect local maps,²²⁶ but a memorial in 1001 submitted by Vice Director of Bureau of

²²³ *XZZTJCB*, 18/410.

²²⁴ Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 436.

²²⁵ *SHY*, 779/3a.

²²⁶ Zhou Li, in *Shisanjing zhushu*, 435.1.

Operations Wu Shu 吳淑 (947-1002) demonstrates that this practice only remained nominal during the Song. Wu, on the grounds of the confidentiality of the maps, expressed his concern caused by a worrisome phenomenon that maps were actually collected at the Bureau of the Presented Phoenix.

“The maps submitted by each circuit in every intercalary year should have been preserved at the Bureau of Operations, but recently all of them were sent to the Bureau of the Presented Phoenix. I humbly think strategic places of mountains and rivers of all domains are confidential information of the royal house and thus of immediate concern to the state. Therefore, the Bureau of Operations in the *Rites of Zhou* took charge of maps and registers of all domains, and commanded the Royal Scout to protect the chariot of the King. After Emperor Han Gaozu entered the Guanzhong area, Xiao He himself collected all the maps and registers of the Qin, through which they were completely informed about the strategic places. How can one ignore and not attend to it! I propose to give the order that all maps submitted in the intercalary year be collected at the Bureau of Operations. In addition, the shape of prefectures is as uneven as the teeth of dogs, so if only maps of prefectures were made as before, how can we piece these prefectural maps together? Therefore, I propose that the Fiscal Commissioner should draw and turn in a map of his circuit every ten years. Thereupon, we will know the dangerous and strategic locations of all the domains without looking outside of the window, and the size of the nine provinces will also be available as if on the palm of a hand.” [The emperor] followed his advice.

“諸路所納閏年圖，當在職方收掌，近者並²²⁷納儀鸞司。伏以天下山川險要，皆王室之祕奧，國家之急務，故周禮職方氏掌天下圖籍，又詔土訓以夾王車。漢祖入關中，蕭何獨收秦圖籍，由是周知險要。豈可忽而不顧哉！請令以今閏所納圖並上職方。又州郡地理，犬牙相入，向者獨畫一州地形，則何以傳合他郡，望令諸路轉運使每十年各畫本路圖一，上職方。所冀天下險要，不窺牖而可知，九州輪輻，如指掌而斯在。”從之。²²⁸

Two conclusions can be deduced from the above texts. First, by the time when this memorial was submitted, the maps that each circuit had submitted were only those of its prefectures. Since the contour of the prefectural maps would not be accurate enough to have them pieced together, Wu required each circuit to submit its general map every ten years. Collecting prefectural maps every intercalary year and circuit maps every ten years demonstrates the ways in which the mechanism of map production was further established: the central government attempted to keep its information about local regions updated. The so-called “*tianxia datu*” or similar maps, although made only occasionally, remained on the top of this system. Second, Wu Shu pointed out a problem on the receiving end. He did not oppose the turning of maps to the Bureau of the Presented Phoenix, but only suggested that his Bureau of Operations should acquire a copy as well. It is understandable that the Bureau of the Presented Phoenix would need maps to arrange the route for the emperor’s inspection, or to present

²²⁷ The word *bing* 並 appears twice in this passage. Its meaning is crucial to understand the institution of map preservation. Depending on the context, it should refer to “altogether” instead of “also.”

²²⁸ XZZTJCB, 49/1070.

them in the ancestral sacrifice as it was done by tradition (see Chapter 2). Although the emperor agreed to take his advice, this problem was not completely solved.

Wu's statement of the circuit maps as "confidential information of the royal house and thus of immediate concern to the state" and his proposal of submitting all maps to the Bureau of Operations implied that the Bureau of the Presented Phoenix, as the venue to receive foreign diplomats, would have provided them with maps and would have resulted in the release of confidential information on strategic locations. A few decades later, this concern turned into a real threat to the Song. In 1053, Vice Commissioner of the Ministry of Revenue, Fu Yong 傅永 (ca. 11th century), while being sent to the Liao Empire, happened to find out that the Khitan official who accompanied him was not only informed of the recent merger of two Song prefectures, but also had seen a map of Yizhou. The Song government, being highly alert after learning this, immediately sent a secret order (*miyu* 密諭) to the prefectures in Hebei Circuit on the border with the Liao, forbidding the presentation and circulation of prefectural maps among envoys.²²⁹ This rule was once again reinstated two decades later, on the one hand ordering envoys to follow the arrangement that Song had made for them, on the other hand forbidding the Bureau to supply them with maps.²³⁰ The reinstatement of this rule implies that maps were still circulating across the border. The concerns conveyed by the regulations focus on the threat of the Liao. The "secret order" given solely to the Song officials but not the Khitan

²²⁹ SHY, 77/3091.

²³⁰ SHY, 779/231a. Similar accounts are also seen in XZZTJCB, 174/4201.

envoys represents the delicate relationship that the Northern Song attempted to maintain with the Liao.

Apart from the above bureaus involved in the control of the prefectural maps, the emperor certainly had his own plan to deal with maps. When Emperor Taizong called artisans to make a “great map of all domains” (*tianxia datu* 天下大圖) on a basis of the maps gathered at the court in 993, this map was subsequently housed in the Secret Pavilion, the private library for the emperor, rather than in the imperial library.²³¹ In other words, the emperor had the agency to decide who else would have access to it. The exact size of the map remains unclear, but it would have been of tremendous length given that the amount of the silk, one hundred bolts (=3140 meters), was consumed. Pan Sheng points out that, although this order was issued in 993, the process of making a general map might have taken a much longer time. Pan also addresses the issue that the making of this new map made a claim on the legitimacy of the newly-established empire, when Taizong had united most parts of the territory, and decided to abandon the sixteen prefectures lost to the Khitan during the Five Dynasties.²³²

Maps of this sort offered a panoramic view of the empire. In 1009, after examining a map, Emperor Zhenzong pointed out the potential danger of Mount Dongting 洞庭 in Hubei on the grounds that the mountain’s location on an island more than ten *li* from the shore of the lake made it an ideal gathering place for bandits during years of poor harvest.²³³ His fear was

²³¹ SHY, 778/563b.

²³² Pan Sheng, *Song dai dilixue de guannian tixi yu zhishi xingqu* 宋代地理學的觀念體系與知識興趣, PhD dissertation (Peking University, 2008), pp. 109-10.

²³³ XZZTJCB, 72/1627.

realized in 1130 when Zhong Xiang 鍾相 (d. 1130) and Yang Yao 楊幺 (d. 1135) based themselves around rivers and marshes surrounding Lake Dongting to lead a devastating uprising.²³⁴ On another occasion, Emperor Zhenzong was also able to point out the fallacies in the border reports after a close reading of the maps.²³⁵ Therefore, understanding and governing the geophysical space was mediated through a skillful reading of a map by the emperor. In 1001 when he had a meeting with his assisting ministers to discuss border issues, he used maps to make military arrangements,

On the day of *gengxu*, the emperor showed assistant ministers the maps of the twenty-three prefectures of the Shaanxi Circuit. He pointed out one by one the locations of mountains and rivers that could be conveniently and inconveniently accessed, and the places where ethnic tribes were dwelling. Then he turned to Qin Prefecture, “This prefecture is located beyond the Long Mountains, and famous for its wealth. It is also connected to the Qiang and Rong regions. I recently dispatched Zhang Yong to guard it, and hope he is capable of pacify it.” He then pointed at the map of Lingzhou on the northern wall of the imperial hall, and said, “Feng Ye (ca. 11th century) had this map made, and it is fairly detailed and complete. The mountains, rivers, and scenic sites are just like it shows, but where can I find wise and brave gentlemen to guard it?” Thereafter, he pointed at the map of Gan, Yi and Liang and other prefectures on the south wall, and then the map of the Khitan to the north of Youzhou

²³⁴ Tao Jing-shen, “The Move to the South and the Reign of Kao-tsung (1127-1162),” in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 5, Part I*, pp. 665-66.

²³⁵ *XZZTJCB*, 49/1078.

on the eastern wall, saying, “What has been occupied by the Khitan stretched over one thousand five hundred *li* from the south to north; nine hundred *li* from east to west. Although the region is not very broad, it is still very unfortunate that Yan and Ji were lost.”

庚戌，上以陝西二十三州圖示輔臣，歷指山川險易，蕃部居處。又指秦州曰：“此州在隴山之外，號為富庶，且與羌戎接畛，昨已命張雍出守，冀其綏撫有方也。”次復指殿北壁靈州圖曰：「此馮業所畫，頗為周悉，山川形勝如此，安得知勇之士為朕守之乎？」又指南壁甘、伊、涼等州圖，及東壁幽州已北契丹圖，上曰：“契丹所據地，南北千五百里，東西九百里，封域非廣也，而燕薊淪陷，深可惜耳。”²³⁶

Although this entry does not specify the palace hall in which this talk occurred, it is possible that it took place in the Hall of Raising Prosperity (*Zifu dian* 滋福殿), a side hall (*biandian* 便殿) where Zhenzong was recorded to frequently discuss issues on the northwestern border with his officials.²³⁷ The so-called “side hall” is opposed to the main hall (*zhengdian* 正殿), which would have been the Hall of Great Ceremony (*Daqingdian* 大慶殿) at this time. Since the main hall was often used for ceremonies, the emperor always discussed administrative issues with officials in a side hall. In the following year, the emperor received his assisting ministers in a side hall, presumably the same one, and showed a map of Eastern Circuit of Hebei in present-day Hebei province, northern Shandong and southern Tianjin provinces), analyzed the situation

²³⁶ XZZTJCB, 49/1078.

²³⁷ XZZTJCB, 49/1078, 52/1138.

on the border and finally requested the officials to submit strategies to protect the peasants from harassment by northern enemies. Therefore, it is possible that this side palace, equipped with map collections and also installed with maps on surrounding walls, was a space that was not completely formal and ceremonial so that issues could be discussed in a relatively relaxed and easy atmosphere.

Transmission and Multiplication of Imperial Knowledge

Being placed in a space imbued with sacred and hierarchical connotations can add new meaning to a map. The map on the screen behind Xiaozong's throne is the most revealing example. Xiaozong was said to have placed a screen behind his throne in the Hall of Selecting the Virtuous (Xuandedian 選德殿) during his early Qiandao Era (1165-1173). This hall was recently built as the primary palace to discuss administrative affairs. The leading scholar-official at the court, Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126-1204), was ordered to compose a prose essay for it shortly thereafter. He recorded the activities carried out in this building as follows,

Among those memorials with illustrated strategies that are submitted by officials, the usable ones are immediately selected to attach to the walls for display. [The emperor] also invites the civil and military officials to discuss ways of administration, and searches for recluses among the common people. As for reports on affairs of the inside and outside [of the court], such as significant military affairs, all are scrutinized and determined here. In times of leisure, he elucidates the canons and commentaries, or practices shooting by himself, without stopping even on extremely cold and hot days

臣有圖方略來上，可採者輒棲之壁，以備觀覽。數延文武，講論治道，詢求民隱，至於中外奏報，若軍國之幾務，皆於此省決。暇則紬繹經傳，或親御弧矢，雖大寒暑不廢。²³⁸

The function of this structure was different from the side hall mentioned above: this palace hall, according to the *Gazetteer of Lin'an of the Xianchun Era*, was built as a “hall for shooting” (*she dian* 射殿),²³⁹ an analogy for dealing with daily affairs of the empire, so the setting was meant to be relatively formal. The existence of the throne suggests that the hall faced south, and the throne would have been the most sacred place in this space. The screen in the backdrop functioned as a shield for the throne and drew the line for the sacred space within the hall. Given the size of the screens represented in a few Song paintings and the spaciousness of the palace hall, the size of the screen would not have been visibly acceptable if it had been smaller than 2.5 meters on each side (fig. 4-1).

On the front side of the screen were written names and positions of officials of administrative units, e.g., circuits (*dao* 道) and prefectures, and on the back side were drawn the *Map of Chinese and Foreign Lands* (*Huayi tu* 華夷圖).²⁴⁰ Both sides of the screen are a telling example of the tallying of word and image, and registers and maps in this case. The front side represents the ways in which the empire was perceived through the structure of the

²³⁸ The prose essay written by Zhou Bida is preserved in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 compiled by Qian Shuoyou 潛說友; see *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, in SYFZCK, vol. 4, p. 3361. The story is also seen in Li Xinchuan 李心傳, *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji* 建炎以來朝野雜記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), pp. 124-25. Wang Yinglin 王應麟, *Yuhai* 玉海 (Nanjing & Shanghai: Jiangsu guji chubanshe & Shanghai chubanshe, 1987), p. 1162.

²³⁹ SYFZCK, vol. 4, p. 3361.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

bureaucracy. The prefecture during the Song was a significant level mediating the imperial court and counties below, so a visual display of the names and positions of their officials in the palace hall was not only practical but meaningful. This map at the back shows how the empire was perceived through geophysical structure. The map was especially a visual indication of the spirit of the reign of Xiaozong, who was famous for his absolutist control of the bureaucrats at his court.²⁴¹

The map on the back of the screen and the information on the front constituted a significant pair: the map was hidden, absent from direct viewers, e.g., the ministers and officials, who were facing the throne of the emperor, but was still de-facto present *in situ*; the names of the officials on the front signified a set of geographical and administrative information, such as population, revenue, military deployment, and resources of tea, silk, and horses. The title of the map, *Map of Chinese and Foreign Lands*, and the surviving copies, which I will discuss below, imply that the map in this palace hall represented the territory of the Song Empire and beyond, especially the territory of the Northern Song that had been conquered nearly a century earlier. Although Xiaozong was ambitious to recapture the North, his efforts were suspended in 1165 when the peace treaty was signed with the Jin. Meanwhile, he was from time to time urged to assure the peace policy by his ministers and his adoptive father, who were inclined to peaceful negotiation rather than to fight with the Jin.²⁴² Starting from the Qiandao Era, the Southern Song was able to concentrate on improving its inner economic strength. Placing the *Map of*

²⁴¹ Gong Wei Ai, "The Reign of Hsiao-tsung," in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 5, Part One*, pp. 721-25.

²⁴² Gong Wei Ai, "The Reign of Hsiao-tsung," in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 5, Part One*, pp. 732-37.

Chinese and Foreign Lands with the names of the officials on the screen constituted a visual signifier of the backbone of the empire.

The *Map of Chinese and Foreign Lands* deserves our attention. As two copies and relevant records suggest, it was not a rare theme during the Song Period. The current two copies are the *Map of Chinese and Foreign Lands* that was carved on a stele in 1136 and the *Essential Map of Chinese and Foreign Lands of the Past and Present* (*Gujin huayi qu yuzong yaotu* 古今華夷區域摠要圖) that was included in a print during the Southern Song. Despite variance of inscriptions and drawing, it is clear that both of them shared the same model. As their inscriptions indicate, they were based on Jia Dan's *The Map of Chinese and Foreign Lands within the Seas* that I have discussed in Chapter 2. It is very possible that Jia's map, with its size of 3 *zhang* (one *zhang* = 360 cm) in width and 3.3 *zhang* in length, was also the model of the map drawn on the back of the screen. Here we see a complex history of map transmission, which includes processes of simulation and transformation simultaneously.

The *Map of Chinese and Foreign Lands* on the stele is in a relatively square shape with 79 cm in width and 78 cm in length. It was carved at the Qishan prefectural academy under the Liu Qi regime (fig. 4-2). Most likely the original copy of this stele map was made in a Northern Song academy between 1117 and 1125, shortly before it was pushed south by the Jurchen Jin (1115-1234) in 1127.²⁴³ In comparison, the other copy, the *Essential Map of Chinese and Foreign Lands of the Past and Present* (*Gujin huayi qu yuzong yaotu* 古今華夷區域摠要圖), is a simpler

²⁴³ Chavannes, "Les deux plus anciens specimens de la cartographie chinoise," *Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême-Orient*, 1903, vol. 3, no. 2, p. 216. Cao Wanru, "Youguan Huayi tu wenti de tantao" 有關華夷圖問題的探討, in *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Zhanguo--Yuan*, p. 41. The appropriation of the Song maps in the Liu Qi will be discussed in Chapter 4.

version in terms of both its size and content. It appeared much earlier in the *Handy Geographical Maps throughout the Ages* (*Lidai dili zhizhang tu* 歷代地理指掌圖), which was first compiled by Shui Anli 稅安禮 (d. 1098) (fig. 4-3) and intended to be a study guide for students to prepare for the civil service examination.²⁴⁴ The annotation written in the following pages after the map in this book were also inscribed on the margin of the stele. During this process of mapmaking, simulating and transforming, the emperor was the sovereign of the territory that was represented in the map and the putative viewer of the “great map,” e.g., Jia Dan’s map or the map in Xiaozong’s side hall, whereas the maps of smaller size and less content, e.g., the stele map and the printed map, were supposed to be displayed publicly to a much larger audience. The knowledge, while being passed down, was also transformed in different contexts and given new connotations.

This map was also the most popular base map for other Song printed maps, especially those on historical and current empires in the *Handy Geographical Maps* and the *Newly Illustrated, Expanded, Various Records of Entities* (*Xinbian zuantu zenglei qunshu leiyaoshilin guangji* 新編纂圖增類事林廣記) compiled by Chen Yuanjing 陳元靚 (ca. 13th century),²⁴⁵ and the

²⁴⁴ Shui Anli, *Lidai dili zhizhang tu* (reprint of a Song woodblock), in *XXSKQS*, vol. 585, pp. 473-586. In traditional catalogues, this book was attributed either to Shui Anli or Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101). After a comprehensive research on the Song and Ming editions, contemporary scholars, such as Wang Zhongmin 王重民, Cao Wanru and Guo Shengbo 郭聲波, are prone to believe the book was originally compiled by Shui, but was revised and supplemented by other Southern Song scholars. The attribution to Su Shi most likely took place at the commercial print shops in Sichuan during the Southern Song. Wang Zhongmin, *Zhongguo shanben shu tiyao* 中國善本書提要 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), pp. 182-83. Cao Wanru, “*Lidai dili zhizhang tu yanjiu*” in *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Zhanguo – Yuan*, pp. 31-34; Guo Shengbo, “*Lidai dili zhizhang tu zuozhe zhi zheng ji wojian*” 《歷代地理指掌圖》作者之爭及我見, *Sichuan daxue xuebao (Zhhexue shehui kexue ban)* 四川大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) 114 (2001.3): 89-96.

²⁴⁵ Chen Yuanjing, *Xinbian zuantu zenglei qunshu leiyaoshilin guangji* (reprint of a woodblock dating Zhishun Era [1330-33]), in *XXSKQS*, vol. 1228, pp. 232-40.

Illustrations of the Six Classics (Liujingtu 六經圖) by Mao Banghan 毛邦翰 (ca. 13th century).

More analysis of these maps will be presented in Chapter 5, but here I would like to just point out that the knowledge of mapping was shared by different levels of society, from the emperor to the examination candidates, from the imperial court to local academies and book markets. In this way imperial knowledge was transmitted and multiplied in a much broader social space. What the reproduction of this imperial map concerns is not the simple issue of copying, since the small size of the printed map or even the stele does not maintain the gigantic size and the tremendous detail of the “great map” or the screen map, and also loses the awe and grandeur attached to the size. However, the copied maps on stele or in prints, although omitting the details, still signify the “real” imperial territory ideologically. Therefore these maps carried not only the geographical knowledge, but also the iconic value of the “great map.”

Presenting and Controlling Space through “Battle Formation” Maps

Imperial maps can represent the empire on various levels and from various perspectives. Apart from small scale maps that I mentioned above, there were also other types of visual means to represent specific spaces, such as topographical maps of military formations and public works. Different from the above small scale maps which passively reflect situations of distance, size and population, these maps tend to adopt larger scale and represent topographical features, and they also present active strategies or agendas.

By the early Northern Song, the term *zhentu* 陣圖, literally “diagram of battle formation,” was widely used in campaigns and frequently appeared in bibliographies of official histories and

catalogues. As mentioned above, Tang art historian Zhang Yanyuan reported seeing several sets of *zhentu*, such as *Diagrams of Eight Battle Formations by Master Sun* (*Sunzi bazhen tu* 孫子八陣圖), *Diagrams of Formations with Eight Variations on Yin and Yang by Sun [Wu] from the Wu State* (*Wu Sun pinmu babian zhentu* 吳孫牝牡八變陣圖) and *Diagrams of Establishing Battle Formations according to the Arts of War by Prince Chi You* (*Chi You wangzi bingfa ying zhentu* 蚩尤王子兵法營陣圖).²⁴⁶ These images, alongside others on cosmography, geomancy, physiognomy, and the mantic arts, were collected by aristocratic families, being considered “secret paintings and precious images.” However, the Song government placed strict rules on the circulation of images citing their potential threat to the regime from the early Northern Song on. Although the diagrams of battle formations were not explicitly included in the edict banning other books and images on divination, cosmology, and the mantic arts, the emperor precluded other people from free access to the diagrams and remained the hub--either as the distributor or the receiver--through which they circulated.

The Song dynasty in Chinese history is famous for valuing civility and culture over military values in discourse. The tone of cherishing civil values was set by the first emperor Taizu 太祖 (r. 960-76), out of the lessons from the previous dynasties, when regional military officials had weakened central authority. Taizong, after ascending the throne, was especially concerned about the threat coming from his own commanders, so he inherited and enforced the policy established by Taizu, evoking it as the “law of the ancestors” (*zuzong zhi fa* 祖宗之法). It is apparent that early Song emperors intentionally laid emphasis on constraining members of the

²⁴⁶ Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji*, pp. 77, 80.

powerful imperial lineage, eunuchs, and military officials. As a result, these procedures on the one hand caused the elevation of the status of literati, and on the other hand created an inefficient and bloated bureaucracy.²⁴⁷

In surveying Song historical sources between the reigns of Taizong and Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022-1063), one frequently reads about instances in which commanders were said to be following a “diagram of battle formation” issued by the emperors during large military campaigns. Critical opinions were often voiced at the court. The outspoken Drafter (*Zhi zhigao* 知制誥), Tian Xi 田錫 (940-1003), submitted a memorial in 989, which stated:

As the current strategy of defending against the *Rong* people, nothing is more urgent than choosing generals. After the generals are selected, they should be given authority and held responsible for defeating the enemy. There is no need to provide them with the *zhentu*, and no need to provide the strategy. If they could make adaptations according to the ever-changing situations, there is no way not to succeed and not to defeat the enemy ...The old general Zhao Chongguo said, “To hear about it one hundred times is not as good as to see it once.” Nowadays, however, when the generals are appointed, the central government issues an edict to prescribe the

²⁴⁷ Qi Xia 漆俠, situating this practice in the power struggles at the court of Taizong, considers it a backlash against his overemphasis on the stability of the inside over the defense on the border (*shounei xuwai* 守內虛外); see Qi Xia, “Song Taizong yu shounei xuwai” 宋太宗與守內虛外, in *Tanzhi ji* 探知集 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 1999), pp. 151-67. Deng Guangming and Deng Xiaonan argue that later emperors, continuing the established rules of the first emperors (Taizu and Taizong), had severely limited the agency and adaptability of military officials, which represented one of the many flaws in the Northern Song court policy of “generals obeying commands of the central government” (*jiangcong zhongyu* 將從中御). See Deng Guangming 鄧廣銘, “Song chao de jiafa he Bei Song de zhengzhi gaige yundong” 宋朝的家法和北宋的政治改革運動, in *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 (1986.3): 85-100; Deng Xiaonan, *Zuzong zhi fa: Bei Song qianqi zhengzhi shulue* 祖宗之法: 北宋前期政治述略 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), p. 10.

strategy or present them with *zhentu*. If generals follow them, there will be inappropriate dealings. If the generals decide by themselves, they disobey the order of the emperor. Depending on this to win a victory, I cannot see the point.

今之禦戎，無先於選將帥，既得將帥，請委任責成，不必降以陣圖，不須授之方略，自然因機設變，觀釁制宜，無不成功，無不破敵矣。...趙充國老將，尚云「百聞不如一見」。況今委任將帥，而每事欲從中降詔，授以方略，或賜以陣圖，依從則有未合宜，專斷則是違上旨，以此制勝，未見其長。²⁴⁸

Tian evoked the famous Western Han general Zhao Chongguo who ordered the making of maps in his expeditions.²⁴⁹ On the contrary, the Song practice put generals in a disadvantageous position. Due to the disjunction between the emperor's strategy and the ever-changing situation on the ground, the decision of the generals would not lead to a fruitful result if they only followed a rigid strategy. Discontented voices towards the central control of the campaigns continuously appeared: Zhu Taifu 朱台符 (965-1006), Vice Fiscal Commissioner of Jingxi Circuit (present Henan, southern Shaanxi and northern Hebei), and Yan Shu 晏殊 (991-1055), Commissioner of State Finance (*sansi shi* 三司使), raised similar proposals in 999 and 1040 respectively, suggesting lifting the practice of prescribing diagrams of battle formation to generals.²⁵⁰ Unfortunately, the "diagrams of battle formation" that were used in military campaigns have not survived, but what can give us a glimpse of the diagrams are those

²⁴⁸ XZZTJCB, 30/675.

²⁴⁹ Zhao Chongguo is also discussed in Chapter 2.

²⁵⁰ XZZTJCB, 44/937, 126/2988.

collected in the surviving military encyclopedia, *The Essentials of Military Canons* (*Wujing zongyao* 武經總要), compiled by two civil officials, Zeng Gongliang 曾公亮 (998-1078) and Ding Du 丁度 (990-1053) between 1040 and 1043, under the command of Emperor Renzong.²⁵¹

The diagrams collected in *The Essentials of Military Canons* were primarily used for military training. This encyclopedia collects diagrams not only transmitted from ancient times but also made during the early Northern Song. The rhetoric of the compilers explicitly defended the necessities of using diagrams in campaigns. They first opposed some of their contemporaneous colleagues who sided with the opinion of the Tang strategist Li Quan 李筌 (ca. 8th century). Strongly influenced by Daoist and Yinyang philosophy, Li held that formation strategy (*zhenfa* 陣法) is not really necessary since it is not adaptable to changing situations. Li's argument probably resonated well in the early Song among those generals who did not want to follow the diagrams of the emperors. They compared the ideal configuration of battle formations with water, the shape of which changes according to the surrounding topography. The compilers, however, backed their stance of defending the diagrams by constructing its tradition and attributed its origin to the legendary *Diagrams of Eight Battle Formations* (*Bazhen tu* 八陣圖) designed by Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234). As the chancellor of the Shu Kingdom (221-63) and one of the most accomplished strategists in history, Zhuge effectively helped to extend the life of the kingdom with his miraculous military strategies and tactics. The key message in the

²⁵¹ Zeng Gongliang and Ding Du, *Wujing zongyao* (facsimile of the Jinling Tang Fuchun 唐富春 print from the Wanli [1572-1620] Era), in *Zhongguo bingshu jicheng* 中國兵書集成 comp. by *Zhongguo bingshu jicheng weiyuanhui* 中國兵書集成委員會 (Beijing and Shenyang: Jiefangjun chubanshe; Liao Shen chubanshe, 1988), vol. 3, pp. 269-371.

rhetoric of the compilers was that the formation of the battle already contained inexhaustible changes to react against the movements of the enemy.

The first battle formation listed in this canon is the *Comprehensive Deployments for Pacifying the Rong* (平戎萬全陣圖) designed by Taizong (fig. 4-4). Despite its claim to be comprehensive, applying such a diagram directly to a campaign without considering its specific timing, topographical, and other conditions seems unreasonable. However, placing it at the beginning of the section on “Diagram of Battle Formation” of the *The Essentials of Military Canons* was no doubt a rhetorical way to canonize the policy and authority of Taizong. The preface to this diagram says,

Emperor Yizu (=Taizu) pacified all the domains with military power, and was familiar with all ancient arts of war. During the Yongxi Era, the Khitans frequently pillaged the borders, so Emperor Taizong himself made *Comprehensive Deployments for Pacifying the Rong*, bestowed it upon his generals, and made them follow it. Now since it is still well preserved, [we] placed it at the beginning of this section in order to present his sagely work.

藝祖皇帝，以武德綏靖天下，於古兵法靡不該通。雍熙中，契丹數盜邊境，太宗皇帝乃自制《平戎萬全陣圖》，以授大將，俾從事焉。今存其詳，用冠篇首，以示聖制云。²⁵²

Although both court archives and popular history suggest that the second emperor Taizong, the younger brother of Taizu, succeeded to the throne in a suspicious way,²⁵³ this text here

²⁵² Zeng Gongliang and Ding Du, *Wujing zongyao*, j. 7, pp. 274-75.

presents a continuous tradition between the two emperors. The diagram is considered the apex of their military wisdom. The preface gives us an impression that the diagram, as a response to the Khitan's attack, had been directly used in the battles by both Taizong and his generals.

The preface is immediately followed by the image and a lengthy gloss. The image represents the deployment of an army made up of 140,900 soldiers (110,280 infantry and 30,650 cavalry), and 1,440 chariots. Such a configuration would occupy 8-9 km on each side. Each dot represents a unit of 30 to 50 soldiers, depending on their position. With the main force located in the center, the "gates" of each brigade in the four cardinal directions, and the watch towers at the four corners, the structure of the whole formation resembles that of a town with layers of walls and gates. The diagram visually presents a strategy of defense rather than that of an attack. As most soldiers are infantry, it would be difficult for the troop to move fast.

A comparison with historical records suggests another side of the story of how this map might have been used. Taizong, after ascending to the throne in 979, never won any battle decisively during the Song-Liao conflicts. The diagram, which might well reflect his thoughts on military deployment, first appeared during the summer of 987, one year after a severe loss in a campaign with the Liao. Taizong showed the diagram to three generals, Pan Mei 潘美 (921-987) who was the commander of Bingzhou, Tian Chongjin 田重進 (929-997) of Dingzhou, and Cui Han 崔翰 (10th century) of the Palace Army. The emperor also instructed them in strategy, and bestowed upon each of them a piece of his own calligraphy, an essay regarding the five talents and ten shortcomings of generals. The diagram and the calligraphy, in this context, were

²⁵³ Lau Nap-yin and Huang K'uan-chung, "Founding and Consolidation of the Sung Dynasty," pp. 242-44.

primarily a gesture of favor and intimacy, as the diagram might have been used in military training, but it was unlikely useful for actual campaigning. The strict requirement regarding the number of the soldiers and, consequently, the space, would make it difficult for a general to adjust to the actual situation of the enemy, topography, and his available resources.

It remained a regular practice for emperors to issue diagrams to generals for military training. It was a way for the emperor to reinforce the relationship with his subjects, and also a way to solidify his authority. Gao Qiong 高瓊 (935-1006), for instance, was the Commander-in-chief of the Palace Army (*Dianqian du zhihuishi* 殿前都指揮使), who took charge of the active defense of the capital and palace. In the ninth month of 1003, Emperor Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997-1022), ordered Gao to train the newly conscripted soldiers in military formations, and he was very satisfied with Gao's training after an inspection of these soldiers.²⁵⁴ Meanwhile, there were interactions between the emperor and the generals. At the end of this year, Gao Qiong submitted a set of diagrams of battle formations combining the use of whips (*bian* 鞭) and crossbows (*jian* 箭).²⁵⁵ Seen from the title, this diagram seems to combine the advantage of long and short weapons. The submission also implies that it was a new arrangement, and was first used in training.

The following year, the emperor showed Gao Qiong another two diagrams for training, one for marching and the other for stationing (一行一止).²⁵⁶ Maps of marching and camping are

²⁵⁴ XZZTJCB, 55/1213.

²⁵⁵ XZZTJCB, 55/1215.

²⁵⁶ XZZTJCB, 55/1287.

also collected in the *Essentials of Military Canons* (fig. 4-5). The diagrams function like modules: each diagram can be connected with others. After a long term of familiarization in practice, they would be easily combined according to topography, the number of the enemy, weather and other conditions.²⁵⁷ The ways in which they are arranged together structured and formulated a strategy in response to different possibilities of combining various situations, and provide comprehensive “vocabularies” that both soldiers, generals, and the emperor could communicate both in training and on the field.

Although generals needed to follow the emperors’ diagrams in campaigns in principle, there seems to have been room for negotiation between the two parties. In 979, after General Zhao Yanjin 趙延進 (ca. 10th century) deployed the battle formation according to the diagram given by the emperor, the cavalry of the enemy was spread all over the battle field, and the soldiers were intimidated. He immediately made an adjustment by grouping the eight formations into two. At last his army decisively defeated the enemy, so he was praised by the emperor instead of being punished for not following his order.²⁵⁸

In other cases, generals could also submit diagrams to the emperor for approval. In 1001, before Wang Chao’s 王超 (ca. 11th century) forces were sent to support Lingzhou against an attack by the Liao, the emperor approved two diagrams that Wang proposed: one was planned

²⁵⁷ I am inspired by Lothar Ledderose’s observation on modular organization of Chinese cultural and social systems, but I am not trying to essentialize the modular function of the diagrams, as the complex actual situation on battle fields, as I will discuss below, is also decisive to the outcome of the campaign. Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 1-7.

²⁵⁸ XZZTJCB, 20/462-63.

to protect logistics and grain in the middle of the formation, and the other to arrange some mobile forces when confronting the enemy.²⁵⁹

In fact, the prescription of a ready-made diagram for a campaign seemed to remain more in rhetoric rather in practice after Taizong. If an emperor did prescribe one, it was probably a topographic map with a military agenda. Specific conditions of location, topography, time and enemy, once known, would have been taken into consideration when making the diagram. In some sense, the diagram that the emperor provided was actually a kind of topographical map incorporated with military strategies. For example, in the early 1003, after a campaign in which the government army and its ally of ethnic troops cooperated to defeat the Tangut leader Li Jiqian 李繼遷 (963-1004), the Stockade Commander, Duan Shoulun 段守倫 (ca. 11th century) submitted a report summarizing the campaign. The emperor used his diagram to inquire about the details, and then made decisions on the rewards.²⁶⁰ In order to show the movements and contributions of the generals in the actual campaign, it is likely that the diagram had to contain topographic elements.

Another campaign with the Liao reveals the ways in which diagrams for campaigns were created. Before engaging in the war on the northern border, Emperor Zhenzong presented a diagram to his ministers in a side hall on the first day of the sixth month in 1003. Before making the final decision, he wanted to discuss its viability with them:

²⁵⁹ XZZTJCB, 30/675.

²⁶⁰ XZZTJCB, 54/1188.

Now, the situation of the enemy is still not clear, so it is even more important to prepare for and block their attacks. Although we have stationed many troops, we should select only elite troops to first occupy those strategic locations. All three armies from Zhending, Dingzhou and Gaoyang in present-day Hebei province can all meet at Dingzhou, and deploy a great battle formation along the Tang River. [You should] dispatch troops and build rail fencing according to the position of the enemy. If they come, guard it strongly and do not pursue. First wait two nights until they are exhausted, and then charge towards them with drums. The main force should not leave the army, but let our vanguards confront theirs. If the enemy attempts to trap and constrain the great formation, then round up our cavalry at the center, and surround them with infantry. Engage them with short weapons, and do not let anyone straggle away. If the formation of troops is well maintained, the enemy cavalry will have no way to make a breakthrough.

今敵勢未輯，尤須防遏。屯兵雖多，必擇精銳先據要害以制之。凡鎮、定、高陽三路兵悉會定州，夾唐河為大陣。量寇遠近，出軍樹柵。寇來堅守勿逐，俟信宿寇疲，則鳴鼓挑戰，勿離隊伍，令先鋒策先鋒。誘逼大陣，則以騎卒居中，步卒環之，短兵接戰，亦勿離隊，伍貴持重，而敵騎無以馳突也。²⁶¹

Zhenzong deployed three units to stop the Liao army: one of 6,000 cavalry to guard Weilu; one of 5,000 to guard Baozhou, and one of 5,000 to guard Beipingzhai. In fact, the emperor was

²⁶¹ XZZTJCB, 54/1195.

aware that the situation might change with that of the enemy, so he made a few proposals of how to respond to potential enemy movements,

If the enemy goes south to penetrate Baozhou and encounters the main strength of our army, then order the troops at Weilu and Yanlang to join forces so as to besiege the enemy both in the front and rear, and seize the opportunity to counterattack. If the enemy does not attack Dingzhou and advances its invasion further south, Weilu should join forces with Tian Min from Beiping at the northern borders to capture their baggage, and then order troops at Xiong, Ba and Polu to come to support.

若敵南越保州，與大軍遇，則令威虜之師與延朗會，使其腹背受敵，乘便掩殺。

若敵不攻定州，縱軼南侵，則復會北平田敏，合勢入北界邀其輜重，令雄霸、破虜以來互為應援。²⁶²

Emperor Shenzong further positioned several other units of 5000 soldiers at strategic locations to ensure that the enemy had nowhere to escape.²⁶³ The above story reveals that his diagram not only contained components of a battle formation, such as the deployment of cavalry, and the vanguard, but also topographical elements, such as directions, and locations of places and rivers. Therefore, the diagram for this actual campaign combined the knowledge of battle formations and that of topography.

His proposal was distributed at the court and among generals. Outspoken officials like Li Hang 李沆 (947-1004), Feng Zheng 馮拯 (958-1023) and others, soon responded with their

²⁶² XZZTJCB, 54/1196.

²⁶³ Ibid.

concerns and suggestions, which were eventually incorporated into the finalized diagram.²⁶⁴ Emperor Shenzong's command via diagram proved to be relatively successful during the war, which was ended with the signing of the Shanyuan Treaty in 1005.²⁶⁵

The rhetoric of official history in the above passages depicts Emperor Shenzong as an authoritative leader who was able to grasp the over-all situation on the battlefield. At first glance, this seems to fit very well with the Song policies that generals had to absolutely obey the orders of the central government and emperor, but it is important to note that his decision-making process also allowed a certain space for communicating with the officials and flexible adjustment.

The maps that the emperor and the central government had used to make diagrams might have come from various sources: apart from those submitted by local governments regularly, generals and military officials on the border frequently submitted topographical maps with military deployments and strategic landmarks. For instance, Cao Wei 曹瑋 (973-1030) and Zhang Chonggui 張崇貴 (ca. 10th-11th century), after being appointed to the circuits of Jingyuan 涇原 and Huanqing 環慶 in present-day Gansu and Ningxia separately submitted maps showing the mountains, rivers, and townships and fortresses (*shanchuan chengzhai tu* 山川城寨圖) in their regions. The emperor replied:

The arrangements are all appropriate. The stores are also detailed and complete.

Another two copies should be made, adding the seal of the Bureau of Military Affairs.

²⁶⁴ XZZTJCB, 54/1196-97.

²⁶⁵ Although the Song had to make compensations in the treaty, it was in exchange for a long term of peace on the border. Lau Nap-yin and Huang K'uan-chung, 262-70.

One copy should be sent to the respective circuit, and the other preserved at the Bureau, so plans can be made with the assistance of maps.

處置咸得其宜，至於儲備，亦極詳悉。宜令別畫二圖，用樞密院印，一付本路，一留樞密院，按圖以計事。²⁶⁶

The Bureau of Military Affairs was the primary venue where military affairs, including the deployment of the troops and the transportation of the tax and revenue, were administered. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, it also collected topographical maps made by artisans of the Painting Academy. Meanwhile, this entry also made it clear how military maps were distinct from other types of maps in terms of their source, place where they were preserved, and function. That “plans can be made with the assistance of maps” implied that diagrams of formations for campaigns and other military activities might have derived from maps of this sort.

Meanwhile, one should also note that both the ready-made *zhentu* and the topographical map with military agendas were expressions of power, so the negotiation and communication with the emperor through these forms had to proceed in a delicate and careful manner. In other words, one needed to be politically correct. General and administrator Shi Pu 石普 (ca. 11th century) of the military prefecture Mozhou 莫州 in present-day Hebei province, for example, submitted the *Map of Defending against the Northern Barbarians* (*Yu beirong tu* 禦北戎圖). The emperor, after hearing about his construction of the formation of earth passes (*diguan zhen* 地關陣), a set of enforced facilities of moats, with bars surrounding the fortress,

²⁶⁶ XZZTJCB, 73/1666.

at first thought highly of it and intended to apply it to other fortresses.²⁶⁷ However, when Shi suggested the emperor give his diagrams to Cao Wei, the Prefect of Qinzhou in present-day Shanxi province, Shi was criticized for intervening in the affairs beyond his own responsibility.²⁶⁸ Along with several other incidents, Emperor Zhenzong felt his authority challenged since the once-powerful general wanted to orchestrate activities in the court. Shi was therefore demoted and exiled.²⁶⁹

As demonstrated above, the word *zhentu* in the early Song context can be divided into two categories: diagrams for battle formations used for military training purposes, and topographic maps combined with military strategies that were given to commanders by the emperor during military campaigns. The imperial court was the reservoir to gather and distribute both images, but they were not solely made by the emperor, and were not always followed at the price of loss of the campaign. The former type, used for military training, did not need to concern specific situations as the latter would do, but the making of the latter also depended on the familiarization, combination and adaptation of the former.

The *zhentu* in the second sense is not a representation of “reality,” but an intervention into reality with ideas, movements, and agendas. I agree that, in the sociopolitical contexts, its appearance in a large scale emerged out of the purpose of controlling military generals, so it should also be viewed alongside other practices such as separating the troops from their generals and using civil officials to supervise military generals. At intervals when this tight

²⁶⁷ *XZZTJCB*, 55/1204.

²⁶⁸ *XZZTJCB*, 88/2027.

²⁶⁹ *Song shi*, 324/10471-72.

control over imperial affairs was not sustainable, especially due to the heavy pressure on the northern border in the early Southern Song, more agency was given to generals with the establishment of Commissioner of Defense (*zhenfu shi* 鎮撫使), and armies were even named after the surname of generals, such as the “Army of the Yue 岳 Lineage” and “Army of the Han 韓 Lineage.”²⁷⁰ The diagrams and maps, therefore, were transferred to the hands of generals. Therefore, I argue that the function of diagrams should not be reduced to a simple caricature that generals were simply following some rigid ready-made diagrams without any agency. When it came to war, the diagrams were transformed into topographical maps with strategies and agendas, and they were determined not only by emperors, but by a group of experts including court officials and generals. In reality, generals, if they were brave enough, were able to make adjustments on the battle field. The use of these diagrams and maps, I suggest, should be examined in juxtaposition with other court-commissioned images. They belong to a broader category of graphic representation of space, which I will discuss below, including public works, imperial ceremonies, and defense systems.

Maps for Imperial Works

Just like administering military activities via *zhentu*, the central government also used architectural plans and maps to supervise the undertaking of court ceremonies, the constructing of local works, and the building of townships. In some cases, maps and plans had

²⁷⁰ Li Yumin 李裕民, “Nan Song shi zhongxing? Haishi maiguo—Nan Song shi xinjie” 南宋是中興？還是賣國—南宋史新解, in *Nan Song shiji Nan Song ducheng Lin'an yanjiu (shang)* 南宋史及南宋都城臨安研究 (上) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2009), pp. 16-18.

to be submitted with reports to the central government. As I will examine below, an increasing number of images circulated between different levels of the administrative system, playing a significant role in the operation of the Song Empire. Making plans, in the first place, was to avoid unnecessary waste of time, labor and resources. In 1009, Emperor Zhenzong issued an edict regulating the procedure of construction,

As for any construction from now on, its plan should be determined before the works start, and it should not be changed randomly. If some changes have to be done due to unexpected difficulties, both [the old and the new plans] should be submitted for a final decision.

自今凡有營造，並先定地圖，然後興功，不得隨時改革。若事有不便須改作者，並奏裁。

This regulation was made after hearing the complications concerning the construction of the residence of the Princess of the Wu Kingdom, who was the younger sister of the emperor and had recently converted to become a Buddhist nun in the same year. Sometime earlier, Emperor Zhenzong sent delegates to turn her dwelling into a nunnery, which at a later time was named the Chan Temple of Admiring the Truth and Supplying the Sacred Ones (*Chongzhen zisheng chanyuan* 崇真資聖禪院), but these delegates could not reach an agreement with the attendants of the Princess. As a result, changes on the project were made back and forth, and the expenses exceeded budgets. The above quoted edict was thus issued in this context.²⁷¹ Although it was initiated as a response to this case specifically, it became a rule to

²⁷¹ XZZTJCB, 71/1611.

regulate imperial constructions. By the same token, the *Treatise on Building Standards* (*Yingzao fashi* 營造法式) was circulated to officials in charge of public construction project around the empire in 1103 after revisions on a basis of some previous editions.²⁷² This manual was intended to establish state standards for building methods, materials, expenses, manpower, techniques and styles of imperial and residential building projects, and each theme was accompanied accurate illustrations on various details of construction and materials.

Except architecture, the central government also oversaw the construction process of other civil works, such as irrigation and transportation. To ensure effective communications, plans were submitted with written proposals. In some cases, they even had to be brought to the emperor, and the emperor himself must have been a shrewd and skillful reader of plans. In one case, after reviewing the *Map of Reclaiming the Fields and the Routes of Rivers* (*Yingtian hedao tu* 營田河道圖) submitted by the military prefectures of Shun'an 順安 and Jingrong 靜戎, both in present-day Hebei province, Zhenzong found on this map inconsistencies with the one submitted in the past. He also made an observation from the map that Jingrong might not be able to receive water from Shun'an due to its higher elevation. Instead, he proposed the alternative of clearing a parallel ancient river route to the north of the Yellow River.²⁷³ Therefore, there must have been an archive to collect these maps so that the emperor could trace the development of the project in the past.

²⁷² As for the circulation and reprint of this book, see Jiren Feng, *Chinese Architecture and Metaphor: Song Culture in the Yingzao fashi Building Manual* (Honolulu and Hong Kong: University of Hawai'i Press; Hong Kong University Press, 2012), pp. 2-4.

²⁷³ XZZTJCB, 56/1234.

In another case in 1004, the emperor ordered a halt to work on directing a river to Lake Cailiangdian 才良淀 in Hebei province at the end of the fourth lunar month. After examining the map representing the surrounding area, he made this decision based on two reasons: first, the corvée labor in this area was already a heavy burden; second, the lake would automatically accumulate runoffs in the coming summer and autumn.²⁷⁴ Timing, season specifically in this case, became an invisible dimension of map reading.

After completion, images were also commissioned to document the outcome of these projects. After Zhao Shoulun 趙守倫 (ca. 10th century) finished the project connecting the Qinghe River and the Guangji Canals for the purpose of transportation, Emperor Zhenzong sent a commissioner to inspect it on the spot and draw a *tu*-image accordingly. Upon reviewing the map, Zhenzong questioned that the shallow water and many rocks in the Qinghe River made it unsuitable for transporting goods, and soon called to abolish the project.²⁷⁵

In addition to architecture and civil works, *tu*-images were also significant components in planning, documenting, and standardizing imperial rituals and ceremonies. Emperor Taizong was deeply impressed by a detailed plan of the Great Shooting Rituals, so he told ministers that these rituals would definitely be performed after the war ceased.²⁷⁶ In 996, at a court ceremony

²⁷⁴ XZZTJCB, 56/1235.

²⁷⁵ XZZTJCB, 63/1414.

²⁷⁶ This event took place in 994, when the newly-born dynasty was still busy with putting down the rebellion led by Wang Xiaobo 王小波 (d. 993) and Li Shun 李順 (d. 994) in the southeast. See XZZTJCB, 36/795; Lau Nap-yin and Huang K'uan-chung, pp. 256-57. Regarding the imperial rituals, especially royal parades and processions, see Ebrey, "Taking out the Grand Carriage: Imperial Spectacle and the Visual Culture of Northern Song Kaifeng," *Asia Major* 12.1 (1999): 33-65. *Illustration of the Imperial Guard of Honor (Lubu tu 鹵簿圖)* visualizes the ways in which the imperial court showcased its power through royal processions.

held to offer sacrifice to the Heaven and the Earth, Taizong marveled at the grandeur of the scene and the abundance of the objects in the ritual, and thereby commanded that it be recorded in painting.²⁷⁷

After the Northern Song was stabilized, Zhenzong ordered the standardization of the plans of the court ceremonies. Although the ideal was to maintain continuity with the canonical past, the appearance of the past rituals was not always clear. Drawings were used as the primary means to present the proposed arrangements; they were created, discussed and revised. Ranking of mountain and river gods in the old altar diagram, for instance, was changed after debates. In 1005, a new diagram was made based on the interpretation of old images and annotations to the classics by the Commissioner for Ceremonial Ritual (*liyi shi* 禮儀使), Zhao Anren 趙安仁 (958-1018).²⁷⁸ In the same year, when hearing about the inappropriate orientation of the memorial halls to three past kings in the imperial mausoleum, Emperor Zhenzong sent a commissioner to make a map of it, and he ordered to make adjustments immediately after seeing the new map.

During the reign of Zhenzong when two significant ceremonial activities—his reception of the heavenly script and his subsequent trip to the *fengshan* ceremony on Mount Tai²⁷⁹—took place, he also commanded image-making: one hundred and fifty images were made of auspicious omens and ceremonial objects; paintings were made on the ceremonial scenes, ancestral spirits and gods; a *tujing* map-treatise was compiled on the places that the emperor

²⁷⁷ XZZTJCB, 39/828.

²⁷⁸ XZZTJCB, 61/1372.

²⁷⁹ *Song shi*, 7/135-39.

had passed on the way to Mount Tai.²⁸⁰ These images were displayed to his officials and members of the imperial lineage in various palaces within the imperial court.²⁸¹ After the ceremony was finished, these images became the loci to revisit history.

The images, including maps and plans, reflected the ways in which the central government or the emperor wanted to govern the geophysical space when they were not able to be there in person. The wide use of maps in communications between emperors and officials required them to comprehend or master skills of mapmaking and reading. Image-making became an institutionalized practice: on the one hand, the authority limited the access and circulation of certain genres of knowledge through censorship; on the other hand, it also helped to spread other genres in a larger social landscape through the way that they desired.

Conclusion

The departure point of this chapter was to examine the ways in which the abundant production of maps during the Song can be related to changes in the conception of “image” or “maps.” I opted to interrogate the driving forces in the institutional background: standardization, the expanding bureaucracy, and the categorization of knowledge. However, the examination does not stop at showcasing how the imperial power pushed forward the production and circulation of maps. I further argue that the practice of image-making produced a “package” of graphic representations, including maps, plans, and diagrams, which governed the operation of the

²⁸⁰ *XZZTJCB*, 81/1850.

²⁸¹ *XZZTJCB*, 72/1645.

state power. They could be both representations of physical space, and presentations of interventions on the space through ideas.

The flourishing of maps and mapmaking was not limited to the imperial court; the transmission of maps and knowledge took multiple directions. This process, alluded to in this chapter through the dissemination of *Maps of Chinese and Foreign Lands*, witnessed how the transformation and appropriation of knowledge of mapping took place in different contexts, and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 through maps associated with ancient classics.

Chapter 5 Classical Maps on Steles and in Prints: Cartographic Transformation of Maps for the “Tribute of Yu” in Medieval China

By a map on the “Tribute of Yu,” I mean a map made on the basis of the geophysical layout prescribed in the “Tribute of Yu” (“Yu gong” 禹貢), a chapter in the *Book of Documents* (*Shangshu* 尚書). Some of these maps, being circulated as individual sheets, refer to the “Tribute of Yu” in their titles, such as the “Map on the Tribute of Yu” or “Map on the Tracks of Yu,” while others, collected in monographs, refer to the “Tribute of Yu” in their inscriptions or the accompanying textual descriptions. Considering this “classical geography” as a form of scholars’ knowledge, this chapter will discuss the ways in which it interacted with other forms of imperial knowledge through lectures at academies, civil service examinations and prints.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the chapter of “Tribute of Yu” in the *Book of Changes* was recognized as an authoritative framework of geophysical reference to the ancient past. In the meantime, maps on the “Tribute of Yu” were collected at court during the early and medieval periods, since they were primarily produced and used for the purposes of governmental administration. *The Map of the Tribute of Yu*, for example, was once used to guide the construction of dams for flood control on the Yellow River.²⁸² Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 266-90) of the Western Jin dynasty (265-316), right after the unification of the empire, ordered the Supervisor of Construction (*sikong* 司空), Pei Xiu, to draft the *Maps of the Regions in the*

²⁸² See Chapter 2. *Hou Han shu*, 76/2465.

"Tribute of Yu" (*Yugong diyu tu* 禹貢地域圖), eighteen sheets (*pian* 篇) in total.²⁸³ Five centuries later, Jia Dan 賈耽 (730-805), Vice Director of the Department of State Affairs, while making the *Map of Chinese and Foreign Lands within the Seas* (*Hainei huayi tu* 海內華夷圖) and composing the *Descriptions of the Commanderies, Kingdoms, Counties, Marches, and Barbarians in Four Directions of Past and Present* (*Gujin junguo xiandao siyi shu* 古今郡國縣道四夷述), also drew from the "Tribute of Yu" considerably and from journals by traveling traders and ambassadors on topography and customs of remote regions.²⁸⁴ Therefore, maps in the above cases were produced, applied, and circulated in the context of governmental administration.

The "Tribute of Yu" acquired new momentum in the Sui and Tang dynasties as the civil service examination system was established, and the official editions of commentaries on the Confucian classics were introduced.²⁸⁵ Public and private academies became more prominent in the subsequent Song dynasty.²⁸⁶ It is not a coincidence that, in this environment, maps of the

²⁸³ *Jin shu*, 35/1039-40.

²⁸⁴ *Jiu Tang shu*, 138/3784-86.

²⁸⁵ Albert Dien argues that the civil service examination was started earlier in the northwest during the Northern Dynasties, see "Civil Service Examinations: Evidence from the Northwest," in *Culture and Power in the Reconstruction of the Chinese Realm, 200-600*, ed. Scott Pearce et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), pp. 99-121. Thomas Lee outlines the history of Song education, arguing that, by mid-Southern Song, the establishment of the institution of and policies towards education were gradually oriented towards passing examinations and training officials for the government instead of the Confucian ideal of moral self-cultivation. See Lee, "Song Education before Chu Hsi," in *Neo-Confucian Education: The Formative Stage*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary and John W. Chaffee (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 105-36.

²⁸⁶ Linda A. Walton traces the transformation of education venues from the scholarly retreats of the Tang to public and private academies of the Song, and points out that state support played a significant role in this process. Walton, "From Northern to Southern Song: Academies and the True Way Movement," in *Academies and Society in Southern Sung China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), pp. 25-49. Chen Wenyi 陳雯怡 discusses the

“Tribute of Yu” were produced and circulated in larger numbers. Therefore, the examination of these maps should be in the first place weighed against their increasing association with classical learning (*jingxue* 經學). I argue that the formation of cartographic practice and geographical knowledge during the Song has to be seen within its complex intellectual and social contexts, namely, the revival of classical learning, advances in printing technology, and the influence of the civil service examination system. Being compatible most of, but not necessarily all of the time, these changes drove the Song scholars to reorganize and reconfigure the knowledge that they had received, and to further strengthen exchange amongst intellectual communities through the production and circulation of maps and books.

The maps that I will discuss below can be divided into three groups: first, the maps on the “Tribute of Yu” in *Illustrations of the Six Classics* (*Liujing tu* 六經圖), on steles and in prints; second, two maps titled the *Map Tracing the Tracks of Yu* (*Yuji tu* 禹跡/迹圖), on steles; and third, maps contained in monographs on the “Tribute of Yu.”

Illustrations of the Six Classics

As Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-72), the leading scholar of the Song, explained, the illustrations were put together in the form of a book to interpret the texts some time before the Song.

The [texts of] the Six Classics were burned during the Qin, but were put together again in the Han. Since the way of transmission had been interrupted in between, learning focusing on annotation flourished among erudite scholars. Thereafter, schools of

rise of the ideal and the establishment of private schools in the Southern Song; see Chen, *You guanxue dao shuyuan* 由官學到書院 (Taipei: Lianjing chubun, 2004).

annotations, explanations and commentaries continued to interpret the classics. Before the Song, there must have been several hundred such traditions, and more than fifty were known for making illustrations.

六經焚於秦，而復出於漢，其師傳之道中絕，於是諸儒章句之學興。其後傳註、箋解、義疏之流轉相講述，自宋以前蓋近幾百家，而其以圖著者亦五十餘家。²⁸⁷

This passage reveals the typical point of view that most Song scholars would have considered themselves the opposite of the Han scholars in approaches to the Confucian classics. They claimed, for example, that Han scholars only focused on retrieving the literal meaning of the Confucian classics after the Qin Bibliocaust and thus relied heavily on annotation skills, whereas Song scholars themselves sought profound and essential messages of the ancient sages behind the texts. As mentioned in the passage, although quite a few scholars started to make images before the Song, it was really during the Song that illustration as a visual means to interpret the classics began to flourish. As indicated below, many Song scholars believed that these images could not only facilitate memorization, but also could permit the visualization of the inner logic and framework of the written texts.

To examine what these images would have meant to Song scholars, one needs to inquire into the context and purpose of their production, especially the civil service examination system. In comparison with the Han teaching tradition that mostly focused on one Confucian classic, the examination for “classicists” (*mingjing* 明經) and “presented scholars” (*jinshi* 進士)

²⁸⁷ Gu Qiyuan 顧起元, “Preface” to *Liuqing tu* (reprinted in 1615 by Wu Jishi 吳繼仕).

by the Tang required the candidates to master five.²⁸⁸ The *Correct Meaning of Five Classics* (*Wujing zhengyi* 五經正義), completed in 653 by Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574-648), a descendent of Confucius (551-479 BCE), became the official edition annotating and expounding the classics under the order of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 650-83).²⁸⁹ During the Song, especially after the reform initiated by Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086), composing policy response essays (*ce* 策) and expositions (*lun* 論) in the examinations outweighed writing regulated verse (*shi* 詩) and poetic rhapsodies (*fu* 賦), and more emphasis was laid on the practicality of classical knowledge in school education.²⁹⁰ The so-called “six classics” here refer to the “Five Confucian Classics” plus the *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhou li* 周禮). Starting from Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022-63), tremendous effort was paid to cast musical bells on the basis of the description in the *Rites of Zhou*; and Wang Anshi also made use of it to buttress his reform rhetoric and policies.²⁹¹ During the Southern Song, exegetical skill was required in both the examination’s exposition and the policy

²⁸⁸ The “Five Classics” refer to *The Book of Changes* (*Yi jing* 易經), *The Book of Documents* (*Shang shu* 尚書), *The Book of Odes* (*Shi jing* 詩經), *The Book of Rites* (*Li ji* 禮記) and *The Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chun qiu* 春秋). For most of the Tang, the *jinshi* examinations required training on reciting and understanding the classics, and due to its intense competitiveness, the *jinshi* graduates enjoyed a much higher reputation than those who passed the exams on classics. See Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, *Tang dai keju yu wenxue* (Xi’an: Shaanxi renmin chunbanshe, 1986), pp. 110-22; 164-68.

²⁸⁹ Wang Pu 王溥, *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1955), vol. 3, 77/1405.

²⁹⁰ Lee, “Sung Education before Chu Hsi,” p. 122. Hilde De Weerdt discusses the ways in which different traditions (especially “Yongjia” and “Daoxue”) after the twelfth century instructed their students to raise their political concerns and claims in their examination writing. De Weerdt, *Competition over Content: Negotiating Standards for the Civil Service Examinations in Imperial China* (1127-1276) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Centre, 2007), pp. 322-74.

²⁹¹ Patricia Ebrey, “Replicating Zhou Bells at the Northern Song Court,” in Wu Hung, ed., *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2010), pp. 179-99; John Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning in Sung China: A Social History of the Examinations* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), pp. 80-84.

response. The students had to be familiar with not only the meaning of the classical texts, but also their application.²⁹²

Viewed in this context, image-making was believed to be able to provide an efficient and effective way to make sense of the classics. It was Yang Jia 楊甲 (js. 1166) who first put these images under the title of *Illustrations of the Six Classics*. The life trajectory of Yang Jia is only sporadically seen in historical records: he carved a set of images under this title on steles at the prefectural academy of his home town Changzhou 昌州 in present-day Sichuan province during the Shaoxing era (1131-1162); later he passed the examinations and became a *jinshi* in 1166, although he never had an active official career.²⁹³ From the above information, one can assume that Yang was still an examination candidate at the prefectural academy while carving these steles. The prefecture of Changzhou was under the control of Zizhou 梓州 Circuit. Located in the remote Ba area and surrounded by mountains, it had never been considered an educated and civilized place during the Northern Song. The state expansion into southwestern Sichuan around this period was marked by the exploitation of local resources such as iron and salt to support the wars with Tanguts and Jurchens in the north and northeast.²⁹⁴ That the first edition of this book appeared in this peripheral region proves the popularity of the use of images

²⁹² Hilde De Weerd, *Competition over Content*, pp. 55-58.

²⁹³ Chang Pide 昌彼得, et al., *Song ren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* 宋人傳記資料索引 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1988), vol. 4, p. 3100.

²⁹⁴ Richard von Glahn, *The Country of Streams and Grottoes: Expansion, Settlement, and the Civilizing of the Sichuan Frontier in Song Times* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 69-141. This process of expansion and conflict is also alluded to in the records about local uprisings and salt mining in Changzhou by Wang Xiangzhi 王象之; see Wang Xiangzhi, *Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝, in *XXSKQS*, 585.326-31.

among the examination candidates during the Northern Song. Yang Jia's contribution was to gather and select images, and to commission the carving. This set of steles, in Wang Xiangzhi's *Yudi jisheng*, was the only site worth seeing at the local academy.²⁹⁵ The original steles were lost during the Yuan, so it is not clear to what extent the later editions relied on these steles. Nonetheless, the medium of steles allowed these images to be arranged in a certain order and given a fixed title of *Images on the Six Classics* (*liu jing tu* 六經圖).

Several prints purporting to be the reprints and re-carvings (*chongke* 重刻) of Yang Jia's steles were made in the Southern Song and early Yuan (see Table I). The most important: in 1165, the prefect Chen Sen 陳森 (ca. 12th century) of Fuzhou 撫州 in Jiangxi province ordered the academy teacher Mao Banghan 毛邦翰 (ca. 12th century) and his colleagues to print a set of *Illustrations of the Six Classics*;²⁹⁶ in 1284, the prefect Lu Tianxiang 盧天祥 (ca. 13th-14th century) of Xinzhou 信州, present Shangrao 上饒 county, Jiangxi province, ordered that the book be inscribed on steles at the prefectural academy.²⁹⁷ It might not be a coincidence that both the printed forms and the steles appeared in the southern part of the Jiangnan Xilu Circuit, where a considerable number of prefectural academies and private schools were established during the

²⁹⁵ Wang Xiangzhi, *Yudi jisheng*, in XXSKQS, 585.331a. Ren Jincheng 任金城, "Muke *Liu jing tu* chukao" 木刻《六經圖》初考, in Cao Wanru, *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Zhanguo--Yuan*, pp. 61-62.

²⁹⁶ Miao Changyan 苗昌言, "Preface" to *Liu jing tu*, in *Liu jing tu*, ed. Mao Banghan, 1a-2a.

²⁹⁷ Li Xian 李賢, et al., *Da Ming yitong zhi* 大明一統志 (Taipei: Wenhai, 1965), vol. 6, j. 51, p. 3295.

Southern Song.²⁹⁸ Joseph Needham also pointed out that the Fuzhou edition contains the oldest printed map in the world.²⁹⁹

Both editions were reproduced abundantly through woodblock prints and rubbings after the Yuan (Table I). Although *chongke* literally means “to reprint using new plates,” they were subjected to corrections and revisions when considered appropriate by their editors. As a result, the divergence from the originals caused various formats of the reproduced editions: as shown in Table I, the numbers of the images included the *chongke* editions vary from 302 to 435. As I will demonstrate below, surviving images of the Fuzhou and Xinzhou traditions show minimal similarities; a pocket edition (*jinxiangben* 巾箱本) (13cm x 7 cm) and the stele (205 cm x 105 cm) also entail different reading experiences and functions.³⁰⁰

The preface that Miao Changyan 苗昌言 (12th century) wrote for Mao Banghan’s edition provides an intellectual context for the prints. Mao’s comparison of the divergence of Song from the Han echoed the point of view of Ouyang Xiu mentioned above. He believed that examinations focused on the classics would draw people closer to the essence and origin of all phenomena, whereas the old-fashioned learning of annotation (*zhuanzhu zhixue* 傳註之學)

²⁹⁸ In the figure “Prefectures with Five or More Sung Academies,” Chaffee proves that Xinzhou and Wuzhou during the Southern Song established 19 and 14 academies respectively. Chaffee, “Chu Hsi and the Revival of the White Deer Grotto Academy, 1179-1181,” *T’oung Pao* 71 (1985): 47.

²⁹⁹ Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1970), vol. 3, with Wang Ling, *Mathematics and Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth*, p. 548. Needham, without providing primary sources, pointed out that the map was printed by Yang Jia in 1155; Ren Jincheng, after examining the sources that Needham possibly used, argued that the book, still containing the earliest printed maps, was in fact printed by Mao Banghan in 1165. See Ren Jincheng, “A Tentative Examination,” pp. 61-62.

³⁰⁰ The pocket edition is the earliest surviving, although fragmented, Song edition, now preserved at the Palace Museum in Taipei. Although maps on the “Tribute of Yu” were lost, a few maps on the *Book of Odes* are still extant.

was not able to serve contemporary needs. The examinations, which controlled the life of the lettered men by their results, were oriented by this intellectual trend.

Gentleman Chen [Sen] has been the prefect for years. He was pleased that the people were content with his governance, and then wondered if he should first enrich them or first instruct them. Having established the examination council, he complied with the rule that the Son-of-Heaven selects (*shi*) scholars every three years; bringing forth the *Images of the Six Classics*, he ordered the academy teachers to sort the images, compile a book, have it printed in the school, and use it to instruct all students.

陳大夫為撫之暮年，樂民之安於其政，思所以富之教之之叙。既以創闢試院，以奉聖天子三年取士之制；又取六經圖，命泮宮職講肄者編類為書，刊之於學，以教諸生。

He said that I, Changyan, have been teaching in this place for more than ten years, and the reverence and love between me and the colleagues and students at the school have never diminished, so he asked me to compile it. After a month, teachers brought images of the respective classics that they specialize in and discussed them with me. [These teachers] also said that, as the texts of the Six Arts are so profound, it would take many years to recompile them. Moreover, since these images have already combined the merits of all [existing] traditions, they would rather follow these precedents, which in this way will perfectly match the intention of the worthy gentleman to enthusiastically instruct [the people]. I agreed with their opinion, and daring not to make any deletion or addition, I only transcribed and ordered the images.

I only corrected it whenever there was a mistake. In all, I obtained seventy images for the *Book of Changes*, fifty-five for the *Book of Documents*, forty-seven for the *Book of Odes*, sixty-five for the *Rites of Zhou*, forty-three for the *Book of Rites*, and twenty-nine for the *Book of Spring and Autumn Annals*, with three hundred and nine images in total.

調昌言嘗掌教於是邦，積十餘年，而庠序友生相與愛敬之不衰，俾參訂焉。既逾月，諸經論各以其圖就議於余，且曰六藝之文浩博，若欲別加編摩，非積以歲月有不能。是圖集諸家所長，願因其舊，庶得以亟稱賢大夫善教之意。余聽其說，無敢去取，惟傳寫銓次；有舛誤者，是正之而已。凡得《易》七十、《書》五十有五、《詩》四十有七、《周禮》六十有五、《禮記》四十有三、《春秋》二十有九，合為圖三百有九。

As I have explained, the learning of Han erudite scholars on annotation flourished, the literati Learning of the Way of learning of the gentlemen became obscure. Only until our dynasty, when the gentlemen are selected through classics and arts, great erudite scholars have continuously appeared, their teaching and interpretation have been completely updated, and the gentlemen of all the domains thus all know the origin of knowledge.

蓋嘗論之，自漢儒章句傳註之學行，而士之道學益不明，逮本朝以經術取士，大儒繼出，講解一新，而後天下之士皆知淵原之歸。

Now making images can clarify the institutions mentioned in the Six Classics, and they can make students seek the entire texts to read them through. In this way, these

images can guide students to grasp the minute yet profound meaning. However, if one, by just looking at these images, thinks that the canons of the sages completely lies in them, he will corrupt the meaning of the canon, and this is even worse than those who make fluffy annotations. It is definite that learned people will not agree with them. Therefore, the intention of Prefect Chen to turn the images [of loose sheets] into the [bound] book is not meaningless, and this is what the readers should think over.

今是圖之作，凡六籍之制度、名數粲然可一二數，使學者因是求其全書而讀之，則造微詣遠，茲實其指南也。若因以得於瞻覩之間，遂以為聖人之經盡在於是，則破碎分裂，不尤甚於為之華藻輦輅者邪？其不見斥於覃思幽眇者寡矣，然則陳大夫之易圖為書不無意也，觀者宜深思之。³⁰¹

Miao, who had been in charge of academy for more than a decade, was the chief editor of the book. Throughout his preface, Yang Jia's edition has never been mentioned even once. Instead, Miao claims that this edition "has combined the merits of all [existing] traditions." This implies that Yang's edition, for Miao and his co-editors, was just one of many, if it was included at all. The images in his collection had once been used in teaching by academy teachers: 70 images for the *Book of Changes*; 55 for the *Book of Changes*; 47 for the *Book of Odes*; 65 for the *Rites of Zhou*; 43 for the *Book of Rites*; and 29 for the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Meanwhile, by comparing these numbers with later editions (Table I), one can easily tell that the transmission was far from a linear one as the later catalogues recorded. The *Catalogue of the Zhongxing Pavillion Collection* (*Zhongxing guange shumu* 中興館閣書目), compiled in 1177 for the imperial

³⁰¹ Miao Changyan, "Preface," pp. 1a-2a.

library, attributed the *Illustrations of the Six Classics* to Yang Jia as its original author, “The six *juan* [of *Illustrations of the Six Classics*] was compiled by the commoner Yang Jia, courtesy name Dingqing, a native from Changzhou. It was again supplemented by Mao Banghan, the teacher of Wuzhou [prefectural academy]” 昌州布衣楊甲鼎卿所撰，撫州教授毛邦翰復增補之。³⁰² This attribution to Yang established a genealogy for various editions that were circulating at a later time, no matter how different they might have been. In other words, Yang Jia’s edition was thus made the “origin” for the transmitted knowledge on the illustrations interpreting the Six Classics, although it was probably just one of the many in circulation.

Miao’s discussion on *tu*-image and *shu*-writing took on new meaning, which was tied to the emergence of print as a preferred form and medium during the Song. *Tu* in this passage not only refers to graphic imagery distinct from writings, as in “making imagery can clarify the principles and terms mentioned in the six classics,” but also individual sheets bearing the imagery, in contrast to the bound book medium as in “to turn images [of loose sheets] into the [bound] book.” Since *tu* and *shu* in the latter case are juxtaposed as a binary pair, it is likely that *tu*, in the mind of Miao, referred to hand-copied images and rubbings in circulation, as opposed to *shu* in the bound and printed form. Therefore, *shu*, in this context, was associated with fixed order of sheets and identical size and quality. In comparison with a stele, a wood-block could be printed. A bound book of printed images could standardize the way of presenting the images,

³⁰² This entry, originally from *Zhongxing guange shumu*, was quoted by the famed late Southern Song book collector Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (1186-1262). Chen, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), pp. 83-84.

and evoke a sense of formal continuity and totality.³⁰³ The Confucian classics were relatively easier to acquire during the Song than in previous periods, thanks to the development of printing technology, increase of interest in the classics, and the booming of book markets. Printed editions of classical texts might have induced a synchronic change on that of the images, and vice versa. Starting from 1174, Fuzhou prefecture, for example, used governmental funds to commission the carving of the wood-blocks of the six classics, under the title of *Six Classics and Three Commentaries* (*Liujing sanzhuān* 六經三傳), echoing the images which came out in the same prefecture in 1165.³⁰⁴ The juxtaposition of printed texts and images would entail a way of reading. Eventually, the images that circulated among the fifty schools during the Tang were collected in a few standardized editions during the Song and later dynasties.

It is also worthwhile to know that these images were not the earliest attempts to illustrate the classics. When painting as a practice started to flourish in the court and elite milieu during the Southern Dynasties, the rulers frequently commissioned paintings to describe the classics. These paintings are usually classified under the category of *tu*. As Zhang Yanyuan noted, Emperor Mingdi 明帝 (r. 323-25) of the Eastern Jin (317-420) and Wei Xie 衛協 (ca. 4th century) each drew a series of paintings on the *Book of Odes*.³⁰⁵ As mentioned in Chapter 4, the most notable project of illustrating classics during the Song was undertaken by Emperor

³⁰³ Susan Cherniack, "Book Culture and Textual Transmission in Sung China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54: 1 (1994): 5-121.

³⁰⁴ As one of the most important woodblock printed versions commissioned by the Fuzhou government, it involved scribes both from the Zhejiang area and the local region. Some local woodblock carvers were also hired by other projects at a later time. See Su Bai 宿白, "Nan-Song de diaoban yinshua" 南宋的雕版印刷, in *Tang Song shiqi de diaoban yinshua* 唐宋時期的雕版印刷 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), p. 100.

³⁰⁵ Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji*, pp. 92; 95.

Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127-62) and his court painter Ma Hezhi. Not too long before the commission of *Illustrations of the Six Classics* by Mao Banghan at Fuzhou, the emperor wrote colophons to Ma's illustrations of the *Book of Odes* and the *Classic of Filial Piety*, and ordered the erection of stone steles bearing the portraits of Confucius and his disciples, and Gaozong's eulogies at the imperial university in 1157.³⁰⁶ Through these works, the first emperor of the Southern Song successfully established the legitimacy of his restoration and attracted scholars to his service. Nonetheless, the images in the *Illustrations of the Six Classics* presented different perceptions of *tu* from the works of Ma Hezhi: made by unknown "painters," these images mainly comprised tables, charts, lists, maps, plans and sketches (figs. 5-1 to 5-5). Therefore, they were never grouped in the painting catalogues of the Song. These impersonalized images were made for a more "practical" purpose, i.e., to provide a contingent body of ideas and an intellectual framework, and to define the structure of texts and to clarify specific terms through visual means.

Nine images and two charts were dedicated to the chapter of "Tribute of Yu." Some overarching themes of the "Tribute of Yu" are revealed to the viewers through images, such as the chronological order of the places where that Yu traveled, and the geographical systems of the so-called "nine mountains," "nine rivers" and the "five domains." The usages of *tu* in the titles are relatively flexible: a series of mountains, rivers and the products in each province are singled out and listed separately in charts, such as "Illustration of the Nine Provinces in the

³⁰⁶ Julia Murray, *Ma Hezhi and the Illustration of the Book of Odes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 8-9. For the stone steles, see Murray, "The Hangzhou Portraits of Confucius and 72 Disciples (*Sheng xian tu*): Art in the Service of Politics," *The Art Bulletin* 74.1 (1992): 3-14.

‘Chapter of Yu’” (“‘Yugong’ jiuzhou pu tu” 禹貢九州譜圖, fig. 5-15), “Illustration of the Names and Numbers of the Nine Mountains in the ‘Tribute of Yu’” (“‘Yugong’ jiushan mingshu tu” 禹貢九山名數圖, fig. 5-16), and “Illustration of the Names and Numbers of the Nine Rivers in the ‘Tribute of Yu’” (“‘Yugong’ jiuchuan mingshu tu” 禹貢九川名數圖, fig. 5-17). If in any sense these charts can be called *tu*, it must be that they are not presented in the form of lineal writing. The logic and meaning carried in the texts are now alluded to through the relative positions of the entries in the charts.

The convenience that these charts created also posed the risk of reducing the sophisticated sagely messages conveyed in the classics to a few rigid and simple ideas. These illustrations, sometimes accompanied by a few lines of written description, were displayed in a way as if they could present the ultimate truth. Probably out of this concern, Miao cautioned his readers not to be constrained by these images, but to seek the minute and profound meaning of the text. In other words, the purpose of turning images into a book was not meant to replace the canonical texts with the images, but to understand its essence. The concern of Miao, that one would override the profound meaning of the classics if solely relying on images, might sound familiar to a Southern Song literatus scholar. As Liang Gengyao 梁庚堯 points out, with the rapid increase of governmental schools at the local level, most teachers and candidates regarded the examinations as the primary goal for education, but ignored self-cultivation and the value of the canons.³⁰⁷ Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁 (1178-1237), in a memorial

³⁰⁷ Liang Gengyao, “Shiren zai chengshi: Nan-Song xuexiao yu keju wenhua jiazhi de zhanxian” 士人在城市：南宋學校與科舉文化價值的展現, in *Jingji shi, dushi wenhua yu wuzhi wenhua* 經濟史、都市文化與物質文化, ed. Liu Ts’ui-jung 劉翠溶 and Shih Shou-chien 石守謙 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 2000), pp. 265-326.

that he submitted to Emperor Lizong 理宗 (r. 1225-64) in 1225, vehemently criticized those candidates who circumvented the classics by falling back on annotations, “Those who are just slightly smarter and more capable only make efforts on annotations and records of dialogues. After speculating, they imitated their work to fulfill their temporary needs” 小慧纖能，僅於經解語錄，揣摩剽竊，以應時用。³⁰⁸ Although Wei targeted textual commentaries, it is very likely that the graphic representations for canonical texts would also attract criticism of this sort. Therefore, it seems that Miao skillfully put this at the end of the preface as both a caution to students and a rhetorical response to such potential criticism.

Echoing Ouyang Xiu’s opinions mentioned above, Miao also believed that the Han Learning, only focusing on annotation and literal meanings, could not be compared to the Song approaches to the essence of knowledge. He further situated this argument in a larger intellectual context by evoking “Learning of the Way” (*daoxue* 道學). When this book was compiled in the 1160s, the school of Learning of the Way was at the emerging stage where many diverse schools and opinions co-existed.³⁰⁹ However, in this specific context, to learn the way was to grasp the essence of the classics through images, including maps. In the way, the making of these images was meant to contribute to enlarging the repertoire of knowledge to learn the Way.

³⁰⁸ Wei Liaoweng, “Lun fuqiu shuoru kaishan zhengxue” 論敷求碩儒開闡正學, in *Song Yuan xuean* 宋元學案, ed. Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1838 print), j. 80, p. 22.

³⁰⁹ Hoyt Tillman, *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi’s Ascendancy* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1992), pp. 1-9.

As media of reproduction, printed versions and steles did not exclude one another, although the application of printing technology on a large scale would definitely replace a partial function of the stone rubbings. Nonetheless, steles did not disappear in spite of the popularization of prints. In 1284, Lu Tianxiang commissioned the *Liujing tu* to be carved on steles and ordered to place them under the two eaves at the prefectural academy. According to the *Gazetteer of Xijiang* 西江志, these steles had been destroyed in a fire, but Lu ordered their re-inscription based on surviving rubbings. Currently, only three and a half stone slabs bearing the *Illustrations of the Six Classics* are still left to us, with each slab 205 cm high, 105 cm wide, and 11 cm thick (figs. 4-6 to 4-9). Although the original steles were fragmented, the rubbings of later dynasties show that the Xinzhou edition originally contained six steles bearing double-sided carvings.³¹⁰

It was undoubtedly a critical moment for the literati in the south when these steles were commissioned in 1284. Although the transition between Song and Yuan might not have brought a sudden rupture to the everyday life of common people, it was by all means a grave strike to the dignity and confidence of men of letters. Right after the Yuan took over the Song, Yang Lianzhenjia 楊璉真加, a Tantric monk who was one of the most trusted advisors of Kublai Khan, destroyed the mausoleums of the Southern Song emperors, vandalized their steles and other monuments, and then built a Tantric Buddhist temple on the spot so as to “suppress the South”

³¹⁰ For primary sources, see Li Xian, et al. ed., *Da Ming yitong zhi*, vol. 6, j. 51, p. 3295. A set of transmitted rubbings of twelve images, discovered in 2003 but not yet published, might be derived from Lu's edition, but still provides no connections with Zhu Xi. For more discussions on the date and editions of *Liujing tu*, see Wang Qianjin 汪前進, “Shike *Liujing tu* zongkao” 石刻《六經圖》綜考, *Ziran kexue shi yanjiu* 自然科學史研究 12.1 (1993): 83-90; Wu Changgeng 吳長庚 and Feng Huiming 馮會明, “*Liujing tu* beiben shuben zhi liuchuan yu yanbian” 《六經圖》碑本書本之流傳與演變, *Jiangxi shehui kexue* 江西社會科學 (2003.2): 64-68.

(*zhennan* 鎮南). Driven by specific political and religious zeal, this behavior unavoidably aroused a sense of cultural crisis in the eyes of Chinese literati.³¹¹ The insult to the symbol of Song legacy and refined culture incited vehement resistance among the literati in the South. Moreover, the low status of the Han Southerners (*nanren* 南人) did not allow them to sit for the civil service examinations until 1315. Although the literati, registered as “Scholar Households” (*ruhu* 儒戶), were exempted from taxes and were allowed to study in the academies, the regulation ruled out their future in government.³¹² Unfortunately we know very little about the identity of Lu Tianxiang; for example, if he was originally an official from the north or south. What was recorded in the local gazetteer is that his name tablet was worshiped in the shrine dedicated to well-known officials (*minghuan ci* 名宦祠), located in the local academy where the steles were commissioned. His posthumous reputation came from his commissioning of this set of steles, which was recorded in the local gazetteers as an example of demonstrating the continuity of learning and preserving it.³¹³ The steles, bearing maps of a canonical and holistic past, must have become part of the everyday experience of the students. The similar momentums of searching and reconstructing a canonical past were also seen in the

³¹¹ Chen Gaohua 陳高華, “Luelun Yang Lianzhenjia he Yang Anpu fuzi” 略論楊璉真加和楊暗普父子, in *Yuan shi yanjiu lungao* 元史研究論稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), pp. 385-400.

³¹² For a detailed explanation of the economic situation and social status of the *ruhu*, see Elizabeth Endicott-West, “The Yuan Government and Society,” in *Cambridge History of China, vol. 6: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907-1368*, ed. Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 635-38; Xiao Qiqing 蕭啟慶, “Yuan chao keju yu Jiangnan shidafu zhi yanxu” 元朝科舉與江南士大夫之延續, *Song shi yanjiu ji* 宋史研究集 32 (2002): 481-83. Endicott-West translated *ruhu* as “Confucian Households,” but to avoid the confusion caused by “Confucianism,” I prefer to use “Scholar Households.”

³¹³ Li Xian, et al. ed., *Da Ming yitong zhi*, vol. 6, j. 51, p. 3295.

making of ritual objects, a trend starting from the court in the Northern Song and spreading to scholars in local academic milieu in the Southern Song.³¹⁴

At the time of the transitional period from Song to Yuan, these maps would have elicited meaning beyond their “historical” value.

Now I would like to turn to the visual aspects and formal features of these images concerning the “Tribute of Yu.” Only four images are left on Lu’s steles, but the images in the printed editions are fully preserved. The images related with “Tribute of Yu” in the printed editions are as follows (figs. 4-10 to 4-19),

1 *Image on Rivers according to the Mountains in the “Tribute of Yu”* (*Yugong suishan xunchuan tu* 禹貢隨山濬川圖)

2 *Guidance to Mountains in the “Tribute of Yu”* (*Yugong daoshan* 禹貢導山)

3 *Image on the Boundary of the Nine Provinces in the “Tribute of Yu”* (*Yugong jiuzhou jiangjie zhi tu* 禹貢九州疆界之圖)

4 *Image on the Order of Managing Floods in the “Tribute of Yu”* (*Yugong zhishui xianhou tu* 禹貢治水先後圖)

5 *Guidance to Rivers in the “Tribute of Yu”* (*Yugong daochoan* 禹貢導川)

6 *Image/Register on the Nine Provinces in the “Tribute of Yu”* (*Yugong jiuzhou pu tu* 禹貢九州譜圖)

³¹⁴ Hsu Ya-hwei, *Reshaping Chinese Material Culture: The Revival of Antiquity in the Era of Print, 960-1279*, PhD dissertation (Yale University, 2010), pp. 167-96; Jeffery Moser, *Recasting Antiquity: Ancient Bronzes and Ritual Hermeneutics in the Song Dynasty*, PhD dissertation (Harvard University, 2008), pp. 12-89, 231-67; Chen Fang-mei, “Sharing the Moralizing Influence of the Three Dynasties: Zhu Xi’s Shaping of East Asian Cultural Imagery,” *Taida Journal of Art History* 31 (2011:9): pp. 58-147.

7 Image/List on the Nine Mountains in the “Tribute of Yu” (*Yugong jiushan mingshu tu* 禹貢九山名數圖)

8 Image/List on the Nine Rivers in the “Tribute of Yu” (*Yugong jiuchuan mingshu tu* 禹貢九川名數圖)

9 Image on Dredging Streams in the Fields to Connect with Rivers (*Jun quankuai juchuan tu* 濬畝濬距川圖)

10 Images on Five Domains Established by Yao (*Yao zhi wufu tu* 堯制五服圖)

11 Images on Five Domains Accomplished with the Assistance (of Yu) (*Bicheng wufu tu* 弼成五服圖)³¹⁵

The first and third images listed above also appear in the Xinzhou rubbings, but with considerable variations in their visual representations and slight variations in titles (figs. 4-6 & 4-11). The first image of the rubbings was titled the *Guidance to Mountains and Rivers in the “Tribute of Yu”* (*Yugong dao shanchuan zhi tu* 禹貢導山川之圖); the third omitted one character in the rubbing, *Yugong jiuzhou jiangjie tu* 禹貢九州疆界圖.

The size of the steles allowed for more flexibility in handling the images on each slab than that would have been possible on woodblock prints. Formal compromises had to be made in the transformation of steles of relatively large size into printed versions of smaller size in that the organization and orderly format of the printed version had to force the images into a certain size and proportion. For example, comparing the rubbing and the printed *Maps of the*

³¹⁵ The last three titles derived from the chapter of “Yi and Ji” (*Yiji* 益稷) in the *Book of Documents*. “Yi and Ji,” primarily a dialogue concerning flood management, has a considerable overlap with the “Tribute of Yu.”

Boundary of the Nine Districts in Yugong (figs. 4-7 & 4-12), we can easily tell that they shared the same origin in terms of their content, composition and the contours, and, in this case, the archetype of these two maps were probably *Map of Chinese and Foreign Lands* that I have discussed in Chapter 4, but at the same time, we find that the print maker sacrificed certain elements in order to make the large-scale map fit in the woodblock. First, rivers in the lower left (southwest) corner of the printed map are simplified (fig. 5-12); second, the lower part is also disproportionate, especially in the Yangzhou and Nanyue regions. It seems that the woodblock maker started to realize that he felt obliged to reduce the information to a smaller scale in the lower part only after the work was half-done. However, no matter what the maker would compromise in the image, he had to loyally transcribe all the characters, including the names of the provinces, local regions, and rivers.

Another issue that deserves attention is the representation of the Great Wall and the northern borders. The concept of two borders (*liangjie* 兩戒), including “Northern border” (*beijie* 北戒) and “southern border” (*nanjie* 南戒), was first proposed by the Buddhist monk Yixing 一行 (683-727), an astronomer and mathematician in the mid-Tang.³¹⁶ The northern borders which used to be represented as a rough line constituted by a series of mountain ranges, such as the one on the *Map of Mountains and Rivers of the Nine Provinces in the “Tribute of Yu”* (*Yugong jiuzhou shanchuan zhi tu* 禹貢九州山川之圖) in *Illustrations and Charts of the Emperors’ Statecraft* (*Diwang jingshi tupu* 帝王經世圖譜) (fig. 5-20), is replaced with a cluster of walls on the *Map of the Guidance to Mountains and Rivers in the “Tribute of Yu”* (fig.

³¹⁶ Tang Xiaofeng 唐曉峰, “Liangfu Song dai ‘Yixing shanhetu’ ji seng Yixing de dili guannian” 兩幅宋代“一行山河圖”及僧一行的地理觀念, *Ziran kexue shi yanjiu* 17.4 (1998): 380-84.

5-6) on the stele. The scripts of “Northern border” (*beijie* 北戒) are marked very close to the west end of the walls, echoing the “southern border” in the south. The “two borders” constrained the configurative structure of the mountains and rivers. The northern border carries the *yin* element symbolizing the earth, connecting the Sanwei 三危 Mountain in the west to the Chaoxian 朝鮮 region in the east; the southern border carries the *yang* element symbolizing heaven, connecting the Min 岷 Mountains in the west to the Min 閩 region in the east. Both borders are the key to the protection of the central kingdom from the attack of barbarians from the south and the north.³¹⁷ Using the Great Wall to mark the northern border elicited a clearer message of protection and boundary. The northern border received more attention during the Song due to the constant threat from the Liao (916-1125) and the Jin (1115-1234) in the north, although the Song government had never actively built the Great Wall. The remains of the Northern Qi walls were used to historically justify Song territorial claims in their boundary disputes with the Liao in the eleventh century.³¹⁸ This demarcation only partially overlapped with the “northern border” that Yixing had determined, because most parts of the “northern border” were located in the territory of the Liao and Xixia. As Tang Xiaofeng also observes, the meaning of drawing the Great Wall for the Southern Song people was more

³¹⁷ *Xin Tang shu*, 31/817-18.

³¹⁸ Tackett, “The Great Wall and Conceptualizations of the Border under the Northern Song,” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 38 (2008): 109.

symbolic rather than factual.³¹⁹ Therefore, transforming the “northern border” into the Great Wall was to replace a cosmological border with a visible sign of separation.

The various editions of the Song and early Yuan were standardized to two main editions in the Ming: one claimed to be based on the printed versions of Mao Banghan; the other on the Xinzhou steles of Lu Tianxiang. The repeated reproduction, attested by five surviving editions in the Ming and seven in the Qing, was mostly related to the increasing emphasis on the examinations in the late imperial period. According to Table I, the reprinted editions after the rubbing outnumbered the prints. On the one hand, the larger size of images and characters on the rubbings assured legibility; on the other hand, these rubbings were no more loose sheets, but formatted and presented as a book.

Map Tracing the Tracks of Yu (Yuji tu)

Yu ji 禹跡, sometimes also written as *Yu ji* 禹蹟/績, was not a new term to the Song scholars who were familiar with the Confucian classics. The sage king, Yu, was memorialized in the *Book of Odes* and *Book of Documents* for his great deeds of managing the floods. The literal meaning of *Yu ji*, “the tracks of Yu,” can be extended to the great achievements of *Yu* and the legitimate rule passed down from Yu. An ode chanted by an official in charge of ritual in the state of Yu 虞,

³¹⁹ Tang observes that the Northern Song people did not actively build the Great Wall, but actually inherited it from the Northern Qi dynasty (550-77). The presentation of the walls on the northern Song map is both strategic and symbolic: they were used as historical evidence during the Song-Liao negotiation on the boundary; they became a symbol of the glorious past after the northern part was lost to the Jin. Tang Xiaofeng also observes the appropriation of the Northern Qi walls by the Song to demarcate the boundary with the Liao, see Tang, “Song dai ditu shang de changcheng” 宋代地圖上的長城, *Huanqiu renwen dili* 環球人文地理 (2010.5): 10. Li Xiaocong 李孝聰 argues that the Great Wall on the Song map was a Song expression of the boundaries with the *hu* barbarians, see Li, “Jiedu gu ditu shang de changcheng” 解讀古地圖上的長城, *Zhongguo guojia dili* 中國國家地理 (2003.8): 52-59.

for example, is a poetic eulogy of the achievement of Yu, “In the vastness where Yu left his tracks, [he] delimited nine provinces and opened nine roads. Thereupon, people were able to build their temples, and animals were able to have plentitude of grassland; each being has a place, and will not bother others” 芒芒禹跡, 畫為九州, 經啟九道, 民有寢廟, 獸有茂草。各有攸處, 德用不擾。³²⁰ The chapter of “Establishing the Governance” in the *Book of Documents* recorded a speech delivered to King Cheng 成 by the Duke of Zhou 周公. It also invokes the importance of inheriting the legacy of Yu by “tracing the tracks of Yu” (*zhi Yu zhi ji* 陟禹之跡).³²¹ The god of agriculture, Hou Ji 后稷, in the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書, listened to the order of the divine lord, sowed the seeds of a hundred grains, and also traced the tracks of Yu to govern the people in his domains.³²² Therefore, *Yuji* denotes a cultural and historical sense of legitimacy and achievement.

The Map Tracing the Tracks of Yu that I will discuss below was carved on two steles in 1136 and 1142 (figs. 4-21 & 4-22) separately.³²³ Very little difference is found on them except for a few minor places: the inscriptions demonstrated different commission circumstances; waves resembling oceans on the 1136 map were omitted on the 1142 one; the 1136 map bears

³²⁰ *Zuo zhuan*, in *Shisanjing zhushu*, pp. 507-8.

³²¹ *Shang shu*, in *Shisanjing zhushu*, p. 265.

³²² Wu Rulin 吳汝霖 et al. ann., *Yi Zhou shu* (Taipei: Taiwan zhonghua shuju, 1980), j. 5, pp. 1a-1b. *Shang shu*, in *Shisanjing zhushu*, p. 265.

³²³ There is at least one more map titled *Yuji tu* in the *Geographical Maps throughout the Ages* (*Lidai dili zhizhang tu*). However, I do not intend to discuss it here, since it is completely made after the *Map of Chinese and Foreign Lands* (*Huayi tu*). See Chapter 3.

several fewer wrong characters than the 1142 map does.³²⁴ The obvious similarity between these two steles implies that they shared the same origin. The inscription on the lower left of the 1142 stele, commissioned by Yu Chi 俞箴 for the Zhenjiang 鎮江 academy in Jiangsu province, demonstrates it was carved after a Northern Song copy made in Chang'an in 1100.

The *Map Tracing the Tracks of Yu* is considered to be the earliest surviving transmitted map. Since this map is the first example to apply a grid system on a map, the usage of grids has been the focus of scholars' discussion.³²⁵ According to its inscription, "*Map Tracing the Tracks of Yu*: each grid equals to one hundred square *li*. [It contains] names of mountains and rivers in the "Tribute of Yu," names of prefectures and counties of past and present, and names of mountains and rivers of past and present" 《禹跡圖》：每方折地百里。《禹貢》山川名；古今州郡名；古今山水地名. In fact, the scale is about 1:3,500, 000, slightly smaller than the inscription claims.³²⁶ Nonetheless, river systems and the eastern coastal line are defined with astoundingly accurate shape, and distance between locations is proportionally placed.

Since no evidence could prove the origin of the grid system, scholars have offered different speculations. Needham believes that the concept of scaled mapped distances (*fenlü* 分率) first summarized by Pei Xiu, as I have mentioned in Chapter 2, implies the usage of grid system, although no evidence can confirm it in practice.³²⁷ Yee does not doubt the maturity of

³²⁴ Cao Wanru undertakes a careful examination of the wrong characters of these two maps, see the table "Liangzhong shike Yujitu shanchuan diming zhengwu biao" 兩種石刻《禹跡圖》山川地名正誤表, in Cao, "Zai lun Yuji tu de zuozhe" 再論《禹跡圖》的作者, *Wenwu* 文物 (1987.3): p. 78.

³²⁵ Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 3, p. 547.

³²⁶ Cao Wanru, *Zhongguo gudai dituji: Zhanguo – Yuan*, p. 4.

³²⁷ Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 3, p. 539.

cartographic technology that Pei and his contemporary colleagues were able to achieve, but he holds that Pei, even with sufficient emphasis on the relationship between scale and real distance, was unlikely to have put the grid system into practice. Instead, Yee considers that the cartographic grids might derive from the traditional practice of land division or calculating methods employed by Zhang Heng 張衡 (78-139) to measure the heavens and the earth.³²⁸ Steinhardt considers the usage of grids as a broadly-applied practice to represent space. Attempting to place the grid system in a larger intellectual and cultural context, she reveals the contingency of various usages of grids in ancient Chinese culture, such as the grids on a chess board, infrastructural drawing, city plan, and calligraphic surface. She holds that the grid in premodern China is the primal flat surface for visualizing space.³²⁹ I agree with Steinhardt's observation especially that the grids were more frequently used in later periods in map collections and gazetteers, although the accuracy presented on the *Map Tracing the Tracks of Yu* has never been achieved in the later "patternized" maps.

Closely relevant to this issue is the identity of the mapmaker, who was able to achieve astounding accuracy through the usage of the grids. Cao Wanru points out that the map was probably made between 1080 and 1094 based on the following observations: some administrative units appearing on the map were named no later than 1180; the opening of the Yellow River on the map is still in Hebei province, but it was moved to Shandong province after 1094.³³⁰ Given the high quality and this short time span, Cao further speculates that this map

³²⁸ Cordell Yee, *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2, pp. 124-27.

³²⁹ Steinhardt, "Chinese Cartography and Calligraphy," *Oriental Art* 43 (1997.1): 10-20.

³³⁰ Cao Wanru, *Zhongguo gudai dituji: Zhanguo--Yuan*, p. 4.

was made by Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031-1095) and was actually a copy of *Shouling tu*. Shen was appointed the prefect of Yanzhou in present-day Shaanxi province between 1080 and 1082. While moving back to Runzhou 潤州, present Zhenjiang and Jiangsu provinces, he brought a rubbing of the Chang'an version, on a basis of which the Zhenjiang stele was made.³³¹ Although Cao's tentative conclusion seems to be an exciting discovery since this map can be placed in a sound historical context, her opinion still needs solid supporting evidence, and has more puzzles to answer.³³² Xin Deyong is trying to consider this issue from the perspective of social history. He points out that the Chang'an archetype of these two maps was probably a product of the reform of the Song examination system led by Wang Anshi in 1071. Although it encountered failure at the end, this reform had a significant influence over education, especially with its emphasis on applying Confucian classics on practical matters and specific statecraft issues. Xin Deyong argues that the archetype of the Chang'an copy, made a decade after Wang's reform, was likely to be used by the literati out of these concerns.³³³

³³¹ Cao Wanru, "Zai lun Yuji tu de zuozhe," *Wenwu* (1987.3): 76-78, 59. Liu Jianguo 劉建國 is also inclined to attribute the *Map Tracing the Tracks of Yu* to Shen Kuo, but he believes that the map would have been made no later than 1087. See Liu, "Zhenjiang Song dai Yuji tu shike" 鎮江宋代《禹跡圖石刻》, *Wenwu* (1983.7): 59-63; Liu, "Yuji tu kaobian" 《禹跡圖》考辨, *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化 (1990.4): 45.

³³² Li Yumin 李裕民 and a few other scholars hold suspicions about the Cao's argument that Shen Kuo was the original mapmaker of the *Map Tracing the Tracks of Yu*. Among the reasons that they raised, the following three especially deserve our attention: first, the map made by Shen Kuo was titled *Tianxia zhouxian tu* 天下州縣圖 or *Shouling tu* 守令圖, but never *Yuji tu*; second, *Yuji tu* only records prefectures, whereas Shen Kuo's map includes counties and towns; third, *Yuji tu* covers historical places of several periods of the Northern Song and a few place names of the Tang, whereas Shen Kuo's map only covers the locations appearing between 1076 and 1080. Li Yumin, "Yuji tu de zuozhe bushi Shen Kuo" 再論《禹跡圖》的作者不是沈括, *Jinyang xuekan* 晉陽學刊 (1984.1): 80; Zhang Pei 張沛, "Ye tan Yuji tu de zuozhe" 也談《禹跡圖》的作者, *Wenbo* 文博 (1989.1): 70-73; He Dexian 何德憲, "Qi ke Yuji tu lunlue" 齊刻《禹跡圖》論略, *Liaohai wenwu xuekan* 遼海文物學刊 (1997.1): 83-84.

³³³ Xin Deyong 辛德勇, "Shuo Fuchang shike Yuji tu yu Hua yi tu" 說阜昌石刻《禹迹圖》與《華夷圖》, *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京學報 28 (2010): 28-30.

However, the 1136 copy at Qishan was commissioned under completely different political conditions. Without any further indication of the commissioning circumstances, it only provides the time and location of the carving: the fourth month of the seventh year of the Fuchang 阜昌 Era at the academy of Qishan prefecture. Fuchang was the reign era for the Liu Qi, a Han puppet government under the control of the Jurchen Jin.³³⁴ On the other side of the 1136 stele was the *Map of the Chinese and non-Chinese (Huayi tu 華夷圖)*, carved only six months later than the *Yuji tu*. The stele was made for the examination candidates of the Liu Qi. Their examination was modeled after the Song system, and was supposed to be held every three years. In fact, by the time the stele was commissioned, the examinations had already been held twice in 1133 and 1136.³³⁵

In the 1940s, Japanese scholar Masuda Tadao 増田忠雄 discovered that not only were these two steles placed in local academies, written records show that other steles bearing the *Yuji tu* were also erected in local academies.³³⁶ Geographer and traveler Zhu Siben 朱思本 (1273-1333) of the early Yuan, for example, recorded two steles bearing the *Map Tracing the Tracks of Yu* at Anlu 安陸 in Hubei province and Fuyang 滏陽 in Hebei province.³³⁷ Masuda speculated that both the Anlu and Fuyang steles were carved after the Chang'an copy, and he also pointed out the Fuyang stele was likely commissioned by some governmental academy of

³³⁴ Herbert Franke, "The Chin Dynasty," in *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, pp. 230-32;

³³⁵ Yuwen Maozhao 宇文懋昭, *Da Jin guo zhi* 大金國志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 31/437-38.

³³⁶ Masuda, "Sōdai no chizu to minzoku undo" 宋代の地圖と民族運動, *Shirin* 史林 27 (1942.1): 73.

³³⁷ Zhu Siben, "Yudi tu zixu 輿地圖自序," in *Zhenyizhai wengao* 貞一齋文稿, in *XXSKQS*, 1323. 595-96.

the Liu Qi, and the Anlu one by that of the Southern Song.³³⁸ Xin Deyong points out that another stele bearing the same map was placed at the academy of Jishan 稷山 County in Shanxi province during the Yuan, but was likely made directly or indirectly from the Chang'an copy.³³⁹

The place-specificity of these steles begs the question on their purpose and reception. The two steles have nothing to do with monumentality at first sight: the shape of stele is a modest square with only 80 cm on each side; the dark background of the stone slab makes the content almost illegible if not seen on rubbings. Placed among the numerous steles that the academy usually preserved, it was probably almost unnoticeable. Cao Wanru, therefore, believes that the 1136 stele was solely inscribed to make rubbings for two reasons: first, the directions of the two maps on both sides of the stele are reversed intentionally; second, some irrelevant graphs, “soaring high and gliding by like a phoenix, [this piece must be done by] a sagely calligrapher for both past and present” (*fengzhu luanhui, shi gujin zhi shusheng* 鳳翥鸞迴實古今之書聖), are clearly left from the previous carving of some other calligraphy.³⁴⁰ In other words, its existence at the academy to a large extent was due to its practical function for reproducing knowledge through making rubbings.

The above two steles were obviously made to reproduce maps. In other cases, however, the medium of stele and its presence could undeniably produce meanings. Two entries from the Song and Yuan gazetteers have provided crucial information about the stele located at the

³³⁸ Masuda, p. 82.

³³⁹ Xin Deyong, “Shuo Fuchang shike Yuji tu yu Hua yi tu,” 30-31; *Jiaqing chongxiu Yitong zhi* 嘉慶重修一統志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 156/7327.

³⁴⁰ Cao Wanru, *Zhongguo gudai dituji: Zhanguo--Yuan*, p. 5.

Dantu 丹徒 county academy in Jiangsu province. The Dantu county was one of the seven under the Zhenjiang prefecture, so it is very likely that the Dantu stele was related to the 1142 one from Zhenjiang.

On the northern wall of the lecture hall is displayed a poem by Li Xitai (945-1013) and the *Map Tracing the Tracks of Yu*; on the eastern wall, writings by Wang Anshi, with posthumous title Duke Wen of Jing, and a poem by Xu Zun (11th cent), prefect of Runzhou.

李西臺詩、《禹迹圖》在講堂北壁；荊國文公王安石手帖並潤守許遵詩在東壁。³⁴¹

The *Map Tracing the Tracks of Yu* was made on a basis of the mountains and rivers mentioned in the “Tribute of Yu” and names of the prefectures, commanderies, mountains and rivers, and locations of past and present. Each grid in the map equals to one hundred square *li*. The Vice Civil Official for Meritorious Achievement and the teacher at the academy of Zhenjiang prefecture, Yu Chi, after collating the Chang’an copy, erected the stele on the western wall of the lecture hall in the eleventh month of the twelfth year of Shaoxing era, Song dynasty .

《禹跡圖》以《禹貢》山川及古今州郡山水地名開方，圖之每方折地百里。宋紹興十二年十一月左迪功郎充鎮江府府學教授俞簾依長安刊本重校，立石於講堂之西壁。³⁴²

³⁴¹ Lu Xian 盧憲, *Jiading Zhenjiang zhi* 嘉定鎮江志, in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 宋元方志叢刊 (1841 print, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, rpt. 1990), vol. 3, f.10, p. 2386.

³⁴² Yu Xilu 俞希魯, *Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi* 至順鎮江志, in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan*, vol. 3, f.21, p. 2893.

The two gazetteers were compiled respectively during the Jiading 嘉定 era (1208-1224) of the Southern Song and the Zhishun 至順 Era (1330-1332) of the Yuan. Although the spatial arrangement within the lecture hall was changed slightly, these objects remained displayed on its walls. The collage of the map and the writings subtly reveals an atmosphere of embracing the reform. First, although Wang Anshi was also well known for his calligraphy, Gaozong--the first emperor of the Southern Song--blamed the failure of the Northern Song on a series of reforms initiated by him. Even though Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1162-89) changed his father Gaozong's position on Wang Anshi and his reform, Wang was never a model official to be followed throughout the rest of the Southern Song. Second, Xu Zun, the prefect of Runzhou between 1082 and 1084, was not only acquainted with Wang Anshi, but also acquired his steady support at the court.³⁴³ Although we have no idea of the contents of the writings, it is likely that placing the calligraphy of Wang Anshi and Xu Zun on the wall was a gesture of advocating reform. The juxtaposition of their writings with the map might be a coincidence, but this spatial arrangement could make a claim, and the map could mean more than a handy reference for their daily lectures. Examination candidates, who must have been familiar with the political ups and downs, encountered these works every day in the lecture hall. The elegant writings politically endorsed the message conveyed in the map, that one should apply the classical studies to practical affairs. Therefore, although the size of the stele was not monumental, the choice of stone slab which is more durable than other ephemeral materials, such as paper and silk, and its specific site in the academy produced meaning. Placing the map

³⁴³ *Song Shi*, 330/10627-28.

on stele within the lecture hall proves that geography gradually constituted an indispensable component in the curriculum of local academies by this time.

The presence of this stele, on the one hand, reminded the students of the glorious history; making rubbings, on the other, enforced the authority and the value that the stele carried. Therefore, the map was also circulated among scholars. Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), for example, after obtaining a map copied from Chang'an, sent another copy to his friend Li Bi 李壁 (zi Jizhang 季章) (1159-1222), to exchange opinions on certain issues.

This *Map Tracing the Tracks of Yu* is said to be a copy of the old version from Chang'an, but the rivers in the southeast are omitted as usual. Last year, I met a gentleman from the Shu region, and he told me that, of all the rivers to the west of Jiazhou on this map many do not match the reality. What is obviously wrong, for example, is that the rivers in Shu, after arriving at the southeast of Lu Prefecture, bifurcate into two and flow south, then turn east and cross the Liangguang (Guangdong and Guangxi) circuits, and enter the ocean at Panyu. However, how is this possible if one considers it on the basis of topography and reason? The case must be that the two rivers flow south and north separately, but the map transcriber made a mistake by connecting them together, which caused the wrong direction of the river which originally flows north. Just like a poem of Liu Zihou (773-819) also says, "While I was traveling down to the south on a boat, the water [in the river] felt as if it was boiling." Therefore, the origin of the rivers of the Liangguang region must be close to the rivers in Shu, but I have no idea from which prefecture the rivers are divided into the south and north exactly. In addition,

nobody has heard of the prefectures to the south of the Lu [on this map], since they were either abolished or annexed. Please enquire for me, and instruct me. Now I attach the map, on which you can draw or paste descriptions to illustrate [my questions].

《禹跡圖》云是用長安舊本翻刻，然東南諸水，例皆疏略。頃年又見一蜀士，說蜀中嘉州以西諸水亦多不合。今其顯然者，如蜀江至瀘州東南，乃分派南流，東折經二廣，自番禺以入海，以理勢度之，豈應有此？必是兩水南北分流，而摹刻者誤連合之，遂使其北入江者反為逆流耳。然柳子厚詩亦言“牂牁南下水如湯”，則二廣之水源，計必距蜀江不遠，但不知的自何州而分為南北耳。又自瀘以南諸州，今皆不聞，必已廢並，幸為詢究，一一見喻。其圖今往一紙，可為勾抹貼說，卻垂示也。³⁴⁴

It is worth noting that the copy that Zhu Xi obtained was also from Chang'an. The so-called "old version from Chang'an" is very likely to have been a rubbing after the 1100 stele. Zhu Xi pointed out two shortcomings of this map: the first was caused in the process of mapmaking, i.e., the omission of the rivers in the southwest, whereas the second occurred during the process of reproduction, i.e., the confusion of the river's direction. Zhu attempted to fix these problems in two ways: first, he consulted people from the local regions, such as the traveling scholar from Sichuan; second, he wrote to his friend Li Bi requesting help in resolving the problem. Since Li Bi, the son of the famous historian Li Tao 李燾 (1115-1184), took positions in Sichuan in 1170s and

³⁴⁴ Zhu Xi, "Da Li Jizhang" 答李季章, in *Hui'an xiansheng wenji* 晦庵先生朱公文集 (*Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 edition), 38/43b-44a. Xin Deyong argues that this "old version from Chang'an" refers to the rubbing after the 1100 stele; see Xin, "Shuo Fuchang shike Yuji tu yu Hua yi tu," 28-30.

1180s, he was undoubtedly familiar with the local geography in Sichuan. Interestingly, Zhu also attached a map to his letter, so that his friend could illustrate the answers on the map if necessary.

Zhu Xi observed that many place names on his map were already out-of-date. However, this did not seem to be a problem for the mapmaker. As revealed in the inscription, it contained three historical components: first, the names of mountains and rivers in the “Yu gong”; second, the names of prefectures and commanderies of past and present; third, and the names of places, mountains and rivers of past and present (fig. 5-21). Temporally, this map covers three layers: the time of Yu which is represented by the places mentioned in the “Tribute of Yu,” the past (*gu* 古) by some Tang and early Song places, and the present by some contemporary places. The time of Yu, independent from the past, was becoming the reference point for the multiple layers of temporalities. Different from other maps associated with the “Tribute of Yu,” it only contained the important mountains and rivers mentioned in the “Yu gong,” but not the names of the nine provinces. It seems that the mapmaker did not intend to treat historical layers differently, and all places were written in characters of almost identical font and size. Meanwhile, although names of mountains, lakes and administrative units of various levels are shown on the map, no legends were used to differentiate their significance. The Great Wall, which already existed on other maps of the Northern Song, is not seen here either. What are floating on these evenly-arranged grids were only rivers that run to the ocean. They are like the veins of an organic body, which support and organize the whole structure of the map. Homogenizing places of various types and levels and evacuating temporality, this map, although

not able to fulfill the learning enthusiasm of Zhu Xi, presents an icon symbolizing the past and present of the country for the students in the lecture hall.

Viewed in different contexts, one same image could elicit different reactions from the viewers. By the same token, this map might remind a Southern Song scholar of upward mobility in the social hierarchy, or a sense of contrast with the loss of territory in the reality, or both. It is a legitimate question: why was a Northern Song map reproduced repeatedly during the Southern Song, which had lost half of its territory, or during the short-life Liu Qi, the Chinese puppet regime? Many scholars are prone to associate its reproduction with the expression of “nationalist” sentiment. Hilde De Weerd, for example, examined poems written by the Southern Song literati and concluded that the reproduced Northern Song maps channeled their nostalgia of the past glory and created an atmosphere in the court to capture the lost territory.³⁴⁵ In fact, as early as 1942, when China was under the attack of Japan, Masuda drew inspiration of the “shame maps” of the Republican Period, arguing that copying Song maps among the Han literati under the rule of the Liu Qi was a strategic way of showing their resistance to the illegitimate regime.³⁴⁶ Xin Deyong follows Masuda’s argument, suggesting that the commission of the 1136 stele was a self expression of the identity of Han officials.³⁴⁷ However, one should not forget that the Liu Qi government was also a self-proclaimed Han regime that intended to replace the Song. Especially given the fact that at least three steles

³⁴⁵ Hilde De Weerd, “Maps and Memory: Readings of Cartography in Twelfth- and Thirteenth- Century Song China,” *Imago Mundi: International Journal for the History of Cartography* 61:2 (2009), 145-67.

³⁴⁶ Masuda, pp. 65-83. As for a detailed analysis of the “shame maps,” see Robert Culp, *Articulating Citizenship: Civic Education and Student Politics in Southeastern China, 1912-1940* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center), pp. 55-96.

³⁴⁷ Xin Deyong, “Shuo Fuchang shike Yuji tu yu Hua yi tu,” pp. 40-41.

were known to be made in its short-life regime, it is also possible that these steles were commissioned through an official channel to assure its Han identity and legitimacy.

Monographs Annotating the “Yu gong” Chapter in the *Book of Documents*

Monographs on the “Tribute of Yu” first appeared during the Song. Judging from the bibliographies of the Song, we know at least eleven books were written to interpret the “Tribute of Yu” specifically, and five of them had accompanied the texts with illustrations for sure (see Table II). Currently, only four works still exist, and two still preserve original illustrations.

These monographs exemplify two ways of approaching the knowledge surrounding the “Tribute of Yu.” First, the majority of the works followed the style of “assembled commentaries” *jijie* 集解. These works, as their titles reveal, are an assemblage of influential commentaries of previous periods, and exemplify the most common way of understanding canonical texts throughout imperial China. The authors, after listing all the available opinions, do not always need to present their own, although occasionally they do. In this sense, the “assembled commentaries” do not go beyond the approach of traditional exegesis; they just single out the commentaries on the “Tribute of Yu” to present them in an independent book.

The second genre, exemplified by a series of works by Cheng Dachang 程大昌 (1123-1195), demonstrate a different approach. Cheng’s work contained three parts: *Treatise on the “Tribute of Yu”* (*Yugong lun* 禹貢論, and hereafter *Treatise*), *Second Treatise on the “Tribute of Yu”* (*Yugong lun* 禹貢後論, and hereafter *Second Treatise*), and *Maps of Mountains, Rivers and*

Principles of the Land in the "Tribute of Yu" (*Yugong shanchuan dilitu* 禹貢山川地理圖, and here after *Maps of Mountains*). None of them treat the texts of the "Tribute of Yu" sentence by sentence like the "assembled commentaries" do. The first two in Cheng's series were treatises discussing issues concerning geographic systems sharing common features, especially river systems in the past, and the third was a map collection that provides images accompanied by concise descriptions to illustrate these issues.

These works were formed out of a lecture series that Cheng delivered to Emperor Xiaozong. Like his predecessors, Xiaozong seemed to have been equally enchanted, if not more so, by the geographical interpretation of his empire, and the Qiandao Era screen with the *Map of the Chinese and non-Chinese* that I have discussed in Chapter 4 would be a suitable example. In 1177, about a decade after this screen was made, Cheng Dachang, appointed as an Academician Expositor-in-waiting (*shijiang* 侍講), was invited to give a series of lectures on the "Tribute of Yu." The practice of giving lectures to emperors was not uncommon during the Song. Since 999, prestigious literati scholars were frequently appointed *shijiang* as tutorial companions to emperors and princes,³⁴⁸ and this tradition was well maintained throughout the dynasty. The contents of their lectures ranged from expounding the Confucian canons to compiling documents concerning special imperial missions.

Records about the emperor's opinion on Cheng's lectures seemed to be contradictory. From official records, the emperor seems to have been particularly impressed with his explanations and thus he commented, "'The Tribute of Yu' has touched upon every issue on

³⁴⁸ The position was first established in the 700s, with a designation of non-official literati, with nominal status in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies (集賢殿書院). See Hucker, p. 422.

mountains, rivers and geography of past and present, but it is also the most difficult text to clarify. You should transcribe your discussions on the essentials into writings, and it will be a considerable contribution” 禹貢於古今山川地理無不該貫，最爲難明。卿著論以要其歸，為功甚大。³⁴⁹ After Cheng wrote them down, Emperor Xiaozong issued an edict to store Cheng’s works in the imperial library.³⁵⁰ This manuscript must have been accessible to the literati and officials serving in the palace. For example, Wang Yingchen 汪應辰 (1118-1176), Cheng’s colleague who served as a court academician, highly complimented the book after reading it.³⁵¹ Cheng’s work had also been copied, and it seemed that the *Treatise* and the *Second Treatise* had reached a broader audience than *Maps*. Zhu Xi, for example, acquired a manuscript copy of the *Treatise* from You Mao 尤袤 (1127-1194), the minister and also a famed book collector of the Song.³⁵² At a later time, he wrote a letter to request the *Maps*, but obviously You did not own it, because Zhu Xi wrote to Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137-1181) to request another one. Lü

³⁴⁹ Peng Chunnian 彭椿年, preface to *Yugong lun*, in Cheng Dachang, *Yugong lun*, in *Zhongguo lishi dili wenxian jikan: Yugong jicheng* 中國歷史地理文獻輯刊: 禹貢集成 (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaotong daxue chubanshe, 2009), vol. 1, p. 54.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁵¹ Zhou Bida 周必大, “Longtuge xueshi xuanfeng dafu zeng tejin Cheng gong Dachang shendao bei (Qingyuan er nian)” 龍圖閣學士宣奉大夫贈特進程公大昌神道碑 (慶元二年), in *Luling Zhou Yiguo Wenzhong gong wenji* 廬陵周益國文忠公文集, in *Song ji zhenben congkan* 宋集珍本叢刊, vol. 51, j. 63, pp. 614-17.

³⁵² That You Mao made a manuscript copy of the *Treatise* by Cheng Dachang is reflected in two letters by Zhu Xi; see Zhu Xi, “Da You shangshu Mao” 答尤尚書表, *Zhu Xi ji* 朱熹集 (Chengdu: Sichuan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), j. 5, p. 5233. The sources in this and the following paragraphs were brought to my attention by Pan Sheng’s PhD dissertation and Xin Deyong’s essay; see Pan Sheng, “Yugong’ yanjiu de zhubu zhuanmen hua” 禹貢研究的逐步專門化, in “*Song dai dilixue de guannian tixi yu zhishi xingqu*,” pp. 219-21; Xin Deyong, “Shuo Fuchang shike Yuji tu yu Hua yi tu,” pp. 25-26.

referred him to one of his students, Pan Shuchang 潘淑昌, from whom Zhu Xi seemed to acquire the *Maps*.³⁵³

However, Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1298) who lived about a century after Cheng, presented a totally different story. He pointed out that Emperor Xiaozong actually disliked Cheng's work, due to Cheng's indulgence in ambiguous issues and unfounded argument, so he sent Cheng out of the capital to the remote Quanzhou 泉州 prefecture in the southeastern corner of the empire.³⁵⁴ This story, recorded in the *Miscellaneous Records from Guixin* (*Guixin zashi* 癸辛雜識), does not seem to be reliable, since most of Zhou Mi's stories were acquired from the hearsay during his residence at Lin'an (Hangzhou), in Zhejiang, the capital of the Southern Song.³⁵⁵ However, regardless of whether the story is telling the truth, it subtly captures the tension between the emperor and his scholar officials. Although the emperor's power was apparently supreme and the officials were supposed to be imbued with the Confucian values of loyalty, the stubborn insistence of the literati on their sociopolitical responsibilities and personal integrity always complicated their relationship with the ruler.³⁵⁶ As a result, the

³⁵³ Lü Zuqian, "Yu Zhu shijiang (Yuanhui)" 與朱侍講(元晦), in *Donglai Lü taishi bieji* 東萊呂太史別集, in *Song jizhenben congkan*, vol. 62, p. 340. For a more detailed discussion on Zhu's inquiry about Cheng's work among his friends and disciples; see Pan Sheng, "Song dai dilixue de guannian tixi yu zhishi xingqu," pp. 219-20.

³⁵⁴ Ji Yun 紀昀, et al., *Qinding Siku quanshu zongmu* 欽定四庫全書總目 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), pp. 141-42.

³⁵⁵ Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, *Siku tiyao bianzheng* 四庫提要辯證 (Kunming: Yunnan chubanshe, 2004), pp. 76-77.

³⁵⁶ Peter Bol talks about the tension between individual cultivation and the sociopolitical responsibilities in the Northern Song; see Bol, *"This Culture of Ours": Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 4-5. Patricia Buckley Ebrey discusses the tension between Emperor Huizong and his educated officials, and considers the emperor used the collections of art objects as a strategy to overpower his officials; see Ebrey, *Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), pp. 18-19.

tension between the emperor and literati was turned into a skillful manipulation of discourses especially through their different ways of interpreting the sagely knowledge in the classics.

In 1180, three years after Cheng's lectures, he was indeed appointed to be the Prefect to Quanzhou prefecture 泉州 in Fujian province, although the official history seems to put his demotion in a larger political context, when a large number of officials in the central government were appointed to local regions.³⁵⁷ Certainly self-assured about his work, Cheng took a manuscript copy with him on his journey. Local officials and scholars at the Quanzhou academy, after reading and praising his manuscript, requested that it be printed.³⁵⁸ This set of prints finally came out in 1181. During the process of converting manuscript to print, changes occurred in the colors of the maps: different colors in the manuscript were used to symbolize boundaries, and rivers of past and present were turned into different styles of black lines--dashed, solid, thickened or double--in the print. This commission exemplified the ways in which imperial knowledge of geography was shared by the emperor and intellectuals: although the former triggered the production of knowledge, the scholars of the public academy were the majority of the audience.

The printing of Cheng's work at Quanzhou was organized by a few instructors at the academy. It is not clear how many copies were made, but once the printed edition was out, it received attention from people outside of the community of the Quanzhou academy. Zhu Xi

³⁵⁷ *Song Shi*, 433/12860.

³⁵⁸ Chen Yingxing 陳應行, postface to *Yugong lun*, in Cheng Dachang, *Yugong lun*, in *Zhongguo lishi dili wenxian jikan: Yugong jicheng*, vol. 1, p. 198.

was able to get the printed copy to replace the hand-copied one. In comparison with the manuscripts, Zhu Xi was very satisfied with the quality of the prints,

A while back, Xi [I] heard that your book on the “Tribute of Yu” was submitted [to the emperor], but it took me years to get a complete copy from other people. However, variations and mistakes were made on the drawings, and occasionally there were ambiguous places. Recently I obtained a copy printed at Wenling [a.k.a. Quanzhou]. Fortunately enough, it allows me to check the map according to descriptions as easy as to count fingers of a palm of a hand.

熹昨聞《禹貢》之書已有奏篇，轉借累年乃得其全，猶恨繪事易差，間有難考究處。近乃得溫陵印本，披圖按說，如指諸掌，幸甚幸甚。³⁵⁹

Just as I mentioned in Chapter 1, mapmaking requires professional skills different from painting and writing, which makes the transmission of maps difficult. For Zhu Xi, the role that maps played in his learning process were as significant as writings, but obviously it was not as easy to get a manuscript copy of maps as that of writings. Therefore, his communication with Cheng Dachang was only made possible after he obtained the legible printed maps.

The issues that Zhu raised in this letter originated from the discrepancy between on-the-spot experiences and historical accounts, similar to the way that he enquired of the experience of Li Bi regarding *Map Tracing the Tracks of Yu*. For Zhu Xi, reliable personal experiences seemed to be his response to the “assembled commentaries”: the former provided a grounded solution to various baseless disputes, and it could be represented through mapmaking.

³⁵⁹ Zhu Xi, “Da Cheng Taizhi (1)” 答程泰之 (一), in *Huian xiansheng wenji* 晦庵先生文集, in *Song jizhenben congkan*, vol. 56, p. 492.

Conclusion

As I have discussed in Chapter 4, the imperial territory of the Song was represented through maps of various types, such as administrative maps and military maps, but in most cases their circulation was strictly restricted to a very limited circle around the emperor. However, under the guise of classical learning, the maps surrounding the “Tribute of Yu” representing the empire of the past and the present were made available to the literati scholars. These maps demonstrated the ways in which classical knowledge on geography was visualized and organized among Song scholars. Although they are less detailed and practical than the administrative and military maps, they presented an iconic “portrait” of a stable empire.

The *Illustrations of the Six Classics*, the *Map Tracing the Tracks of Yu*, and the monographs on the “Tribute of Yu” appeared chronologically, but, produced as a result of different concerns, they coexisted in the milieu of public academies, and they might even have appeared in the same institutions and at the same historical moments. The three genres showed different efforts in making sense of the “geographical” knowledge of the empire. The *Map Tracing the Tracks of Yu* paid more attention to accuracy through the grid system, whereas the other two groups showed more concerns for the relative positions between places. It seemed that the latter mode gradually found its way through the transmission of classics and negotiation between words and images.

In comparison with steles, printed maps became the dominant media because they were relatively easier to reproduce, more convenient to carry, and more comfortable to read. However, it does not necessarily mean that they would completely replace steles: in fact, the

Liujingtu were repeatedly inscribed until the Qing dynasty. Their presence would be still significant to the building environment of the learned communities.

In recent years, Song geography and cartography have drawn more attention from scholars in both China and the West. Among this scholarship, there seems to be a tendency to consider that Song geography, considered to be “progressive” and “scientific,” had gained independence from the studies of the Confucian classics *jingxue* 經學: Pan Sheng argues that geography had broken away from the studies of Confucian classics and had become an independent discipline starting from the Song.³⁶⁰ In fact, *jingxue*, the ground on which the examination system and intellectual life was built, also provided an environment and framework for the production and circulation of geographical knowledge, which was best interpreted and visualized through mapmaking. Although considered through “progressive” and “scientific” historical geography, studies on the “Tribute of Yu” seemed to transgress the traditional boundary of epistemological scope; there is also a risk to ignore the lived context of the knowledge. Situating the maps and the monographs within the environment of *jingxue* does not discredit the achievement of Song scholars; on the contrary, it will help us understand not only the meaning of the maps produced within the Song intellectual context, but also the mechanism through which more exegetical texts and maps surrounding the “Tribute of Yu” were created for purposes of learning the classics and passing the civil service examinations during the Ming and Qing dynasties.

³⁶⁰ Pan Sheng, “Song dai de ‘Yugong’ zhi xue—Cong jingxue zhuanzhu zouxiang dili xue” 宋代的《禹貢》之學——從經學傳注走向地理學, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 (2009: 3): 1-58.

Table I: Main Editions of *Images on the Six Classics* (*Liujing tu* 六經圖)³⁶¹

Authors /compiler s	Date	Editi on	Number of the Images in							Originally Produced at	Current location
			<i>Yi</i> 易	<i>Shu</i> 書	<i>Shi</i> 詩	<i>Zhouli</i> 周禮	<i>Liji</i> 禮 記	<i>Chun</i> qiu 春秋	Total		
Yang Jia 楊甲	Shaoxing (1131- 1162)	Stele	/A	/A	/A	N/A	/A	N/A	N/A	Prefectural academy of Changzhou 昌州 (in Sichuan province)	Lost
Mao Banghan 毛邦翰	1165	Print	70	55	47	65	43	29	309	Prefectural academy of Fuzhou 撫州 (in province)	Lost
Ye Zhongkan 葉仲堪 (ca. 1118- 1120?)	Southern Song (1127- 1279)	Print	130	63	47	61	62	72	435	Following the Mao Banghan edition	Lost

³⁶¹ The following table is made on a basis of the table made by Ren Jincheng 任金城 with some variations, see “A Tentative Examination on the Woodblock Prints of *Images on the Six Classics*” (Muke *Liujing tu* chukao 木刻《六經圖》初考), in Cao Wanru, p. 63.

	Late Southern Song (13 th century)	Print	1/A	1/A	76	N/A	1/A	114	N/A		Palace Museum, Taipei
Lu Tianxiang 盧天祥	1284	Stele	61	54	38	64	42	43	302	Prefectural academy of Xinzhou 信州 (in present-day Jiangxi province)	Shangrao Museum, Jiangxi
Sike 思可	Before Jiajing (1521-1567)	Stele	61	54	38	64	42	43	302	Following the Xinzhou tradition	N/A
Hu Bin 胡賓	Jiajing	Print	61	54	38	64	42	43	302	Following the Xinzhou tradition	National Library, Beijing
Lu Qianwanli 盧謙	Wanli (1572-1620)	Print	1/A	1/A	1/A	1/A	N/A	N/A	344	Following the Xinzhou tradition with variations	Ketu chubanshe
Wu Jishi 吳繼仕	Wanli	Print	70	55	45	68	41	42	321	Following the Mao Banghan-Ye Zhongkan edition	Palace Museum, Beijing; Shanxi

											University Library
Wang Yuyin 王與胤	Chongzhen (1627- 1644)	Print	70	55	45	68	41	42	321	Following the Mao Banghan edition	History Museum, Beijing; ketu chubanshe
Jiang Weilong 江為龍	Kangxi (1661 - 1722)									N/A.	Lost. Listed in <i>Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao</i> 四 庫全書 總目提 要, j. 34.
	Yongzheng (1722 to 1735)									Following the Xinzhou tradition with variations. Titled <i>Wujing tu</i> 五經圖	Lost. Listed in <i>Siku quanshu zongmu</i>

											<i>tiyao, j.</i> 34.
	Qianlong (1735-1796)	Print	70	55	45	68	41	43	322	Following the Mao Banghan edition	National Library, Beijing
Wang Hao 王皜	Qianlong	Print	J/A	J/A	J/A	J/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		National Library, Beijing
	Guangxu (1875-1908)	Rubbing	61	54	38	64	42	43	302	Following the Xinzhou tradition	National Library, Beijing
Zheng Zhiqiao 鄭之僑		Print	61	54	38	64	42	43	302	Following the Xinzhou tradition	National Library, Beijing
Yang Kuizhi 楊魁植										Based on the Xinzhou tradition, with considerable variations by his son Yang Wen Yuan 楊文源: dividing <i>The Annals</i> into three sections, and adding <i>The Rites</i> 儀禮 with images from	Lost. Listed in <i>Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, j.</i> 34.

										other works, thus the edition is titled <i>Jiujing tu</i> .	
		Rub bing	61	54	38	64	42	43	302	Following the Xinzhou tradition	National Library, Beijing

Table II : Works on the “Tribute of Yu” during the Song

	Author	Title of Work	With Maps/Images	Source from
1	Kong Zhongwu 孔武仲 (1063-1102)	<i>Yugong lun</i> 禹貢論		<i>San Kong xiansheng wenji</i> 三孔先生 清江文集, in <i>Song jizhen ben</i> 宋集珍 本叢刊, vol. 16, 1/194
2	Cheng Dachang 程 大 昌 (1123–1195)	<i>Yugong lun</i> 禹貢論; <i>Yugong houlun</i> 禹貢後論; <i>Yugong shanchuan dili tu</i> 禹貢山川地理圖	Yes	YGJC, vol. 1, pp. 53-198;
3	Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137-1181)	<i>Donglai xiansheng Yugong tushuo</i> 東萊先生禹貢圖說	Originally, Yes	YGJC, vol.1, pp. 392-98
4	Fu Yin 傅寅 (1148-1215)	<i>Yugong jijie (Yugong shuoduan)</i> 禹貢集解(禹貢說斷)	Yes	YGJC, vol. 1, pp. 199-295; 297-389;
5	Mao Huang 毛晃 (jinshi 1162)	<i>Yugong zhinan</i> 禹貢指南	Originally, Yes	YGJC, vol. 1, pp. 5-51
6	Meng Xian	<i>Yugong zhishui tu</i>	Yes	<i>Song shi</i> , 220/5043

	孟先	禹貢治水圖		
7	Chen Zhi 陳埴	<i>Yugong bian</i> 禹貢辨		Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊, <i>Jing yi kao</i> 經義攷, j. 94, p. 1a, in SKQS.
8	Li Fangzi 李方子	<i>Yugong jie</i> 禹貢解		Zhu Yizun, <i>Jing yi kao</i> , j. 94, p. 1b.
9	Yu Zhe 余嘉 (jinshi 1184)	<i>Yugong kao</i> 禹貢考		Zhu Yizun, <i>Jing yi kao</i> , j. 94, pp. 2a-2b.
10	Huang Qianneng 黃千能	<i>Yugong tushuo</i> 禹貢圖說	Originally, Yes	Zhu Yizun, <i>Jing yi kao</i> , j. 94, p. 2b.
11	Yi Fu 易祓 (1156-1240)	<i>Yugong jiangli ji</i> 禹貢疆理記		Zhu Yizun, <i>Jing yi kao</i> , j. 94, p. 5a.
12	Dai Meng 戴蒙	<i>Yugong bian</i> 禹貢辨		Zhu Yizun, <i>Jing yi kao</i> , j. 94, p. 4b.
13	Zou Jinren 鄒近仁 (jinshi 1184)	<i>Yugong jishuo</i> 禹貢集說		Zhu Yizun, <i>Jing yi kao</i> , j. 94, p. 5a.
14	Wang Bai	<i>Yugong tu</i>	Originally,	Zhu Yizun, <i>Jing yi kao</i> , j. 94, p. 5a.

	王柏	禹貢圖	Yes	
14	Li Gonghui 李公晦 (13 th cent?)	 <i>Yugong jijie</i> 禹貢集解		Zhu Xi 朱熹, <i>Zhuzi quanshu</i> 朱子全書, 1/4662.

Chapter 6 Alternative Landscapes: Representation or Creation of the Local Topography?

In Chapters 4 and 5, I have discussed the ways in which knowledge of maps and mapmaking was produced at the imperial court and within intellectual circles. This chapter examines the ways in which knowledge of mapmaking was produced and circulated in local governmental offices and elite communities.

In considering issues pertaining to the “local,” one cannot ignore the debates over the tension between local society and the state, or local tactics and central authority, in premodern China. Hence, this chapter begins with an overview of such debates. This is followed by my hypothesis of the two mapmaking systems operating in the Song political and cultural sphere, and an analysis of what these parallel systems might have meant to the identity of literati scholars and officials. Lastly, this chapter closes with a discussion of how local maps appropriated representational modes from other image-making practices and contributed to representing geophysical and cultural features of local regions. In doing so, I focus on the material and visual aspects of these maps: their formal ways of appropriation and composition, the media on which they were drawn, their patrons and producers, and the means of their circulation.

Debates on Local Society versus the Central State, and the Rise of Local Identity

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, Naitō Konan 内藤湖南, through a series of public lectures, first proposed that the Song dynasty should be seen as marking the

medieval-modern divide in Chinese history.³⁶² He argued that the Song, although an absolute monarchy, had broken away from the social structure of the aristocratic Tang and witnessed the widespread literacy among common people. Examples for the features of a “modern” society, the so-called *kinsei* 近世,³⁶³ cited by Naitō, included the rise of the rights of private property ownership, the emergence of large-scale textile and pottery production destined for both commercial markets and personal consumption, and the institutionalization of the examination system open to men regardless of wealth or social status. His characterization of *kinsei* was to an extent close to that of the “early modern” in post-Renaissance Europe, which was characterized by the call for individual rights and the emergence of mass production and consumption.³⁶⁴ Naitō believed that the common people and lower-rank classes were the driving force for the advancement of Song society. His *kinsei* was defined by the following features: the Song government lost its grip on local administration due to the shortcomings of

³⁶² These ideas first appeared in his public speeches and articles in 1910's and 20's, such as “Gaikatsu teki Tō Sō jidai kan” 概括的唐宋時代観 (1922) and “Kindai Chūgoku no bunka seikatsu” 近代中国の文化生活 (1928), but were well developed and explained in his books, *Shina kinseishi* 支那近世史 and *Shina shigakushi* 支那史学史. Especially see “Nenbu” 年譜, in *Naitō Konan zenshū* 内藤湖南全集, eds. Kanda Kiichirō 神田喜一郎 and Naitō Kenkichi 内藤乾吉 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1969-76), vol. 14, pp. 659-69; “Kinsei shi no yigi” 近世史の意義, in *Shina kinseishi*, in *Naitō Konan zenshū*, vol. 10, pp. 335-522; “Sōdai ni shigaku no okeru shigaku no shinten” 宋代に於ける史學の進展 in *Shina shigakushi*, in *Naitō Konan zenshū*, vol. 11, pp. 194-252. For the translation of the above two essays, see “A Comprehensive Look at the T'ang-Sung Period,” and “Cultural Life in Modern China,” *Chinese Studies in History* 17.1 (1983): 88-119. For a comprehensive discussion on the works of Naitō, see Joshua Fogel, “On China: Periodization and the Essence of Republicanism,” in *Politics and Sinology: The Case of Naitō Konan (1866-1934)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 163-210, especially pp. 195-99; 205-210.

³⁶³ Fogel argues that *kinsei* was commonly used in Naitō's day for “modern,” but in recent years East Asian scholars divide the “modern” period into *kinsei* 近世 and *kindai* 近代, both words literally mean “age close to us” or “recent times.” See Fogel, *Politics and Sinology*, pp. 205-6.

³⁶⁴ Early modernity, as a concept to define aspects of the transformation between antiquity and the modern age, was the first applied to post-15th century Europe. However, there has been an inconclusive debate about which period this concept can apply to in China. Craig Clunas associates this notion with the late Ming. See Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997).

the centrally-appointed bureaucracy, which required appointees to switch from one jurisdiction to another every three years and to always avoid their own native district; rural Chinese society (*jichi dantai* 自治団体 or *kyōdan* 鄉團) had to be responsible for its own defense and governance. This mechanism, as a result, allowed local communities to organize themselves in resisting the authority of officials sent by the central government.³⁶⁵ Naitō's opinion had much influence on scholars in the twentieth century. Although holding different political points of view, they shared a similar discursive platform in terms of defining the concept of "modernity," and as a result, the notion of Tang-Song divide was generally accepted by sinologists before the 1970s.³⁶⁶

After the Second World War, the field of Chinese history was dominated by the framework outlined in *The Chinese World Order* and *China: Tradition and Transformation*. John Fairbank and his peers believed that the political system of early modern China, starting from the late Tang and Song, was so stable and well-balanced that it could only be changed by massive blows from the outside, the West to be specific.³⁶⁷ The failure of China in the modern period lay in the

³⁶⁵ Naitō, *Shina ron* 支那論, in *Naitō Konan zenshū*, vol. 5, pp. 367-69. Joshua Fogel, *Politics and Sinology: The Case of Naitō Konan (1866-1934)*, p. 208.

³⁶⁶ The systematic observation of Naitō on the Tang-Song divide has been summarized in Fogel, "Further Perspectives on the T'ang-Sung Periodization," in *Politics and Sinology*, pp. 195-99. Edward Chavannes and Paul Pelliot first introduced Naitō's work into France shortly after Naitō had traveled to Europe in 1924. Lien-sheng Yang discussed and reviewed his books in *The Far Eastern Quarterly* in 1953. For a brief discussion on the influence of Naitō on sinology, see Harriet T. Zurndorfer, "China and 'Modernity': The Uses of the Study of Chinese History in the Past and the Present," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40.4 (1997): 464-67.

³⁶⁷ John K. Fairbank and Edwin O. Reischauer, "The Late T'ang and Sung: The Flowering of Chinese Culture," in *China: Tradition and Transformation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989), pp. 150-51.

fact that it did not respond “creatively” to the “stimulus” of the West.³⁶⁸ Their theory has been revisited and challenged following the rise of postcolonial and postmodern theory in the humanities in the late 1980s and the end of the Cold War. The portrayal of China as a stagnant and unified polity faced serious critiques in the 1990s from sinologists such as Paul Cohen, Judith Farquhar and James Hevia.³⁶⁹ They argue that the trajectory of Chinese history was shaped by various factors, and “China” could only exist with the assumption of Sino-centrism, which, in fact, was a construction of Western-centric scholarship.

Since the 1980s, the long-held interpretation of the Tang-Song divide has been replaced by diverse approaches to the political, social and cultural aspects of Chinese society. Scholars began to pay attention to various forms of transitions and ruptures in local societies. Hartwell, focusing on the demographic, political and social transformations between the late medieval and late imperial periods, reformulates William Skinner’s model of the seven macroregions based on a market model. He urges scholars to consider the intraregional and interregional relationships at various levels through changes in demographic settlement, the formation of economic networks, patterns of government organization, and the role of elite lineages. Covering the long period from 750 through 1550, he posits that the expansion of the densely

³⁶⁸ Fairbank and Reischauer, “China’s Response to the West,” in *China: Tradition and Transformation*, pp. 386-90. In another book, Fairbank developed an observation on the “tribute-system,” the essential feature of which evolved as a result of Chinese cultural superiority over barbarian peoples of inferior culture and lasted from the Shang to the end of the imperial period. Fairbank, ed., *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China’s Foreign Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

³⁶⁹ Farquhar and Hevia, “Culture and Postwar American Historiography of China,” *positions: asia critique* 1.2 (1993): 486-525. Cohen, grounded in the history of 19th century China, criticizes the dichotomy of “China’s response” vs. “impact of the West,” and “tradition vs. modernity,” and aims to free American sinology from Western-centered biases. See Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

populated areas posed administrative difficulties, which led to localization and eventually the disintegration of central authority and increased autonomy of local regions, especially at the level of counties. Most significantly, Hartwell notes that, apart from the Tang-Song divide, the transition between the Northern and Southern Song was a more crucial turning point for social changes. He holds that during this chaotic era, patterns of activities of elite families shifted from a national to a local orientation, the semi-hereditary “professional elite” (families specialized in government service) declined, and local gentry, serving the government as the only possible career choice, rose to seek to defend the privileged position of their families in society.³⁷⁰

James Hargett, Peter Bol, Robert Hymes, and Richard Von Glahn further refined Hartwell’s arguments in the past two decades. Among the works of these scholars, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in the History of *Difangzhi* Writing,” published in 1996 by Hargett, is one of the very few examples of scholarship in Western languages which focuses on the formation of local gazetteers.³⁷¹ Building on the meticulous work of Chinese and Japanese scholars during the past century, such as Zhang Guogan 張國淦, Zhu Shijia 朱士嘉, and Aoyama Sadao 青山定雄,³⁷² Hargett raises a crucial point that the transition from the Northern Song to

³⁷⁰ Hartwell, “Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China, 750-1550,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42.2 (1982): 365-442, especially 405-25. In order to analyze urbanization and regional development, Skinner divided late imperial China into nine physiographic macroregions; see Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), pp. 211-20. Seven out of the nine (excluding Manchuria and Yun Gui) macroregions were situated within the political boundaries of the Song dynasty.

³⁷¹ Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in the History of *Difangzhi* Writing,” 56.2 (Dec. 1996): 405-42.

³⁷² Zhang Guogan, *Zhongguo gu fangzhi kao* 中國古方志考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962); Aoyama Sadao, *Tō Sō jidai no kōtsū to chishi chizu no kenkyū* 唐宋時代の交通と地誌地図の研究 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobun kan, 1963),

the Southern Song was a turning point for local history-writing for a number of reasons. First, map guides, the combination of maps and treatises which was the primary format during the pre-Song period, was adapted and transformed into gazetteers during the Southern Song, and, at the same time, textual writing became the primary content. Second, the compilers of map guides, who were usually sponsored by the state, showed a strong interest in geography and the institutional history of a particular area and their guides mainly served central administrative purposes. In contrast, gazetteers were never sponsored by the Southern Song court in Lin'an. Their compilers showed a strong desire to verify local conditions, were more concerned with human affairs, and usually compiled gazetteers for local consumption.

Bol, a few years later, chose the Wuzhou in present-day Anhui province gazetteers from the Southern Song and Yuan as a case study to trace the history of gazetteer-writing in a local region. He argued that the rise of local history was directly associated with the ways in which members of the local cultural elite thought about their responsibility for themselves and toward the country. Meanwhile, he also observed that, during this process, the elite's interest shifted from the state to local societies, and this shift drove them to conceptualize the country

pp. 447-593; Zhu Shijia, *Zhongguo difangzhi zonglu* 中國地方志綜錄 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1986). Other scholarship includes Liu Guanglu 劉光祿, *Zhongguo fangzhixue gaiyao* 中國方志學概要 (Beijing: Zhongguo zhanwang chubanshe, 1983); Cang Xiuliang 倉修良, *Fangzhixue tonglun* 方志學通論 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1990); Huang Wei 黃韋 et al., *Fangzhi xue* 方志學 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1993); Peng Jingzhong 彭靜中, *Zhongguo fangzhi jianshi* 中國方志簡史 (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 1990); Lai Xinxia 來新夏, "Zhongguo lidai fangzhi gaishu" 中國歷代方志概述 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1988), pp. 394-400; Lin Tianwei 林天蔚, *Fangzhi xue yu difang shi yanjiu* 方志學與地方史研究 (Taipei: Nantian, 1995), and more recently, Wang Qianjin 汪前進, "Song dai ditu zhidu chutan 宋代地圖制度初探," in *Song dai guojia wenhua zhong de kexue* 宋代國家文化中的科學, eds. Sun Xiaochun 孫小淳 and Zeng Xiongsheng 曾雄生 (Beijing: Zhongguo kexue chubanshe, 2007), pp. 84-86.

as something less imperial, less derivative of court culture, and less centralized.³⁷³ On the other hand, Hymes focuses on the role of the “local gentlemen” in Fuzhou, in Jiangxi province, in his study of the changing relationship between local elite and the state from the Northern to the Southern Song. The high turn-over rate of officials and their indifference to local affairs under their jurisdiction made space for local elites to take charge of various aspects of social reform, such as the building of academies, the construction of community granaries, the creation of community compacts (*xiangyue* 鄉約), and the organization of defense lines.³⁷⁴

Meanwhile, another topic that has emerged from the study of local history is that of lineages and prominent families, especially in the Lower Yangzi region, which flourished after the relocation of the Song court after 1127. In his study of the Shi family in Mingzhou, present Ningbo, in Zhejiang province, Richard Davis associates its rise and decline with the reformulation of the civil service examination system and the imperial officialdom during the Song.³⁷⁵ Recently, Huang Kuanzhong 黃寬重 and Deng Xiaonan have also conducted in-depth research on social networks established by local lineages and their leading roles in community activities in Siming, in present Zhejiang province, and Suzhou, in Jiangsu province, respectively.³⁷⁶

³⁷³ Bol, “The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61.1 (June 2001): 37-76.

³⁷⁴ Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), Chapters 4 and 5.

³⁷⁵ Richard Davis, *Court and Family in Sung China, 960-1279: Bureaucratic Success and Kinship Fortunes for the Shih of Ming-chou* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1986).

³⁷⁶ Huang, “Renji wangluo, shehui wenhua huodong yu lingxiu diwei de jianli – yi Song dai Siming Wang shi jiazhu wei zhongxin de guancha” 人際網絡、社會文化活動與領袖地位的建立-以宋代四明汪氏家族為中心的觀察, in *Song shi yanjiu ji* 33 (2003): 327-372; Huang, “Song dai Siming shizu renji wangluo yu shehui wenhua huodong – yi

In addition, the study of frontier issues has also been advanced by Von Glahn and Naomi Standen. Von Glahn looks at the political expansion of the Northern Song into the southwest frontier for political and economic goals, and the Han transformation of local social and economic structures.³⁷⁷ Standen examines the volatility of identity, loyalty, and northern borders during the Song-Liao periods when political, geographic and ethnic boundaries underwent frequent shifts.³⁷⁸

Clearly enough, most of the existing scholarship focuses primarily on the political, economic and social aspects of regional and local societies. One has to ask: what would the mapping and writing about the “local” vis-à-vis the “central” have meant to the local elite? The number of maps in gazetteers declined significantly during the Southern Song, and even fewer illustrations were transcribed when local gazetteers were collected in the later encyclopaedia. As a

Lou shi jiazhi wei zhongxin de guancha” 宋代四明士族人際網絡與社會文化活動-以樓氏家族為中心的觀察, *Song shi yanjiu* 32 (2002): 113-82. Deng, “Bei Song Suzhou de shiren jiazhi jiaoyou quan: Zhu Changwen zhi jiaoyou wei hexin de kaocha” 北宋蘇州的士人家族交遊圈: 朱長文之交遊為核心的考察, in *Langrun xueshi conggao* 朗潤學史叢稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), pp. 372-413. “Kong Mingzhi yu Song dai Suzhou de Kong shi jiazhi: Jiantan Nan Song Kunshan shiren jiazhi de jiaoyou yu chenfu” 龔明之與宋代蘇州的龔氏家族: 兼談南宋崑山士人家族的交遊與沉浮, in *Langrun xueshi conggao*, pp. 414-47. Before Huang and Deng, few local lineages of the Song had been systematically researched in Asia apart from a few examples. Aoyama Sadao published a series of researches on genealogies of Song bureaucrats from several local regions in the 1960s and 1970s, see Aoyama, “Sōdai ni okeru Kanan kanryō no keifu ni tsuite—toku ni Yōsukō shimoryuiki o chūshin to shite” 宋代における華南官僚の系譜について--特に揚子江下流域を中心として, *Chūō Daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 中央大学文学部紀要 72 (1974.3): 51-76; “Sōdai ni okeru Kahoku kanryō no keifu ni tsuite” 宋代における華北官僚の系譜について, *Chūō Daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 45 (1967.1): 67-110. See also Kinugawa Tsuyoshi 衣川強, “Song dai de mingzu: Henan Lü shi de changhe” 宋代的名族—河南呂氏の場合, *Renwen lunji* 人文論集 9:1-2 (1973): 134-66; Xu Huailin 許懷林, “‘Jiangzhou yimen’ yu Chen shi jiafa” “江州義門”與陳氏家法, in *Song shi yanjiu lunwen ji* 宋史研究論文集 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu, 1989), 387-400; Qi Xia, “Song Yuan shiqi Puyang Zheng shi jiazhi zhi yanjiu” 宋元時期浦陽鄭氏家族之研究, in *Zhikun ji* 知困集 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1992), pp. 196-210.

³⁷⁷ Von Glahn, *The Country of Streams and Grottoes: Expansion, Settlement, and the Civilizing of the Sichuan Frontier in Song Times* (Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 1987), especially Parts Two and Three.

³⁷⁸ Standen, *Unbounded Loyalty: Frontier Crossings in Liao China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

consequence, surviving visual materials from this period are scarce, with only a few map guides and gazetteers with illustrations still extant. Then, did the role of visibility and the meaning of the communities' image change when local elite stimulated local consciousness? Furthermore, while most art historians have focused primarily on "proper" artworks, maps and other graphic representations are rarely considered subjects for research.³⁷⁹ Hence, by analyzing the modes, function and transmission of local maps, I will discuss the visual construction of local identity and its relationship with the state in the next section.

The Governmental Practice of Local Mapmaking during the Song

Both Hargett and Bol argue that map guides were mostly produced by governments, whereas most gazetteers were composed by segments of local communities of scholars. They also observe that the rise in the number of the latter in the Southern Song, accompanying the decline of the former, can also be understood as a manifestation of local identity.³⁸⁰ Here I attempt to use the newly-discovered Shuzhou, in present-day Anhui province, documents to revisit some of the issues that have been discussed in their study: Were map guides really in decline during the Southern Song? If not, what was the relationship between map guides and

³⁷⁹ Very few art historians have attempted to touch upon the issues of maps and mapmaking during the Song: Harist briefly associates the representational mode of landscape painting with that of maps, see "Maps, Geomancy, and Landscape," in *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China: Mountain Villa by Li Gonglin*, pp. 93-96; Edward Casey understands maps and landscape paintings as alternative but highly compatible ways of representing landscape, see "Representing Place Elsewhere: Northern Sung Landscape Painting," in *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 2002), pp. 92-116.

³⁸⁰ Bol argues that "local gazetteers" became so popular after the twelfth century that earlier forms of local records, especially map guides, disappeared; see Bol, "The Rise of Local History," p. 44. Hargett believes that the need for local jurisdictions to produce map guides as local reports for the central government had disappeared, with the result that it had become obsolete, and its form adapted to new challenges and was modified into a type of local gazetteer; see Hargett, "Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers," pp. 425-28.

gazetteers, and what were the roles played by the government and local scholars? Did the function of maps change during this process, and in what ways was the identity of local elites affected by this transformation?

Since the Sui, the compilation of map guides, if recorded at all, had predominantly been associated with governmental patronage. As mentioned in Chapter 4, written records claimed that the production of map guides by local governments took place every three to five years – depending on different primary sources – during the Northern Song. But scholars are skeptical about this high frequency due to the scarcity of extant original documents. However, the discovery of Southern Song documents of the Shuzhou government can shed light on the institutionalization of the making of map guides during this period. The fragment of an official document, which was recycled to print other books, was fortunately preserved.³⁸¹ Functioning like a checklist, it indexed the files that a county official submitted to the Shuzhou prefecture in 1162:

From Director of Military Management, Inspector of the Huaining and Taihu Counties,
and Arresting Agent for Tea, Salt, and Alum Smugglers, Dong Rong: [I] respectfully
submit a volume on essential knowledge, the content of which is listed below.

³⁸¹ It was a common practice during the Song and Yuan dynasties to print books with recycled paper, including discarded governmental documents and personal letters. This file was found in *Wang Wengong wenji* 王文公文集, the anthology of Wang Anshi, printed in Longshu 龍舒 (in present Anhui province) during the Southern Song and is now housed at the Shanghai Museum. These documents include governmental archives related with the Shuzhou 舒州 Prefecture and letters exchanged between the prefect Xiang Jun 向洵 (ca. 12th century) and other people, such as Hong Shi 洪適 (1117-1184) and Huang Zushun 黃祖舜 (1100-65); see Sun Jimin 孫繼民 and Wei Lin 魏琳, *Nan Song Shuzhou gongdu yijian: Zhengli yu yanjiu* 南宋舒州公牘佚簡: 整理與研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011), pp. 1-2. According to Chen Jing 陳靜, although Shuzhou prefecture was turned into Anqing 安慶 military prefecture in 1147, both names coexisted in administrative circles until the end of the Southern Song. Chen also examines the locations and administrative nature of Longshu and Shuzhou, see “*Song ren yijian suo jian Shuzhou, Longshu diming kao*” 《宋人佚簡》所見舒州、龍舒地名攷, in Sun Jimin and Wei Lin, pp. 242-48.

On X day of [the eleventh month] of the thirty-[second year of Shaoxing Era, by Director of Military Management, Inspector of the Huaining and Taohu Counties, and Arresting Agent for Tea, Salt and Alum Smugglers Dong Rong] (stamped with his seal in red ink here).

The Inspector of two counties files this list to report the submission of the volume of essential knowledge.

The County of Huaining:

Following precedents, our county has made a map guide, a volume on essential knowledge and other items below. Here I make a report to list them:

A volume of essential knowledge;

A volume of map-guides;

A set of maps of the county on the Four Extremes and Eight Directions;

A set of maps on land-reclamation.

[The rest of the file is missing]

p. 30.1 武經郎，懷寧、太湖兩縣巡檢，巡捉私茶鹽礬董 榮

p. 30.2 須知冊壹本。

p. 30.3 右榮謹具申

p. 30.4 呈，謹狀。

p. 30.5 紹興三[十二年十一月 日武經郎，懷寧、太湖兩縣巡檢，巡捉私

鹽礬董 榮](方框處有朱文押印)³⁸²

p. 31.1 兩縣巡檢狀申

p. 31.2 呈須知冊事

p. 32.1 懷寧縣

p. 32.2 本縣今依例置造到圖經、須知等下項目，須至申者：

p. 32.3 須知一冊；

p. 32.4 圖經一冊；

p. 32.5 本縣四至八到地圖一本；

p. 32.6 營田圖一本。³⁸³

[後缺]

When this list was filed, there were five counties in Shuzhou prefecture: aside from Huaining and Taihu mentioned above, there were also Tongcheng 桐城, Susong 宿松 and Wangjiang 望江, all in present Anhui province.³⁸⁴ Unfortunately, no other counties were found to have submitted maps or map guides among the hoard of these fragmentary files, although

³⁸² The characters in the square, originally missing, are filled in by transcribers. See Sun Jimin, “*Song ren yijian di wu juan wenshu*” 《宋人佚簡》第五卷文書, in *Nan Song Shuzhou gongdu yijian*, p. 19.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

³⁸⁴ Huaining was the most prominent county in the prefecture, and also where the prefectural office was located. Huaining and Taihu maintained a close relationship both geographically and administratively: the latter was briefly merged into Huaining in 1135. See Wang Xiangzhi, *Yudi jisheng*, p. 469.

Tongcheng County and other prefectural institutions--bureaus in charge of judicial investigation, armory, workshop storage, wine tax and others--submitted fourteen reports under the title of essential knowledge (*xuzhi* 須知冊). The seeming coincidence that all these manuals, if dated, were submitted in the eleventh month of 1162 must be the result of a certain administrative order.³⁸⁵ They might have been prepared for the newly-appointed prefect Xiang Jun 向洵, with a tenure in Shu prefecture between 1162 and 1163, or submitted at the end of an administrative cycle.³⁸⁶ Hence, “essential knowledge” in this context was probably an umbrella term for a volume which summarized the administrative and financial aspects of each jurisdiction, which could be immensely useful for local officials at their hand-over.³⁸⁷

The dossier of Huaining County includes four components: a volume of essential knowledge, a volume of map guides, a set of administrative maps on its “Four Extremes and Eight Directions (*sizhi badao* 四至八到),” and a set of maps on land distribution and reclamation. It is worth noting that the measure word used for the two map collections was *ben* 本, which was commonly used to count painting albums during the Song. In contrast, the essential knowledge and map guide were reckoned by *ce* 冊, commonly used for hand-written and printed

³⁸⁵ Sun Jimin, “Qian yan” 前言, in Sun and Wei, *Nan Song Shuzhou gongdu yijian*, pp. 6-7.

³⁸⁶ Wei Lin reminds us that, during the Qing, the volume of essential knowledge had been submitted before the new appointee arrived, but it is unclear here because there is no accurate record about the date of Xiang’s appointment. See Wei, “*Song ren yijian ‘gong du’ suo she jige wenshu zhidu wenti*” 《宋人佚簡•公牘》所涉幾個文書制度問題, in Sun and Wei, *Nan Song Shuzhou gongdu yijian*, pp. 190-91.

³⁸⁷ Although texts on essential knowledge are not commonly seen in Song historical sources, compiling manuals on essential knowledge had been in practice even in the early Song. For example, Liu Chenggui 劉承珪, Supervisor of Palace Storehouse, filed a volume of essential knowledge which listed relevant statutes and responsibilities in 1012; see Xu Song, *Song huiyao*, in *XXSKQS*, vol. 783, p. 166. In addition, the genre of “essential knowledge” was also distributed as instruction to military officials; see Zeng Gongliang and Ding Du, “Xingjun xuzhi” 行軍須知, in *Wujing zongyao*, vol. 3, pp. 2233-36.

monographs, a binding form that became increasingly popular to replace handscrolls. Therefore, it is possible that maps and map guides were submitted together but were bound separately, and strictly speaking, a map guide was only composed of writing. In other words, a map guide did not include maps; and maps of the county on its Four Extremes and Eight Directions and on land-reclamation were bound separately. “Following precedents” (*yili* 依例), in Huaining and Taihu’s case, also demonstrates that, until the Southern Song, it was still a common and established practice to submit maps of all sorts alongside written descriptions every couple of years.

In fact, the county was not the lowest administrative level in terms of the governmental practice of mapmaking. The measure of “land-survey” (*jingjie* 經界), which was initiated during the Wang Anshi reform movement and continued by Li Chunnian 李椿年 (1096-1164) in 1141, pushed mapmaking to the lowest levels of the state. Under this policy, every three years local governments were to survey all arable lands, have maps made, and assess tax appropriately.³⁸⁸ The county, based on these materials, was to make land tax registers (*zhenji bu* 砧基簿), which included topographical maps and registers, and listed the size, directions and distances, color of soil, and means of acquisition of the landed property. Two copies of these documents were submitted to prefectural and circuit offices.³⁸⁹ Therefore, in order to respond to the call of land

³⁸⁸ Tao Jing-shen, “The Move to the South and the Reign of Kao-tsung,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 5, part one, p. 701.

³⁸⁹ Brian McKnight, *Village and Bureaucracy in Southern Sung China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 51-52.

reform, mapmaking practices of the Song government were extended down to the lowest levels of the society.

Despite landlord opposition, the policy that Li initiated was effectively implemented in most prefectures during the reign of Gaozong 高宗 (1127-1162), and was supported by a large number of reform-leaning officials.³⁹⁰ While Yuan Xie 袁燮 (1144-1224) was assigned to Jiangyin 江陰 County in Jiangsu province in the 1180s, he gave his priority to mapmaking and started a thorough survey of land at the lowest level,

The administration of managing cultivated fields should start with a security group (*bao*); each security group should draw a map. All the fields, mountains and rivers, highways, roads, bridges and over-passes, and temples should be recorded, and so should the households that are located among them. The profession, population and age of each household should all be shown in the attachment. To combine the maps of the security groups, one will make that of a superior [security] group; to combine the maps of the superior security groups, one will make that of a township; to combine the maps of the townships, one will make that of a county. With it, the boundaries will be rectified, the registers (*hukou*) will be examined, the corvée labor will be assigned, and villainy and robbery will be avoided. Once a map is unfolded, all affairs related to conscription, lawsuits, and arresting the unlawful can be determined.

經理田野之政自一保始，每保畫一圖，凡田疇、山水、道路、橋梁、寺觀之屬靡不登載，而以民居分佈其間，其治某業，丁口老幼凡幾，悉附見之。合諸保為一

³⁹⁰ Wang Deyi 王德毅, "Li Chunnian yu Nan Song tudi jingjie" 李椿年與南宋土地經界, in *Song shi yanjiu ji* 宋史研究集 (Taipei: Zhonghua congshu, 1974), vol. 7, pp. 441-80.

都之圖，合諸都為一鄉之圖，又合諸鄉為一縣之圖。可以正疆界，可以稽戶口，可以起徒役，可以備奸偷。凡按徵發爭訟追胥之事，披圖一見可決。³⁹¹

The hierarchy shown in this mapmaking system closely followed that of the administrative structure. The so-called “security group” (*bao* 保) of five households, “large security group” (*da bao* 大保) of twenty-five households and “superior security group” (*dubao* 都保) of two-hundred-fifty households were among the lowest levels within the state machinery. They were originally established during the New Policies era to assure local order, and had been maintained during the Southern Song as a means to levy tax and labor service.³⁹² During the Southern Song, the Superior Guard leaders were the key figures in rural law enforcement and were held accountable for local issues.³⁹³ Yuan’s practice seems to have well reflected the “land-survey measure” initiated by Li Chunlian in 1143.

It is worth knowing that the biography of Yuan was penned by Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (1178-1235), a close follower of Zhu Xi and an influential scholar-official who inherited the lineage of Daoxue. In fact, Zhu Xi himself was also an unreserved advocate for the policy on land survey.

³⁹¹ Zhen Dexiu 真德秀, “Xianmo ge xueshi zhishi zeng Longtu ge xueshi Kaifu Yuan gong xingzhuang” 顯謨閣學士致仕贈龍圖閣學士開府袁公行狀,” in *Xishan xiansheng Zhen Wenzhong wenji* 西山先生真文忠文集, in *Song ji zhenben congkan* 宋集珍本叢刊 comp. by Sichuan daxue guji yanjiu suo 四川大學古籍研究所 (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2004), vol. 76, p. 524. A similar account is also seen in *Song shi*, 400/ 12146.

³⁹² Wu Tai 吳泰, “Song dai ‘baojia fa’ tanwei” 宋代“保甲法”探微, in *Song Liao Jin shi luncong (di er ji)* 宋遼金史論叢(第二輯) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), p. 182. Xia Weizhong 夏維中, “Song dai xiangcun jiceng zuzhi yanbian de jiben qushi” 宋代鄉村基層組織衍變的基本趨勢, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 (2003.4): 142-43. For earlier scholarship, see Sudō Yoshiyuki 周藤吉之, *Tō Sō shakai keizai shi kenkyū* 唐宋社會經濟史研究 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku, 1965). Liang Jianguo 梁建國 argues that, in some cases, the security groups and the superior security groups were directly under the charge of the county instead of a township; see Liang, “Nan Song xiangcun quhua tanxi: yi du bao wei zhongxin” 南宋鄉村區劃探析—以都保為中心, *Yantai daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 煙臺大學學報(哲學社會科學版) 19.1 (2006): 100-103.

³⁹³ McKnight, *Village and Bureaucracy in Southern Sung China*, pp. 33-35; 38-39.

When Zhu was appointed as the Recorder (*zhubu* 主簿) of Tongan 同安 county and later as the Prefect of Zhang 漳州 Prefecture, both in Fujian province, in the 1190s, he found that this policy was not well executed in this region, and thus filed a memorial to the central government:

The advantage of carrying out the survey of land proved to be incomparable. During the Shaoxing Era, both the government and individuals benefited from the measure except for the prefectures of Quan, Zhang and Ting where this measure was not implemented... [We] should appoint officials and put them in charge, so that they can survey the land and calculate it accurately. The government will cover the expense for the making of maps and registers. The tax should be on a par with the produce, and a special permit should be issued to make even the tax of the townships, so that the equilibrium of the taxing will be balanced within about one hundred *li*...Once the map is confirmed the common people's business will have a principle to follow.

經界最為民間莫大之利，紹興已推行處，公私兩利，獨泉，漳、汀未行。...必推擇官吏，委任責成；度量步畝，算計精確。畫圖造帳，費從官給；隨產均稅，特許過鄉通縣均紐，庶幾百里之內，輕重齊同。...版圖一定，則民業有經矣。³⁹⁴

Zhu Xi's memorial, winning support amongst ministers at the court, was proved to be effective--an official was sent to the prefecture of Quan to assist him in carrying out the policy.

Three decades later, the implementation of this measure in the prefecture of Wu was made possible through three successive prefects, and their achievements were manifested through a great number of documents and maps.

³⁹⁴ *Song shi*, 173/4177.

While the prefect, Zhao Yufu (ca. 13th century), was taking charge of the land survey in the prefecture of Wu, he was at the same time able to organize and manage local affairs effectively. Yet he was unfortunately dismissed from his position. The gentlemen and common people continuously sent requests to the court, so Zhao Shiyan (ca. 13th century) was appointed to succeed him. Two years later, when Wei Baowen replaced Shiyan as the prefect, he pushed ahead the measure even more forcefully. As a result, he was able to identify the previously wealthy households who divided themselves into poor ones, and the actual landed property that was disguised as belonging to the runaways or people without offspring. In total, he filed more than 230, 000 documents, including the household registers and products, resident registers, fish-scale maps,³⁹⁵ and accounts for those with the same surnames. He built storage and cabinets to preserve these files. After three years, he reported his undertakings to the court.

知婺州趙巖夫行經界於其州，整有倫緒，而巖夫報罷。士民相率請于朝，乃命趙師岳繼之。後二年，魏豹文代師岳為守，行之益力。於是向之上戶析為貧下之戶，實田隱為逃絕之田者，粲然可考。凡結甲冊、戶產簿、丁口簿、魚鱗圖、類姓簿二十三萬九千有奇，創庫匱以藏之，歷三年而後上其事于朝。³⁹⁶

The above record suggested that by the end of his term of three years, Wei had already filed a variety of archives documenting population, property and land. Juxtaposing the above records,

³⁹⁵ During the late imperial period, fish-scale maps were used to represent the size of the fields, names of their owners, and other land features such as elevation and soil types. All this information was compiled into registers. They were thus called as their shape resembled fish scales. The earliest extant fish-scale maps dated to the early Ming dynasty. See Yee, *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2: *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, pp. 84-86. Timothy Brook, *The Chinese State in Ming Society* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 45.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4179.

one may find that mapmaking, just like other governmental documents, could have been extensively practiced on the lowest levels, and that it would have efficiently facilitated the summarizing of information for the higher-ups. As a consequence, the data was sorted out for different purposes and found its way into documents of various administrative levels, such as map guides and gazetteers. Although none of these maps and written documents has survived, traces of their use have been sporadically recorded. Wang Xiangzhi, for example, was able to access the map guides and maps of many prefectures and counties, including those of Shuzhou mentioned above, while he was traveling around to collect sources to compile the *Yudi jisheng* in the early thirteenth century.³⁹⁷ Copies of maps seemed to have been circulated widely without restriction among literati scholars.

What one can extract and infer from the above evidence is as follows: first, the making of maps and map guides was commonly practiced during the Southern Song, and followed standard procedures; second, they were made and submitted every few years under specific regulations or at the turnover of the officials, no more than three years in most cases; and third, the emergence of gazetteers in large numbers during the Southern Song was a new venue for formulating local geophysical and cultural configurations, but the transformation from map guide to gazetteer was probably not a linear process, at least before the end of the Song. Neither did the practice of *tujing* just disappear in the Southern Song, nor did the images totally lose their function. The compilation of map guides, to a large extent, was a common practice in the governmental system. As governmental archives, map guides alongside maps had a short

³⁹⁷ Wang Xiangzhi, *Yudi jisheng*, pp. 468-78. Wang quoted the *tujing* of Anqing prefecture on a few occasions while writing about the famous sites.

shelf life, since the records were to be replaced and updated regularly, and the old files would be discarded or recycled like the Shuzhou files. Meanwhile, there were also works that were named map guides and were transmitted to us. These map guides, after being adapted and transcribed, acquired the format of books, functioned as the vehicle of “history,” and would have survived a much longer time.

Hence, based on my observations that have been presented above and will be further discussed below, I propose that, until the Southern Song, there were two parallel paradigms pertaining to the writing of local geography, and that the features of their existence were to a large extent associated with the producer, the reader and the function. The first paradigm was composed of a large number of maps and map guides that were produced in a systematic and institutionalized manner by various levels of government during both the Northern and Southern Song. They were primarily produced for the administrative purpose of keeping detailed records on registration, landed property and geographical boundaries. In the second paradigm, some maps and map guides in the first paradigm were adapted into the form of books and thus preserved and circulated through other venues. Map guides in the second paradigm were in most cases compiled by local scholars, although often commissioned by and thus credited to local officials. The compiling of such works was usually not the responsibility of these officials, but it would undoubtedly have added to their reputation. In both cases, *tujing* as a generic term were used simultaneously in both paradigms.

Compilation of Map Guides and Gazetteers

What are frequently seen in geographic writings during the Southern Song are the compilers' laments that the state commissioning of map guides after Li Zong'e came to a standstill. The map guide that Li was ordered to compile during the Dazhong xiangfu Era (1008-1016) seems to be the only project that was patronized by the central government. Later compilers of local gazetteers attributed the halt of this practice especially to the turmoil caused by the "barbarian invasions," the most destructive of which was the Jin conquest at the end of the Northern Song in 1127. Meanwhile, the Southern Song witnessed the production of an increased number of the gazetteers commissioned by local governments and literati scholars. Therefore, the halt in the production of map guides at the level of the central government and the flourishing of local gazetteers has been considered as a transition of power from the central authority to local levels. In this section, I will look into aspects of the tensions between the central government and local society through the commission and compilation of the gazetteers of Yanzhou, Jiankang, and a few other counties and prefectures.

Three map guides and gazetteers of Yanzhou were compiled after 1010: the first one, *Map Guide of Yan Prefecture* (*Yanzhou tujing* 嚴州圖經), compiled in 1137 during the Shaoxing Era; the second, *Map Guide of Yanzhou during the Chunxi Era* (*Chunxi Yanzhou tujing* 淳熙嚴州圖經), compiled in 1186 during the Chunxi Era (1174-1189), and the third, *Supplemented Gazetteer of Yan Prefecture during the Jingding Era* (*Jingding Yanzhou xu zhi* 景定嚴州續志) compiled by Zheng Yao 鄭瑤 (b. 1217) and Fang Renrong 方仁榮 (ca. 13th century) during the Jingding Era (1260-1264).

Although the Shaoxing edition has been lost, the preface still survives. In this preface, the compiler, Dong Fen 董夔 (ca. 12th century), points out the necessity of the compilation because it has been one hundred and twenty eight years after the Dazhong xiangfu Era when the last map guide had been made, and since then many changes had been made to the jurisdiction of Yanzhou by the central government.³⁹⁸ During the Song, changes of jurisdiction were frequently made in other jurisdictions as well, and they were not just nominal. As Mostern points out, these changes, in fact, were used as a strategy to well maintain the governance and legitimacy of the Song.³⁹⁹

Based on the Shaoxing edition, the Chunxi edition supplemented what had been missing in the former and what had taken place during the following five decades. Apart from maps and imperial edicts placed at the beginning, the Chunxi edition also provides a detailed introduction to the prefecture and includes the following categories in the first *juan*: the institutional changes of the previous dynasties; the corresponding heavenly realm (*fenye* 分野); customs; prefectural territory; townships and shrines; registers; academies; civil service examinations; governmental offices; hostels and post-houses (also including buildings, pavilions, and terraces); storage facilities (also including the Directorate of Coinage); military camps; wards and markets; bridges; canals; produce; local tribute; tax and revenue (also including tea tax, corvée-labor waivers and purchases in advance); tax income; Buddhist and Daoist temples; historical sites;

³⁹⁸ The preface by Dong, written in 1139, was preserved in the second gazetteer *Map Guide of Yanzhou during the Chunxi Era*. Dong Fen, "Preface," in *Chunxi yanzhou tujing* comp. by Liu Wenfu 刘文富, in *Song Yuan fangzhi congkan* 宋元方志丛刊 (hereafter, SYFZCK) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), vol. 5, p. 4280.

³⁹⁹ Mostern, *Dividing the Realm in Order to Govern: The Spatial Organization of the Song State (960-1276 CE)* (Cambridge : Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), especially pp. 103-65.

worthy prefects; records of the selected candidates (also including the surnames of lineages and military candidates); famous people; and steles.⁴⁰⁰

The following six *juan* cover the six counties of the prefecture separately, and their structure also follows that of the prefecture presented in the first *juan* as listed above. There is no doubt that the information gathered in the map guide had to rely on governmental archives. First of all, both the maps and the written description of Yan prefecture and its counties include complete information on the so-called “Four Extremes and Eight Directions,” which appears as the title of a county map in the Shuzhou government files mentioned above. Second, the data in the map guide, including tax on wine, tea, salt, incense, and alum, and revenue from silk and cotton production, population, and examination candidates, must have come from government statistics. Meanwhile, the map guide presents a strong tendency of identifying the prefecture as part of the empire. The quotations of the “Tribute of Yu” and the *Rites of Zhou* on geographical, ritual and customary aspects of Yanzhou, implying a sense of being a part of a larger political entity and of a longer cultural tradition, also match the narrative style of the “Treatise on Geography” (*dili zhi* 地理志) in the writing of official history since the composition of the *Han shu*. Quite a few edicts relevant to the prefecture are placed at the beginning of the map guides, announcing the princes being assigned as the governors, Defense Commissioners (*fangyu shi* 防禦使) and Military Commissioners (*jiedu shi* 節度使), of Yanzhou.⁴⁰¹ The

⁴⁰⁰ Liu Wenfu comp., *Chunxi Yanzhou tujing*, pp. 4275-4347.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 4277-78. This practice was also followed by *Supplemented Gazetteer of Yan Prefecture during the Jingding Era*. It collected the edicts that assigned the prince Zhao Qi 趙禔 (r. 1265-74), the later Emperor Duzong 度宗 (1264-1274), as the Military Commissioner and that elevated Yanzhou from a normal prefecture to a Superior Prefecture; See Zheng Yao 鄭瑤 and Fang Renrong 方仁榮 comp., *Jingding Yanzhou xuzhi*, in SYFZCK, vol.5, pp. 4351-54.

emphasis of the local association with the imperial house was a common practice for the compilers of map guides and gazetteers throughout the Song.⁴⁰² Thus, the prefecture was geographically, politically and ritually placed in the imperial context.

The Jingding edition only documents events and people that appeared chronologically after the completion of Chunxi edition, and therefore it shows a conscious continuity with the previous records in both a temporal and a spatial manner. Although still only one *juan* is dedicated to each of the six counties, its record on the institutions of the prefecture is lengthened to three. Accordingly, the categories of the prefectural data are also expanded and multiplied:

Juan 1: Defense Command; township and passes; registered population; prefectural location; various offices; storage facilities; hostels and post-houses; wards and markets; and bridges.

Juan 2: Offices in the prefectures; names of prefects; names of controller-generals; names of supplementary controller-generals; worthy prefects; famous officials; auspicious produce; measures to alleviate disasters; tax and revenue; and military expenses.

Juan 3: schools; Academy of Fishing Terrace (*Diaotai shuyuan* 釣臺書院); names of teachers at the prefectural school; examinations; the names of the selected candidates;

⁴⁰² *The Gazetteer of Jiankang during the Jingding Era (Jingding Jiankang zhi 景定建康志)* also collected the edicts related to Jiankang that had been issued since the beginning of the Song; see Zhou Yinghe 周應和 comp., *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, in SYFZCK, vol. 2, pp. 1342-74.

village drinking ceremonies; village meetings; famous people; mountains; rivers; Buddhist and Daoist temples, shrines; historical sites; steles; and writings.⁴⁰³

In fact, the structure of the Jingding edition is not dramatically different from that of the Chunxi edition. However, several categories are further split into a few more, and the contents are greatly enriched, especially the detailed context for institutions, architecture and events of local communities.

Considerable attention is given to schools and academies, where the compilers, including both teachers and officials, were trained. Zheng Yao was both a teacher at the prefectural school and also the Head of the Academy of Fishing Terrace; Fang Renrong 方仁榮 was also a teacher at the prefectural school. The history and constitution of the Academy of the Fishing Terrace, which had been sponsored by the government, received a thorough explanation. The name of the compiler, Zheng Yao, is also recorded in a list of teachers in the prefectural school and the candidates who were selected for the higher level of examinations. The distribution of the quota for the candidates to participate the central civil service examination can also be visualized through maps, such as *The General Map* (*Yudi tu* 輿地圖) (fig. 6-1).

The ways in which the data is structured in a gazetteer also provides us with valuable information to understand how a local region was seen in the eyes of its compilers. Except governmental statistics on the local human and natural resources, it also documented information on religious sites, such as temples and shrines for Buddhist, Daoist and popular religious practices. The Chunxi edition, for example, not only marks their names on maps (fig. 6-

⁴⁰³ Zheng Yao and Fang Renrong comp., *Jingding Yanzhou xuzhi*, in *SSFZCK*, pp. 4349-4412.

2), but also records their locations and their naming history, which mostly occurred under the command of the court. Thus, the social and ritual networks were incorporated into the imperial discourse through visual images and written words.

Meanwhile, more space in gazetteers is devoted to writing than to maps by the Southern Song. On the first sight, it seems that maps are losing their significance. The most telling example of this change is the comment made by Luo Jun. Originally, he named his book under the title of *Map Guide to Siming* (*Siming tujing* 四明圖經), but changed his mind and named it *Gazetteer of Siming during the Baoqing Era*. He explained the reason as follows, “I have completed twenty-one *juan* from the early summer to mid-autumn. Since there are only a few maps but abundant written records, I decided to simply title it “*zhi*” and place the maps at the beginning” 由孟夏訖仲秋，成二十一卷，圖少而志繁，故獨揭志名而以圖冠其首。⁴⁰⁴ Indeed, the production of map images, as scholars have observed, had to rely heavily on writing and textual sources.⁴⁰⁵ Both Hargett and Bol point out that more geographical writings were named gazetteers instead of map guides when there was more involvement of local literati in the compilation.

This way, the images do not seem to carry any significant meaning but just to be used as front matter. However, even being front matter deserves our examination. As Gérard Genette points out, the presentation of the paratext carries spatial, temporal, substantial, pragmatic

⁴⁰⁴ Fang Wanli and Luo Jun comps., *Baoqing Siming zhi*, in SYFZCK, in SYFZCK, vol. 5, p. 4989.

⁴⁰⁵ Yee, *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2: *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, pp. 37-53.

and functional messages, and it also ensures the presence of the text, and the ways in which it is received and consumed.⁴⁰⁶

If a gazetteer was meant to be a comprehensive coverage on local political, economic, cultural and religious institutions, one can assume that the meaning of locality was wrapped in a package of information conveyed through maps and words. In this sense, the maps in the front function like a visual index to the content. Starting from the Song, the bond between topographic maps and their lengthy inscriptions became increasingly standardized. A common format of a map guide or gazetteer usually starts with a few maps of local regions or, sometimes, the architectural plan of a jurisdictional building complex, which is followed by a written explanation of all aspects of the local region in detail. As a result, these images enjoyed a sense of visual superiority by being placed at the beginning of the book and signifying its contents. The experience of the reader would be further framed by the content of the maps. In addition to the governmental hallmarks, such as the seats of the local government and schools, famous sites of Buddhist temples and bridges are also included in the maps. These places referred to in the maps can be found correspondingly in the written part. These locations on the maps, like the “index” of the gazetteer, are not only practical, but also symbolic. They were selected and highlighted via a set of written and visual languages, and were presented to readers for their administrative, historical and cultural significance. Unlike those individually circulated map sheets, the maps in the gazetteers were coded in a narrative paradigm of the “local,” which were embedded in the context of visual politics and cultural dynamics, and were

⁴⁰⁶ Genette, *Paratexts: Threshold of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 1-2.

given a meaning by a complex power structure of governmental offices, schools, temples and historical sites. In this way, the function of a map is transformed from an icon of a place to the indexical features of a geopolitical and social space. The hallmarks, such as bridges, religious sites, and pavilions did not only adorn the natural landscape, but also signified their positions and functions in this local context.

“Four Extremes and Eight Directions” (*Sizhi badao* 四至八到)

As mentioned above in the analysis of the Shuzhou document, a map with “Four Extremes and Eight Directions” of the Huaining and Taihu counties was submitted to the prefecture. In fact, the notion of “eight directions,” which records the distance in eight ordinal directions from the seat of a county or a prefecture to its border or the seat of another jurisdiction of equivalent level, was not a new one to Song scholars. In the *Records on the Maps of the Commanderries and Counties of the Yuanhe Era* (*Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志) compiled by Li Jifu 李吉甫 (758-814) in the early ninth century, the term was applied to demonstrate the parameters on various directions of a given jurisdiction.⁴⁰⁷ Despite the term “eight directions,” only four or five directions were defined in most cases. Take Hangzhou, for example: although it provides information on eight directions, northwest appears three times, connecting the Upper Capital, the Eastern Capital, and Xuanzhou, respectively. East and south are missing.

⁴⁰⁷ Cao Jiaqi 曹家齊, “Tang Song dizhi suo ji ‘sizhi badao’ wei daolu licheng kaozheng” 唐宋地志所記‘四至八到’為道路里程考證, *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* 中國典籍與文化 (2001.4): 38-42. According to the observation made by Cao Jiaqi, apart from Hangzhou and a few other places, most places mapped distance in only five or six directions.

The distance to each of the two capitals, being administratively and strategically significant, counts directions for every jurisdiction, but the omission of east and south is probably due to the following two reasons: facing the sea to the east causes the lack of a reference for this direction; the relatively undeveloped south cannot provide a reference point within the measuring range.

The prefectural territory: 554 *li* from east to west; 89 *li* from south to north.

Eight Directions: 3400 *li* to the Upper Capital (=) to the Northwest; 2,540 *li* to the Eastern Capital to the northwest; 315 *li* to Muzhou in the southwest; 131 *li* to Yuezhou via Zhe River to the southeast; 470 *li* to Shezhou to the west; 496 *li* to Xuanzhou to the northwest; about 100 *li* to where the Zhe River enters the ocean to the northeast; 370 *li* to Suzhou to the north.

州境: 東西五百五十四里, 南北八十九里。

八到: 西北至上都三千四百里。西北至東都二千五百四十里。西南至睦州三百一十五里。東南取浙江至越州一百三十里。西至歙州四百七十里。西北至宣州四百九十六里。東北至浙江入海處約一百里。北至蘇州三百七十里。⁴⁰⁸

Depending on the situation, distances to significant places are reckoned through land roads, water routes, and sometimes, private routes.⁴⁰⁹ Except for the two capitals, these locations constitute a geographical network with a parameter of no more than 500 *li*.

⁴⁰⁸ Li Jifu 李吉甫, *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 602.

⁴⁰⁹ As for the difference between different types of roads, see Cao Jiaqi, "Guanlu, silu yu yilu, xianlu: Song dai Zhou (fu) xiancheng zhouwei daolu geju xintan" 官路、私路與驛路、縣路—宋代州(府)縣城周圍道路格局新探, *Xueshu yanjiu* 7 (2012): 105-14.

When the *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 was compiled in the early Northern Song, the notion of “Four Extremes and Eight Directions” became established. The same prefecture Hangzhou was defined as follows,

The prefectural territory: 617 *li* from east to west, 99 *li* from south to north

Four Extremes and Eight Directions: 2800 *li* to the Eastern Capital to the northeast; 2500 *li* to the Western Capital to the northwest; 3400 *li* to Chang'an (present Xi'an, Shaanxi province) to the northwest. 390 *li* to Suzhou to the east; 130 *li* to Yuezhou to the south; 190 *li* to Huzhou to the north; 479 *li* to the Shezhou to the west. 170 *li* to Yuezhou via Mount Sisu to the southeast, or 130 *li* via the Zhe River. 315 *li* to Muzhou to southwest; 496 *li* to Xuanzhou to northwest. 369 *li* to Suzhou to the northeast; about 100 *li* to the location where the Zhe River enters the sea to the northeast.

州境: 東西六百一十七里，南北九十九里。

四至八到: 東北至東京二千八百里。西北至西京二千五百里。西北至長安三千四百里。東至蘇州三百九十里。南至越州一百三十里。北至湖州一百九十里。西至歙州四百七十九里。東南至思俗山至越州總一百七十里，又云渡浙江一百三十里。西南至睦州三百一十五里。西北至宣州四百九十六里。東北至蘇州三百六十九里。東北至浙江入海處約一百里。⁴¹⁰

The concept continuously appeared in map guides and gazetteers. For example, Yanzhou in the *Map Guide of Yanzhou during the Chunxi Era* is described as follows,

⁴¹⁰ Yue Shi 樂史, *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), vol. 4, p. 1862.

The prefectural territory (including routes): 390 *li* from east to the west; 330 *li* from south to north. Four Extremes and Eight Directions: 310 *li* to the Lin'an *fu* superior prefecture to the east; 370 *li* to Huizhou prefecture to the west; 150 *li* to the Wuzhou prefecture to the south; 270 *li* to Lin'an *fu* superior prefecture to the north; 180 *li* to the Wu prefecture to the southeast; 210 *li* to Quzhou prefecture to the southwest; 310 *li* to Lin'an superior prefecture to the northeast; 310 *li* to Huizhou prefecture to the northwest.

Distance to the two capitals: 2,536 *li* to the Eastern Capital; 3,029 *li* to the Western Capital.

Land routes: 55 *li* to the border of Wuzhou prefecture via Mount Xintun in the southeast; 190 *li* to the border of Quzhou prefecture via Mount Elong in the southwest. Water routes: 133 *li* to the border of Lin'an *fu* superior prefecture via Dong Zipu in the east; 50 *li* to the Wuzhou prefecture via Sanhetuan in the south; 250 *li* to the border of Lin'an *fu* superior prefecture via Shendu ford in the north.

州境 道路附：東西三百九十里；南北三百三十里。四至八到：東至臨安府三百一十里；西至徽州三百七十里；南至婺州一百五十里；北至臨安府二百七十里；東南到婺州一百八十里；西南到衢州二百一十里；東北臨安府三百一十里；西北到徽州三百一十里。

去兩京地里：東京二千五百三十六里；西京三千二十九里。

陸路：東南至新屯嶺入婺州界五十五里；西南至鵝龍山入衢州界一百九十里；西至深渡津入徽州界二百五十七里；北至印渚溪入臨安府界二百七十里；東北至

桐峴山入臨安府一百五十里。水路：東至東梓浦入臨安府界一百三十三里；南至三河湍入婺州界五十里；北至深渡津入臨安府界二百五十里。⁴¹¹

From the two examples of the Song period, all eight directions are mentioned, and the notion of the “Four Extremes and Eight Directions” is composed of distances of the four cardinal directions (east, west, south and north) and four ordinal directions (northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest).

It is worth noting that the knowledge and vocabularies about imagining, describing and experiencing a given political space were increasingly elucidated and systemized as the Southern Song progressed. When the *Map Guide of Yanzhou* was compiled, direct distance between two places and the distance via routes became two different perspectives: the former one proffered a bird’s-eye view on a homogeneous geophysical space, and the latter proposed certain kind of experience of moving through this space. Water routes, which are of considerable significance on the lower reaches of the Yangtze River Valley, escaped the attention of authors of the *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* and *Taiping huanyu ji*. However, the *Map Guide of Yanzhou* gives the same amount of space to describe the land routes and water routes. The *Map Guide of Yanzhou* probably cannot offer sufficient information to guide traveling, but it provides information for readers to imagine the scope of the prefecture and also situate it in a larger geographic context.

With the notion of “border” (*jie* 界) being introduced, the distance to the border (*jieshou* 界首) became crucial in reckoning the size of a prefecture, and thus the geographic space of a

⁴¹¹ Liu Wenfu comp., *Chunxi Yanzhou tujing*, in *SYFZCK*, vol. 5, pp. 4286-87.

jurisdiction became relatively clearly defined. The complete description of eight directions outlined the rough shape of the prefecture (fig. 6-3), which is not too much different from its actual size (fig. 6-4).

On a more micro-level of county, exact locations at the border are specified. Usually no more than 80 *li*, the route described through writing is almost navigable. The distance and routes in Jiande County, for example, is laid out as follows,

The county territory (including routes): 130 *li* from east to the west; 80 *li* from south to north.

Four Extremes and Eight Directions:

50 *li* to the border of Tonglu County to the east, with Anren Pavilion as the border mark, and 35 *li* to Tonglu from the border.

60 *li* to the border of Shouchang County to the west, with Jiaotang as the border mark, and 25 *li* to Shouchang from the border.

60 *li* to the border of Lanxi County of Wuzhou Prefecture to the south, with Huatang as the border mark, and 30 *li* to Lanxi from the border.

60 *li* to the border of Fenshui County to the north, with Xulingtang as the border mark, and 63 *li* to Fenshui from the border.

75 *li* to the border of Fujiang County of Wuzhou Prefecture to the southeast, with Jingkeng as the border mark, and 30 *li* to Pujiang from the border.

40 *li* to the border of Lanxi County of Wuzhou Prefecture to the southeast, with Tanling as the border mark, and 45 *li* to Lanxi from the border.

50 *li* to the border of Tonglu County to the northeast, with Yangchanqiao as the border mark, and 35 *li* to Tonglu from the border.

45 *li* to the border of Fenshui County to the northwest, with Xialing as the border mark, and 53 *li* to Fenshui from the border.

Water Routes:

Water route via the She River. Located in the southwest of the county, it flows into Chun'an County, and after 180 *li*, it flows into Tonglu County and continues 90 *li*.

Water route via the Wu River. Located in the southeast of the county, it merges with the She River. It flows into Wuzhou County and continues 145 *li*.

東西一百三十里，南北八十里。

四至八到

東至桐廬縣界五十里，以安仁牌為界，自界至桐廬三十五里。

西至壽昌縣界六十里，以茭塘為界，自界至壽昌二十五里。

南至婺州蘭溪縣界六十里，以花塘為界，自界至蘭溪三十里。

北至分水縣界六十里，以胥嶺塘為界，自界至分水六十三里。

東南到婺州浦江縣界七十五里，以井院為界，自界到浦江三十里。

西南到婺州蘭溪縣界四十里，以檀嶺為界，自界到蘭溪四十五里。

東北至桐廬縣界五十里，以楊闡橋為界，自界到桐廬三十五里。

西北到分水縣界四十五里，以峽嶺為界，自界到分水五十三里。

水路

歙港水路。在縣南西，泝入淳安縣一百八十里，東沿入桐廬縣九十里。

婺港水路。在縣東南，與歙港合，泝入婺州一百四十五里。⁴¹²

The term *jie* is crucial for the reader to construct the jurisdictional space. Within all these borders in mind, one can roughly outline the parameters of a jurisdiction. Meanwhile, maps reflected a similar scheme through visual means. In comparison with its realistic shape reconstructed by Tan Qixiang (fig. 6-4), the maps of Jiande, for example, outlines the county in a fairly rectangular square (fig. 6-2). This shape cannot possibly reflect its actual geographical situation—it probably echoes the overarching ideal of Chinese cosmology, which is usually summarized as a round heaven and square earth. The borders between counties are not always drawn on maps—only mountains, lakes and sizeable bridges are occasionally marked out. However, what is made visibly distinct to the readers are the inscriptions written at the margins of the map indicating boundaries on the four cardinal and ordinal directions. The map not only resonates with the written part, but also draws the viewers to read it. By the same token, this is probably how the maps on the “Four Extremes and Eight Directions” submitted by Huaining and Taihu counties worked with the map guide.

Compiling Institutions and the Literati

Through the written records, people involved in the institutions that compiled gazetteers were usually the local officials who supervised (*xiu* 修) the project, and the scholars who actually undertook the work of compilation (*zuan* 纂). Bol argues that local officials were nominal

⁴¹² Liu Wenfu comp., *Chunxi Yanzhou tujing*, in *SYFZCK*, vol. 5, p. 4287.

supervisors in most cases and did not have to personally participate in the compilation. Therefore, local literati were the main group who undertook the task.⁴¹³ However, this does not mean the roles played by local officials can be easily dismissed: first, the compilation was always a team-work effort involving governmental support; second, the consciousness of the “local” was not necessarily in contradiction with the “central.”

In quite a few cases, it was the local officials who initiated the projects and gathered materials for the compilation (see Appendix 4-1). Qian Keze 錢可則 (ca. 13th century), for example, was said to have started assembling evidence related to the geography of the prefecture after he assumed his post as Prefect of Jiankang.⁴¹⁴ The clearest example would be Ma Guangzu 馬光祖 (1200-1270), who was very hands-on in the compilation of *Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture during the Jingding Era* as the supervisor and prefect. He prescribed a time limitation of only four months to the compiler, Zhou Yinghe 周應和 (ca. 13th century). Certainly considering that this time period was insufficient, Zhou requested an extension but was rejected. It was said that the tenure of Ma was also approaching its end with the time limitation.⁴¹⁵ That was the reason for the tight schedule, since Ma would have liked to see the gazetteer out before stepping down from his post.

Usually only one or two names of the compilers were written down on the cover page, so we are given the impression that the compilation was some kind of pastime for local scholars.

⁴¹³ Bol, “The Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou,” 46.

⁴¹⁴ Fang Pengchen 方逢辰 (1221-1291), “Preface,” in *Jingding Yanzhou xuzhi*, in SYFZCK, vol. 5, p. 4349.

⁴¹⁵ Zhou Yinghe, “Jingding xiuzhi benmo” 景定修志本末, in *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, in SYFZCK, vol. 2, pp. 1328-32.

However, the compiler, like a team leader, usually would call for quite a few more assistants to participate in the project. The *Gazetteer of Siming during the Baoqing Era* (*Baoqing Siming zhi* 寶慶四明志) compiled in 1227, for example, included eleven more local scholars apart from Fang Wanli 方萬里 (*jinshi* 1211) and Luo Jun 羅濬 (ca. 12th-13th century). From the preface, we know that the Prefect, Hu Ju 胡榘 (ca. 13th century), finding that the last map guide was made almost sixty years ago, initiated the re-writing of the map guide. Hu ordered school teacher (*jiao guan* 校官), Fang Wanli, to assemble available materials. Luo Jun, at a later time, succeeded Fang to attend to this task. Luo thus describes his responsibilities in the preface, “since the Minister [Hu Ju] made this my sole duty, I was able to discuss and collate the records with gentlemen, friends and scholars, and also consulted him on a daily basis” 尚書俾專任斯責，因得與士友胥講論胥校讐且朝夕質諸尚書。⁴¹⁶ The eleven assistants who collaborated with Luo and Fang were from the prefectural school, and took on the responsibility of categorizing the materials and writing down the results (*bianlei wenzi* 編類文字).⁴¹⁷

In other cases, the gazetteer drew support from the governmental institutions. A so-called “compilation board” (*shuju* 書局) was established when the *Gazetteer of Jiankang [Prefecture] during the Jingding Era* was initiated in 1261. The board was located in the Zhongshan Building, a liaison building connecting the complex of governmental offices and the gardens (fig. 6-5). The location also visually signified a loose relationship between the gazetteer compilation board and the prefectural authority. According to the preface by Ma Guangzu, the prefect of

⁴¹⁶ Fang Wanli and Luo Jun comps., *Baoqing Siming zhi* 寶慶四明志, in SYFZCK, p. 4989.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*

Jiankang and the supervisor of the gazetteer, he had frequent discussions with Zhou Yinghe, the compiler and organizer of project. Ma was not only supervising the text, but also wrote a preface to the first chapter on Jiankang, the so-called “Previous Capital” (*Liudu* 留都), which had already been the capital for quite a few dynasties before the Song, including the Wu (229-80), Eastern Jin (317-420), and Southern Dynasties (420-589). The *shuju*, as Zhou reveals to us in the preface, had at least sixteen other people apart from himself. The staffs were obviously mobilized from the prefecture in order to speed up the whole working process. The *Shuju* included two lower officials (局吏) taking charge of the board affairs, ten scribes (書吏) in charge of transcribing the documents, and the other four (客司虞侯) in charge of acquiring materials from the government.⁴¹⁸ Understandably, these materials from the government would be those map guides, maps, and other statistical information that had been listed in the Shuzhou documents, and that appeared in the map guides and gazetteers.

Although these map guides and gazetteers were mainly commissioned by the government, they were widely circulated among scholars. Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (1183-1262), the most renowned bibliophile, has recorded more than eighty items of map guides and gazetteers.⁴¹⁹ More than half of the one hundred and seventy works on local geography listed in the “bibliography” of the Song History, this figure can attest the wide circulation of map guides and gazetteers preserved and circulated among the men of letters.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁸ Zhou Yinghe comp., *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, in SYFZCK, vol. 2, p. 1321.

⁴¹⁹ Chen Zhensun, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), pp. 237-68.

⁴²⁰ *Song shi*, 240/5152-66.

Conclusion

Viewing matters from a broad perspective, the dialectical tension between the poles of the central and the local always existed throughout the imperial era. Its manifestations and dynamics always varied from one period to another, and the geophysical boundaries and discursive scopes of the “central” and “local” were elastic, too.

The Song dynasty constituted a critical moment in this process: elite members of the local society played increasingly significant roles in local projects, rituals, and other affairs; networks were formed and their social bonds were thus enhanced; writings pertaining to certain type of local identity appeared in large numbers. These phenomena point to a rising consciousness of local identity. Meanwhile, the imperial cartographic practice as discussed in Chapter 4 also reveals an increasingly perfected and standardized bureaucratic system and its profound supporting foundation, and the maintenance of the body politic of the Song Empire.

Mapmaking and writing about local geography provides a useful angle to understand this tension. Cartographic practice at the local level during the Song, in the first place, was carried out by local governments. Not merely a continuation from the previous dynasties, the knowledge about the local, including its geophysical space, and its natural and cultural resources, was shared by both the state and the elite members of the society. In other words, it was not only submitted to the higher-up bureaucratic levels in charts, maps and other forms of statistical information, but also permeated to the lettered men in the society accompanying the circulation of gazetteers and map guides. The expanding literacy produced a pool of readers

and collectors and, in turn, instigated more production on local geography, culture and literature.

Throughout the map guides and gazetteers, the notions of local and central were apparent, but not necessarily conflicting. The empire became a ubiquitous “other,” which was used to define the local self. Needless to say, this packaged “local” shadowed many issues on the ground, such as the conflicts of interests or dissatisfactions of specific communities. Local features were described within the imperial context and were wrapped within the language of the authorities. In this sense, mapmaking and writing echoed with and supplemented each other. Painting techniques and geomancy also helped to constitute a platform on which the “local” was produced. In other words, the local was to larger extent given a voice through conforming to that of the central.

Chapter 7 Conclusions

Mapmaking during the Song period reveals a complex picture of the political and social power structure of the empire. In this dissertation, I explore the intricate relationship between map- and empire-making by examining and sorting Song maps and relevant records on mapmaking. They are divided into the following three categories: the imperial, classical and local maps.

Imperial maps, diagrams, plans and other graphic representations played a crucial role in shaping many aspects of life in the empire: recording the progress of public works, communicating between the court and the generals on the battlefields, standardizing the building of architecture, and mapping the territory on both the micro and macro levels.

Maps based on the “Tribute of Yu” composed the temporal dimension of the imagination of a canonical past. They were originally made by the government for administrative purposes. However, they rapidly attracted the attention of scholars in their search for the canonical past. Further, local maps included gazetteer maps, map guides, and local administrative maps.

Local administrative maps and reports became the primary sources for map guides and local gazetteers. I argue that there existed a creative tension between the central and the local. That is, although most of the gazetteers were commissioned by the government, they also concurrently created a sense of the “local” – shared geographic space, local resources, cultural traditions, and religious communities.

In sum, cartography during the Song played a crucial role through visual language in the creation of an image of the empire, the re-imagination of the geophysical space of the canonical past, and the construction of a historical and cultural local identity.

In the above discussion, although the empire's image was the looming background for geographical imagination of both the present and the past, the framework of imperial knowledge was not an enclosed one. Growing bureaucratic centralization took place alongside rising regional consciousness. The local literati scholars in charge of the compiling of gazetteers did not necessarily see that the local was in contradiction with the "central." In mediating the two seemingly opposing interest groups, their role within the imperial bureaucracy or beyond the civil service examination system could be flexible. Therefore, while the geographic imagination of the central government bound the empire as a whole through the practice of mapmaking and circulating, the growth of vibrant local initiatives suggests that regional identity and voice were not necessarily suppressed or marginalized in the process.

In this dissertation, I have shown how the empire was imagined through geospatial knowledge, an interconnected web of texts and images composed by people from various social levels. The knowledge of the system, manifested through mapmaking, was in the process of constant transmission and transformation. The categories listed above, namely, imperial, classical and local maps, were not isolated and stagnant groups. On the contrary, geographical and cartographic knowledge flowed between different levels of society, and, during this process, was reorganized into different forms to suit their contexts and readers/viewers. The production and reproduction of a map might accompany the changes of its size, scale, information, and, most of all, purpose. Therefore, the process of knowledge transmission was not simply copying and transcribing, but also involved strategic and deliberate adaptation and reformulation. Local maps were submitted to higher levels of the government and were finally incorporated into the map of the whole empire, which was subsequently adopted by scholars as a reference to

interpret the territory of the canonical past. The *Map of Chinese and Foreign Lands* was a clear manifestation: originally drawn as an imperial map, it later became the model for the maps of the “Tribute of Yu,” which were further adapted to represent the geophysical space in the past.

All these practices of image-making were to some extent inherited from the Tang and Five Dynasties, but the popularization of print technology and the civil service examination, and the expanding bureaucracy made possible the production and circulation of maps on a large scale. This also explains why maps of this period were better preserved than those of previous dynasties. With diverse needs and a full array of techniques, maps were made in different forms such as rubbing and printing, and were also circulated beyond the government in the marketplace, bookshops, and academies. Further, book binding, as a new technique of the Song, also changed the presentation of maps. Binding maps in a certain order was a process of organizing them into a geospatial knowledge system. Therefore, the proliferation of images and introduction of new technology to a large extent transformed the cultural landscape of geographic knowledge production.

As I have underscored at the beginning of this dissertation, I did not intend to limit my discussion of the making, consumption and circulation of maps to their technical and geographical aspects. It is hoped that this study of the Song maps will enrich our understanding of the visual construction of the Song Empire and the imagination of the universe at large. In what follows, I will encapsulate my study in the larger context of visual culture and offer some further consideration on the direction of future research.

In the context of the visual politics at the Song imperial court, the role of mapmaking and other forms of graphic representations of space was crucial. The vital role of writing in

sustaining the government since early China has been well studied and widely acknowledged. It has also provided us with a solid theoretical foundation in considering many social and art historical issues during the Song. For instance, calligraphy and literati painting were predominantly discussed within the framework of brushwork, a ramification of writing as literati's pastime. Despite the effectiveness of this approach, I believe that image-making should be seen as an equally important dimension in terms of its contribution to Song empire-building. In a broader sense, the commissioning, making, consuming and circulating of various types of images, especially maps and spatial diagrams, became an indispensable venue to visualize, comprehend, and imagine the empire, and as well as the known world. Viewed in this light, one will be able to find a common ground to examine certain maps, diagrams, and paintings, which were either commissioned by or pertained to the initiatives of imperial statecraft, as elucidated in the works of Ebrey, Hong, and Liu.⁴²¹ In other words, the imperial-scriptural rule, long understood to be the factor that held the empire together, would *not* be possible without the simultaneous practice of mapmaking.

The practice of mapmaking during the Song was not confined to its contemporary imperial space; it was also extended back in time to a long tradition. The diagrams on the "Tribute of Yu," which were purported to reveal the spatial configuration of the past, belonged to a larger genre of representation, the illustrations of the Confucian canons, which were meant to convey the inherent messages of the sages of antiquity. These images carried an underlying agenda to show consistency between antiquity and the Song. The interests of the literati scholars in and

⁴²¹ See Chapter 3.

their subsequent reconstruction of the geography of a canonical past were propelled by the same momentum in their efforts to rediscover ceremonial objects and rituals of the Zhou, the era of the sages, as discussed by Chen, Hsu, and Moser.⁴²² In the light of a more comprehensive perspective, the spatial and temporal dimensions of image-making during the Song represented the splendor of the imperial vision and visuality that we can further explore and substantiate.

⁴²² See Chapter 4.

Figures

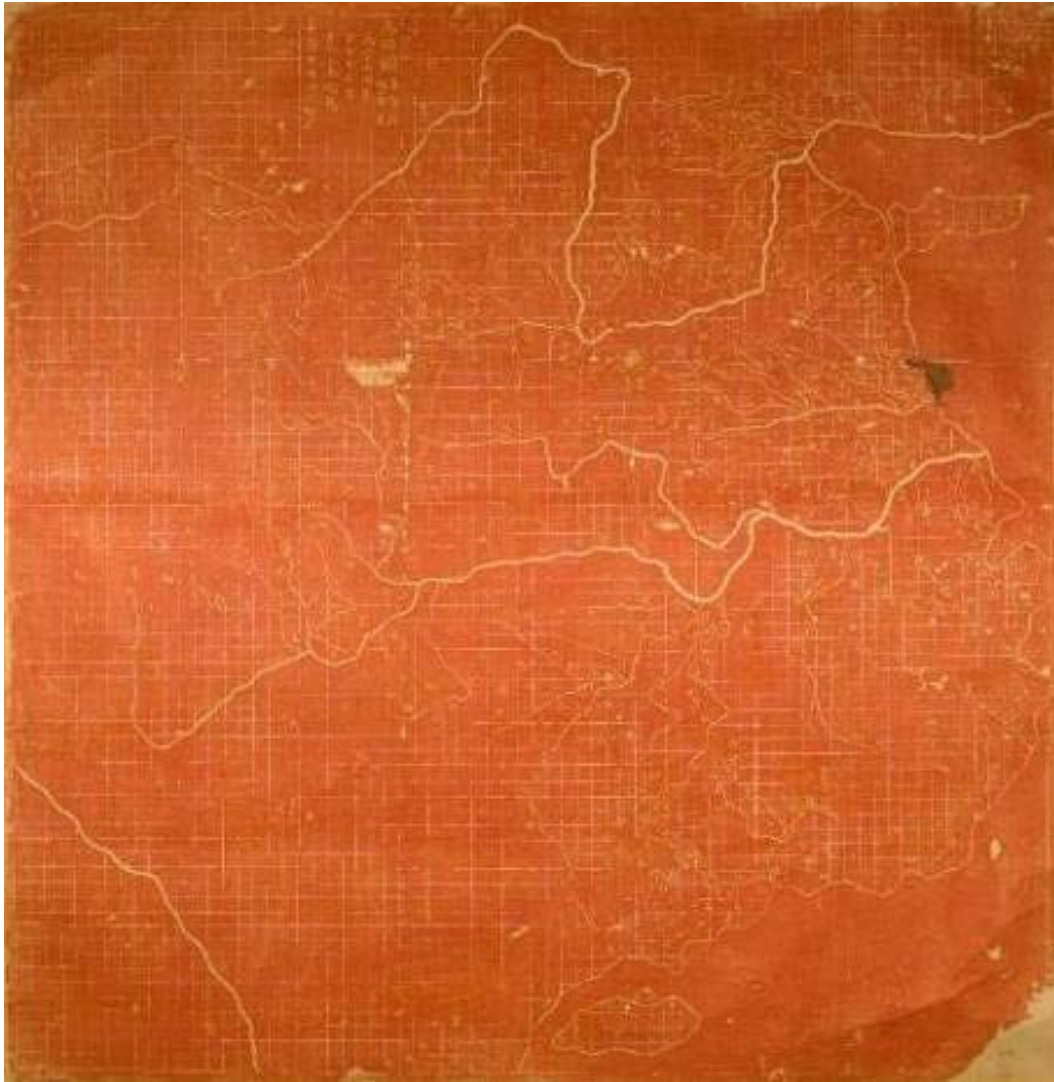


Fig. 1-1: *Yuji tu* 禹跡圖. Rubbing. 1136. Displayed at the Hong Kong Museum of History, Hong Kong.

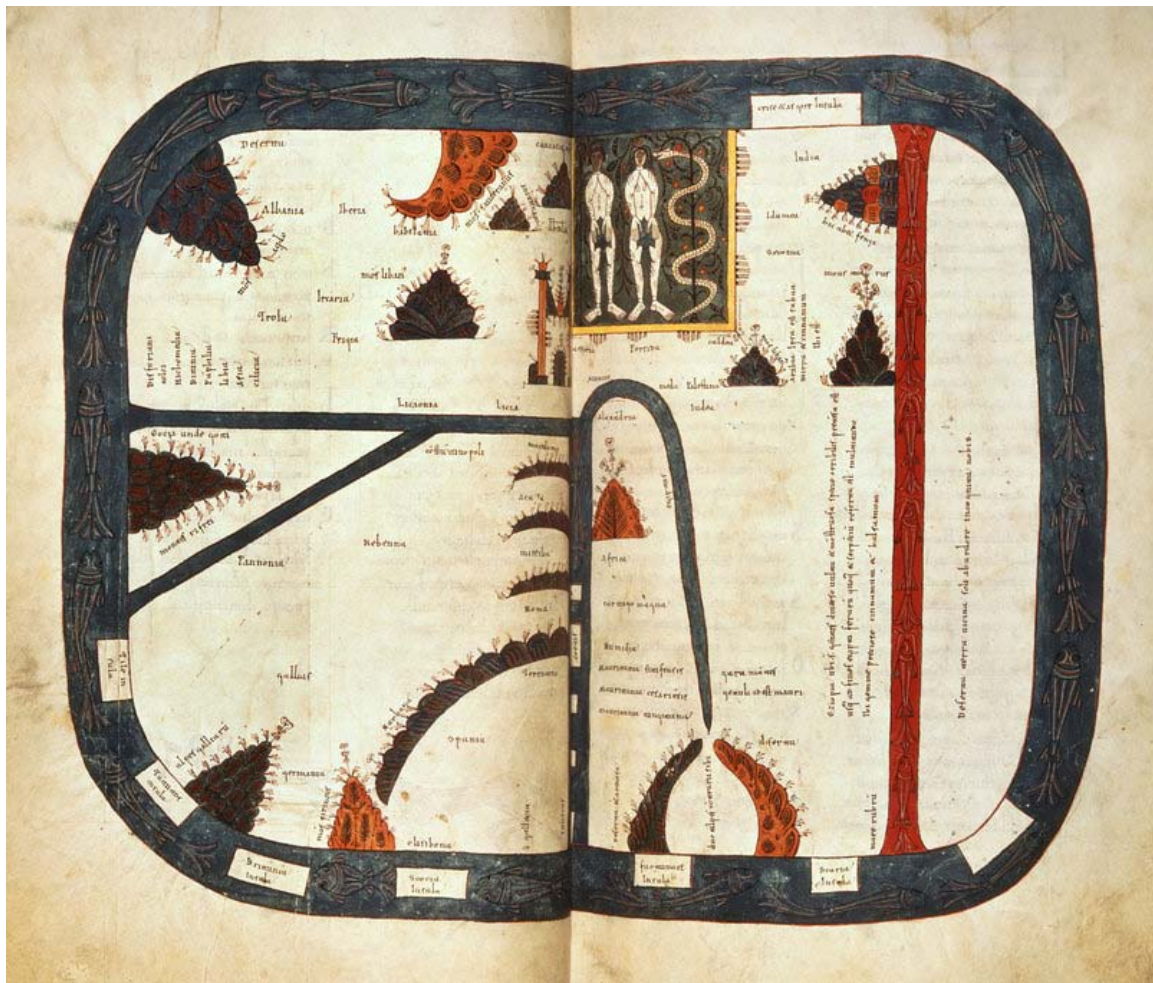


Fig. 1-2: Petrus, *Beatus World Map*. Parchment paper. 1109. The British Library, London.



Fig. 2-1: The *gui* vessel of the Marquis Ce from Yi (*Yi hou Ce gui* 宜侯矢簋). Right: the *gui* vessel; left: rubbing of the inscription. Bronze and rubbing. Western Zhou. National Palace Museum of China, Beijing.



Fig. 2-2: The pan vessel of the San family (San shi pan 散氏盤). Right: the pan vessel; left: rubbing of the inscription. Bronze and rubbing. Western Zhou. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

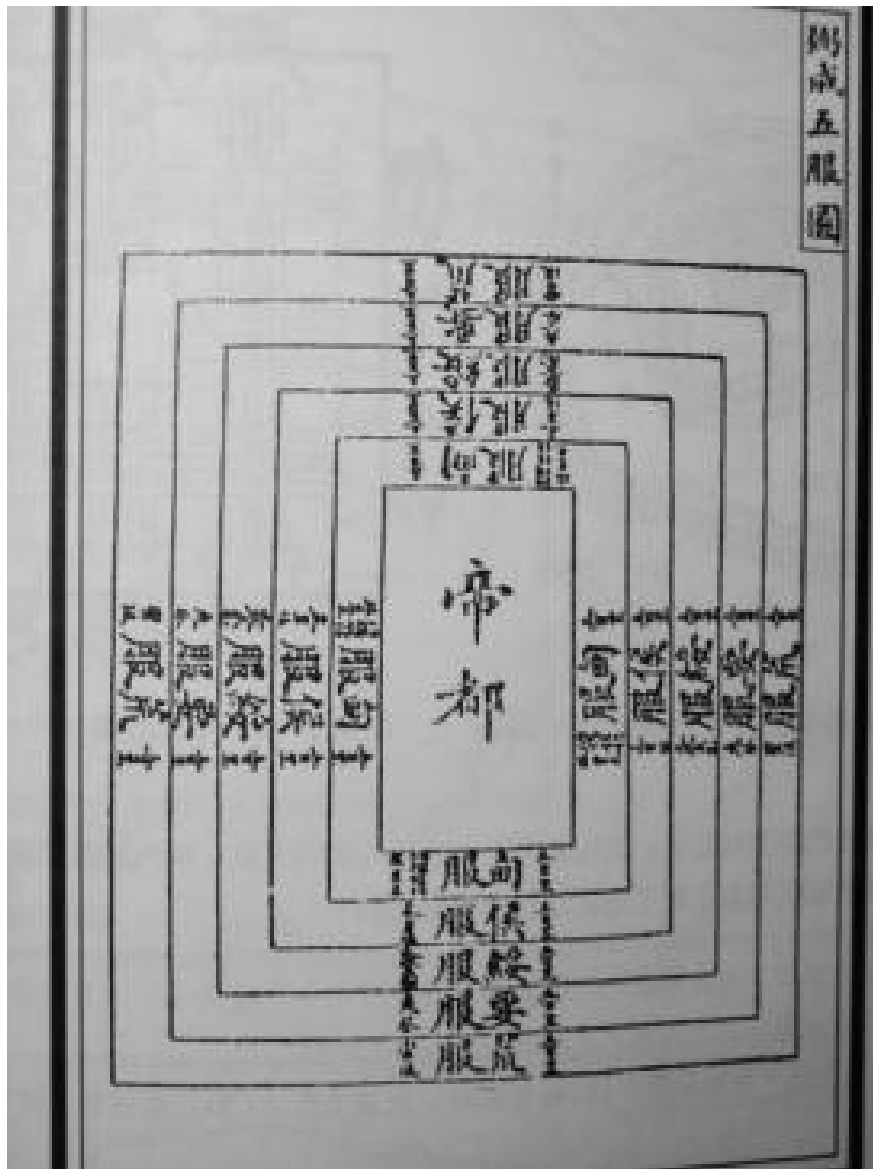


Fig. 2-3: Diagram illustrating the “Five Domains,” from Sun Jia’nai 孫家鼎 et al., *Shujing tushuo* 書經圖說 (National Library, Taiwan, printed in 1903), vol. 3, j. 6, p. 87a.



Fig. 2-4: *The Garrison Map (Zhujun tu 駐軍圖)*. Ink on silk. 2nd century BCE. Hunan Provincial Museum, Changsha, Hunan Province.



Fig. 2-5: *The Topographic Map (Dixing tu 地形圖)*. Ink on silk. 2nd century BCE. Hunan Provincial Museum, Changsha, Hunan Province.

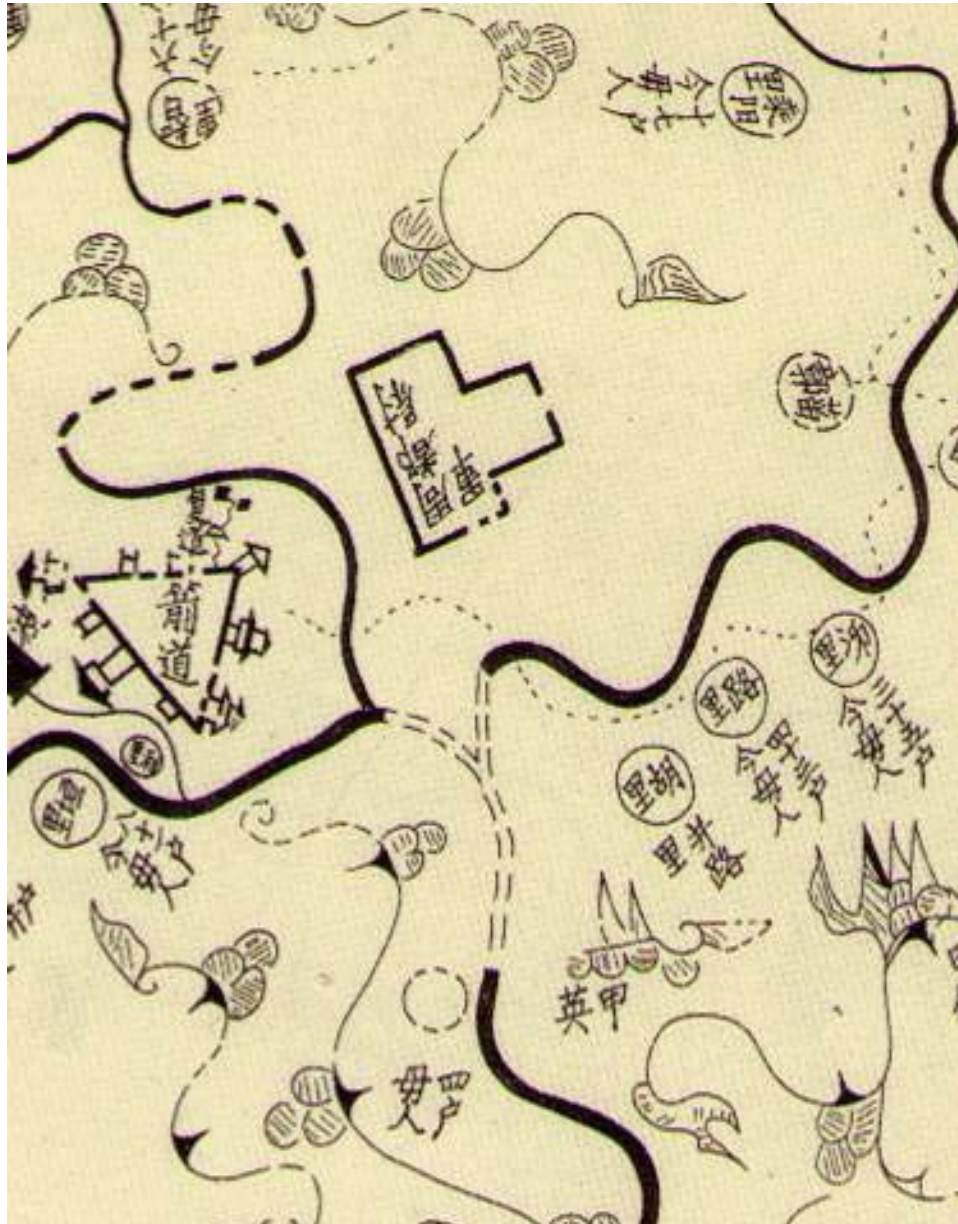


Fig. 2-6: Section of *the Garrison Map*. Sketch. Originally made in the 2nd century BCE. Hunan Provincial Museum, Changsha, Hunan Province.

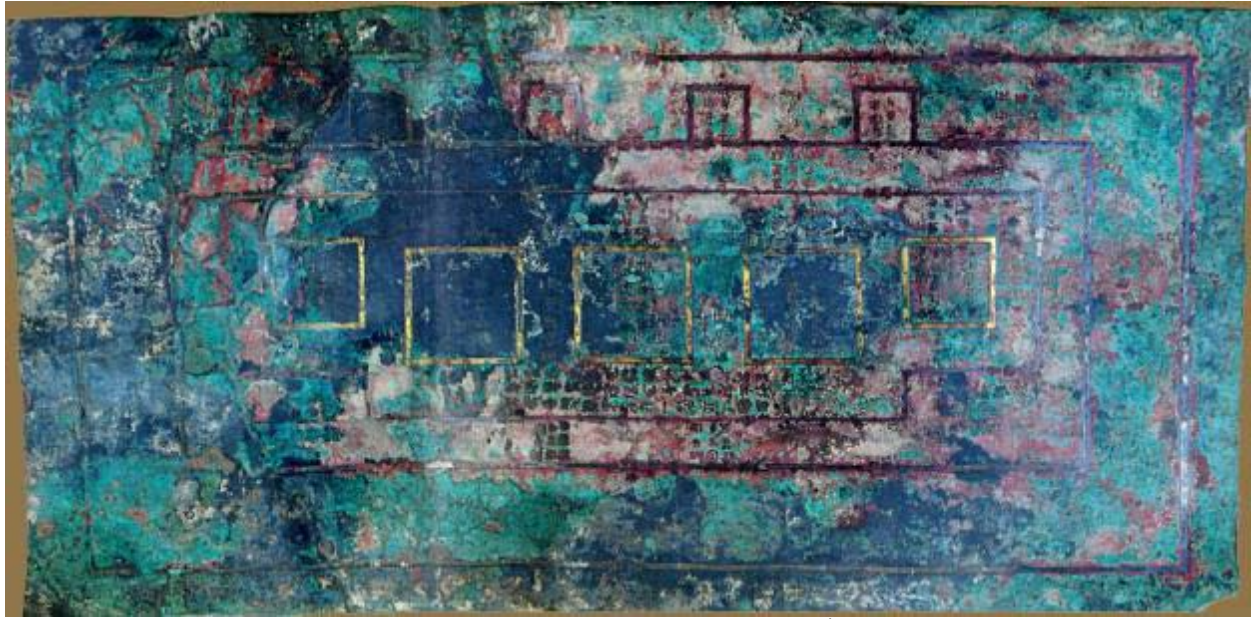


Fig. 2-7: The Map of Graveyard (*Zhaoyu tu* 兆域圖). Bronze. 4th century BCE. Hebei Provincial Museum, Shijiazhuang, Hebei Province.

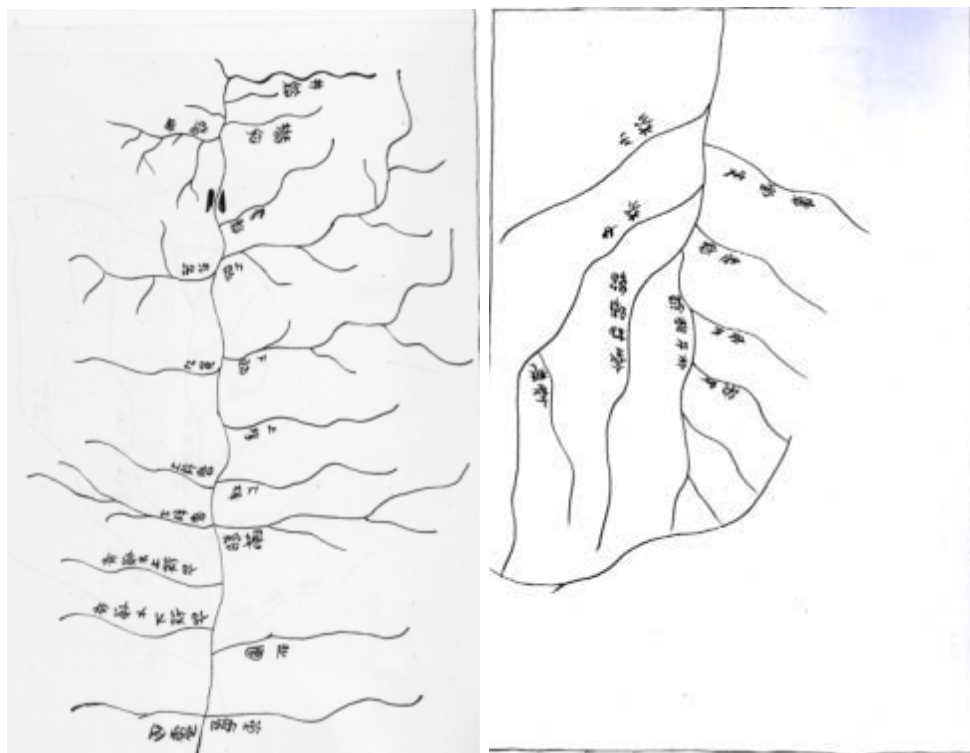


Fig. 2-8 (left): Fangmatan map 1; fig. 2-9 (right): Fangmatan map 2. Sketch. Originally made on wooden board, 3rd century BCE. Gansu Provincial Museum, Lanzhou, Gansu Province.

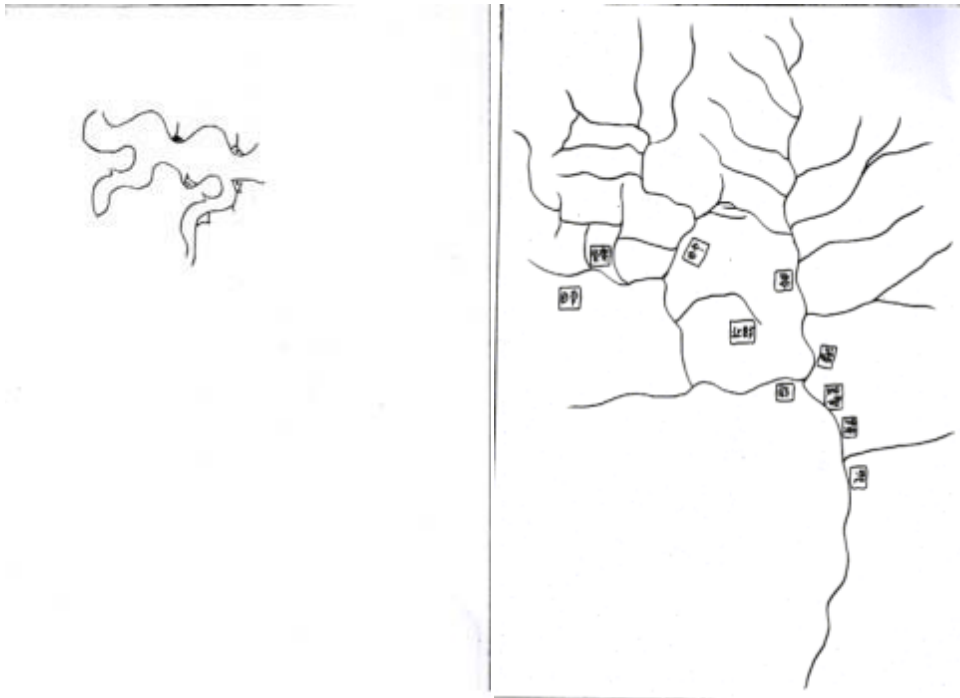


Fig. 2-10 (left): Fangmatan map 3; Fig. 2-11 (right): Fangmatan map 4. Sketch. Originally made on wooden board, 3rd century BCE. Gansu Provincial Museum, Lanzhou, Gansu Province.

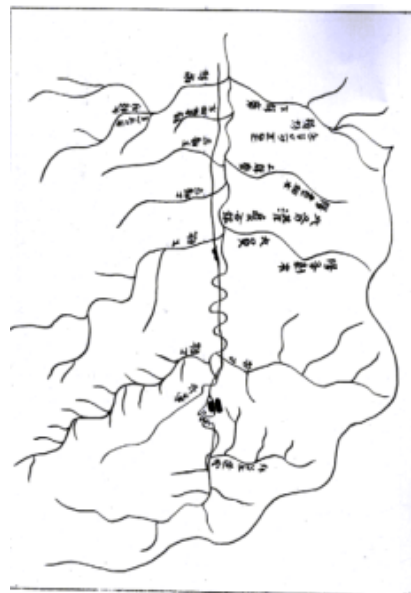


Fig. 2-12 (left): Fangmatan map 5; Fig. 2-13 (right): Fangmatan map 6. Sketch. Originally made on wooden board, 3rd century BCE. Gansu Provincial Museum, Lanzhou, Gansu Province.

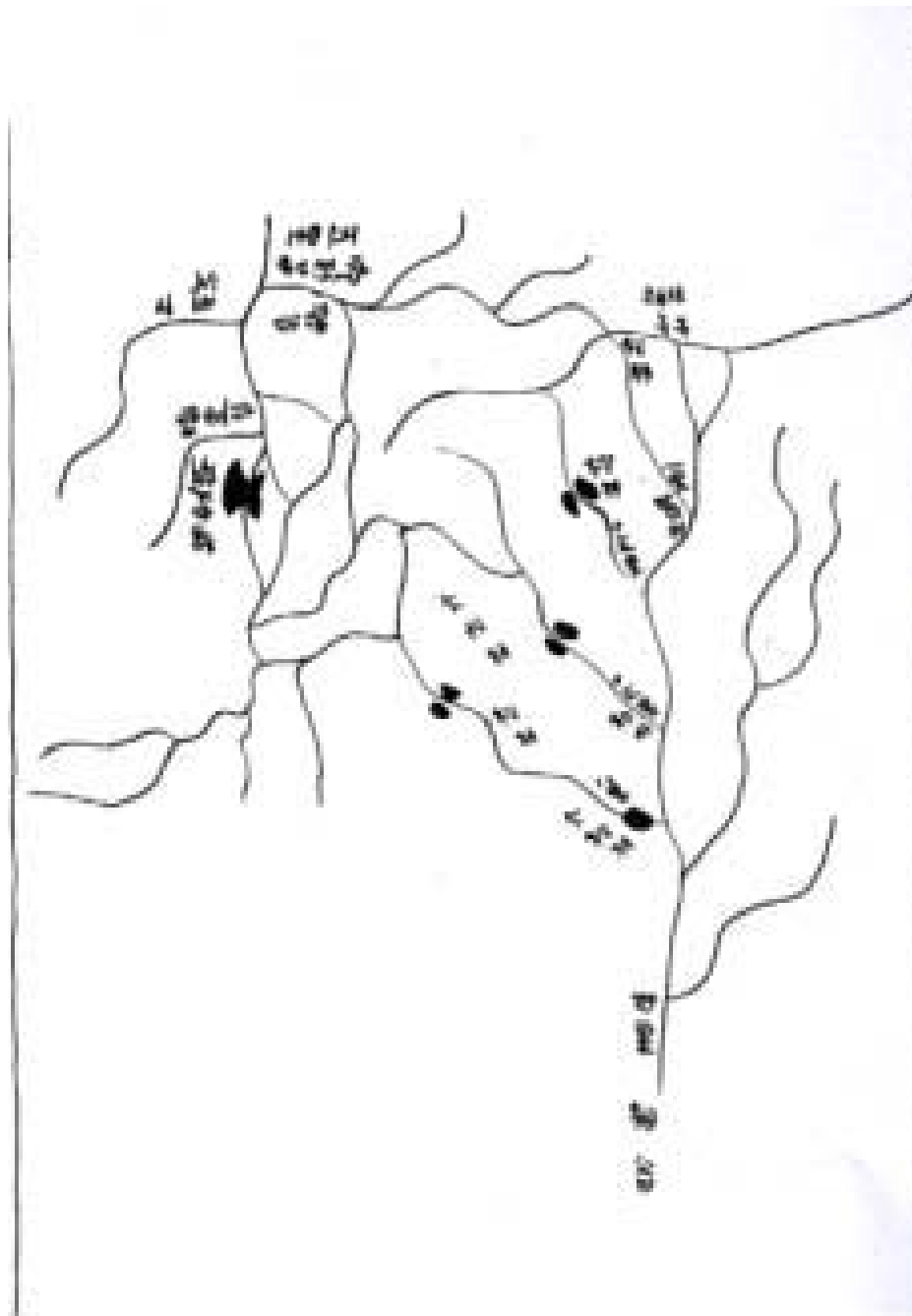


Fig. 2-14: Fangmatan map 7. Sketch. Originally made on wooden board, 3rd century BCE. Gansu Provincial Museum, Lanzhou, Gansu Province.

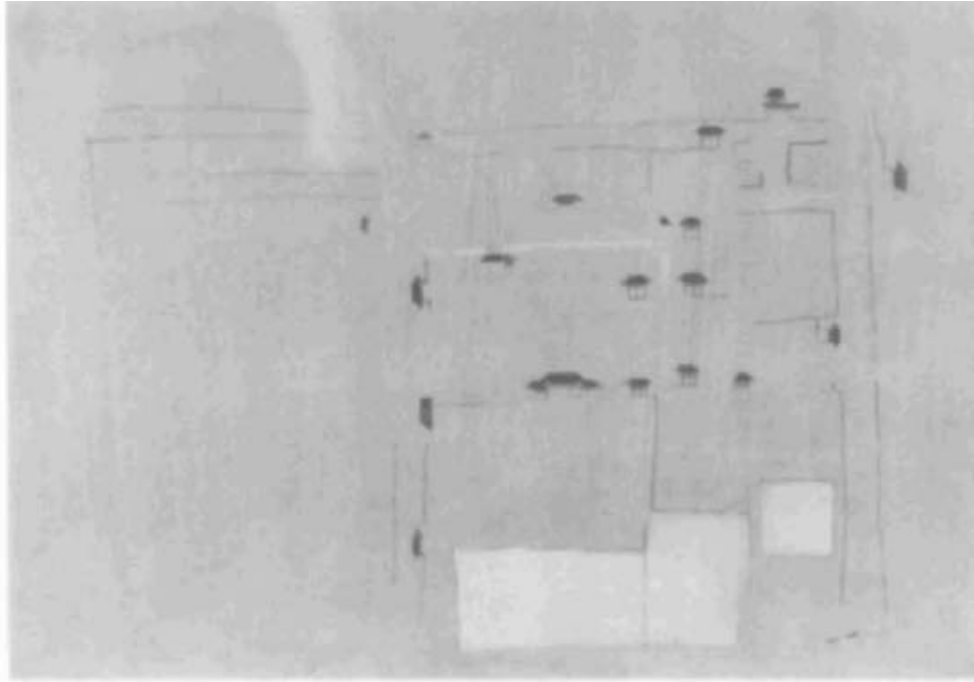


Fig. 2-15: *The Map of a City* (*Chengyi tu* 城邑圖), Ink on silk. 2nd century BCE. Hunan Provincial Museum, Changsha, Hunan Province.



Fig. 2-16: Map unearthed in Tomb 5 at Fangmatan. Paper. Western Han. Gansu Provincial Museum, Lanzhou, Gansu Province.

Appendix 1:

1. Inscription of the *gui* vessel of the Marquis Ce from Yi (*Yi hou Ce gui* 宜侯矢簋)⁴²³

惟四月辰在丁未，王省武王、成王伐商圖，遂省東或（國）圖。王卜于宜入土，南乡(向)。
王令虞侯矢曰：「遷□侯于宜。錫〔 〕鬯一卣、商瓚一口、彤弓一，彤矢百，旅弓十，旅
矢千。錫土：厥川三百〔 〕，厥〔 〕百又廿，厥宅邑卅又五，〔 厥 〕〔 〕百又卅。錫在宜
王人〔 〕又七里。錫奠七伯，厥〔 廬 〕〔 千 〕又五十夫。錫宜庶人六百又十六夫。宜侯矢
揚王休，作虞公父丁尊彝。

2. Inscription of the *pan* vessel of the San family (*San shi pan* 散氏盤)⁴²⁴

用??散邑。廼即散用田。眉自?涉△南。至于大沽。一封。△陟。二封。至于邊柳。復涉?。
陟寧。獻邊陟△西。封于?? 木。封于芻?。封于芻道。內陟芻。登于厂淥。封??。陟陵。
剛?。封于?道。封于原道。封于周道。△東。封于?東彊。右還封于履道。△南封于??道。
△西。至于堆莫。履井邑田。自根木道。左至于井邑。封。道△東一封。還△西一封。陟

⁴²³ Retrieved from www.chant.org on June 5, 2013. For a complete translation in English, see Edward L. Shaughnessy, "Historical Kingdoms and the Extent of the Earliest Chinese Kingdoms," *Asia Major* (1989.2): 14-16. Yang Yuxin 楊宇信 et al., *Zhongguo gudai wenming yu guojia xingcheng* 中國古代文明與國家形成 (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe), 1997, p. 537; Feng Shi 馮時, *Gu wenzi yu gushi xinlun* 古文字與古史新論 (Taipei: Taiwan shufang, 2007), p. 393.

⁴²⁴ Retrieved from www.chant.org on June 5, 2013. Shaughnessy, "Western Zhou Hoards and Family Histories in the Zhouyuan," in Yang Xiaoneng, ed., *Chinese Archaeology: New Perspectives on China's Past in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 264-66.

剛三封。降△南。封于同道。陟州剛。舜?。降械。二封。?人有嗣履田。鮮。且。?。武父。?。豆人虞。弓。彖。貞師氏右眚。小門人繇。原人虞葬。淮嗣工虎李。?豐父。堆人有嗣。刑弓。凡十又五夫。正眉?舍散田。嗣土苴?。嗣馬??。?人嗣工?君。宰德父。散人小子眉田。戎。?父。教?父。襄之有橐嗣。州?。旻選?。凡散有嗣十夫。唯王九月。辰才乙卯。?卑鮮。且。?。旅誓。曰。我秬付散氏田器。有爽。實余有散氏心賊。則鞭千罰千。傳棄之。鮮。且。?。旅則誓。迺卑西宮?。武父誓曰。我既付散氏溼田。?田。余又爽?。鞭千罰千。西宮?。武父則誓。厥受圖。?王于豆新宮東廷。厥左執縷史正仲農。

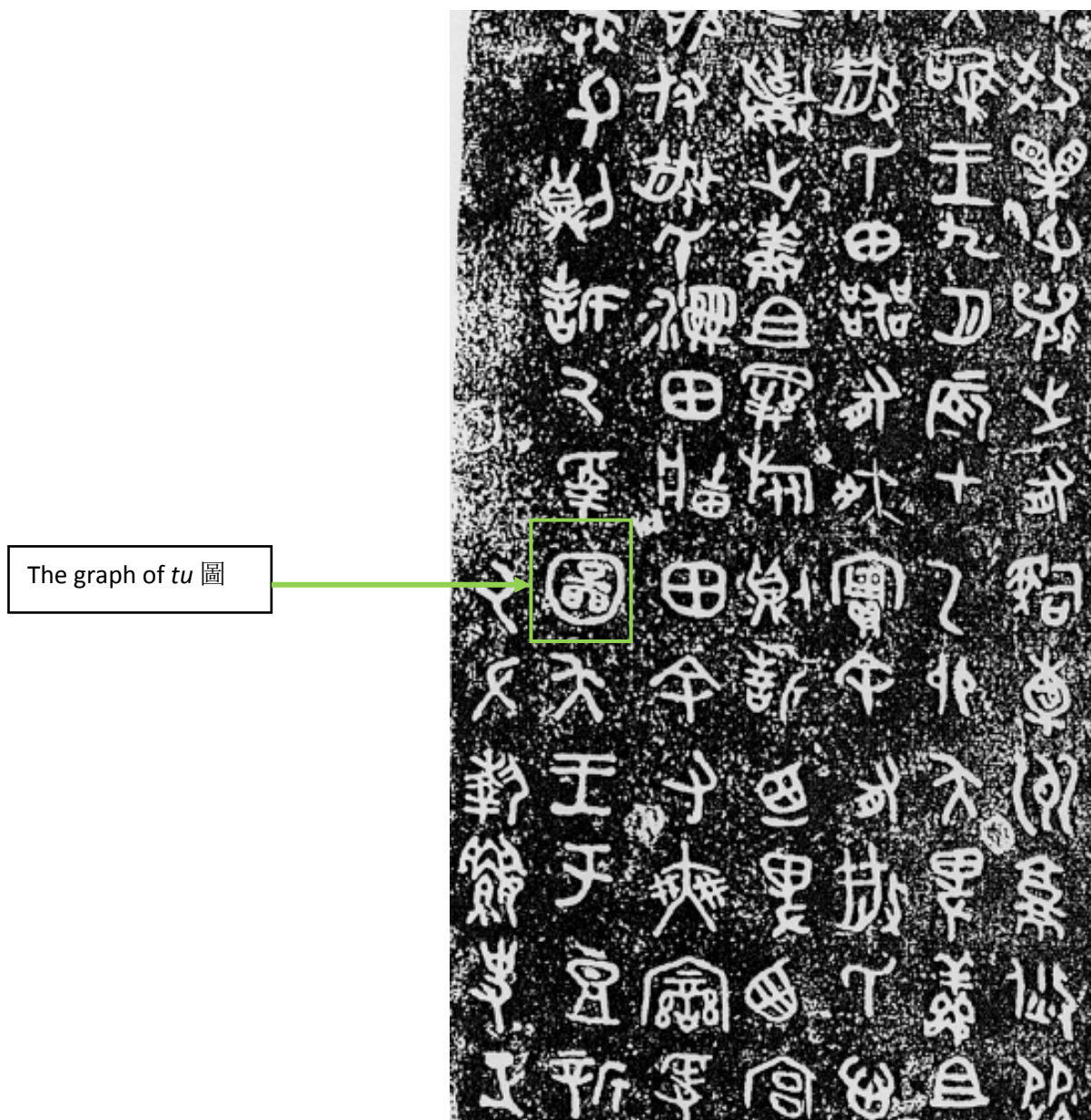


Fig. 3-1: Rubbing after the San shi Pan 散氏盤, National Palace Museum, Taipei.

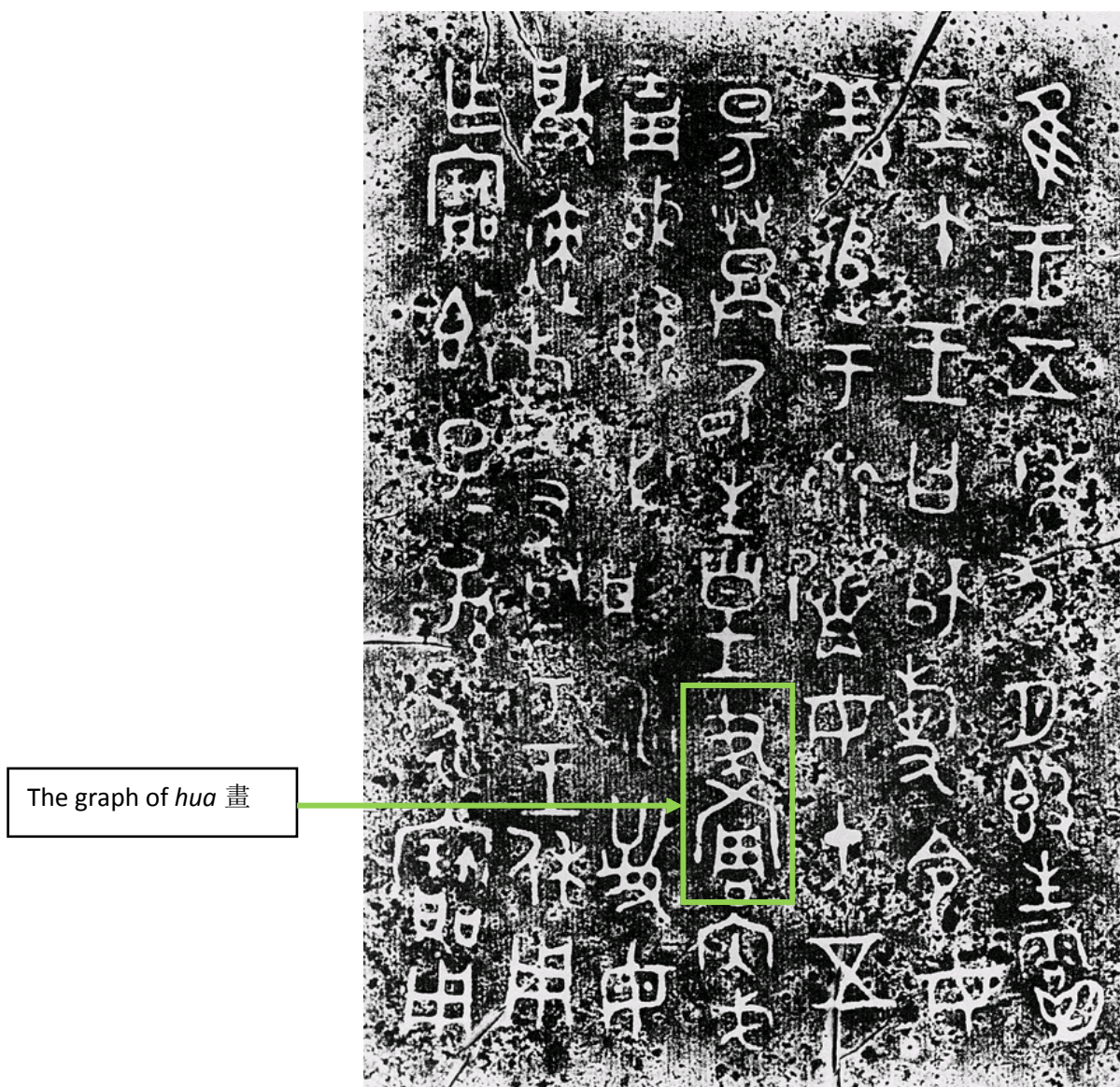


Fig. 3-2: Rubbing after Wunian shigui 五年師簋, Shaanxi Provincial Museum, Xi'an, Shaanxi Province.



Fig. 3-3: Attributed to Gu Kaizhi, *Illustration of Nymph of the Luo River*, Song-Dynasty copy of a 6th-century (?) work. Painting on silk. Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang, Liaoning Province.



Fig. 3-4: Li Gonglin, *The Illustrations of "The Classic of Filial Piety."* Painting on silk. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 3-5: Ma Hezhi, *Illustrations of the Book of Odes*. Painting on silk. National Palace Museum, Beijing.



Fig. 3-6: Fan Kuan 范寬, *Traveling amid Streams and Mountains* (*Xishan xinglü tu* 谿山行旅圖). Painting on silk. Hanging scroll. Northern Song. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

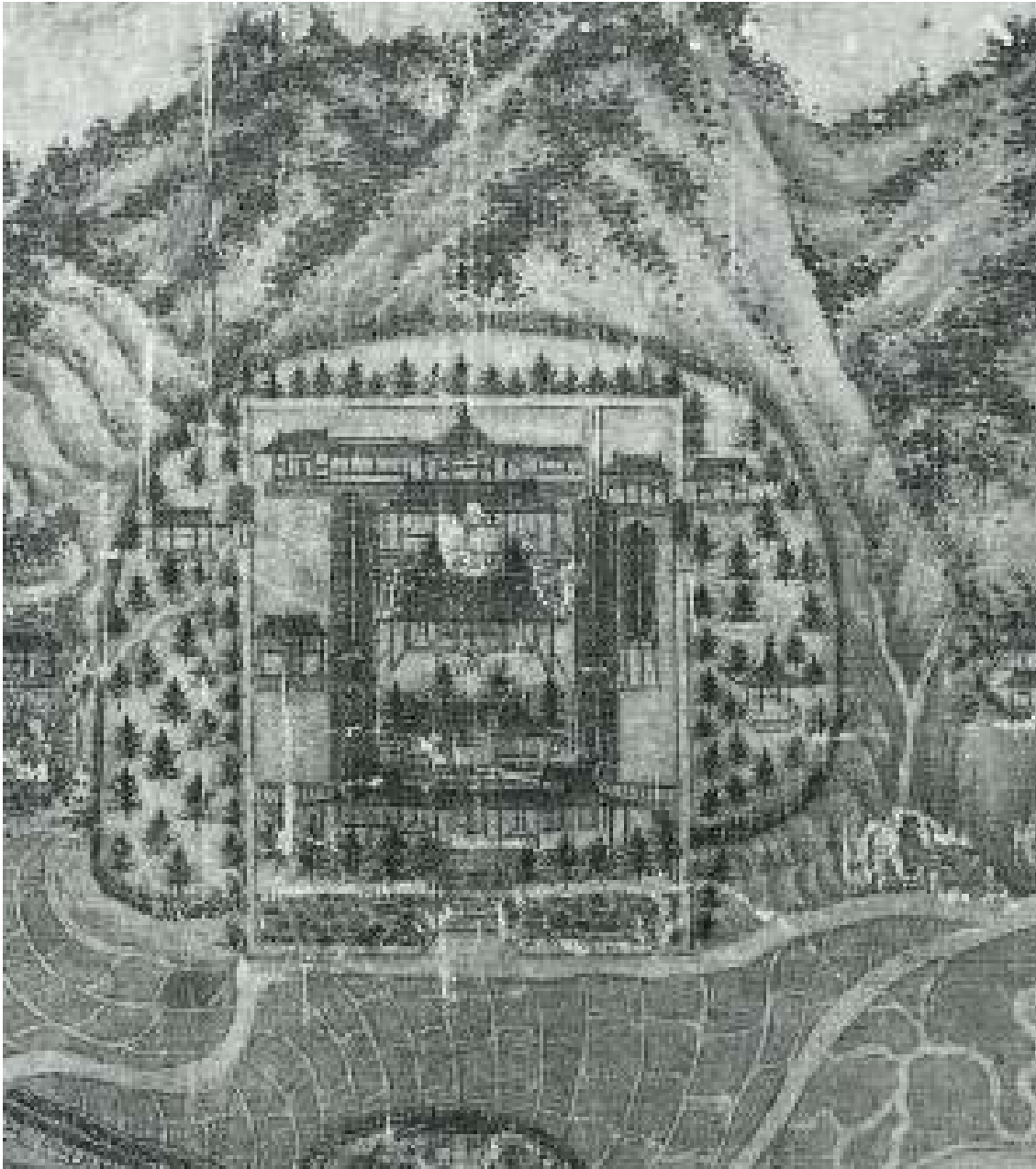


Fig. 3-7: Li Gonglin, section of *Mountain Villa*. Copy after Li Gonglin. Ink on paper. Handscroll. Villa I Tatti, Harvard University, Florence.



Fig. 3-8: *The Garrison Map*, Mawangdui. Map on silk. Western Han. Cao Wanru, *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Zhanguo-Yuan*, plate 25.

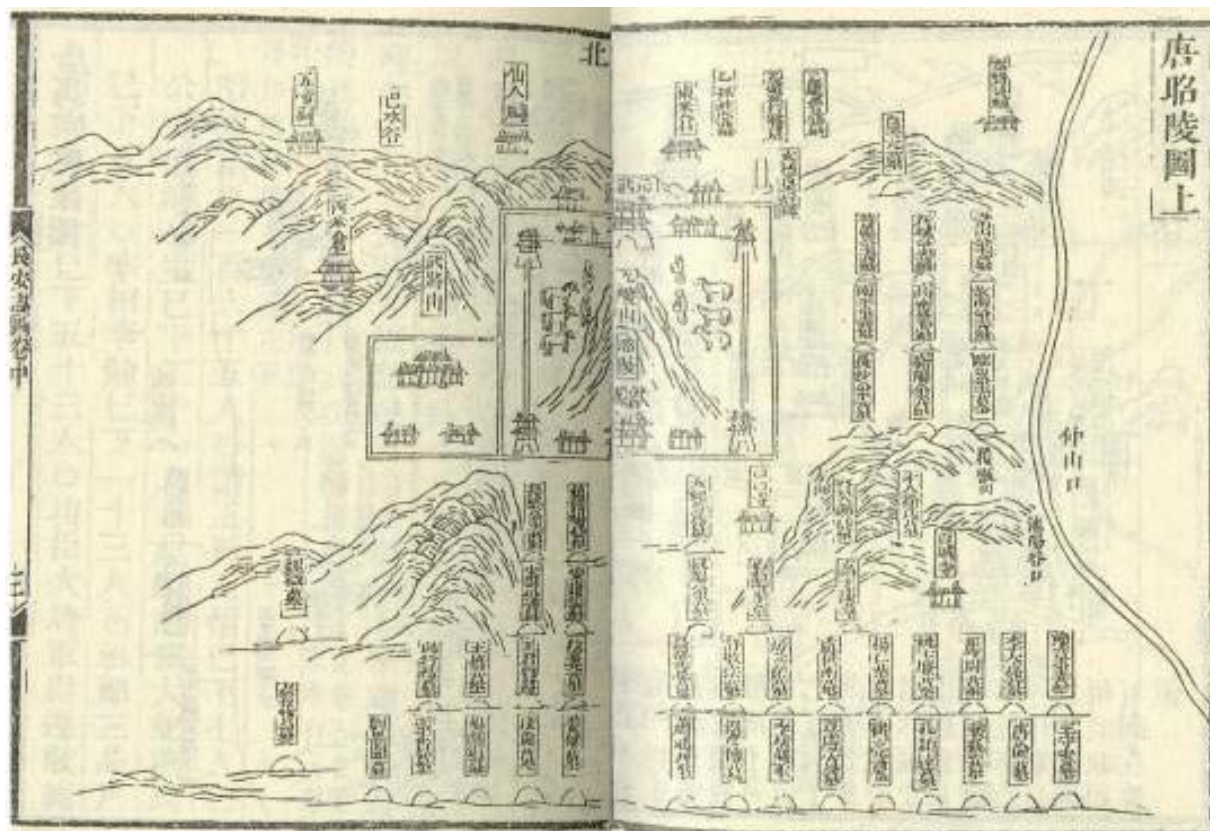


Fig. 3-9: Topographic map for the Mausoleum of Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty. Print. Northern Song. Tang Li Haowen, *Chang'an zhi tu*, in SYFZCK, vol. 1, pp. 212-13.

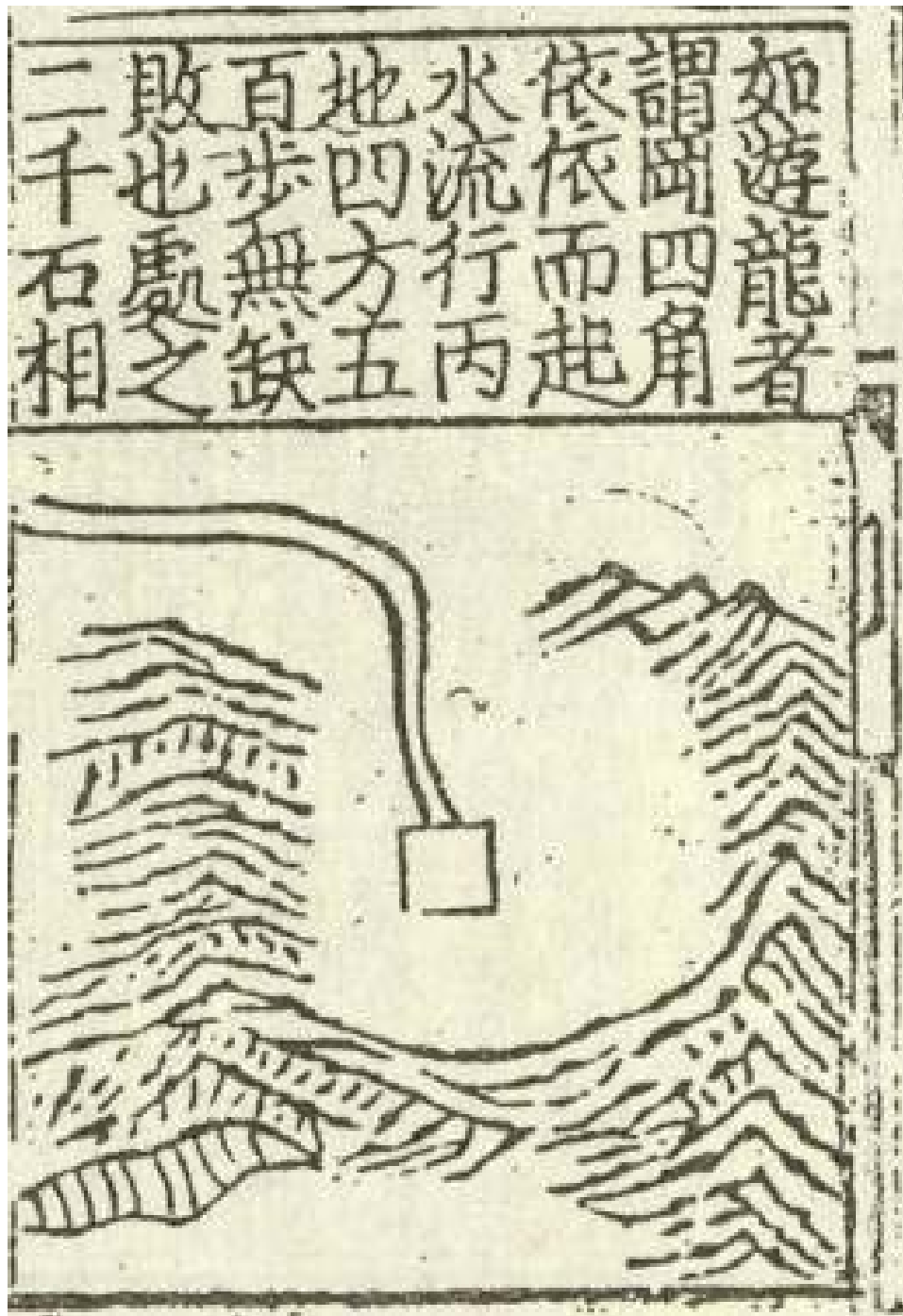


Fig. 3-10: Geomantic diagram. Print. 1057. Wang Zhu 王洙, *Chong jiaozheng dili xinshu* 重校正地理新書, in XXSKQS, vol. 1054, p. 28.

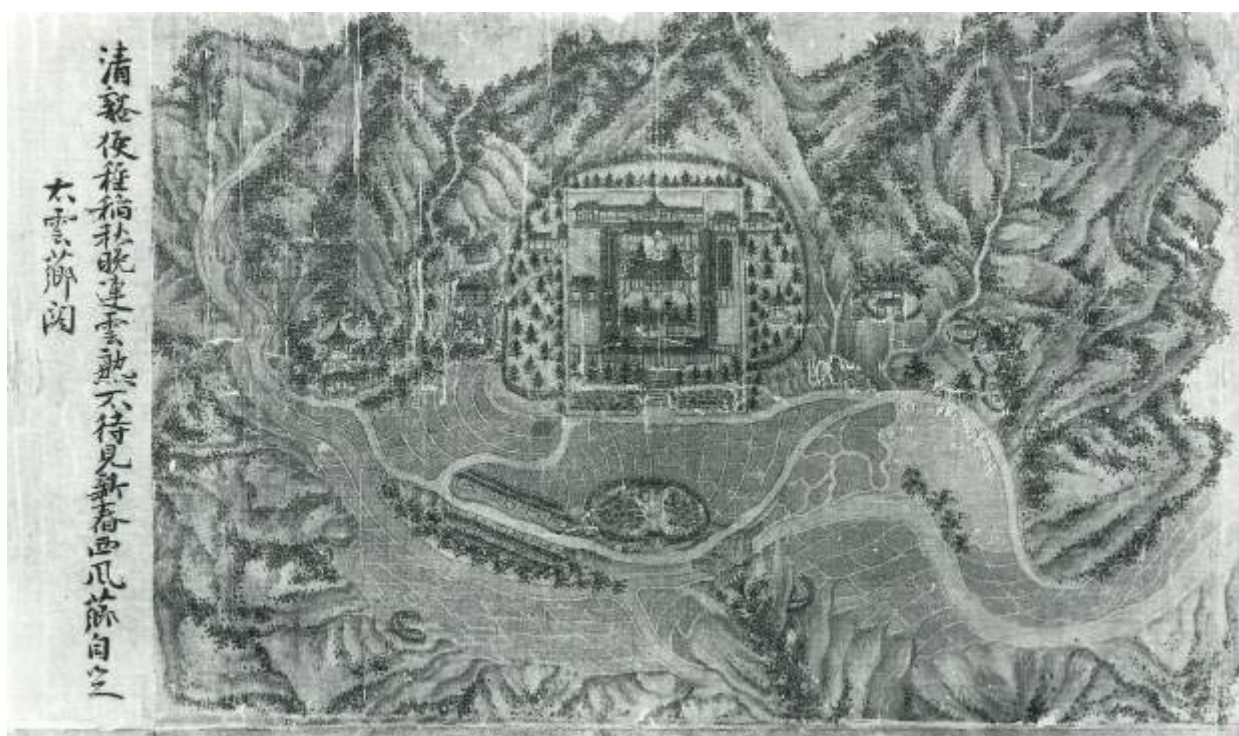


Fig. 3-11: Li Gonglin, section of *Mountain Villa*. Painting on silk. Handscroll. Copy after Li Gonglin. Villa I Tatti, Harvard University, Florence.



Fig. 3-12: Wang Wei, *Wangchuan Villa*. Undated. Handscroll. Copy after Wang Wei. Shōfuku-ji, Tokyo.



Fig. 3-13: Qiao Zhongchang 喬仲常 (ca. 11th century), *Illustration to the Second Prose Poem on the Red Cliff (Hou Chibi fu tu 後赤壁賦圖)*. Ink on paper. Handscroll. Northern Song. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.



Fig. 3-14: Map of the Lu Kingdom. Ink-line sketch after rubbing. Southern Song. Cao Wanru, *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Zhanguo-Yuan*, plate 49.



Fig. 3-15: The Boundary Map (*Jiezhi tu* 界至圖). Ink-line sketch after rubbing. 1195. Cao Wanru, *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Zhanguo-Yuan*, plate 75.

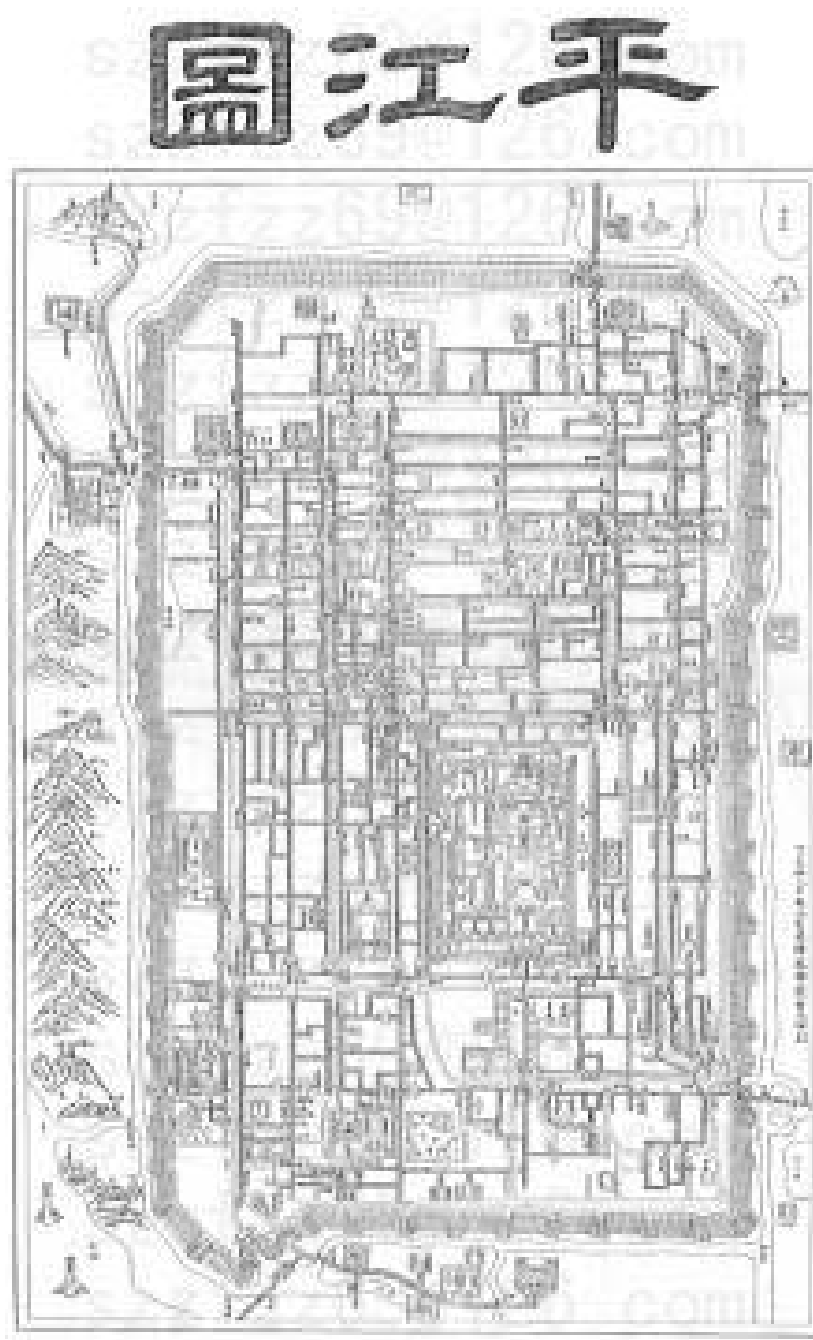


Fig. 3-16: Map of Pingjiang 平江. Ink-line sketch after rubbing. Southern Song. 1229. Cao Wanru, *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Zhanguo-Yuan*, plate 81.

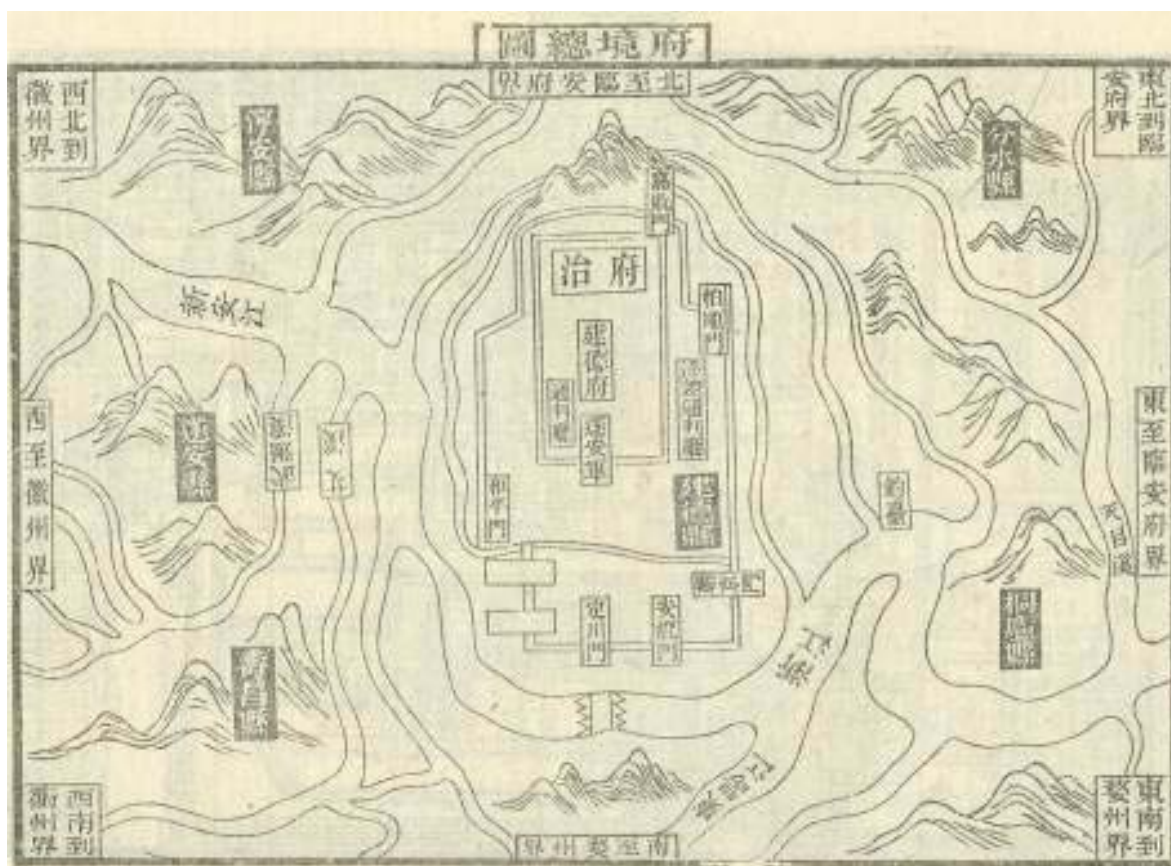


Fig. 3-17: Map of Yanzhou Prefecture. Print. Southern Song. Liu Wenfu comp., *Chunxi Yanzhou tujing*, in SYFZCK, vol.5, p. 4282.

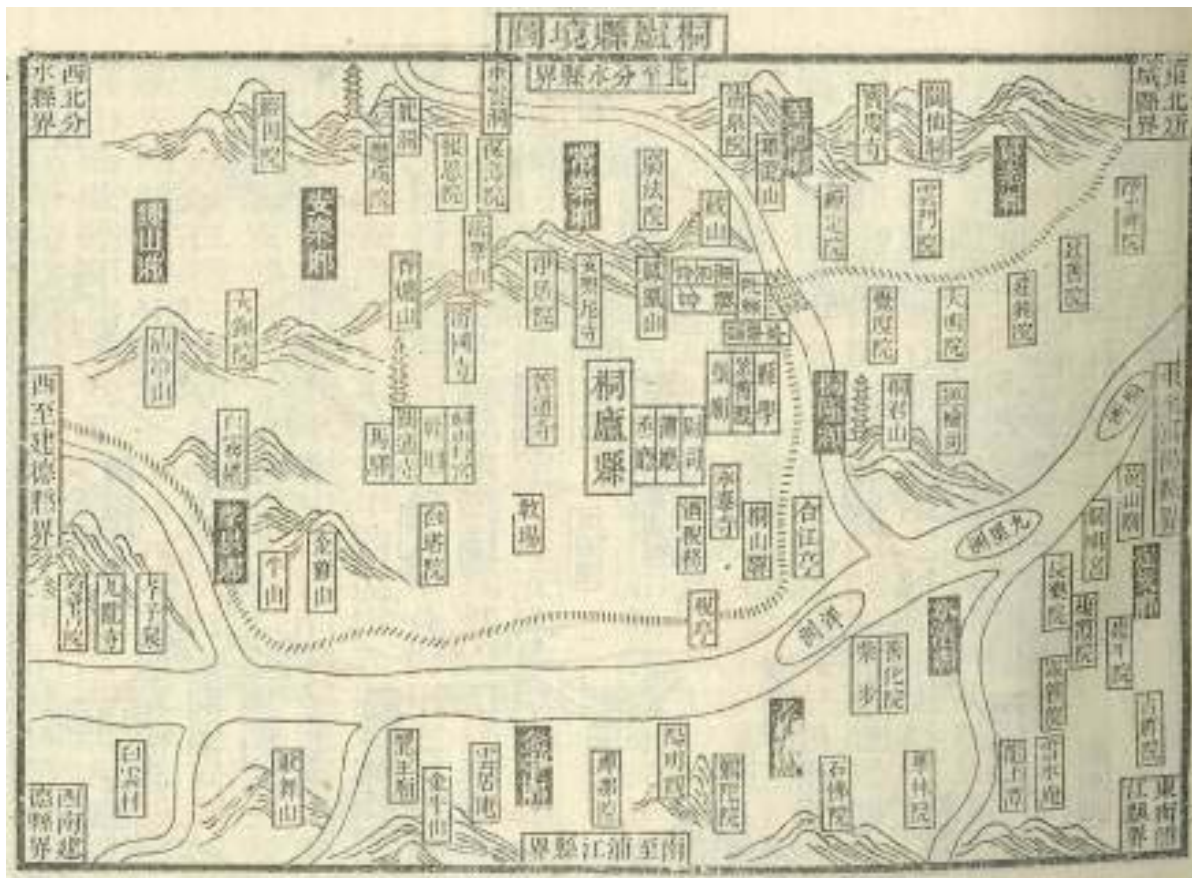


Fig. 3-18: Map of Tonglu County. Print. Southern Song. Liu Wenfu comp., *Chunxi Yanzhou tujing*, in SYFZCK, vol.5, p. 4283.



Fig. 3-19: Physiognomic diagram. Ink on paper. 945. Section of *The Text of Physiognomy* (*Xiangren shu* 相人書). Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

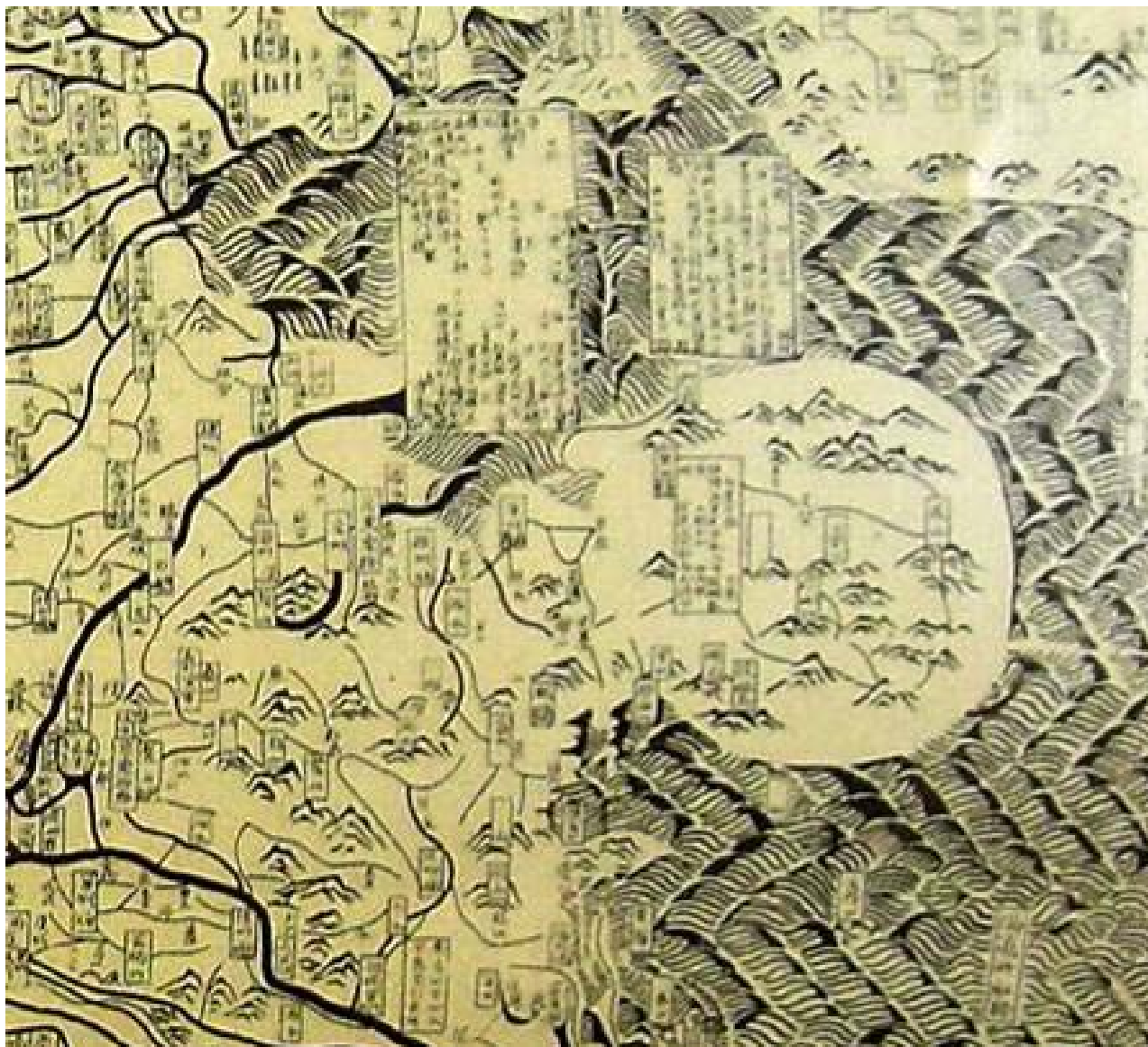


Fig. 3-20: Detail of *Map of Yudi tu*. Ink-line sketch after rubbing. Southern Song. Cao Wanru, *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Zhanguo-Yuan*, plate 82.

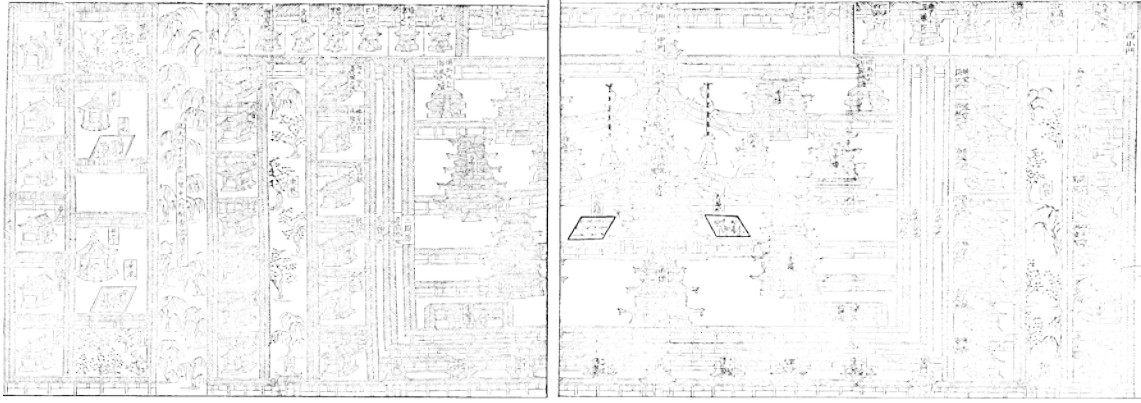


Fig. 3-21: Woodblock print. Attributed to Daoxuan 道宣, *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing* 關中創立戒壇圖經 (reprint after Song woodblock), in *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, eds. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et al. (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1980-1992), T45/1892/813-14.



Fig. 3-22: Woodblock print. Song Minqiu 宋敏求, *Chang'an zhi tu* 長安志圖 (reprint of 1784 Jingxuntang woodblock), j. 1, 3b-4a, in SYFZCK, vol. 1, p. 205a.



Fig. 4-1: Attributed to Ma Hezhi, Illustration of *Classic of Filial Piety*. Painting on silk. 13th century. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

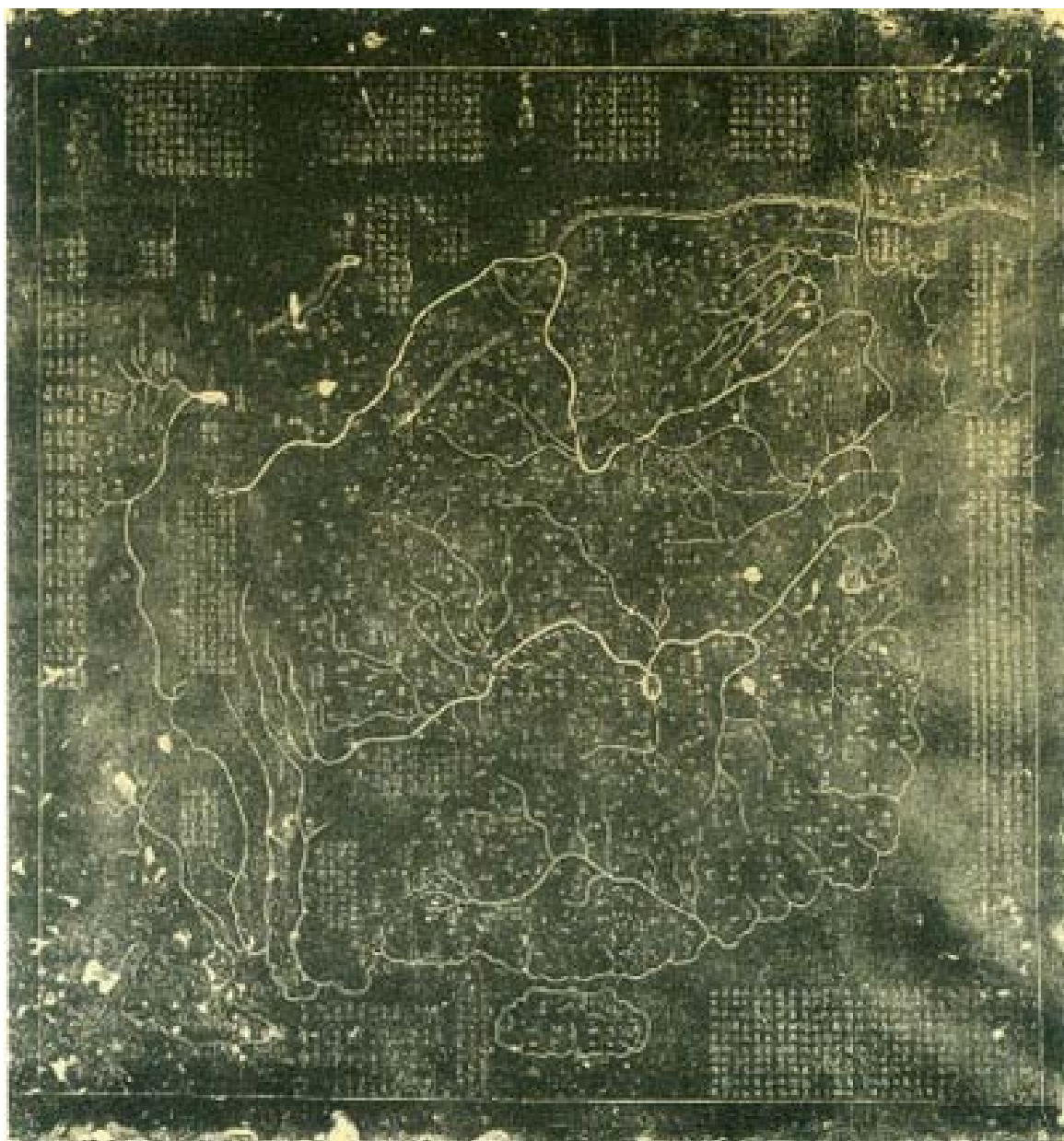


Fig. 4-2: Rubbing after *Huayi tu* 華夷圖. 1136. Xi'an Beilin (Forest of Steles) Museum, Xi'an, Shaanxi Province.

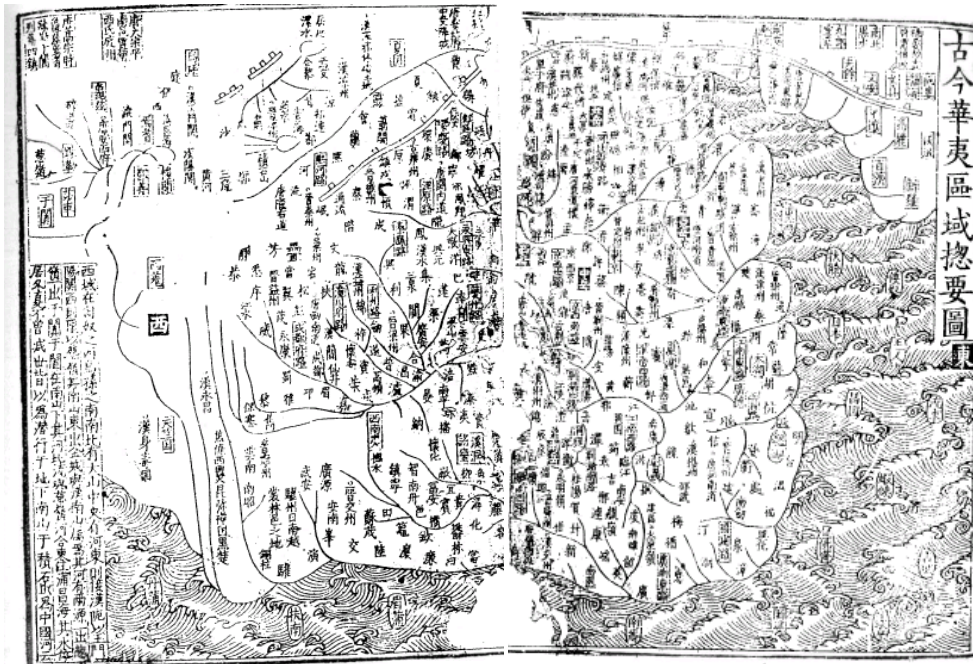


Fig. 4-3: Woodblock print. Attributed to Shui Anli 稅安禮, “Gujin huayi quyu zongyao tu” 古今華夷區域摠要圖, in *Lidai dili zhizhang tu* 歷代地理指掌圖 (reprint after Song woodblock), in *XXSKQS*, vol. 585, p. 474.

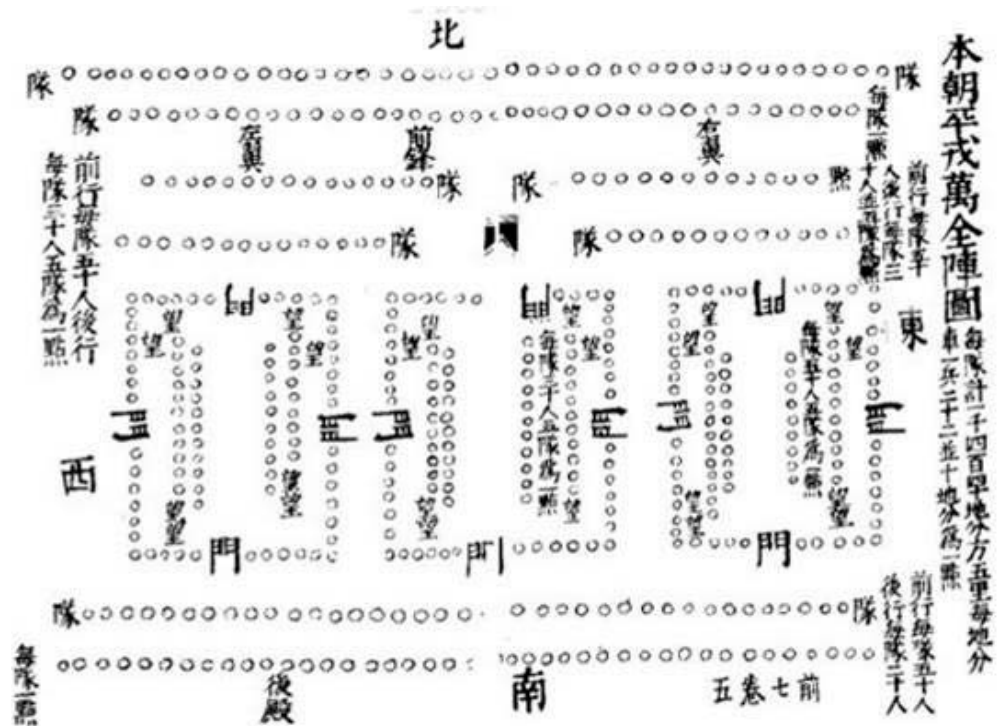


Fig. 4-4: Woodblock print. Ding Du 丁度 et al., “Pingrong wanquan zhentu” 平戎萬全陣圖, in *Wujing zongyao* 武經總要 (Qing reprint, Wenyuange SKQS edition), j. 7, pp. 5-6.

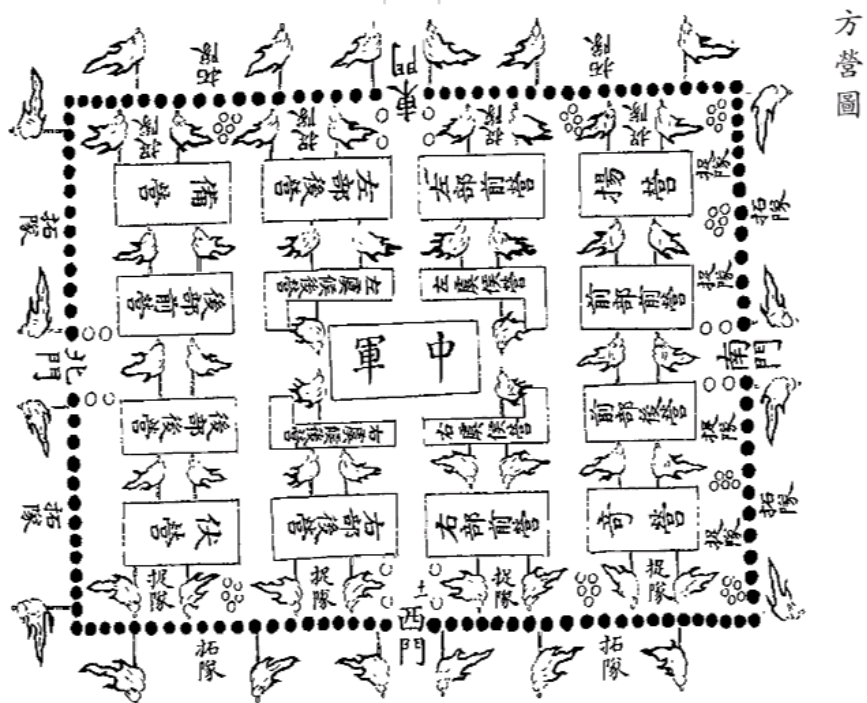
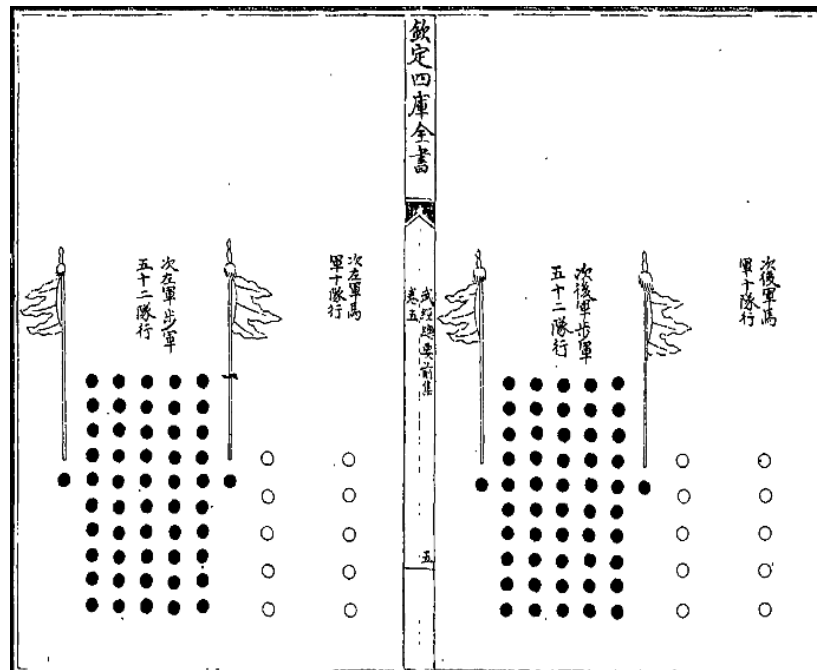


Fig. 4-5: Woodblock print. Ding Du, "Junxing cid" 軍行次第, in *Wujing zongyao*, j. 5, p. 5; j. 6, p. 11.



Fig. 5-1: Woodblock print. “Qin ‘guofeng’ xiaorong zhi tu” 秦國風小戎制圖, in *Liu jing tu* 六經圖 (SKQS Wen yuan ge edition), j. 3, p. 52.

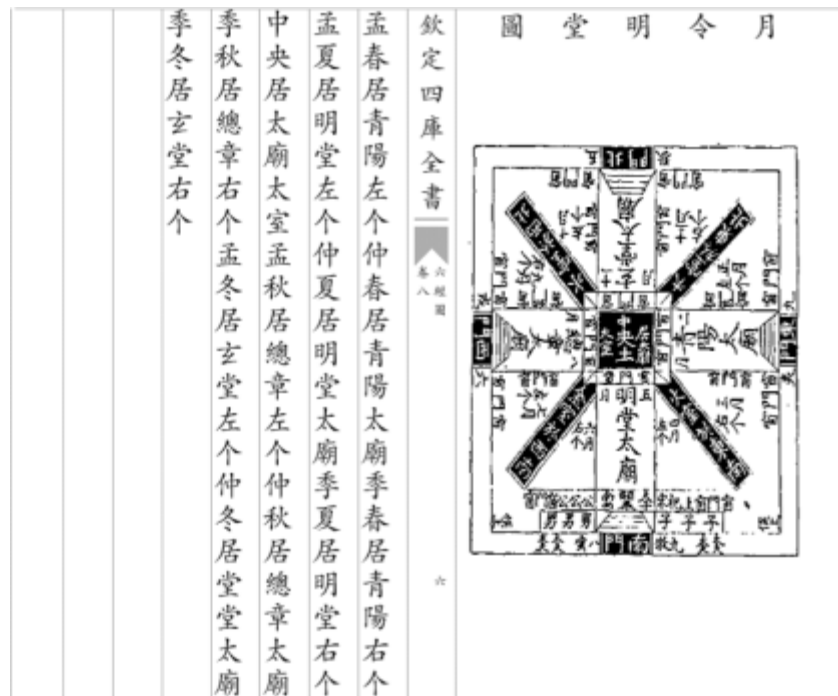


Fig. 5-2: Woodblock print. “Yueling mingtang tu” 月令明堂圖, in *Liu jing tu*, j. 8, p. 6.

欽定四庫全書									
卷三									
子四									
周公世次									
周公旦	伯禽	考公	場公	考公	幽公	魏公	懿公	弟	
厲公	獻公	弟	厲公	真武	弟	懿公	懿公	兄	
孝公	弟	懿公	惠隱	桓	弟	懿公	莊	閔	弟
文宣	成	襄	昭	定	弟	昭公	哀	悼	元
穆	共	康	景	平	文	頃			
召公世次									
召公奭	弟	九世	惠侯	釐	弟	惠之	頃	弟	哀
鄭	弟	哀之	繆	弟	鄭之	宣	弟	穆之	桓
宣	昭	武	文	懿	惠	悼	共	平	簡
獻	孝	成	湣	釐	桓	文	易	王	子
昭	惠	弟	武	成	孝	弟	武成	子	王喜
									孝之

Fig. 5-3: Woodblock print. “Zhougong shici” 周公世次, in *Liu jing tu*, j. 3, p. 24.

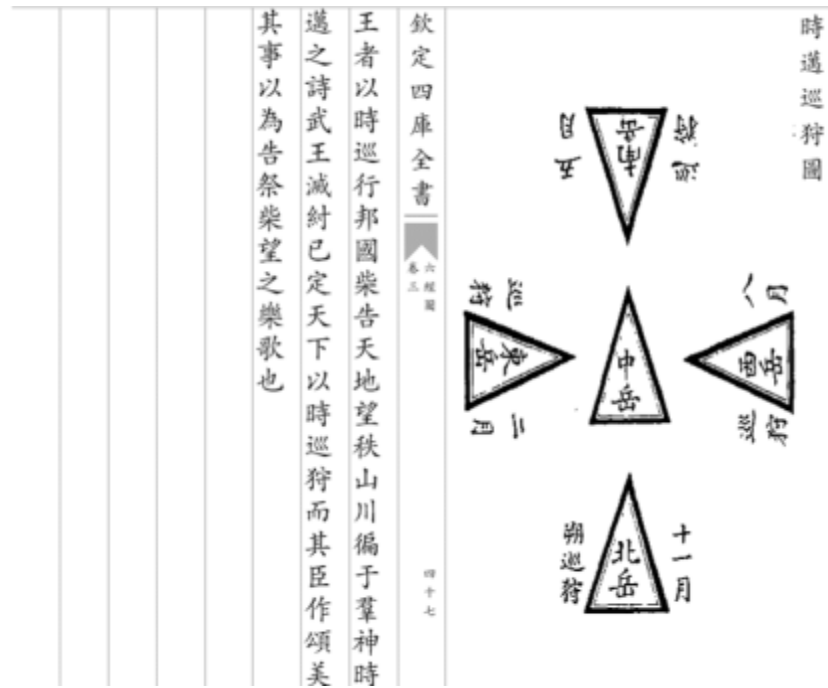


Fig. 5-4: Woodblock print. “Shimai xushou tu” 時邁巡守圖, in *Liu jing tu*, j. 3, p. 47.

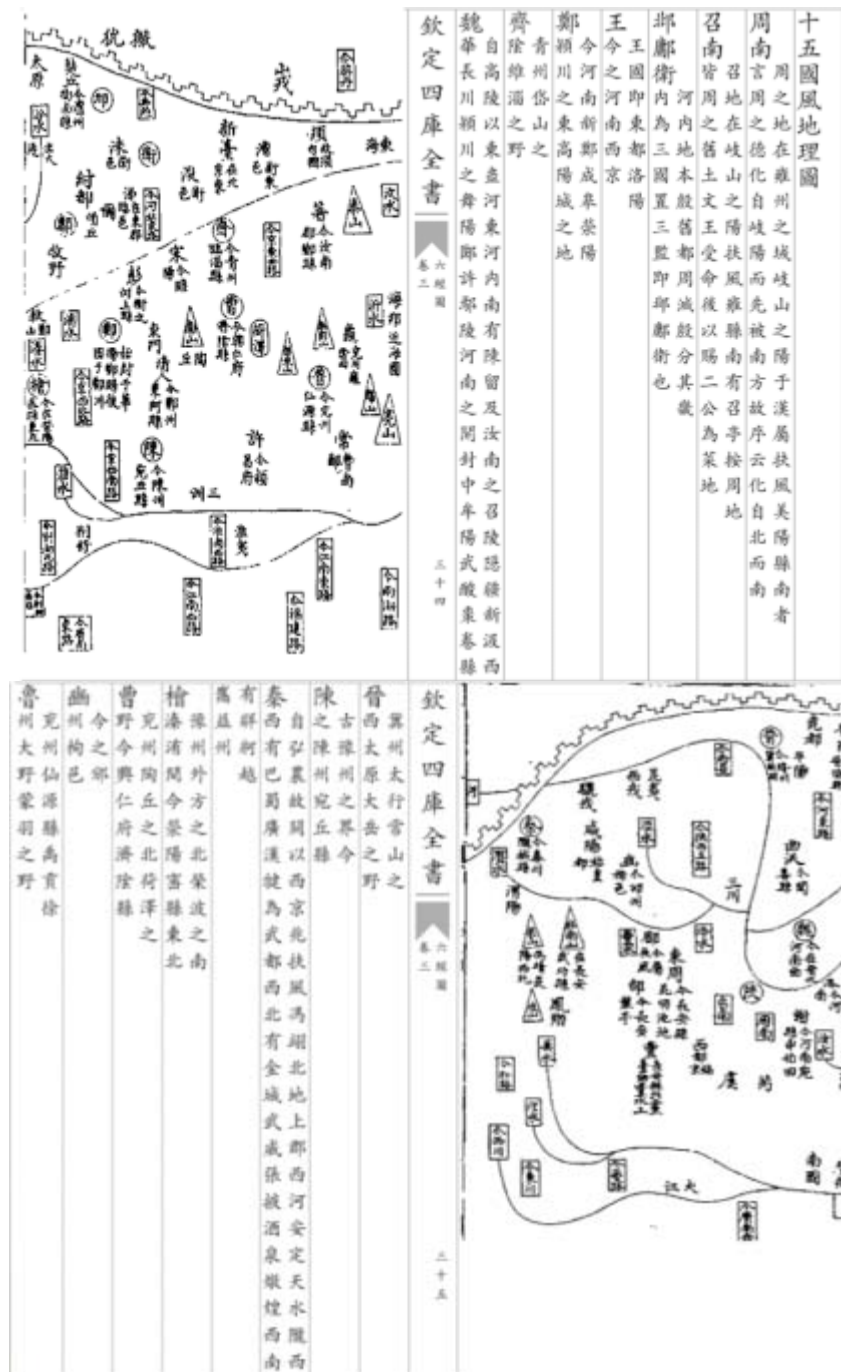


Fig. 5-5: Woodblock print. "Shiwu 'guofeng' dili tu" 十五國風地理圖, in *Liu jing tu*, j. 3, p. 34-35.

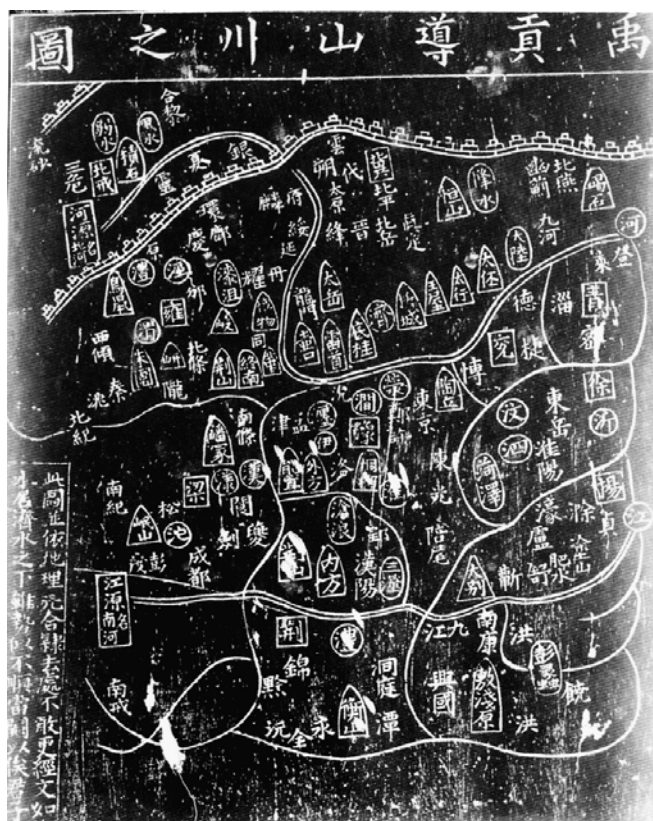


Fig. 5-6: “Yugong dao shanchuan zhi tu” 禹貢導山川之圖, Xinzhou Steles of *Liu jing tu*. Rubbing. Shangrao Museum, Jiangxi Province. Cao Wanru, *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Zhanguo-Yuan*, plate 90.

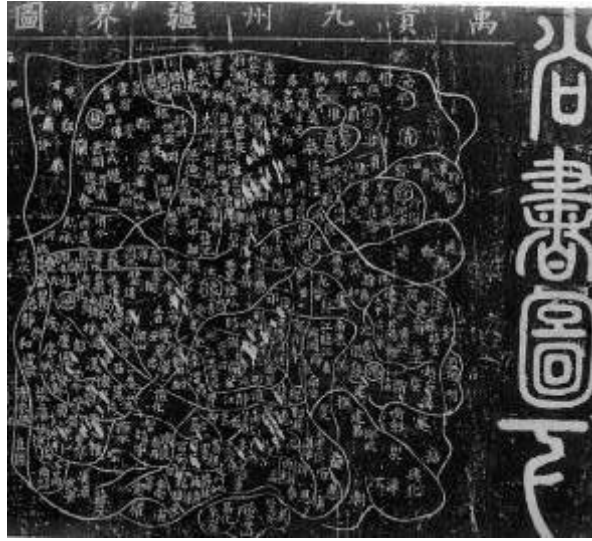


Fig. 5-7: “Yugong jiuzhou jiangjie tu” 禹貢九州疆界圖, Xinzhou Steles of *Liu jing tu*. Rubbing. Shangrao Museum. Cao Wanru, *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Zhanguo-Yuan*, plate 89.



Fig. 5-8: “Shiwu ‘guofeng’ dili zhi tu” 十五國風地理之圖, Xinzhou Steles of *Liu jing tu*. Rubbing. Shangrao Museum.



Fig. 5-9: “Zhuguo jin suoshu tu” 諸國今所屬圖, Xinzhou Steles of *Liu jing tu*. Rubbing. Shangrao Museum. Cao Wanru, *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Zhanguo-Yuan*, plate 92.



Fig. 5-10: Woodblock print. “Yugong suishan xunchuan tu” 禹貢隨山濬川圖, in *Liu jing tu*, j. 2, p. 53.

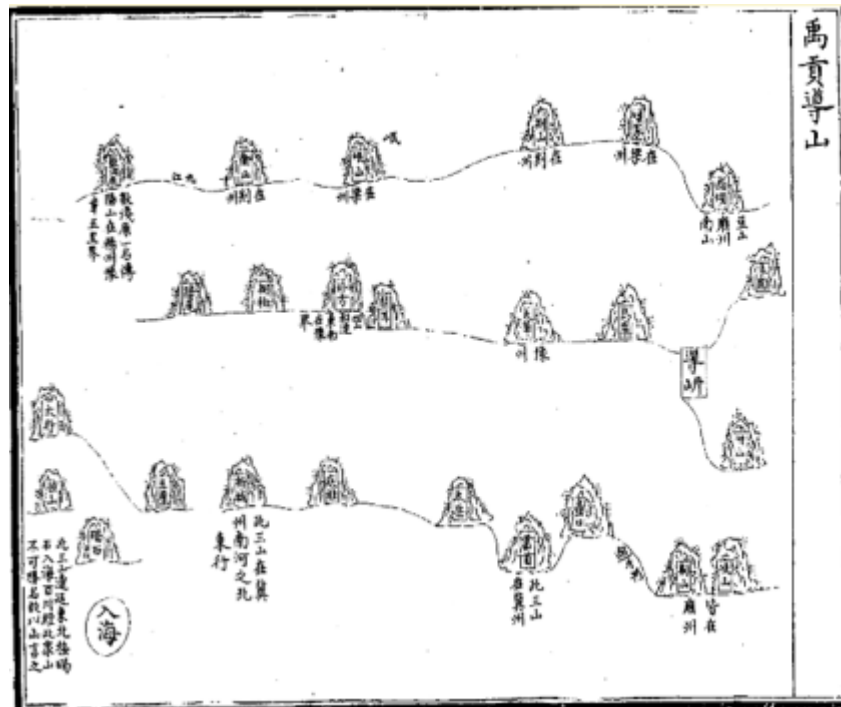


Fig. 5-11: Woodblock print. “Yugong daoshan” 禹貢導山, in *Liu jing tu*, j. 2, p. 54.

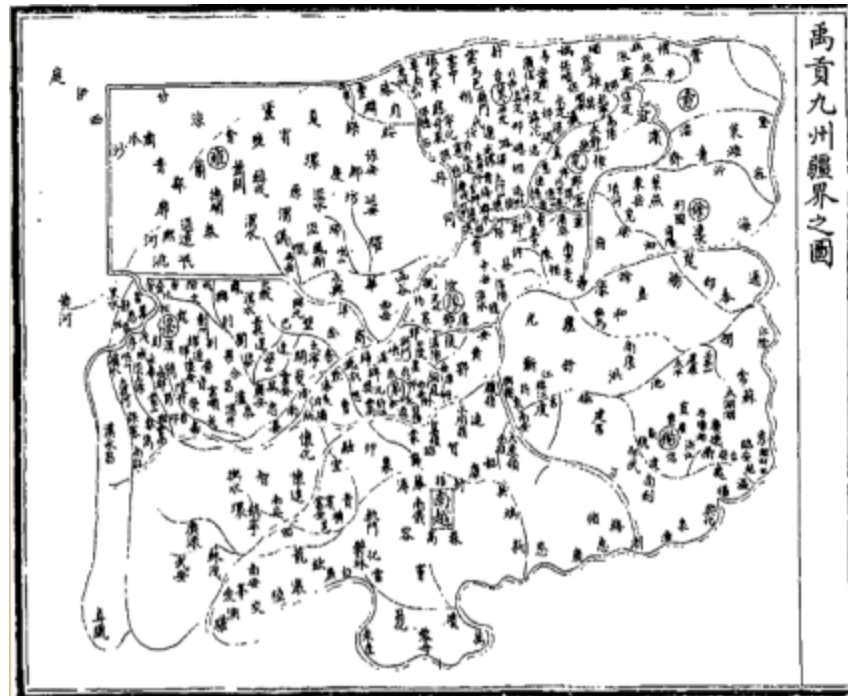


Fig. 5-12: Woodblock print. “Yugong jiuzhou jiangjie zhi tu” 禹貢九州疆界之圖, in *Liu jing tu*, j. 2, p. 55.

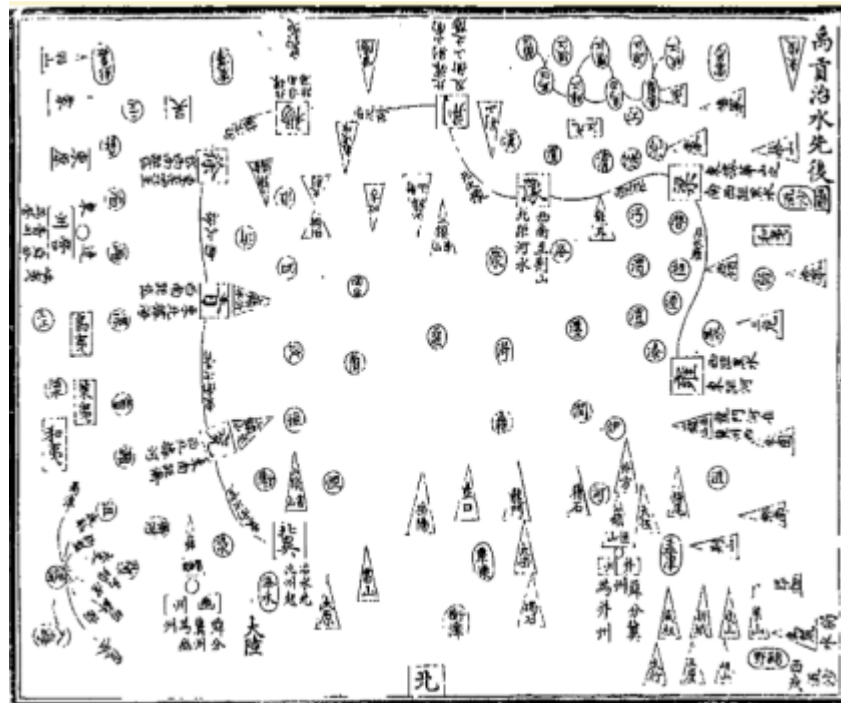


Fig. 5-13: Woodblock print. “Yugong zhishui xianhou tu” 禹貢治水先後圖, in *Liu jing tu*, j. 2, p. 56.

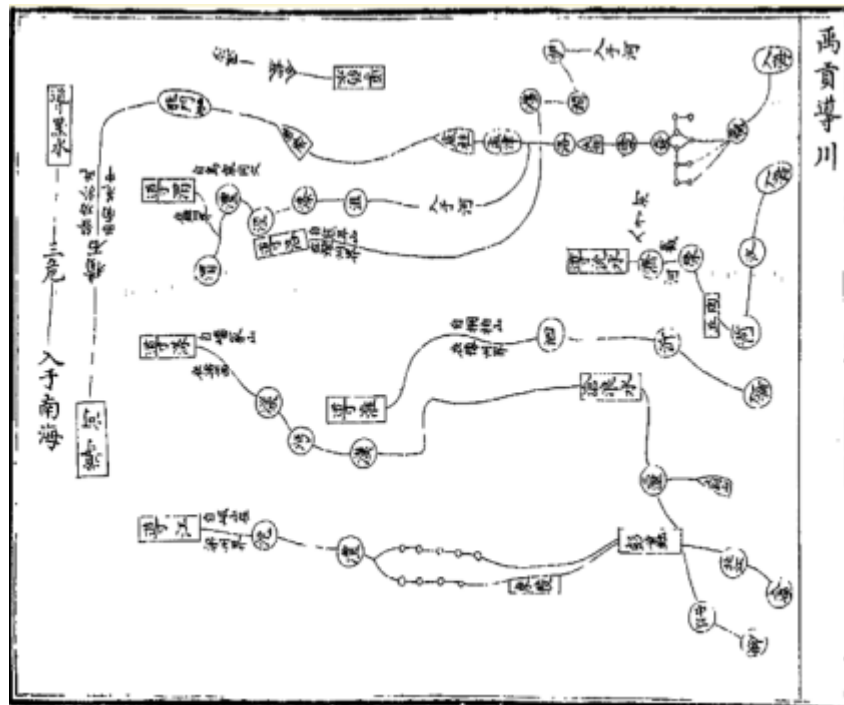


Fig. 5-14: Woodblock print. “Yugong daochuan” 禹貢導川, in *Liu jing tu*, j. 2, p. 57.

禹貢九山名數圖										
冀	壺口山	在河東北 屈縣東南	雷首山	在河東中 府潞縣南	太岳	在河東北 霍縣東上	底柱山	在河東 析城之西	析城山	在河東 澤縣西
							王屋山	在河東 澤縣北	欽定四庫全書	
									卷二 圖	
							太行山	在河內 澤州		
							常山	在河內 陽縣北		
							碣石山	在北平 薊城縣		
兗										
青										
	岱山	本屬兗州 萊蕪縣	徐							
	蒙山	在太山 陰縣西南								

Fig. 5-16: Woodblock print. Part of “Yugong jiushan mingshu tu” 禹貢九山名數圖, in *Liu jing tu*, j. 2, pp. 60-63.

禹貢九川名數圖									
冀									
衡漳	出滎入清漳清漳出上黨	恒水	出恒山入滎水	衛水	出恒山入淇水	降水	出淇水入淇水	兗	
灋水	出滎入清漳清漳出上黨	恒水	出恒山入滎水	衛水	出恒山入淇水	降水	出淇水入淇水	兗	
九河	自大陸之北分為九徒駭太史	灋水	出滎入清漳清漳出上黨	恒水	出恒山入滎水	衛水	出恒山入淇水	降水	出淇水入淇水
渭水	出東都東武縣入海	雷夏澤	在濟陰成陽縣	青		灋水	出滎入清漳清漳出上黨	恒水	出恒山入滎水
灋水	出滎入清漳清漳出上黨	恒水	出恒山入滎水	衛水	出恒山入淇水	降水	出淇水入淇水	兗	
汶水	出泰山入濟也	淄水	出泰山入海	濰水	出琅邪入海	灋水	出滎入清漳清漳出上黨	恒水	出恒山入滎水

Fig. 5-17: Woodblock print. Part of “Yugong jiuchuan mingshu tu” 禹貢九川名數圖, in *Liu jing tu*, j. 2, pp. 64-67.

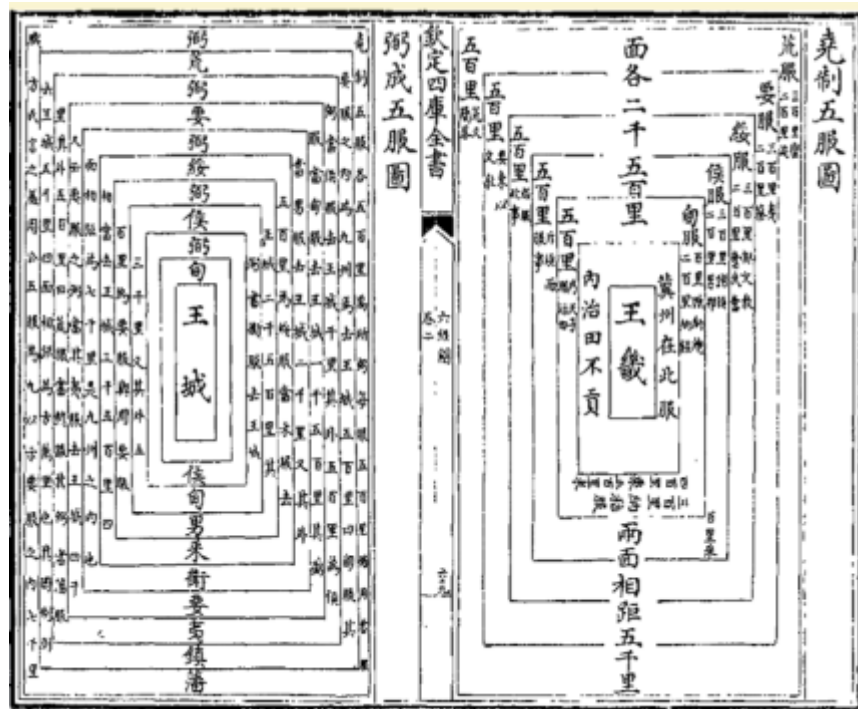


Fig. 5-19: Woodblock print. “Yao zhi wufu tu” 堯制五服圖 and “Bicheng wufu tu” 弼成五服圖, in *Liu jing tu*, j. 2, p. 68.

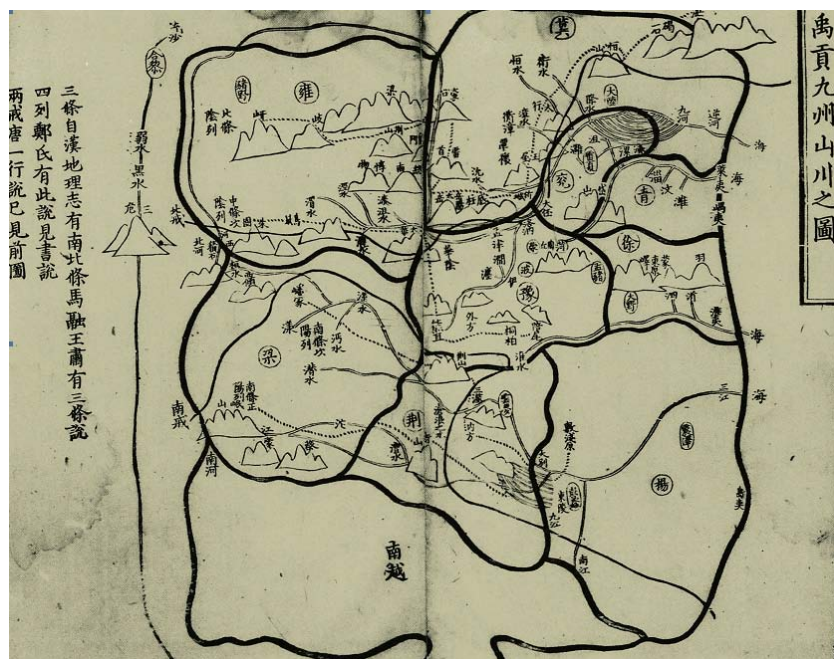


Fig. 5-20: Woodblock print. *Yugong jiuzhou shanchuan zhi tu* 禹貢九州山川之圖, in *Diwang jingshi tupu* 帝王經世圖譜, in National Library of China comp., *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congtan* 北京圖書館珍本叢刊 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan, 1988), vol. 76, p. 75.

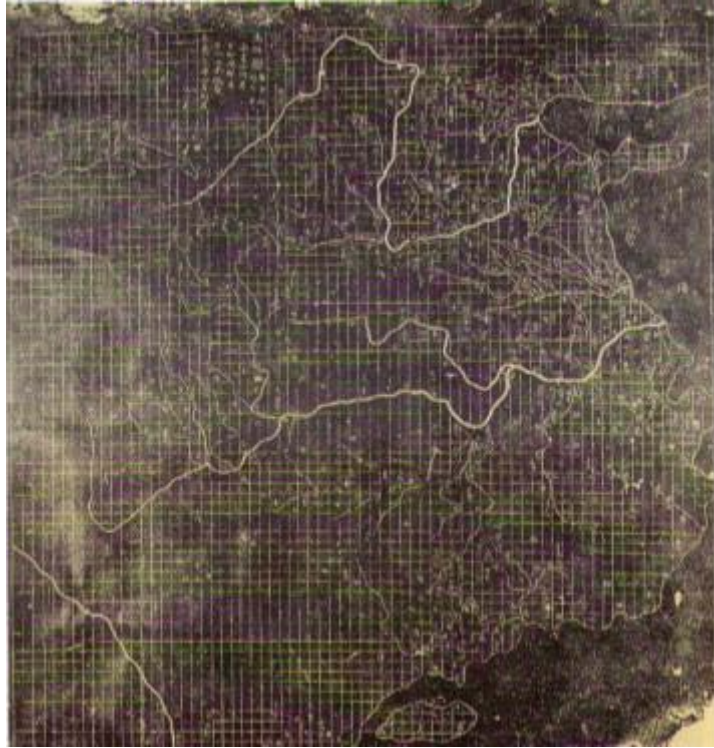


Fig. 5- 21: *Yuji tu* 禹跡圖. Rubbing. 1136, Xi'an Beilin (Forest of Steles) Museum, Xi'an, Shaanxi Province.

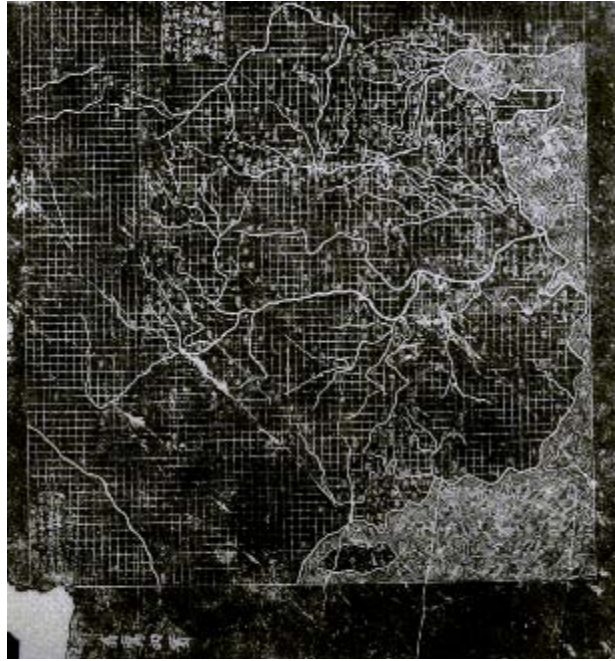


Fig. 5- 22: *Yuji tu* 禹跡/迹圖. Rubbing. 1142. Zhenjiang Provincial Museum, Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province.

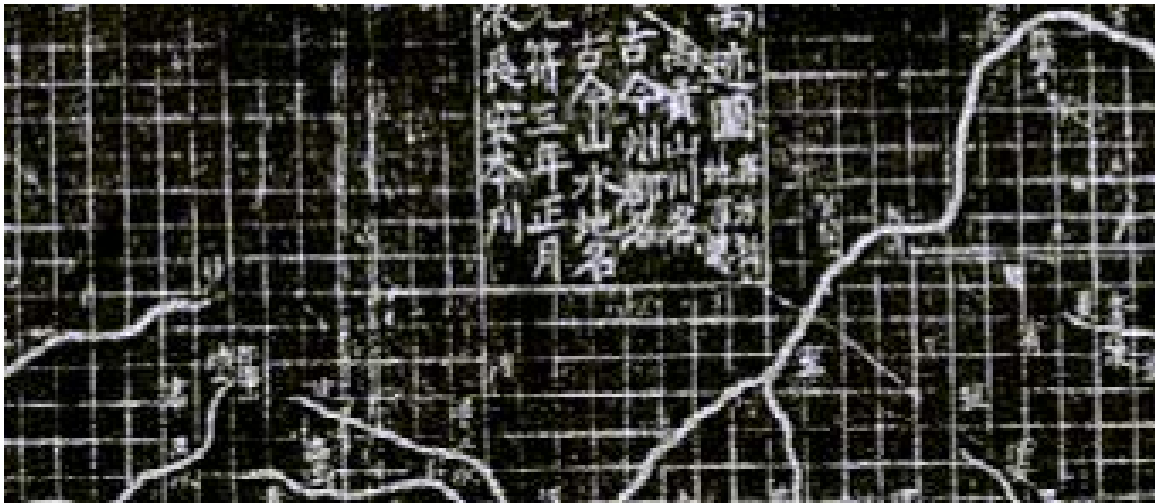


Fig. 5-23: Detail of 5-22.



Fig. 6-1: Map of *Yudi tu*. Ink-line sketch after rubbing. Southern Song. Cao Wanru, *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Zhanguo-Yuan*, plate 82.

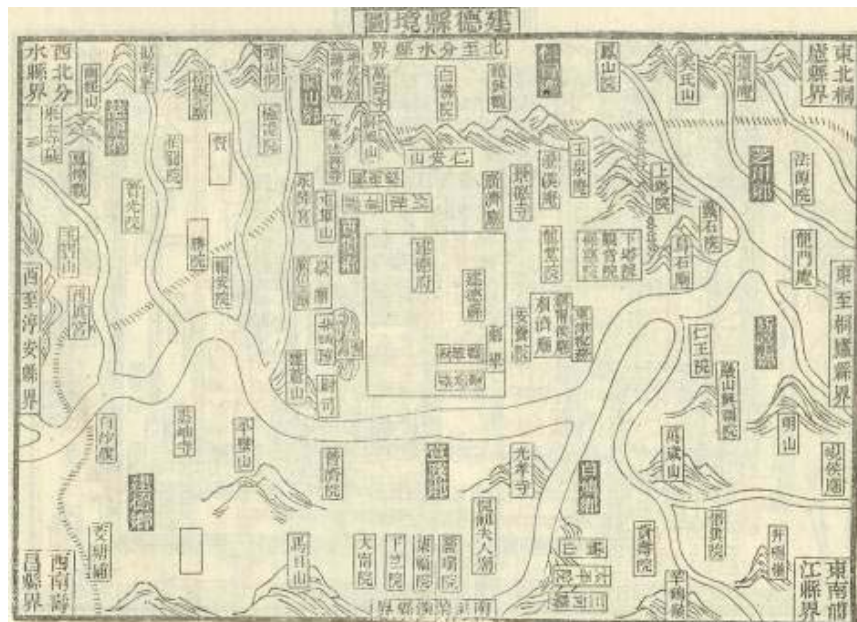


Fig. 6-2: Woodblock print. Map of Jiande County. Southern Song. Liu Wenfu comp., *Chunxi Yanzhou tujing*, in SYFZCK, vol.5, p. 4282.

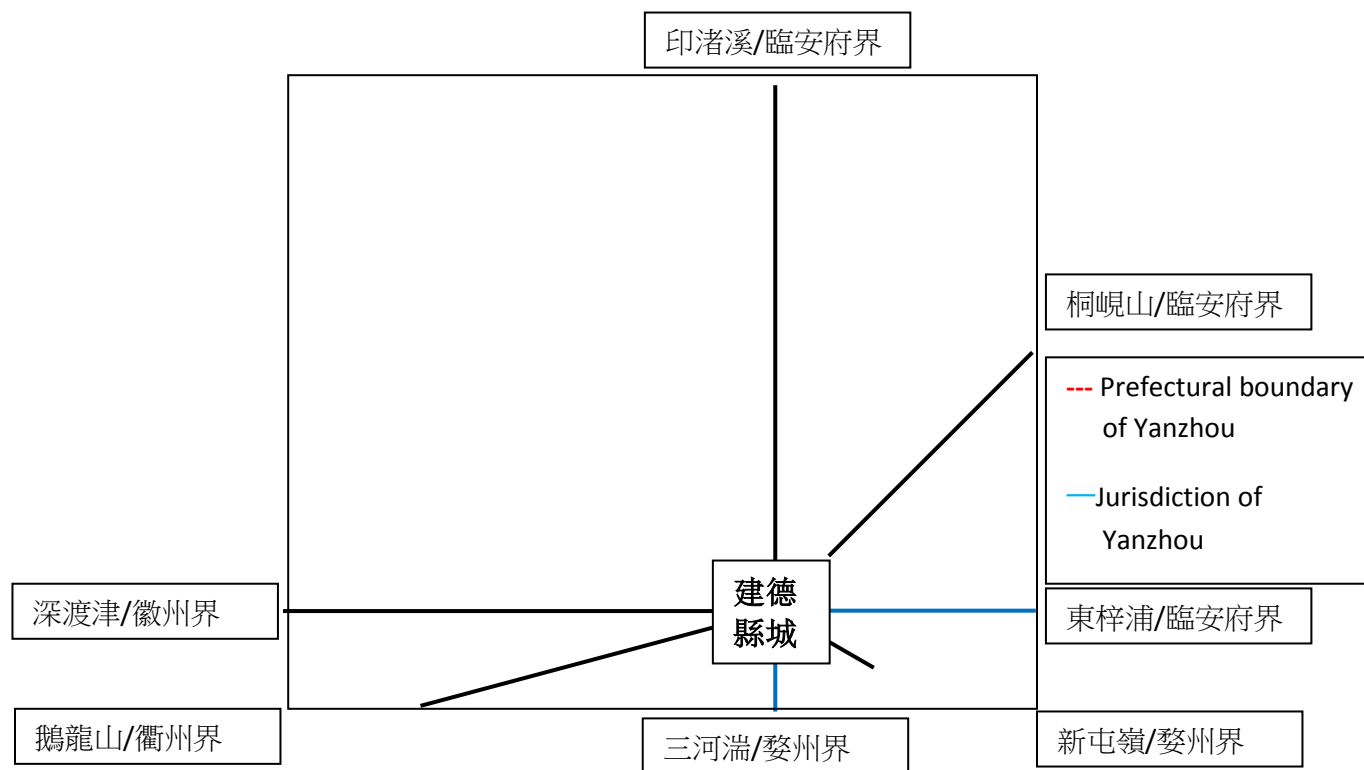


Fig. 6-3: Sketch map of Yanzhou on the basis of Liu Wenfu comp., *Chunxi Yanzhou tujing*, in *SYFZCK*, vol. 5, pp. 4286-87.



Fig. 6-4: Reconstructed map of Yanzhou. Tan Qixiang comp., *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 中國歷史地圖集 (Shanghai: Ditu chubanshe, 1982), vol. 6, pp. 59-60.

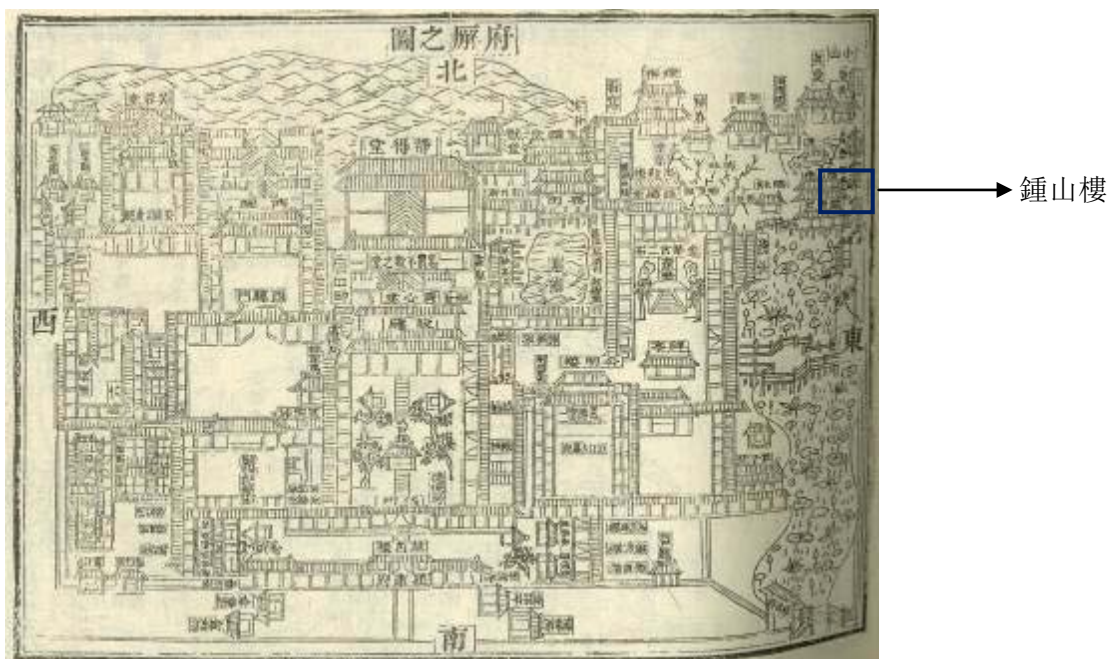


Fig. 6-5: Exterior drawing of the prefectural building complex. Woodblock Print. Reconstructed during the Qing dynasty. Zhou Yinghe comp., *Jingding Jiankang zhi*, in SYFZCK, vol. 2, p. 1379.

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