

A Map of the Great Wall of China

By M. J. Meijer (*Imago Mundi, Volume 13 (1956)*), pp. 110-115, with added graphics

The first map reproduced here was found in 1952 by the cartographic historian Leo Bagrow in the Lateran Museum. The roll was hanging on the pedestal of the model of a Mongolian monastery. The description provided by the museum stated that it represents the Amur River, and the date of the map was indicated as end of the 18th century. The map was then taken to the Vatican for photographing, and attempts to locate it since then have failed.

At first glance, however, it is clear that actually it is a map of the Great Wall of China, and therefore the river cannot possibly be the Amur but must be the Yellow River. It must be conceded, however, that the course is sometimes represented in such a way as to confuse the casual observer. The date also seems to be wrong, for reasons that will be shown below. It is a pity that no documents referring to the map were found; sometimes such maps are accompanied by an explanation giving region, date and purpose. In the absence of such a document it is the aim of the present article to establish approximately the date the map was made and the purpose it served.

The Great Wall runs from Chia-yü-kuanin Kansu province to Shang-hai-kuanon the coast at the border of Manchuria. Its length is about 2,300 km. The part of the wall reproduced on this map runs from Chia-yü-kuan to Ta-t'ung in Shantung, which is



about three quarters of its total length. The map itself is in the form of a hand-scroll, 22.3 cm broad and 355 cm long. The following photostats reproduce the map in thirteen sections. The wall is represented stretching horizontally across the length of the map. The upper part is inside the wall, the lower outside. In some sections, the bottom of the map roughly corresponds to North with South at the top. Sometimes, however, the wall runs approximately from the North to the South as in the former province of

Ninghsia, in which case (*Section 6*) the upper part of the map is East and the lower West. The scale of the various sections is very unequal. In fact it seems that the map does not at all aim at a faithful representation of the length of the wall and that its main purpose lies elsewhere. These deviations from geographical accuracy, however, are to some extent corrected by inscriptions indicating the distance and direction between the towns. The sketch on the next page gives an idea of the actual situation and of the extent of the various sections.



Another feature that is striking is the decoration of the map. Like their contemporaries in Europe, the Chinese cartographers liked to add pictures, but in this case the pictures have a special purpose. We find indications of wells in the arid regions and at places like Kan-chou trees are found; also the non-Chinese tribes are seen

hunting, riding camels, cooking, camping, herding their sheep; sometimes they seem to be dancing.

The most important items on the map, however, are the inscriptions. Besides indicating the distances between places, they give particulars about the strength of the garrisons inside the wall and about the location of "barbarian" tribes inside and outside. The information about the tribes is sketchy. For the greater part, the inscriptions merely mention the name of the chief, e.g. *Western Barbarian Chief A-tzu-ch'a*. Most of them seem to be figures of mere local importance and cannot be identified. Only in a few cases is the indication clear enough to draw some inferences from it. For identification the following books were consulted: *Meng-ku yü-mu chi* by Chang Mu, a careful record of the wanderings of the Mongols and their history and the places where they camp and herd; *Huang-ch'ao fan-pu yao-lüeh* by Ch'i Yün-shih, a very detailed study of the history of the Mongols written from the point of view of the Chinese government official; this reproduces many imperial edicts on the investiture of chiefs of the Mongols and of other non-Chinese people and at the end it gives a detailed list of the high chiefs who had to be appointed by imperial mandate; the third source was the *Kansu t'ung-chih*, the general gazetteer of Kansu, which supplies information about the geography, history, climate, famous officials and scholars and other particulars of the province. In general the results of these investigations were very meager. There are, however, as will be shown later, three exceptions. In three places the name of *Galdan* occurs. *Galdan* was the Mongol Prince who, as a leader of the blot Mongols of the Ho-la-shan and other regions along the wall, rebelled on several occasions against Sheng-tsu (K'ang-hsi) in the years from 1677 till 1696.

The information on the garrisons provides better results. In the state almanac of the Manchu dynasty, the *Ta Ch'ing hui-tien shih-li*, one can find the composition of the garrisons of the whole of China from the beginning of the dynasty till the end. In chapter 552 all the information about the region in question can be found. The edition used is the lead type edition of Kuang-hsü. On the map the garrisons are described in great detail; for the province of Ning-hsia, now Kansu, they are only indicated by the ranks of the officers, and for the province of Shantung no indication is given at all. It seems therefore that the main intention of the makers of the map was to show the deployment of troops in the province of Kansu, together with information about the tribes. Because of this it may safely be assumed that the map was indeed a military map and that this province at that time was the rear base for an expedition against the Mongols. This conclusion is substantiated by the fact that we find an unusually large number of soldiers in that province. Altogether there are more than 25,000. Such a large number was certainly not needed at the end of the dynasty when the Mongols were subdued. Nor was this the total amount of troops then gathered in Kansu as will be shown in the next paragraph.

The military titles give definite proof that the map was made under the Ch'ing dynasty. The titles of the officers of the Chinese army under the Manchus show great similarity to those of the army under the Ming, but there is one important exception. It is the title for colonel, *fu-chiang*, which did not occur in Ming times. The appearance of several *fu-chiang* on the map is conclusive evidence. The titles correspond to those of the Green Battalions, the Chinese army. The Manchus had two types of army. On the one hand there were the Banners, composed of Manchus, Mongols and Chinese, whose loyalty was above suspicion since they had collaborated at the time of conquest. On the other hand there was the Chinese army, the so-called Green Battalions composed of Chinese only. The Banners enjoyed special privileges and were under a special

supervisory board. They were not controlled by the Board of War nor by the Board of Revenue of the Central Government as the Chinese army was. The officers of the two armies had different titles. On the map we find no indication of Banners. All the troops mentioned belong to the Green Battalions as is shown by the titles of the officers. The probable explanation of the absence of the Banners (of which a considerable contingent must have been present) is that the map was made by the Board of War, or by the Military Council in the capital in order to give a survey of the available Green Battalions.

The military titles of the Battalions mentioned on the map are as follows: *t'i-tu*, general, the provincial commander in chief; *tsung-ping*, brigadier; *fu-chiang*, colonel; *ts'an-chiang*, lieutenant colonel; *yu-chi*, major; *tu-szu*, first captain (this rank occurs very rarely on the map and from the Hui-tien it appears that during the early times of the dynasty - Shun-chih and K'ang-shi - it was not much in use); *shou-pei*, second captain; *ch'ien-tsung*, first lieutenant; *pa-tsung*, second lieutenant.

Let us now proceed to a closer examination of the more important sections of the map, starting from the West. In the first section, just outside the wall of Chia-yü-kuan is the territory of *Daidji*. The brother of the late Lao-tsang-kun-pu, Galdan Dorji, has his camp beyond the border. The name of the *Daidji* is unreadable. The title is the lowest of hereditary Mongol nobility. The name of *Galdan Dorji* occurs in the *Meng-ku yü-mu chi* as a contemporary of Galdan. It is also found in the *Huang-ch'ao fan-pu yao-lieh*.



To the west beyond Huang-ts'ao-ying and on the other side of the wall lies the walled city of Chia-yü-kuan. The garrison under a major is shown to be 438 strong, consisting of both infantry and cavalry. There are also one first and two second lieutenants. According to the *Ta Ch'ing Hui-tien shih-li* (hereafter referred to as *Hui-tien*) this was the situation in the time of K'ang-hsi 30th year (1691) and no changes have been made afterwards. Chia-yü-kuan is a very important outpost, being the outermost bastion of the wall. It was fortified during the Hung-wu period of the Ming dynasty (1368-1398) and the wall was repaired and extended to this place in 1501. The really

important garrison, however, is a little further to the East, in the city of Su-chou. According to the map, Su-chou has about 3000 soldiers under a brigadier, three captains, six first and twelve second lieutenants. After the characters for "brigadier" there are four unreadable characters probably denoting a number of majors. The information concerning the garrison in the *Hui-tien* is not explicit: we read that in 1656 the military *tao-t'ai* was abolished and changed for a captain and that in 1691 "the colonel was changed for a brigadier, three battalions were added with three majors, one captain, two first, and four second lieutenants". Since one battalion generally consisted of 750 men, 500 infantry and 250 cavalry, about 2250 men were added to the Su-chou garrison at that time, when the threat from Galdan was particularly grave. The strength shown on the map is equivalent to four battalions. From that time onwards the garrison was constantly weakened; until in the reign of Chia-ch'in there was only one first captain with one first and two second lieutenants. From these figures 1691 still seems a plausible date.

The presence of so many soldiers was particularly desirable in order to prevent the Ölöt from Kansu uniting with their brothers and other tribes of the Kukuror. From the Han dynasty onward, the Chinese emperors had always sought to prevent this alliance of Mongols and Tibetans. After the campaigns of Sheng-tsu against Galdan and of Kao-tsung (Ch'ien-lung) against Tsewang Araptan and the Dalai Lama, the maintenance of a heavy garrison in this region was no longer necessary.

Between Chia-yü-kuan and Su-chou there are three military posts with garrisons of either 40 or 50 under the command of a second lieutenant. This is the usual strength of these small places, whose troops mainly appear to have had the task of reconnoitering and protecting communications. All three were established in 1691. Su-chou is surrounded on all sides by such small posts. The only exception is Ch'ing-shui-pao, which is more important. It has a garrison of 146 cavalry under a captain. This place probably defends the passes of Hung-shan-k'ou and Kuan-yin shan-k'ou. The garrison was strengthened in 1691, and according to the *Hui-tien* a first captain was stationed there. Another place that deserves attention is Chin-ta-szu, north of the wall. It defends the point at which the San-ch'a-ho (at present Pei-ta-ho) pierces the wall and the gate to the North (i.e. the lower part of the map). The city is fortified by two walls and a moat inside the outer wall. The garrison, composed of a major, one first and three second lieutenants and 419 men, corresponds with the period from 1691 till 1780. After that time only a second lieutenant remained in command as the place had lost its importance. An inscription to the right of Chin-ta-szu reads: "To the West of Chin-ta-szu on the San-ch'a-ho are the tribes under Sai-yin-han..... (two characters unreadable) *Daidji* and his six chiefs come here to camp." This Sai-yin-han had a son Kun-pu-pa-t'u or Kun-p u-pa-t'u-erh who is mentioned on the second section of the map inside the wall. It is stated there (above Kan-chou and between Hung-shui and Nan-ku-ch'eng) that he was *Daidji* of a great tribe camping near the Hu-la-hai pass.

On the *Second Section* of the map we find several interesting pieces of information concerning the barbarians. Against the Mongols before the tents the characters read as follows: "Outside the pass of Po-lo-k'ou there are the Chien-pa barbarians, *who are under Galdan's control and protection*. They are commanded by Mai-li-kan-pai(?) -shou-tzu and Kun-pu-ch'a-han, their tribes camp there and at times they come to camp near Hua-lin-ch'uan." Kun-pu-ch'a-han is mentioned a little to the right where it is stated: "Kun-pu-ch'a-han belongs to the barbarians of Galdan", and between the two is a similar statement about Mai-li-kan. These are the only three instances where Galdan is

mentioned by name. They establish beyond doubt that these tribes actually had connections with Galdan. Therefore it seems likely that the map was made during Galdan's lifetime or shortly afterwards.



Detail showing the wall with Mongol encampments and men on horseback

The largest military formation in the area of the *Second Section* is at Kan-chou, where at that time the general had his headquarters with an army of 5000 men, one lieutenant-colonel, four majors, six captains, twelve first and twenty-one second lieutenants. This also corresponds with the situation in 1691. In 1758 the general was moved to Liang-chou. For the rest, the garrisons of the *Second* and *Third Sections* were more or less maintained at the level of 1691 with the exception of Kao-t'ai where the major was replaced by a captain in 1807. In the Southern part of this region we find mentioned Dalai Daidji and his nephew Kun-pu-pa-t'u-erh and sons O-erh-te-ni and O-li-k'o-ha and the Daidji's son La-tsang-ling-li-erh-chi-pen, while in the part beyond the wall there is the following information: "Beyond the Pa-la-shan and close to the Tung-ta-shan the rebellious tribe of the Han-tun with O-erh-te-ni-ho-shou-ch'i have their camps."

The *Fourth Section* has Liang-chou as its military center with 4,300 men under a brigadier, with a full complement of officers, and this was the strength of the garrison in 1691. This section abounds with names of Mongol chiefs, mostly inside the wall. The only exception is near Chen-fan where it is said: "Outside the border of Chen-fan as far as Ning-hsia there is the region of grassland of the Ho-lan-shan, where Chu-nang Daidji and hsia-ko Daidji have their camps." This information is repeated on the *Fifth Section* which covers the area from Ta-ch'ing to some 20 km east of Chung-wei. In this section the Yellow River replaces the wall for a short distance. This place is protected by five walled cities on the Southern bank, but apparently at that time it was no longer necessary to maintain garrisons there. We only read of a colonel who is stationed at Chung-wei-ying and the strength of the garrison is not mentioned. From this section onward till the province of Shansi only the ranks of the officers are given. The colonel was stationed there in 1658 and was replaced by a captain in 1731.

The *Sixth Section* gives the region of Ning-hsia city. The officers in this city are a brigadier, five majors, one first captain and a first captain for irrigation (*shui-li tu-szu*), five second captains, ten first and twenty-two second lieutenants. This tallies exactly, with the exception of the irrigation captain, with the numbers given in the *Hui-tien* for 1681. By 1698 the first captain was replaced by two first lieutenants. The map has the following interesting information concerning this region: "At Ning-hsia there is a harvest every year thanks to the irrigation of the Yellow River. Every year on the Ch'ing-ming festival they start working on the soil. The second magistrate of the subprefecture appoints civilians and soldiers to make the earthen walls and dig the ditches under his supervision. Of every battalion twenty soldiers are appointed and with twenty civilians they work (in teams) with all their might. The width of every ditch is two, or four *chang*

(a *chang* is a very variable measure usually given as 141 inches, which seems rather too much in this connection), its depth two or three *chang*. When the ditches have been dug the water of the Yellow River can be allowed to enter and be used for irrigation. On the day of the summer solstice they stop working. After that the officers of the military camps and stations divide the water according to the extent of the land, so that there will not be any conflict about the water. For this reason brigadier Sang arranged matters in this way. Until now every year a good harvest has been obtained. Although it is said that it is a matter of irrigation (water benefit) it is a matter of human labor as well." From this it appears that Ning-hsia was a kind of mixed military and civilian colony probably providing provisions for the army stationed along the wall. The picturesque Mongol group shown North of Ning-hsia represents the tribe of Dalai *Daidji*, mentioned before.

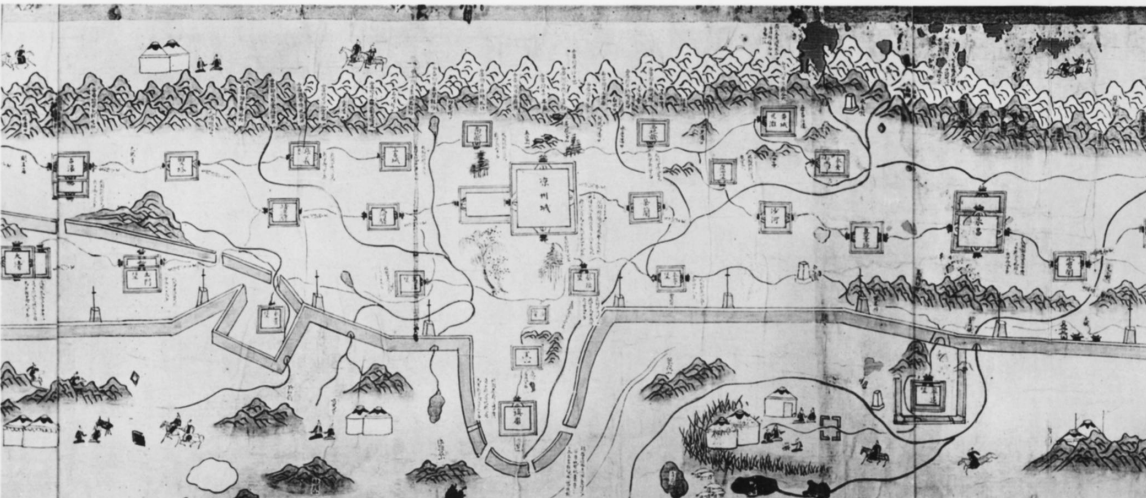
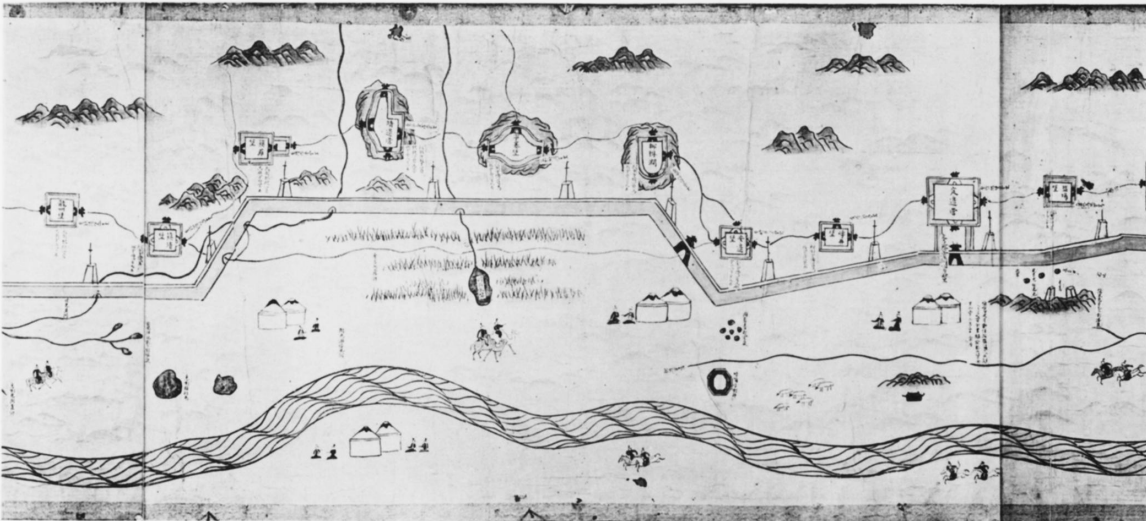
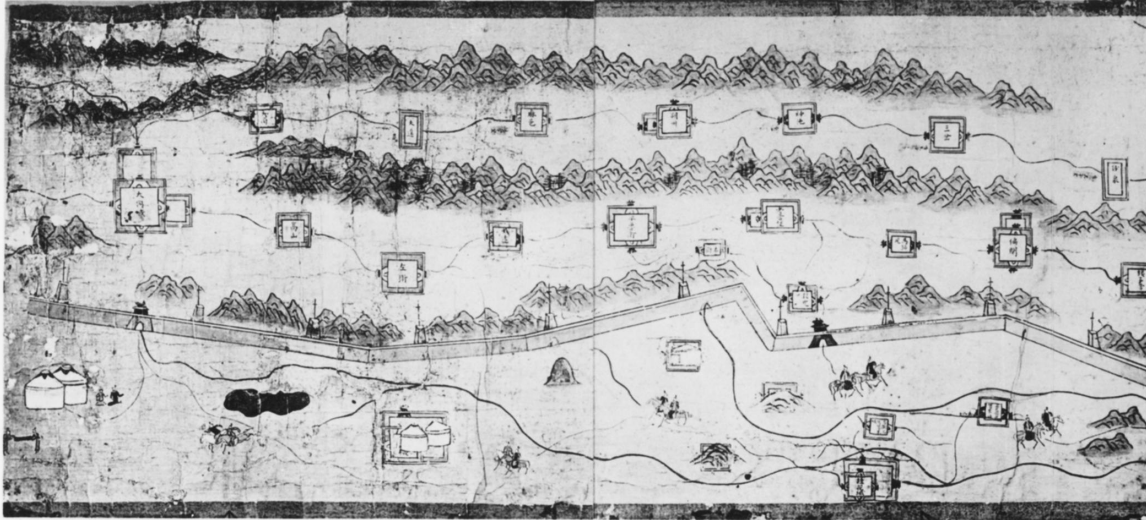


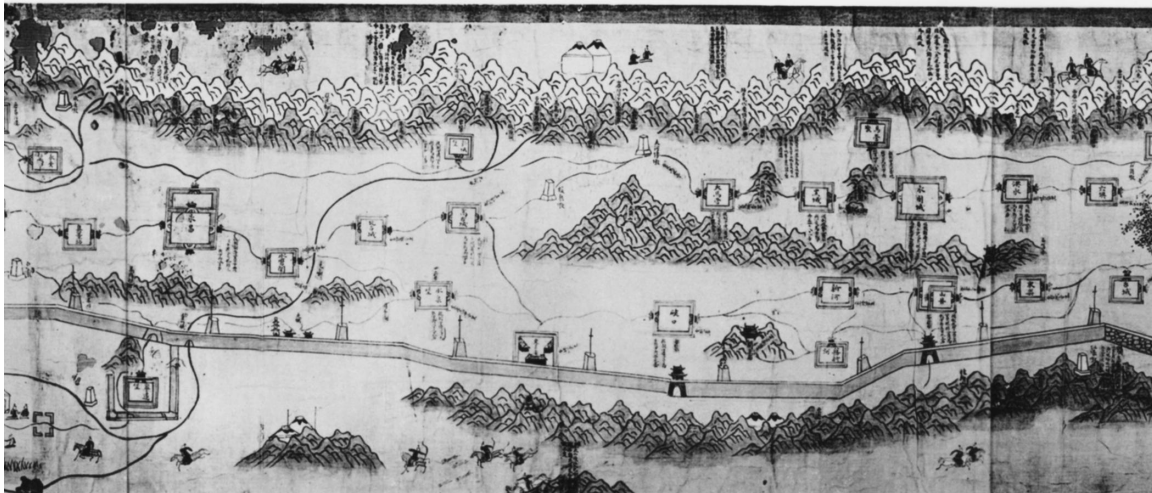
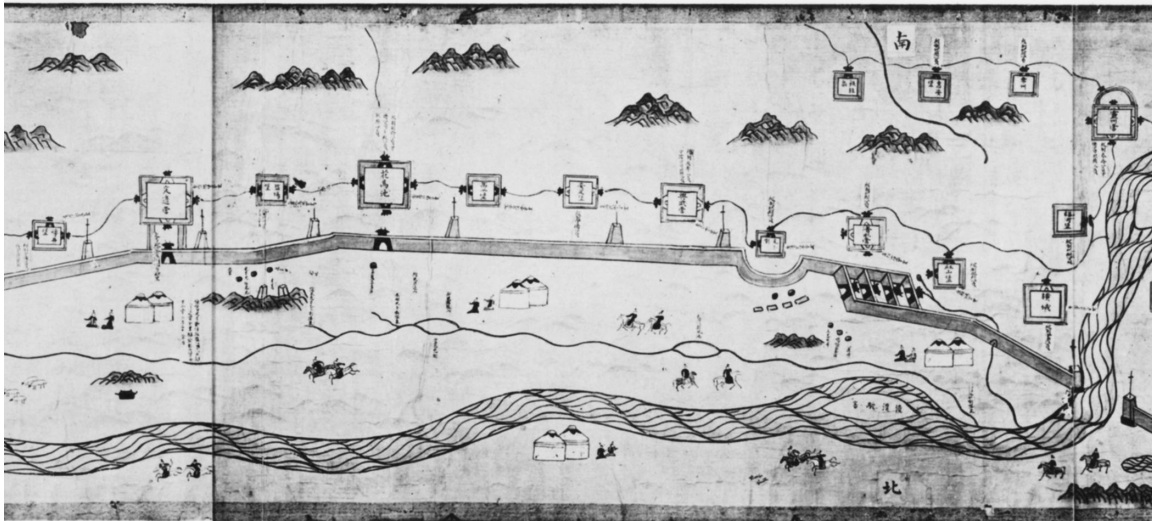
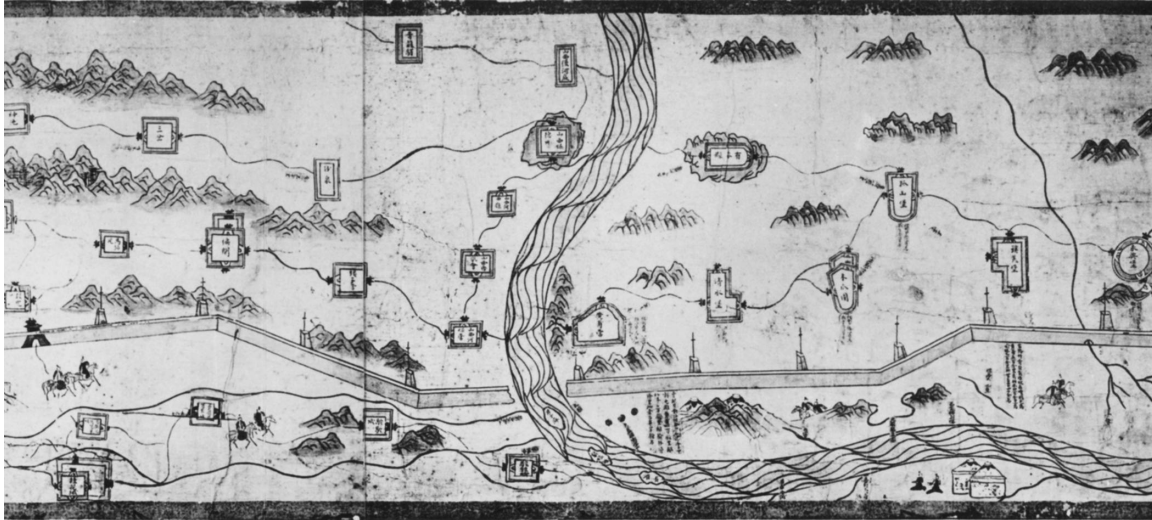
From the *Sixth Section* onward we find some curious things. In the first place the distances between the various places do not tally. When we follow the Yellow River, we come to the Sheng-chin pass; from there to Shih-k'ung-pao according to the map is 30 *li*. A *li* generally 576 meters. The distance should therefore be about 18 km. In reality, as the crow flies it is 25 km. From there to Kuang-wu-ying is 80 *li* on the map, in reality a radical distance of 50 km. From Kuang-wu-ying to Ta-pa is 30 *li*, in reality about 25 km. Then, however, the real trouble starts, for on the map Yü-ch'üan-pao is situated to the southwest of Ta-pa, while actually it is to the northwest. The same applies to the situation of P'ing-ch'iang-pao which on the map is southwest of Yü-ch'üan-pao, in fact it is northwest. The result is that the city of Ning-hsia, which actually is almost due north of Ta-pa, is found due west on the map. The road which almost runs straight North is halfway bent back south and then resumes its northern course with the most curious

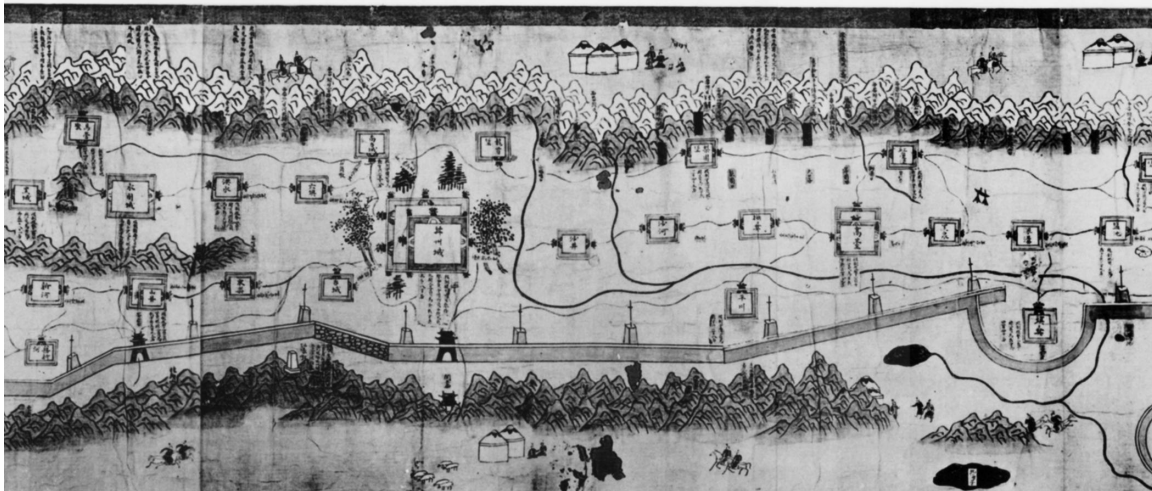
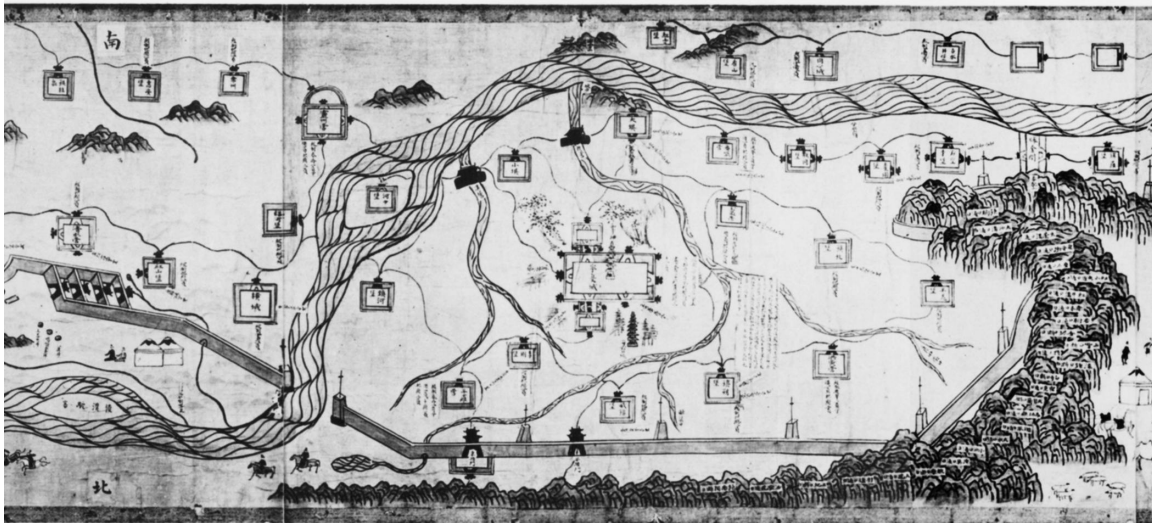
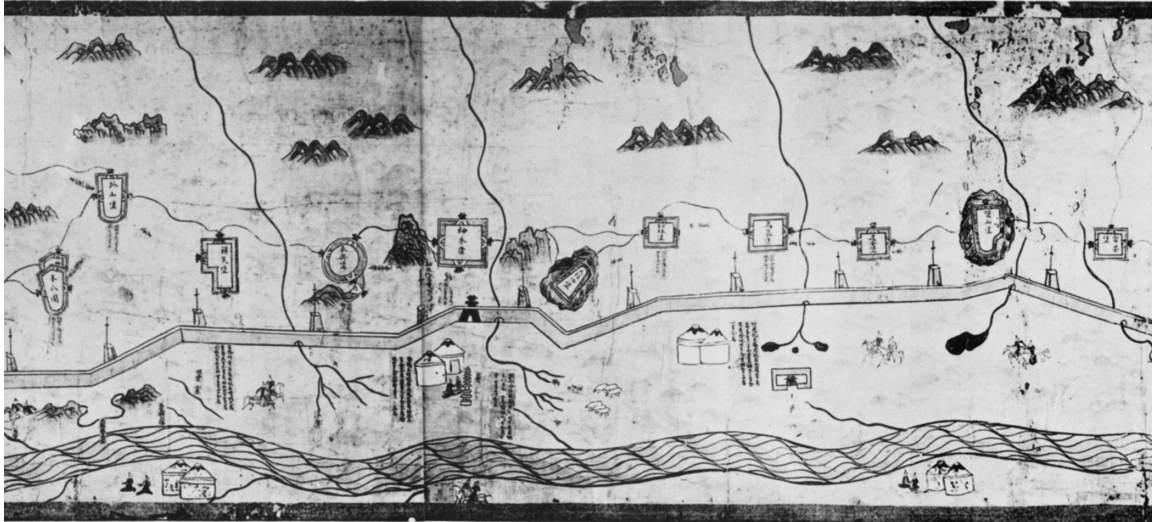
effect. The situation becomes still stranger after P'ing-lo-pao. This city is found on the map to the northwest of Ning-hsia, while in fact it is practically north of that city. Near P'ing-lo-pao the Yellow River breaks through the wall and continues its course to the north for some 200km, after which it bends West and subsequently after again 300 km it runs due south where it forms the boundary between Shensi and Shansi. The wall, however, does not follow the River, but from a point near P'ing-lo-pao it runs south to Lin-ho-pao (southeast of Ning-hsia) and 100km due south of P'ing-lo. On the map Lin-ho is northeast of Ning-hsia and still more so of P'ing-lo, while the river seems to continue its course peacefully to the east from P'ing-lo onward. Here the difficulties of the shape of the hand-scroll which did not allow enough width are quite apparent. We are only warned by the character "South" in the right-hand upper corner of *Section Seven*. In section eight we are informed that Ting-p'ien-ying is more than 400 *li* south of the Yellow River; it is actually about 400 km south of the river. The cartographers therefore were quite aware of the actual situation, but had to compromise with the shape of their map. The Yellow River turns obediently south at Huang-fu-ying and enters the region within the wall, as it should.

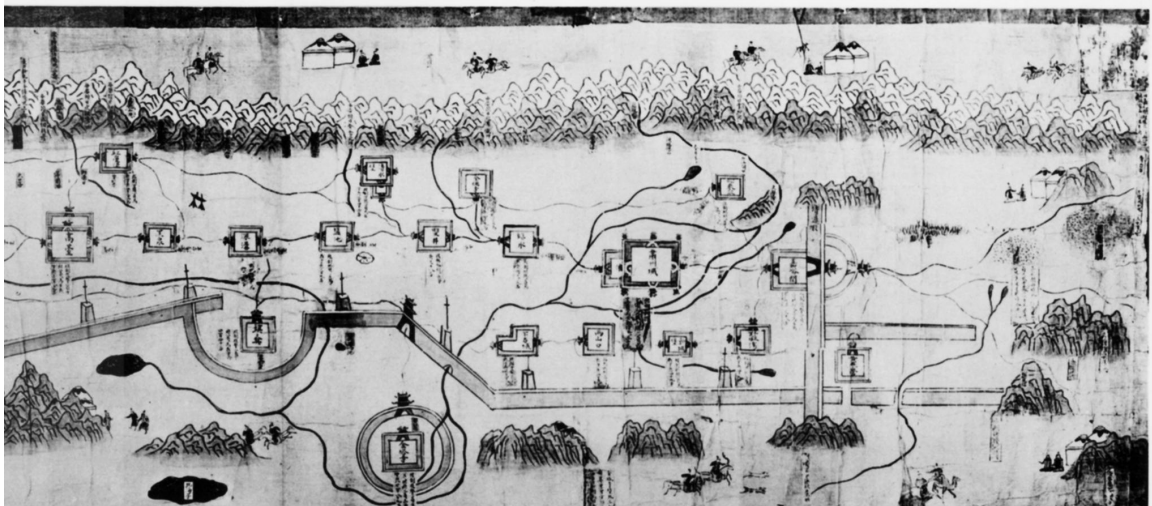
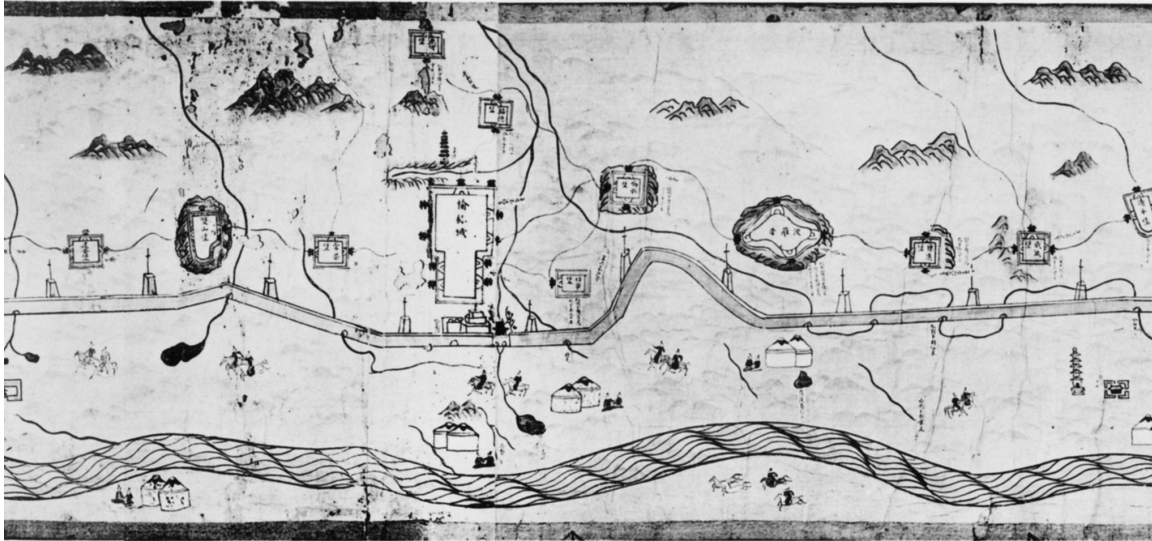
The remaining sections of the map offer no points of special interest. It would therefore be both tedious and pointless to enumerate the composition of the remaining garrisons. For the greater part, they correspond with the descriptions contained in the *Hui-tien* for the 30th year of K'ang-hsi, i.e. 1691. This evidence and the occurrence of the name of Galdan leaves little doubt that the map was made either during or shortly after his revolt, that is, between the years 1680 and 1700, and that its purpose was largely military.

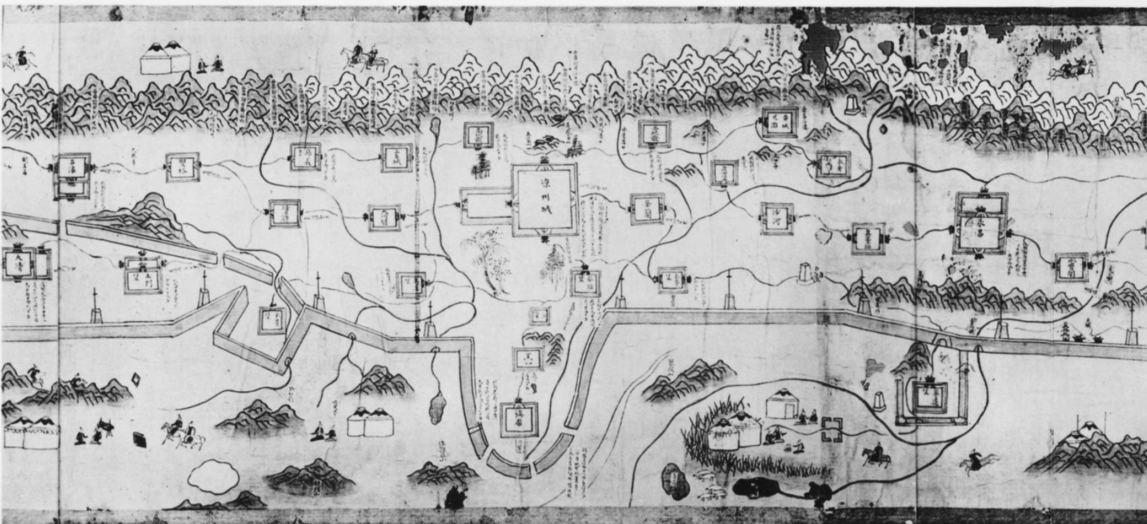
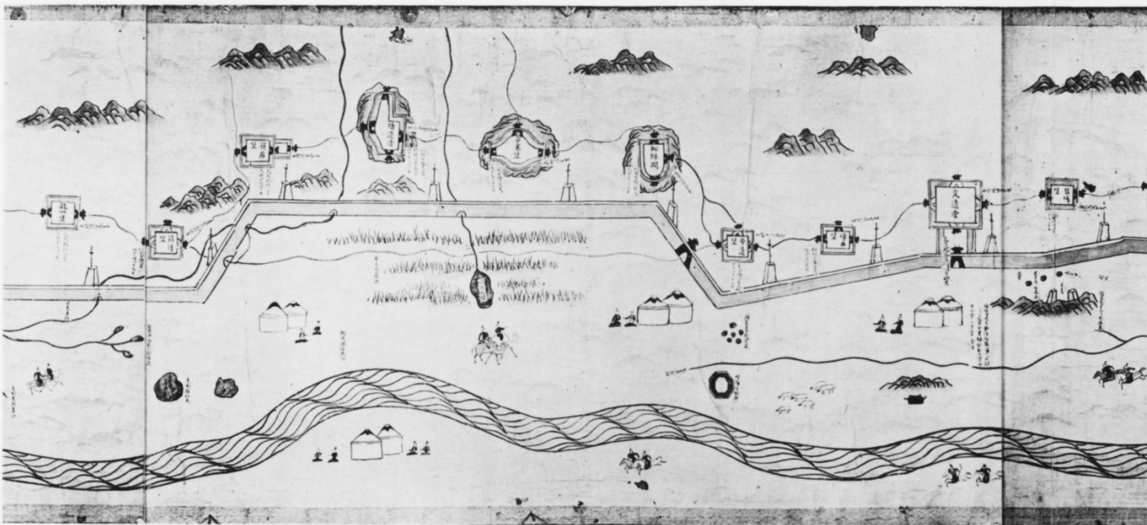
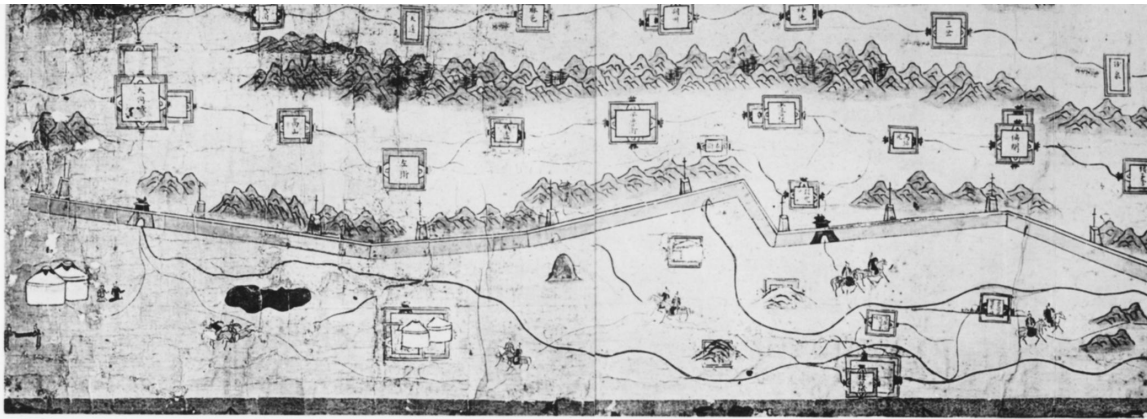


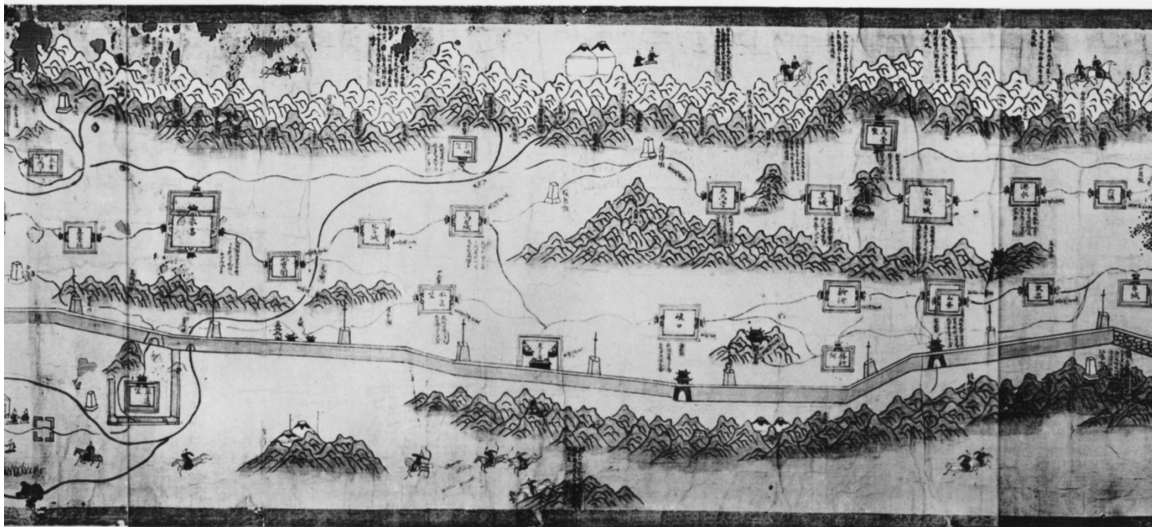
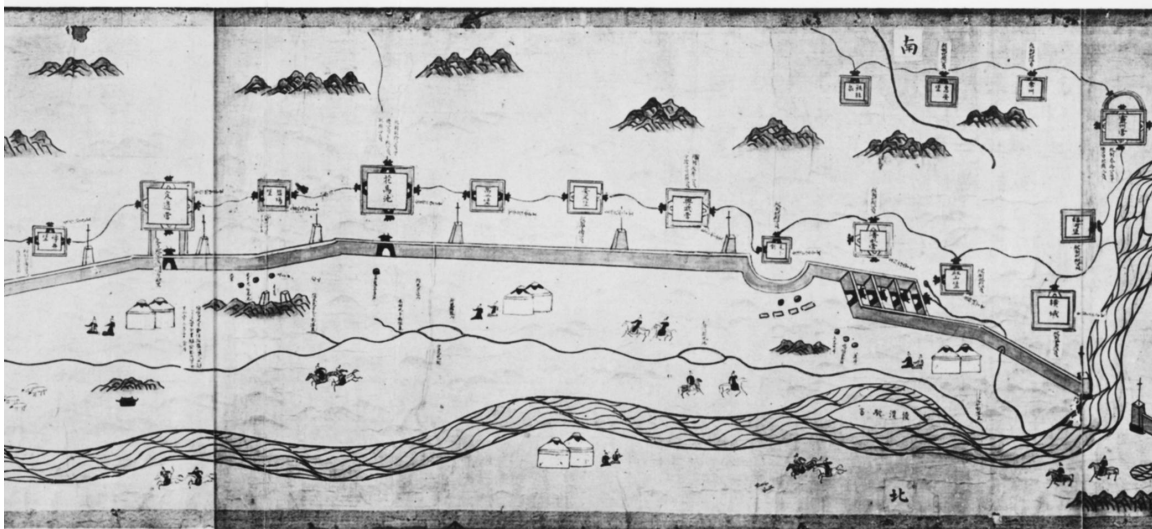
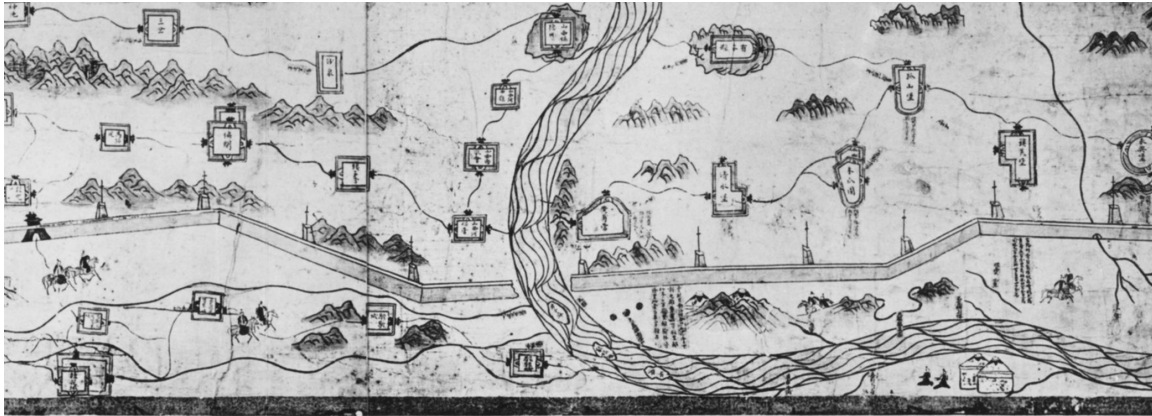


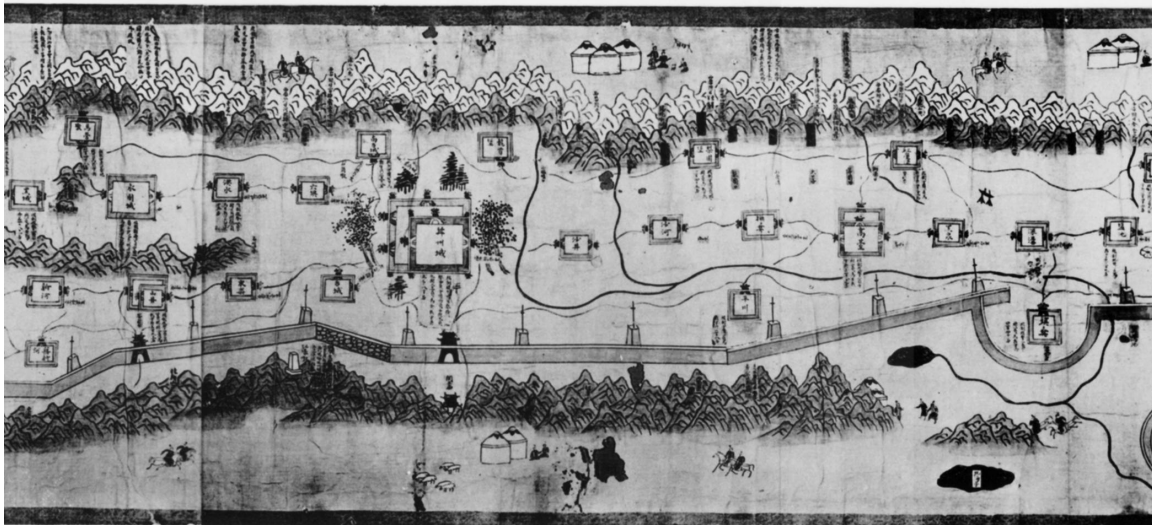
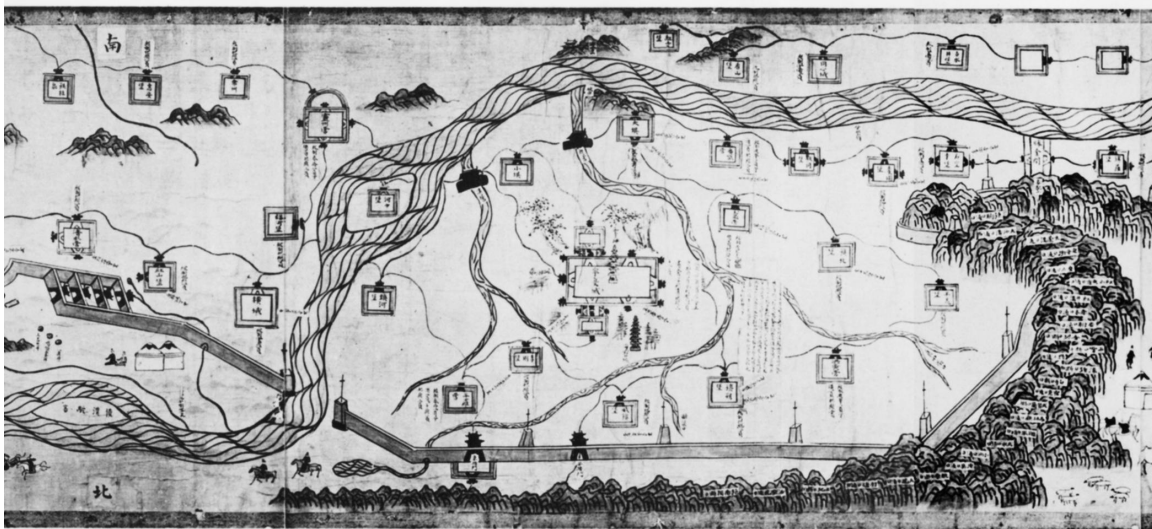
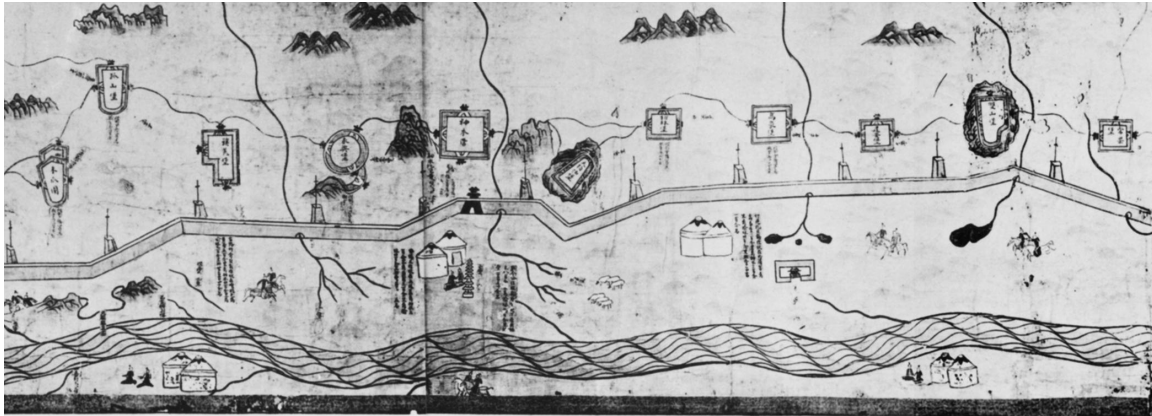


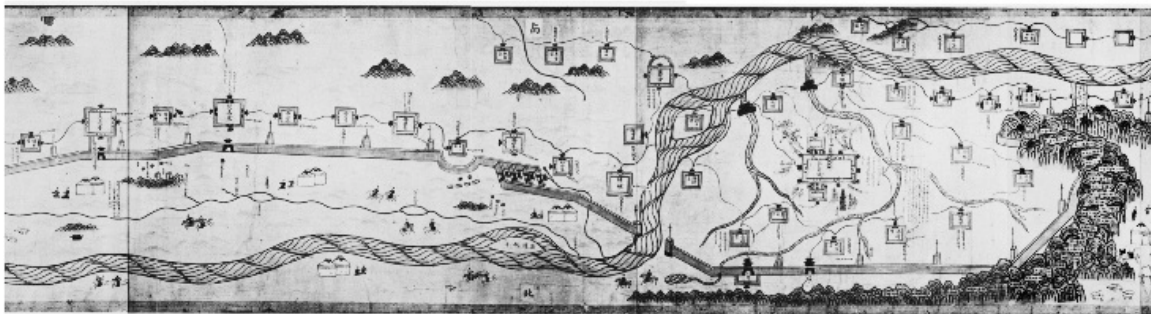
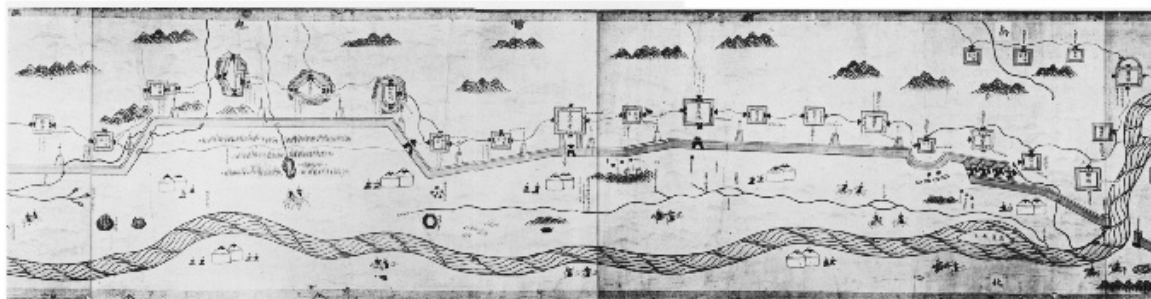
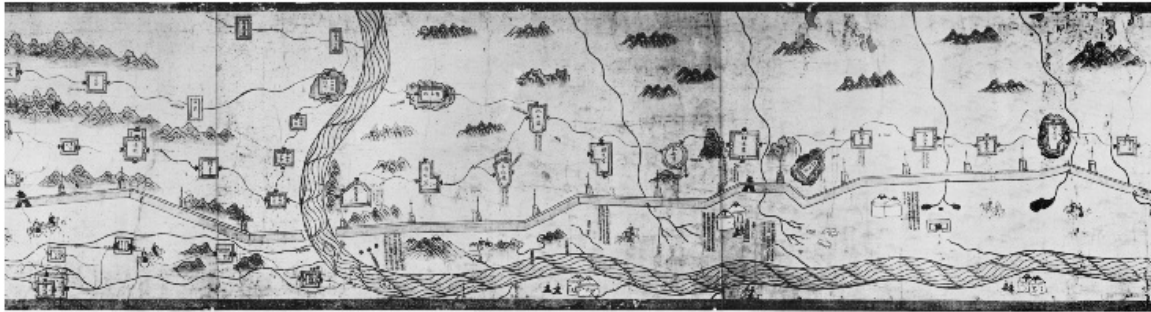
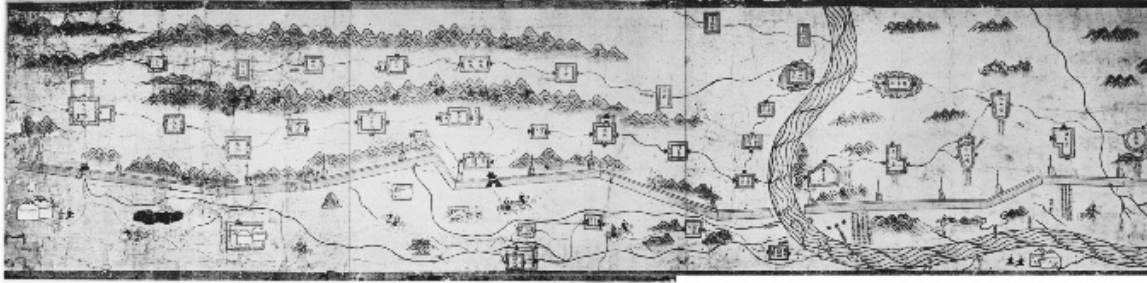


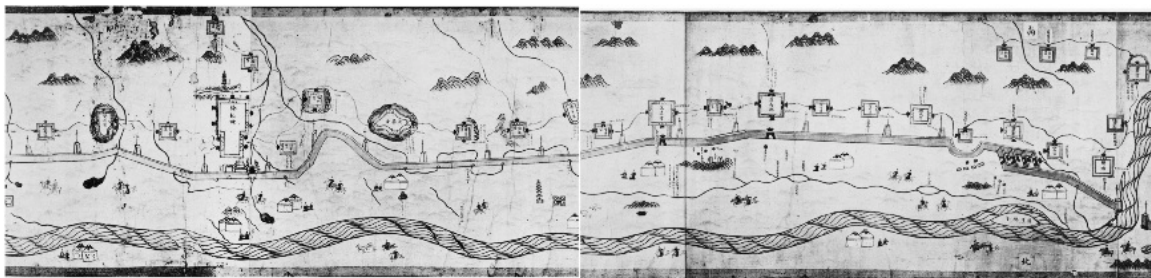
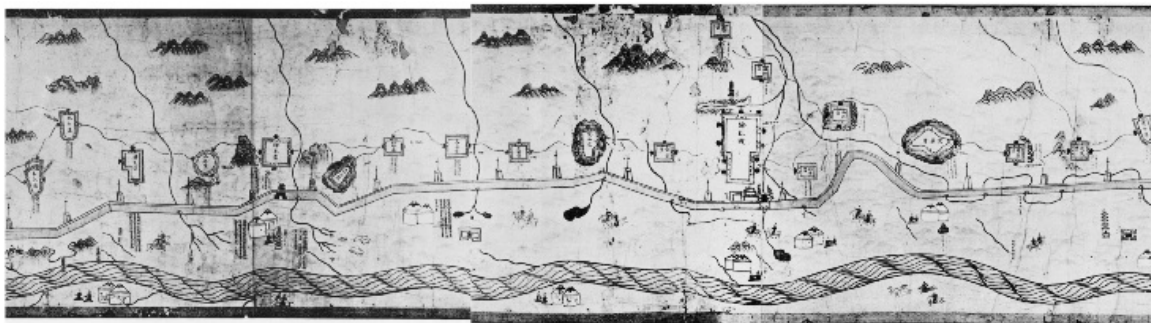
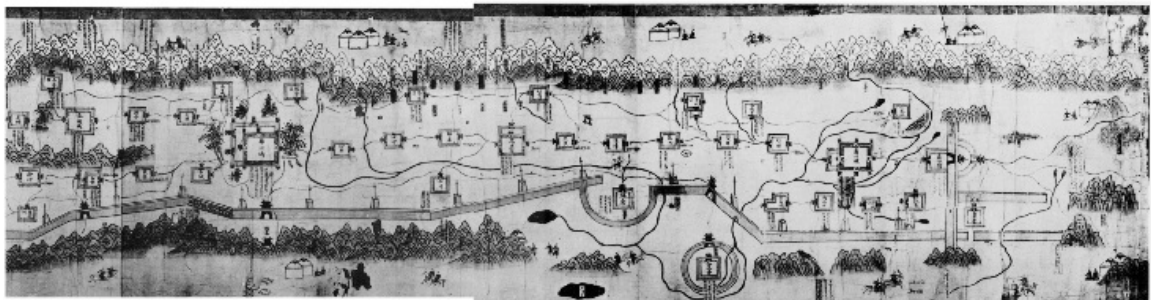
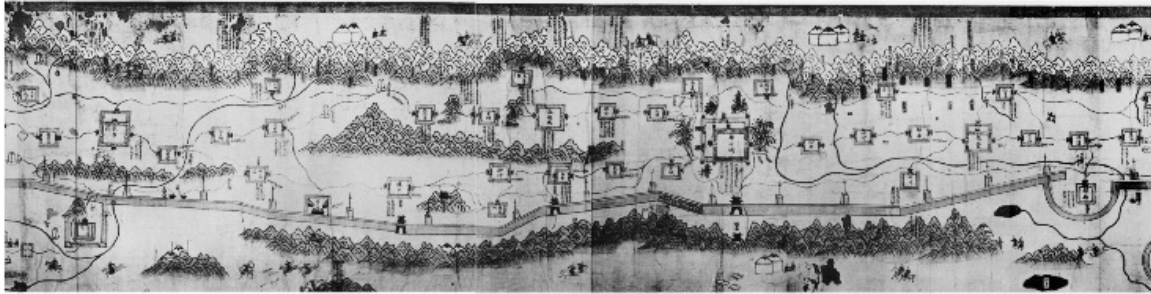
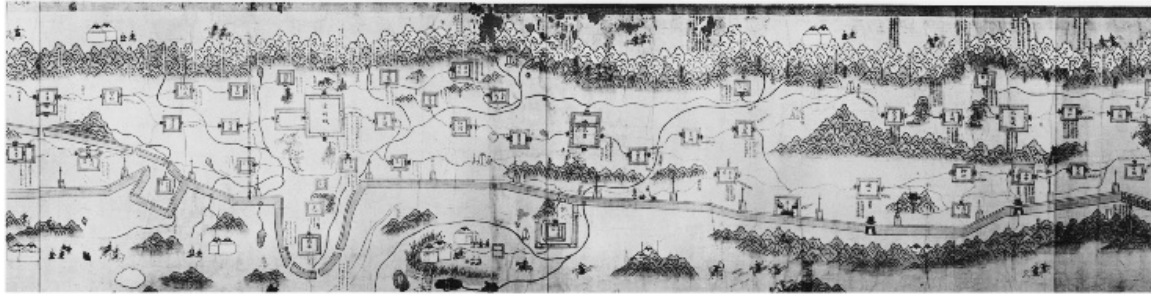














The following text is excerpted from William Lindesay's 2006 book, *The Great Wall Revisited, from the Jade Gate to the Old Dragon's Head*. The Chinese call the object in question: *Wanli Changcheng* - literally the 'Ten Thousand Li Long Wall'. Failure to appreciate the nuance of this term has led to several basic misunderstandings, specifically with regard to what it describes, encompasses and how long it is. The term *Wanli Changcheng* requires a poetic, not a fiscal translation. At the bank, *wan* is indeed the Chinese unit of ten thousand, but in many other situations it is used to convey not a number in absolute terms, but the sense of being infinite. An enlightened erudition of *Wanli Changcheng* would therefore be 'The Endless Wall'. The standardized version in English, however, is 'The Great Wall'; in French *La Grande Muraille* and in German *Die Grosse Mauer*. In many other languages the equivalent of 'The Chinese Wall' is preferred. The English, French and German names are much closer to the mark. Nevertheless, there is a considerable difference between 'Endless' and 'Great': the former acknowledges its vastness, extending in space and time across maps and the millennia, something immeasurable, while the latter inevitably invites questions probing its level of greatness, particularly how long it is.

This question is immensely difficult to answer, as testified by the multitude of offerings in encyclopedias, guidebooks and all other literature relating to the Great Wall. Ever since the first hearsay about the Great Wall was disseminated in Europe in the mid 16th century, people have sought an authoritative reply to the question. Commonly a figure of 5,000 km was assumed, this appearing to be a direct conversion of 10,000 *li* to metric units. A different answer was found by measuring a direct line between the Wall's vaunted termini; another still calculated by adding up the lengths of each section indicated on a map, sometimes including the gaps in between, and sometimes omitting them.

All are incorrect. The first attempt is ignorant of the true (metaphorical) meaning of *wan*, which of course conveys immeasurability in this context. The direct line method ignores the reality of the Wall's tortuous route, twisting and turning. The third assumes that maps must be correct, apart from failing to realize that most contemporary maps show only remains of the most recently constructed Ming Dynasty Great Wall, not remains of Great Walls from earlier dynasties, even less where they may have once existed.

In fact the only right answer is that it remains unknown because the Great Wall has never been specifically measured. In spring 2006 various provincial-level cultural heritage bureaus embarked on state sponsored GPS surveys to ascertain the present position of, and identify the age and length of extant border defense fortifications (Great Wall per se). This project, the most detailed Great Wall survey in history, will be completed by 2009, and should provide an authoritative figure for the current length of existing Great Wall fortifications. The survey, however, will not provide any further data on how long various dynastic Great Walls originally were, simply because a considerable quantity of each and everyone has already disappeared.

The name *Wanli Changcheng*, or the *Endless Wall*, infers that the Chinese perceive 'The Great Wall' as a national defense project - a series of Great Walls - that spanned many dynasties. The individual lengths of which if added together might approach a figure of approximately 50,000 km [31,068 miles]. It is more useful to look for similarities, differences, relationships and connections - if any - between these Walls.

The most obvious way of sub-categorizing *Wanli Changcheng* is on the basis of dynastic period of construction. There are 11 undisputed Great Wall constructions in the

following chronological order: Zhao State, Yan State, Qin State, Qin Dynasty, Han Dynasty, Northern Wei Dynasty, Northern Qi Dynasty, Sui Dynasty, Liao Dynasty, Jin Dynasty and Ming Dynasty.

All these dynastic Great Walls in the *Wanli Changcheng* have common characteristics of greatness related to sheer mass and geography, to greater or lesser extents, which forms the basis of the next logical sub-category.

Archaeological surveys along the now-fractured remains of the four longest suggest that the *Qin Great Wall* (221-206 B.C.) was approximately 3,000 km [1,864 mi] in length, the *Han Great Wall* (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) approximately 7,200 km [4,473 mi], the echeloned *Jin Wall* (1115-1234) as much as 5,000 km [3,106 mi] and the *Ming Wall* (1368-1644) - the most recently constructed, and that marked on contemporary maps on account of it being the best preserved - 6,700 km [4,163 mi] in length. These could be termed the sub-continental scale Great Walls. The other seven Great Walls are all of much shorter extents, being limited now to one or two of today's provinces. They could be termed lesser Great Walls.

A further sub-category might contain the Walls of the Liao and Jin dynasties. These were constructed by 'conquest dynasties' - non-Han peoples (ethnic nomads) who invaded China, established governing administrations, and adopted the Han strategy of building insurmountable barriers in the northern parts of their empires to defend their territory from invasion by other nomads.

The dynastic Great Walls built during the above 11 periods and comprising *Wanli Changcheng* as a series spans almost two thousand years of construction, from c. 300 B.C. to 1644 A.D. The component Walls are also separated by hundreds of kilometers from north to south, and possess different morphologies according to what building materials could be sourced or manufactured locally. They do have one major function in common. All were constructed as part of a strategy to defend Chinese land from nomadic incursions.

Each segment presents itself as very tangible evidence of a protracted and violent cultural conflict that raged between China and neighboring *mabei guojia*, or states on horseback. But was the sole purpose of each Great Wall military defense? They did have other important functions, a major one being communication of military information. But perhaps the psychological need for the Chinese to live behind walls is equally as important.

Origins: Early settlements in China developed along the middle reaches of the Yellow River Valley, the so-called "Cradle of Chinese Civilization", and possessed three functional characteristics: they provided shelter under roofs, sustenance with food production, and collective safety behind an encircling wall. The Chinese character for 'city' and 'wall' is one and the same pictograph 城 (*cheng*), stressing that in the Chinese mind a settlement was a safe place behind a wall, and a wall was a structure to safeguard a village, town or city.

The leap from construction of relatively short walls enclosing settlements to linear structures of several hundred kilometers in length running across open country was an enormous one, made possible by a technology breakthrough. Extraordinarily long walls of several hundred kilometers, some of them in whole or part made of stones - "hard walls" - only became feasible during the first century of the Iron Age, c. 500 B.C., with the emergence of many regional centers producing cast iron. This metallurgical breakthrough revolutionized the scale of wall building by making available large

quantities of iron tools. Placed in the hands of hundreds of thousands of laborers, axes to cut rock and shovels to move earth made it possible to build in a much quicker time.

The first new-scale defensive works were initiated by the kings of states who retained the paternal obligation to provide their populations with safety behind walls, whatever the investment in manpower. During the third century B.C at least seven *changcheng*, or long walls were constructed, three of which functioned as defenses against northern nomads. After the Qin unification in 221 B.C the three northern walls of the Zhao, Yan and Qin states were of continued use, although the gaps between them needed filling in. As for the others further south, now the heartland of the new empire, they were redundant barriers, but potentially useful installations to rebellious factions that might in future attempt to split the new empire. Hence they were dismantled.

Over the ensuing centuries a series of Great Walls were generally constructed when the empire was stable and unified. What can now be found marked on county maps within provincial atlases are pieces of the large jigsaw that have been easily identified by map-makers in the field. Personal field experience by Lindesay and others has shown that there are often remains of Great Walls unmarked on such maps. And only historical atlases attempt to show where Great Walls may once have been routed.

In recent years there has been some doubt cast on the continuity of Great Walls, even when they were functional at their zeniths. Concerning the *Ming Great Wall*, for example, did it actually stretch unbroken from desert to sea? Those for whom field work forms their primary resource in Great Wall Studies, will confirm that even 360 years after the abandonment of the Ming structure as a national defense, very long continuous sections remain to this day, such as rammed-earth Wall in Shandan, Gansu Province, and classic mountain Wall in Huairou in the Beijing Municipality or in Funing in Hebei Province.

Before the ravages of time came into play, unbroken sections would surely have been longer, and perhaps linked up to have been more continuous. It must be noted that once the *Ming Wall* was abandoned in 1644, as time progressed its crumbling and overgrown remains came to conflict more and more with contemporary life in a China of rapidly increasing population. As a utilitarian construction, unlike a religious, imperial or funerary building, it did not claim self-preservation. It ran through everyday life, crossing peoples' farmland, posing limitations on the growth of villages and towns, inevitably in the way of new roads, railways, power-lines and pipelines, and not least of all, presenting itself as an easily accessible quarry for the supply of high quality building materials.

Yet, given the piecemeal evolution of border defenses throughout the Ming Dynasty, it should be noted that even after 276 years of work, a solid shield never ran right across the northern frontier. One reason is the frontier that required defending was incredibly long, and the manpower effort required to barricade its full length was massive, even for a China whose population c. 1550 was in the order of 150 million, 0.7 percent of which may have been preoccupied annually with building border defenses. Construction in many places was still proceeding by the time of the dynasty's collapse.

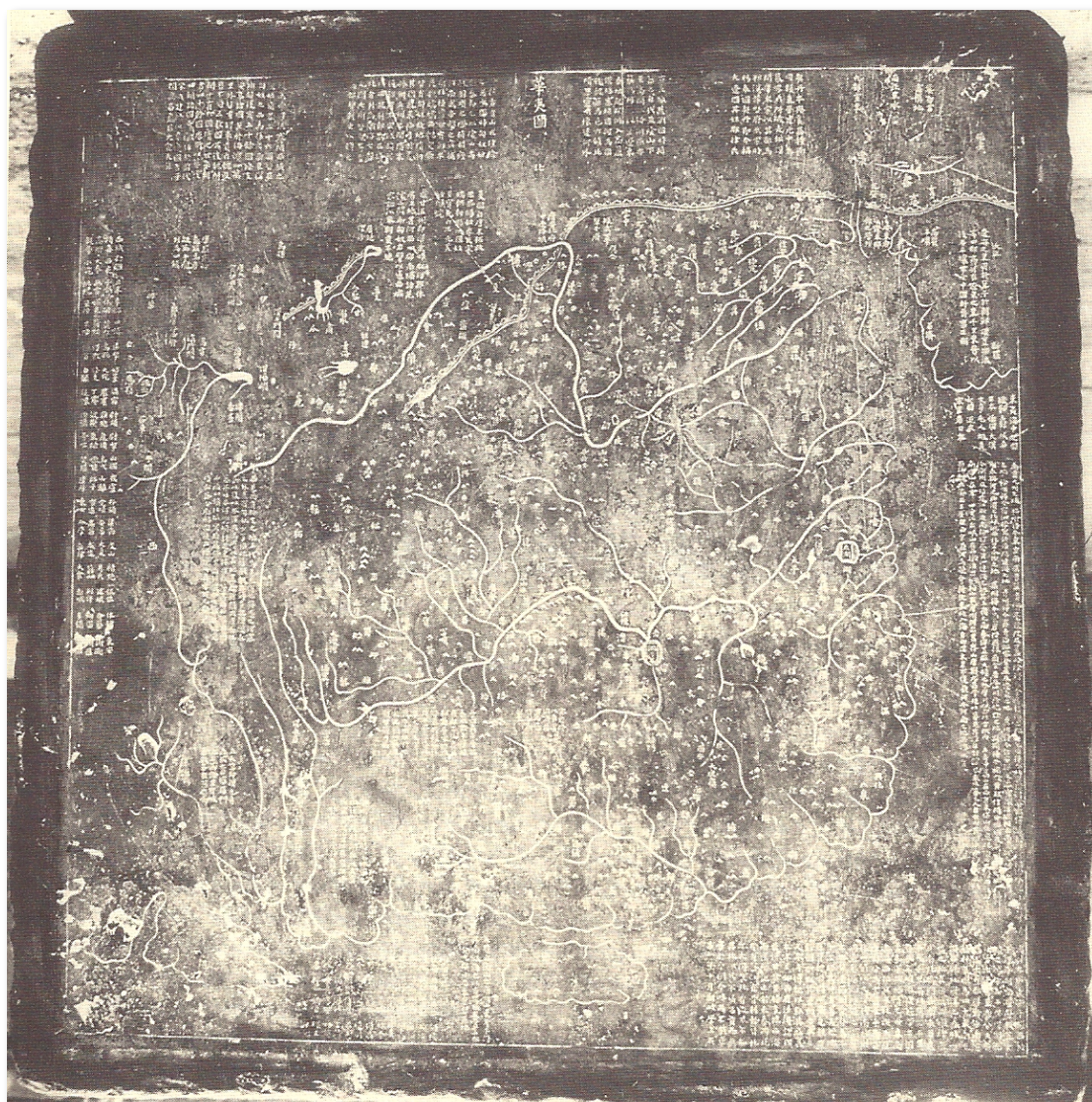
Early efforts had prioritized the defense of vulnerable locations - weaknesses in natural landscape defenses. By the late Ming dynasty, building had reached precipitous mountain terrain, by which time the principle logic of the defense plan to incorporate high mountain ranges had been achieved.

Forcing the enemy onto high ground that was impossible to advance over, adeptly including mountains as components of the defense layout, was an integral part

of the northern frontier strategy. The earliest map in the West to depict the Great Wall showed and described it blockading land 'between the banks of hills'. Maps produced as a result of Jesuit surveys also illustrated this strategy.

A further consideration on the question of the Great Wall's continuity that has gone unappreciated is that physically linked or not, the system overall was connected by the 'software' of the period, an advanced signaling system that enabled military information to be relayed by smoke, sound or flag-waving, from watchtower to watchtower, a distance of 1,000 km in 24 hours. This capability united the Ming Wall's commanders with the Ministry of War and imperial court in Beijing.

The following are some other early maps that displayed the Great Wall of China. The numbers (#) referenced herein indicate detailed monographs relating to that map on my website (see www.myoldmaps.com).



Huayi tu [Map of Chinese and Non-Chinese Territories], 1137. (#218)

Measuring 1137 X 79 cm, this map is carved on the same stele reproduced in Yuji tu. This map is carved on the same stele. Because the maps are placed in opposite directions on the stone, this

particular stele was most likely to have been used to produce rubbings and was not for public display. Based upon Jia Dan's Map of Chinese and Non-Chinese Territories within the Seas of 801, it shows the main natural and administrative features of the Chinese Empire up to the 1120s. The texts arranged around the edges of the graphic part of the map provide quotations from historical and other sources and briefly explain the meaning and history of essential markers such as the Great Wall, the size of the empire, and the states to the west.



Detail of the showing the region northwest of the Tang capital Chang'an (lower right). This is the region that extended into the territory of the Uighers and was the focus of Yuan Zhen's tujing as submitted to Emperor Muzong tracing out the itinerary of Princess Taihe. (#218)



Huang Mingjiu bian kao: shijuan [jlu bian kao; jlu bian tu kao], 1529

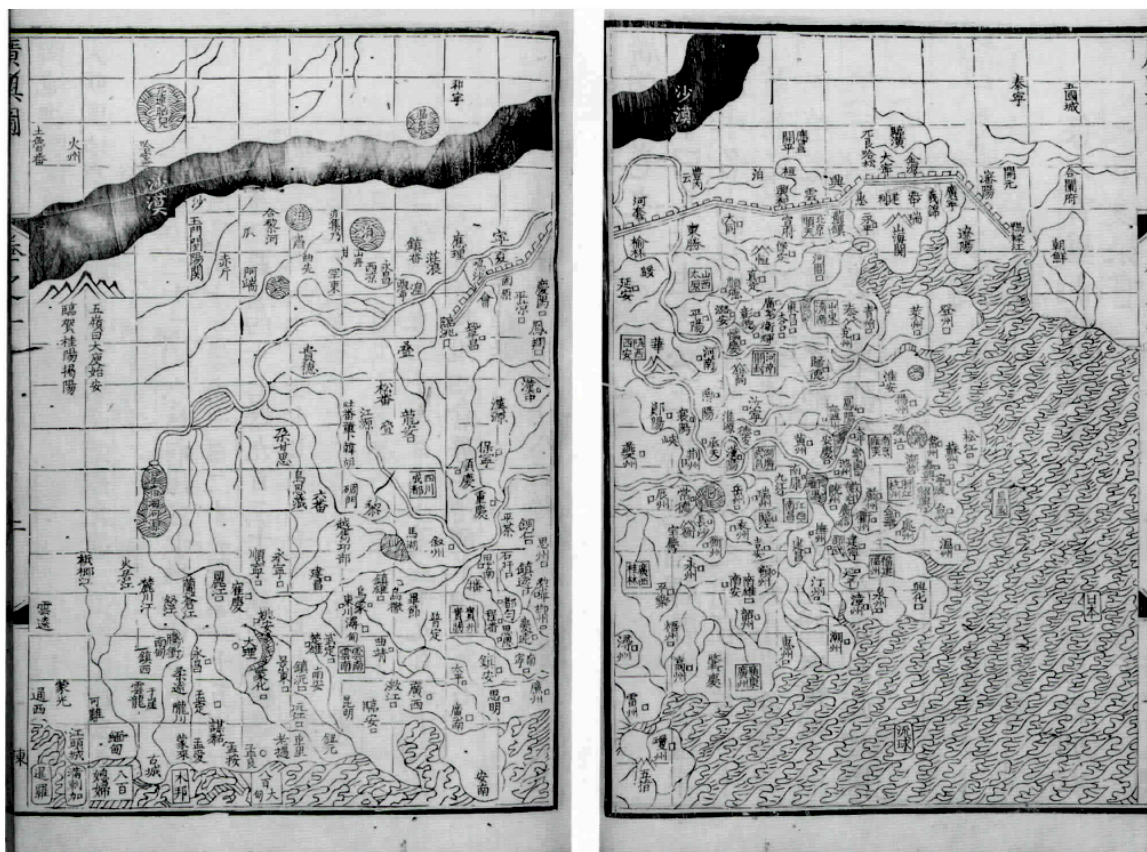






Ti Li chih T'u (#220)

The earliest printed map, surviving from China, depicting a portion of the western part of the country and showing part of the Great Wall, rivers, mountains, and settlements. It is assumed to have been made around A.D. 1155 so it predates the first printed European map by over three centuries. It is likely that earlier examples have not survived, since printing was invented in China in the eighth century A.D. and was used for scientific treatises in the following century. This early map which served as an illustration in an encyclopedia, is printed in black ink on paper (which had been invented in China in the second century A.D.), and it shows part of western China. In addition to settlements and rivers, a portion of the Great Wall is indicated at the north. This map has a north orientation that is, north is at the top of the map—which of course is now conventional in the West. The Chinese sometimes used orientations other than this, as did different peoples with whom they had contact. (For example, the Arabs, who settled on the coast of China before A.D. 750, characteristically made south-oriented maps.)

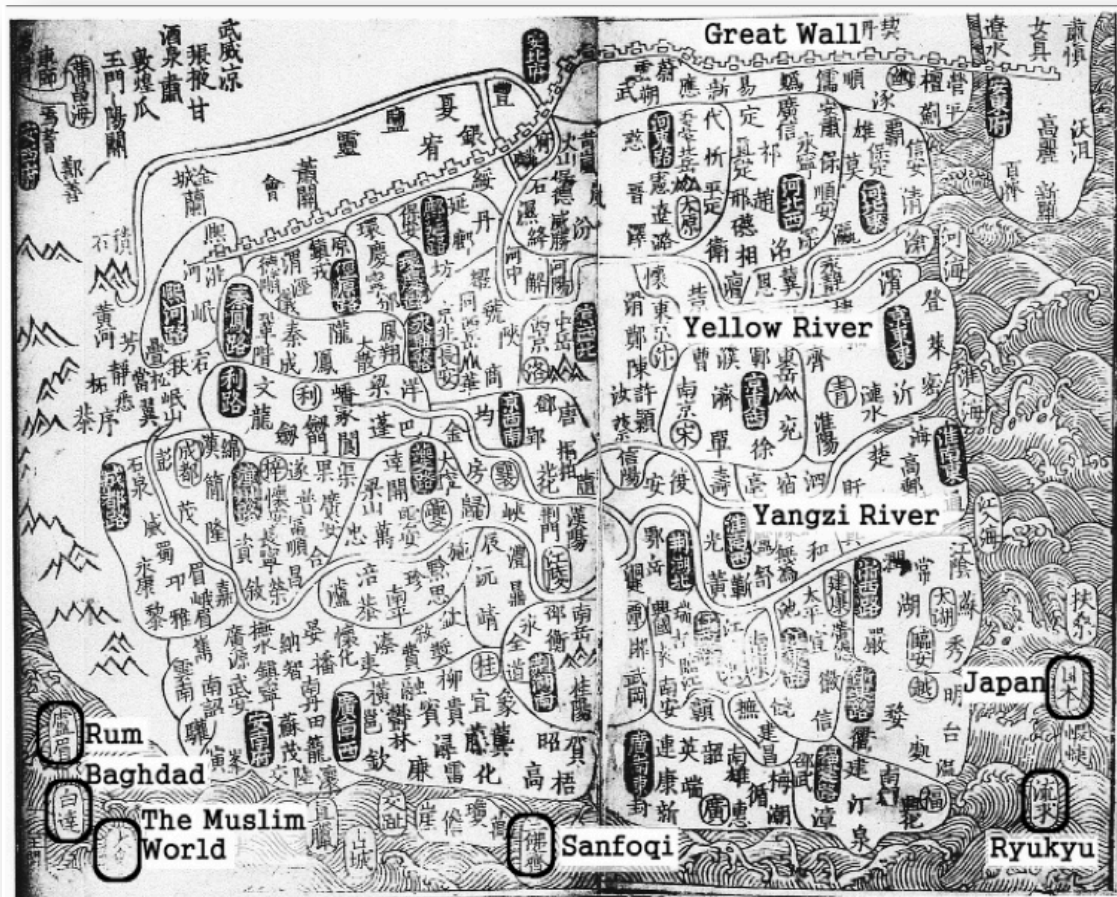


Luo Hongxian's General Map of China, the *Guang Yü T'u*, 1320/1579; 28.5cm; x 41cm (British Library, London, 15261.e.2, 1b-2a). (#227)

Based on Map of China by Zhu Siben of Yuan Dynasty, the map was completed by Luo Hongxian around 1541 (the 11th year of Jiajing's reign of Ming Dynasty), who had spent more than ten years on mapping. According to the accompanying text, this general map of the empire is drawn so that each side of a square represents one hundred li [~ 33 miles]. The whole map contains two volumes, including 45 maps and 68 attached maps, 113 maps in all are characterized by careful and neat painting and delicate carving, and the map was the first one to adopt the 24 kinds of map codes, a part of which had been abstract. The map was in the form of atlas, with abundant information, which was not only practical and scientific but easy to be preserved, so it was copied six times. Therefore, parts of the lost Map of China were able to be preserved in it. What's more, it became the master copy, based on which many traditional maps since Ming and Qing Dynasties were drawn, for it was accurate and easy to obtain. The atlas contains one key map; detail maps including map of Northern Zhili, map of Zhisu in Henan, map of Shanxi, map of Shaanxi, map of Henan, map of Jiangxi, map of Hubei and Hunan, map of Sichuan, map of Fujian, map of Guangdong, map of Guangxi, map of Yunnan, map of Guizhou, map of frontiers in Liao and Song Dynasties, map of frontiers of Jizhou (ancient Ji Prefecture), map of frontiers of Juyong Pass, Zijing Pass and Daoma Pass, map of frontiers of Xuanfu, the strategic post, map of frontiers of Datong and Yanmen Pass, Ningwu Pass, and Piantou Pass, map of frontiers of Gulan in Ningxia, map of frontiers of Shandan in Gansu and map of frontiers of the Taohe River, 24 detail maps in all, attached with descriptions illustrating military affairs, administrative offices, salt administrations and other record events.



Detail of the Great Wall



The "Geographic Map of the Land of China to the East", from Zhipan's General Records of the Founders of Buddhism, ca. 1270, Map 152. Zhipan, 32:51-6r



Ch'onhado [Map All Under Heaven], ca. 1860, ink on paper, 45 x 45, British Library, London (#231)



Detail: China, the Yellow River and the Great Wall. Since many of the locations on the map come from Classical Chinese texts, it is no surprise that China is shown in detail. It dominates the central continent, and is labeled in red Zhongguo [the Middle Kingdom]. To the north, the Great Wall is shown bisecting the Yellow River, which is colored appropriately. A series of mountains are drawn, variously labeled as “Everlasting”, “Great” and “Kunlun”. This last range mixes reality with myth, since the Kunlun mountains, one of the longest mountain ranges in Asia, run across northern China, and as the home of various ancient gods.



Yojido Atlas, China, 32.4 x 26.8 cm, 1789?, Library of Congress (#231)



Japanese map entitled "Daimin Kyuhen Bankoku Jinseki Rotei Zenzu"

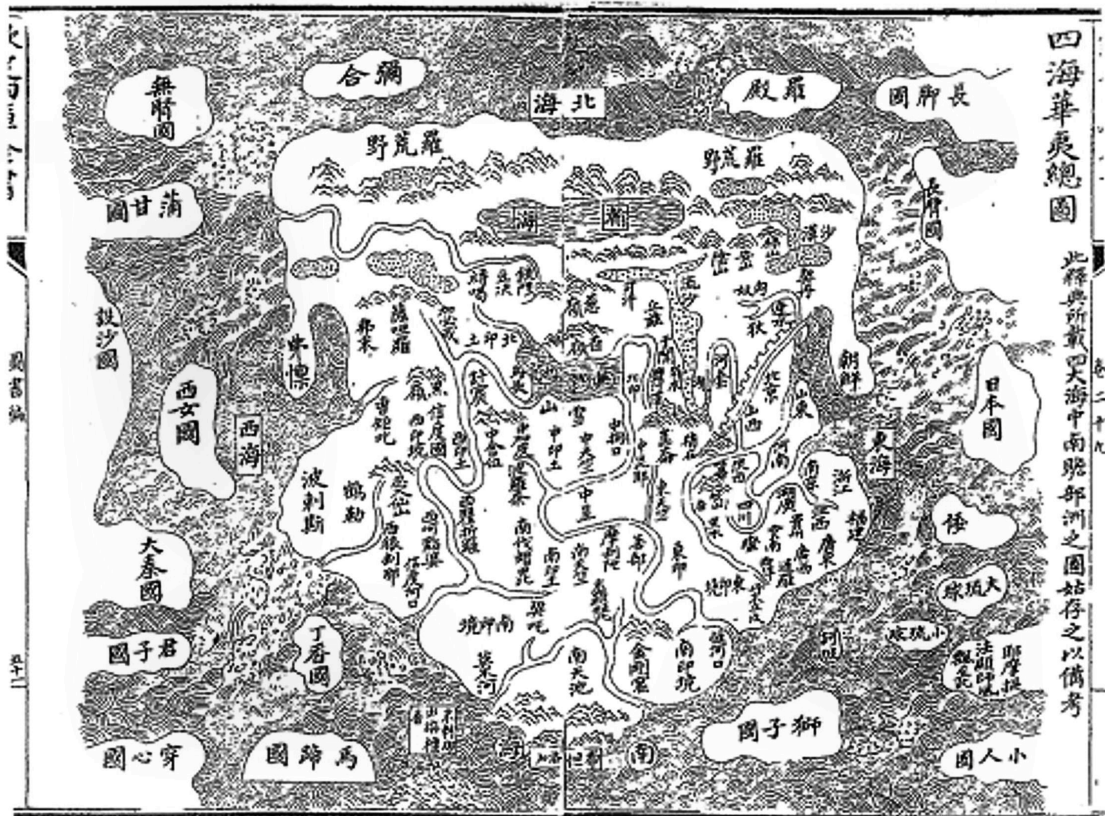
[The whole map of the great Ming Dynasty China, and its nine border lands (Chinese title)],

Wang Jun Fu and Unemura Yahaku, Kyoto, 1645, 123.9 x 123 cm, British Library

Hand-colored woodcut map of China and the World, printed on multiple sheets and folding into later orange-papery covers decorated in lotus flower designs. The texts taken from the Chinese original are particularly interesting: the legend on the right gives details of the 29 strategic border crossings, and that on the left describes 33 foreign countries, with the European and African place names taken from Jesuit sources such as Ricci's 1602 map. Other texts cover details of the 13 provinces with details on population, taxation, and commodities (#231.1)

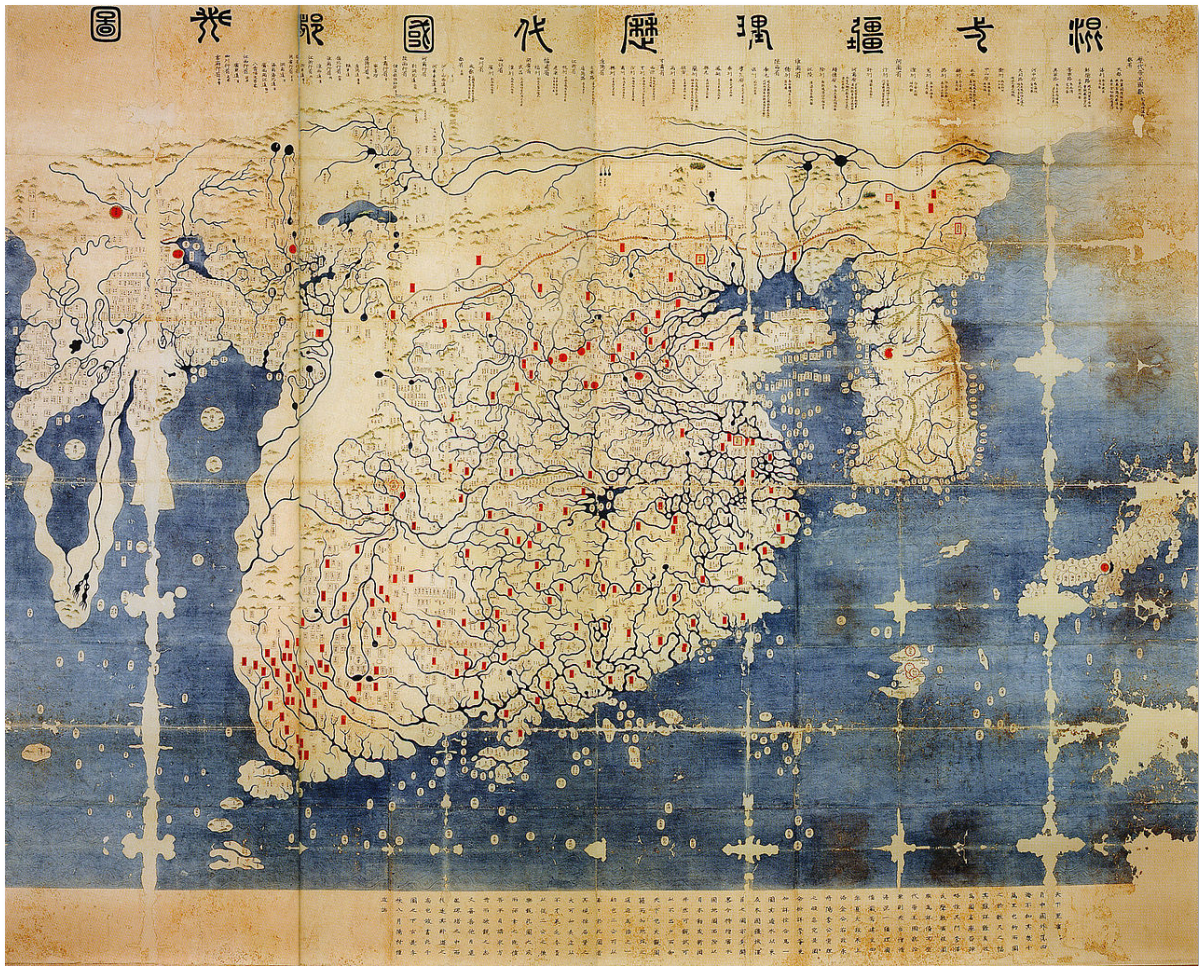


Detail of the Great Wall



The Sihai Huayi Zongtu [General Map of Chinese and Non-Chinese Territories within the Four seas], in Compilation of Illustrations and Writings by Zhang Huang during the Ming Dynasty, dated 1532,

The map displays the various locations of China, Korea (朝鮮) and Japan (日本國) in the East, Siberia in the North (羅荒野), Nepal (天竺) and a vast India (印度) in the South, Persia in the West (波刺斯, modern 波斯), and Rome (Daqin, 大秦) beyond the Western Sea (西海). (#231.1)



The Hunil Gangni Yeokdae Gukdo Ji Do ("Map of Integrated Lands and Regions of Historical Countries and Capitals." [1]), often abbreviated as Kangnido, is a world map created in Korea, produced by Yi Hoe and Kwon Kun in 1402 (#236)



Detail of the Great Wall



Complete Map of the Nine Border Towns of the Great Ming and of the Human Presence and Travel Routes of the Ten Thousand Countries. / 大明九邊萬國人跡路程全圖 /

Dà míng jiǔ biān wànguó rén jì lùchéng quán tú.

1663 / 1680 (dated), 54 x 49 in (137.16 x 124.46 cm)

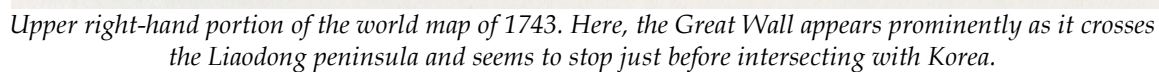
A rare 1663 (Kangxi 2) xylographic map of Ming China, and indeed the entire world, by Wáng Jūnfū issued during the reign of the Kangxi Emperor (1661 – 1722). This massively proportioned map focuses on China, which, bounded on the north by the Great Wall of China, on the west by the Yellow River, and on the east and south by oceans, occupies some three fourths of the map. As is characteristic of most Chinese world maps, the less detailed surrounding regions illustrate the rest of the world, but on a much reduced and often hard to interpret scale. This world map's focus on China to the diminishment of all other lands is neatly summed up by the 17th century Chinese cartographer Chen Zushou (#236)



Detail of the Great Wall



An untitled world map of 1743. This anonymous map is a particularly beautiful example of Song-style cartography in the tradition of the *Huayi tu* from the Oriental and India Office, British Library.





Upper left-hand portion of the world map of 1743. Most of this corner of the map identifies Chinese territory historically associated with the 'Western Regions'. The Jade Gate Pass appears prominently in the middle, well above the end of the Great Wall. The 'Great Western Ocean [Country]', usually identified with Italy and/or Portugal, is represented by a small square off the western coast.



'Plan de Long-Men-Hien, près de la grande Muraille, dépendant de Suen-hoa-fu; Plan d'une Partie de la Grande Muraille, du costé de Yung-ping-fu, Soutenue par diverses Places de Guerre [Plan of Longguan, near the Great Wall, depending on Xuanhua; Plan of a part of the Great Wall, Lulong county (Yongping), protected by several forts]', J.N. Bellin, 1748



Asia Cum Omnibus Imperiis Provinciis Statibus et Insulis iuxta Observationes Recentissimas et Accuratissimas Correcte et Adornata, 1783



The Great Wall on the 1587 world map by Urbano Monte (#420)



Chinae olim Sinarum regionis, nova descriptio, 1584, Abraham Ortelius/Ludovico Georgio, oriented with west at the top (#410)

In the early 1580s, an illustrated manuscript was delivered to the Antwerp atelier of the renowned cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1527-98). According to the manuscript's purveyor, Arius Montanus, a Benedictine monk and one of the cartographer's most trusted informants, the document had come from Luis Jorge de Barbuda, a brother in the Society of Jesus and a prominent Portuguese geographer. On the chart, Barbuda had summarized collected hearsay and observations made by Jesuit missionaries in the Far East since the establishment of Portugal's trading post at Macao in 1557.

Chinae, olim Sinarum regionis descriptio [Description of China, Formerly Sinarum], the first published Western map of China to clearly show the Great Wall: a hand colored copperplate engraving by Abraham Ortelius, 37 x 47 cm, Latin edition, printed in Antwerp in 1584. The map is oriented with Occidens, west at top to fit the atlas format of the *Theatrum*. Ortelius included a re-drawn version of the chart - the first map of China published and offered for sale to the public - in the 1584 edition of his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, or Theatre of the Whole World. Regarded as the world's first atlas, the map of China printed on page 117 of the mighty tome provided European royal families, its nobility, literati, scholars and would-be explorers with a tantalizing glimpse of a bizarre structure. It was drawn as a segmented rampart blockading land between mountain ranges and crowned with five turrets, beside which to the south was an inscription in Latin:

Murus quadringentarum leucarum, inter montium crepidines a rege Chine contra Tartarorum ad hac parte eruptionis, extractus [A Wall of four hundred leagues, between the banks of the hills, built by the king of China against the breaking in of Tartars on this side].



Detail: the Great Wall

There is no record of the reaction that this reference to the Wall stirred among the learned men of Europe at the time, perhaps because the *Theatrum*, a radical summary of the latest geographical knowledge in an ongoing age of discovery, was a book of the credible and incredible. Some maps featured saurian monsters lurking in the seas, while the land of China was defended by something that surely to many map readers may have been just as farfetched: a Wall with a purported length of 1,200 English miles.

The significance of the cartographic debut of the Great Wall of China on a map published in Europe cannot be over-emphasized: it marked the arrival of the structure's attributes on the other side of the world. It was, however, set for much greater fame. In 1590 the scale of the Wall described on Ortelius' map convinced the Venetian cartographer Giacomo Gastaldi that he should mark it on his new map of the world. By doing so, Gastaldi elevated the status of the structure from mere building and landmark to the earth's largest and most geographically-striking man-made feature.

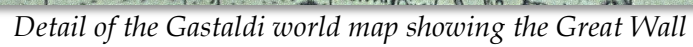
Belief in the now world-famous structure was soon to be reinforced by further reference and reliable scientific survey. The most prominent of Jesuit missionaries, Matteo Ricci (1552-1610, *see monograph #441*) spent half his life in China, from 1583 onwards, recording his experiences there in journals only discovered after his burial in Peking, where he resided from 1601. In describing the name, location and extent of the Chinese Empire he wrote: '*China extends to 42 degrees north latitude, to the great northern wall, which the Chinese built to divide their territory from Tartary, and which serves as a defense against the incursions of those peoples*'. He elaborated that the empire is '*well protected on all sides, by defenses supplied by both nature and science*'. Writing of the north he noted '*precipitous hills are joined by an unbroken line of defense that is a tremendous wall, four hundred and five leagues in length*'.

Ricci's statements are believed to have been based on his familiarity with Chinese-made maps that, over the centuries of course, had always included the empire's border defenses. A particularly influential map in the late-Ming period was produced by Luo Hongxiang in the *Guang Yitu*, or *Enlarged Terrestrial Atlas* (*see p. 23 herein*). It may have provided the basis for a manuscript map that Ricci produced, which was carried back to Europe on his behalf and eventually used there as template for improved maps of China.



Nova Totius Orbis Descriptio, [A New Description of the Entire World], the earliest-known world map to denote the Great Wall, drawn c. 1590 by Giacomo Gastaldi, cosmographer to the Republic of Venice, and thought to have been printed in Antwerp. The map, which is unique and perhaps a proof copy that was never published, measures 81 x 48 cm, shows recent maritime explorations, specifically the circumnavigation by Sir Francis Drake between 1577 and 1580.

Curiously it lacks any annotation, on the map itself or in the margins, to explain the Wall symbol. Within a decade other leading cartographers including Petrus Plancius, Jodocus Hondius and Willem Blaeu began to incorporate symbols for the Great Wall on their maps of the world, and by the early 17th century it had become a standard world cartographic feature.





Tartary, 1626, John Speed

Speed's map includes a decorative *carte à figures*. Side panels depict costume figures, while above are vignettes of the cities of Astrakhan, Samarkand and Cambalu, with an illustration of a house in Nova Zembla. The Great Wall of China is clearly seen, and the interior is heavily annotated.



Detail of the Great Wall with the notation:

"A wall of 400 leagues, built between the toms of the nounteins by the King of China against the incursions of the Tartars"



Mercator's China, 1628 (#410)



Detail: the Great Wall



Tartaria, Jodocius Hondius (#442.2)



Detail showing a great deal of similarity in text and graphics among the previous examples



Cornelius de Jode's China, 1593, 14.25 x 17.75 inches (#410)

De Jode's map of China is the third western map of China, based on the Barbuda model, but recast in a north-south orientation. The map coverage has been shifted north to show north-eastern Tartary and inner Asia, presumably also derived from Jesuit sources, although de Jode also acknowledges Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza and Giovanni Pietro de Maffei as sources for the map. The central circle encloses a map of China, Northeast Asia and parts of western Japan including Kyushu, Shikoku, and most of mainland Honshu. The emergent shape of the Korean peninsula and Gulf of Pecheli (Bohai) are firsts on a European map. The map shows an oversized representation of the Pearl River Estuary (perhaps reflecting its importance in trade).

Overall, the cartography of the Pearl River Estuary is unusually well detailed: Guangzhou, Macau, Sancian (Shangquan Dao near Taishan in Guangdong) and other places are identified. The elaborate strap-work border has four round insets showing European visions of Chinese and Japanese scenes: fish-catching cormorants; a Chinese junk with a chimney-topped cabin and fenced in area on the side of the vessel sheltering domestic birds and fowl; a Japanese worshipping a triple-headed deity; and the famous wind carts depicted on many early European maps of the region including those of Hondius and Speed. The illustrations on De Jode's map pre-date the famous illustrations found in Theodore de Bry's *Grands et Petits Voyages* and most likely derive from contemporary Jesuit reports. They provide some of the earliest detailed Western illustrations of any aspect of Chinese and Japanese life. The map also includes a nice treatment of the northern parts of India, including an early and relatively detailed depiction of the complicated and still

quite poorly understood Ganges River and its tributaries. There is also an interesting thematic treatment of the nomadic Tartar Tribes of Asiatic Russia, along with an open and inviting area to the north, showing the easternmost portion of the Northeast Passage, which would in the next several years be explored by Willem Barrentsz and others after him. This map appeared only in the second edition of De Jode's *Speculum Orbis Terrae*, with two pages of Latin text describing China printed on the verso.



Detail of the Great Wall on Gerard de Jode's 1593 map of Asia

This map of Asia, 'Largest of the World's Parts,' comes from the atlas of Gerard de Jode and his son Cornelis: *Speculum Orbis Terrae*, or *Mirror Of the World* (Antwerp, 1593). It was a second, enlarged edition of Gerard de Jode's *Speculum Orbis Terrarum* of 1578. Gerard relied on his friend Ortelius for his representation of China, as Ortelius had relied in his *Theatrum* of 1584 on the Portuguese cartographer Luiz Jorge de Barbuda. Japan resembles the 1573 chart of Fernao Vaz Dourado: Korea seems to be missing. The Barbuda-Ortelius lakes and rivers are there, and the Great Wall of China, put up by the 'King of China against the attacks of the Tartars.' According to the map, it stretched for a distance of 400 'li,' or 140 miles-about a tenth of the actual distance. Perhaps the legend should read '4000 li,' but right or wrong, Barbuda, like Matteo Ricci, had access to maps produced by the Chinese. China's own maps-put her at the center of the world and relegated 'barbarians' to the edges.

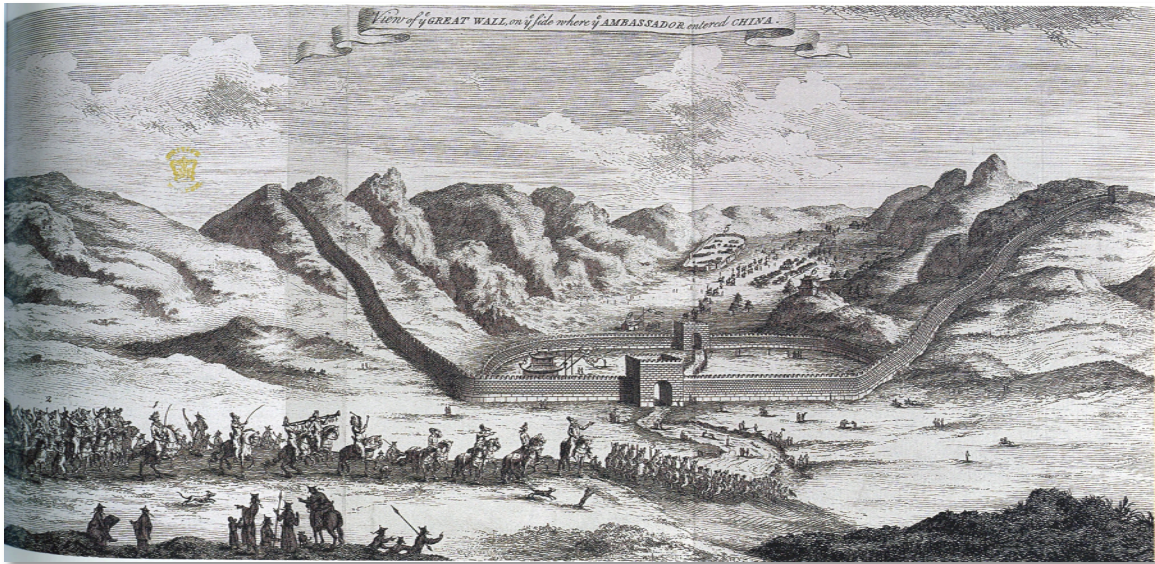


The Great Wall on Giuseppe Rosaccio's 1597 world map (#475)

Today the name of *Cathay* instinctively brings China to mind, but to a 16th century European geographer the words were by no means synonymous. *Cathay*, derived from *Khitai*, an ethnic group that had dominated northeastern China in the 10th century, had permeated European literature since the Middle Ages and had been used by Marco Polo to signify China north of the Yangtze. But the first European voyagers landed in the southern ports, Macau and Canton, where the name of *Cathay* and its capital 'Cambaluc' would have meant little. Matteo Ricci (#441), who resided in Beijing from 1601, believed that *Cathay* and China, Beijing and *Cambaluc*, were one, but court customs reported by Polo differed widely from those observed by Ricci. Furthermore, Islamic travelers suggested that *Cathay* lay directly northeast of India and was peopled with Christians, of which Ricci found none. So to settle the matter, and hopefully to bring the lost Christians of mystic *Cathay* into the Catholic fold, the Jesuit fathers at Goa decided that an expedition should be mounted. For the task they selected Bento de Góis, a lay brother, born in the Azores, who spoke fluent Persian.

Góis set out from Agra in October 1602 disguised as an Armenian Christian merchant named Abdullah Isai, and at Lahore joined a massive caravan heading north. After eight months in Kabul the caravan proceeded through precipitous, bandit-infested gorges and across the frozen wastes of the Hindu Kush, finally descending in November 1603 to *Yarkand* (now Shache), the dominant trading centre on the Silk Road. Here Góis conversed with a captured Tibetan 'king', and noted enthusiastically that Tibet appeared to practice a variant of Christianity. In the autumn of 1604 the caravan moved out again, crossing the Taklamakan Desert and following the northern Silk Road through Kuqa and Hami. By the time Góis entered China at *Suchow* (now Jiuquan) in December 1605, he had concluded that the *Cambaluc* he sought was in fact Beijing, and that his Islamic informants in Goa, noting superficial resemblances, had confused Christianity with Buddhism. Góis wrote to Ricci in Beijing, but wearied by his ordeal he died in Suchow

in April 1607 shortly after the arrival of Ricci's emissary. Góis' all-important diary was returned to Ricci, who wrote to the fathers in India that the journey had proved beyond doubt that *Cathay* and China were one and the same.



An early European engraving of the Great Wall



The Great Wall on the Seldon map of 1619 (#490.2)



The Great Wall by Zhou Yousheng in the Yu di zong tu Atlas

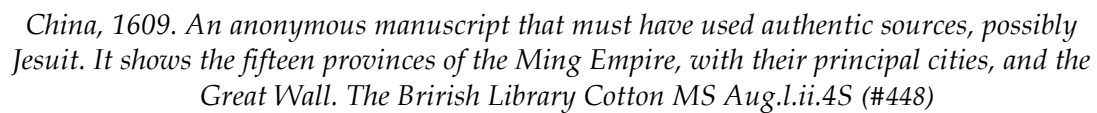
The author of this work is unknown. The name of the person who copied the manuscript appear, at the end of the work, signed Zhou Yousheng. Some have attributed authorship to Ai Nanying (1583- 1646), a late-Ming essayist and literary critic, who wrote a work entitled Yu Gong ru zhu (Explanatory text to the map of the Yu Gong), the central concept of which was the traditional Chinese view on geography. According to that view, Yu of the Xia dynasty (circa 2070-1600 BC)

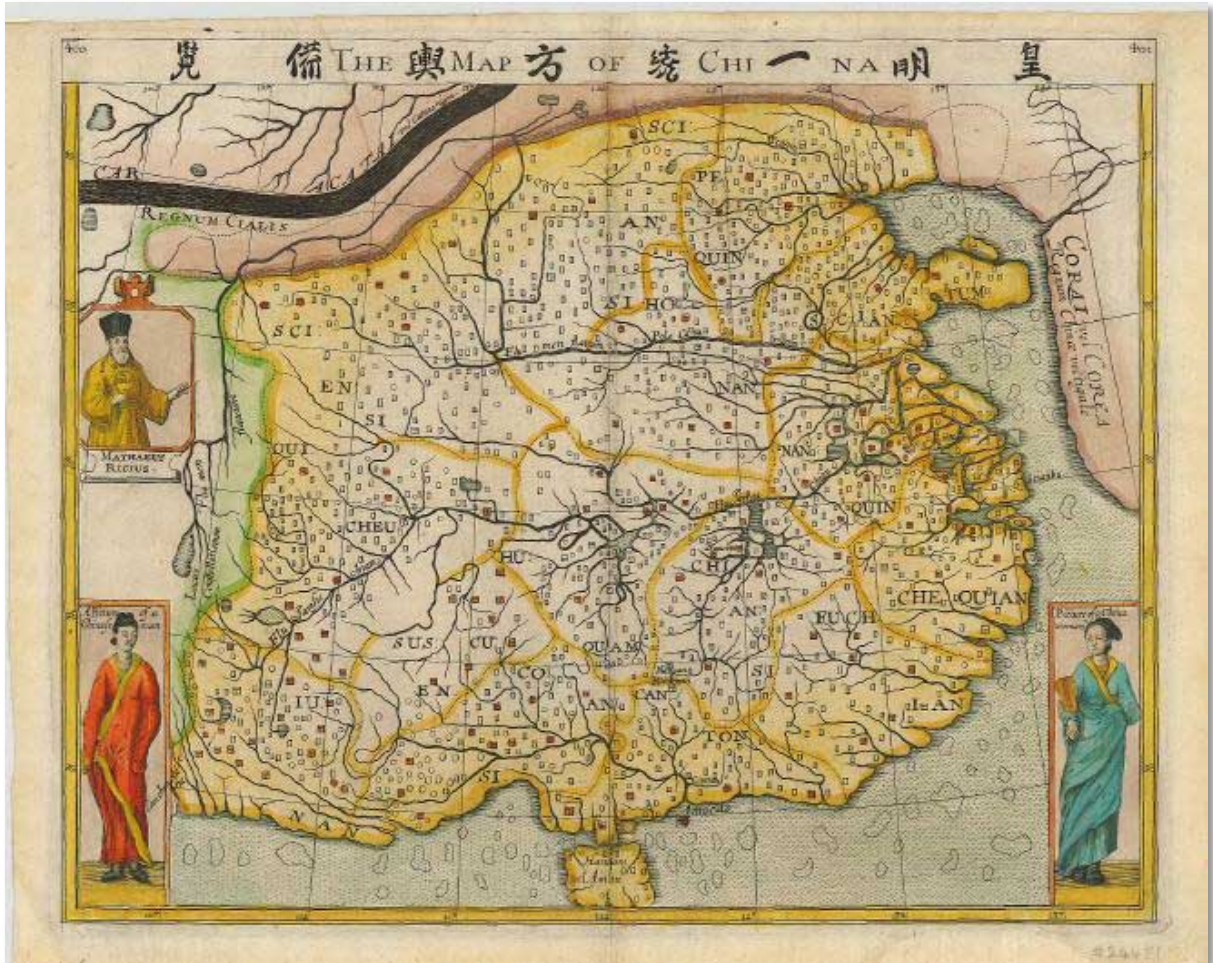
divided the Middle Kingdom into nine provinces in five zones. The identical title notwithstanding, this work is more likely a supplement to the important atlas Guang yu tu (Enlarged terrestrial atlas. See #227), written by the famous Ming dynasty geographer and literary writer Luo Hongxian (1504- 54), who acquired and used a work of the Yuan-dynasty geographer Zhu Siben (1273 ·1333).



Da Qing yi tong quant u, 19th century







The Map of China. 1625, Samuel Purchas (#462)

This map, *Huang Ming yitong fang yu bei lan* [Comprehensive view map of the Imperial Ming], is incorporated as part of Purchas his *Pilgrimes*, a collection of travel writings, based on the work of the famous geographer, Richard Hakluyt (1552-1616). The Purchas map of China is widely regarded as the first map of China published in the West to have been derived directly from Chinese sources. It is based upon a Chinese woodblock sheet map, which had been acquired by Captain John Saris in Bantam sometime between December 1608 and October 1609. It is possible that this Chinese map was the 1593 "Cao Map", of which there is now only one recorded example. Squares and circles depict cities and settlements. The provinces of China are marked and boundaries shown, for perhaps the first time on a Western map. Note that Macau and Canton (Guangzhou) are both named. The vignettes in the corners depict Matteo Ricci (#441) and a Chinese couple. A predominate display of the Great Wall stretches across the northern border.



The Chung kuo t'u [Map of the Middle Kingdom], 1653, Michael Boym (#462.1)



Detail of the Great Wall



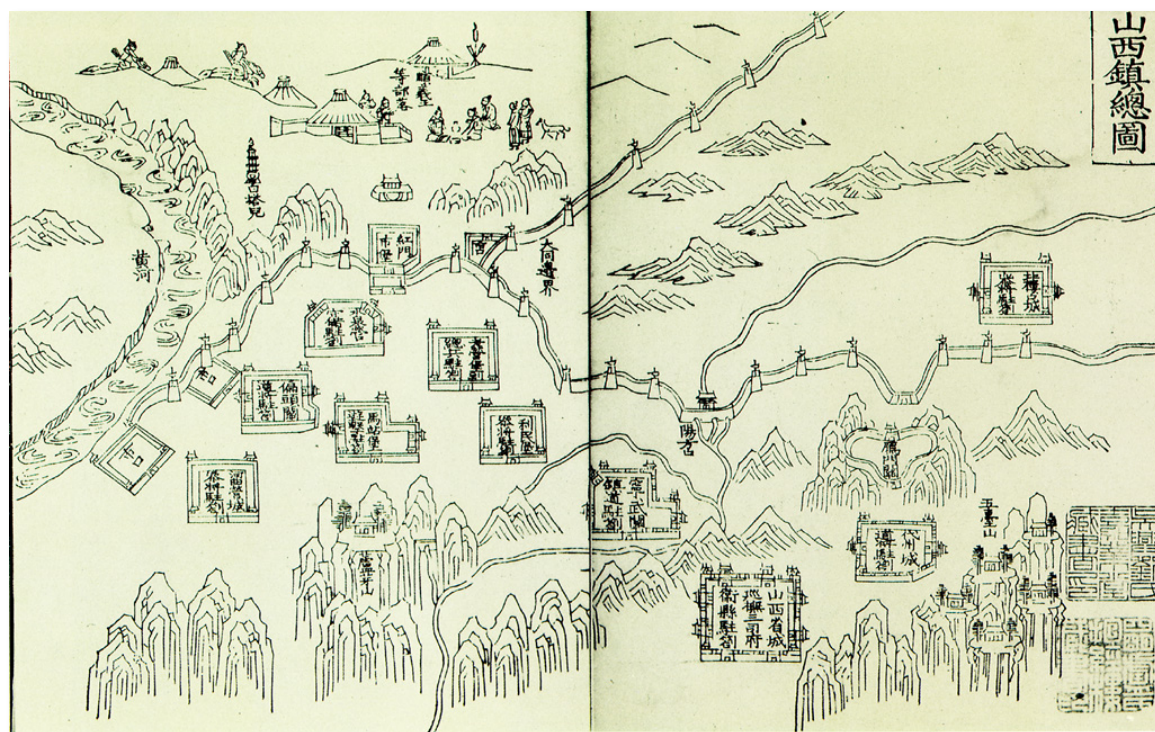
China, John Speed. 1626 (#464)

The Kingdome of China, one of the first English-language maps of China. Note generally correct outline of the Ming China, with many provinces labeled (*Cantam*/Guangdong, *Quancii*/Guangxi, *Chequiam*/Zhejiang, *Quicheu*/Guizhou, *Fuquam*/en:Huguang/*Huguang*, *Honao*/Henan, *Xanton*/Shandong, *Xiamxii* and *Sancii* (Shanxi and Shaanxi?).

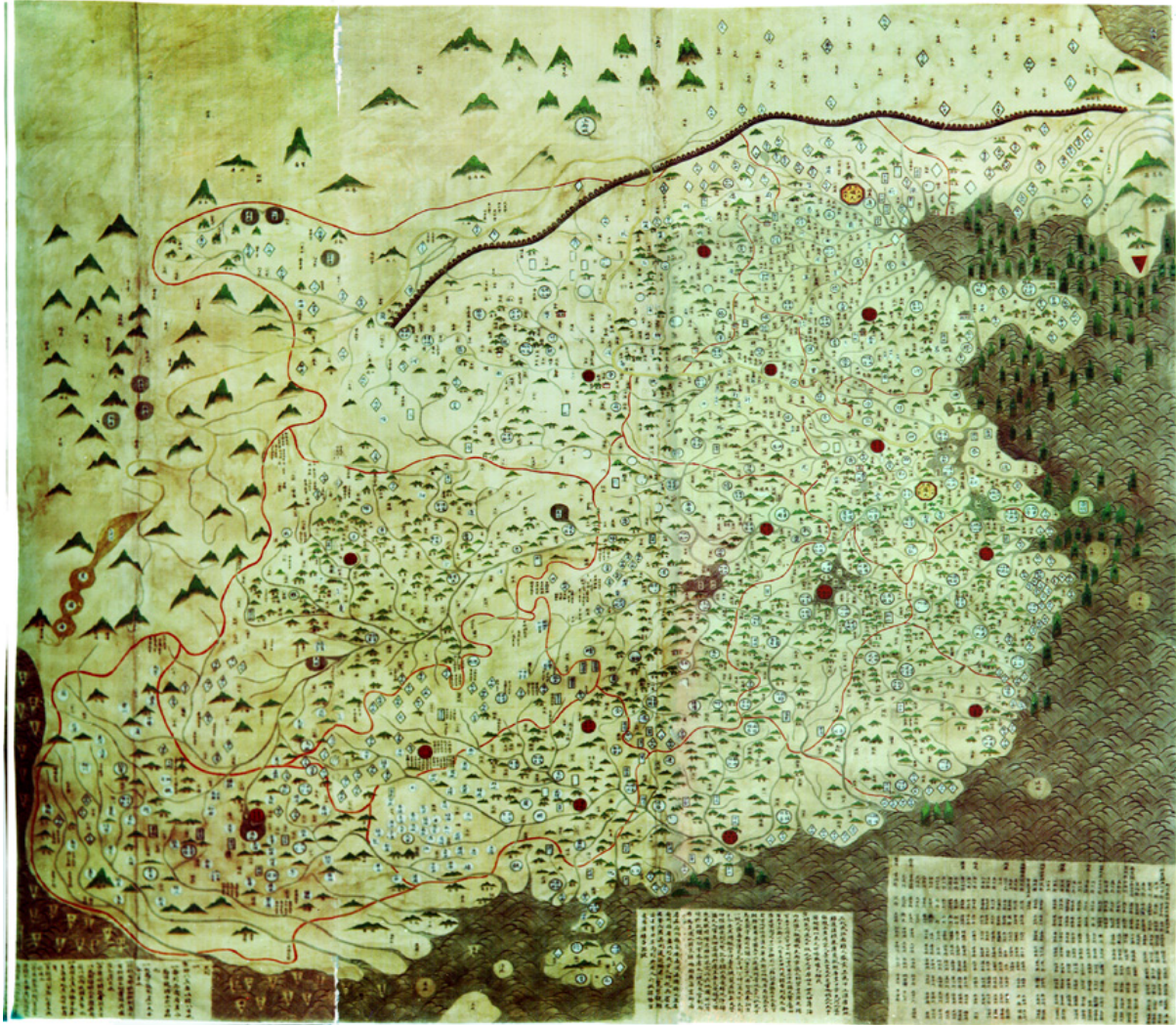
"Xuntien alias Quinzay" more or less corresponds to Beijing (the name Shuntian Prefecture was indeed in use). However, north of China proper, John Speed had also placed *Cathaya*, the *Chief Kingdome of Great Cam*, with the capital *Cambalu* (Khanbaliq - i.e., in fact, the same Beijing). This kind of duplication was common on the maps of the period, as geographers had not apparently yet fully identified Marco Polo's *Cathay* with the China then known to Europeans, and *Cambalu* with Beijing. The Great Wall is depicted on the map, along with several annotations. Korea is shown as an Island. Japan is also shown using a very curious depiction. The map includes a portion of India within the Ganges region, extending well into Central Asia. In addition to the wonderful views showing a sailing land craft, manner of execution and city views of Macao and Quinzay and the costumed figures of Chinese, Japanese and Pegu men and women, there are interesting notes throughout the map on various historical and mythical aspects of China, including a region where men are seduced by wonderful illusions and dirt is spun into cloth.



Detail: the Great Wall



General map of Shanxi Town with the intersection of two sections of the Great Wall



Map of Yangzi Qiyu. Here the Great Wall is very prominent and stretches in a general path across China. This map details the administrative areas of the whole country under the jurisdiction of the Ming Dynasty. Provincial administrative boundaries are drawn with prominent red lines. The residential land uses standardized graphic symbols, and the features and landscapes are represented by the image writing method. It is an earlier existing picture with rich content and detailed administrative district names in China. It is a Ming Dynasty representative map.



Liang Zhou's *Qiankun wanguo quantu gujin renwu shiji* [Universal Map of the Myriad Countries of the World, with Traces of Human Events, Past and Present] c. 1600. Where the Great Wall extends across the top of the map.



The Great Wall on João Teixeira Albernás' map of the Pacific Ocean 1679



Asiae Nova Delineatio, 1657, Nicolas Visscher

Japan and Hokkaido (Yedso) are mapped according to the 1643 discoveries of Dutchmen Maerten de Vries and Cornelis Jansz Coen, Vries and Coen were in search of gold and

The apocryphal *Lake of Chiamay* appears just north of the Bay of Bengal as the source of four important southeast Asian river systems including the Irrawaddy, the Dharla, the Chao Phraya, and the Brahmaputra. The curious *Lake of Chiamay* (also called *Chiam-may* or *Chian-may*), roughly located in the area of Assam but sometimes as far north as Tibet and China, began to appear in maps of this region as early as the 16th century and persisted well into the mid 18th century. Its origins are unknown but may originate in a lost 16th century geography prepared by the Portuguese scholar Jao de Barros. It was speculated to be the source of five important southeast Asian river systems and was mentioned in the journals of Sven Hedin. There are even records that the King of Siam led an invasionary force to take control of the lake in the 16th century. Nonetheless, the theory of *Lake Chiamay* was ultimately disproved, and it disappeared from maps entirely by the 1760s.

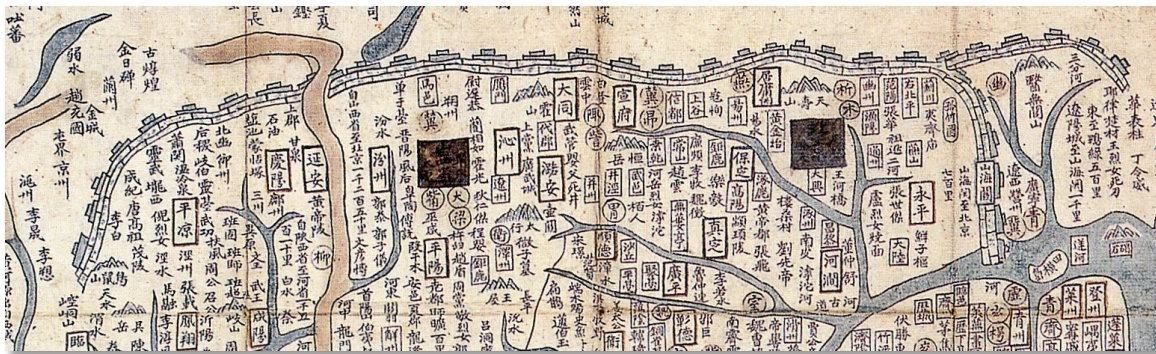


64



Ch'iinha kogum iaech'ong p'yol'am to: hand-copied in color; made by Kim Suhong in 1666; 110 x 77.5 cm; in the collection of Yi Ch'an., Kim Suhong's postscript and "Nojong ki" (Record of Distance) and the titles which are at the top of the original map are

omitted. On the woodcut version, the Korean peninsula is marked as "Chosen." In this version, however, it is indicated as "Kijaguk (Land of Kija)," and Mt. Halla of Cheju Island is added. The rivers and seas as a whole are colored in dark blue, and in a corner of the sea, it says "rnangmang daehae" (boundless ocean). Detail of the Great Wall on this map is shown below.



Pecheli, sive Peking Imperii Sinarum Provincia Prima, a hand colored copperplate engraving of a map of Peking and surroundings from the *Novus Atlas Sinesis* [New Atlas of China] by Martino Martini, 49 x 39 cm, printed 1655 in Amsterdam by Johannes Blaeu.



Asia, Overton, 1668 (#478.2)



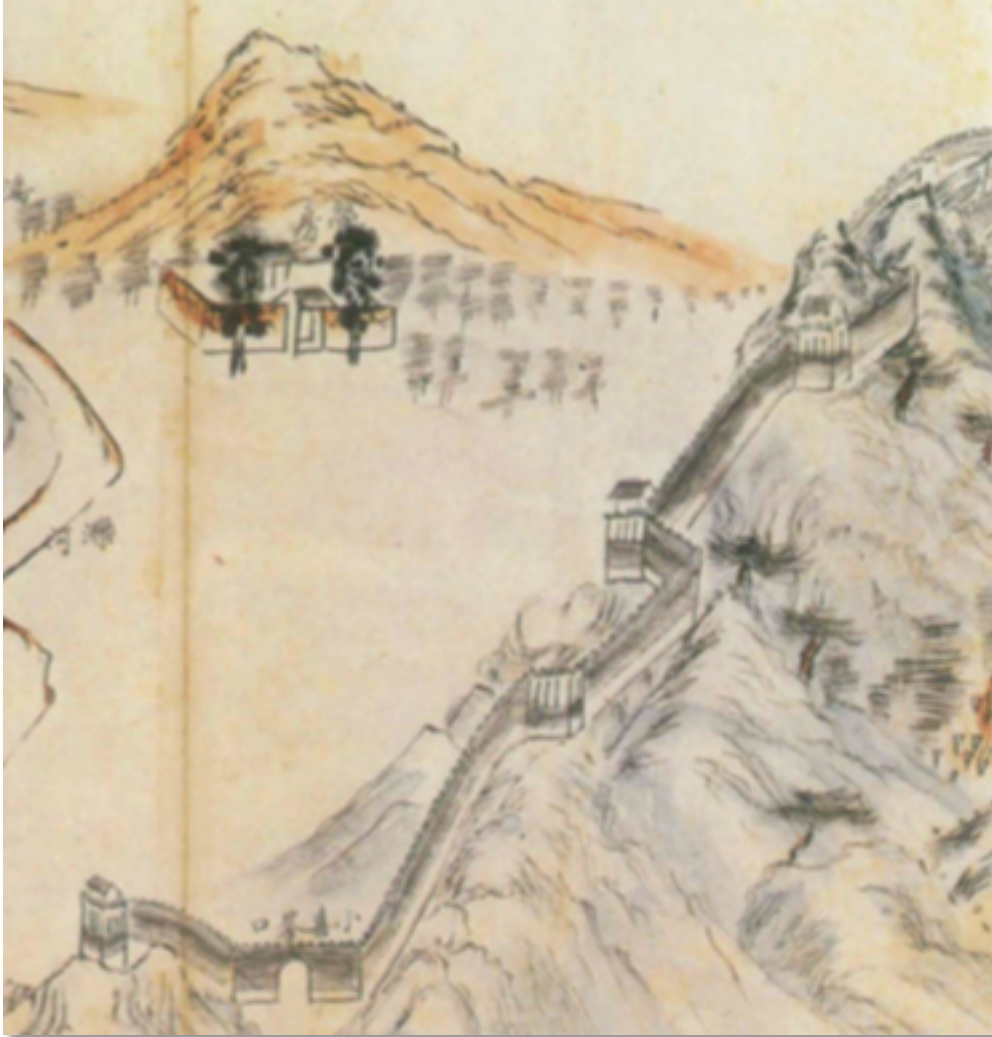
Detail: the Great Wall



Lidai-fenye-zhijie-Gujin-ren-wu-Shiji, 1679, Lu Junhan (#481.2) showcases Ming-dynasty China at the center and indicates its two imperial capitals of Beijing and Nanjing, thirteen provinces, the Great Wall, and significant mountains and rivers. On the map also the texts describe the relics of persons and events, past and present. The text at bottom of the map describes the two capitals and 13 provinces of the Ming dynasty including their names, numbers of families and population, the production of rice, wheat, raw and processed silk, cotton, copper, horse fodder and salt, etc., as well as the distances between provinces.



Lidai Fenyue Tu Gujin Renwu Tuji, 1679, Lu Junhan (#484.2)



Detail from an early 18th century map of the Great Wall representing the section extending from Shanhaiguan to Luowenyu (about 600 km)



The Great Wall on the 1706 world map by Joseph Da Costa e Miranda (#501)



Naukeurige Kaart van Tartaryen Soo als dat door W. de Rubruquis doorreyst is in 't Jaar 1253, Pierre vander Aa, 1707 (500.91)



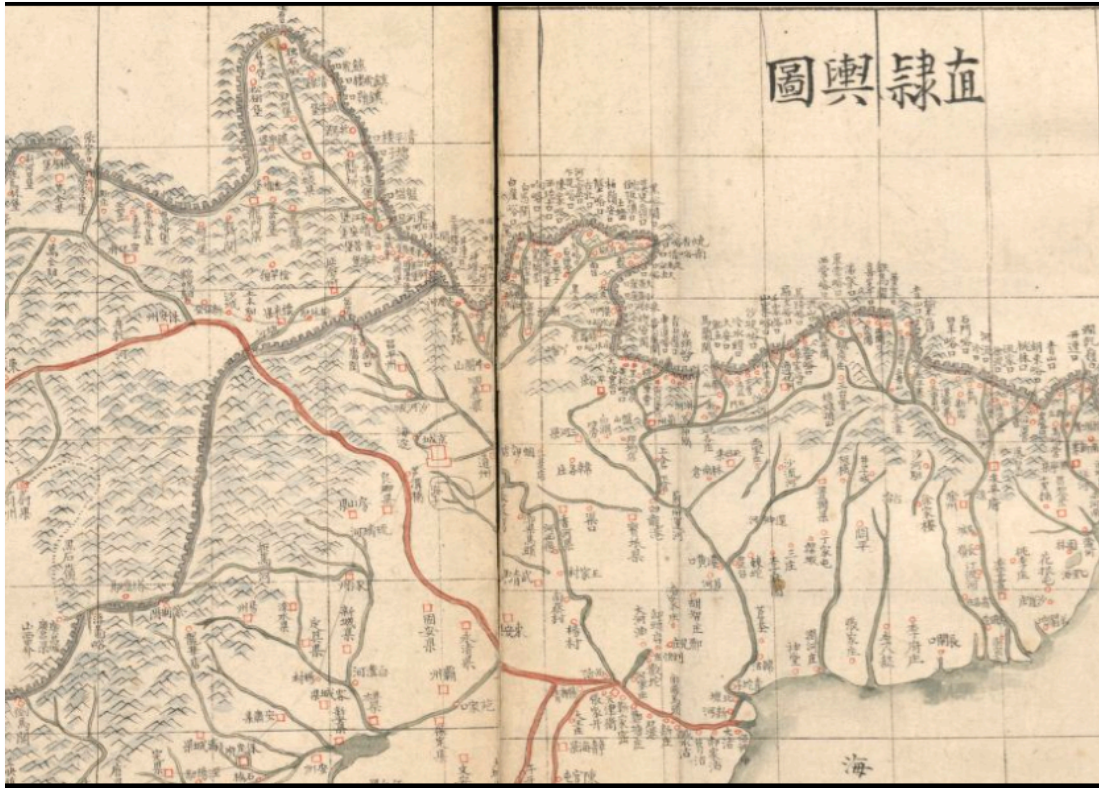
Detail: the Great Wall



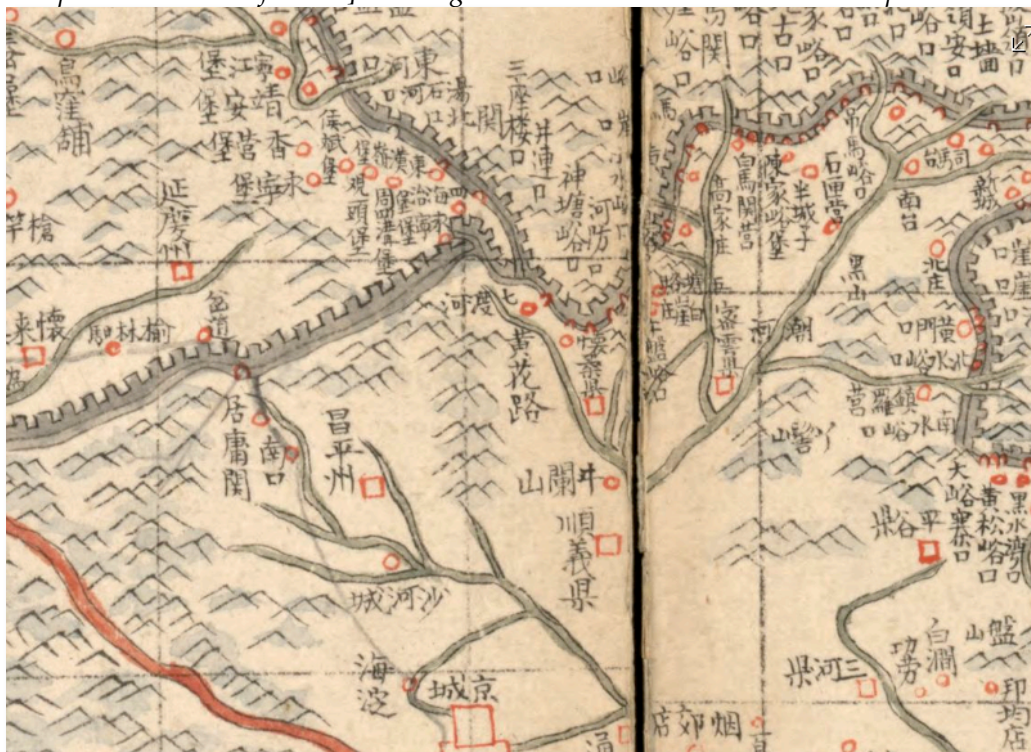
Asia, 1720, Herman Moll

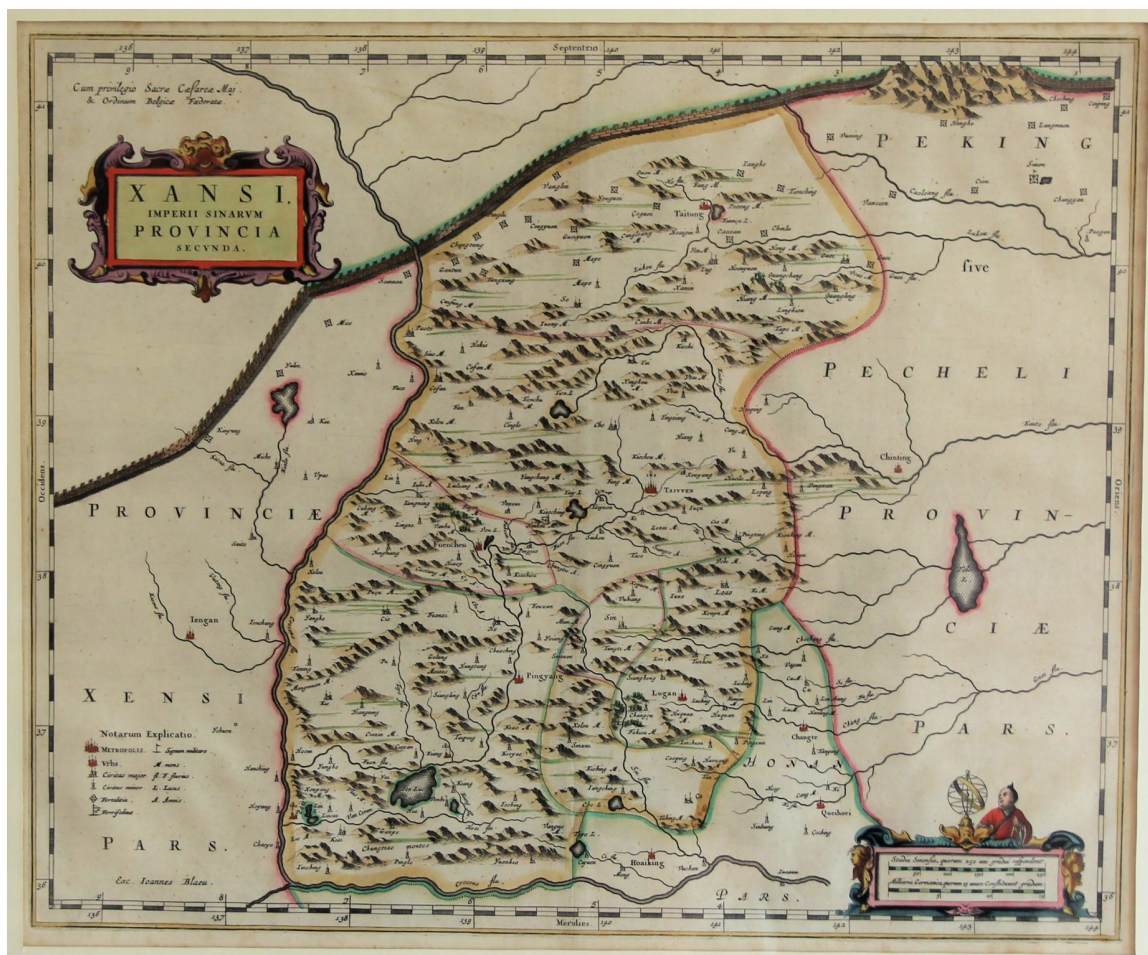


Detail of the Great Wall



Detail of the map for Zhidi yu tu from the 1722 Huang yu quan lan fen sheng tu [Kangxi provincial atlas of China] showing the Great Wall in the northeastern province





Novus Atlas Sinensis, Bleau/Martini, 1655



Imperii Sinarum Nova Descriptio, 1655

This is the 1655 edition of Martino Martini and Johannes Blaeu's seminal map of China, Japan, and Korea. This is among the most important and influential maps of China issued in the 17th century, being the first publication of Martino Martini's revolutionary geographical data, brought to Europe just months earlier. The revolutionary geography of this map is based on Martini's copy and translation of the Lo Hongxian's (1504 - 1564) 1555 revision of Zhu Siben's (1273 - 1333) 1312 manuscript atlas of the Chinese Provinces, the *Guang Yu Tu* ('Enlarged Territorial Atlas'), see #227. The translation accompanied him when he set out on a Portuguese ship from Macau to Lisbon, from which he intended to return to Rome. En route, he was captured by the Dutch East India Company (VOC), who instead redirected him to Amsterdam, where he arrived in 1554. The novel cartographic data was immediately seized upon by the Johannes Blaeu firm, who had deep connections with the VOC.

The map, combined with Martini's first-hand descriptions of Chinese geography, acquired after nine years traveling, living, and ministering in China, marks a sea-change in western cartographic perceptions of the Far East. Many earlier mistakes are rectified: Korea (*Corea*) appears as a peninsula, Hokkaido (*Ieso*) is an island, and Honshu and Formosa are recognizable. Within China, the Great Wall appears with greater precision than any earlier map, and a distinct provincial system and riverine geography are clearly defined. The map proved so significant an improvement upon earlier works that it was not superseded until the 1695 maps of Vincenzo Coronelli.

Coverage embraces from the Bay of Bangkok to Hokkaido, and from the Gobi Desert to modern-day Vietnam and northern Luzon (Philippines). The focus is on China, Korea, and Japan, all of which here present novel new detail not seen previously on a European map. Nonetheless, the cartographer is not immune to errors in of the previous generations so in the periphery, we see such anomalies as the mythical *Lake of Chiamay*. The mythical *Lake of Chiamay*, or *Chiang Mai*, appears at the western extreme of the map. Early cartographers postulated that such a lake must exist to source the four important Southeast Asian river systems: the Irrawaddy, the Dharla, the Chao Phraya, and the Brahmaputra. This lake began to appear in maps of Asia as early as the 16th century and persisted well into the mid-18th century. Its origins are unknown but may originate in a lost 16th century geography prepared by the Portuguese scholar Joao de Barros. It was also heavily discussed in the journals of Sven Hedin, who believed it to be associated with Indian legend that a sacred lake, *Mansarovar*, linked several of the holy subcontinent river systems. There are even records that the King of Siam led an invasionary force to take control of the lake in the 16th century. Nonetheless, the theory of *Lake Chiamay* was ultimately disproved, and it disappeared from maps entirely by the 1760s.

This map was compiled, engraved, and printed in 1655 by Johannes Blaeu for Martino Martini's *Atlas Sinensis*, the first western atlas of China.





La Chine Royaume, 1656

This is Nicolas Sanson's 1656 map of China and Korea, here in its 1679 edition published by Sanson's son, Guillaume. Although Sanson credits a notional 'Matheo Neroni' as his source, it is almost certainly actually the Jesuit missionary and cosmographer Matteo Ricci, who composed an important map in 1588 based on Chinese sources. The Great Wall appears prominently. The map extends to show part of the Philippines, including Luzon, and a remarkable, sickle-shaped Korean Peninsula. Taiwan is shown and named 'I. Hermosa,' an early form of 'Formosa'. The southern coast of China looks across a bizarrely-narrow South China Sea to a massively-protruding 'Cachucyna' nearly reaching Hainan Island.

The map's text describes the source for this map as a wall map in the possession of one 'Matheo Neroni' derived from a work drawn in Rome in 1590 and with explanations from Michel Ruggieri. Sanson did not and could not have known Ruggieri, who died in 1607 and there is no evidence to suggest that 'Matheo Neroni' existed at all. Szcześniak in his 1954 *Imago Mundi* article suggests that 'Neroni' was in fact Matteo Ricci, and that the map was not drawn in Rome in 1590 but brought there from China in that year, having been composed by Ricci in China based on Chinese sources.

A detailed explanation panel in the bottom right is surmounted by *Pheme*, the personification of fame and renown. The text translates as follows:

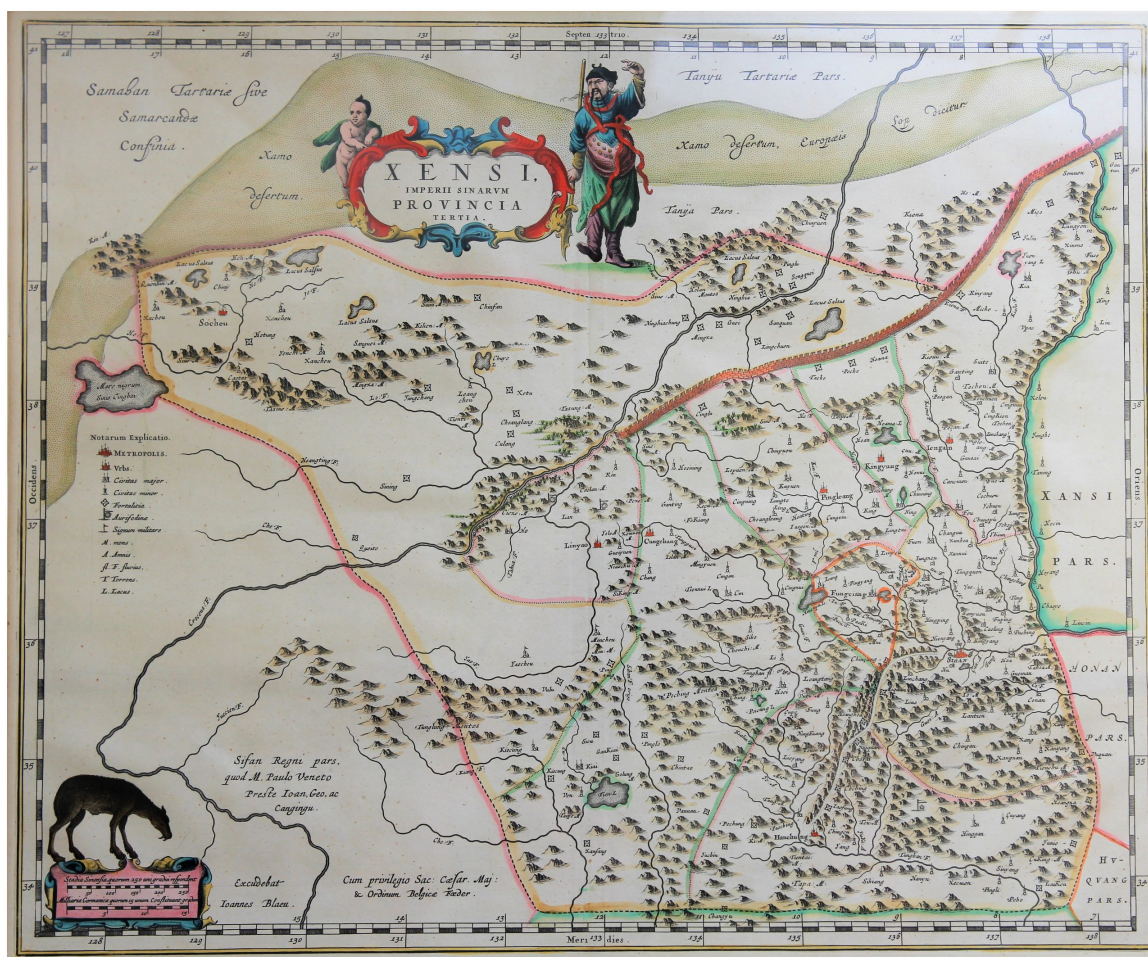
This Map is but a summary of another very beautiful, very large, and very particular one; which is in the Cabinet of H.R.H. the Duke of Orleans: where Matheo Neroni, its Author, assures that it was drawn in Rome in 1590, and drawn from four different books, printed in China; and of which Father Michel Ruggieri, a Jesuit, gave the explanation to this Neroni. I was not able to include in this summary the cities of the first and second rank; not having had enough space for everything else. That this summary being engraved I had the China of Father Martinius, and saw something of that which Father Bouyn wants to publish, and which he believes to be the best of all. The China of Father Martinius is in sixteen different maps, for as many provinces; but which are not more extensive, sometimes less than that of Neroni: and when I wanted to compare these Maps with each other, I found a very great difference, both in the names and in the numbers of the Fu, which are the largest cities, and the Ceu which are the second; even more in everything else either for the plan of the Map or for the position of the places. This makes me believe that these Maps are drawn from various Authors of the Country [China], and that it will be difficult to judge the best. We will say something when we have the opportunity.

This is one of the earliest maps to incorporate the geographical information brought back to Europe by the Jesuit Missionary Martino Martini, who is widely regarded as the father of Chinese geographical science. The map first appeared in the 1658 edition of Sanson's *Cartes Geenerales de Toutes les Parties du Monde*. Martini was the first to study the history and geography of China with rigorous scientific objectivity. The extend of his knowledge of the Chinese culture, the accuracy of his investigations, the depth of his understanding of things Chinese are examples for the modern sinologists. Ferdinand von Richthofen calls Martini "the leading geographer of the Chinese mission, one who was unexcelled and hardly equaled, during the XVIII century...There was no other missionary, either before or after, who made such diligent use of his time in acquiring information about the country".

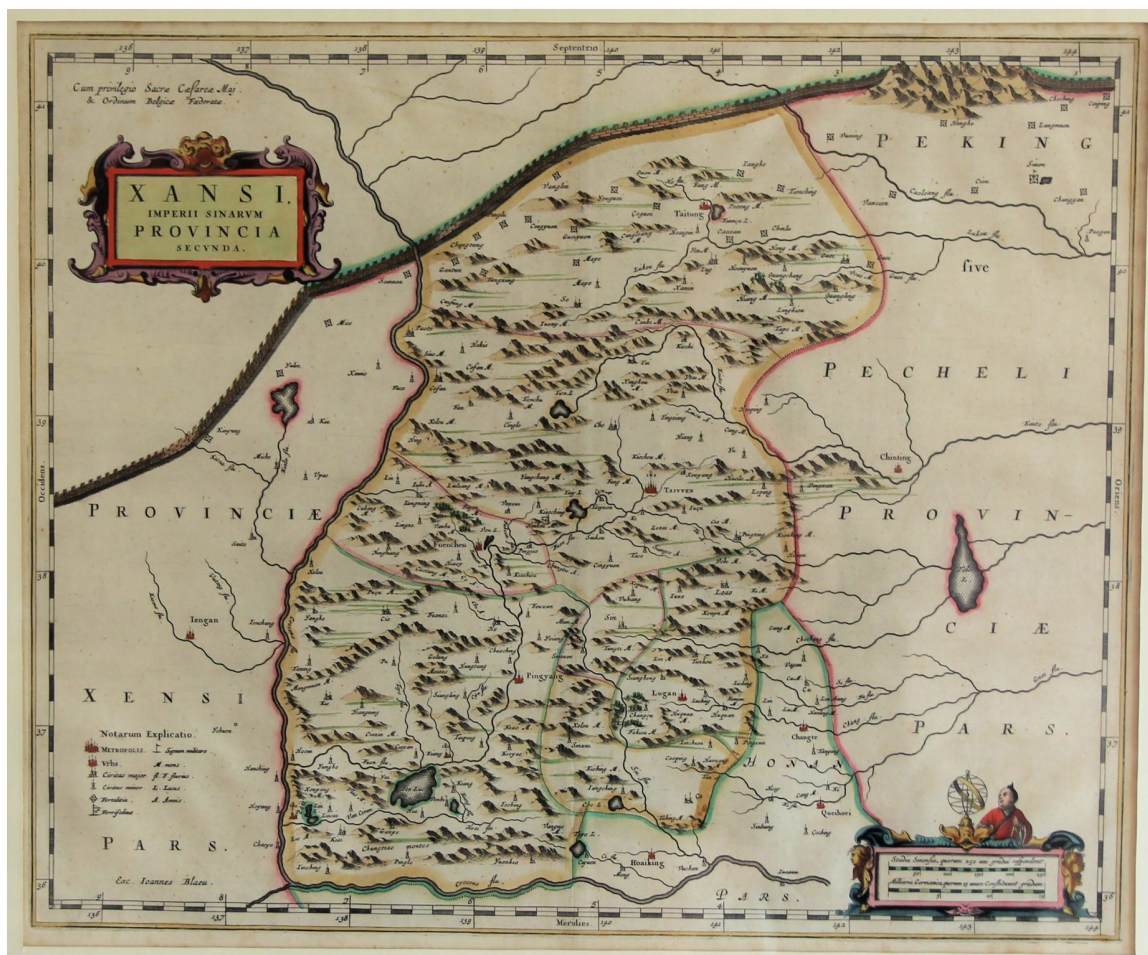




Novus Atlas Sinensis, Bleau/Martini, 1655



Novus Atlas Sinensis, Bleau/Martini, 1655



Novus Atlas Sinensis, Bleau/Martini, 1655



1657 map by Jansson of China, Tartary and Central Asia, extending from Mongolia and Xanadu to the Caspian and the Volga River and to Tibet and the Upper Ganges River.
The Great Wall of China appears prominently.



The Great Wall on the 1657 map entitled *A New Plain, and Exact Map of Asia*, described by N.I. Visscher



The Great Wall on Vincenzo Coronelli's 1690 map *Asia Divisa nella sue Part*





Il Regno Della China detto presentemente Catay e Mangin diviso sopra le Carte più esatte sue Principali Provincie, 1682, 17 x 21.25 in (43.18 x 53.98 cm)

Description: This is a scarce 1682 *Cantelli da Vignola* map of China, Japan and Korea, presenting a striking and up-to-date view of the Far East benefitting from Jesuit and Dutch reports. Its framework and outline are derived from the 1552 Martino Martini map produced by Blaeu, but this map is significantly updated, at least in part, from the reports of the Jesuits Bento de Góis and Johann Grueber.

The Land Route from Agra to China. Bento de Góis (1562 - 1607) was the first known European to travel from India to China, having done so via Afghanistan - his goal being to determine whether Marco Polo's 'Cathay' and 'China' were the same place - they were. His journey - incognito, in the guise of an Armenian trader - took him from Agra (1602) to Kabul. From there, he crossed the Hindu Kush and the Pamirs, reaching Yarkand, the capital of Kashgaria, in 1603. Kashgaria appears in the upper left as 'Cascar'; Yarkand, here is spelled 'Hiarcana.' From there, de Góis joined a jade caravan heading to Beijing (Peking): the stops along that route, including the fortified city of Cialis, appear. His caravan crossed the Great Wall at Jiayuguan (*Chiaicuan*), moving on to Suzhou (*Sucieu*) in late 1605. Unfortunately, Ming authorities prevented de Góis from approaching Beijing. His efforts to contact his fellow Jesuit Matteo Ricci, then in Beijing, failed until 1606. Ricci sent Giovanni Fernandes to rescue their brother, but de Góis died 11 days after Fernandes's arrival.

It is puzzling that this data does not appear on the Martini map: some of the place names relating to de Góis' journey appear as early as 1626 on Speed's map of China (#464) which otherwise owes more to Ortelius and Hondius (#444.1, #466.1) than any other source. Its inclusion here may be due to the success of a later overland journey going the other direction - perhaps Bento de Góis' 1602 voyage provided the germ for a later journey recorded here.

The Land Route from China to Agra. In 1661, well after the publication of Martino Martini's maps, another Jesuit - Johann Grueber, a professor of mathematics active at the court of Beijing - was tasked to travel to Rome. The journey could not be done by sea, due to the Dutch blockade of Macau. Consequently, Grueber decided to attempt traveling first to Goa overland via Tibet and Nepal. It is hard to imagine that Grueber, a Jesuit active in China, would have been unaware of the efforts of de Góis. The journey passed through Sinning-fu (*Sining*) and then through Kokonor to Lhasa (*Lassa*). They crossed the difficult mountain passes of the Himalayas, arrived at Kathmandu, Nepal, and descended into the Ganges basin, moving on to Agra. Grueber carried on overland through Persia and Turkey, reaching Rome in 1664. While de Góis's journey met largely with disaster, Grueber's successful trek provided the first detailed report of a practicable land route between Europe and China.

Kokonor. Among the details deriving from Grueber's travels is the massive lake named 'Kokonor ó Mar grande.' This 'Great Sea' is the Qinghai Lake, the largest in China. This endorheic lake is fed by twenty-three rivers and empties into none. On this map, *Kokonor* is fed by a 'Toktokay' River, and feeds into the Hoang (Yellow River). (As a point of fact, Qinghai did once empty into the Huang He, but this was about 150,000 years ago.)



Japan. The Blaeu/Martini treatment of Japan is very different from what Cantelli offers here. The basic outline of Honshu and the southwestern islands is similar, but the present map is superior regarding city names and placement. Also, where Martini displays the proto-Hokkaido land of 'Ieso' and a largely featureless mainland beyond it, the Cantelli/Rossi reveals a peninsular *Tartari di Yupi*, as informed by a 1643 Dutch journey.

No Cities of Gold. A 16th century Spanish legend hinted at islands east of Japan so saturated in gold and silver that the inhabitants even built their homes out of it. The idea inspired at least two expeditions to the region. Anthony Van Diemen sent Abel Tasman and Matthijs Hendricksz Quast in 1639 to find it (he made it to Taiwan and Nagasaki's Dejima Island, but found no gold houses.) A 1643 expedition led by Maerten de Vries and Cornelis Jansz Coen also failed to find cities of silver: it did, nonetheless have a profound and long-lasting cartographic influence. The mapping of Japan's coast from Yokohama Bay north along Honshu has been improved substantially over the Martini; beyond the Strait of Zungar (*Tsuagaru Kaikyo*), De Vries' cartography reveals part of the coast of Hokkaido, a Cape of Aniva, Cape of Patience, as well as one of the Kuril Islands (*Isola di Stati* corresponds with Kunashir), and beyond it the Strait of de Vries. After passing through the strait, De Vries sailed westward, charting the fork-like peninsulas of southern Sakhalin, but missing the strait that separated them from Hokkaido - leading to the peninsular form shown here. From there, they sailed south into more known waters. De Vries and Coen were the first Europeans to enter these waters, which were then little known even to the Japanese. They made early contact with the indigenous Ainu people of Hokkaido, whose silver-hilted daggers must have been tantalizing. De Vries and Coen were the first to discover the Kuril Islands, and were also the first European navigators to discover Sakhalin and map its southern coastline.

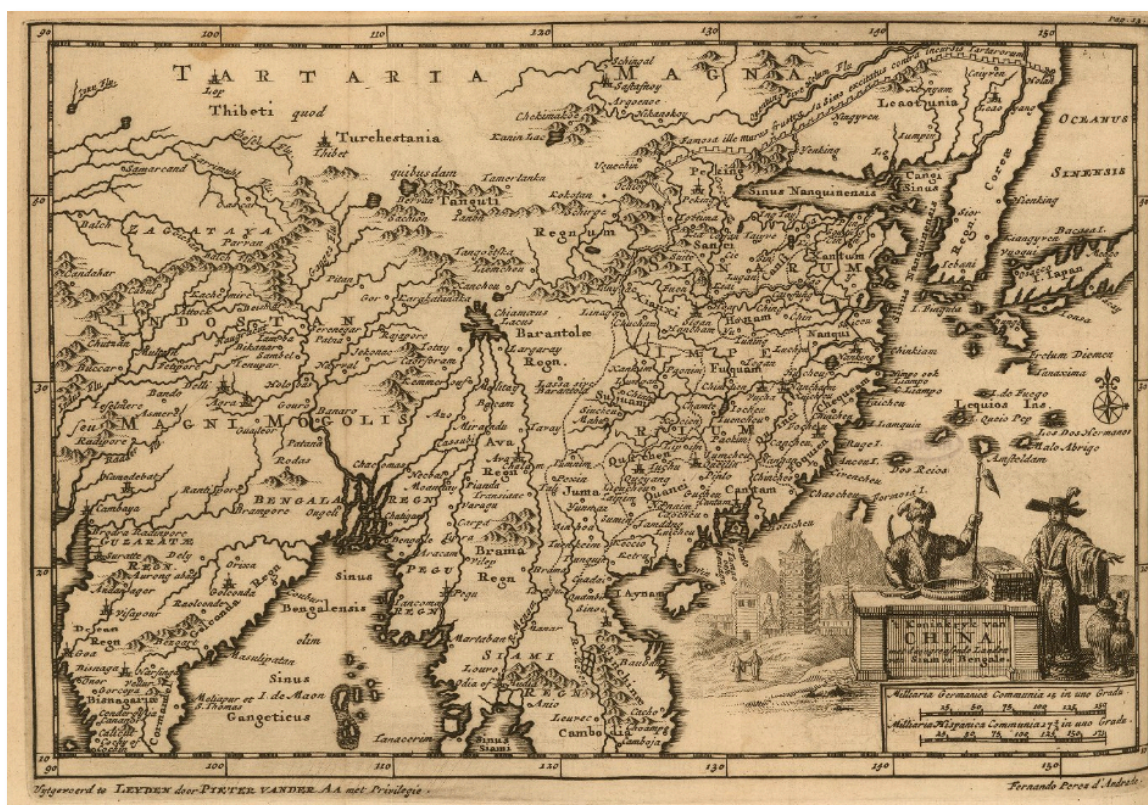
Korea. Though far too narrow - an error shared by Martini - Korea is shown as a peninsula. It appears significantly longer than on the Martini map, despite its place names deriving exclusively from that source. The Yalu River is named *Yalo*, and its mouth is correctly positioned. Its course here runs sharply northwards to its source in an imaginary lake, situated amidst the land of the *Tartari del Kin ó dell' Oro*. A further note in Italian marks these Tatars as 'those that occupied, and now reign in China.' Thus, we can understand that 'Kin' should read 'Qing.' The word also translates to 'gold,' leading to the map's translation of the word to 'Oro.'

Cantelli's maps, notably their cartouches, were some of the most attractively engraved of the later 17th century. Coronelli's more celebrated though later maps (#488) were clearly influenced in their engraving style by Cantelli, or properly speaking by Cantelli and Rossi's engraver, Giorgio Widman. The map's superb baroque cartouche is flanked by plump mer-men and overflowing cornucopiae, while surmounted by a silk-robed and mustachioed eastern potentate.

This map is rare. It was engraved by Giorgio Widman in Rome for inclusion in the Cantelli-Rossi 1682 *Mercurio Geografico*, which was produced in one edition. Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola (February 22, 1643 - November 30, 1695) was an important Italian cartographer and engraver active in 17th century Italy. It was most likely the influence of these innovative French cartographers that inspired Cantelli's careful and meticulous approach, in which he based his cartography not just on earlier maps, but

also very much in the French style upon accounts written by travelers and merchants regarding actual travel to foreign lands. Cantelli da Vignola in fact pioneered the Italian style of fine bold engraving that would eventually be embraced and expanded upon by Vincenzo Coronelli. His work drew the attention of Pope Innocent XI and Reggio Francesco II d'Este, the Duke of Modena, both of whom offered him a position as court geographer. Cantelli chose to work with the Duke of Modena, in the service of whom he produced numerous maps and well as two large globes. He died in Modena in November of 1695.

Martino Martini (September 20, 1614 - June 6, 1661) was an Italian Jesuit missionary, historian, and cartographer, working mainly on ancient Imperial China. He is acclaimed as the father of Chinese geographical science, as he was 'the first to study the history and geography of China with rigorous scientific objectivity.' He left for China in 1640, arriving in 1642 in Portuguese Macau. He studied Chinese before, in 1642, moving to Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province. He spent much of his time traveling and gathering scientific information, particularly concerning the geography. In 1651, Martini left China as the Delegate of the Chinese Mission Superior. Among the works he brought with him was Lo Hongxian's (1504 - 1564) 1555 revision of Zhu Siben's (1273 - 1333) 1312 manuscript atlas of the Chinese Provinces, *Guang Yu Tu* ['Enlarged Territorial Atlas' #227]. En route, his ship was captured by the Dutch, who apparently also saw Martini's value: they took him first to Java, and then to Amsterdam, where he arrived in 1654. During this intervening period, Martini translated the Zhu Siben atlas into Latin, and added his own description of China. The Blaeu mapmaking firm swiftly published Martini's map as *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, and later published Martini's description of China both on its own and within the Blaeu Atlas (#482). After his circuitous journey, he reached Rome in the spring of 1655. He carried with him a long and detailed communication from the Jesuit missionaries in China, defending the so-called *Chinese Rights* (veneration of ancestors and other practices allowed to new Christians). After five months of discussions and debates, the *Propaganda Fide* issued a degree in favor of the Jesuits, although the controversy did not abate.



't Koninkryke van China met d'aangrensende Landen van Siam en Bengale, 1707,
Pieter Vander Aa



Detail: Great Wall



Anonymous, 1720





'Overview Maps of Imperial Territories' or *Huangyu quanlan tu*, is mostly referred to as 'the Jesuit atlas of China'. The map of Shanxi province in the 1711 woodblock version of the Chinese atlas, said to be identical to the Shanxi map in the 1718 woodblock version. Territories beyond the provincial borders are left blank. About 38x25 cm. North is at the top. Degrees of latitude and longitude relative to the prime meridian through Beijing are given on all four sides. The Yellow River defines the province's western and southwestern boundaries. Three stretches of the Great Wall are dearly depicted, two in the north together with an eastern section that forms the province's northeastern boundary; small squares indicate the prefectural, departmental, and district seats, while small circles signify other towns (see inset). Most rivers are named.



Detail of the Great Wall sections





Anonymous Traditional Korean Manuscript Map of China and Korea from a Chonha-Chido, from the early 1800s. The map comes from a traditional Korean manuscript atlas. It shows China with the Yangtze River, the Yellow River and the Great Wall. The Korean peninsula is shown in the east.





The Great Wall on a map of China from a Korean manuscript Atlas, Ch'onha-Chido, late 18th century

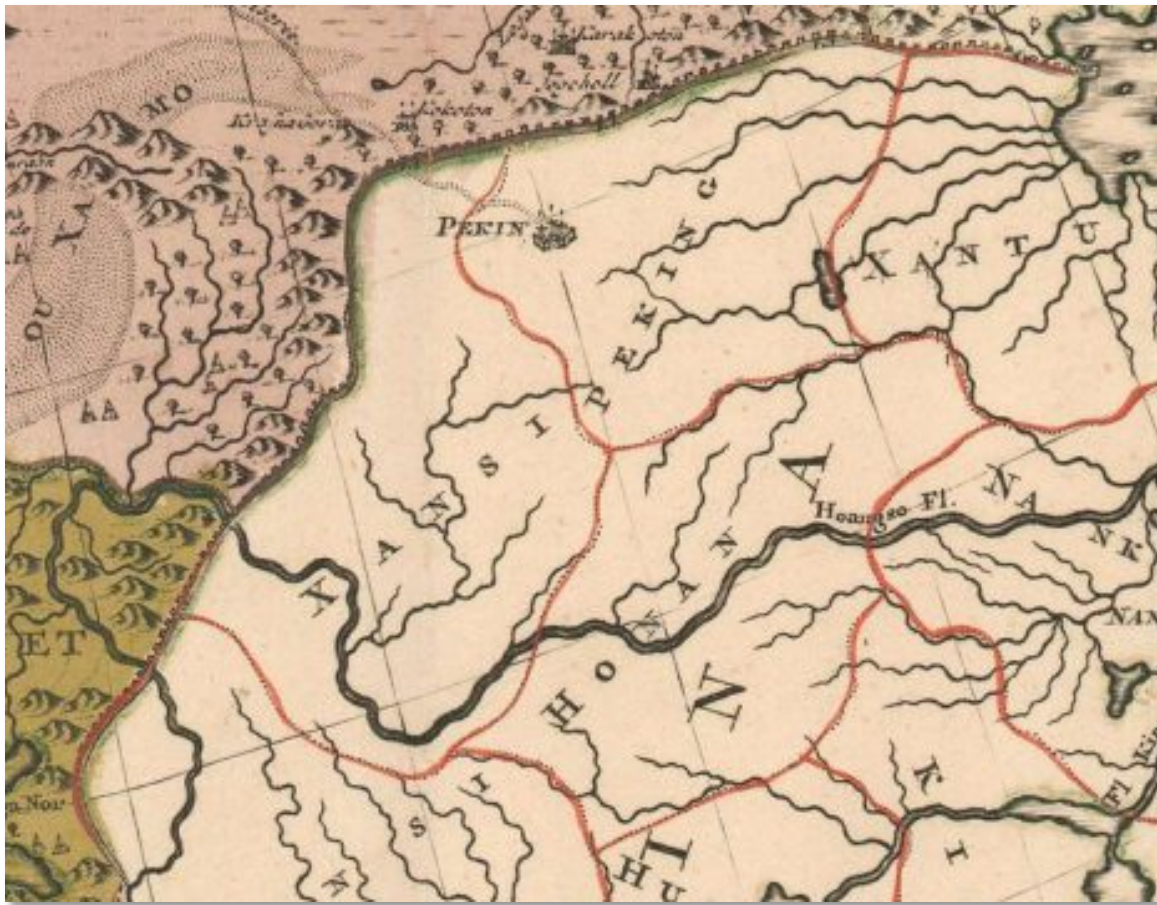


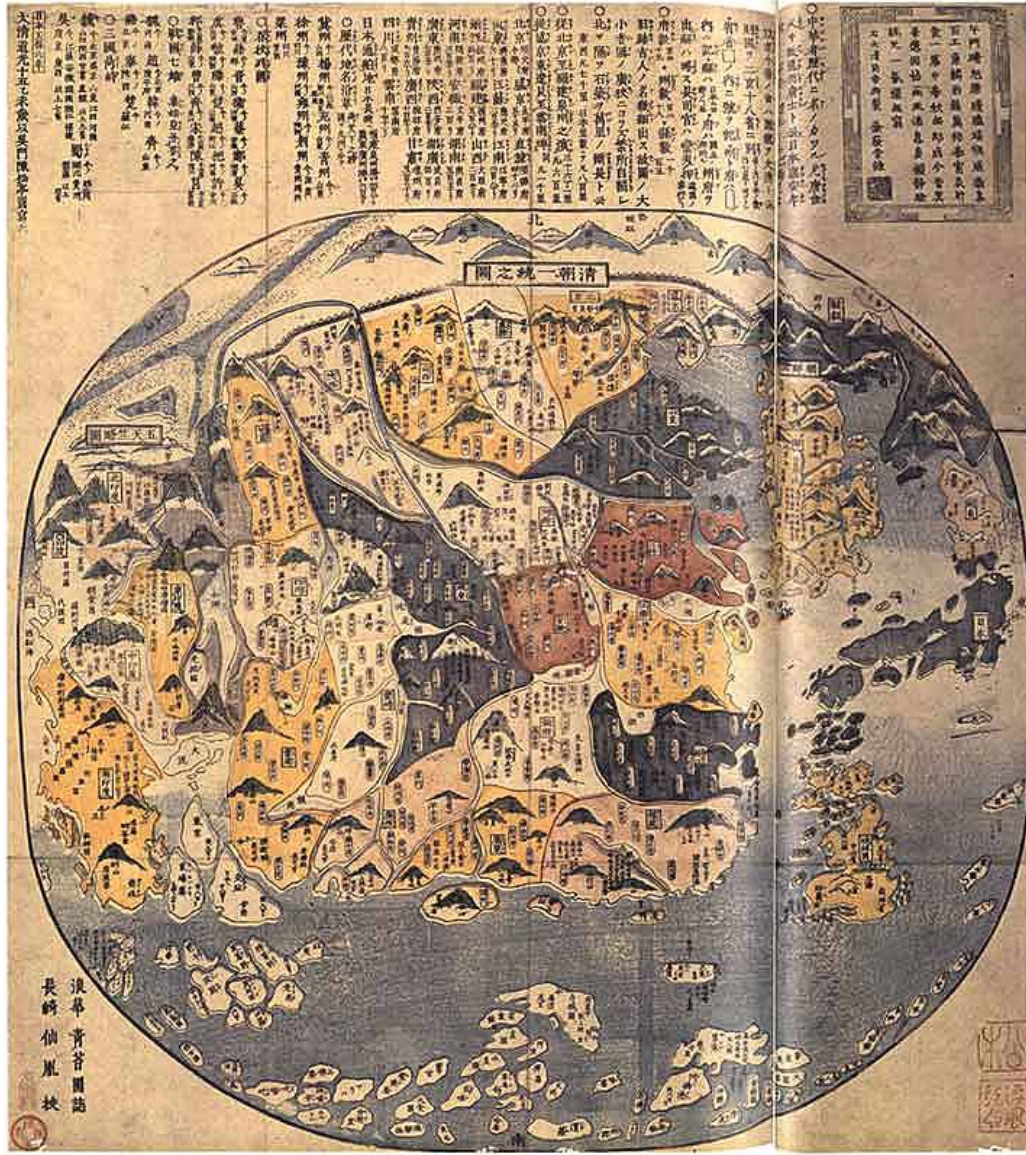
The Great Wall in the Ch'onha do chido, a 1770 copy of Giulio Aleni's Wanguo quantu, 1623



1730 Ottens' Edition of Strahlenberg's First, Stolen Map of Russia
carte nouvelle de tout l'Empire de la Grande Russie dans l'estat ou il s'est trouve a la mort de Pierre le Grand. Dressee sur des observations toutes nouvelles et dedoe a l'immortelle memoire de ce Grand Monarque Avec Privilege" Amsterdam. 18 x 25.75 inches

This rare, separately issued map of the Russian Empire was printed by Renier and Josua Ottens c. 1730, but the map is based on the work of Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg: it is that map maker's first map of Russia and Siberia, stolen from him in 1715. Strahlenberg (1677 -1747) would rebound to produce his superb 1730 *Tattariae Magnae*, one of the largest, most ground breaking, and unique maps of Russia to appear in the first half of the 18th century, but this beautiful engraving represents the first complete expression of Strahlenberg's efforts at his seminal mapping of Siberia and the Russian Arctic. The map is significant in its support of the viability of a Northeast Passage, and prefigures vitus Bering's (1681 - 1741) mapping of the Strait that would bear his name. As well the map, in this edition, presents those areas claimed by the Russian Empire c. 1725 at the death of Tsar Peter the Great. It records Russian territories from Moscow to Japan and Kamchatka, including parts or all of adjacent northern China, Mongolia, Persia, India, Tibet, Japan, Korea, and Turkestan - and is among the earliest maps to show Russian Alaska based on actual report.





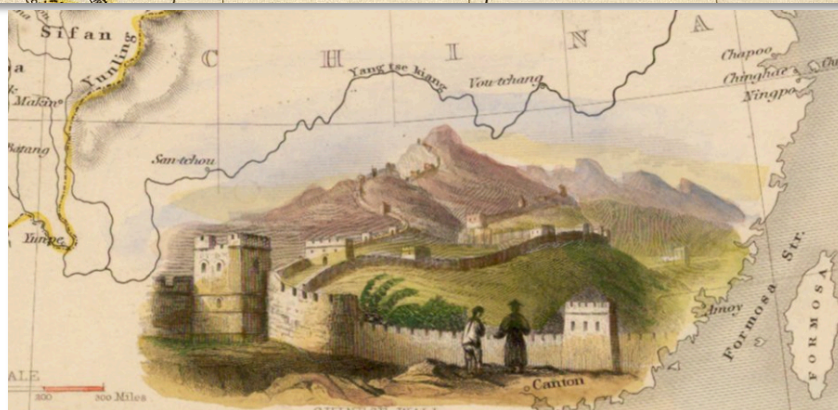
Chōi Ichiran [Map of China and Outlying Countries] by Seitaien, 1835, woodcut print, 65.5 x 58.5 cm



Detail of the Great Wall



Thibet, Mongolia and Manchouria, John Tallis, 1851 (#801.26)





Asia, John Tallis, 1851





China, John Tallis, 1851





Detail vignette from "Tibet, Mongolia, and Manchuria", from John Tallis' atlas of the world (1851)



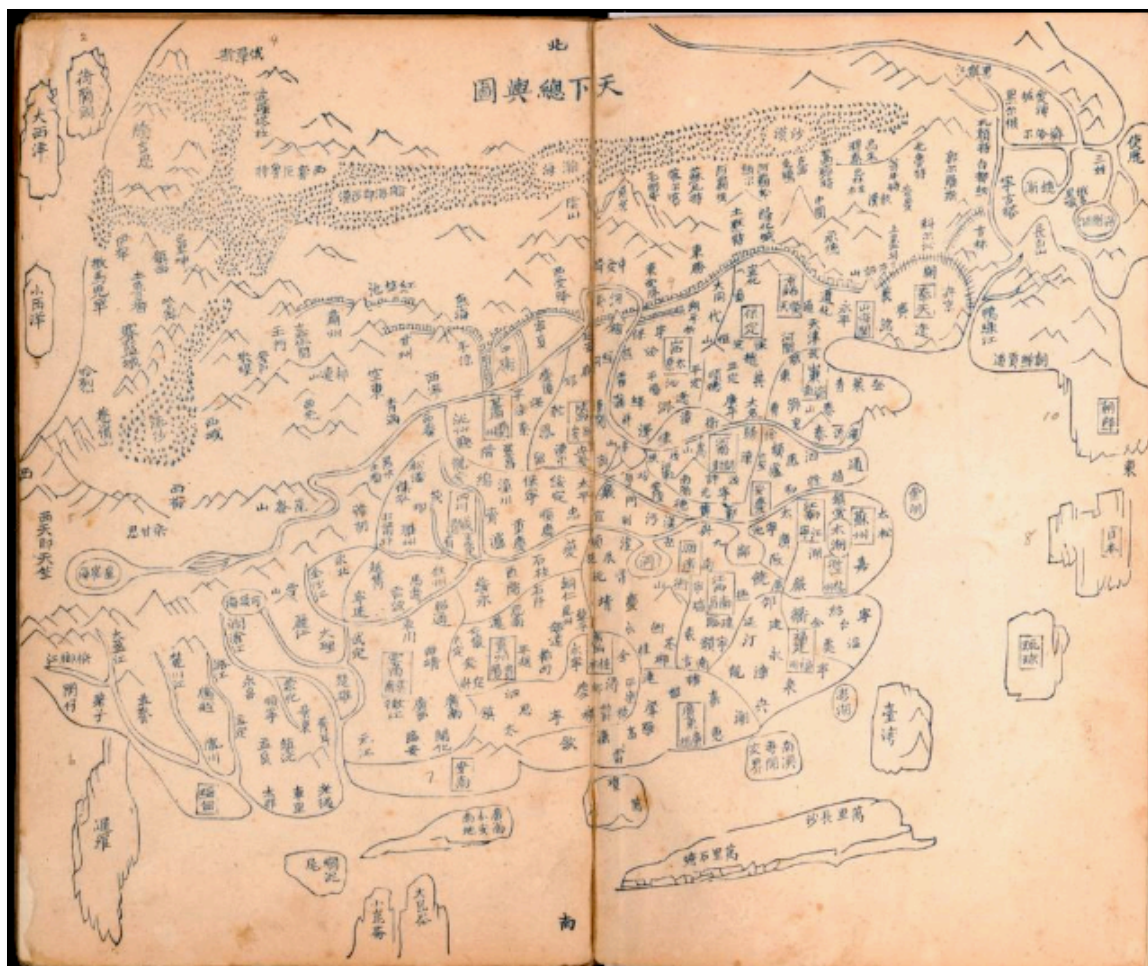
A section of the Continental Map with Scenes of Forty-Eight Foreign People (America & Europe), late 18th century, manuscript (a pair of six-fold screens), Kobe City Museum



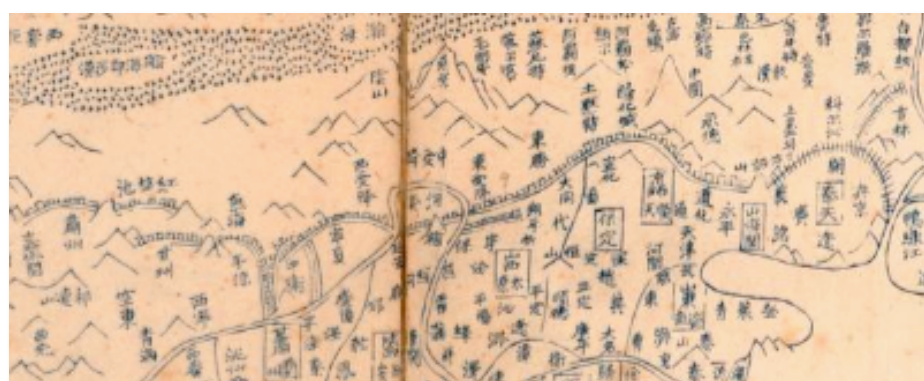
Detail of the Great Wall



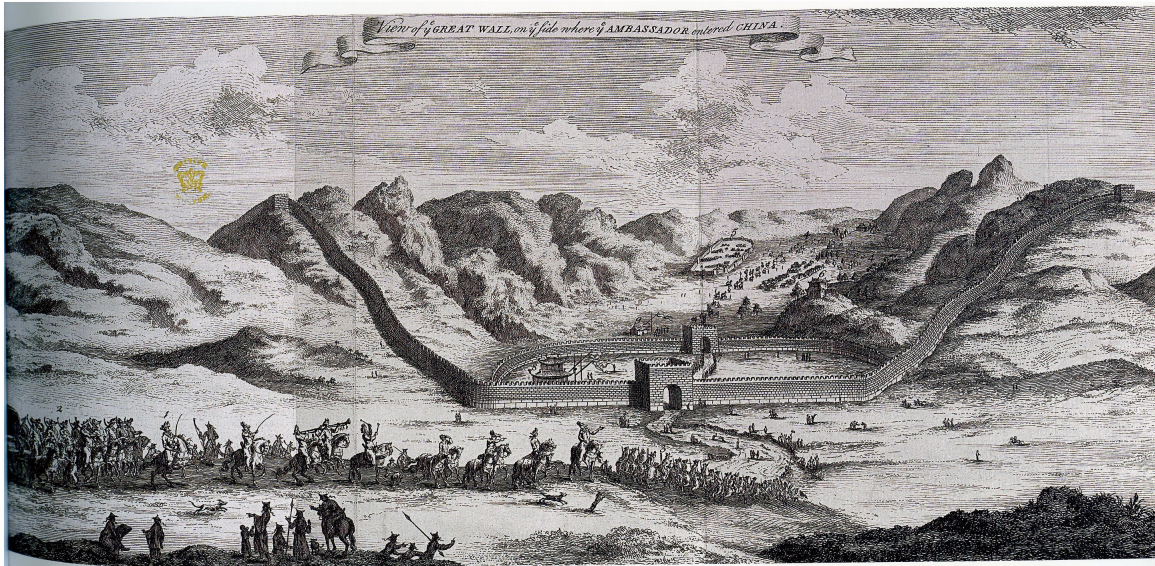
The Great Wall on the 1781 map by Filip Johan Strahlenberg



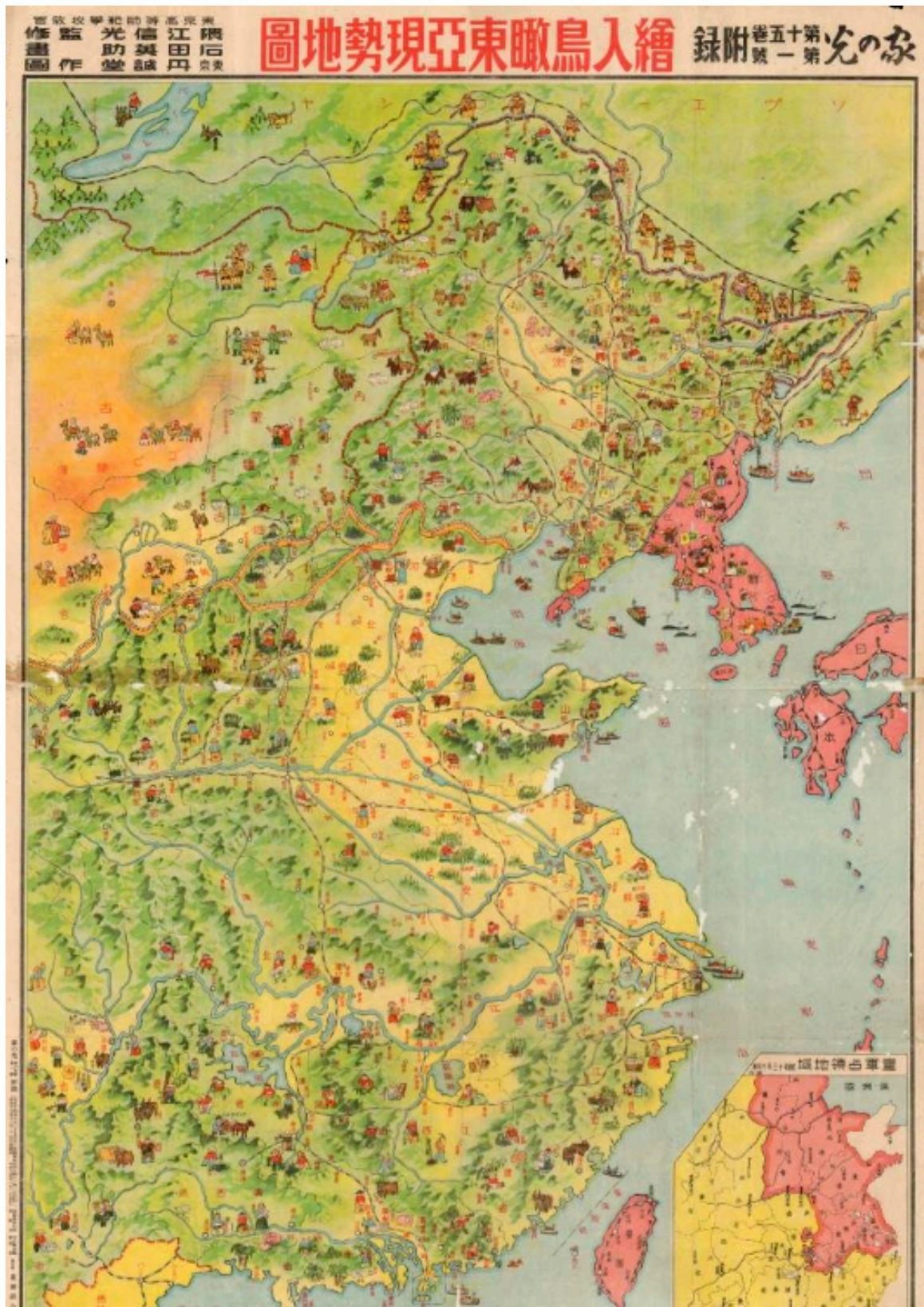
The Tian xia zong yu tu, a wood block print 1890 that illustrates the administrative system during the Jiaqing period (1801-1820) and covers the world, 17 provinces of Qing Dynasty, Xinjiang, and Mongolian tribes. Library of Congress G2306.F7 T43 1890



Detail of the Great wall



Most people think of the Great Wall of China as a single continuous structure, built by a ruthless emperor, hundreds or even thousands of years ago and constructed to a well-defined overall plan. However, in reality, the Great Wall was started before China had become a unified state over 2,000 years ago. As various Chinese dynasties came and went, they built various sections of the wall in the north of China to protect the frontier. Some of these constructions were bigger than others. Some have lasted through the times and others have become lost. Some sections of wall were built and rebuilt along nearly the same line, but in some places sections of wall were built hundreds of miles from earlier or later walls. Also, at no time was there a single structure spanning the whole east-west distance. There are lots of sections of wall, like a dotted line, running across the most strategically important locations. Today they put the Great Wall's total length at 8,851.1 km (about 5,500 miles).



Illustrated Bird's Eye View of the Current Situation in East Asia, 1939

An impressive large-format 1939 manga propaganda map of China and Korea compiled by a team led by political activist and union organizer Sengoku Kotaro and published as a supplement to the periodical *Ie no hikari*. It was published at the height of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937 - 1945) (the Chinese theater of World War II), as Japan's initial advances slowed, and the war settled into a grueling stalemate.

Coverage includes China, Mongolia, Manchuria, and Korea, with portions of surrounding territories. Cartoon figures representing farmers, soldiers, and workers of different nations appear throughout. Though outwardly innocuous, these illustrations reflect common, and often denigrating, Japanese perceptions of other Asian peoples, while also endorsing Japan's rationale for invading China in 1937.



China is presented as a bountiful land of vast resources and hardy people, whose industriousness, it is implied, is only held back by ineffective government. Chinese farmers and laborers are seen lugging bags labeled 'wheat,' 'salt,' 'rice; and so on, hinting at the resources that Japan hoped to acquire after the war. Aside from the large puppet state of Manchukuo towards top-right, figures in areas more recently occupied by Japanese troops, such as Beijing, Nanjing, and Inner Mongolia, wave flags and welcome Japan's benevolent influence. The depiction of Koreans is similarly loaded and self-serving, with an indolent *yangban* figure smoking opium, a peasant uprooting ginseng, and miners digging iron and coal. Conversely, soldiers and civilians of the Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia) and the Soviet Union are presented as obstinate and menacing, a threat all along the borders of Manchukuo and northern China.

Aside from humans, animal figures, boats, and structures like the Great Wall of China are drawn to reflect regional characteristics. For instance, an unlucky gold miner in northern Heilongjiang, the northernmost point in China (or, rather, Manchukuo here), runs from an angry bear. Though Japanese and Chinese soldiers are not depicted, an inset map at bottom-right refers to the intense, ongoing conflict, indicating areas occupied by the Imperial Japanese Army as of the end of October 1938.

