

# Maps and Political Power: A Cultural Interpretation of the Maps in *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture*

Historians of cartography have recently expressed a greater interest in the relationship between maps and culture and society. This paper examines how political power is reflected in the maps in a Chinese gazetteer from 1261, *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture (Jiankang zhi)*. It shows how political power influenced the production process of the gazetteer and how this power is reflected in the selection of maps and images. Political power controlled the entire production process of the gazetteer and its maps. According to the local governor's instructions, Zhou Yinghe, the major author of the gazetteer, proposed four principles on how to compile the gazetteer. These principles clearly reveal control by the government in the compiling process. The emperor's power was evidently emphasized in these maps through map selection, cartographic design, and symbolization. This paper supports the general notion that maps are not only geographical representations of the spatial world but can also be viewed as cultural images that reflect the societies in which they are produced.

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Historians of cartography have recently been interested in the relationship between maps and culture and society. As Rundstrom comments: "The study of maps in their cultural milieu has interested researchers in several disciplines, including geography, but this approach was not widely accepted by cultural geographers until the 1970s, and historians of cartography began to see maps explicitly as cultural artifacts only recently" (Rundstrom 1990, 155). Lewis has also pointed out that the examination of the roles of maps within societies and the values placed on them by societies is a recent growth of research interest (Lewis 1993, 52). A number of studies have been done to interpret maps under different cultural traditions. Among them the most comprehensive work is a multiple volume project, *The History of Cartography* edited by Harley and Woodward (Aziz 1975; Lewis 1980, 1986, and 1998; Lanman 1981; Harley 1983, 1989, 1990, and 1991; Harley and Woodward 1987, 1992, and 1994; Gilmartin 1984; Wood 1984; Woodward 1985; Woodward and Lewis 1998; Wood and Fels 1986; Cao et al 1990; Rundstrom 1990, 1991, and 1993; Belyea 1992; Yee 1994 a, b, c; Akerman 1995; and Thrower, 1996).

## INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the influence of political power on the maps in a Chinese gazetteer from 1261, *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture (Jiankang zhi)*. The paper will examine how political power influenced the production process of the gazetteer and its maps and how this power was reflected in the map selection and images. Specific questions discussed here include: Who initiated and organized the production of the gazetteer and its maps? What were the purposes of this production? How was the political power emphasized on these maps through selection of map subjects, titles, features, and cartographic symbols?

A theoretical basis for this paper is adapted from an important concept of cultural geography. As Jackson points out, "culture is not only socially constructed and geographically expressed. . . it must also be admitted that culture is spatially constituted" (Jackson 1989, 3). The maps, as an expres-

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#### THE MAPS IN THE GAZETTEER OF JIANKANG PREFECTURE

sion of culture, not only show the location of phenomena on the earth’s surface, such as cities, rivers, and landforms, but also give specific insight into the cultural beliefs and concepts of the time in which they were made. As Rundstrom points out, “Maps both reflect and reinforce cultural values and beliefs of the people who make them” (Rundstrom 1990, 156). Maps can thus be also looked upon as cultural images which reflect the societies in which they are produced. Cartography is both a science of making maps and the study of the culture that creates them.

Because this paper focuses on the cultural meanings of the maps, it would be insufficient to examine maps solely by using the techniques of cartographic analysis which are based on scientific rules of cartography. It will be important to search for the rules that govern the cultural production of maps. As Harley explains, “To discover these rules, we have to read between the lines of technical procedures or of the map’s topographic content. . . In the map itself, social structures are often disguised beneath an abstract, instrumental space, or incarcerated in the coordinates of computer mapping” (Harley 1989, 5-6).

Therefore, the method of iconographical analysis formulated by Erwin Panofsky and adapted by historians of cartography is used to explore the symbolic meanings of maps, such as the values about power as well as the political beliefs attached to territory which are often reproduced, communicated, and experienced through maps. This method is well established in art history and has been effectively used in several studies on early maps (Blakemore and Harley 1980, Harley 1983, 1985; and Gilmartin 1984). As Panofsky defines, “Iconography is that branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form” (Panofsky 1939, 3). For iconographical analysis, “Looking at maps in isolation is insufficient. A proper study of the meaning in maps requires precise cultural co-ordinates to be reconstructed for the maps under consideration” (Harley 1985, 36). Therefore, a careful study of the cultural background of map production is necessary for the application of this technique. This study has to be based on non-cartographic sources, such as historical sources and literature. On the basis of this knowledge, according to Harley’s interpretation, the first level of analysis is to identify individual conventional signs (points, lines, areas, and lettering) on the maps as representative of geographical objects, such as settlements, rivers, mountains, and lakes. The second level of the analysis is the identification of the specific locations of these geographical objects. The third level, which is the most important goal of iconographical analysis, is to search for the cultural meaning, i.e., the symbolic meaning, within the maps (Harley 1983, 1985, and 1988). The analysis performed in this paper will focus on how the political power of the society, from which the maps were produced, was reflected in the maps.

Since the maps discussed in this paper appear in *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture*, it is necessary to introduce some background on the gazetteer itself. The Chinese term *Fangzhi* is translated in English as gazetteer. From a linguistic point of view, one of the definitions of *fang* is region or local place and one of the meanings of *zhi* is record or account. Together, *Fangzhi*, in Chinese culture refers to a comprehensive record of a certain geographical area, object, or institution, such as an administrative division, mountain, river, lake, city, temple or academy. Although different types of *fangzhi* may have different focuses, in general, the contents of *fangzhi* include administrative divisions, official ranks, governmental buildings, military defense, water conservancy, schools, feudal land tax and corvée (an obligation imposed on inhabitants of a district to perform unpaid labor services),

products, cities, townships, population, custom (a group pattern of local habitual activity transmitted from one generation to another), notable people, scenic and historical sites, bridges, temples, mountains, mountain passes, rivers, lakes, literature, and natural disasters. Some of these may cover both the time when the gazetteers were compiled and the history.

In the field of Chinese studies, *Fangzhi* is translated in English as either “gazetteers” or “local histories.” (Dow 1969; Leslie and Davidson 1967; Library of Congress 1942; Needham 1959; Shiba 1989; and Yee 1994, a). It should be explained that neither of these translations precisely reflects the characteristics of *fangzhi* and both are somewhat misleading about their contents. As described above, the contents of *fangzhi* are far beyond that of either gazetteers or local histories. In addition, the contents are arranged according to their importance instead of their linguistic or chronological order. Nevertheless, because these two English renderings have already been accepted in the field of Chinese studies and this paper focuses on the geographical aspects instead of the historical aspects of *fangzhi*, the translation “gazetteer” is used in this paper.

Gazetteers are a very important part of Chinese literature. Based on several bibliographic works, more than 8,000 ancient gazetteers are still in existence, perhaps a fraction of their original number. As Joseph Needham, a world-renowned scholar in the history of Chinese science, comments, “Anyone at all acquainted with Chinese literature is familiar with the host of ‘gazetteers’, . . . In other literatures there is little comparable to this forest of monuments which the industry of provincial scholars erected over the centuries” (Needham 1959, vol. 3, 517).

*The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture* is a well-known gazetteer of the Song dynasty (960-1279). This gazetteer was compiled by Ma Guangzu and Zhou Yinghe and was originally printed in 1261. It is one of the most influential gazetteers in Chinese history. Many ancient and modern Chinese scholars have claimed to have used the style of this gazetteer as a model. It is also the earliest extant gazetteer of the present region of Nanjing, a city in Jiangsu province in southeastern China. At the time when this gazetteer was compiled, Nanjing was called Jiankang. It was a commercial center and an important place for the military defense of the Southern Song dynasty with about 250,000 residents (Fan 1978, 380).

Unfortunately, a few years after the original gazetteer was printed, the original wood block printing plate was destroyed by fire and only a few later reprints still exist. Therefore, like many studies concerned with ancient Chinese sources, choosing the best edition of the gazetteer becomes very important because the text, and particularly the style of the maps, might be different between the editions. After a careful comparison of several later reprints, the 1801 edition was chosen as a primary source for this paper because it based on an original copy from the Song dynasty (960-1279). Detailed studies have already been made on the editions of the gazetteer and the technical aspects of the maps (Hu 1988 a and b, 1990 a and b). Nineteen maps appear in this gazetteer as an independent chapter (*juan*), chapter 5. Their titles are listed in Table 1.

The study of maps cannot be divorced from the cultural context in which they were produced. According to Harley’s theory, “. . . the scientific rules of mapping are, in any case, influenced by a quite different set of rules, those governing the cultural production of the map . . . They are related to values, such as those of ethnicity, politics, religion, or social class, and they are also embedded in the map-producing society at large . . . Such an interplay of social and technical rules is a universal feature of cartographic knowledge” (Harley 1989, 5-6).

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THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL POWER ON THE PRODUCTION PROCESS

No.	Original map title	Translation
1	Long pan hu ju tu	The map of the place coiled by a dragon and crouched by a tiger
2	Lidai chengguo hujian zhi tu	The map of Jiankang cities of previous dynasties
3	Huangchao Jiankang fujing zhi tu	The map of Jiankang prefecture of the empire
4	Yanjiang dakun suobu tu (Shang)	The first part, the map of naval bases along the Yangtze River
5	Yanjiang dakun suobu tu (Xia)	The second part, the map of naval bases along the Yangtze River
6	Fucheng zhi tu	The map of the prefectural capital
7	Song Jiankang xinggong tu	The map of the emperor's temporary dwelling palace in Jiankang city of the Song dynasty
8	Fuxie zhi tu	The map of the compound of the prefectural government
9	Zhisi simo guanting tu	The map of Simo palace
10	Shangyuan xian tu	The map of Shangyuan county
11	Jiangning xian tu	The map of Jiangning county
12	Jurong xian tu	The map of Jurong county
13	Lishui xian tu	The map of Lishui county
14	Liyang xian tu	The map of Liyang county
15	Fu xue zhi tu	The map of prefectural school
16	Chongjian gongyuan zhi tu	The map of reconstructed buildings of bureaucratic examination
17	Mingdao Shuyuan zhi tu	The map of Mingdao Academy
18	Qingxi tu	The map of Qingxi garden
19	Chongjian shetan zhi tu	The map of a renovated altar to the God of the earth

Table 1. Maps in *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture*

*“Similar to other gazetteers of the same period, the main purpose of The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture was to provide a comprehensive reference on the local region in order to assist in administration (zi zheng).”*

Because the maps in *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture* are illustrations, a discussion of the production of these maps cannot be separated from the compilation of the gazetteer itself. Similar to other gazetteers of the same period, the main purpose of *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture* was to provide a comprehensive reference on the local region in order to assist in administration (*zi zheng*). Ma Guangzu, the governor of Jiankang prefecture, explained that the compilation of *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture* was “helpful to society” (Ma and Zhou 1261, “Xu” written by Ma Guangzu, 1 b). He personally initiated, organized, supervised its compilation and wrote the preface. He invited Zhou Yinghe to compile this gazetteer and its maps and often gave detailed instructions. These instructions told how to consult the previous gazetteers of the Jiankang region and what the style

and contents of the gazetteer should be. In particular, Ma Guangzu emphasized that the gazetteer must include maps so that the readers could know the territory and geographical environment of Jiankang region. Some of these instructions were recorded in Zhou Yinghe's "Process of Compiling the Gazetteer during the Jingding Reign" (*Jingding xiu zhi benmo*). According to these records, "Ma Guangzu instructed, '... Now we should combine these books together to compile a new gazetteer... You (Zhou Yinghe) should follow the style of *The Gazetteer of Jiangling Region* (*Jiangling zhi*, compiled by Zhou Yinghe) to compile this new gazetteer and include materials which have not been recorded in the old ones'" (Ma and Zhou 1261, *Jiankang zhi mu*, 14, b-15, a).

According to Ma Guangzu's instructions, Zhou Yinghe proposed four principles on how to compile the gazetteer. Some of these principles were influential and followed by many later scholars as guidelines to compile gazetteers. These four principles are: To decide the style, to share responsibilities, to search data completely, and to circulate and revise the draft thoroughly.

Of these four principles, the most important and influential one is the first: To decide the style of a gazetteer. According to Zhou Yinghe's proposal, a gazetteer should include four sections: maps (*tu*), chronological tables (*biao*), accounts (*zhi*), and biographies (*zhuan*). Because Jiankang was an ancient capital in history, Zhou Yinghe also proposed that "an additional section, 'Record on the Ancient Capital' (*Liu du lu*), should be added and placed in the beginning of *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture*" (Ma and Zhou 1261, "*Jiankang zhi mu*," 15, b). From Zhou Yinghe's description, it is clear that maps are an important portion of the gazetteer.

Zhou Yinghe's description of the fourth principle, to circulate and revise the draft thoroughly, reveals control by the government in the compiling process. As Zhou Yinghe proposed, "... after finishing each chapter of the first draft of the gazetteer, the draft should be enclosed in a purple bag and circulated among each official in the government... Then the first draft will be revised based on their annotations and comments. After that, the second draft should be enclosed in a purple bag and circulated among these officials again. The second revision then will be handed to the local governor for approval. The manuscript will not be printed until the local governor approves it" (Ma and Zhou 1261, *Jiankang zhi mu*, 18, a).

Ma Guangzu, the governor of Jiankang prefecture, approved the first, third, and fourth principles, but not the second ("to share the responsibilities") because he wanted Zhou Yinghe to be fully in charge of compilation. In practice, the entire compilation process was under the close supervision of the governor. As Zhou Yinghe recalled, he was required during the compilation to consult the governor on a regular basis and each chapter had to be reviewed by the governor (Ma and Zhou 1261, *Jiankang zhi mu*, 18, b). After the gazetteer was finished and printed, the 994 printing blocks used to print the gazetteer were locked in five bookcases in a study of the local government. The keys were controlled by a scholarly official in the government (Ma and Zhou 1261, *Jiankang zhi mu*, 19, a, b).

As explained above, *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture* was influential in Chinese history. After its original printing in the second year of the Jingding reign (1261), it was reproduced and hand-copied several times. The facts surrounding the reproductions also reflect the influence of political power because most of these reproductions were also organized by local governments.

A reproduction of the gazetteer appeared in 1343 in the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368). The evidence was found in "The Document on Compiling the Gazetteer" in *The Gazetteer of Jinling Region* of Zhizheng Reign (Zhizheng

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*Jinling xin zhi*). At the beginning of the Zhizheng reign of the Yuan dynasty (ca. 1342), the government of Jiqing prefecture (*lu*, the administrative division of the Yuan dynasty which governed the same region of Jiankang prefecture during the Song dynasty) was ordered by Suo Yuandai, the commissioner of several provinces in the southern part of the empire, to reproduce the Song version. Suo Yuandai believed that this gazetteer was of such great importance that it must be passed on to later generations. At that time, the original wood-blocks of this gazetteer had been destroyed by fire. Fortunately, an original print still survived. Suo explained that it was important to reproduce this gazetteer from the original print so that it could be continually used not only by the local governments and residents but also by the state. At the command of Suo Yuandai, the government of Jiqing prefecture instructed the prefectural school to engrave a wood-block to reprint this gazetteer based on the original print of the Song dynasty. The expenses for the reproduction of the gazetteer were also covered under the budget of the prefectural school (Zhang 1343, *Xiu zhi wenyi*, 3-5).

*The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture* continued to be used and reproduced after the Yuan dynasty. Based on the record in the "Preface to Reproduction of *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture*" written by Fei Chun in *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture* 1801 edition, Emperor Kangxi (1662-1722) inscribed on a copy of the Song dynasty of *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture* and sent it to the local government. The local governor kept this gazetteer on his desk and often read it (Ma and Zhou 1261, *Chongke Jiankang zhi xu* written by Fei Chun, 1, b). This copy from the Song dynasty had a seal from the Ministry of Rites of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) suggesting that this gazetteer was also used by the central government of the Ming dynasty (Ma and Zhou 1261, *Chongke Jiankang zhi hou xu* written by Sun Xingyan, 1, a). During the 37th to 47th year of the Qianlong reign (1772-1782) of the Qing dynasty, the central government compiled "A Complete Collection on Confucian Classics, History, Philosophy, and Belles-lettres" (*Siku quan shu*). *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture* was also included in this series based on the edition owned by Ma Yu (Ma and Zhou 1261, "Chongke Jiankang zhi xu" written by Fei Chun, 1, b). In the sixth year of the Jiaqing reign of the Qing dynasty (1801), this gazetteer was reproduced again based on the copy from the Song dynasty given by Emperor Kangxi.

It is clear that the production of *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture* and its maps was initiated and organized by these governments. The compilation was totally controlled by their political power. The main purpose was to serve the administration by providing comprehensive information on this part of China.

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#### SELECTION OF THE MAPS IN THE GAZETTEER

Among the nineteen maps in the gazetteer, two were directly related to the emperor. The emperor's power was supreme in ancient Chinese society and influenced every aspect of Chinese culture. The first one is *The Map of the Place Coiled by a Dragon and Crouched by a Tiger* (*Long pan hu ju tu*, Figure 1). It is placed first in the gazetteer, reflecting its importance. "A dragon," which appears in the title of the map, was often used as a symbol for the emperor in Chinese culture. As Zhou Yinghe, the author of the maps in *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture*, explained, the place coiled by a dragon and crouched by a tiger suggested that this was an emperor's residence (Ma and Zhou 1261, chapter 5, 1, b). *The Map of the Place Coiled by a Dragon and Crouched by a Tiger* simply shows the city wall and a canal of Jiankang, mountains, and the Yangzi River around the city. It does not contain any detailed features in the city except for a canal. The pictorially represented city wall was enlarged and placed in the center of the map. Based on a lack of geographic details about the city, and as suggested by the title, it becomes

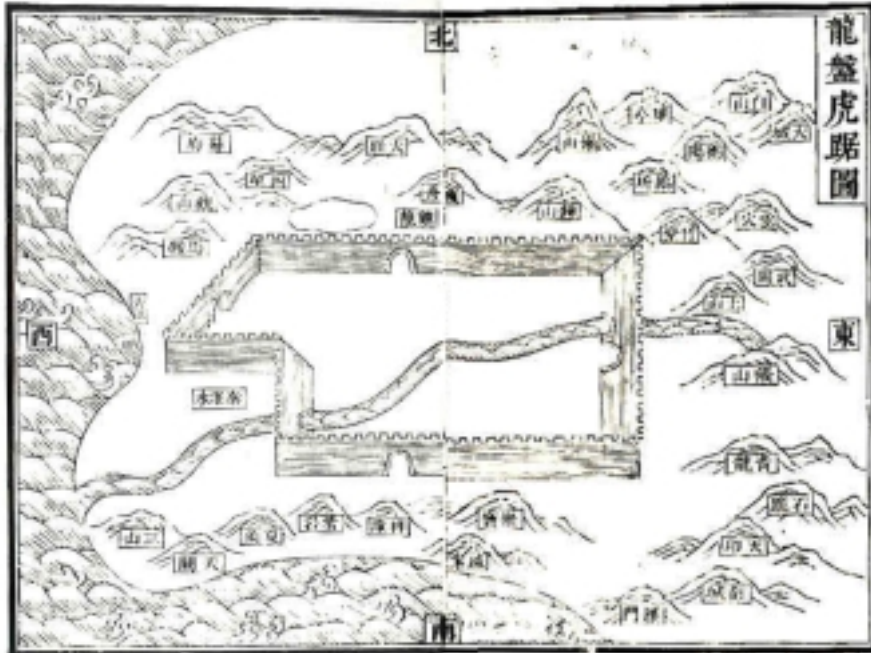


Figure 1. The Map of the Place Coiled by a Dragon and Crouched by a Tiger. The original map area: 26.6 x 19.4 cm (10 1/2 x 7 5/8 inches).

obvious that the political meaning of this map was more important than its geographical significance. It implies that this was the place where the emperor lived.

The second map relating to the emperor is *The Map of the Emperor's Temporary Dwelling Palace in Jiankang City of the Song Dynasty* (*Song Jiankang xingong tu*, Figure 2). As its title indicates, the only purpose of this map was to depict the compound of the emperor's temporary dwelling palace

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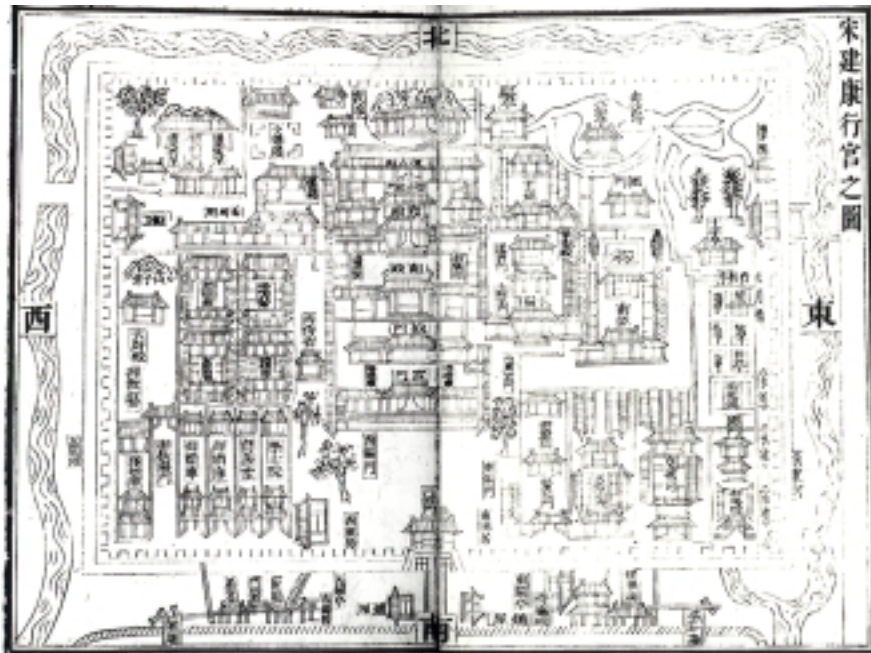


Figure 2. The Map of the Emperor's Temporary Dwelling Palace in Jiankang City of the Song Dynasty. The original map area: 26.6 x 19.4 cm (10 1/2 x 7 5/8 inches).

which was located in the center of the city. This map shows the compound in detail, including the palace, palace wall, moat, imperial offices, warehouses, study, stable, pond, vegetation, streams, gardens, and bridges. The emperor's palace is in the center of the compound. On its left are imperial offices and warehouses, such as The Department of Internal Affairs of the Emperor's Palace (*Nei si sheng*), Imperial Wine Warehouse (*Yü jiu ku*), and Imperial Vinegar Warehouse (*Yü cu ku*). On the right of the palace are the imperial study, garden, and stable. The walled compound is surrounded by the moat on its eastern, northern, and western sides. Its southern side is facing a street. The main gate of the compound is located in the middle of the southern side and is labeled as "The Gate of the Emperor's Temporary Dwelling Palace" (*Xinggong men*). The other two gates are located in the middle of the eastern and western walls.

The practice of emphasizing the emperor's power through the map selections agrees with the contents of the text. There are fifty chapters. Chapters one to four are "Records on the Ancient Capital" (*Liu du lu*), that includes all the important details relating to the Emperor's Temporary Dwelling Palace. Specifically, the records include those on historical events related to the construction of the Emperor's Temporary Dwelling Palace, the architectural structure of the palace, the officials and the governmental department in charge of the maintenance of the palace, and the emperor's garden, edicts, and writings.

*"... it is obvious that demonstrating political power and state territory was one of the purposes of The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture."*

In addition to the above two maps which are directly related to the emperor, six maps in the gazetteer specifically show the state territory. One is *The Map of Jiankang Prefecture of the Empire* (*Huangchao Jiankang fu jing zhi tu*, Figure 3). The others are the five county maps, which were under the administration of Jiankang prefecture. Moreover, two maps, *The Map of the Compound of the Prefectural Government* (*Fuxie zhi tu*) and *The Map of the Simo Palace* (*Zhisi simo guanting tu*) directly depict the compounds of the prefectural government.

From these maps, it is obvious that demonstrating political power and state territory was one of the purposes of *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture*.



Figure 3. *The Map of Jiankang Prefecture of the Empire*. The original map area: 26.6 x 19.4 cm (10 1/2 x 7 5/8 inches).



Cartographic design and symbolization were used to emphasize the influence of political power. An example is *The Map of the Prefectural Capital* (*Fu cheng zhi tu*, Figure 4). This map shows the capital of Jiankang prefecture (*fu*) in detail, including the city wall, moat, canal, streets, bridges, lake, hill, and approximately 160 place names. These names are those of the emperor’s temporary dwelling palace, official mansions, military camps, warehouses, the prefectural academy and school, market places, temples, residential districts, gates, streets, gardens, bridges, a river, and a cave. Table 2 reviews the contents of the map.

REFLECTION OF POLITICAL POWER ON MAP IMAGES

*“Cartographic design and symbolization were used to emphasize the influence of political power.”*

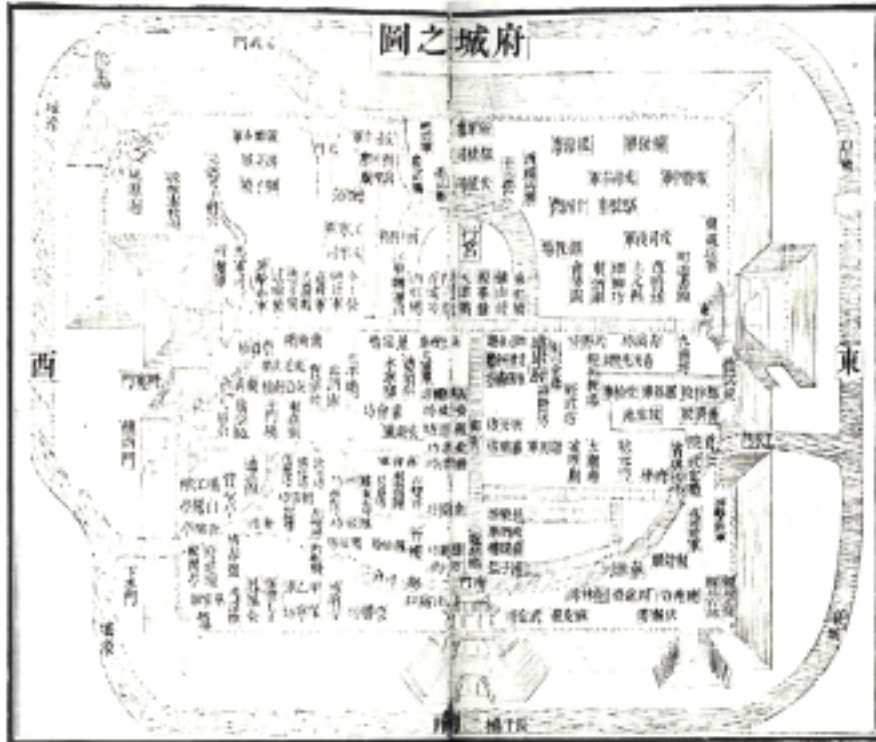


Figure 4. *The Map of the Prefectural Capital*. The original map area: 26.6 x 19.4 cm (10 1/2 x 7 5/8 inches).

Features	Quantity	Rate (per square decimeter on the map)
Place names	167	32.4
Moat and canal	127 centimeters long	24.6 centimeters long
Lake	1	0.2
Bridges	17	3.3
Hill	1	0.2
Streets	56 centimeters long	10.9 centimeters long
City wall & palace wall	85 centimeters long	16.5 centimeters long

\*The original map area is 2.66 x 1.94 = 5.16 square decimeters. The rate in this table is calculated based on this size. See Hu 1988, a, 36 for the source of this table.

Table 2. *Contents of the Map of the Prefectural Capital\**

This map is oriented with north at the top because the south, east, and west are indicated in the middle of the bottom, right, and left sides of the map. The city on the map was surrounded by a wall and moat. The five main gates of the city wall are labeled and pictorially represented. In the center of the map is the Emperor's Temporary Dwelling Palace (*Xinggong*). It is facing the main gate of the city, the Southern Gate (*Nan men*). The main street of the city, Imperial Street (*Yu jie*), connects the Emperor's Temporary Dwelling Palace and the Southern Gate. Along Imperial Street, starting from its northern end, are some official mansions, such as the compound of the prefectural government. Military camps are distributed throughout the northern half of the city. The Emperor's Temporary Dwelling Palace (*Xinggong*) is indicated using the largest Chinese characters enclosed by a double rectangle. As a result, it is the most obvious place name on the map. The symbolic meaning of this design clearly shows that, in the map maker's mind, the emperor's temporary dwelling palace is the most important place in the whole city. Here "the distinction of class and power are engineered, reified and legitimated in the map by means of cartographic signs. The rule seems to be 'the more powerful, the more prominent.' To those who have strength in the world shall be added strength in the map" (Harley 1989, 7). This representation provides another example of "how the 'rules of the social order' appear to insert themselves into the smaller codes and spaces of cartographic transcription" (Harley 1989, 6).

*"This representation provides another example of "how the 'rules of the social order' appear to insert themselves into the smaller codes and spaces of cartographic transcription"."*

By using techniques of generation and symbolization, the administrative seats are also emphasized on the maps which show state territories. For example, on *The Map of Jiankang Prefecture of the Empire*, all place names, including a prefecture (*fu*), counties (*xian*), and townships (*xiang*), are administrative divisions except mountains and lakes. The pattern and size of the symbols and labels for the administrative seats were arranged according to their administrative levels. The representation of the prefectural seat was much larger than its actual size and was greatly enlarged according to its administrative importance. This indicates that the symbols on the map were designed according to their political importance rather than the map scale. As a result, the prefecture became the most visible feature on the map. The symbols of the county seats were also enlarged although to a smaller scale.

The political significance of emphasizing the state administrative structures is reflected in the title of the map, "*The Map of Jiankang Prefecture of the Empire*." The title indicates that the territory was controlled by the political power-empire. This political significance is also attested to by a statement of the author, Zhou Yinghe. In the preface on the maps in this gazetteer, he states, "Dasitu (a title of an official) was in charge of the territory maps and census. By using these maps and data, he assisted the emperor in ruling the country... Jiankang was an ancient capital . . . It is such an important place that it must have maps to show it. Therefore, I made these maps in the gazetteer" (Ma and Zhou 1261, chapter 5, 1, a-b). This statement, on the one hand, suggests that the territory shown on the maps was controlled by the empire - a political power. On the other hand, it reveals that the maps, which showed the territory, served as administrative tools for the empire.

#### CONCLUSION

It can be seen that political power had a large influence on *The Gazetteer of Jiankang Prefecture* and its maps. By using the techniques of map selection, cartographic design, and symbolization, the emperor's power and state territory were clearly emphasized on these maps. This important political feature indicates that showing political power was one of the purposes in

making these maps, and the nature of these maps also served as a political tool of the governments.

This paper supports the general notion that maps are not only geographical representations of the spatial world but can also be viewed as cultural images that reflect the societies in which they are produced. On the one hand, naming and locating a feature on a map does have geographical significance. On the other hand, representations of these geographical features often have social and cultural meanings. Thus, besides their geographical functions, maps themselves may also have multiple cultural functions and have their own impact on the society. From this point of view, the interpretation of maps can go beyond their cartographic technology to explore their social and cultural significance in their specific historical contexts. Maps thus can be studied in a much broader sense than merely as geographical representations of the spatial world.

*“... besides their geographical functions, maps themselves may also have multiple cultural functions and have their own impact on the society.”*

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