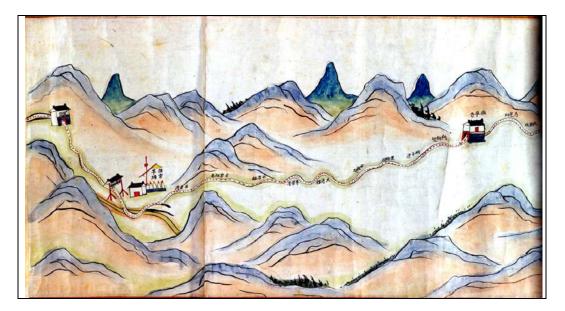
#### Note on an anomaly in a Qing Scroll Map

David Jupp September 2012 (Revisions in Dec 2012, Mar 2015).

## Introduction

A Qing period scroll map from the late 1700s, in the keeping of the US Library of Congress (LoC, <u>http://www.loc.gov/rr/geogmap/</u>) since 1930 and called "The Shu Road from Shaanxi to the Sichuan Border" (陕境蜀道图) was scanned by the LoC at high resolution and used in collaborative research between the author and the Hanzhong Museum in Hanzhong City of Shaanxi Province in China. The purpose was to identify historical changes and similarities in the route across the Qinling Mountains between the Qing period and the present and to identify places along it as far as possible in modern maps. A brief description based on information provided by the US LoC website and available at the website referenced below for the maps is as follows:

"The images make up a complete scan of a 17 metre (55 foot) long scroll preserved and held by the Geography & Map Division of the US Library of Congress. The scroll map shows the main (postal) road from the Wei River valley of Shaanxi Province (陕 西省) to the border with Shu (Sichuan) in the Qing Period. It is read from right to left and starts at the then walled city of Baoji (宝鸡) in Shaanxi to finish on the border between Shaanxi and Sichuan Province (四川省) at a place called Qipanguan (七盘 关). There is a section of the road including Mianxian (勉县) and Gu Yangpingguan (古阳平关) that is missing from the scroll, but that does not detract from the overall value of the map. It was purchased by Arthur W. Hummel (Heng Muyi, 恒慕义) in China in 1930, who donated it to the LoC collection."



A number of published papers and other Chinese language material have been translated to make the opinions of Chinese scholars accessible and example images have been developed from the base scanned data to help with research at brush stroke and annotation level. These materials and further information about the scroll are available at the web page:

http://www.qinshuroads.org/LOC\_Scroll\_web/LOC\_Scroll.htm

This page is one of a number under the overall Shu Roads project web site at: <u>http://www.qinshuroads.org/</u>. The Shu Road project has made use of the map to help develop modern maps of the ancient "Shu Roads" through the Qinling Mountains in Shaanxi and south to Chengdu in Sichuan. A general introduction to the Shu Roads can also be found at:

http://www.qinshuroads.org/docs/html/Shu\_Roads\_Introduction.htm

## **Publications of Research in the Map**

The LoC Scroll page of the Shu Roads project web site lists a set of papers and translations available to research the map:

Paper by Herold J Wiens (1949): The first person in the west to discuss this scroll map was Herold J. Wiens in his 1949 Thesis. The scroll is also referenced in Herold J. Wiens' published article "The Shu Tao or Road to Sichuan", *Geographical Review*, 39 (1949), pp. 584-604.'

**Cartobibliography compiled in Li (2004)**: Prof. Li Xiaocong was invited by the US Library of Congress to examine the Hummel Collection of Chinese scroll maps and other material and compile a Cartobibliography for publication. The book was published in Beijing in 2004 and contains an entry for the "The Shu Road from Shaanxi to the Sichuan Border". The full reference is provided and the Chinese and English entries for the map are available at the web page. As the two entries are different, the Chinese entry has been translated.

Li Xiaocong (Ed) (2004). "Summaries of holdings in the US Library of Congress' Collection of ancient Chinese maps", Beijing, Cultural Press, October 2004. (Chinese and English)

Meiguo Guohui Tushuguan Guancang Zhongwen Gu Ditu Xulu, Li Xiaocong bianzhu, Beijing Wenwu Chubanshe, 2004-10.

美国国会图书馆藏中文古地图叙录,李孝聪编著,北京:文物出版社, 2004—10. (中英)

**Paper by Bi and Li (2004)**: A more comprehensive paper has been written describing the Qing scroll map in Chinese by Bi and Li (2004). The author Li is Li Xiaocong (see above) who compiled the Cartobibliography for the Hummel collection at the Library of Congress collection. The paper provides interesting discussion about the scroll's possible age and purpose. A translation of the paper into English has been made.

Bi, Qiong and Li, Xiaocong (2004). Research into "The Shu Road from Shaanxi to the Sichuan Border". *Cartography* (China, in Chinese), **4**, 45-50.

"Shan jing shu dao tu" yan jiu. Bi Qiong & Li Xiaocong, Ditu, 2004(4), ye 45

《陕境蜀道图》研究, 毕琼李孝聪 (作者), 地图 2004(4), 页 45

**Paper by Feng Suiping (2010)**: The most comprehensive paper is one written by the Director of Hanzhong Musem, Feng Suiping (冯岁平) The paper provides a comprehensive background and analysis of the map. A translation of the paper into English has been made and provided at the web page.

Feng Suiping (2010). Further investigation of the Qing period "Map of the Shu Road to the Shaanxi border", Wenbo (Museums & Cultural Relics), Number 2, 2010 (In Chinese)

"Qing 'Shanjing Shudao Tu' zai tan", Feng Suiping, Wenbo, 2010 nian, di 2 qi. "清《陕境蜀道图》再探",冯岁平者,《文博》2010年,第2期

**Cartobibliography compiled by Lin Tianren (2013)**: This Qing Period map was presented in full colour and discussed by Prof Lin Tianren of the Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan in his 2013 book on the Hummel Collection of the LoC and matching materials in the Taipei Palace Museum collection:

Lin, Tianren and Zhang, Min, Eds (2013). "Reading imperial cartography: Ming-Qing historical maps in the Library of Congress", Published by the Academia Sinica Digital Center (Taipei), 2013/11/01. (Chinese and English)

林天人編撰、張敏編譯:《皇輿搜覽——美國國會圖書館所藏明清輿圖》,臺 北中央研究院,數位文化中心出版,2013年11月。

# **Qing Period administrative regions**

| Place<br>Hierarchy<br>Level | Place<br>Designator |     |       |   |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----|-------|---|
|                             | CHS                 | CHF | PY    | EN  |
| 1                           | 省                   | 省   | Shěng | Province                                  |
| 2                           | 道                   | 道   | Dào   | Circuit                                   |
| 3                           | 府                   | 府   | Fŭ    | Prefecture                                |
| 4                           | 州                   | 州   | Zhōu  | Department, Sub-prefecture<br>or District |
| 4                           | 县                   | 縣   | Xiàn  | Department, Sub-prefecture<br>or District |
| 5                           | 厅                   | 廳   | Tīng  | District                                  |

During the Qing period the basic administrative units were:

The Dao was a group of Fu and the administrator answered to the Governor or, in some cases, to the court. The Circuit official's title is often translated as "Inspector" and that seems to have been a good description of the activities carried out by the Dao.

The Fu was the main geographic unit under the Governor of the Province. Its type was often translated as "Prefecture" and its administrator's title translated as "Prefect". Each prefecture contained a number of departments and districts. These were generally one of Zhou, Xian or Ting. Of these, the Ting was least important but often

had quite high ranking (well paid) officials in attendance. This was because they were generally outposts, often among minority groups or in border areas and were "hard posts". It seems that the ranking of the Departments was related to the presence of military posts and to the ranks of the civilian official and military commander. A "Zhou" could sometimes also be part of a Dao. There are examples of Zhou, Xian and Ting along the route in the Qing Scroll Map.

The area covered by the Scroll map is in two Shaanxi prefectures. In the northern part was Fengxiang Fu (Full form, 鳳翔府; simplified, 凤翔府) and in the southern was Hanzhong Fu (full form, 漢中府; simplified, 汉中府). Today, the "City" (市) plays much the same role as the Fu but there are no Dao. Fengxiang is now a county (县) in Baoji City (宝鸡市) which was previously the seat of a Xian in Fengxiang Fu in the Qing Period. The first Department met going south from Baoji in the map is Feng Xian (凤县). In the Qing period, Feng Xian was a department in Hanzhong Fu, but today the equivalent county (also called Feng Xian) is part of the Baoji City area. So, there have been changes.

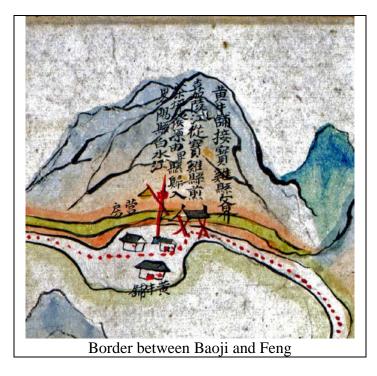
In the Qing period, as today, some towns were the seats of more than one level of administration. For example, Hanzhong was the seat for Hanzhong Fu, the administrator of the Dao as well as the local department which was called Nanzheng Xian (南郑县). The Dao was called Shaan'An Dao (陕安道) in the "Historical Atlas of China" (Tan, 1996) and Hanxing Dao (漢興道) by others. Either way, Hanzhong was a major centre. In addition, many cities and towns had military administrators which also added to or subtracted from their importance.

Based on the "Historical Atlas of China" (Tan, 1996) for the Qing Period, the boundary between Fengxiang Fu and Hanzhong Fu was at Huangniu Pu (黄牛堡 or 黄牛铺). The boundaries of the departments were not as well established and a significant value of the Qing Scroll Map is in what it tells us about these boundaries.

## **Border Markers and annotations**

While Feng (2010) provides a list of the borders, we will go over the set of borders again with more detailed set of images here. In Feng (2010) see Figures 6(a) and 6(b) and their explanations in the text.

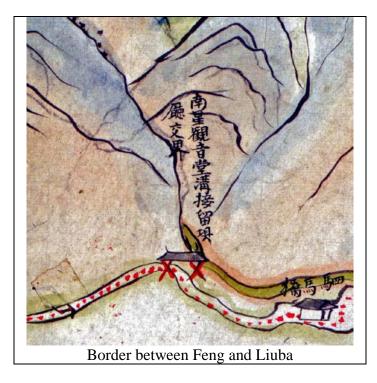
Going from north to south (on the scroll, from right to left) the route leaves Baoji to head over the watershed between the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers into Feng County. The first border annotation marks this boundary between Baoji and Feng departments as well as between Fengxiang and Hanzhong Fu. It is at Huangniu Pu as was given as its place in Tan (1996). The annotation on the right says "黃牛鋪接寶雞縣交界", or "Border with Baoji located at Huangniu Pu". The other part of the annotation concerns the rivers. The border between Baoji City and Hanzhong City has today moved south and the border between the districts of Feng and Baoji has moved closer to the water shed ridge.



The next border on the map is between Feng Xiang and Liuba Ting. Bi and Li (2004) believed that the map indicated Liuba Ting was not yet at "Ting" level when the map was drawn but was when it was updated. Feng (2010) points out that Liuba Ting was certainly part of the original map. This has implications for the date it was drawn. At the border we find:

The annotation reads: "南星觀音堂溝接留垻廳交界" or "Border with Liuba Ting located at Guanyin Tang Gulley near Nanxing". There is a border gate in the scroll. Today, Feng County and Liuba County are in different City areas (Baoji and Hanzhong respectively). The modern boundary between the two counties (and the two cities) is a bit south of the one shown on the scroll map, being about as far as the border between Baoji and Feng has moved but in the opposite direction.

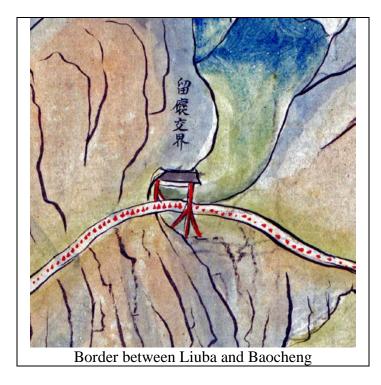
[NOTE: The use of "垻" throughout the scroll, rather than the more complicated "壩" is interesting as it, and other characters in the map, add to evidence that artisans and practical people (like surveyors) made extensive use of simpler forms of the traditional characters. The modern character is essentially the same as the one used in the scroll, being "坝" which makes a consistent change from "貝" to "贝".]



The road then enters Liuba Ting and continues south. There is a change to be expected here as in the Qing Period, the town of Baocheng (褒城) was a major postal and rest station on the Lianyun Road where the Bao River entered the Hanzhong Basin. It was also a District city being Baocheng Xian. Today, Baocheng is not a county and the road is met by the modern counties of Chenggu (成固), Hantai (汉台) and Mianxian (勉县) just south of Qingqiao Yi (青桥驿).

In the Qing period, Liuba Ting had a border with Baocheng. This is shown in the scroll just south of Wuguan (武关). There are a number of places with the name Wuguan in the Qing map as well as in today's map and it is to the south of them all. The annotation says simply "留褒交界" or "Liu Bao border". Wuguan was where the Baoye road joined the Lianyun Road and is a good way north of Qingqiao Yi, which is getting close to the end of the Bao valley and the way across Jitou Guan. Baocheng, it seems was quite a small department but it was a very significant rest point on the road to Shu.

The borders between Liuba Ting and Fengxian at Nanxing and Baocheng at Wuguan are important markers to date the map as they were decided when Liuba Ting was founded in the 30<sup>th</sup> Qianlong Year (1765).

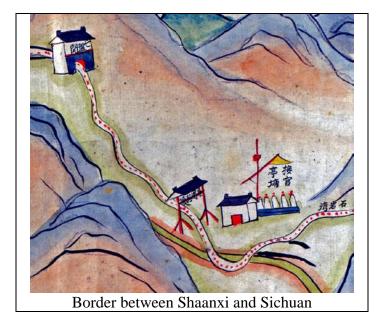


The boundaries above are the ones of most significance for this document. After Baocheng there is a missing section of the scroll map that includes Mianxian. Only a small section from that department is present. However, it seems enough to establish that the departments had distinct colours and banners at the barrier posts and it seems likely that following Liuba, the departments as far as the Sichuan border along the road shown in the scroll were Baocheng, Mian and Ningqiang. The borders between Mian and Ningqiang and between Ningxiang and Sichuan are present in the scroll map.



The border between Mianxian and Ningqiang (Zhou) is at Jindui Pu Tang (金堆鋪塘). There are two annotations, one on a gate near the barrier Tang and the other on a gate at the barrier. The first reads "寧沔交界牌" or "Ning Mian border notice" and the second reads "寧沔接壤" or "Ning Mian Border". Just before the border on the right of the image is an "earth bridge" (土橋).

Finally, at the end of the northern road through Shaanxi is the border area with Sichuan.



The Barrier with flag flying has the annotation "接管亭塘" or "(Border) Control Post", the gate past the Barrier has the annotation "秦蜀接壤" or "Border of Qin and Shu" (ie Shaanxi and Suchuan). The border crossing is finalised by passing through "七盤関" or "Qipan Guan (Qipan Pass)". This place is still the border between Shaanxi and Sichuan today.

#### An anomalous case

As well as the above border annotations between known departments, there is one that is different from the others. Each of the examples in the previous set of annotations defines the border between well-established prefectures and departments in the area. However, north of Er'shili Pu (二十里铺), near Xianren Gully (仙人沟) where there is a roadside Stele with the annotation, "Xianren track marker" (仙人足迹碑) and there is also an apparent border annotation as follows: "This place is connected to the Nanzheng county administration". (此係南鄭縣管). As noted by Feng (2010), the brush work is unlike the rest and the presence of a border is unexpected in this place.



Feng (2010) discusses (the following is a translation into English) this annotation as follows:

"Were the annotations and amendments made after the 40th Qianlong year (1775) the only ones? Between Tiefodian (the Iron Buddha Temple) (near) Chenzi Gulley in the south and Wuguan Jie to the north in the present scroll map, there is an original painted mark that says "Liu Bao Boundary". That is, to the north of the mark was part of Liuba Ting and to the south of the mark was part of Baocheng County. However, well to the south of this mark (but to the north of Tiefodian), between Xianren Gulley and Xianren Location Marker (milestone), is the revision "this area is managed by Nanzheng". Its written style is not the same as the original painting, or of the previous amendments, and seems to be another style. During the Qing Period and the Republic of China (1912-1949), the route south from Tiefodian (Iron Buddha Temple) to (present day) Baocheng Zhen in Mianxian County was within the border of (the then) Baocheng County. This continued until the China wide complete revision of boundaries in 1954, at which time Baocheng township became a Zhen and Baocheng County was split. The area involved was divided into two, the north being amalgamated into Liuba County and the south amalgamated into Nanzheng County (present day Hantai Area of Hanzhong City). It seems that from this annotation, after 1954 there were still people making amendments to the "Shu Road Scroll map."<sup>1</sup>

The annotation has a different written style from the others (as well as brush style) with a construction of "係...管" as opposed to "接...交界". However, the suggestion that changes were made after 1954 is problematic since the map was bought by Arthur Hummel in 1930 and preserved by the US Library of Congress since. It is very unlikely that such an annotation would have been made on the map after 1930 when it was in either Arthur Hummel's personal collection or (later) at the Library of Congress. So, Feng Suiping's suggestion that it was amended after 1954 is unlikely.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A translation of the accepted history of changes to Hanzhong administration that is probably the basis for Feng's conclusion is attached at the end of the document.

Of course, it is not completely impossible that the annotation was made in the Qing period and that this place (perhaps only this specific place) was managed by Nanzheng Xian. Hanzhong was at the time the seat of a Dao, a Fu and a Xian and the Xian was Nanzheng Xian. But there seems no good reason why Nanzheng should also have managed a small area north of Qingqiao Yi at this time - and so on balance of probability, the mystery remains unsolved.

#### Hanzhong Administration in the early Republic

Is there an alternative? One possible lead is in a report by Sir Eric Teichman (1921) where during his travels to this region he makes the following note concerning Hanzhong in 1917: "Hanchung, now officially known by the name of the district as Nanch'eng, is a first class Hsien, and is one of the three or four wealthiest and most populous cities in the province."

This statement may have relevance for the anomaly on the Qing Scroll Map. The changes Teichman referred to had occurred after 1913 during the formation of the Republic when the district structure that had been in place during the Qing (and in a similar form in the Ming) was drastically changed. The classic Provincial District levels of Xian (县), Zhou (州) and Ting ( $\Gamma$ ) were replaced by a single level designated Xian (县), with a number of internal grades, whose officials reported directly to the provincial Governor. The Fu (R) was abolished and Dao (道) seems to have existed for a while but with some uncertain level of influence (see Zuo, 2002 and the Endnote). This arrangement seems to have been difficult to manage by all involved and led to some confusion about boundaries and some of the officials and commanders probably attempted to establish or re-establish their power and influence during the chaos that followed for the next 20 years.

As noted above, in the Qing period, Hanzhong was the seat of a Fu, a Dao and also a Xian. It was the seat of Hanxing Dao (consisting of Hanzhong Fu and Xing'an Fu), Hanzhong Fu (with 12 subordinate administrative areas including Xian, Zhou and Ting) and Nanzheng Xian. Previously there were both a Daoyin (道尹) official (for the Dao) and a Zhifu (知府) official (for the Fu) but the Zhifu was no more. Teichman writes:

"Since the abolition of the hierarchical system of Tao, Fu, Chou and Hsien, the territorial administration is entirely in the hands of the district magistrates acting directly under the Civil Governor of the Province. Thus the magistrates correspond directly with the Governor and send copies of their despatches and reports to the Taoyin (Daoyin 道尹), so that the latter is short-circuited and the abolition of the post is sometimes advocated as being superfluous. ..... The position of Chenshoushih (Zhenshou Shi, 镇守使 or Provincial Garrison Commander) is that of a General with powers of military administration. At the present time, when things are more or less unsettled and the military rule the roost, a Chenshoushih often has powers which amount practically to those of an independent Military Governor, and the Taoyin, as a civil official, has little importance." That is, while the Daoyin, despite managing a large area, had little real civil power, the Zhenshou Shi commanded the same area with absolute military power. The area involved at Hanzhong covered nearly three previous Fu (Zuo, 2002). During the early Republic, the Commander of the Garrison at Nanzheng therefore became the main position of power in southern Shaanxi as evidenced by the presence of minor "warlords" in this position in the early years. Teichman reported that a General in command of a Northern Mixed Brigade, sent by Yuan Shih-k'ai to hold the Han Valley, continued to maintain law and order when he came through in 1917. This Zhenshoushi was Major General Guan Jinju (管金聚, 1870-1927). Guan was in control between 15 July 1916 and 6 June 1920 and was a person of high status in the Beiyang Army. But he was replaced in 1920 when the the strategic value of the position changed as military power shifted in the north.

In May 1921, General George Periera stayed at Hanzhong on his way to Tibet (Pereira, 1926). He reports that his military escort from Hanzhong to the Sichuan border were "*Chili and Shantung men and were a well-set-up, smart lot, and very well behaved. He could not wish for better men.*" So it seems that some Northern Troops were still in Hanzhong in 1921 although Major General Guan had already left. However, the situation had certainly changed since Sir Eric Teichman visited in 1917. Opium growing had increased and was being used by officials for revenue under the excuse of "heavily tax in order to suppress" (寓禁于征). General Periera recorded:

"And in spite of Government orders much opium was grown about here, the officials not only cultivating it themselves, but compelling people to grow it for their own profit. In the previous year, when they grew too much, there was a slump in the opium market, causing heavy loss to many people."

As General Pereira left going south through Sichuan to Chengdu, there were other changes approaching Hanzhong behind him. When Sir Eric Teichman visited, the military Governor of Shaanxi was the "Junior" warlord Chen Shufan (陈树藩, 1885-1949). Chen was a native of the Ankang area who, during his rising career in 1915, had previously been Provincial Garrison Commander (Zhenshou Shi, 镇守使) for the Hanzhong Basin. Unfortunately, during his time in Xi'an as military Governor, Chen Shufan had became dependent on income from opium to maintain his army. He therefore tried to delay dismissal from the position in May 1921 until after the harvest to be able to access the tax. But with the arrival of the "Christian" Warlord Feng Yuxiang (冯玉祥) to take over Shaanxi, Chen moved his headquarters and army to his home area of Hanzhong in 1921 and commanded the Hanzhong Basin.

Later in 1921, Feng sent another "Junior" Warlord, Wu Xintian (吴新田, 1876-1955) to remove Chen who was later defeated and left with his army to wander in southern China like many similar armed bands with whom he joined as opportunities arose. Wu became the Garrison Commander at Hanzhong with its great autonomy and power and proceeded to engage in opium growing, corruption and extortion by heavy taxation. It is said that he forced farmers to turn 40% of arable land to poppy production which was then processed into opium. While Wu was in charge, we know that bandits captured Foping Ting and murdered its magistrates. The mountain administration gave way to banditry and smuggling. The local people were greatly relieved when Wu finally left in 1928. He later joined the Guomindang army as a

Commander with rank Lieutenant General and fled to Taiwan in 1949 where he remained until his death in 1955.

After a time wandering in Sichuan, Chen Shufan retired to the East and later supported the Nanjing and Chongqing Governments, as well as the United Front, and opposed the resumption of the Civil War by Jiang Jieshi after the defeat of Japan. He died in Hangzhou in 1949. After his time in Hanzhong, Guan Jinju and his troops fought hard for the Beiyang cause but were defeated by the Fengtian Army faction (奉 天军) of Zhang Zuolin (张作霖). Following his defeats, Guan withdrew from the troubles to Kaifang where, until his death in 1927 he was known by local people as "Old Retired Scholar Guan".

It is clear from the reports made by General George Periera that between the time Sir Eric Teichman had visited and the General's visit the situation in the interior had already deteriorated. As George Pereira moved on through the countryside, he saw how leaderless soldiers roamed plundering and competing with bandits and the slightly more organised militias and other warlord armies. After 1921 in Hanzhong it only got worse. While the warlord Chen Shufan may have maintained some order in his home area while in brief command, Wu Xintian was not interested in basic law and order but only how to exploit the land and people and maintain his army. Msgr. L. Balconi of the Italian Catholic Mission at Guluba (near Hanzhong) wrote at this time:

"Robbers, organized like real armies with military discipline, in no way differed from the regular soldiers, except in the flag and sometimes in the uniform. Obviously, the robbers of today were the soldiers of yesterday and the authorities, who now come to visit you, could very well be the brigands of the near future".

## A hypothetical story for the map

The facts we know are that between about 1915/16 and 1920/21, Hanzhong may have been well governed by disciplined Northern Army (Beiyang or Zhili) troops with professional Command. This was despite Yuan Shikai's failed attempt to restore Dynastic Rule in 1915. Then between 1921 and 1926 Hanzhong suffered at the hands of battles between warlords. Between 1926 and 1928 the Northern Expedition of the National Revolutionary Army (NRA) then threw China into turmoil. Many foreign missionaries and teachers left China after the Nanjing Incident in 1927. Among them was Arthur Hummel who was teaching at Yanjing University in Beijing.

Arthur Hummel had already been collecting rare and valuable Chinese books, scrolls and maps and after returning to the US he worked at the US National Library of Congress (LOC) where he built up a very high quality China collection. He eventually also donated many of his own collection to the Library. Arthur Hummel returned to China a number of times as the situation stabilised and the Guomindang created possibly the first real Chinese government since 1913. During these visits he was buying on behalf of the LOC. The Qing Period Scroll Map was bought by him in Beijing or Shanghai in 1930 and taken to the US. It seems almost certain that the annotation was already on the map at that time. After arriving at the LOC it also seems certain that it was preserved carefully until at least when it was scanned in recent times.

Until the Xinghai Revolution of 1912, from the information provided by Zuo (2002) that has been translated and is discussed in an End Note, it seems that the boundaries of the Qing administration were well established and stable and it is very unlikely that there was any reason for the annotation to be made before the beginning of the Republic. In the Republican period there were certainly changes to the administrative boundaries and responsibilities. However, Nanzheng Xian was a centre of power under an established Garrison Commander, Guan Jinju with his well-trained troops from Yuan Shikai's Beiyang Army. Their stabilising presence seems to have lasted at least until 1920/21.

#### The conjectured story is this:

The map was part of the collection in Hanzhong. It was used by the Beiyang Garrison based in Nanzheng District as a working map to locate strategic points on the main road to Baoji and Xi'an and plan operations. At some stage it was annotated to reflect a forward position to which they believed it important to maintain security. Then at some point between 1921 and 1926, the garrison left Hanzhong – possibly to join one or other of the factions in the events that followed during the warlord battles and finally the Northern Expedition. Either the map (or maps and other items) were taken by members of the garrison, by one of the warlords or by an official leaving during this time as a means to obtain money or as "superannuation". It was then sold in the East and made available for further sale by the time Arthur Hummel was contacting dealers and seeking out endangered treasures in 1930.

The above idea is not out of the question but it does involve speculative connections and at this time cannot be accepted as "truth". The annotation remains a mystery that may need some patient searching of the existing relevant records of the period to resolve.

## Afterword

Since the above was written, there has also been considerable progress made on another Qing period Hanzhong area map in the collection of the US Library of Congress. This map is called "Map of four provinces for the area north of the Han River" (《汉江以北四省边舆图》) and reflects work done between 1813 and 1822 by the Prefect of Hanzhong at the time, Yan Ruyi (严如熤; 1759-1826). It seems quite possible (although there are no records to confirm or dispute it) that the "Map of four provinces for the area north of the Han River" was bought by Arthur Hummel at about the same time – if not the same time and possibly from the same source. Like the Qing Period map discussed above, the Han River map was a working map generated and used by surveyors rather than a work of fine art and its characters were also often simplified like the (mid) Qing Map. It is also possible that the earlier Qing Map was used in the field for the production of the maps of the Hanzhong Gazetteer of 1813 as well as the "Map of four provinces for the area north of the Han River". The map of the Han River North seems to have originally had a companion "Map of three provinces south of the Han River" but it was not among the maps collected by the US Library of Congress. These and other maps are discussed in a paper by Feng Suiping that has been translated and made available <u>HERE</u>. More recently, copies of the two Han River maps have been located in the collection taken to Taiwan and preserved at the Palace Museum in Taipei. The maps preserved in Taiwan (both north and south) are wonderful works of art with various newly added annotations and fine calligraphy. Judged by modern cartographic standards, the Taiwan maps are not "good" as maps, but this was not likely to have been the purpose for their later production. As an extension to the conjecture it may be that whoever took the Qing Period and other Hanzhong maps was eventually associated with the Guomindang forces and preferred to take the more artistic treasures to Taiwan and sell the field based working versions to the foreigner. But we may never know.

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#### **ENDNOTE:**

Zuo Tangquan (2002) outlined the administrative structure and position occupied by Hanzhong from the late Qing to the present day as follows:

'When Ming changed to Qing, the system of government did not change. In the 30th Qianlong year (1765), "Liuba Ting" was formed out of a southern area of Feng Xian; in the 7th Jiaqing year (1802), "Dingyuan Ting" (present day Zhenba) was formed out of a southern area of Xixiang; in the 5th Daoguang year (1825), "Foping Ting" was formed from a combined northern area of Yang Xian and a southern area of Zhouzhi. Hanzhong Fu administered one Zhou at Ningxiang, three Ting at Liuba, Dingyuan and Foping, and eight Xian at Nanzheng, Chenggu, Yangxian, Xixiang, Baocheng, Mian, Feng and Lueyang; altogether having 12 administrative areas.

In the second year of the Republic (1913), the "Fu" level was abolished and replaced by Hanzhong Dao, which was based in Nanzheng; Zhou and Ting were all changed to Xian, with Hanzhong Dao administrating the 12 administrative units originally making up Hanzhong Fu, 10 Xian units of the Ankang Area as well as Shanyang, Zhen'an and Shangnan from the Shangluo Area, altogether making up 25 Xian. In the 17th year of the Republic (1928), the Dao was abolished, and the subordinate Xian were directly administered by the Provincial Government. In the 24th year of the Republic (1935), Hanzhong joined the 6th "Shaanxi Administrative and Supervision Area" governed from Nanzheng, with a "Prefectural Commissioner's Office" administering 12 Xian. In May 1949, two PCO's were set up to cover the eastern and western parts. The Eastern office was in Chenggu and administered 6 Xian; the Western office was in Mian and administered 6 Xian.

With the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic and the liberation of Hanzhong on the 6th of December 1949, the "Southern Shaanxi Administration Office" was set up to govern Hanzhong, Ankang and other areas. In May 1951, the office was abolished with the establishment of the "Nanzheng Administrative Area". At the beginning of 1957, this was changed to the "Hanzhong Administrative Area". In 1968 this changed again to the "Hanzhong District" and in July 1996 this category of "District" was abolished and replaced by the newly formed grade of Hanzhong City. Present day Hanzhong City administers Hantai District, Nanzheng, Chenggu, Yangxian, Foping, Xixiang, Zhenba, Liuba, Mianxian, Lueyang and Ningxiang; altogether comprising 1 District and 10 Xian.'

#### NOTES:

1. Present day Foping is a different place from the Foping mentioned as being formed in 1825. It moved in 1925 when a bandit army captured it and murdered the Magistrate and other officials.

2. The character for Mianxian changed from 沔 to 勉 after the formation of the PRC. The (present day) City of Zhouzhi, mentioned earlier, also changed its characters from 盩厔 to 周至 in 1964.

3. Feng Suiping's conclusion is certainly possible given the changes in 1951. However, the anomalous annotation on the Qing Period map definitely refers to "南鄭縣" or "南郑县" in simplified characters. The administrative areas set up in 1935 and used

with variations since then did not use "县" in relation to Nanzheng and although traditional characters may still have been used in the 1950's the annotation is more consistent with a previous period (before 1935) when Nanzheng was still primarily a "Xian".

4. This section provided by Zuo Tangquan says that the province took direct administration of the Xian in 1928. Although this is not necessarily inconsistent with Teichman's report, Teichman said that even in 1917, the Xian reported directly to the provincial government and only sent a copy of then report to the Dao administrator making him almost redundant. Possibly, the reality was accepted in 1928 but the greater independence of the Xian was already in place in 1917.

中文: (左汤泉, 2002)

清因明制,政区未变。至乾隆三十年(1765),分凤县南部,置"留坝厅";嘉庆七年(1802),分西乡南部,置"定远厅"(今镇巴县);道光五年(1825),分洋县北部与盩厔南部,置"佛坪厅"。汉中府辖宁羌一州,留坝、定远、佛坪三厅,南郑、城固、洋县、西乡、褒城、沔县、凤县、略阳八县,共十二个行政区。

民国二年(1913),废府,改置"汉中道",治南郑,州、厅皆改为县,汉中道 下辖原汉中府属十二县、以及今安康地区十县及商洛地区的山阳、镇安、商 南,共二十五县。民国十七年(1928)废道,下属各县,直隶于省。二十四年 (1935),汉中设为"陕西省第六行政督察区";治南郑,设"专员公署",辖十 二县。1949年5月,分设东西两专员公署。东署设城固,辖东六县;西署设沔 县,辖西六县。

中华人民共和国成立,1949年12具6日汉中解放,设"陕南行政公署",辖汉 中、安康等地。1951年2月撤销陕南行政公署,设"南郑专区"。1957年初,改 南郑专区为汉中专区。1968年改为"汉中地区",1996年7月,撤地区设立地级 汉中市。今汉中市辖汉台区、南郑、城固、洋县、佛坪、西乡、镇巴、留坝、 勉县、略阳、宁强共一区十县。