

**[Translator’s Foreword:** The paper in this document has been published in Chinese by Feng Suiping, Director of the Hanzhong Museum. Some additional information for an English speaking audience has been added. This includes section numbering and headings; various Figures have been added showing the map annotations in question; names of valley entrances have been provided in a Table; reference is added to occasional web based material and supported using annotation numbers and links; the main quoted sections from the map are in italics; references have been collected at the end of the paper and reduced to one where they were identical and have the form [R.n, page etc]; a new accompanying paper outlining the historical background to the “method of squares” has been developed as reference; some additional footnotes have been added; and any sentences and information that were not in the original paper are generally enclosed in [square brackets]. Readers are welcome to challenge the choices made in the translation and presentation and further information to help this is to be found [HERE](#). The Chinese text of the paper is included so that there is no need to search separately for it. Contact: [David Jupp](#), Canberra Australia, Last revision July 2015.]

## **Postscript to the “Map of neighbouring regions of four provinces on the north bank of the Han River” from the collection of the US Library of Congress.**

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(Translation by David Jupp, Canberra, Australia)

**Summary:** The “Map of neighbouring regions of four provinces on the north bank of the Han River” is a Qing Period map of the Qinling region in the US Library of Congress collection which is of the utmost importance. This paper introduces and discusses the annotations and legend from a geographic point of view and establishes where the map’s value lies. On the basis of records from a number of historical documents, it can be established that the drawings were the achievements of one Zheng Bingran. On the basis of the suggestion by Lu Yinpu to “provide a scale using the method of squares” the time when the map was drafted is suggested to be between September of the 13th Jiaqing year (1808) and September of the 18th Jiaqing year (1813). Progress is also made in regard to the existence of parallel publications “Map of three provinces on the south bank of the Han River” and “Records of roads in the mountain regions of three provinces”.

Key Words: Han River, Qinling Mountains, Qing period map, Border defence, Map drafting.

### **1. Introduction**

In the early autumn of the Renchen year (2012), as I was returning to Hanzhong from Anhui by way of the Western Capital [Xi’an], my friend, Mr Liu Wei provided me with a long sought after but so far not found copy of the “Map of neighbouring regions of four provinces on the north bank of the Han River” (referred to as the “Four Provinces Map” in the following) by Yan Ruyi (严如煜; 1759-1826) and Zheng Bingran (郑炳然) that had been found in the collection of the US Library of Congress. Tang Jinzhao in “Memorial Stele of Yan Ruyi’s works”, called it the “Two maps of the north and south Han River” [R.1], [R.2,v.1] & [R.3,p.11]; and in the “Outline of Qing History” it was referred to as “Map of the north and south of the Han River” [R.4] with explanation being that in addition to this foreign

held map there was also another called "Map of three provinces on the south bank of the Han River". In regard to this map it was introduced, recorded and studied for the first time among present Chinese scholars by Mr Li Xiacong of Beijing University [R.5,v.2 "Regional Maps: Province, Fu, Zhou, Ting and Xian" p.50].

The Taiwan scholar Prof. Lin Tianren has since made significant further steps in the research [R.6]. On the Mainland two maps have apparently been preserved, Beijing Library (now the National Library) in its map classification "Regional and Provincial Maps" has listed and briefly introduced two maps [R.8], however, up until now they have not been seen in publications or as images. The accessible image maps from the US Library of Congress collection are therefore rare and extremely valuable items. The initial studies of this map having not yet been sufficient, I have therefore continued the work by writing this paper.

## 2. Continuing discussion for the “Four Provinces Map”

The “Map of neighbouring regions of four provinces on the north bank of the Han River” is a paper based printed wood block<sup>1</sup> engraving [R.6], of unknown scale<sup>2</sup>, measuring 107x182 cm. [R.8] On the back of the map is a red signature seal, the map title in black ink and the map’s serial number in the appendix US Library of Congress collection of G7820.C5. The four provinces are most likely Shaanxi, Gansu, Henan and Hubei as the neighbouring regions [of the Han River] include areas of southeast Gansu, central and southern areas of Shaanxi, southwest Henan and northwest Hubei. The overall region included in the drawing spans from the Guanzhong Basin (approximately covering the Wei River Valley) to the Han River, that is, the Qinling area, with the focal area being the extent of the administrations of Hanzhong Fu, Xing’an Fu and Shang Zhou. Today it seems that it could have been more accurately called a Qing Period map of the Qinling Mountain region.

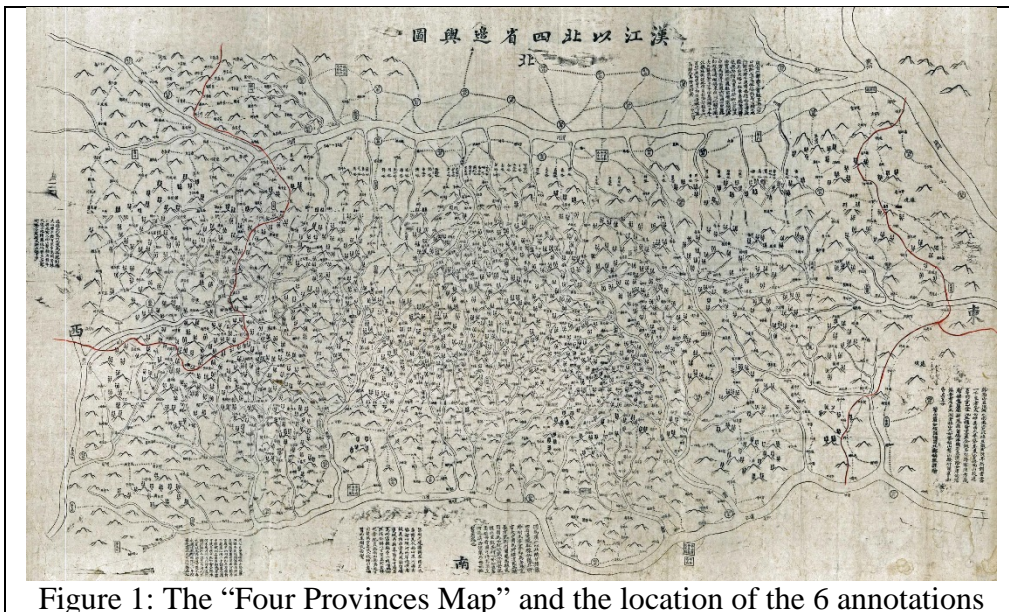


Figure 1: The “Four Provinces Map” and the location of the 6 annotations

<sup>1</sup> For further discussion of the method by which the map was attached to boards, printed and preserved, see Endnote 1.

<sup>2</sup> By approximately scaling the map at its given physical dimensions (1.07m deep by 1.82m wide) it seems to be similar in detail to a modern 1:250k map (1:25 万) with which it may be usefully compared.

The region covered by the Qinling mountain range is very broad, running continuously east-west, separating north and south, with very complex geographical features.

[This paper includes 7 Figures showing the Map and the annotations included on the map as discussed in Feng Suiping’s paper. Figure 1 shows the overall extent of the map. The 6 annotations discussed in this paper are clear on the map as blocks of text. For the purposes of matching annotations with higher resolution images made available on the web, they have been numbered in the English version from 1-6 starting from North and rotating clockwise. Annotation 1 is at the top right (North East), Annotation 2 is on the lower right (South East), Annotations 3, 4 and 5 are along the bottom edge (South) numbered from East to West and Annotation 6 is at the top left of the image (North West). The River along the top of the map is the Wei River and the near parallel river in the south is the Han River. The River drawn almost vertically on the West side of the map is the Jialing River. The annotations have been placed on the map in relation to the subject they cover.]

### **Legend and scale for the Map [Annotation 3]:**

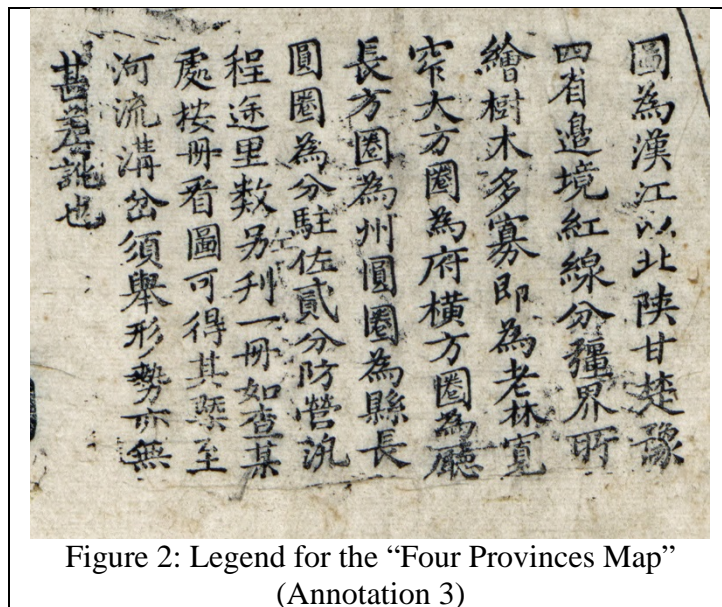


Figure 2: Legend for the “Four Provinces Map”  
(Annotation 3)

The map does not provide information on its scale, which is one of the three basic elements of a map<sup>3</sup>. It does, however, show the four (principal) directions East, South, West and North, and provides a Legend that explains the mapping symbols being used. The Legend (Annotation 3) says:

*“The boundaries of the four northern provinces of Shaanxi (陝), Gansu (甘), Hubei (楚) and Henan (豫) are shown by a red line. Where there are a number of trees drawn, it indicates the extent of native forests; a large solid square represents a Fu, a horizontal rectangle a Ting, a vertical rectangle a Zhou, a circle a Xian and a vertical oval indicates the presence of a Deputy Magistrate or a garrison.”<sup>4</sup> The distances in Li along the roads [between places]*

<sup>3</sup> The method of squares for scale and distances was a common principle in use at the time. An Appendix has been added that discusses scale and the method of squares to provide additional context for this aspect of the map.

<sup>4</sup> The three plus columns of characters at the (left) end of the Annotation in Figure 2 and following this note are discussed later when map scale is revisited. They outline Yan Ruyi’s suggestion for obtaining route distances.



are published in another book. If you are checking the distance in some place, refer to the book, look at the map, and you can approximate it. In regard to the river valleys and gully branches, if you can identify associated terrain features, there will not be a large error.

Within the map, the Legend says that a red line indicates a province or provincial boundary, but this red line was (over-)printed later. What is not explained is the use of dotted lines to indicate the routes followed by roads; the use of characters along the routes to indicate villages and townships or mountain barrier passes and postal stations; the use of triangle shaped symbols to represent the terrain, parts of which have additional tree symbols, is probably covered by the description “extent of native forest” in the Legend.

The geographical information in this map is very rich. The drafter also used a format of map annotations to provide detailed information about the geographical features of the places covered. In addition to the Legend above, there are five other such map annotations, separated into topics concerning the Qinling Mountain Range, the Black River, Refugees, the Han River, and the Qinling valley entrances.

### **The Qinling Mountain Range [Annotation 2]:**

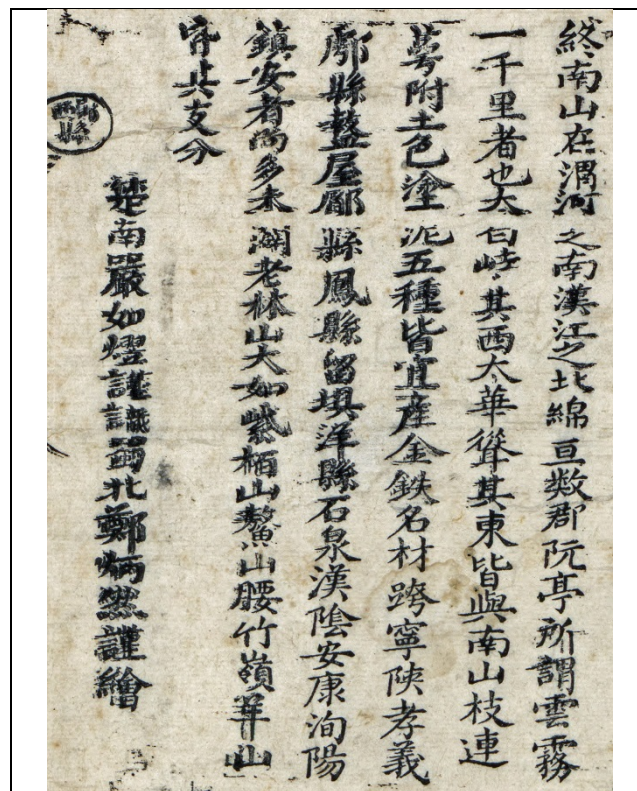


Figure 3: The Qinling Mountain Range (Annotation 2)

“The Southern Mountains extend south from the Wei River, north from the Han River and stretch unbroken through many districts. Ruan Ting called them ‘1000 Li of mist and cloud’. Taibai mountain stands in the west, Hua Shan towers in the east, they are all linked together through the Southern Mountains. From the coloured soil the 5 grains grow, and precious metals like gold and iron are extracted. The extent includes parts of Ningshaan, Xiaoyi,

*Huxian, Zhouzhi, Mei Xian, Fengxian, Liuba, Yangxian, Shiquan, Hanyin, Ankang, Xunyang and Zhen'an, and has many areas of unopened native forest. The high mountains include Zibai Shan, Ao Shan, Yaozhu Ling, Jun Shan and their associated watersheds. Respectfully written by Yan Ruyi of Southern Chu and drafted by Zheng Bingran of Northern Shu."*

This annotation covers the general alignment of the Qinling region, its economic development and its produce etc.

### **The geography of Liang Zhou [Annotation 4]:**

*"As to the territory within Liang Zhou, according to the Book of Documents (尚書) it covers 'Huayang Hei Shui'. Huayang is in the present South Mountains and the source of the Hei Shui is at Zibai Mountain. On both sides of the river there are timber resources and fertile forests. It links to Fengxian, Liuba, Baocheng, Mianxian and Liueyang in Shaanxi and Liangdang and Huixian in Gansu. It is filled with high mountains and steep cliffs, which are dangerous and difficult to access, and is often said to extend for 800 Li. Along the Hei Shui are fertile forests, just like those of the Southern Mountains. In the recent past, a great number of destitute people have come here from Sichuan and Hubei, carrying all they own on their backs, to till the mountains and become 'shanty dwellers'".*

This annotation starts by listing the general boundaries of Liang Zhou but then focuses on the Black River (Hei Shui) area. Because of its advantageous geographical location and living conditions, it was at one time seen as a critical area for the frontier defence of the three provinces.

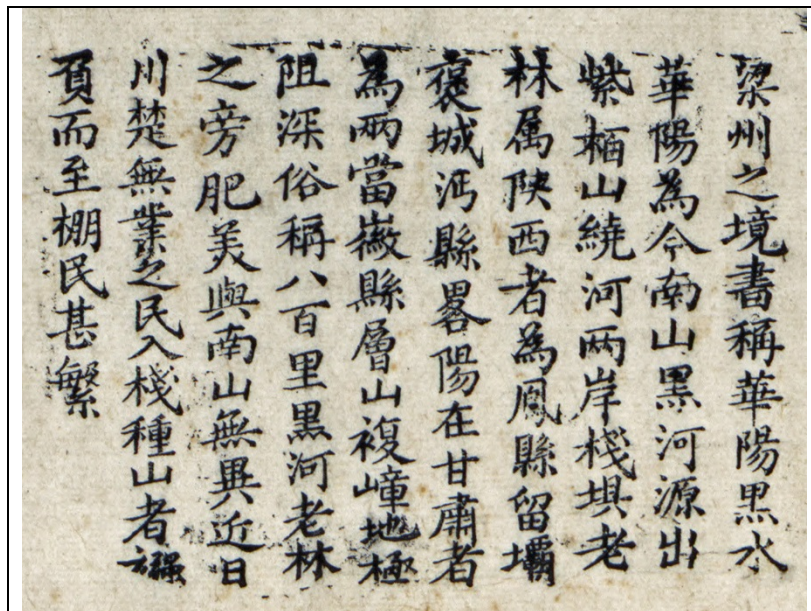
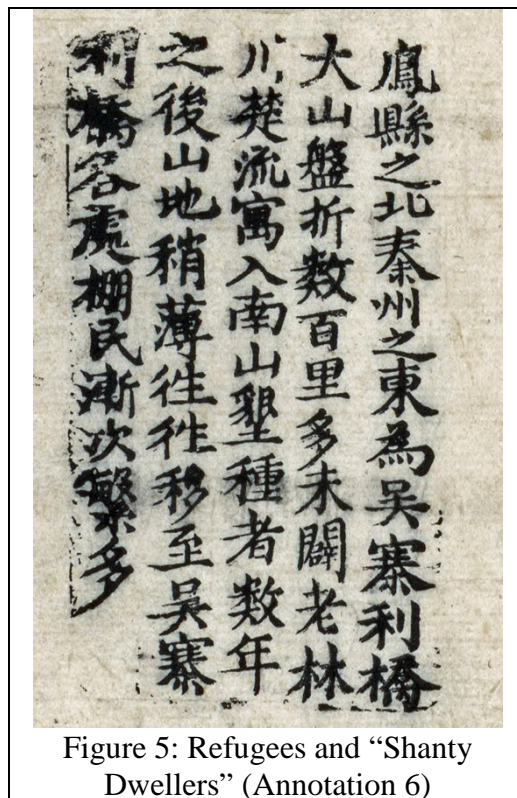


Figure 4: Liang Zhou and the Black River (Annotation 4)

### **Refugees on the border area with Gansu [Annotation 6]:**

Due to the great increase in “Shanty Dwellers”, an area including Fengxian and neighbouring areas of Lueyang in Gansu had become increasingly unstable. For this reason, the subject of refugees was addressed in another specific annotation:

*“To the north of Fengxian and the east of Qin Zhou [present day Tianshui], in Wuzhai and Liqiao, there are high mountain valleys winding for 100 Li, throughout much of which there are unexploited forests. Homeless people from Sichuan and Hubei have entered these Northern Mountains to develop and cultivate the land. After several years, the mountain area has become degraded as more and more people have moved into the Wuzhai and Liqiao areas, and the Shanty Dwellers have become very numerous.”*



### **The Han River and its drainage basin [Annotation 5]:**

*“The origin of the Han River is at Bozhong Mountain from where it flows on through Mianxian, Nanzheng, Chenggu, Yangxian, Xixiang, Shiquan, Ziyang, Ankang, Xunyang, Baihe, Yunxi, Yunxian and Junzhou to reach the plains [flood plain of the Yantze River]. The valley runs through the Yongliang Mountains for more than 3000 Li. Above the Hanzhong prefecture, it is a rather sluggish stream, so that one can hitch his clothes and cross it. Below Hanzhong, it links with the flows of the Xushui, Muma, Dong, Yue, Dadao, South and Xun Rivers, so that by the time the Bai River is reached the stream flow is strong. In summer and autumn, the waters rise to be turbulent and fierce; in winter and spring the waters dry up, creating still waters and light ripples, so that only small craft may pass. As the Han River above the Bai River is too small to be a barrier for military purposes, there is little point in further discussing it here.”*



Because this map has used the Han River as a dividing line, it includes brief and to the point explanations of its source, the administrative areas through which it flows, its tributaries and hydrology, as well as communication routes. In regard to the statement “As the Han river above the Bai River is too small to be a barrier for military purposes, there is little point in discussing it here”, it is sufficient to note that this map is primarily discussing military value. As to the companion map to this one called “Map of three provinces on the south bank of the Han River” and whether it could have additional information about the Han River, at the present time this has not been fully investigated.<sup>5</sup>

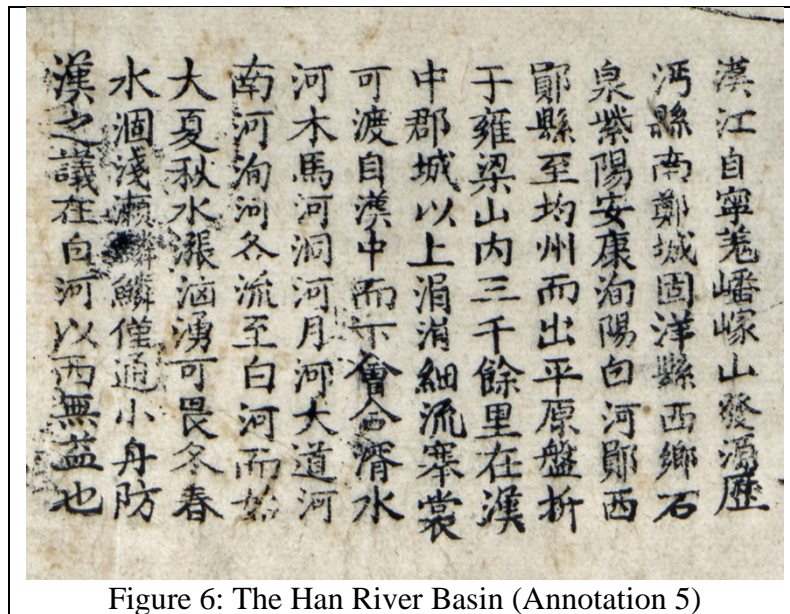


Figure 6: The Han River Basin (Annotation 5)

### **Valley entrances from the North [Annotation 1]:**

The various valley entrances at the northern foot of the mountain area were important pathways for traffic and of great military significance. Yan Ruyi in “Collected information about the local conditions in the mountain areas of three Provinces” [R.10] writes: “from Huazhou through Lantian and on to Baoji, there are 72 Valley entrances. Bandits lie in wait to emerge from these valley mouths into the Wei Valley. Therefore when it is time to manage the bandits, guards must be able to move quickly into the valley entrances and construct barrier passes, to better protect the province”. To this end, the map seeks to develop specific links between the roads and valley entrances, and provides a detailed description:

*“Between the Hua Mountains in the east and Baoji in the west, there are altogether 72 valleys providing entrances into the mountains to the south. On the outside of the valleys is the Guanzhong region, also called “the endless fertile plain”. Entering the valleys, there are many deep and narrow passages. Through the Dayu valley mouth you can go through Xiaoyi, Zhen’an and Xunyang and down to Xing’an by the east road, which is more than 800 Li. Through the pass at Baoji you can go to Fengxian, Liuba, Baocheng down to Hanzhong by the west road which is 640 Li. This road is called the Northern Plank Road. It is as rugged as the east road but provides a better developed route. From Chang’an there is also the*

<sup>5</sup> Recently a copy of this map has been discussed as part of the Qing map collection of the Taipei Palace Museum in Taiwan. Lin Xianren mentions it in [R.6] and images of the two maps can be found in [R.7].

[northern] Ziwu valley through which you can reach the [southern] Ziwu valley near Xixiang. Wei Yan wanted to use this route to march on Chang'an. It is also 640 Li in length. There is also possible access in and out via the deep forests through Wulang, where the presence of destitute people increases the danger.” [R.9]

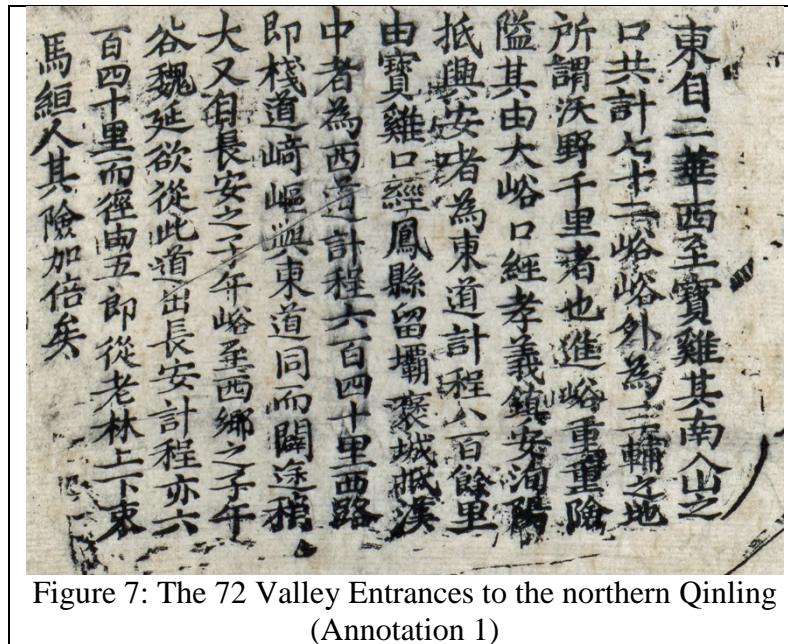


Figure 7: The 72 Valley Entrances to the northern Qinling (Annotation 1)

In regard to the special position of valley mouths in military activity and strategic defence, Yan Ruiyi put special emphasis on the valley entrances of the Qinling. This work provided important material for Mao Fengzhi’s later book “An examination of the valley entrances of the southern mountains of Shaanxi”<sup>6</sup> [R.9].

[Feng Suiping lists 54 Valley Entrances from the Wei River Valley that he found on the “Four Provinces Map”. The number “72” was clearly not an accurate estimate but was probably a commonly used expression. Feng Suiping listed the places he found as text but instead we will present the list of 54 places as a Table. This Table has a matching Google Earth file that can be found on the Qinshu Roads website. The annotation “NF” means “not found” in current maps. However, it is possible that a much larger number could be identified by on the spot inspection. “GE” means “Google Earth”.]

(1) 华州 (7)

童峪	Tóng Yù	(Near Tongguan but does not use the character 潼)
扇车峪	Shànchē Yù	NF
黄神峪	Huángshén Yù	NF
仙峪口	Xián Yù Kǒu	Access to mountains in modern map.
瓮峪	Wèng Yù	Character identified as 瓮 but hard to read on map. Road south through here from Hua Zhou in “Four Provinces Map”. Modern road S202 seems to go

<sup>6</sup> In Mao Fengzhi’s book, various authors are quoted for place names and routes. Routes that follow the valley entrances into the mountains and beyond are also listed [R.9]. Endnote 2 provides a translation of Mao Fengzhi’s preface on how he developed his book.



		south from “Liu Yu” (柳峪) which is not mentioned here, is just to the west.
葱峪	Cōng Yù	Access to mountains and present in GE
构峪	Gòu Yù	Also access to mountains in GE

(2) 渭南县 (4)

小敕谷	Xiao Chì Yù	NF
石拂峪	Shífú Yù	NF. (堤 Instead of 拂??)
箭峪	Jiàn Yù	Jian Yu is close to a road from Weinan to here and on over Qinling. Today not a major road.
酒峪	Qiú Yù	NF. Difficult character to interpret (滑, Hua?? But no Hua Yu on modern map).

(3) 临潼县 and 蓝田县 (4)

阳峪	Yáng Yù	NF
黄峪	Huáng Yù	NF
翠花峪	Cuìhuā Yù	NF (“Four Provinces Map” has road to and from here joining Lintong to Lantian.)
小峪	Xiǎo Yù	Just west of Dayu in modern maps – wrongly placed? Or wrong name for this place?

(4) 西安府 (4)

祥峪	Xiáng Yù	NF
大峪	Dà Yù	Former way to Kugu Road. Goes there in “Four Provinces Map”. Marked on GE presentation.
豹头峪	Bàotóu Yù	NF
石边峪	Shíbiān Yù	Present day valley called 石砭峪 (Shibian Yu) Main road to present “Kugu” Road and Qianyou (乾佑) River
子午峪	Zǐwǔ Yù	Next town into mountains is 渭子坪. Today goes nowhere. Formerly link to Ziwu Road. Goes through Stone Sheep Pass.

(5) 户县(廓縣 on Yan Ruyi “Four Provinces Map”) (11)

泮峪	Fēng Yù	Present day main road G210 to former Ziwu road goes via this valley.
象峪	Xiàng Yù	(祥峪 assumed) Present day place uses 祥
高关峪	Gāoguān Yù	Present map 高冠峪 Gāoguān Yù. Has a road over the mountains here.
太平峪	Tàipíng	On present map to west of Gaoguan Yu. Road goes into mountains linking with Gaoguan and Lao roads along the Qinling spine.
涝峪	Lào Yù	Today’s Xihan Tollway starts via this valley from Xi’an. “Four Provinces Map” had road that joined Ziwu Road. Also in modern maps.

		Edge of major catchment draining into Xun River (Kugu Road) and reaching the Han at Xunyang.
石景峪	Shí jǐng Yù	NF
干峪	Gān Yù	Present day valley called the 甘峪 (Gan Yu)
小金峪	Xiǎo Jīn Yù	NF
金峪	Jīn Yù	NF. Have a 大耿峪 (Da Geng Yu) in what seems to be its reasonable place.
赤峪	Chì Yù	Chi Yu is present on today's map west of Dageng Yu. Road into mountains in "Four Provinces Map". Not in many modern maps.
田峪	Tián Yù	Tian Yu is present on today's map west of Chi Yu. Road south goes over Qinling in "Four Provinces Map" and today.

(6) 盩厔縣=周至县 (13)

塔儿峪	Tǎ' ér Yù	In GE but small. Possibly just the 塔峪 (Ta Yu)
岫峪	Xiù Yù	Strictly NF (But 嶽峪 may be the present name – need to investigate.)
马岔峪	Mǎchà Yù	In GE but small. "Four Provinces Map" had a path into mountains.
团彪峪	Tuánbiāo	NF (but possibly now 团标峪)
黄巢峪	Huángcháo	NF
黑水峪	Hēi Shuǐ Yù	Heishui present on modern map. Major river and road into mountains to east of river. But not to Houzhenzi.
虎峪口	Hǔyù Kǒu	Huyu Cun (village) is close by here on GE.
熨斗峪	Yùndǒu Yù	Yundou Cun (village) is close by on GE
辛口峪	Xīnkǒu Yù	Alternative valley into mountains on Tangluo Road. But hard to find in maps. There is a village called Xinkou here on GE gazetteer which is visible in the imagery.
西骆峪	Xīluò Yù	Xiluo Yu present west of Hei Shui. Main entrance to old Tangluo Road across the Qinling.
稻峪	Dào Yù	NF
车峪	Chēyù Kǒu	Cheyu village and valley marked on GE
强峪	Qiáng Yù	Seems to be present in GE but to EAST of Cheyu. So in question.

(7) 郿县 (9)

泥峪	Ní Yù	Ni Yu present today to west of Xiluo, alternative way to Laojun Ling and Taibai
汤峪	Tāng	Exists today to west of Ni Yu. Now a major access to Taibai mountain area. Tangyu Zhen is local township.
红河峪	Hónghé Yù	Exists on present maps to west of Tang Yu. On "Four Provinces Map" road going south here across Taibai to Xu River. Today part of round route to Taibai with the Tang Yu.
同峪	Jiōng Yù	NF (character 铜?)

斜峪	Xié Yù	Major entrance near Meixian to ancient Baoye Road. Major dam here now. But the Baoye road does not seem to be fully open in Yan Ruyi's 1822 maps.
蔺峪	Lìn Yù	NF
麦峪	Mài Yù	There seems to be a present day Mai Yu is to the west of Meixian. But not clear.
代峪	Dài Yù	NF (character 伐??) Road here in “Four Provinces Map” that seems to go south.
马峪	Mǎ Yù	NF. Then should come road from 虢镇 (Guozhen) to present Taibai but no “Yù” to be found.

(8) 宝鸡县 (2)

散峪	San Yu	Main road south through Dasan Pass is not marked as a “Yù” on the map. Only listed as a “yukou” in annotation to “Four Provinces Map”.
晁峪	Cháo Yù	This is a long way west and has a road that goes to Sancha and Donghe Qiao. Road can be seen in a Russian map.

[A document describing the background to this Table, as well as the Google Earth presentation for the above, is available on the [Qinshu Roads web site](#).]

Before the “Four Provinces Map” was drafted, Yan Ruyi had completed his book “Collected information about local conditions in the mountain areas of three Provinces” [R.10]. Since he felt it was his duty to provide such information, he diligently worked to make himself an expert in Qing Period military matters, providing many strategies for the frontier defence of the three provinces. In a traditional territorial atlas, administrative areas are the most common points of reference. However, Yan Ruyi broke with this tradition, using geographical features to divide the map into regions, thus expanding the ideas in geographical science. Looked at it from the perspective of cartography, although this map lacks specific scale, the other essential factors are still in place, and the geographical information is extremely rich. Therefore, the “Four Provinces Map” is an extremely valuable Qing Period map of the Qinling.

### 3. The background to the map drafter Zheng Bingran

From the additional annotation on the map<sup>7</sup>: “Respectfully written by Yan Ruyi of Southern Chu and drafted by Zheng Bingran of Northern Shu”, it can be seen that this map was the result of collaboration between the two people Yan Ruyi and Zheng Bingran. Yan Ruyi and his accomplishments are well known, but what sort of person was Zheng Bingran? Some scholars believe that Yan Ruyi did not give Zheng Bingran sufficient credit and allege that appropriate credit cannot be found in the various historical records. [R.11] However, in the winter of the 18<sup>th</sup> Jiaqing year (1813), Yan Ruyi recorded in the “South Han Gazetteer of ongoing repairs” [R.12] (called the “Hanzhong 1813 Gazetteer” in the following text):

<sup>7</sup> Next to Annotation 2, see Figure 3 on the left hand side.



*“My friend and scholar from Guang’an, Mr Zheng Bingran having joined the army and given great service for 10 years, knew the terrain well and was able to accurately describe the road conditions. Each time I entered the ancient forests to bring justice and supervise repairs to irrigation works, Mr Zheng accompanied me. He worked very hard, drafting and calculating. He is good at mapping terrain to great distances, mapping 1000 Li to a foot of paper. A literary graduate Yang of Nanzheng, given name Yunfu, was a person known for his proper behaviour, who admired the wisdom of Li Situ and his son and followed their manners. So I asked them [Zheng and Yang] to draw maps of the mountains and valleys, regional boundaries, plank roads and irrigation systems, and go out gathering information, investigating, and reviewing.” “The help of these two gentlemen, Zheng and Yang and their great efforts, should not be forgotten.”*

In regard to this map collection, Yan Ruyi has particularly pointed out: “the old prefecture maps were only just general views on paper, and very sketchy. Mr Zheng Bingran of Western Shu, after several years in the army, always accompanied me on visits to the border towns. As the situations in the mountains and valleys, the conditions of roads and highways, became well known, I asked him to draw the ‘Districts’, ‘Plank Roads’, ‘Huayang’, and ‘Black River’ Maps as he knew them like his own hands.” [R.12,v.1] The above words are very clear, Zheng Bingran accompanied Yan Ruyi as he engaged in government authorised inspection visits, and was appointed to draft the “Districts”, “Plank Road” and other maps, so in this case there can be no claim of not giving due credit. If you look into it further, the 11th map in Yan Ruyi’s “Three Provinces Defence” is the “Black River Map”, also called “Map of border regions of Shaanxi and Gansu on the Black River”. On the map can be found:

*“Each square is of side 30 Li. [The map] includes province boundaries and the number of trees drawn indicates the extent and density of the native forests. To the east and southeast is Mianxian District, to the west and southwest is Lueyang District, to the northeast are Liuba and Fengxian Districts, to the north is Liandang District and to the northwest is Huixian District. Drafted by Zheng Bingran of Guang’an District.”<sup>8</sup> [R.13],[R.3,p.870]*

It seems to be exactly as Yan Ruyi said, that the “Black River” map was also drafted by Zheng Bingran, and he was not only good at drawing maps, but also placed great emphasis on personal field inspection. During the time that Yan Ruyi and Zheng Bingran worked together they got to know each other well. Yan and Zheng’s good relationship can be seen in an example provided by Wang Senwen. In Wang Senwen’s “Map of the Han and Tang Capital” he wrote: “In the Jiayu year (1814), considered the Lueyang Map.” In regard to this map, “The Prefect of Hanzhong, Mr Yan Ruyi from Xupu (in Hunan) and his friend Mr Zheng Bingran from Guang’an had worked hard on their publications which were stored at the government offices. Their maps covered areas outside major cities, the mountains and valleys, the relics and boundaries, all edited with great care and detail.” [R.14] From this it can be seen that Yan and Zheng attached great importance to and greatly enjoyed their work. The “Hanzhong 1813 Gazetteer” [R.12] also includes poems by Zheng Bingran. One is called “Investigating the old forests in the company of two scholar-officials”, which says:

*“Several red banners rest on the green hill,  
Men bearing equipment march through the wastes.  
Through the Luo Valley leading the horses,*

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<sup>8</sup> The annotation occurs almost identically on the “Black River” map in the “Hanzhong 1813 Gazetteer”. The 1813 and 1822 maps are very close with the 1822 map being a copy of the first with some updates and some changes to improve artistic appearance. But the attribution is only on the 1822 map.

*Along Plank Roads wearing a soldier's jerkin.  
The writer was enlisted so long in the army,  
With the commander fighting thieves for 10 years.  
In the Southern Mountains bandits were swept out of caves,  
A peaceful life is born in the forests of Zibai."*

A second is "In the style of Commander Le Yuan [Yan Ruyi], who entering the ancient forests at Niangniang Ba, wrote a poem on his happiness at seeing the rain":

*"For a month at the gallop without change of jacket,  
Through places where refugees collect in mountain hides.  
The Commander does not cease to build stores of grain,  
And the people are grateful for his efforts.  
The cold flowers of the valleys are opening to spring,  
Fields and healthy crops grow in heavy rain.  
A chilly bell sounds in the Jinchi Temple,  
Echoing the 5 character lament of Chongling."* [R.12,v.29 "Poems"]

The implication of this is that he was also a poet, but unfortunately, no record of him in the "Guang'an<sup>9</sup> Gazetteer" of the Xianfeng and Guangxu periods has yet been found.

#### **4. Lu Nanshi and the time during which the map was drafted**

In regard to the time when this map was drafted, Mr Li Xiaocong gave the opinion: "Ningshaan Ting, which is present on the map, was established in the 5th Jiaqing year (1800) but Foping Ting is not present, and the name of Ningshaan does not indicate that the prohibition on writing 'Ning' was yet in force. It is therefore likely that the map was compiled in the years between 1800 and 1820." [R.5,p.50] & [R.8,p.59]

The Beijing Library (National Library) Rare Maps Collection [R.8] says: "according to research by the Shaanxi Government, the time when this map was drawn is between the 5th Jiaqing year (1800) and the first Daoguang year (1821)." [R.8,p.59] Prof Lin Tianren, however, has a different view:

*"This map is due to Yan Ruyi (1759-1826) and Zheng Bingran. In the first Daoguang year (1821), Yan Ruyi was promoted to Circuit Inspector (Daoyin) of Shaan'an Circuit; Imperial Censor Zhuo Bingtian (1782-1855) compiled the "Current situation in Shaanxi, Sichuan and Hubei" where he wrote: "the region from Lüeyang as far east as Yunxi in Hubei is known as the North Mountains (Qinling) Old Forests"; from the Sichuan border to Baokang in Hubei is known as the "Ba Mountains Old Forests". These areas are not suitable for cultivation and there is very little to gain from them. Drifting people pay landlords a small amount of money to rent a few gulleys and ridges. If harvests are poor they move on, such people are called "Shanty Dwellers". ..... rather than trying to control them in these places, it would be better if they were managed collectively by the three provinces. You are asked to implement this and establish an administration with a high official." (see "Outline of Qing History"*

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<sup>9</sup> Guang'an (广安) was Zheng Bingran's hometown in Sichuan.

*"Annals of Zhuo Bingtian") In the same year, a group led by Yan Ruyi took responsibility for the border region defence in the mountain areas of Sichuan, Hubei and Shaanxi to survey the region and plan for its defence; Yan Ruyi was responsible to investigate the whole region, its government, its garrisons and infrastructure. In the 4th Daoguang year (1824) Yan Ruyi suggested that a Ting administration (namely Foping Ting) be established in Zhouzhi Xian, and modified the borders of Yang Xian and garrisons in Shang Zhou and Lüeyang with the approval of Circuit Inspector Lu Kun (1771-1835) (see [R.4] "Annals of Yan Ruyi"); but in this map the Ting is not to be seen, nor are the garrisons at Lüeyang and Shang Zhou. Yan Ruyi had by this time drawn the "Map of three provinces to the south of the Han River" (see Collection of the Taipei Palace Museum, item number 021473), which can be consulted for reference; in this map can be found Dingyuan Ting which had been established in the 7th Jiaqing year (1802) (see Yan Ruyi (Ed) "The Hanzhong 1813 Gazetteer" [R.12, V.2 "Constructions"]); new administrations can also be found in the three counties of Ankang, Ziyang and Pingli which were in place by the 3rd Daoguang year (1823) but Foping Ting was not yet established. The two maps seem to have been constructed at the same time, and the information in the two maps can be corroborated. It seems that the two maps had been drawn by Yan Ruyi by the 2nd Daoguang Year (1822) at the time that the "Complete overview of defence conditions in three provinces" [R.13] was published. By contrast, Beijing Library (National Library) [R.8] judged only that the maps were drawn between the 5th Jiaqing year (1800) and the first Daoguang year (1821), which needs to be refined further." [R.6, p.106]*

The preceding contributions both based their analyses on the establishment of administrations, such as Ningshaan Ting and Foping Ting, with the latter based on Foping Ting and garrisons, and also Dingyuan Ting by consulting "Map of three provinces to the south of the Han River" etc, but in the end they came to different conclusions. So, when exactly was the period of time in which "Map of neighbouring regions of four provinces on the north bank of the Han River" was drawn?

It is known that in the second month of the 6th Jiaqing year (1801), Yan Ruyi was appointed the county magistrate for Xunyang, and in the 10th month of the 8th Jiaqing year (1803) he was appointed Marquis of Dingyuan Ting. In the 9th year he mourned the death of his mother. Over this period, he was a strong advocate of the policy of "strengthen defences and clear the land". Everywhere he went he investigated the hardships faced by people, but the area he visited was not as large as that in the ["Four Provinces"] map, so it is unlikely that Yan Ruyi draw the map at that time. In the 9th month of the 13th Jiaqing year (1808), he was given the position of Zhufu [Prefect] of Hanzhong. His regional duties included understanding the ancient forests and promoting industry among the people, so that Yan Ruyi most likely engaged in preparations for mapping areas in the Qinling and Ba Mountain regions at this time. According to Yan Ruyi's "Hanzhong 1813 Gazetteer" we find: "I and Mr Zheng first compiled the 'Map of Mountains and roads of three provinces'<sup>10</sup>, about which Vice-Minister (Shao Situ) Lu Nanshi provided comments on his return from Shu". Lu Nanshi approved of this work and commented: "*Great consideration and deliberation was taken to produce these maps, but if the method of squares had been used, what is near and what is far would have been easier to understand.*"

Yan Ruyi and Zheng Bingran accepted this suggestion, and used the method of squares and its map calculations to undertake a revision for the "Hanzhong 1813 Gazetteer" in which Yan

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<sup>10</sup> There do not seem to be any copies of this earlier publication in existence.



Ruyi recorded: “In this map collection, each map uses the method of squares, for the 11 Districts [of Hanzhong Fu] on four sides and in 8 directions, so that the presentation in each map section is clearer than in other books.” From existing copies of this work it can be seen that these maps cover:

1. “General map of the Districts of Hanzhong Fu”;
2. Maps of the territories of Liuba Ting, Dingyuan Ting, Nanzheng Xian, Baocheng Xian, Yangxian, Xixiang Xian, Fengxian, Ningqiang Zhou, Mianxian and Lüeyang Xian;
3. “Map of the north-south Plank Road”;
4. “Black River Map” and
5. “Huayang Map”. [R.12], [R.15] & [R.11]

The use of the method of squares to draft the maps was a significant distinguishing feature of Yan Ruyi’s “Hanzhong 1813 Gazetteer”. The method of squares, or the provision of a scale for maps using sides of squares, has been used as evidenced by [at least] the production of the Song Period “Map of the Journeys of Yu” (sometimes translated as “Map of the Water Systems”), and provided the early development of a mapping grid for China. [R.16] (An accompanying document has been developed by the translator to explain in more detail for western readers what the method of squares entailed and how “what is near and what is far” is represented in a range of Maps used or developed in Hanzhong in this period).

In the first Daoguang year (1821), Yan Ruyi was appointed Inspector of War Preparations in the Shaan’an Dao<sup>11</sup>: “In spring of the Xinsi year (1821), he was ordered by Governor Gong Litang to join a committee to examine the situation in the frontier regions of the three provinces of Sichuan, Shaanxi, and Hubei. In the period from the beginning of spring to the middle of summer, there were investigations of previous experiences and surveys of current information. Because of his past experience he [Yan Ruyi] was able to contribute experience of all three [provinces]. He worked together with a group of people, including Li Shuxuan and Lu Gushan from Sichuan, Ni Langxuan and Fan Yangu from Hubei and Fang Liuqin and Chen Mengchan from Shaanxi. Being officials from garrisons or officials from the borders, they all thoroughly understood the current situation and were experienced in border management. When they needed information, each person’s experience could be shared and included in the investigation”. [As a result of this work] he published a book called the “Three provinces defence”.

Volume 1 of the “Three provinces defence” in the section called “Maps” lists:

1. Sichuan, Shaanxi, Hubei complete Map
2. Outline of linked strategic border regions
3. Ningqiang, Mianxian, Nan Zheng, Baocheng, Xixiang, Dingyuan Map
4. Ankang, Pingli, Ziyang, Xunyang, Bai He Map
5. Xingshan, Fangxian, Zhushan, Zhuxi Map
6. Yunxi, Yunyang Map
7. Guangyuan, Tongjiang, Nanjiang, Ba Zhou Map
8. Taiping, Chengkou Map
9. Fengjie, Zuoshan, Daning, Yunyang, Kaixian Map
10. Huayang, Houzhenzi Map

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<sup>11</sup> Dao, sometimes called “Circuit” in English, was a higher level of organisation than Fu and the Dao officials have been referred to as “Inspectors” in English, the Shaan’an Dao included Hanzhong Fu and Xing’an Fu, which is present day Ankang City.

11. Hei He Map
12. Shangzhou, Nanluo, Shanyang, Lantian Map
13. Meixian, Qishan, Baoji, Fengxian Map
14. Xiaoyi, Ningshan, Huxian, Zhouzhi Map [R.13,v.1] & [R.3,p.838-877]

On the map 11 ("The map of the Black River in the area adjoining Shaanxi and Gansu") is written "Drafted by Guang'an Zheng Bingran", but other Maps in this publication do not indicate the author. These maps mostly also used the method of squares, except for Map 2 ("Linked strategic garrisons on the frontier regions"). What is important to notice is that Yan Ruyi and the inspection team had a strong association with the "Fangliu Qin" group, in former times it is said "The Six Qin included magistrates and scholars, spreading across Shaanxi achieving military exploits, protecting the magistrates, involved in affairs of Ganchuan, Pingli, Yangxian and Xixiang, accomplishing things from the background." "The achievements of the Six Qin were highly regarded in the major centres, operating in lesser cities, guarding prefectures, undertaking constructions and helping the people." In regard to the activities of the first Daoguang year, in the "Collected writings of Fangmu Wutai" Yan Ruyi wrote:

*"In the first month of the Xinsi year (1821), I received an order from Governor Gongbao Litang to investigate the border defences of the three Provinces. The old forests are thick and the mountain roads narrow and dangerous, but if the forest is cleared and road opened there is nowhere for bad people to hide. We were to go via Pingli County in Xing'an Fu as well as through the interlaced counties of Zhuxi and Zhushan and Wushan and Daning counties where 33 mountain passes are in need of urgent attention. In April of the Summer, from Daning to the Pingli border, from Jixin Ling to Baitu Pass, we removed 480 Li of scrub and overhanging rocks, cut sloping and narrow roads, mended fences on cliffs, connected blocked trestles and established ferrys and bridges over streams; [but we found] a constant stream of people on the road carrying goods, driving horses and oxen loaded with baggage. I cannot understand how such a road could be so important." [R.2,v.7 "Collected writings of Fangmu Wutai"]*

From this we can conclude, at this time Yan Ruyi still had places he did not know well, and in the first Daoguang Year he was still making field inspections to augment and revise the maps of this region. Most likely it was done in a hurry, and in addition, Zheng Bingran did not accompany these investigations<sup>12</sup>, and the method of squares was not used for the (new) maps.

The previously mentioned proposal by Lu Nanshi that "*Great consideration and deliberation was taken to produce these maps, but if the method of squares had been used, what is near and what is far would have been easier to understand*", was certainly adopted by Yan Ruyi and Zhen Bingran, and promptly implemented in the "Hanzhong 1813 Gazetteer", not to mention the "Complete overview of defence conditions in three provinces". However, the "Map of neighbouring regions of four provinces on the north bank of the Han River" did not use the widely used method of squares. Therefore, establishing the time when "Vice-Minister (Shao Situ) Lu Nanshi provided comments on his return from Shu" surely provides an important piece of information about when the map was completed. Lu Nanshi, also known as Lu Yinpu (1760-1839), given name (Zhi) Linsheng and literary name (Hao) Nanshi, was a famous official of the Qing Period who came from Dezhou in Shandong. Lu Nanshi's

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<sup>12</sup> Yan Ruyi's map drafter for this work was Zhang Pengfen (张鹏芬) from Ankang.

distinguished biography, taken from the Dexian Gazetteer of 1935 [R.17,v.10 "Biographies"] is provided as Endnote 3 in this English translation. Lu Nanshi wrote a poem called "At Nanxing Postal Station":

*"After so much time on official travel, with great ideals in a small post station.  
A familiar sound from my hometown, teaches new lessons about travel.  
Among endless mountain cliff walls, the traveller is as lonely as the Morning Star.  
At night you dream of home comforts, when you wake it is all the more real."* [R.17,v.16 "Poems"]

This shows that Lu Nanshi must certainly have at some time travelled by the (Northern) Plank Road to go to Sichuan, however there is presently no record of the actual time this occurred. The Daoguang "Yongding District Gazetteer" records that he wrote the Preface for the "Collected poems of Zitaxuan" in the second Daoguang year (1822). [R.18,v.19 "Biographies"]

As we have seen, Yan Ruyi's document states that Lu Nanshi was a Shao Situ, which was an ancient title often used in the Qing Period. A Minister of Finance would have been referred to as a Da Situ or Da Sinong and a Vice-Minister as a Shao Situ or Shao Sinong at that time. In the 9th month of the 18th Jiaqing year (1813) Lu Nanshi "changed to the Ministry of Finance as a Vice-Minister" [R.19,v.36 "Officials",p.2817]. This could well have been the beginning of the period in which Yan Ruyi's use of the name "Shao Situ" was most suitable, but its relationship with the time Lu "returned from Sichuan" has not been established. Yan Ruyi accepted Lu Nanshi's suggestion writing: "*In this map collection, each map uses the method of squares, for the 11 Districts [of Hanzhong Fu] on four sides and in 8 directions<sup>13</sup>, so that the presentation in each map section is clearer than in other [previous] books.*" The "Preface" of the "Hanzhong 1813 Gazetteer" indicates that the Gazetteer was published "In the 18th Jiaqing or Guiyou year (1813), in the first month of winter (Mengdong Yue)" and Mengdong Yue is the 10th Month. So the latest time the map could have been available to review would have been the 9th month in the 18th Jiaqing year (1813).

## **5. An inquiry into the "Map of three provinces on the south bank of the Han River" and the "Records of roads in the mountain regions of three provinces"**

Yan Ruyi added the following suggestion to the map annotations [Annotation 3]: "The distances in Li along the roads [between places] are published in another book. If you are checking the distance in some place, refer to the book, look at the map, and you can approximate it".<sup>14</sup> In his notes, Mr Li Xiacong wrote: "*From the annotation, it seems that this collection of materials should be combined with a matching book of distances and a corresponding "Map of bordering regions of three provinces on the south bank of the Han River". But this second map was not found in the Library [of Congress] collection.*" [R.5] The complementary map was the "Map of three provinces on the south bank of the Han River", 195×173cm [R.7], [R.8] & [R.6]. It was called "three provinces" as it was made up of

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<sup>13</sup> In 1813, the 11 districts under Hanzhong Fu comprised 2 Ting (留坝, 定远), 1 Zhou (宁羌) and 8 Xian (南郑、褒城、城固、洋县、西乡、凤县、沔县、略阳).

<sup>14</sup> A final sentence, not included here by Feng Suiping adds: "In regard to the river valleys and gully branches, if you can identify associated terrain features, there will not be a large error."



the areas south of the Han River comprising Hanzhong Fu and Xing'an Fu in Shaanxi, Baoning Fu, Suiding Fu and Kuizhou Fu in Sichuan and Yunyang Fu and Yichang Fu in Hubei. For these places:

*“In general, these places have complicated border areas, with extensive forests and deep valleys, often crossing more than two or three provincial boundaries which are difficult to locate. Therefore when problems arise in one place, all bordering areas become alarmed.”* [R.13,v.11 "Strategy"]

This map would have been drafted in the same way as the previous one, so can be regarded as a Middle Qing Period map of the Daba mountain region [mountains south of the Qinling and Hanzhong Basin]. The previously referenced book of “Journey Distances” would most likely have been called “An examination of the roads of the mountain areas in three provinces”. In 2009, in the China Bookstore’s 51st Auction of popular collectable books and materials held by the Haiwangcun Company in Beijing, a copy of this book was offered, half framed, size 23x13.3 cm, in only one book and not divided into chapters, on which had been written “South Chu Yan Ruyi, North Shu Zheng Bingran, Editors”. The Title Page includes Hanzhong Fu, Nanzheng County, Shaanxi and the note “In the 13th Jiaqing year (1808) the Commander of Ningshaan was relocated to Hanzhong, where he took up the post of Bingbei Dao.” The publicly available image of the first page of the book shows the following material:

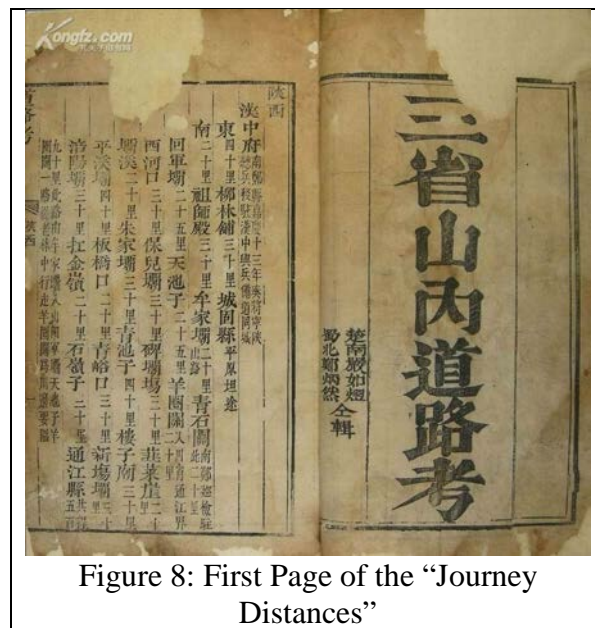


Figure 8: First Page of the “Journey Distances”

After Yan Ruyi arrived [in Hanzhong] he obviously began describing the positions and bearings of the communication lines and distances in every direction. For example, in the accessible image of the first page of the above book (Figure 8) he recorded:

*To the east (from Hanzhong), at 40 Li is Liulin Pu. Continue 30 Li to Chengu Xian. Road is through flat country on a level road. [So Chenggu is 70 Li from Hanzhong along a level road].*

*To the south (from Hanzhong), continue 20 Li to Zushi Dian. Continue 30 Li to Moujia Ba. Continue 20 Li along a mountain road to Qingshi Pass, where a Nanzheng Xunjian is*

*stationed. After 20 Li arrive at Huiche Ba. Continue 25 Li to Tianchizi. Continue 25 Li to Yangjuan Pass. Entering Sichuan province you cross the Tongjiang District boundary. After 20 Li you reach West Hekou. Continue 30 Li to Bao'er Ba. Continue 30 Li to Beiba Chang. Continue 30 Li to Jiucui Ya. Continue 20 Li to Ba Xi. Continue 20 Li to Zhujia Ba. Continue 30 Li to Qing Chizi. Continue 40 Li to Louzi Temple. Continue 30 Li to Pingxi Ba. Continue 40 Li to Banqiao Kou. Continue 20 Li to Qing Yukou. Continue 30 Li to Xinchang Ba. Continue 30 Li to Fuyang Ba. Continue 30 Li to Kangjin Ling. Continue 20 Li to Shi Lingzi. Continue 30 Li to Tongjiang Xian, altogether the route is 590 Li. From Moujiba this route enters the mountains to pass through Huiche Ba and Tianchizi to Yangjuan Pass. The road is through dense forests and at Yangjuan Pass on the Sichuan side there is a strategic pass.*

At some time after this publication was printed, as we have seen, Yan Ruyi put together and published the “Three Provinces Defence” [R.13] in 1822. If the two publications are compared, there are some differences. For example, the former distinguishes four provinces, and separates these into Fu, Xian etc while the latter separates provinces by Xian and lists distances at this single level.

For Nanzheng Xian we find:

*To the east, at 40 Li is Liulin Pu. Continue 30 Li to Chengu Xian. Through flat country on a level road. [So this route is unchanged].*

*To the south, continue 20 Li to Zushi Dian. Continue 30 Li to Moujia Ba. Continue 20 Li along a mountain road to Qingshi Pass, where a Nanzheng Xunjian is stationed. After 30 Li get to Huiche Ba. Continue 20 Li to Tianchizi. Continue 20 Li to Yangjuan Pass. Entering Sichuan province you cross the boundary with Tongjiang Xian, where the mountain road is very steep<sup>15</sup>. [R.13,v.2 "Route distances"]*

Although there are no notes for the Nanzheng routes, the route from Qingshi Pass to Huiche Ba was listed in the former as 20 Li and in the latter as 30 Li; Huiche Ba to Tianchizi and on to Yangjuan Pass was listed as 25 Li in the former and as 20 Li in the latter. This indicates that Yan Ruyi continued to revise the road information for the three provinces, so that (by 1822) they were ever more accurate and complete. It should also be noted that the time of the publication of the “Map of three provinces on the south bank of the Han River” and the “Records of roads in the mountain regions of three provinces” would have been the same as for the “Four Provinces Map” and so the period in which they were completed was between September of the 13th Jiaqing year (1808) and September of the 18th Jiaqing year (1813).

## 6. Acknowledgements

Feng Suiping kindly provided an electronic version of his paper to help with the translation; an electronic version of the “Map of neighbouring regions of four provinces on the north bank of the Han River” was obtained from the US Library of Congress; information and scanned material in regard to the “Hanzhong 1813 Gazetteer” and Mao Fengzhi’s book were obtained from the National Library of Australia; an electronic copy of the “Three Provinces

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<sup>15</sup> The rest of the previous route between Yangjuan Pass and Tongjiang Xian can also be found in [R.13,v.2 "Route distances"] but listed under Tongjiang Xian in Sichuan. The direction is reversed in [R.13,v.2 "Route distances"] starting from Tongjiang and ending at the Pass. This is an example of the change to classification of routes by Districts between documents but the maintenance of original information.

Defence” was accessed through the HathiTrust Digital Library web site; finally, comments, support and unconditional help were provided by Mr Li Lingtao for the draft translation and following revisions by Feng Suiping, but any errors or interpolations added in the editing are fully the responsibility of the translator, as are all translation errors.

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## 8. ENDNOTES

### ***Endnote 1 - Further discussion of methods by which the Hanzhong Maps were made and preserved***

On careful inspection of this map, there is an upper and lower horizontal white line that divides the map into three (vertical) sections; the middle section is the widest and the lower section the most narrow. On the left hand side there is also a vertical line, from which we can infer that there were three horizontally placed wooden boards, extending the full length fastened together. According to what Wang Senwen reported, when he drafted "Map of the Han\_Tang Capital", Yan Ruyi continued to work with Zhen Bingran when they "resumed publication, storing the boards at the government offices" (see [R.14]). It can be seen that Yan Ruyi continued to publish and carefully preserved the maps well. In regard to the wooden boards, they would certainly have been stored while Yan Ruyi held the position in the Hanzhong Government. But with the passage of time, the whereabouts of the boards has become uncertain.<sup>16</sup>

仔细观察此图，有上、下二道横状白线，将地图分为三部分；其中上部最宽，下部最窄。左侧则有一道竖线，故推理为三块横状木板和一块竖状木板合钉而成。按照王森文所说的，他绘制的《汉唐都城图》，严如煜令郑炳然“复刊，板存府廨。”见[R.14]。由此可见严如煜有绘图、藏图之好。至于木板，当存于严如煜任职的汉中府署。惜时过境迁，今已不知其下落。

### ***Endnote 2 – Translation of note from Mao Fengzhi’s book [R.9]***

“When you read the “Three provinces defence” by Yan Leyuan [Yan Ruyi’s “hao” (号) was Leyuan] and the “Shaanxi local gazetteer” by Shen Qingya, the information they contain about the valleys of the Southern Mountains (Qinling) is very detailed. But because it is scattered throughout various pages it is difficult to assimilate all the information, which makes it difficult to read. So I extracted the contents from these two books, identified the mountains and rivers, defined their relationships, located their positions, established the scales, detailing the critical strategic points, local names and origins of the rivers, so that they were all in the same place. After many revisions the book was in good order.”

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<sup>16</sup> The present whereabouts of at least one is known - the map preserved by the US Library of Congress and the subject of this paper. A brief outline of its purchase has been summarised from other documents as follows: "Arthur Hummel was teaching at Yanjing University in Beijing but left with other foreigners following the Nanjing Incident and Northern Expedition in 1927. After returning to the US he joined the US National Library of Congress (LOC) where he developed a high quality China collection. During his time with the LOC, Arthur Hummel returned to China a number of times to buy rare items 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 and it is likely the 'Four Provinces Map' was also bought by him at about this time."



“已乃覩严氏乐园《三省边防备书》及沈青崖《陕西通志》，其言南山诸谷特详。又复杂见诸篇，散而弗萃，读者苦之。余乃刺取二书之文，本其山川，联其脉络，准其地望，详其远近，揭其要害，以及土俗之称名，水道之源流，罔不具书。盖三易藁而后成也。”

### ***Endnote 3 – Translation of biography of Lu Nanshi from the Dexian Gazetteer of 1935 [R.17,v.10 "Biographies"]***

“Lu Yinpu, Zi Linsheng, Hao Nanshi, was the descendant of a distinguished family. Achieved Jinshi grade in the Qianlong Xinchou year (1781), appointed compiler in the Hanlin Academy, participated in the compilation of three strategic works on road and river traffic, and served as an official in the Hanlin Academy, with much official editing being entered by him. From junior official in the Honglu Si he progressed to serving as Senior Vice-Minister in the Ministry of War. At the time many bandits were creating trouble in eastern Henan and the Qinling, Yinpu helped to develop a suitable response. The matter resolved, he was promoted to Minister of Ceremonies, then served successively as Head of the Ministries of Civil Appointments, War, Justice, Administration etc. He was promoted to Vice Minister of State, and finally to Minister of State. As a controller in the Ministry of Justice, he investigated many cases, until he retired due to ill health. He again attended Lumingyan and later died at his home in Beijing. He was awarded a memorial ceremony by the Emperor, was named a Teacher to the Prince, given the posthumous name Wensu, a place in the Temple of Virtuous Officials and an official biography in the national history. His son Ben (Zi Zizhong and Hao Quanzhi), was awarded the title of Juren in the Guiyou year of the Jiaqing Emperor (1813), and became an official in the Guangdong Section of the Ministry of Revenue. He was well versed in the classics, held in high regard and greatly respected.”

卢荫溥，字霖生，号南石，雅雨先生之孙也。乾隆辛丑进士，翰林院编修，与修三通及河源纪略，充翰林院办事官，拟进文字多出于手，由鸿胪寺少卿擢至兵部左侍郎。是时，豫东及南山匪徒相继蠢动，荫溥赞画得宜。事平，擢礼部尚书，历任吏、记、兵、刑、工等部尚书，晋协办大学士，授体仁阁大学士。总理刑部有年，平反多案，以疾致仕。重赴鹿鸣宴，卒京邸。谕祭再三，赠太子太师，谥文肃，入祀贤良祠，国史有传。子本，字子中，号泉之，嘉庆癸酉，恩赐举人，户部广东司员外郎，淹通经史，谨守遗规，器重璠璵矣。

# 美国国会图书馆藏《汉江以北四省边舆图》书后

冯岁平

(汉中市博物馆, 723000)

内容提要: 美国国会图书馆藏《汉江以北四省边舆图》是一幅极为重要的清代秦岭地区图。本文从地图学角度介绍了该图的图例与图示, 指出其价值所在。根据诸多文献的记载, 钩沉了绘制者之一的郑炳然之事迹, 按照卢荫溥“计里开方”的建议, 提出了此图的绘制时间应在嘉庆十三年(1808)九月至嘉庆十八年(1813)九月之间。对与之相对应的《汉江以南三省边舆图》和《三省山内道路考》作了进一步的探讨。

关键词: 汉江 四省 边舆图 绘制

壬辰(2012)初秋, 自安徽返归汉中途经西京时, 吾友刘炜先生提供了我久觅不得的美国国会图书馆(The US Library of Congress)度藏的严如煜、郑炳然《汉江以北四省边舆图》。汤金钊撰写的《严如煜神道碑》, 所称《汉江南北二地图》<sup>①</sup>; 《清史稿》亦名《汉江南北图》<sup>②</sup>, 说明除此图外, 还有《汉江以南三省边舆图》。对此, 北京大学李孝聪先生首次介绍、著录, 并作了相应的研究<sup>③</sup>。台湾学者林天人先生则作了进一步研究<sup>④</sup>。国内所藏的二图, 北京图书馆(今国家图书馆)将之列为中国地图《跨区连省普通地图》之列, 并著目、简介了二图<sup>⑤</sup>, 但至今未见公布、影印的图影。慨念美国国会图书馆所藏此图之稀见且珍贵, 前此论述之不足, 所以撰写此文以续之。

## 一 《汉江以北四省边舆图》续说

<sup>①</sup> 汤金钊:《布政使衔陕西按察使乐园严公神道碑》, 严如煜:《乐园文钞》卷首; 又见黄守红标点、朱树人校订:《严如煜集》, 岳麓书社2013年5月, 第11页。

<sup>②</sup> 《清史稿》列传卷一四八《严如煜传》。

<sup>③</sup> 李孝聪编著:《美国国会图书馆藏中文古地图》卷二《区域地图:省、府、州、厅、县》, 文物出版社2004年1月, 第50页。

<sup>④</sup> 林天人编撰、张敏译:《皇舆搜览——美国国会图书馆所藏明清舆图》, 台北中央研究院, 数位文化中心出版, 2013年11月。

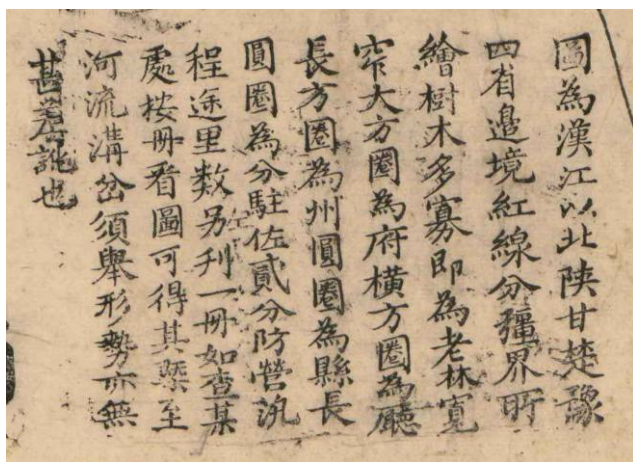
<sup>⑤</sup> 编号为0601、0602, 见北京图书馆善本特藏部舆图组编:《舆图要录——北京图书馆藏6827种中外文古旧地图目录》中国地图总图普通地图, 北京图书馆出版社1997年12月, 第59页。

图题《汉江以北四省边舆图》，木刻<sup>①</sup>，印本，纸质<sup>②</sup>，未注比例，107×182厘米<sup>③</sup>，图背贴红签，美国国会图书馆藏，编号 G7820.C5，馆藏登录号 84696078。汉江以北四省，概指陕西、甘肃、河南和湖北。所谓边舆，分别涉及甘肃东南部、陕西中南部、河南西南部和湖北西北部。绘制区域是从关中盆地至汉水之间，即秦岭地区，重点应在陕西汉中府、兴安府和商州。今天看来，此图是一幅名负其实的清代秦岭山区图。

秦岭山脉地域宽阔，东西绵延，南北阻隔，地理信息极为丰富。此图绘制时，除对地图的三大要素之一——比例尺（当时常用“开方计里”法）未作任何说明外，本图分别标出东、南、西、北四个方位，还说明了采用的图例：

图为汉江以北陕、甘、楚、豫四省边境，红线分疆界。所绘树木多寡，即为老林宽窄；大方圈为府，横方圈为厅，长方圈为州，圆圈为县，长圆圈为分驻佐贰、分防营汛。程途里数，另刊一册。如查某处，按册看图，可得其概。至河流、沟岔，须举形势，亦无甚为讹也。

图中的红线标明是省与省的分界线，但这个红线是印制之后添补的。未具说明的有，用点联缀成线，表示道路路线；用文字标注道路沿线的村镇、关隘、驿铺；用三角山形符号表示地貌，部分还加注树木符号，这应是上述所说的“老林宽窄”。



<sup>①</sup> 仔细观察此图，有上、下二道横状白线，将地图分为三部分；其中上部最宽，下部最窄。左侧则有一道竖线，故推理为三块横状木板和一块竖状木板合钉而成。按照王森文所说的，他绘制的《汉唐都城图》，严如煜令郑炳然“复刊，板存府廨。”见中国科学院考古研究所编著：《唐长安大明宫》之《附录·后记》，中国田野考古报告集考古学专刊丁种第11号，科学出版社1959年，第60页。由此可见严如煜有绘图、藏图之好。至于木板，当存于严如煜任职的汉中府署。惜时过境迁，今已不知其下落。

<sup>②</sup> 林天人《皇舆搜览——美国国会图书馆所藏明清舆图》记：“木刻墨印纸本”；北京图书馆善本特藏部舆图组《舆图要录——北京图书馆藏6827种中外文古旧地图目录》云：“刻印本”，二者差相一致。但后者说此图为“彩色”，是同一幅图还是手绘原图，存疑。

<sup>③</sup> 北京图书馆善本特藏部舆图组《舆图要录——北京图书馆藏6827种中外文古旧地图目录》云113.5×179厘米，尺寸明显不同。

图 1

此图反映的地理内容极为丰富。绘制者用图注的形式，对所标的地理现象作了详细说明。这样的图注共有 5 处，分别涉及秦岭、汉江、黑河、秦岭峪口等。

1. 陕西境内秦岭：tu/

终南山在渭河之南，汉江之北，绵亘数郡，阮亭所谓“云雾一千里者”也。太白峙其西，太华耸其东，皆与南山枝连萼附。土色途泥，五种皆宜，产金、铁、名材。跨宁陕、孝义、户县、周至、郿县、凤县、留坝、洋县、石泉、汉阴、安康、洵阳、镇安者，尚多未辟老林。山大如紫柏山、鳌山、腰竹岭、军山皆其支分。楚南严如燧谨识，蜀北郑炳然谨绘。

这里涉及到秦岭走向与分布区域、经济开发及其物产等。

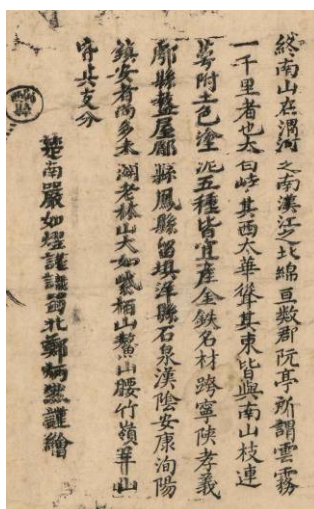


图 2

2. 梁州地理现象：

梁州之境，《书》称“华阳黑水”。华阳为今南山，黑河源出紫柏山，绕河两岸，栈坝老林。属陕西者为凤县、留坝、褒城、沔县、略阳，在甘肃者为两当、徽县。层山复嶂，地极阻深，俗称八百里，黑河老林之旁肥美，与南山无异。近日，川楚无业之民入栈种山者，襁负而至，棚民甚繁。

此外明言梁州之境，实则重点涉及黑河地区。由于优越的地理位置和条件，所以一度成为三省边防之中的马蜂窝，防治的重点。

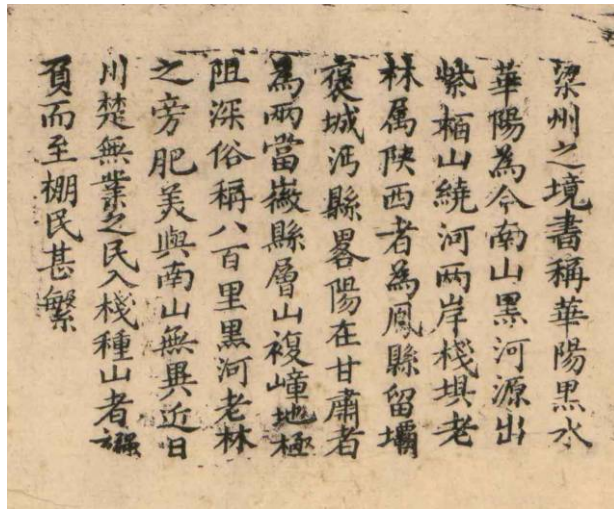


图 3

### 3. 毗邻的甘肃地区：

随着棚民的增多，与凤县、略阳毗邻的甘肃地区也成为不稳定的地区。因此图中对之作了解注：

凤县之北、秦州之东为吴寨、利桥，大山盘折数百里，多未辟老林。川楚流寓入南山垦种者，数年之后，山地稍薄，往往移至吴寨、利桥各处，棚民渐次繁多。

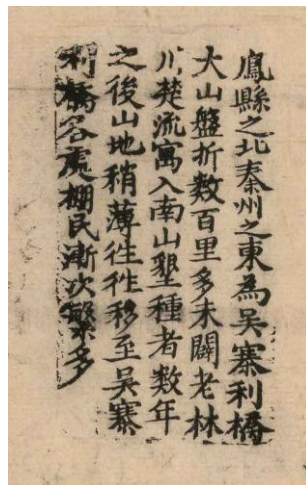


图 4

### 4. 汉江及其流域：

汉江自宁羌蟠冢山发源，历沔县、南郑、城固、洋县、西乡、石泉、紫阳、安康、洵阳、白河、郧西、郧县，至均州而出平原，盘折于雍梁山内三千余里。在汉中郡城以上，涓涓细流，褰裳可渡；自汉中而下，会合涓水河、木马河、洞河、月河、大道河、南河、洵河各流，至白河而始大。夏秋水涨，汹涌可畏；冬春水涸，浅漱鳞鳞，仅通小舟。防汉之议在白河以西无益也。



本图是以汉江为分界线绘制的，图中对汉江的源头、流经县域、支流及水文、交通等作了简要说明。从“防汉之议在白河以西无益也”，足以看出此图还具有军事地理的价值。至于与此图相关的《汉江以南三省边舆图》是否尚有汉江的说明，今天还不得而知。

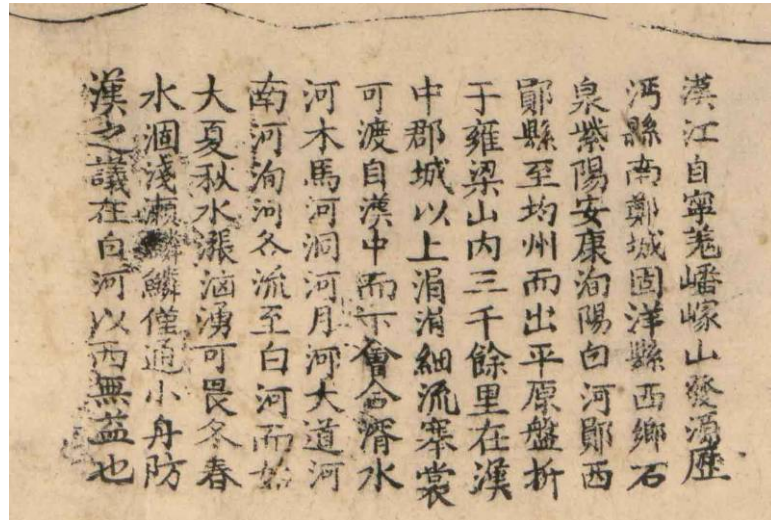


图 5

#### 5. 秦岭北麓峪口：

秦岭北麓诸峪口，还是重要的交通道路，军事意义重大。严如煜《三省山内风土杂识》记载：“由华州经蓝田至宝鸡，共七十二峪口。山贼窥伺内地，必由峪口而出。故当办理贼匪之时，防其窜突于各峪口，亦遍设卡伦，以重省城门户。”为此，图中将峪口与道路联系在一起，并作了详细说明：

东自二华，西至宝鸡，其南入山之口，共计七十二峪。峪外为三辅之地，所谓“沃野千里”者。进峪，重重险隘。其由大峪口经孝义、镇安、洵阳抵兴安者，为东道，计程八百余里。由宝鸡口经凤县、留坝、褒城抵汉中者为西道，计程六百四十里，路即栈道，崎岖与东道同，而辟途稍大。又有长安之子午峪至西乡之子午谷，魏延欲以此道出长安，计程亦六百四十里。而经由五郎从老林上下，豆马緇人，其险加倍矣。

图中还明确标出相关峪名有：童、扇车、黄神、仙峪口、瓮峪、葱峪、枸峪、枸山峪、小敕谷、石拂峪、箭峪、酒峪、阳峪、黄峪、翠花、小峪、祥峪、大峪、豹头、石边、子午、泮峪、象峪、高关峪、太平、涝峪、石景、干、小金、金、赤、田、塔儿、岫、马岔、团彪、黄巢、黑水、虎峪口、熨斗、平口、西骆、稻、车峪口、强、泥、汤、红河峪、回峪、斜峪、藺峪、麦、代、马、晁峪。由于峪口的特殊军事与战略价

值，严如煜对秦岭诸峪口的重视，很大程度上促成了毛凤枝《陕西南山谷口考》的成书<sup>①</sup>。

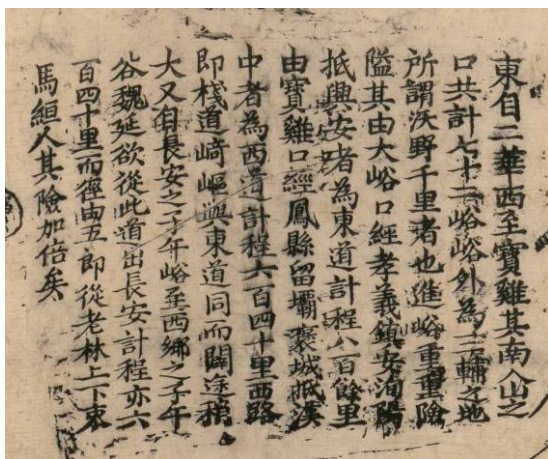


图 6

在绘制此图之前，严如煜已完成了《三省山内风土杂识》一书，或许是职责所系，他努力将自己塑造为清代的防务大家，对三省边防提供了不少策略。<sup>②</sup>传统的舆地图书，多以政区为经。严如煜却打破了这个传统，以自然地理区划为之，从而扩大了舆地学的视野。从地图学角度看，此图除比例尺外，其余要素均有反映，地理信息也极为丰富。所以《汉江以北四省边舆图》可称为弥足珍贵的清代秦岭图。

## 二 绘制者郑炳然简述

图中标注“楚南严如煜谨识 蜀北郑炳然谨绘”，可见这张地图是严如煜、郑炳然二人合作完成的。严如煜其人其事，众人熟知，但郑炳然何许人也？有学者以为该志及相关史书阙载，严氏所作不妥，并以此为郑氏打抱不平<sup>③</sup>。

嘉庆十八年(1813)冬，严如煜序《汉南续修郡志》：“余友广安郑君炳然秀才从军，驰驱边徼十数年，山川向背，道路险夷，不啻尽沙聚米。余入老林抚绥暨督修堰渠，郑君心策马，又数绘事，工远势，能具千里于尺幅。南郑孝廉杨生筠富文学，志洁

<sup>①</sup> 毛凤枝叙：“已乃覩严氏乐园《三省边防备书》及沈青崖《陕西通志》，其言南山诸谷特详。又复杂见诸篇，散而弗萃，读者苦之。余乃刺取二书之文，本其山川，联其脉络，准其地望，详其远近，揭其要害，以及土俗之称名，水道之源流，罔不具书。盖三易藁而后成也。”见毛凤枝撰、李之勤校注：《南山谷口考校注》，长安史迹丛刊之一，三秦出版社2006年1月第154页。

<sup>②</sup> 冯岁平：《给三省山内地区开的一剂“良药”——读〈三省山内风土杂识〉》，收入《发现汉中》，华夏出版社2007年。

<sup>③</sup> 郭鹏：《前言》，《嘉庆汉中府志校勘》，三秦出版社2012年9月，第6页。

行芳，其风徽盖慕乡先贤李司徒父子者，乃以绘山川、疆域、栈道、水利各图，采访、考订、校阅之事，属之二君。”“郑、杨二君子之相助，其用心良苦，未可湮没也。”对于该志的地图，严如煜还特别指出：“旧郡志只总图一纸，过于简略。西蜀郑君炳然从军数年，煜行部至各边城，罔不偕焉。山川向背，道路险夷，知之最悉，因相属绘《分图》、《栈道》、《华阳》、《黑河》各图，而系之以说指掌云。”<sup>①</sup>

上述所言极为清楚，郑炳然随同严如煜赴府境考察，受委派绘制了《分图》、《栈道》诸图，这并不存在所谓版权上的纠纷和异议。如果再深入看，严如煜《三省边防备览》首附诸图，其中第十一图《黑河图》，即《陕甘毗连黑河舆图》，图注：“每方三十里，以线分疆界。所绘树木之多寡，即为老林之宽窄。正东、东南为沔县地，正西、西南为略阳地，东北为留坝、凤县地，正北两当地，西北徽县地。广安郑炳然绘。”<sup>②</sup>看来正如严氏所说，《黑河》诸图为郑炳然绘制，且他不仅擅长地图的绘制，而且极为注重实地考察。

郑炳然与严如煜之间的关系，可称为知己。以严如煜熟知的王森文为例，王森文在他的《汉唐都城图》中说“甲戌(十九年，1814)复官，摄略阳事。”对于此图，“汉中太守淑浦严公如煜，令友广安郑君炳然复刊，板存府廨。此图城外山川古迹皆境于前，而雒校终未详细。”<sup>③</sup>可见严、郑二人对地图的重视和喜好。

《汉南续修郡志》还辑录有郑氏的诗作：

其一《偕伍二尹老林搜捕》云：“几片朱幡倚碧岑，荷戈人踏乱云深。残氛骆谷愁征辔，斜照蚕丛上短襟。书记从军千载事，元戎杀贼十年心。山南净扫豺狼穴，樵笛声生紫柏林。”

其二《乐园太守入老林抚绥至黑河娘娘坝喜雨有作依韵和之》：“匝月驰驱未解襟，灾黎尤念此山岑。君恩不惜千仓粟，民命都归一寸心。寒谷花开春有脚，芳田麦秀汝为霖。泠泠钟磬金池院，遥和春陵五字吟。”<sup>④</sup>说明此人还工诗，可惜他家乡的咸丰、光绪《广安州志》并未对他记述。

<sup>①</sup> 严如煜纂修：《汉南续修郡志》卷一。

<sup>②</sup> 严如煜：《三省边防备览》卷一《舆图》，黄守红标点、朱树人校订：《严如煜集》，岳麓书社2013年5月，第870页。

<sup>③</sup> 中国科学院考古研究所编著：《唐长安大明宫》之《附录·后记》，中国田野考古报告集考古学专刊丁种第11号，科学出版社1959年，第60页。

<sup>④</sup> 严如煜纂修：《汉南续修郡志》卷二十九《七言律诗》。

### 三 卢南石与绘图时间补正

关于此图绘制时间，李孝聪先生认为：“嘉庆五年（1800）设置的宁陕厅已标，佛坪厅未见，“宁”字不因避讳而改写。故，该图应编绘于嘉庆年间（1800~1820）。”<sup>①</sup>北京图书馆（国家图书馆）善本特藏部认为：“据陕西政区设置考证，此图约绘于清嘉庆五年至道光元年（1800~1821）间。”<sup>②</sup>林天人先生却提出了不同的看法：

本图为严如煜（1759~1826）、郑炳然绘。道光元年（1821），严如煜擢升陕安道；御史卓秉恬（1782~1855）上陈《川、陕、楚老林情形》摺，疏曰：“由陕西略阳迄东至河北郟西，谓之南山老林；经四川穿境至湖北保康，谓之巴山老林。地皆硗瘠，粮徭极微。无业游民，给地主钱数千，即租种数沟数岭。岁薄不收则徙去，谓之棚民。……与其即一隅而专谋之，何如合三省而共议之。请于扼要之地，专设大员控制。”（参：《清史稿·卓秉恬传》）同年，派严如煜总揽川、楚、陕山区边防察勘及建设事宜；严氏周历相度、析官移治、增营改汛。道光四年（1824）严如煜议置厅治（即佛坪厅）于周至县、洋县界及增营汛于商州、略阳，巡抚卢坤（1771~1835）采其议（参：《清史稿·严如煜传》）；图中厅未见，商州、略阳似仍未置营汛。

严如煜同时绘制了《汉江以南三省边舆图》（国立故宫博物院藏，平图021473），可对应参照；图中已见嘉庆七年（1802）新置的定远厅（参：严如煜纂《汉南续修府志》卷二《建置》）；道光三年（1823）析安康、紫阳、平利三县地所置砖坪厅尚未标示。两图既为同时，图绘时代资讯可互参。判断此图绘制或为严如煜在道光二年（1822）刊行《三省边防备览》同一段时间的作品。又《舆图要录》断本图绘于清嘉庆五年（1800）至道光元年（1821）间，似可榘。<sup>③</sup>

前二者根据政区设置以及宁陕厅、佛坪厅判断，后者根据佛坪厅与营汛，再参照《汉江以南三省边舆图》的定远厅等，从而得到了不同的结论。那么，《汉江以北四省边舆图》究竟是什么时候绘制的？

<sup>①</sup> 李孝聪编著：《美国国会图书馆藏中文古地图》卷二《区域地图：省、府、州、厅、县》，第50页，文物出版社2004年1月。北京图书馆善本特藏部舆图组编：《舆图要录——北京图书馆藏6827种中外文古旧地图目录》中国地图总图普通地图，北京图书馆出版社1997年12月，第59页。

<sup>②</sup> 北京图书馆善本特藏部舆图组编：《舆图要录——北京图书馆藏6827种中外文古旧地图目录》中国地图总图普通地图，北京图书馆出版社1997年12月，第59页。

<sup>③</sup> 林天人编撰、张敏译：《皇舆搜览——美国国会图书馆所藏明清舆图》，台北中央研究院，数位文化中心出版，2013年11月。

按，严如煜嘉庆六年(1801)二月任洵阳县令，嘉庆八年(1803)十月任定远厅侯，九年丁母忧。在这期间，尽管他力主“坚壁清野”，亦曾遍问民间疾苦，但所涉及地域尚不及地图反映的那么大，因此严如煜不大可能绘制此图。嘉庆十三年(1808)九月，他被委为汉中知府，职责所系，要洞悉老林，待兴百业，所以严如煜才有可能开始准备绘制有关秦岭、巴山地区的地图。

严如煜《续修汉南郡志》叙：“余于郑君先尝作《三省边境山川道路图》，适少司徒卢南石先生使蜀归，因就正。”卢氏审定后，则说“此图甚费苦心，若将里数用开方法，则远近更了如指掌。”严氏与郑氏采纳了这个建议，于是采用开方计里的绘图办法修订，“卷中各图，胥准以开方，十一城四至八到，视他书较清晰焉。”今天所见，该志卷之一诸图有：

1. 《汉中府属疆域总图》；
2. 留坝厅、定远厅、南郑县、褒城县、城固县、洋县、西乡县、凤县、宁羌州、沔县、略阳县疆域图；
3. 《南北栈道图》；
4. 《黑河图》、《华阳图》；<sup>①</sup>

这些地图，均用开方计里的办法绘制，此亦严氏修志的一大特色。

道光元年，严如煜擢升为陕安兵备道，“辛巳春，奉宫砺堂制府檄同川、陕、湖北三省委员查勘边境，自春孟至夏仲，蒞事于往时所未经历者，得流览焉。于曾经历者，得再三至焉。而共事诸君子，蜀则述轩李君、古山陆君，楚则郎轩倪君，汧谷范君，秦则六琴方君、梦禅陈君，或旧勦戎幕，或久宦岩疆，皆能洞达时务，而练习乎边事，爰谘爰询，各出身所经历，互相参考，盖皆有得焉。”最后写成了《三省边防备览》一书。卷一《舆图》有：

1. 《川陕湖边境总图》；
2. 《边境交界相连险要图》；
3. 《宁沔南褒西乡定远图》；
4. 《安康平利紫阳洵阳白河图》；
5. 《兴山房县竹山竹溪图》；
6. 《郧西郧县图》；

<sup>①</sup> 清严如煜原本、清杨名颺续纂：《民国汉南续修郡志》，《中国地方志集成·陕西府县志辑》第50册，凤凰出版社2007年。又见郭鹏：《嘉庆汉中府志校勘》，三秦出版社2012年9月。



7. 《广元通江南江巴州图》；
8. 《太平城口图》；
9. 《奉节巫山大宁云阳开县图》；
10. 《华阳厚畛子图》；
11. 《黑河图》；
12. 《眉县岐山宝鸡凤县图》<sup>①</sup>；

其中图 11《陕甘毗连黑河輿图》标明“广安郑炳然绘”，其他未注明作者。这些地图均采用开方计里的方法绘制，惟有图 2《边境交界相连险要图》例外。值得注意的是，严如煜与考察成员方六琴的关系甚密，曾说“六琴以副贡生官县丞，分发陕西用军功，保升知县，历署甘泉、平利、洋县、西乡事，所至著廉能声。”“六琴治行为大府器重，行见任剧邑，守大郡，施弥广，济弥众。”对于道光元年的会勘，严如煜《方母吴太宜人寿序》记载：

辛巳正月，余奉檄查三省边境，官保砺堂制府谕以老林蓊郁，径路嶮巇，得木拔道通，则奸无所容，而兴安之平利牙错二竹、巫宁，为往时三十三隘尤急宜规画。夏四月，余由大宁抵平利界，自鸡心岭至白土关，四百八十里灌木，除巉岩，凿偏路，斜窄者，绕以栏；削绝者，接以栈；溪涧阻者，渡以船桥；负者、挑者，驮以马牛，抬以兜輿者，驿驿途中不绝。余不意有夷之行至此也。<sup>②</sup>

由此推论，严如煜对其地还不甚熟悉，道光元年考察之后增补了这一区域的地图。或许由于仓促，加之郑炳然并未参加这次考察，所以未采用开方计里法。

开方计里，即计里画方，肇自宋《禹迹图》，开创了我国方格网法制图的先河。<sup>③</sup>前述卢南石的“若将里数用开方法，则远近更了如指掌”建议，严如煜、郑炳然的确虚心采纳，且及时运用于《汉南续修郡志》一书，遑论《三省边防备览》。但《汉江以北四省边輿图》却未用开方计里的办法。所以确定“适少司徒卢南石先生使蜀归”的时间，当为此图完成时间的重要依据。

卢南石名为卢荫溥（1760~1839），字霖生，南石是其号，山东德州人，是清朝一代名宦：

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<sup>①</sup> 《三省边防备览》卷一，黄守红标点：《严如煜集三》，岳麓书社 2013 年 5 月，第 838~877 页。

<sup>②</sup> 严如煜：《方母吴太宜人寿序》，《乐园文钞》卷七。

<sup>③</sup> 卢良志：《中国地图学史》序，测绘出版社 1984 年 2 月，第 1 页。

卢荫溥，字霖生，号南石，雅雨先生之孙也。乾隆辛丑进士，翰林院编修，与修三通及河源纪略，充翰林院办事官，拟进文字多出于手，由鸿胪寺少卿擢至兵部左侍郎。是时，豫东及南山匪徒相继蠢动，荫溥赞画得宜。事平，擢礼部尚书，历任吏、记、兵、刑、工等部尚书，晋协办大学士，授体仁阁大学士。总理刑部有年，平反多案，以疾致仕。重赴鹿鸣宴，卒京邸。谕祭再三，赠太子太师，谥文肃，入祀贤良祠，国史有传。子本，字子中，号泉之，嘉庆癸酉，恩赐举人，户部广东司员外郎，淹通经史，谨守遗规，器重璠璣矣。<sup>①</sup>

他还有《南星驿寄内》一诗：

皇华频岁月，壮志几邮亭。忽听乡音熟，新教旅况经。

万山如堵壁，一客似晨星。今夜深闺梦，知从何处醒。<sup>②</sup>

说明卢南石的确履经栈道而有入蜀之行，只是现在尚不知确定时间而已。此外，道光《永定县志》还记载有他道光二年为《自他轩诗稿》所写的序<sup>③</sup>。

再回过头看，严如煜文中所称卢南石为少司徒，其因在于清代官员好用古称，户部尚书为大司徒、大司农、计相，侍郎为少司徒、少司农。嘉庆十八年九月，卢南石“调户部左侍郎”<sup>④</sup>，这就是严所称“少司徒”的起始时间，尚未考虑卢“使蜀归”的时间。严如煜采纳卢南石的建议，“今卷中各图胥准以开方，十一城四至八到，视他书较清晰

<sup>①</sup> 民国二十四年李树德修、董瑶林纂：《德县志》卷十《人物志·耆英》。

<sup>②</sup> 民国二十四年李树德修、董瑶林纂：《德县志》卷十六《艺文志·诗内篇》。

<sup>③</sup> 道光《永定县志》卷十九《艺文志下》，文曰“乾隆乙卯，余督学中州，适同年生巫君虚轩作宰是邦。虚轩固儒者，所莅有循声，命其二子从余游：长宜福鞠坡，次宜耀远斋也。时鞠坡已登贤书，远斋方应乡举。鞠坡之文，光明俊伟。余尤喜远斋之文沉鸷排奡，有古作者之意，所以勗之者甚厚。嗣余任满旋京师，远斋来应京兆试，必以所业请益，其为文益进。而屡试屡蹶，余每宽譬之。最后，又出其所为诗一卷质于余。祖袭风骚，凌跨侪俗。然其音凄清幽窅，郁郁不自释之怀，时流露于行间，以为此词人之常耳。间岁不复。至甲戌，鞠坡赴礼闱来谒，远斋已赴玉楼召矣。且述其易箠之言，谓：生平文字之契，得于余者最深，遗诗一编，欲得一言，以征夙志。余闻之，悄然以悲，屡执笔，则振触不能下顾，竟无一言，何以慰远斋于地下也！嗟乎，天之予人以福泽，与予人以智慧，非有轻重于其间焉？科名者，福泽之一端，若夫慧业文人，则英声茂实，不必假科名而后显。而世俗不知，或以为丰于才者高于遇，亦小之乎视造物矣。如远斋之诗，其精气固足长流于宇宙，不必以一第为远斋歉。今巫氏科名鼎盛，十余年来，一门之内，叔侄兄弟成进士者三人，登乡荐者一人，鞠坡已腾蹕词垣。远斋之不为郊祁轼辙者，命实为之；而其可以为郊祁轼辙者，自在也。远斋有知，闻余言，其亦可以稍慰也夫。道光二年壬午重九日，通家生南台卢荫溥题于京寓。”

<sup>④</sup> 《清史列传》卷三十六《大臣传续编一》，第2817页。

焉。”说明诸图均按开方计里的办法作了修订。按严《叙》的落款“时嘉庆十八年岁次癸酉孟冬月”，孟冬月指十月。所以此图最后完成的时间是嘉庆十八年(1813)九月。

#### 四 《汉江以南三省边舆图》和《三省山内道路考》推论

诚如严如煜注文所说“程途里数，另刊一册。如查某处，按册看图，可得其概。”李孝聪先生则“据注文，此图应与一册描述道路程途里数的书相配合，而且还应有《汉江以南三省边舆图》合为一套。后二部图书，国会图书馆未藏。”<sup>①</sup>与此图相对应的，名为《汉江以南三省边舆图》，195×173厘米<sup>②</sup>。所谓“三省”即汉江以南的陕西汉中府、兴安府，四川的保宁府、绥定府和夔州府，湖北郧阳府、宜昌府。这些地方“均犬牙相错，其长林深谷，往往跨越两三省，难以界划，故一隅有事，边徼悉警。”<sup>③</sup>其绘制应与前图一致，可视为清代中期大巴山地区图。

前引的“程途里数”之书，即《三省山内道路考》。2009年，北京海王村拍卖有限责任公司举行的中国书店第51期大众收藏书刊资料拍卖会上，即有此书，半框，单册，不分卷，题署“楚南严如煜、蜀北郑炳然全辑”，23×13.3厘米。首叶为陕西汉中府，自注“南郑县，嘉庆十三年奏将宁陕总兵移驻汉中，与兵备道同城。”然后以东、南、西、北方位描述其交通路线与里程：

东 四十里，柳林铺。三十里，城固县。平原坦途。

南 二十里，祖师殿。三十里，牟家坝。二十里山路，青石关，南郑巡检驻此。二十里，回军坝。二十五里，天池子。二十五里，羊圈关。入川省通江界。二十里。西河口。三十里，保儿坝。三十里，碑坝场。三十里，韭菜崖。二十里，坝溪。二十里，朱家坝。三十里，青池子。四十里，楼子庙。三十里，平溪坝。四十里，板桥口。二十里，青峪口。三十里，新场坝。三十里，涪阳坝。三十里，扛金岭。二十里，石岭子。三十里，通江县，共程五百九十里。此路由牟家坝入山，回军坝、天池子、羊圈关一路，从老林中行走，羊圈关为川边要隘。

<sup>①</sup> 李孝聪编著：《美国国会图书馆藏中文古地图》卷二《区域地图：省、府、州、厅、县》，文物出版社2004年1月，第50页。

<sup>②</sup> 国家图书馆、台北故宫博物院有藏，见《舆图要录——北京图书馆藏6827种中外文古旧地图目录》中国地图总图普通地图，第59页；林天人：《皇舆搜览——美国国会图书馆所藏明清舆图》。

<sup>③</sup> 严如煜：《三省边防备览》卷十一《策略》。



图 7

此书刊刻之后，严如煜还纂辑了《三省边防备览》一书，两者对照，内容略有区别。如前书分陕西等四省，再以府、县相第；后书则分别以省、县，并列里程。如南郑县：

东 四十里，柳林铺。三十里，城固县。平原坦途。

南 二十里，祖师殿。三十里，牟家坝。二十里山路，青石关，南郑巡检驻此。三十里，回军坝。二十里，天池子。二十里，羊圈关，入川省通江县界，山路陡险。<sup>①</sup>

其中南郑下无注文，青石关至回军坝，前者标二十里，后者为三十里；回军坝至天池子、羊圈关，前者各为二十五里，后者则为二十里。看来严如煜还不断修订三省道路的内容，以便更加准确、完善。

顺便提及，《汉江之南三省边舆图》和《三省山内道路考》所作时间，也应与《汉江之北四省边舆图》一样，是嘉庆十三年(1808)九月至嘉庆十八年(1813)九月之间完成的。

<sup>①</sup> 严如煜：《三省边防备览》卷二《道路考上》。