

[In this translation there are some base references that are indicated by references such as [R.1] and [R.2] etc. Footnotes from the original paper have been collected at the end and referred to as [F.1], [F.2] ... etc in the text. This style is used as many are detailed references that are best provided in English for meaning and Chinese for capacity to locate. They would then often be too large for suitable footnotes in the text.]

A discussion concerning the "Map of four provinces north of the Han River" in the collection of the Taipei Palace Museum

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1. Introduction

The Qing Period "Map of four provinces north of the Han River" by Yan Ruyi and Zheng Bingran in the collection of the US Library of Congress (referred to in the following as the LoC Map) has been the subject of some discussion between the author and David Jupp of CSIRO (Australia). The discussions resolved a number of issues leading to a much stronger research paper on this topic. On the eve of China's National Day in 2014, David Jupp was able to acquire and send to us from Canberra a copy of a book published by the Taipei National Palace Museum by Lin Tianren called "Mapping the Imperial Realm: an exhibition of Historical Maps" [F.1] for which I am very grateful. In this book I was able to study in detail its artistic coloured version of the "Map of four provinces north of the Han River" (referred to in the following as the Taipei Map) as well as its paired version of the "Map of three provinces south of the Han River", and as a result of further analysis, have concluded they were not drawn at the same time as the LoC Map, due to a number of significant differences.

2. Similarities and differences between the maps

Taking an overall view of the Taipei Museum's Maps, the "Map of three provinces south of the Han River" has six annotations. In one place it was noted that the map was "drawn by Yan Junlie of Jiyang in Shandong (Dong Lu)" and the "Map of four provinces north of the Han River" has an identical annotation. In another place [of the same map], there is a note "The borders of the three provinces are indicated by three colours, the Sichuan border by light purple, the Shaanxi border by the colour of the (background) paper, and the Hubei border by dark red. Forests and plantations occur throughout the borders, as well as bamboo forests, rough roads, horse paths, which are very difficult to travel." The "Map of four provinces north of the Han River" does not have such annotations, but uses a variety of colours for different province boundaries such as the background paper colour for Shaanxi, light purple for Gansu, Henan and Hubei borders both dark red colour; furthermore the legend and style show little difference so it appears that the two Taipei Maps were drawn by the same person. In this I agree completely with the comments provided by the Taipei Museum.

The current situation is that there are three known examples of the "Map of four provinces north of the Han River", with general information as listed in the following Table:

Table 1. Collections including "Map of four provinces north of the Han River"

Collection Unit	Dimensions	Explanation	Collection Number
US Library of Congress	107×182cm	woodblock printed on paper	serial number G7820.C5 registration number 84696078
Taipei Palace Museum	109×186cm	colour painting on paper	021472
China National Library	113.5×179cm	Printed book (plates)	0601

Primary Reference Materials for the Maps discussed in this document are to be found in Section 2 ("Regional Maps: Province, Fu, Zhou Ting and Xian", Page 50) of [R.1], Page 59 of [R.2] and [R.3].

Discounting the map in the collection of the China National Library, as I have so far been unable to view it, and comparing the other two maps it seems that:

Firstly, the overall region drawn is the same:

Regarding the LoC and Taipei Maps of the "Map of four provinces north of the Han River", they cover a region south of the Wei River and north of the Han River, more or less covering the general region of the Qinling Mountains. To be specific, on the west are Qin Zhou (present day Tianshui) and Qin'an Xian in Gansu and Lüeyang Xian in Shaanxi. On the east are Wenxiang Xian, Lingbao Xian and Xichuan xian in Henan and Jun Zhou, Guanghua Xian, Yunyang Fu and Yunxi Xian in Hubei.

Secondly, the general representation of the geography is the same:

As the LoC Map annotation says:

"The boundaries of the four northern provinces of Shaanxi (陕), 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. 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. In regard to the river valleys and gully branches, if you can identify associated terrain features, there will not be a large error."

All of these things are covered in the extent of the maps, including the directional consistency. Differences in contents of the maps arise [mainly] from the LoC Map being printed from blocks, while the information in the Taipei Map was directly hand drawn, so that the latter is generally finer in detail than the former, creating some visible differences¹. However, the maps have some significant differences.

¹ Note: the LoC Map is scanned at high resolution while the Taipei Map is a plate in a book so perhaps this adds some compensating advantage to the LoC Map for this work.

Firstly, the region covered by the Taipei Map is larger than that of the LoC Map:

From a closer comparison, it appears that the western areas of the two maps in Gansu have few differences, however, on the eastern side between the Yellow River and Wenxiang Xian in Henan, the drawings have some differences; such as the Taipei Map including a section including Xichuan Xian, Liushan Pu, Shijia Gang, Laoniu Po, Xun Lukou and Liguian Qiao. Furthermore, near the border with Hubei, there are many more additions, in the border regions of the LoC Map there is a route linking Liulang Guan, Shang Jinguan, Huangying Pu, Nan Ping, Xiao Chuanzi, Hetao Ping and Bailu, while the Taipei Map also includes the whole of Yunyang Fu and all counties under its jurisdiction on the north bank of the Han River. Between the two maps the boundary line between Shaanxi and Hubei also has differences.



Figure 1. Comparison of the Hubei borders of the two maps, LoC Map on the left and the Taipei map on the right

In the north, in the Guanzhong area, the LoC Map only includes a few places such as Fengxian Fu and Qishan Xian, but the Taipei Map extends out to Hancheng Xian, even to include Sima Qian's Tomb. In the southern area in Shaan Nan, in areas to the south of the Han River, the LoC Map only has roads near Ningqiang Zhou, the section from Zhenfu to Weimen in Yangxian County in Hanzhong Fu, and the two places Dazhong Xi and Lantan between Xunyang Xian and Baihe Xian in Xing'an Fu. The Taipei Map contains much more information in these areas. There is an extension of the route from Hanzhong Fu to Ningqiang Zhou to include Zhaohua Xian in Sichuan, the area near Mianxian includes Dingjun Mountain and the Wuhou [Zhuge Liang] Tomb; going east from Mianxian, through Xing'an Fu to include Junzhu in Hubei. There is also a detailed series of place names along the south bank of the Han River, so it may have been intended to provide a route map for the Han River shipping trade.



Figure 2. Taipei Map additions in the Guanzhong area

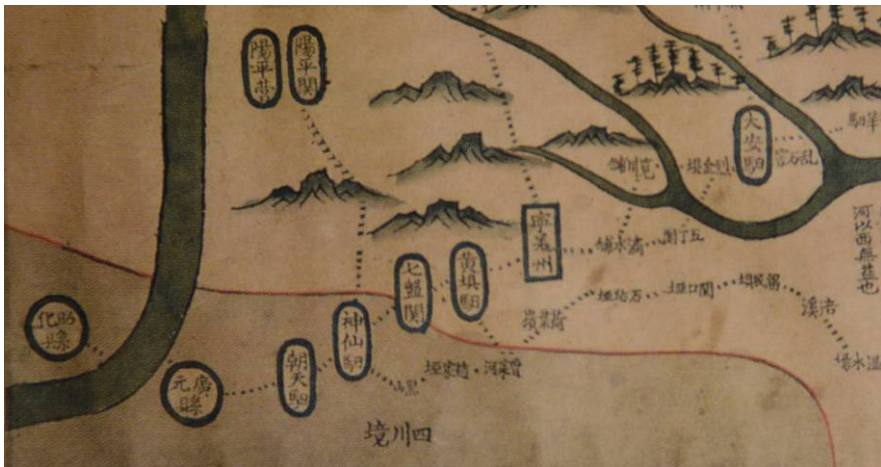


Figure 3. Taipei Map additions in the Sichuan Area

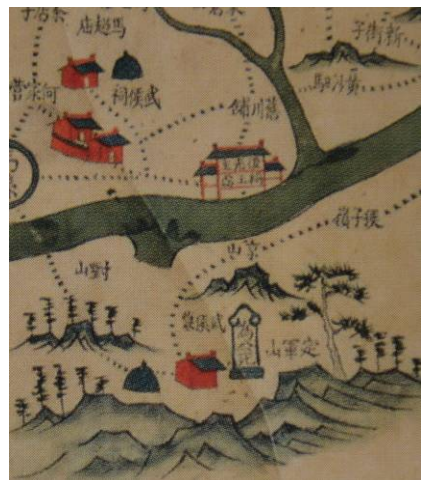


Figure 4. Taipei Map additions of historical sites near Mianxian and the Han River

Secondly, the Taipei Map's legend is better drawn than the LoC Map's:

The hand painted drawing is certainly finer than engraved printing, the waterways on the Taipei Map are generally a green colour, the mountain ranges also use a green colour, and especially it has additional famous sites, such as the Tomb of Sima Qian in Hancheng

County, the Hua Yue Temple and Hua Yue Mountain in Huayin County and the Fenyang Wang Temple and the "Great Tang Dynasty" memorial gateway in Hua Zhou, the Yang Guifei Pool and hot water baths in Lintong County, the Great and Small Goose Pagodas in Xianning and Chang'an counties, as well as the Liangjing Temple, the Mao Chao Tomb, the Wuhou Temple, Dingjun Mountain, the Wuhou Tomb and Jiu Zhou Xianzhu Temple (all) in Mianxian County. The map has a clear annotation "Horizontal Oval denotes Ting", but it may be a transcription problem or an error as on the Taipei Map Xiaoyi Ting and Liuba Ting do not conform to the legend.



Figure 5. Taipei Map area near present day Xi'an

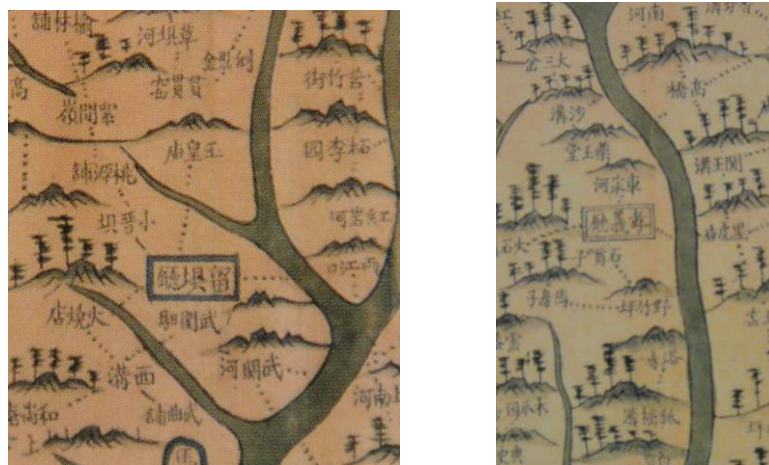


Figure 6. Taipei Map Liuba Ting and Xiaoyi Ting legend mismatch

3. Time periods when the two maps were produced

The question regarding the time period when the LoC and Taipei maps were drawn involves deciding whether the LoC map was the early version and the Taipei Map a duplicate, or whether the Taipei Map was the first and the LoC Map a revision? Previous writers (eg Lin Tianren) have proposed in regard to the LoC Map: "Perhaps it was published at the same time as the 'Complete overview of defence conditions in three provinces' published by Yan Ruyi in the second Daoguang year (1822)"? This can be thought of as the 1822 proposal. However, in regard to the LoC Map, the present writer believes it was only after the 9th month of the 13th Jiaqing year (1808) that Yan Ruyi was able to prepare and construct this map, the reason

being that during this time he was the Prefect (Zhifu) of Hanzhong, and also in the book "Records of roads in the mountain regions of three provinces" which was prepared together with the map there is an annotation "Nanzheng Xian, in the 13th Jiaqing year (1808) it was suggested in a memorial to the Emperor that the Garrison Commander of Ningshan move to Hanzhong, and start defense preparations for the roads and towns". Zheng Bingran accompanied Yan Ruyi on these inspection tours on every occasion; he also had 'excellent drawing skill, breadth of composition, can represent great distances in a small area', and based on Lu Nanshi's evaluation 'took great trouble and pain', we can see that they were putting great emphasis on drawing detailed maps, at the same time as learning by field inspection, and continually revising to make up any flaws. Hence, based on this, we have fixed the latest time that the LoC Map was originally prepared to be the 9th month of the 18th Jiaqing year (1813). Having established this, can we be as definite for the Taipei map?

Firstly, differences between the annotations can provide a basis for deciding:

The two maps have annotations, but a careful comparison shows there are a number of differences as listed in Table 2:

Table 2: Differences in the annotations between the Maps

1.	Han River originates from Bozhong Mountain	Han River passes through Bozhong Mountain	uses "至" which is not appropriate
2.	From Hanzhong going downstream, the (Han) river meets the Xushui, Muma, Dong, Yue, Dadao, Nan, and Xun rivers, so by Baishui it is large	From Hanzhong going downstream, the (Han) river meets the Xushui, Muma, Ren, Yue, Dadao, Nan, and Xun rivers, so by Baishui it is a large river	Dong and Ren are different, both are on the border of present day Ziyang in Ankang City. The Ren (仁) is today called the Ren (任)
3.	From the coloured soil the 5 grains grow, and precious metals like gold and iron are extracted.	From the coloured soil the 5 grains grow, precious metals like gold and iron are extracted and forests are well established	Using Forests (林) for Materials (材) makes no sense.
4.	The high mountains include Zibai Shan, Ao Shan, Yaozhu Ling, Jun Shan and various associated ranges	The great mountains include Zibai Shan, Ao Shan, Yaozhu Ling, Jun Shan and various associated ranges	Using great (太) makes no sense here.
5.	From Chang'an there is also the [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.	From Chang'an there is also the [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.	The "峪" Ziwu valley (yu) is in Chang'an and the "谷" (gu) Ziwu Valley is in Xixiang.
6.	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.	To the north of Fengxian and the east of Qin Zhou [present day Tianshui], as far as Wuzhai and Liqiao, there are high mountain valleys winding for 100 Li, throughout much of which there are unexploited forests.	Both “为” and “乃” can make sense.

7.	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	Huayang is in the present South Mountains and the source of the Hei Shui is at Zibai Mountain. On both sides (统) of the river there are timber resources and fertile (者) forests	Writing “统” makes no sense, “者” is inappropriate.
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From Table 2 we can see that in all these cases the LoC Map makes sense, whereas in the Taipei map 3 of the examples are different but can make sense whereas the other 7 definitely have significant problems, so evidently the drawer (of the Taipei Map) was not very familiar with the geography and topography of the four provinces. On the other hand, Yan Ruyi and Zheng Bingran were very familiar with the geography of the area north and south of the Han River and had already written a lot of material about them, so (in their work) there was no need for superfluous additions.

Among the map annotations, the Taipei Map revealed some critical information (it reads):

"In this map, 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. In regard to the river valleys and gully branches, if you can identify associated terrain features, and there will not be a large error."

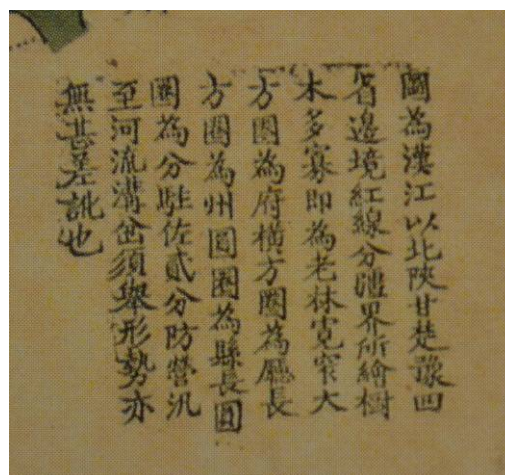
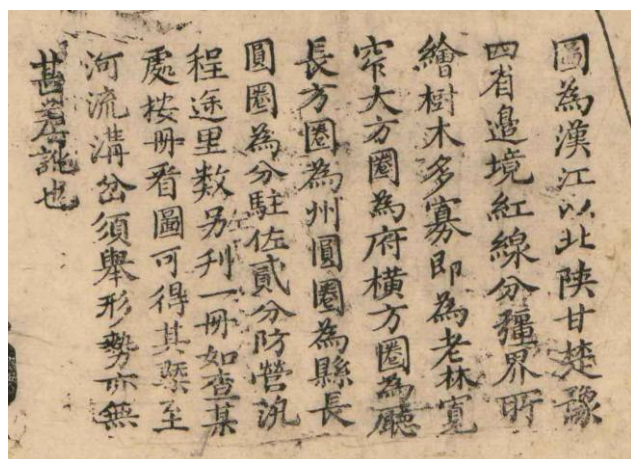


Figure 7. Examples where characters on the LoC and Taipei Maps are not the same

This annotation does not include a part from the LoC Map that read: "The distances in Li along the roads [between places] are published in another book. If you are checking the distance to some place, refer to the book, look at the map, and you can approximate it". The explanation is that at the time that Yan Ruyi and Zheng Bingran were producing the map, they already had the book before them referred to in order to "check the distance to some place, look at the map, and approximate it", namely the "Records of roads in the mountain regions of three provinces". However, the person producing the Taipei Map seems to have thought this section was dispensable, and so left it out. As a consequence, in the Taipei Map

the strings of marks for some routes are not very distinct. It can be seen that which of the maps came first and which after is already becoming clear.

Secondly, integrity of the geographic information in the maps is a very important criterion:

After all, the purpose of the map is to reflect the geographic information. Within the map it is useful to focus on specific areas and particular topics to make comparisons that are indicative of the essential integrity of information. The Lianyun Northern Plank Road can be used as an example. Yan Ruyi and Zheng Bingran passed along this road a number of times, so that they should be clear about the route, the LoC Map has:

Baoji Xian→Yingmen Zhen→Huijun Zhen→Guanying Tang→Er Li Guan→Jiancha Ping→Donghe Qiao→Huangniu Pu→Caoliang Ri→Baijia Dian→Wangjia Tai→Feng Xian→Feng Ling→Sancha Ri→Feiqiu Guan→Nanxing→Yulin Pu→Gao Qiao→Chaiguan Ling→Taoyuan Pu→Xiao Liuba→Liuba Ting→Wuguan Ri→Wuguan He→Wuqu Pu→Madao Yi→Qingqiao Ri→Hujia Pu→Jitou Guan→Baocheng Xian.

In regard to this section of the road, the Taipei Map has:

Baoji Xian→Yingmen Zhen→Huijun Zhen→Guanying Tang→San Li Guan→Jiancha Ping→Donghe Qiao→Huangniu Pu→Caoliang Ri→Baijia Dian→Wangjia Tai→Feng Xian→Feng Ling→Sancha Ri→Feiqiu Guan→Nanxing→Yulin Pu→Gao Qiao→Zijian Ling→Taoyuan Pu→Xiao Jinba→Liuba Ting→Wuguan Ri→Wuguan He→Wuqu Pu→Madao Yi→Qingqiao Ri→Hujia Pu→Jitou Guan→Baocheng Xian.

From the above you can see, the number of places in the two maps is the same, but the Taipei Map has "Sanli Guan" erroneously for "Er'li Guan", "Zijian Ling" erroneously for "Chaiguan Ling" and "Xiao Jinba" erroneously for "Xiao Liuba".

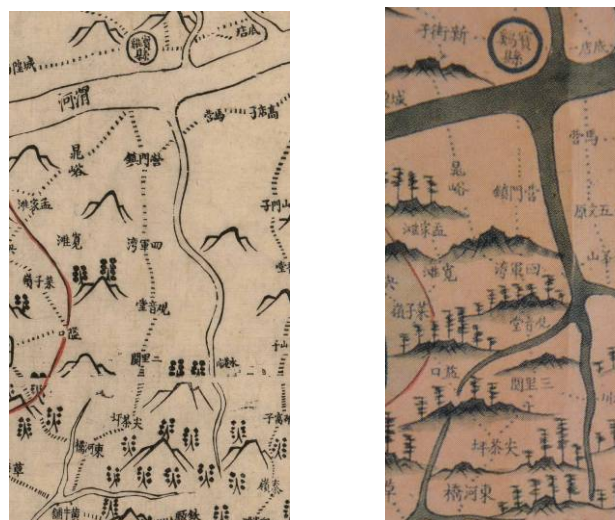


Figure 8. LoC Map and Taipei Map section from Baoji to Donghe Qiao with the Taipei map incorrectly showing Sanli Guan

A second issue (for the Taipei Map) occurs in the section: Feiqiu Guan→Nanxing→Yulin Pu→Gaoqiao→Chaiguan Ling. [On the map] Gaoqiao (present day Gaoqiao Pu) is on a north

south thoroughfare, but the section to the southwest of Yulin Pu is dictated by precipitous mountains and there was never a road like the one shown; In the section: Wuguan Yi→Wuguan He→Wuqu Pu→Madao Yi in the Ming and Qing periods, the route went along the west bank of the Bao River, yet that is not the case (in the Taipei map) from Wuguan He→Wenchang He→Madao Yi. Furthermore, in history there has never been a road through Wenchang He, showing that the person who drew the Taipei Map was clearly not familiar with local Plank Road history.



Figure 9. LoC and Taipei Maps section of the road between Da'an and Ningqiang Zhou

In a similar case, in a section of the Lianyun Plank Road within the borders of Ningqiang Xian [Ninqiang Zhou in the Qing Period] from Liejin Ba→Kuangchuan Pu→Wuding Guan→Dishui Pu→Ningqiang Zhou, The Taipei Map has the route: Liejin Ba→Kuangchuan Pu→Dishui Pu→Ningqiang Zhou and Liejin Ba→Wuding Guan→Dishui Pu→Ningqiang Zhou, the route is also divided into two roads. This is a serious error, as in the Qing Period there was only the route shown in the LoC Map, and there were never two routes. From this one can conclude that the person who drew the routes of these roads knew little about the local geographical information.

Someone may ask whether, because the LoC Map also has errors, the LoC Map may be a copy of the Taipei Map? In the LoC Map south of Baoji below the Wei River it is certainly true the place name there should be Yimen Zhen and not Yingmen Zhen; the highest point of the Qinling is also properly Jiancha Ping (煎茶) and not Jiancha (尖茶) Ping. However, later in the "Records of roads in the mountain regions of three provinces", Yan Ruyi had already changed these places to Yimen (益门) Zhen and Jiancha (尖茶) Ping etc. [F.2] From this it can be seen that in the ongoing development of the "Investigation of three provinces" after the production of this four provinces map they continued to revise the information.

In "Maps of the cities of the Han to Tang Periods" Wang Senwen stated: "In the Jiaxu year (19th Jiaqing reign year, 1814) after returning to his official position, he took charge of Lüeyang", and "the Hanzhong Prefect, his honour Yan Ruyi, and his friend Guang'an Zheng Jun Bingran resumed their unfinished proof reading and publishing from a government office. [F.3] The maps included the outer areas from towns, mountains and rivers and ancient relics, as far as all the borders and were proof read to a detailed level." This suggests Yan and Zheng both worked on the map drawing activity, producing all kinds of maps, even including Chang'an etc, and still "proof reading to a detailed level".

In addition, it can also be seen that on the LoC Map in the area in Henan near the border is the annotation "Yujing" ["Yu" Border, Yu being an ancient name for Henan], which is a border marker in just the same way as the more southerly annotation of "Chujing" ["Chu"

Border, with Chu as an ancient name for Hubei]. However, the Taipei Map takes this annotation as a place name, making it a place between Jian'gan Ling, Bacha and Kongjia Ying. It can be seen that the person who drew the Taipei Map depended entirely on Yan and Zheng's Map, and had little personal knowledge of the local geography of the area, leading to there being a number of errors in the geographical information.



**Figure 10. Error in the Taipei Map
"Yu Border" mistaken for a place name**

In view of all of this, it seems that the LoC Map was the early map and the Taipei Map the later map. Indeed, the Taipei Map was not drawn by Yan Ruyi and Zheng Bingran but by Yan Junlie who apparently re-drew it completely based on the existing map by Yan and Zheng (ie the LoC Map).

4. Concerning Yan Junlie

In what circumstances were the Taipei Maps produced? According to the annotation on the LoC Map: "Respectfully written by Southern Chu Yan Ruyi, carefully drafted by Northern Shu Zhen Bingran" it seems that Yan Ruyi was the Principal and Zhen Bingran prepared the maps. Similarly, an annotation on the Taipei Maps says: "Respectfully written by East Lu Xuyang Yan Junlie" where the character Yan (闫) is identical to Yan (阎), from which it seems that this person should be the Principal. Some researchers believe that the Taipei Maps were [also] produced by Yan Ruyi and Zheng Bingran [F.4], the annotations on the Map do not clarify so is there evidence for such a proposition?

Investigating this, in the "Gazetteer of Jiyang County" published in Republican times, Yan Junlie's biography reads:

"Came from Yanjia Zhuang in Nanxiang. Successful candidate in military examinations in the 54th Qianlong Year (1764); served in Provincial Military. In the first Jiaqing Year (1796), he served as Company Commander for pacifying bandits in the borders of Sichuan, Shaanxi and Hubei, with a good record of achievement, promoted to position of Brigadier with the (higher) rank of Vice-General. By the 10th Jiaqing year (1805) the bandits were completely suppressed, and he was promoted to Commander of Balikun Zhen in Gansu. In the 18th Jiaqing year (1813) successfully suppressed a bandit rebellion at Hua Xian and was

promoted to Provincial Commander of Hubei. He retired from office and died at his home in the 6th Daoguang Year (1826)." [F.5]

So in the first Jiaqing Year (1796) Yan Junlie was a successful examination candidate and then promoted.

From the "Qing Records" we can reconstruct his military record:

October of the 10th Jiaqing year (1805), appointed Garrison Commander at Balikun from being Vice-General at Yongchang [F.6].

June in the 16th Jiaqing Year (1811), appointed Special Garrison Commander at Xi'an Shaanxi Province from being Balikun Garrison Commander.

In December of the 18th Jiaqing Year (1813), The Military Commander of Hebei Zhen in Henan, Yang Fang, moved to Xi'an as special Garrison commander and Yan Junlie became the special Garrison Commander at Hebei Zhen.

In the second (Run) February of the 19th Jiaqing Year (1814), the Shaanxi Xi'an Garrison Commander, Yang Fang moved to Hanzhong as Garrison Commander, Yan Junlie moved from being special Garrison Commander of Hebei Zhen to become Commander of Xian Zhen, and Xue Dalie from Hanzhong became Hebei special Commander [F.9]

In August of the 21st Jiaqing year (1816), the former Garrison Commander of Xi'an, Yan Junlie became Military Governor of Hubei Province.

In February of the second Daoguang year (1822), the Military Governor of Hubei Province, Yan Junlie fell ill, asked to step down with his request accepted. He was ordered to report to Beijing for a new appointment when he had recovered. [F.10].

In October of the 5th Daoguang year (1825), a note from the Emperor to the Minister of Defence records:

"Summoned the newly appointed Provincial Military Commander of Hunan, Yan Junlie. He seems rather rough and careless. He previously served as Hubei Military Commander. What is the strength of his reputation? Was the training of the troops taken seriously? Li Hongbing has been in Chu for some years, and is ordered to provide us with useful information. He is to immediately investigate to find out the truth, report back when needed and not to keep back any information. Pass this note on to him." [F.11] *"In April of the 6th Daoguang year (1826), the Provincial Military Commander of Hunan Yan Junjie went to Beijing. The former General of Xi'an Huan Ge became the Provincial Military Commander of Hunan."* [F.12]

"In October of the 6th Daoguang year (1826), the former Hunan Military Commander Yan Junlie, took an ordinary rank and retired." [F.13]

From these records we can see, following the White Lotus Rebellion (1796-1805) in Shaanxi, Yan Junlie started his appointed at Xi'an as Garrison commander in June of the 16th Jiaqing year. But one and one half years later he transferred. In the second February of the 19th Jiaqing year he was again appointed as Garrison Commander in Xi'an, and in August of the 21st Jiaqing year he took up the high position of Hubei Military Commander, showing that his achievements had been significant.

However, in February of the second Daoguang year (1822), he had to plead illness and resigned office, a result of this may have been that the Daoguang emperor was dissatisfied with him. Nevertheless, after the 19th Jiaqing year (1814) and especially between the 21st

Jiaqing year (1816) and February of the second Daoguang year (1822), Yan Junlie was in a very good position to take charge of the production of the later "Map of four provinces north of the Han River", and he was also in a position to make use of resources at Yunxi Fu and obtain even more information. In addition, Yan Junlie had certainly been a successful candidate for Military Examinations, and possibly also conversant with painting, but most importantly he was in a position to invite someone to draw the map.

In November of the 20th Jiaqing year (1820), Zhuo Bingtian (1782-1855, Zi Jingyuan) wrote a report (for the Emperor) concerning the situation in the mountainous regions and old forests of Shaanxi, Sichuan and Hubei, the Emperor ordered

"The old forests of Shaanxi, Sichuan and Hubei connect three provinces, comprise a vast area, with difficult and dangerous mountains, where Shanty Dwellers (refugees) can easily stir up trouble. So that this may be controlled and the people calmed, Jiang Youxian, Zhu Xun and Yu Dai are ordered to explain the situation, carefully make plans, and meet to plan memorials. Zhuo Bingtian's original report needs to be copied and sent to them. I will give them the order." [F.14]

This is simply what Yan Ruyi described when he wrote:

"In spring of the Xinsi year (1821), he [Yan Ruyi] 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 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."

Hubei *"Set up the Hubei Province Committee, Yunyang Prefect Xu Shuanggui and Zhushan District Magistrate Fan Jichang", "will survey all areas of the border regions, investigate all aspects, meet in the middle at Xing'an Prefecture (Ankang) to draw a complete map, and develop a combined plan."*

The Military Governor of Hubei Yan Junlie would certainly have had an obligation to see this accomplished. Therefore taking the reasoning on a step, the period in which the Taipei Map was drawn could have been between the 25th Jiaqing year and the second Daoguang year (1820-1822). On the basis of this proposal it would have been a little earlier than the publication of Yan Ruyi's "Complete overview of defence conditions in three provinces".²

² This conclusion implies that the Taiwan Map would satisfy the "1822 proposal" but not the LoC Map meaning the LoC Map needs to be studied in its own right and context.

5. Primary References

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台北故宫博物院藏《汉江以北四省边舆图》再议

美国国会图书馆(The US Library of Congress)藏清严如煜、郑炳然《汉江以北四省边舆图》(下称美国图), 我与我的好友、澳大利亚科学工业组织(CSIRO) 贾大韦(David Jupp) 先生多次切磋看法, 其中还纠正了以往的几点错误看法, 从而有力地推动了研究的深入。时至甲午国庆节前夕, 幸得贾大韦先生的提携, 远从澳洲堪培拉(Canberra)惠寄来台北故宫博物院刊行的林天一先生主编的《河岳海疆——院藏古舆图特展》一书^①, 令人至感而铭。我由此拜读了彩绘纸本《汉江以北四省边舆图》(下称台北图)、《汉江以南三省边舆图》, 结合我们彼此的交流与探讨, 认为两者并非同一时期绘制, 且多有差异。

一 两种图的异同

首先说明的是, 台北故宫博物院藏有《汉江以南三省边舆图》, 共6处图注, 其中1处注明“东鲁济阳阎俊烈谨识”, 与《汉江以北四省边舆图》相同。另有1处, 则注明“三省边境分为三色, 淡紫色系四川境, 本纸色系陕西境, 红土色系湖北境。凡老林、树木、丛界之所, 皆系竹林, 道路崎岖, 马[?]多难行。”《汉江以北四省边舆图》没有注明, 但所用彩色, 本纸色是陕西境, 淡紫色为甘肃、河南境, 湖北境似为红土色; 且图例、识语等, 均无二致, 看来台北二图当为同一时期同一人的作品。这与故宫博物院的看法没有什么差别。

今天所见《汉江以北四省边舆图》有三种, 其相关信息如下:

收藏单位	尺寸	说明	收藏号
美国国会图书馆	107×182 厘米	纸质印本	编号 G7820. C5 登录号 84696078
台北故宫博物院	109×186 厘米	纸本彩绘	021472
中国国家图书馆	113.5×179 厘米	刻印本	0601

表 1. 《汉江以北四省边舆图》藏本情况表

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^① 中华民国 101 年 9 月出版, 图为 I-9、I-10, 第 56~59 页, 文在第 70~72 页。

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除中国国家图书馆藏图我迄今尚未看到外，其余两种相比，相同者有：

第一，绘制的区域大致相同

美国图、台北图均题为《汉江以北四省边舆图》，涉及到渭河以南、汉江以北的区域，大致相当于今天秦岭地区。具体说来，西起甘肃秦州、秦安县和陕西略阳县，东至河南阌乡县、灵宝县、浙川县和湖北的均州、光化县、郟阳府以及郟西县。

第二，反映的地理现象差相一致

正如美国图的图注所说“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。”加之方位指向，图中区域的地理信息反映无遗。其中的区别在于，美国图为刻板印制，台北图为手绘，后者明显比前者精细，效果清晰。

但两种图也有不同处：

第一，台北图反映的区域比美国图要大

仔细比较，两种舆图西部的甘肃境基本没有差别，但东部的河南境黄河与阌乡县之间，绘制有别；台北图又增补浙川县——柳山铺——史家岗——老牛坡——寻路口——李官桥一段。而湖北境，增补则更多，美国图楚境仅有六郎关——上津关——黄莺铺——南坪——小川子——核桃坪——白鹿初一线，台北图则补全郟阳府及隶属的汉江以北各县，且二图的陕西、湖北分界线也有异。



图 1. 二图湖北境的比较，左为美国图，右为台北图

北部的关中地区，美国图仅绘凤翔府、岐山县等，台北图则扩大到韩城县，甚至还有司马迁墓。南部的陕南地区，美国图对汉江以南有汉中府宁羌州的道路、洋县真福[符]至渭门段，兴安府洵阳县至白河县之间的大中溪、兰滩两个地名。台北图则反映的信息要多得多，汉中府宁羌州增补的线路，已延伸到四川的昭化县，勉县有定军山和武侯墓；从勉县向东，中经兴安府，直至湖北的均州，汉江以南连续绘制有地名，当是汉江航运水道线路。



图 2. 台北图增补的关中地区

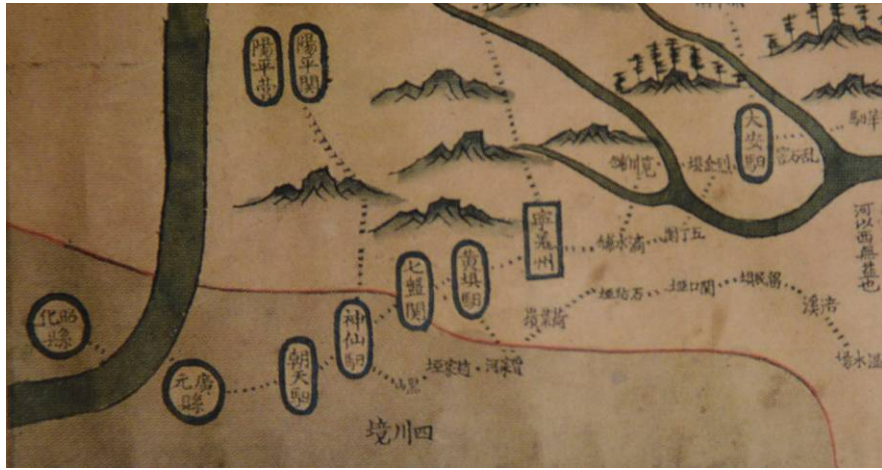


图 3. 台北图增补的四川地区

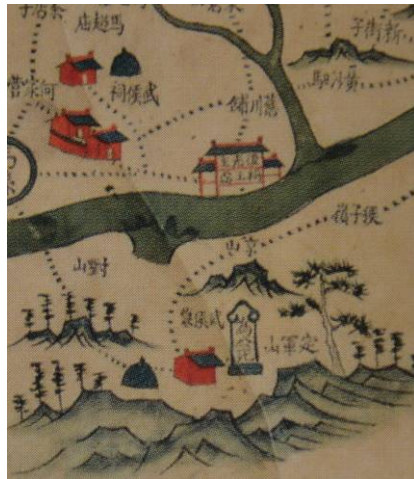


图 4. 台北图增补的勉县汉江南北的名胜

第二，台北图的图例优于美国图

手绘毕竟比雕板印刷要精细，台北图的河流均用青绿色，山脉也施以绿色，尤其是增补了部分名胜，如韩城县司马迁墓、华阴县华岳庙和华岳山、华州汾阳王祠和“重整唐世”牌坊、临潼县杨贵妃沐浴处和自来温水池塘、咸宁县和长安县的大小雁塔与凉经寺、勉县的马超墓、马超庙、武侯祠、定军山、武侯墓和旧州铺的先主庙。图中明确标注“横方圈为厅”，或许是疏忽或手误，台北图“孝义厅”与“留坝厅”图例不一。



图 5. 台北图今西安附近地区

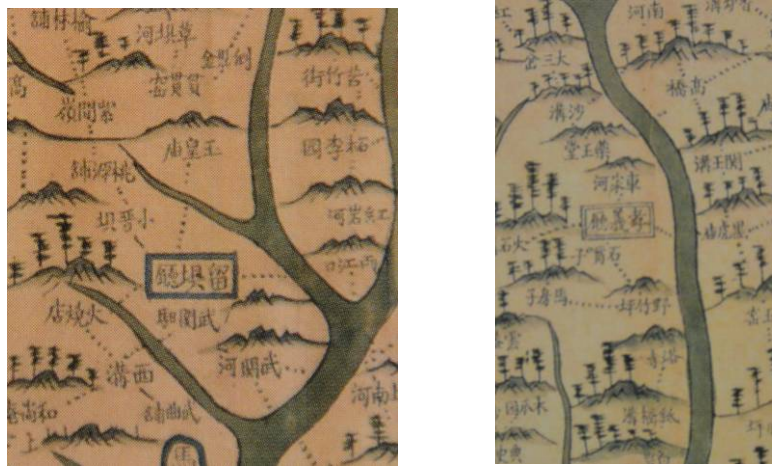


图 6. 台北图留坝厅与孝义厅的图例不一致

二 两种图的绘制时间

那么美国图、台北图的绘制时间，是美国图在前、台北图重绘之，还是台北图在先、美国图修订之？此前学者提出了“或为严如煜道光二年刊行《三省边防备览》同一段时间的作品”，即 1822 年的看法。对于美国图，我们认为嘉庆十三年(1808)九月开始严如煜才有可能准备绘制此图，原因是此时他被委为汉中知府，且与图相配套的《三省山内道路考》首叶有自注“南郑县，嘉庆十三年奏将宁陕总兵移驻汉中，与兵备道同城。”郑炳然随从严如煜考察，每次“必策马偕”；且“精绘事，工远势，能具千里于尺幅”，从卢南石评价的“甚费苦心”，可以看出他们对绘图的重视，并且虚心取经，不断修订、弥补缺陷。所以确定美国图最后完成的时间是嘉庆十八年(1813)九月。这样说来，那么台北图又作如何界定呢？

第一，图注文字的差异提供了一个依据

两种图均有图注，但仔细核对之后发现，二者尚有不同，见表 2：

序号	美国图	台北图	说明
1	汉江自宁羌岷冢山发源	汉江至宁羌岷冢山发源	作“至”，不妥
2	自汉中而下，会合渭水河、木马河、洞河、月河、大道河、南河、洵河各流，至白河而始大	自汉中而下，会合渭水河、木马河、仁河、月河、大道河、南河、洵河各流，至白河而始大	洞河、仁河，均在今安康市紫阳县境。仁河，今作任河
3	土色途泥，五种皆宜，产金、铁、名材	土色途泥，五种皆宜，产金、铁、名林	作“林”，不通
4	山大如紫柏山、鳌山、腰竹岭、军山皆其支分	山太如紫柏山、鳌山、腰竹岭、军山皆其支分	作“太”，不通
5	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	又有长安之子午谷至西乡之子午峪，魏延欲以此道出长安，计程亦六百四十里	长安者当作“子午峪”，西乡者当为“子午谷”
6	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	凤县之北、秦州之东乃吴寨、利桥，大山盘折数百里，多未辟老林	“为”、“乃”，均通
7	华阳为今南山，黑河源出紫柏山，绕河两岸，栈坝老林	华阳为今南山，黑河源出紫柏山，统河两岸，栈坝者林	作“统”，不通；作“者”，不妥

表 2. 两种地图图注文字的不同

从表 2 所示，美国图文字较为准确，而台北图除 3 例可通外，其他 7 例则有问题，明显看得出，绘制者对四省毗邻地区地理形势不甚熟悉。倒是严如煜、郑炳然二人对汉江南北的地理极为熟悉，还著成多部著作，兹处无庸多赘。

在图注之中，台北图更透露出重要的信息：“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。至河流、沟岔，须举形势，亦无甚为讹也。”但此处并未注明美国图中的“程途里数，另刊一册。如查某处，按册看图，可得其概”的一段话，说明了严如煜、郑炳然当时绘制此图，还配有“如查某处，按册看图，可得其概”的“程途里数”一书，此即《三省山内道路考》。但台北图的绘制者以为似乎再无必要，因此删除了图注这句话。但这样一来，台北图之中用点串线的标注，也就不甚明晰。看来二图孰先孰后，大致已经明晰。

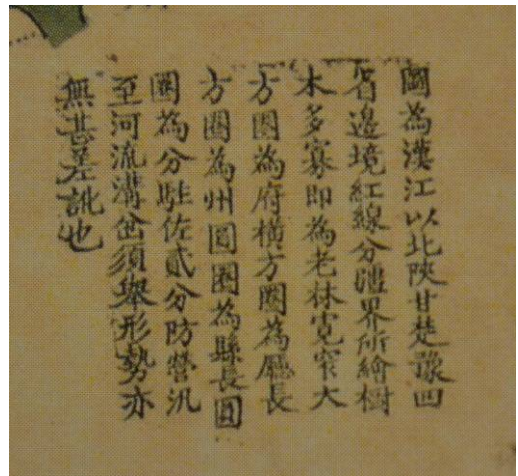
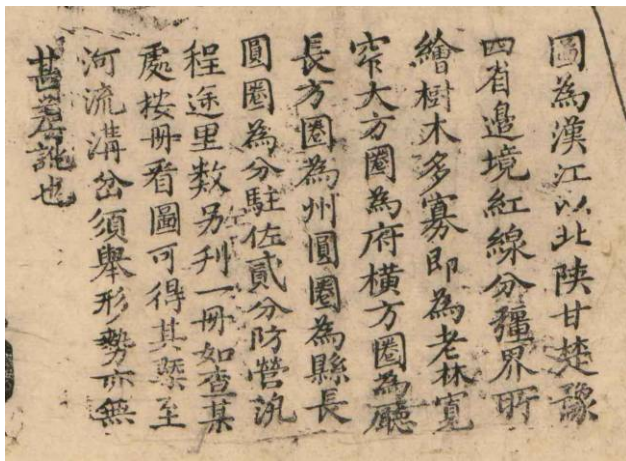


图7. 美国图与台北图图例文字不尽相同

第二，图中反映的地理信息也是一个重要依据

地图毕竟是以反映地理信息为宗旨的。图中所示，聚焦在某一区域、专题进行比较，亦可得知一些基本信息。兹以连云北栈为例，严如煜、郑炳然数次穿梭其行，应该对其线路了然若揭，美国图为：

宝鸡县→营门镇→回军湾→观音堂→二里关→尖茶坪→东河桥→黄牛铺→草凉驢→白家店→王家台→凤县→凤岭→三岔驢→废丘关→南星→榆林铺→高桥→柴关岭→桃源铺→小留坝→留坝厅→武关驢→武关河→武曲铺→马道驿→青桥驢→虎家铺→鸡头关→褒城县。

对于此段路线，台北图作：

宝鸡县→营门镇→回军湾→观音堂→三里关→尖茶坪→东河桥→黄牛铺→草凉驢→白家店→王家台→凤县→凤岭→三岔驢→废丘关→南星→榆林铺→高桥→紫间岭→桃源铺→小晋坝→留坝厅→武关驢→武关河→武曲铺→马道驿→青桥驢→虎家铺→鸡头关→褒城县。

上述所见，二图标注的地名没有区别，但台北图将“二里关”误为“三里关”，“柴关岭”误为“紫间岭”，“小留坝”误为“小晋坝”。二是废丘关→南星→榆林铺→高桥→柴关岭一段，高桥(今名高桥铺)为南北通途的必经之处，并非在榆林铺的西南方向，再说榆林铺西南则为崇山峻岭，历史上从未有过道路；武关驢→武关河→武曲铺→马道驿一段，明清时期的道路均取道褒河西岸，而非从武关河→文昌河→马道驿，再说历史上从未在这一线开辟有什么道路，说明台北图的绘制者明显对栈道历史缺乏了解。

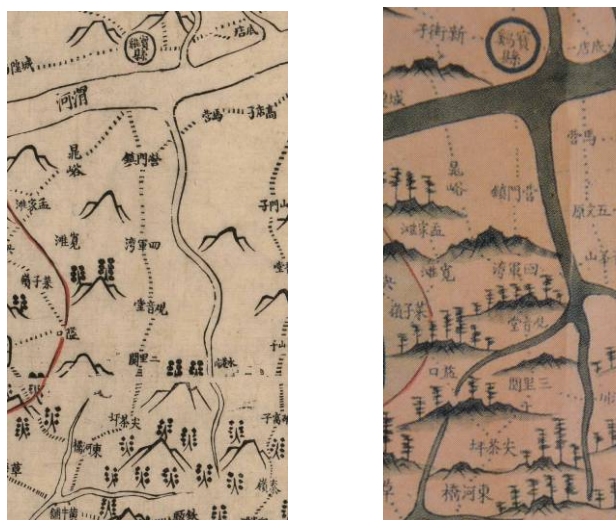


图8. 美国图与台北图宝鸡至东河桥一段，台北图误作三里关

与此同类，连云南栈宁强县境内烈金坝→宽川铺→五丁关→滴水铺→宁羌州一段，台北图则作烈金坝→宽川铺→滴水铺→宁羌州、烈金坝→五丁关→滴水铺→宁羌州，分为两条道路。此大错特错，清朝仅有美国图示的那一条道路，并非两条道路。绘制者对道路路线等地理信息极不熟悉，从中可想而知。



图9. 美国图与台北图大安驿至宁羌州一段道路图

或问，美国图亦有错讹，是否是美国图抄自台北图？美国图显示的宝鸡县南渡渭河后为益门镇，非营门镇；穿越秦岭最高处为煎茶坪，而非尖茶坪。严如煜后来在《三省边防备览》，已经分别改为益门镇、煎茶坪等^①，可见严如煜在“三省会勘”过程之中，对此前的四省边舆图还不断修订。王森文《汉唐都城图》说：“甲戌(十九年，1814)复官，摄略阳事。”“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

^① 严如煜：《三省边防备览》卷一《郿县岐山宝鸡凤县舆图》，黄守红标点：《严如煜集》，岳麓书社2013年5月，第876页。

城外山川古迹，皆境于前，而雒校终未详细。”^①说明严、郑二人绘制、刊印有多种舆地图，甚至还包括长安城等，但“雒校终未详细”。

附带提及，美国图河南境内标注“豫境”，犹如其下方“楚境”一样，表明省境。但台北图将之视为一地名，成为箭杆岭、八岔与孔家营之间的必经之地。可见台北图绘制时本依严、郑二人之图，且对地理甚不熟悉，导致一些基本地理信息的错误。



图 10. 台北图误将“豫境”当作地名

由此看来，美国图在前，台北图在后。且台北图并非严如煜、郑炳然绘制的，而是阎俊烈在严、郑二人地图(即美图图)的基础上重新绘制的。

三 关于阎俊烈

台北图作于何时呢?按照美国图注“楚南严如煜谨识，蜀北郑炳然谨绘”，严如煜是主事者，郑炳然为绘图者。同理，台北图注“东鲁涪阳闫俊烈谨识”，闫俊烈即阎俊烈，说明此人当为主事者。有学者认为台北图为严如煜、郑炳然绘^②，图中并未注明，不知何据?

查民国《济阳县志》，阎俊烈：“南乡阎家庄人。乾隆五十四年由武举，隶本省抚标。嘉庆元年，以千总从征川陕楚教匪，累著战功，洊升参将加副将衔。十年，搜捕零匪，扫数荡平，升甘肃巴里坤镇总兵。十八年，剿平滑县教匪，擢湖北提督。道光六年休致，卒于家。”^③嘉庆元年，阎俊烈由恩科武举而擢升。从《清实录》中可以看出他的履历：

^① 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。

^② 林天人主编：《河岳海疆——院藏古舆图特展》，台北故宫博物院，2012 年 9 月，第 70~72 页。

^③ 民国《济阳县志》卷十一《人物志·忠义》，《中国地方志集成·山东府县志辑》第 14 册，南京凤凰出版社 2004 年，第 276 页。

嘉庆十年(1805)十月,从永昌协副将迁升巴里坤总兵官^①。

嘉庆十六年(1811)六月,调巴里坤总兵官阎俊烈为陕西西安镇总兵官^②。

嘉庆十八年(1813)十二月,调河南、河北镇总兵官杨芳为陕西西安镇总兵官,西安镇总兵官阎俊烈为河北镇总兵官^③。

嘉庆十九年(1814)闰二月,调陕西西安镇总兵官杨芳为汉中镇总兵官,河南、河北镇总兵官阎俊烈为西安镇总兵官,汉中镇总兵官薛大烈为河北镇总兵官^④。

嘉庆二十一年(1816)八月,以前任陕西西安镇总兵官阎俊烈为湖北提督。

道光二年(1822)二月,湖北提督阎俊烈以病乞解任,允之。命病痊来京,另候简用^⑤。

道光五年(1825)十一月,谕军机大臣等:召见新授湖南提督阎俊烈。人甚粗率。该员曾任湖北提督。平日声名若何?操防训练是否认真?李鸿宾在楚有年,自必确有闻见。著即查明,据实具奏。俟该提督到任后,该督仍留心察看。能否胜任,随时奏闻。毋稍徇隐。将此谕令知之。^⑥道光六年四月,命湖南提督阎俊烈来京。以前任西安将军桓格为湖南提督^⑦。

道光六年(1826)十月,命前任湖南提督阎俊烈,以原品休致^⑧。

从这些记载看,对白莲教起义之后陕西的了解,阎俊烈是从嘉庆十六年六月任西安镇总兵官开始的。但一年半之后,他被调离。嘉庆十九年闰二月又重任西安镇总兵官,二十一年八月荣任湖北提督,说明其功厥伟。但道光二年二月,即以病乞解任,以致后来还引起了道光皇帝的不满。所以嘉庆十九年(1814)之后,尤其是嘉庆二十一年(1816)至道光二年(1822)二月之间,阎俊烈最有条件主持绘制《汉江以北四省边舆图》,他也有足够的可能和条件增补湖北郢西府的更多信息。当然,阎俊烈作为武举,或谙熟丹青,但可能性最大的是他邀请他人绘制的。

嘉庆二十五年(1820)十二月,卓秉恬(1782~1855,字静远)奏陈川陕楚三省山内老林情形,皇帝谕令“川陕楚老林地连三省,幅员辽阔,山川险阻,棚民易致滋事。宜如何弹压之、抚绥之处,著蒋攸钰、朱勋、毓岱确勘情形,悉心筹画,会同定义具奏。卓秉恬原摺,著钞寄阅看,将谕令知之。”^⑨这样才有严如煜所说的“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

^① 《仁宗实录》二,《清实录》卷一五五,中华书局1986年7月,第1131页。书中将阎俊烈写作闫俊烈。

^② 《仁宗实录》卷二四五,第313页。

^③ 《仁宗实录》卷二八一,第838页。

^④ 《仁宗实录》卷二八六,第918页。

^⑤ 《宣宗实录》卷二九,中华书局1986年8月,第524页。

^⑥ 《宣宗实录》卷九一,第460页。

^⑦ 《宣宗实录》卷九七,第579页。

^⑧ 《宣宗实录》卷一〇八,793页。

^⑨ 《宣宗实录一》卷十,《清实录》第33册,第206~207页,中华书局1986年8月。

仲，藏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，楚则朗轩倪君，汧谷范君，秦则六琴方君、梦禅陈君，或旧勤戎幕，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。”^①湖北“飭令楚省委员、郟阳府知府徐双桂，竹山县知县范继昌”，“将边境逐处确勘，于查勘事竣，齐赴适中之兴安府，地方会绘全图，酌议章程。”^②作为湖北提督，阎俊烈当为职责所系。所以进一步推理，台北图绘制的时间当在嘉庆二十五年至道光二年之间(1820~1822)。照这样说来，此图当亦早于严如煜《三省边防备览》刊刻的时间。

^① 严如煜：《三省边防备览引》，黄守红标点：《严如煜集》，岳麓书社 2013 年 5 月，第 837 页。

^② 卓秉恬：《川陕楚老林情形亟宜区处》，《三省边防备览》卷十四，黄守红标点：《严如煜集》，岳麓书社 2013 年 5 月，第 1162 页。