

Translation of: Further investigation of the Qing period “Map of the Shu Road to the Shaanxi border”

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Abstract: The pictorial scroll “Map of the Shu Road to the Shaanxi border” in the collection of the US Library of Congress does not have specific information about its author or time it was drawn. This article uses the arrival of a county magistrate at the “Tongzhi” administrative level at the township of Liuba and its change of status to a “Ting” (similar to County) by the Hanzhong government, as well as relevant existing materials such as stone tablets (Steles) etc, to propose that it was originally drawn between the 30'th and 40'th years of the Qianlong reign period (1765-1775). In addition, this paper analyses the drawing of the scroll map and its later additions, as well as geographical features and the many different places, administrative divisions and County townships (along the road) in detail. Taken all together, we propose that although the drawing style of this Qing Period scroll of the Plank Road is not at a high level, the functional achievement is very strong and it is likely the most complete example of such a Northern Plank Road scroll map found to date. We propose its value cannot be ignored.

Keywords: US Library of Congress, “Map of the Shu Road to the Shaanxi border”, time of production, Analysis of content, opinion of value

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² Also pre-published in Chinese in “Shimen” (Stone Gate), Research into Hanzhong Cultural Relics, A publication of Hanzhong City Museum, Printed by San Qin Press, Xi'an, 2009, p. 315-337.

Introduction

The US Library of Congress has in its collection a pictorial scroll named “Map of the Shu Road to the Shaanxi border” painted by an anonymous person. This scroll map will be referred to as the “Shu Road Scroll” in this paper. In his 1949 Thesis, an American named Herold Jacob Wiens included the contents of some sections of the scroll map [1]. In 2004, Chinese researchers Bi Qiong and Li Xiacong described and explored (this map) in detail in their research paper “Research on the 'Map of the Shu Road to the border of Shaanxi'” [2], which is referred to in the text below as Bi and Li, (2004)³. In July 2009, the CSIRO (Australia) scientist David Jupp, whilst visiting Hanzhong as part of a cooperative research project [3], generously supplied us with a copy of the scroll map that had been electronically scanned at high resolution by the Geography and Map Division of the US Library of Congress. Therefore, taking the work by Bi and Li (2004) as basis, contributing information from (additional) historical documents and our own field inspections, we have conducted the following research.

1. Analysis of the time period of the scroll

Since the Qing “Shu Road Scroll” was not annotated with the time of drawing or the author, we must first establish the time period within which the scroll was drawn. The previous paper by Bi and Li (2004) proposed a time period by drawing on three basic findings. These were, respectively, (i) on the basis of the presence of the Memorial Gate of the Qing period Guo Qinwang (Prince Guo) at Jitou Guan (sometimes called Chicken Head Pass)⁴; (ii) on the basis of the time that Greater Liuba changed its administrative level to a “Ting”, and (iii) on the fact that the name of the Daoguang Emperor (1821-1850) was not avoided in writing “Ningqiang Zhou”. From these observations they drew the conclusion that the scroll was “drawn after the Prince Guo's Arch was built and before Liuba was made a Ting, or between 1735 and 1773.” (Further) “Taking into account that this map shows signs of being used after it was drawn, and has annotations representing revisions, the present writers feel that the Liuba section shows evidence of revision, and consequently judge that the map was originally drawn prior to 1773.”

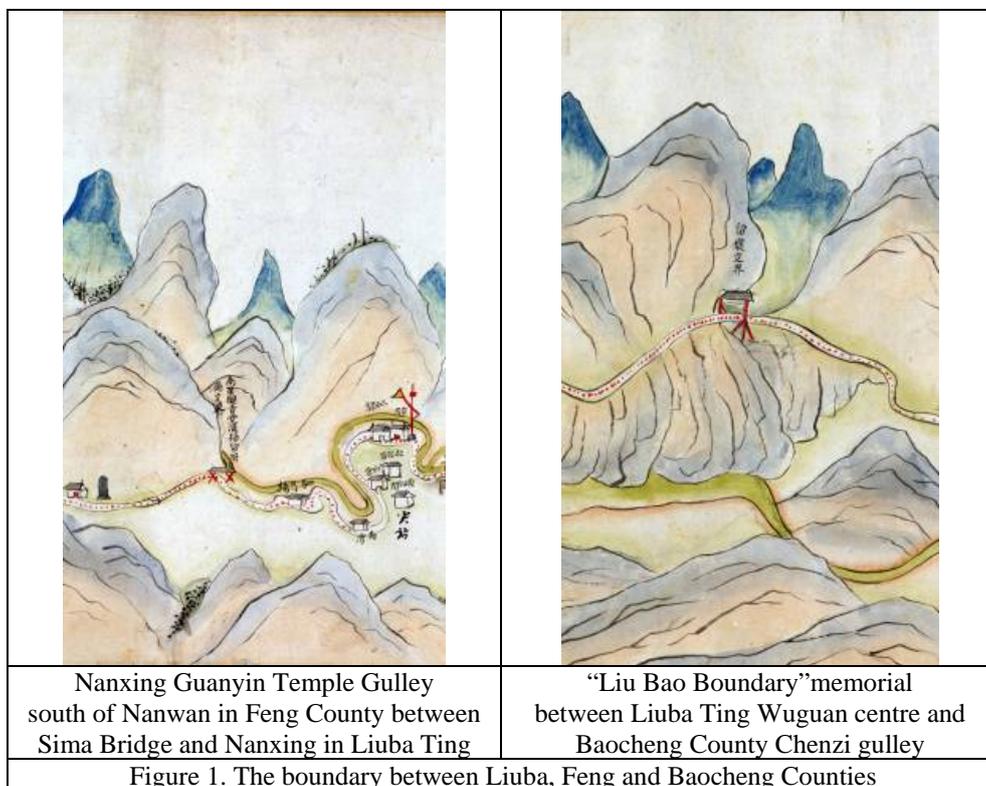
Was it really so that “Liuba Ting had not yet appeared”? As a matter of fact, the present scroll map not only records Liuba Ting but it appears twice. The first occurs between Nanxing and Sima Bridge in Feng County, where the scroll map records “Nanxing Guanyin Temple gully joins Liuba Ting at a common boundary”, so it can be seen that Nanxing Guanyin Temple gully is the boundary between Feng County

³ Prof Li Xiacong and the US Library of Congress cooperated to document the Arthur W. Hummel Collection in the Library. This scroll is included in that collection. The background to its acquisition is described in Li (2004) as listed in the Reference List.

⁴ In general, place names will not be translated but written using Pinyin according to the “Hanyu Pinyin Cihui” (1982). A place has a basic “name” with characters grouped together with first letter a capital plus one or more designators written separately. Designators may be administrative, geographical or other. Complete translation has mostly been avoided, so Jitou Guan (鸡头关, or 雞頭關) will be written Jitou Pass and only written “Chickenhead Pass” to relate it to previous usage.

(a Xian) and Liuba Ting. The second is at Chenzi gulley on a built up section of the road at Wuguan, the annotation records “Liu Bao Boundary” where “Liu” is Liuba Ting and “Bao” is Baocheng County⁵, so it is the shared boundary between Liuba Ting and Baocheng County. (See Figure 1). Moreover, we have noticed, the style of characters used in these two place names was that of the original map drawer, and they were certainly not in the style of the later reviser. This leads to the conclusion that Liuba Ting was already on the map, so that the map must have been drawn after Liuba Ting was set up. As to why the map annotations (at Liuba) do not directly say Liuba Ting, but rather Greater Liuba, (we believe that) probably Greater Liuba and Lesser Liuba were paired, and people were used to these names.

According to the Daoguang “Liuba Ting Gazetteer” and the Jiaqing “Hanzhong Fu Gazetteer” we find that in the 30th Qianlong year (1765): “In the first month, a section of Feng County became Liuba Ting, the administrator was promoted from Irrigation Official (Shuili Guan) to Tongpan⁶ with title 'Tongpan who soothes the people.'” Therefore, the time when the scroll map was first drawn would be after 1765.



Looking at the content of the revisions on the map, the Greater Liuba revision says “The Hanzhong government Tongzhi official resides here”. (See Plate 1) Based on the

⁵ In the Qing period, within a Province (省 Sheng) the next level was the Fu (府); a Ting, (厅) was at the next level and its seat was a town with similar administrative function to County, (Xian, 县 and Zhou, 州). So in a sense Xian, Zhou and Ting are at the same level. Under Sheng there was also a unit called a Dao (道, sometimes translated as “Circuit”) which included inspection and review of a number of Fu level units. All of these are met in the paper. Confusingly, a “Zhou” can also be a Fu level unit.

⁶ Among Qing period ranks, Tongpan, 通判 is sometimes translated as Prefectural Magistrate and is a higher position than Shuili Guan. Tongzhi, 同知 is sometimes translated as Deputy Director of a County and is higher than Tongpan but not as high as Zhizhou, 知州 which is sometimes translated as Chief of Prefecture.

same Gazetteers, in the 40th Qianlong year (1775), (10 years after Liuba was raised to a Ting) we find that the administrator's title was changed from Tongpan (Magistrate) to Tongzhi (Deputy Director) level, but was still under Hanzhong Fu. In other words, in the 40th Qianlong year, Liuba Ting changed to having a Tongzhi official in residence. The map reviser held the map in his hand and personally experienced the Lianyun Plank road, and by going to Liuba Ting he discovered this extremely important change and then added it to the map. Therefore, the time that the map was originally drawn must have been before the 40th Qianlong year. We can also see that because the map reviser updated the scroll with the additional content after the status of Liuba Ting was raised by the presence of a Tongzhi level official from Hanzhong, the revision was not long after the 40th Qianlong year.

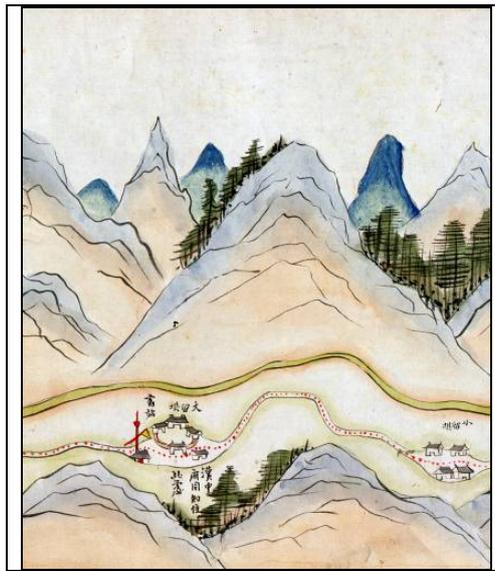


Plate 1. Revision written below Liuba Ting
 “Hanzhong Government Tongzhi official
 lives here”

We can also use the inscriptions of known Stele to provide support for these ideas. In the present scroll map, to the north of the Fan River at Madao in Baocheng County, there are pictures of two stone Stele with three overlaid inscriptions. The inscriptions say: “Xiao He pursued (Han) Xin to this place”, “Fan Kuai built the bridge here” and “Fan Kuai's home village”. But the two stone steles drawn behind the three inscriptions do not exist today. That they both existed in the 8th Qianlong year (1743) we know from an inscription commissioned by the Baocheng County Magistrate Wan Shimo that was engraved by Madao scholars and artisans in the 5th Xianfeng year (1855). (See Figure 2). It said that one recorded “Han Prime Minister Xiao He pursued Han Xin to this place”, that it was there in the 8th Qianlong year, but after that it was destroyed.

Fang Xiangying (who lived around 1665) in “Diary of an envoy to Shu” (record of the 8th day of the 22nd Kangxi year, or 1680) says “Staying at Madao Yi, according to tradition, Prime Minister Xiao pursued Han Xin to this place”. Chen Yixi (1648-1709) “Record of military service in Yi Zhou” recorded that in the 21st Kangxi year (1682) on the 16th day of the 9th month at Madao “East of the post station is a bridge, its old name is Fan River Bridge, by tradition, constructed by Fan Kuai. Nowadays it is

destroyed. Prime Minister Xiao pursued Huaiyin⁷ to this place, where there is a Stele”. Tao Shu (1779-1839) in “Diary of a journey to Shu by carriage” on the 11th day of the 7th month of the 15th Jiaqing year (1810) records: “tradition has it that Fan Kuai constructed this bridge, Xiao He pursued Marquis Han to this place, and on Xiao He's way there is a Stele.” There is no doubt that the time of establishment of the Stele with inscription “Xiao He pursued Han Xin to this place”, the (historical) records and the features on the Scroll map are all in complete agreement.

Lianyun Temple Village in Feng County still has a preserved Stele from the third month of the 49th Qianlong year (1784). It was originally established by Feng Ji and has the inscription “Opposite is the ancient Chencang road”. (See Figure 2). Feng Ji was assigned to Shaanxi Province Hanxing Dao⁸ and was in charge of the general management of water conservancy, traffic and postal stations in the area. On the scroll map is an addition with the (almost identical) inscription “Opposite is the Chencang Road entrance” and there is a drawing of a Stele. Although its position is a little to the north of the Chencang Road entrance (at the Lianyun Temple), the explanation may be that at the time it was drawn it was still not promulgated, so that the time of drawing of the scroll map could be before the 49th Qianlong year (1784). Having considered these (additional) records, we find the conclusions accord with the historical facts.



Were the annotations and amendments made after the 40th Qianlong year (1775) the only ones? Between Tiefodian (the Iron Buddha Temple) (near) Chenzi Gulley in the south and Wuguan Jie to the north in the present scroll map, there is an original painted mark that says “Liu Bao Boundary”. That is, to the north of the mark was part of Liuba Ting and to the south of the mark was part of Baocheng County. However, well to the south of this mark (but to the north of Tiefodian), between Xianren Gulley

⁷ Generalissimo Han Xin was the Marquis of Huaiyin.

⁸ A Dao (sometimes translated as “Circuit”) was a provincial administrative area with responsibility for inspection and review (Fenxun). Hanxing Dao included Hanzhong Fu and Xing’an Fu (present day Ankang) and was based in Hanzhong.

and Xianren⁹ Location Marker (milestone), is the revision “this area is managed by Nanzheng” (see Plate 2). Its written style is not the same as the original painting, or of the previous amendments, and seems to be another style. During the Qing Period and the Republic of China (1912-1949), the route south from Tiefodian (Iron Buddha Temple) to (present day) Baocheng Zhen¹⁰ in Mianxian County was within the border of (the then) Baocheng County. This continued until the China wide complete revision of boundaries in 1954, at which time Baocheng township became a Zhen and Baocheng County was split. The area involved was divided into two, the north being amalgamated into Liuba County and the south amalgamated into Nanzheng County (present day Hantai Area of Hanzhong City). It seems that from this annotation, after 1954 there were still people making amendments to the “Shu Road Scroll map”¹¹. This suggests the various amendments were made by at least two people, and at different times. When the earlier amendments were being made the map was still operational, and so one can understand why the Baocheng to Mianxian section may have been unfinished.

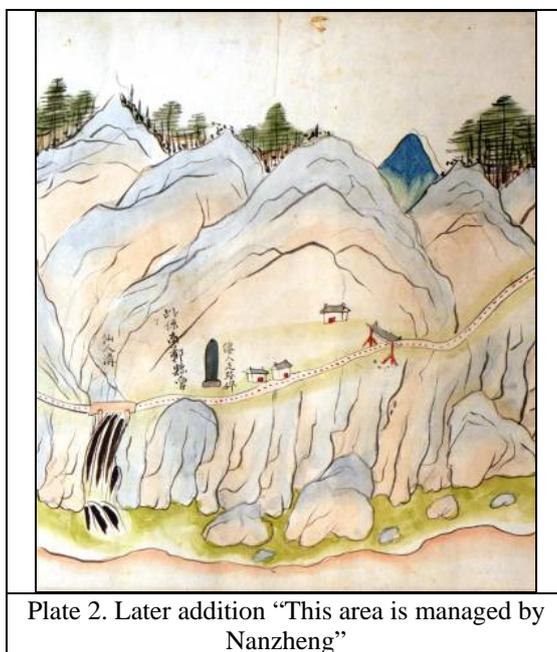


Plate 2. Later addition “This area is managed by Nanzheng”

To sum up, the time when the original scroll map was drawn was between the 30th Qianlong year (1765) and the 40th Qianlong year (1775). This was not long after Liuba Ting was promoted to the level of a Tongzhi official. The amendments were (clearly) added after 1775 as it would have been impossible to have such an addition before the arrival of the Tongzhi official. Moreover, even after 1954, (it seems) some person or persons made revisions to the scroll map. If this summary turns out to be correct, then the proposed early date in Bi and Li (2004), made on the basis of Prince Guo's plank road journey and memorial gate, must be too early. The (presence of the

⁹ Xianren is written 僊人 on the scroll.

¹⁰ After 1913, the modern system was in place where within a Province (Sheng, 省) the next level is City (Shi, 市), the next has two units, County and Area (Xian, Qu, 县, 区), the next is Township (Zhen, 镇), under Township is Village with various names (eg Xiang, Cun, Zhai, 乡, 村, 寨).

¹¹ The map was bought in China by China scholar and Missionary Arthur W. Hummel in 1930 and later donated to the US Library of Congress. It is hard to see how the scroll could have been altered in the US after 1954, or even after 1930. But there is certainly a puzzle here to pursue.

memorial gate) can only prove that the map was drawn after the Prince Guo's journey (in 1735). Bi and Li (2004) also proposed that because “Ningqiang Zhou” as shown on the map does not avoid the name (ning) of the Daoguang emperor, it was originally drawn before the accession of the Daoguang Emperor (in 1821)¹². These conclusions are essentially not in error, although they did not consider that changes (on the map) may have come about later when a place was remote and had limited access to information. On the other hand, the installation of Liuba Ting and the time of its change in status provide reliable testimony to the time when the scroll map was originally drawn.

2. Exploring the contents of the scroll

The region drawn in the “Shu Road Scroll” was the Lianyun Plank road from Baoji County (present day Baoji City) to Feng Xian, to Liuba Ting, to Baocheng Xian, to Mian Xian, to Ningqiang Zhou and finally to the Qin-Shu (Shaanxi-Sichuan) border at Qipan Pass. The Lianyun Plank Road was the most important Qing period road linking the central plains with the south-west area.

2.1 The general appearance of the scroll map

Between Baoji County and Baocheng County was the Northern Plank Road which has also been called the Qin Plank Road. It was said that Yimen (near Baoji) “is the start of the Plank Road”[4] and “Baocheng is where you leave the Plank road”. South of Mianxian you join the Southern Plank Road, which has also been called the Shu Zhan. That is, the area covered in the present scroll map is the the Qing period Lianyun Plank road in Shaanxi up to the border, consequently the scroll was called “Map of the Shu Road to the Shaanxi border”. (But) the Shu Road is not really the same as the Lianyun Plank Road, and the greatest part of the contents of the scroll map cover the Lianyun Plank Road within the area belonging to the Hanzhong government. At that time, Feng County was (also) within the jurisdiction of Hanzhong Fu. Referring to the pictorial scroll map in the Hanzhong Museum collection painted by Dang Juyi in the 6th Kangxi year (1667) called “Plank road pictorial map”[5], as well as the pictorial scroll map by Hua Yuan called “Qin plank road map” [6] and Yan Ruyi's “Northwest Plank road map”, it would seem more appropriate for the map to use a name like “Qin Plank Road map” or “Map of the Plank Road to the Shaanxi border”.

(Because we have not viewed the original) the divisions of the scroll into rolls, the application of colour, the paper material and the dimensions are not fully known. (However, it is clear that) apart from the middle section, where there is a break between Baocheng and Qingyang Yi in Mian County, there are a number of parts that are missing or getting stained. The extant sections of the map use the traditional forms of Chinese landscape painting, with background pictures and detailed brushwork being done at the same time. In Mountain areas, the nearer places use brown colours (earth tones), distant places use light blue and even more distant and higher places use darker blue, thus depicting near and far perspective and height. Waterways use brown

¹² The Daoguang Emperor's name was Min Ning with the same Ning (寧) as Ningqiang Zhou (寧羌州).

or black colours, curved lines indicate significant falls in terrain. Forests and vegetation use green and black, as well as more diffuse colouring, mainly distributed around Liuba Ting, Baocheng etc. The Lianyun Plank road is represented as a line of red dots that can be joined together. Yi, Tang, Pu etc are indicated by small groups of identical buildings¹³, Stele and statues also have associated annotations. In relation to especially precipitous sections of the road, the scroll map excludes the concealed places, but for comparatively easy terrain the areas on both sides of the road are shown.

On the present scroll map, the section between Baocheng County and the earth bridge near Qingyang Yi in Mian County is missing. Consulting Volume 22, “Qin zhan maps”, in the report completed by Bi Yuan in the 41st Qianlong year (1776) called “Collected maps of relics in the Guanzhong”, it seems what was missing in Mian County included Xinjiezi, Huangsha Yi, Jiuzhou Pu, Ma Chao Temple, Wuhou Temple, Mianxian Town, Tuguan Zhen and Tongqian Guan. Basically, they all belong to Mian County. From the breaks we can see there was a tear south of Baocheng, with the Mian County section appearing at the edge of the paper. In addition, between the Lianyun Temple in Feng County and Yulin Pu in the map, there appears to be some evidence of a vertical break.

2.2 Evaluation of the author and the scroll

The basis for understanding the geography and information of the map is the legend used for its contents. Qing period scroll maps often make use of traditional landscape painting techniques. If you examine the range of (such) scroll maps, it will be evident that the skill of the (current) map maker is not high, with the painting being rather rough and imperfect, unlike Dang Juyi's “Plank road pictorial map”, which closely follows the standards of landscape painting. The present scroll is also different from the scroll maps by Bi Yuan, Yan Ruyi etc, in its amount of information, drawing technique and accuracy.

2.2.1 Concerning the buildings and pictures

In making a Lianyun Plank road scroll, the map maker should use a legend based on a consistent set of symbols reflecting the geography, information and phenomena (that may occur) along the road. In the present scroll there are a number of built structures represented from different viewpoints that are not only unappealing in form but also seem to show the maker did not have some basic painting skills. For example, the buildings in Jiancha Ping in Baoji County have one and two stories but they seem gravely out of perspective. In the Jitou Guan (Chicken Head Pass) area north of Baocheng, both north and south approaches have a building covering the path, but the line shapes are not smooth, and the texture is unrealistic; the pavilion to the west of

¹³ Many place names in this paper and along the Plank Road include designations having present or historical association with the Imperial Post system. The Northern Plank road was a section of the postal system since at least the Yuan Dynasty. Herold Wiens (1949) quotes Bai (1937) to suggest that in the Qing Dynasty, courier posts were variously called Yi (驛), Zhan (站), Tang (塘), Tai (台), Suo (所) or Pu (鋪).

the Guandi Temple has a very strange appearance. The gate (Prince Guo's Arch) is another example, as are various city gate towers etc, with there being many such examples that are not useful to list.

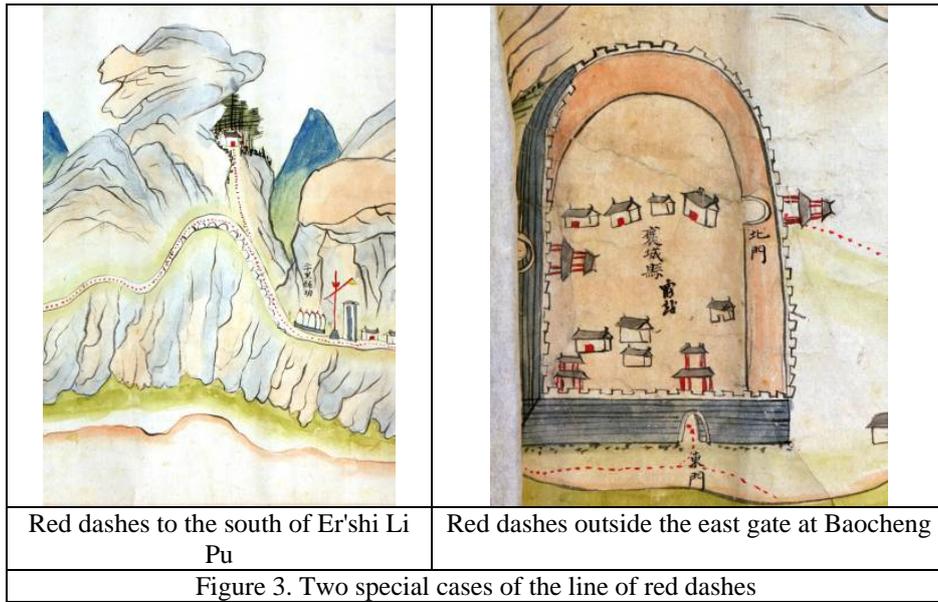
It should also be possible to join the map sheets into a mosaic so that the content throughout the map is uniform and consistent. However, in this map, at Fengling on the north slope in Feng County, between Huamei gate and Heitan in Liuba Ting, at Wuli Bridge south of Madao, at Hujia Pu Tang in Baocheng (County) etc the linking (between the sections) is untidy, causing the trends of the mountains and the flow paths of rivers to be unrealistic.

2.2.2 Concerning flags and the dotted red line

Based on other currently preserved maps (such as) Bi Yuan's "Qinzhan map" and Yan Ruyi's "Northern plank road map", it seems that in the "Qinzhan" maps in the Qing dynasty from the Qianlong to Jiaqing periods, all the most important towns flew a flag. The flags in the "Shu Road Scroll" basically fly to the north, and only in a few places, such as Huangniu Pu, Xinhong Pu, Sancha Yi etc do they fly to the south. It is not clear if these differences in the map have any significance. The flag poles are mostly red, but in some places they are black, where perhaps the most readily available paint was used. However, in some places red and black are superimposed, so that it was first done in black and then red. We also investigated the appearance of the banners. In between Baoji and Baocheng they use a triangle, between Mianxian and Ningqiang Zhou they are a square, and only Jieguan Ting has a triangle. In regard to the map symbols used for flags and flag poles, it seems the map maker was not a government official or professional painter. He was more likely a person of lower skill, but one who was very familiar with the Plank road and its surroundings.

In Bi Yuan's "Qin zhan map", because of the wood block printing of the scroll, the map maker used black ink for the lines of linked dashes that indicate the road. On the "Shu Road Scroll", the Lianyun plank road is marked as a line of red dashes. Using this technique, the north-south route was joined, and displays a thorough knowledge of the passage of the road. However, to the west at Er'shi Li Pu Tang, there is a line of red dots leading to a temple or Daoist shrine, while at Baocheng the red dotted line enters by the north gate and leaves by the east gate. Because the map is incomplete, the south gate only shows a few red dashes. The explanation may be that it is also possible to leave by the south gate. (See Figure 3). From these two places it is clear that there are some differences from place to place in the scroll map's markings.

Based on the above examples, it seems there is no harm in our reaching the conclusion that the author and the Lianyun Plank Road had close links, and when he created the scroll map he emphasised the path of the Lianyun road and (related) information along the way. However, from his skill level and style we can see he is not a government official.



2.3 Analysis of the material added and its content

After the scroll was completed, people did not really regard it as a work of art, but rather as a functional map to use as a guide for traffic using the Lianyun Plank road. As the period evolved, the need for (additional) information for the journey along the “Yunzhan” (Plank) Road (also) increased. With the reviser’s firsthand experience, and the map in his hand, there followed an expedition to revise the incomplete information. The most important (revisions) follow and have three aspects:

2.3.1 Establishing the rest stops and lodgings.

Rest Stops and Lodgings:

Guanyin Tang:	Refreshment Stop;
Huangniu Pu:	Accommodation;
Caoliang Yi:	Refreshment Stop;
Feng Xian East Gate:	Accommodation;
Feiqiu Gate:	Refreshment Station;
Nan Xing:	Overnight Station;
Miao Taizi:	Refreshment Station;
Da Liuba:	Overnight Station;
Wuguan Yi:	Refreshment Station;
Madao:	Overnight Station;
Qingqiao Yi:	Refreshment Station;
Baocheng County:	Overnight Station;
Qingyang Yi:	Refreshment Stop;
Da'an zhen:	Overnight Station;
Kuanchuan Yi:	Refreshment Stop;
Ningqiang Zhou:	Overnight Station;
Huangba Yi:	Refreshment Stop;

Not counting the previously mentioned missing section, the present scroll map contains 9 refreshment stops or stations, and 8 overnight stays or accommodation places. Moreover, the stops and stays are interleaved [7]. The Qing period scholar Fu Ge (wrote) “When modern people go on a journey, at mid-day they put up at a hotel and eat, and call it a refreshment stop.” [8] Refreshment Stops and Stations are places to have a meal, while Accommodation and Overnight Stations are places to stay overnight in lodgings. Because some places, such as Huangniu Pu and Huangniu Yi and Wuguan Yi and Wuguan Jie are separated by long distances, this undoubtedly provides a detailed map of the places to eat and stay along the Lianyun Plank road, and it is currently the only such (map) for the Lianyun Plank road.

2.3.2 Important additional information.

Additional Information:

Donghe Qiao:	Annotated on the left with “Donghe Ri”. (use of Ri is the same as Yi, or Post Relay Station);
Fengling:	Additional text “Qu Tian Chi Wu”. According to Wang Zhiyi in “Southern Han travel diary”, written in the 3rd Daoguang year (1823), this was a notice on a board at the Fengling Gate;
North Lianyun Temple:	Additional text “Opposite is the start of the Chencang road”;
South of Miao Taizi:	Additional text “Han Zhangliang Temple”
Greater Liuba:	Additional text “Hanzhong Government Tongzhi official lives here”;
Between the Fan river and the Shan Shen Temple at Madao:	Additional text “Xiao He pursued Xin to this place” (but character 肖 wrongly written for 萧), “Fan Kuai built the bridge here” and “Fan Kuai's home village” (but character 敌 wrongly written for 故). These places have always had Stele. Today there is a (recent) Stele with the inscription “Xiao He pursued Han Xin to this place”. ¹⁴
Between Xianren Gulley and Xianren track Stele:	Additional text “Nanzheng County manages this area”;
North Baocheng County Memorial Gate:	Additional text “Rest and be joyful”.

The above revisions all provide additional information for people using the Lianyun Plank road, such as the location of a relay station, an inscription over a gate, a temple, an official’s residence, Stele, administrative areas and the inscriptions on memorial gates etc.¹⁵

¹⁴ The particular errors in the annotations (above) led Bi and Li (2004) to write “Several places seem to have wrongly written characters”. In fact, throughout the scroll, (it seems to be) only in this place that the writing is a little careless.

2.3.3 Revisions to the orientation of the buildings at Ningqiang Zhou

Bi and Li (2004) write: “Inside the Ningqiang Zhou township in the map, the orientations of many houses show signs of being altered”. (See Plate 3) Plate 3 certainly shows this. The Guandi Temple is turned completely upside down; the Zhizhou's office¹⁶, Clerk's office, Shoubei's garrison office¹⁷, the Confucian temple and the Town God's Temple, are all changed around from west to north. Only the orientation of the Youji Commander's office¹⁸ is unchanged. Referring to the (other) drawings in the map, from Baoji to Baocheng, the original orientations of the buildings seem to have no problems. The reason that the reviser chose to revise these buildings is not clear. If there were truly a problem with the orientation of the buildings, then why not (also) change the orientation of the Youji's office? Why is the Guandi Temple turned completely over? Why are the other five buildings not revised in a similar way?

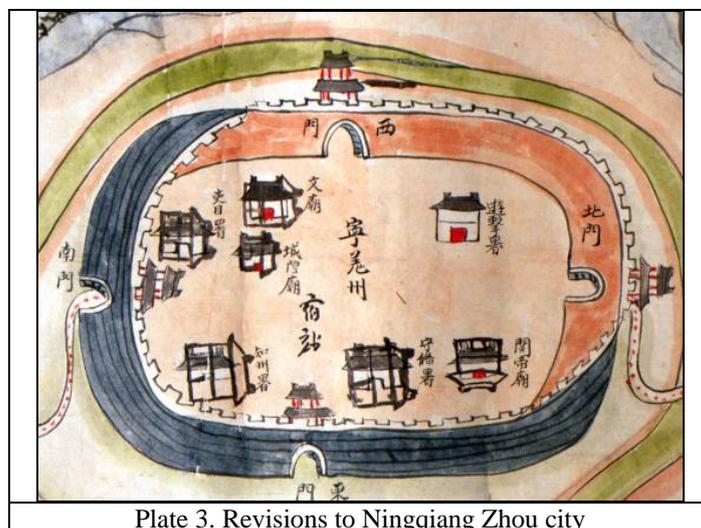


Plate 3. Revisions to Ningqiang Zhou city

2.4 Examination of the scroll map's geographic information

In the present scroll, within the borders of Feng County, there are 11 barracks at Huangniu Pu, Changqiao, Honghua Pu, Caoliang Yi, Wuxing Tai, Baijia Dian, Wangjia Dian, Liushu Wan, Feng Ling, Xinhong Pu and Sancha Yi, and two granaries at Caoliang Yi and Feiqiu Guan. Caoliang Yi has a Qianzong (military) administrative HQ and Feiqiu Guan has a Bazong administrative HQ. A “Tang” provides infrastructure for the transport of mail, and the passage of official documents. In these cases, “Xun” is the ground level unit of the (Chinese) Green Banner military led by Qianzong, Bazong or Waiwei commanders. The Bazong Office was for the Bazong commanding officer who was appointed at the 7th Level, in charge of the Xun's military area patrol. The Qianzong was appointed at the 6th level and in charge

¹⁶ Zhizhou, 知州, sometimes translated Prefecture Chief or Prefect, is a higher position than the Tongzhi and Tongpan seen at Liuba Ting.

¹⁷ Shoubei, 守备 is a rank of command in the Green Banner (Chinese) troops.

¹⁸ Youji, 游击 is a high military rank of the Green Banner troops, Superior to Shoubei.

of his Xun area (Qianzong is a higher position than Bazong). The public granary was a warehouse run by local people but supervised by an official. From these pieces of information, we can get an idea of the Qing general and postal management systems. However, apart from Feng County, the other “county seats” (comprising the Xian, Ting and Zhou) seem to have little more additional information.

The Lianyung route also has many places designated as “Tang”¹⁹ and “Xun”²⁰ etc. Feng County has 9 “Tang” at Jiaoyan Pu Tang, Wuqu Pu Tang, Madao Yi Tang, Er'shili Pu Tang, Qingqiao Pu Tang, Hujia Pu Tang, Maping Temple Tang, Jitou Guan Tang and Beiguan Tang. Mian Xian has two “Xun” at Qingguan Yi Xun and Ban Temple Xun. Ningqiang Zhou has Jindui Pu Tang, Da'an Xun Tang, Liejin Ba Tang, Kuanchuan Yi Tang, Wuding Guan Tang, Dishui Pu Tang, Huanshi Pu Tang, Jiepai Tang, Huishui He Tang, Laogu Guan Tang, Huangba Yi Tang and Jieguan Ting Tang. Altogether in this section they add up to 12 “Tang”, so one finds in the complete section that 21 places are designated “Tang” and 2 places are designated “Xun”.

Bi and Li (2004) write: “From the map we have calculated that between the stations labelled Pu, Tang or Yi there is on average 15li”²¹. As a matter of fact, within in mountain-hilly terrain areas, the situation regarding the distances (mileage) between Pu, Tang and Yi is different. For example, at Ningqiang Zhou, the Daoguang (1821-1850) “Gazetteer of Ningqiang repairs” records that (from) Ningqiang Zhou “northeast on the plain is 15li to Bolin Yi and another 15li to Dishui Pu, along mountain paths, there are 10li to Wuding Guan, and 10li to Kuanchuan Pu, 10li to Liejin Ba, and 5li to Da'an Yi, then 15li to Jindui Pu, to reach the Mianxian boundary.” “To the southwest over the plain there is 30li to Huishui He, (then) the mountain path has 10li to reach Laogu Guan, and 10li to Huangba Yi, 15li to Jieguan Ting, and 5li to Qipan Guan.” [9] In the mountain regions, the settlements (including Yi zhan, post stations, and Cheng zhen, townships etc) have not changed very much. Therefore, the local Fangzhi records accurately reflect the distances between settled areas on the “Map of the Shu Road to the Shaanxi border”. It seems that (even) today, the distances (mileages) have changed very little.

According to the record of Dang Chongya, in the Hanzhong collection, “Record of plank road repairs by Jia Da Sima” we know that in the first Kangxi year (1662), Shaanxi Governor Jia Hanfu took control of the repair of the Lianyung road, and altogether “repaired more than 5,200 zhang²² of dangerous overhanging rocks, 23,089 zhang of dangerous rocky road, 1,781 zhang of dangerous dirt road and 118 leaning bridges in a distance of 157 zhang. At 15 places, removed leaning bridges and built them up with stones so that from the water to the bank was about 3 zhang, to a distance altogether of 65 zhang and 2 chi²³. Repaired 145 ditches (drains for water runoff), cut rock in 32 places, to a distance altogether of 165 zhang and 6 chi,

¹⁹ Tang, 塘, originally indicated a small pool and may have provided watering for postal and or military horses.

²⁰ In this case Xun, 汛 is probably “flood control” or engineering such as dams and diversions rather than a military unit as used previously.

²¹ The Li (里) is an ancient Chinese measure of distance (attributed to the Yellow Emperor) that in metric units is close to half a Kilometre (500 Metres).

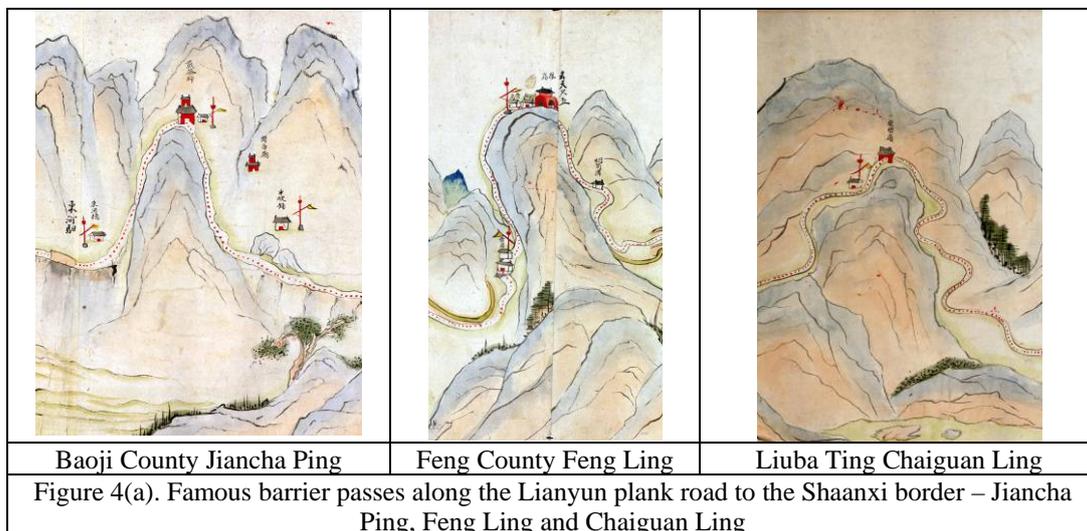
²² A zhang, 丈 is a unit of length of about 3 1/3 meters.

²³ A chi, 尺 is a unit of length of about 1/3 of a meter.

removed large rocks blocking the way at 289 places, repaired railings at 123 places, altogether covering more than 938 zhang. Altogether, he made use of the joint resources of 69,813 artisans from the army, post workers and local people.” [10] Even in Dang Juyi's “Plank road pictorial map”, examples of dangerous overhanging rocks, dangerous dirt roads, leaning bridges that had to be made straight by building up stones, ditches, cutting rocks, large rocks blocking the road, railings etc, can be seen to be distributed over the area. In the “Shu Road Scroll” there are also leaning bridges, earth bridges, covered bridges with wooden covers, as well as rocky roads, dirt roads etc. Today, it can be seen that there is additional valuable material in the “Shu Road Scroll” over and above that of the “Plank road pictorial Map” that comprehensively reflects the (state of) the Lianyun plank road.

The present scroll map also has annotations relating to the sources of a number of rivers and directions of flow. For example, at Huangniu Pu, located on the upper reaches of the Jialing River, the map includes the annotation “Huangniu Pu is on the border of Baoji County, the Jialing river originates near Jiancha Ping in Baoji county, then flows through Feng County to join the Baishui river in Lueyang county”. At Anhe near Feng Xian (is the annotation) “The An River originates from the Fuzi mountains, going east to join the Jialing River”²⁴.

In documents written in the Kangxi, Qianlong and Jiaqing periods, it is repeatedly written (that) on the route from Baoji to Baocheng, to Ningqiang then to Qipan Guan, there are some very dangerous mountain ranges. These include Jiancha Ping in Baoji County, Feng Ling²⁵ in Feng County, Chaiguan Ling in Liuba Ting, Jitou Guan²⁶ in Baocheng County, Wuding Guan in Ningqiang Zhou and at Qipan Guan in the south. (See Figure 4 (a) & (b)) The “Shu Road Scroll” includes directly observed sections that reflect these terrain features.

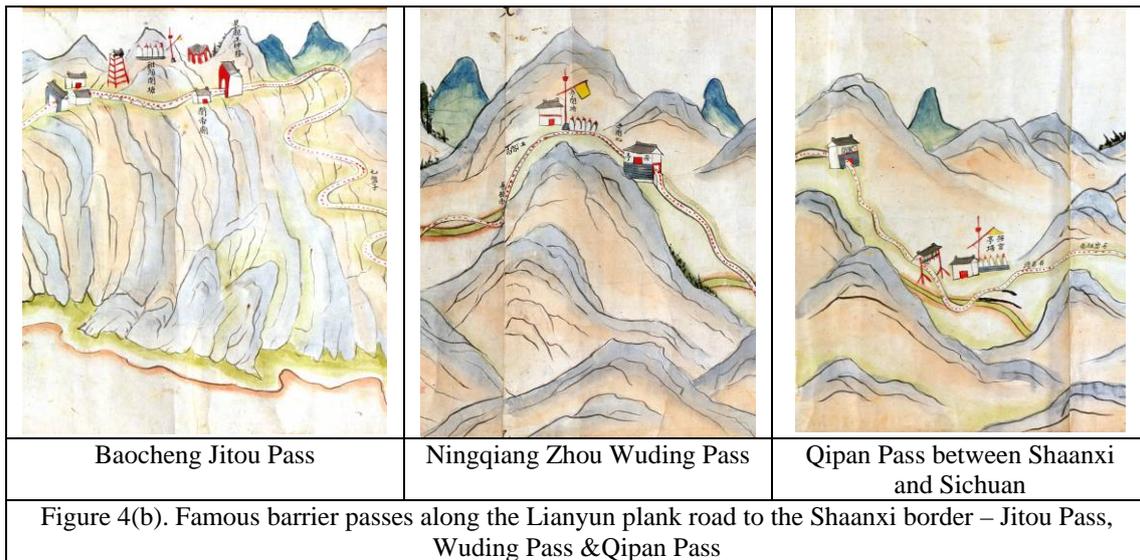


²⁴ The An River joins the Jialing at present day Fengzhou which is the former location of the Feng Xian county seat. The present County seat now called “Fengxian” was formerly Shuangshi Pu.

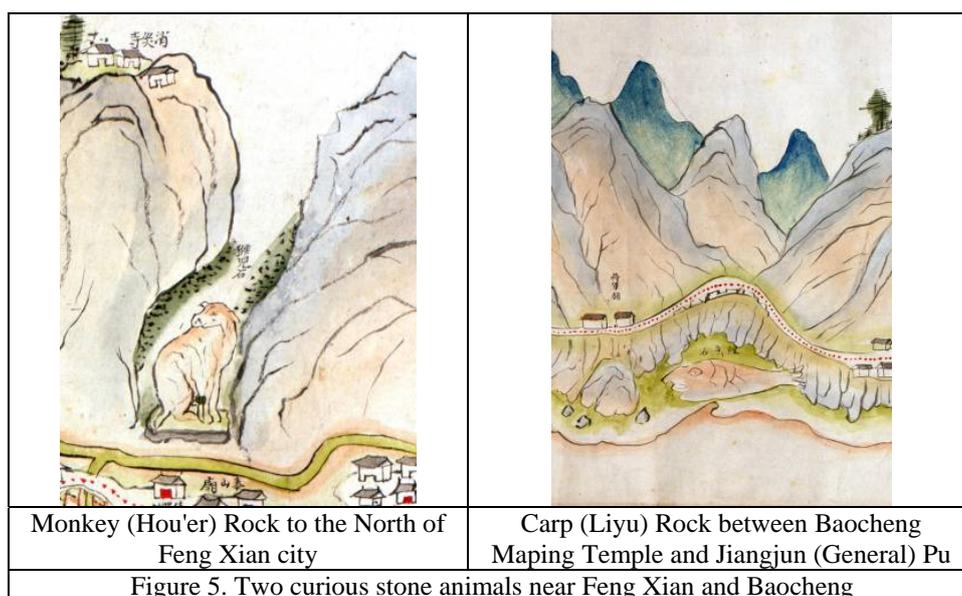
²⁵ Ling (岭) as a designator could be translated as “mountain range” so the Qin Ling (秦岭) could be translated as the Mountain Range of Qin (the Qin State).

²⁶ As a geographic designator, Guan (关) is a mountain pass. But it has other uses as well including Barrier Pass which has a military or administrative aspect.

For example, at Jitou Guan (Chicken Head Pass), on the 17th day of the 9th month of the 21st Kangxi year (1682), Chen Yixi wrote: “a stone peak overlooking the river, spreading like a cock's comb, thinning to a point, a truly spectacular sight.” [11] In “Diary of an envoy to Shu”, on the 6th day of the 8th month of the 22nd Kangxi year (1683), Fang Xiangying records for Feng peak in Feng County: “extremely high, folded and rugged, from the vehicle looking upwards, the mountain covers half the sky, the riders and horses appear tiny, winding along the precipitous path.” [12] The records are very rich, as if the reports had been coordinated, so you can see even more the valuable nature of the map.

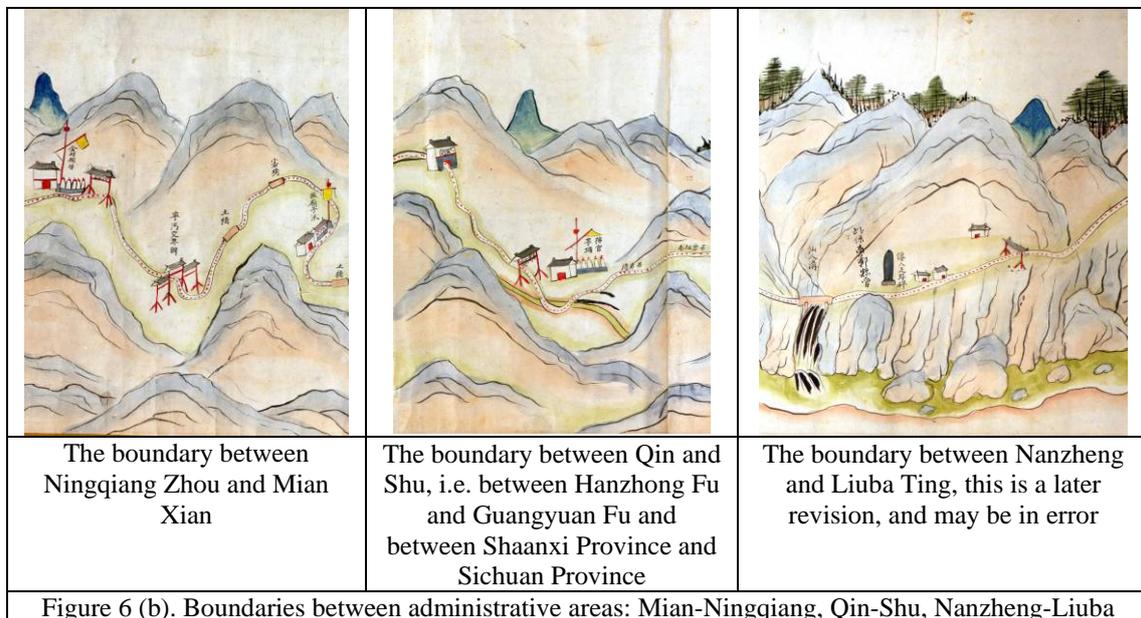
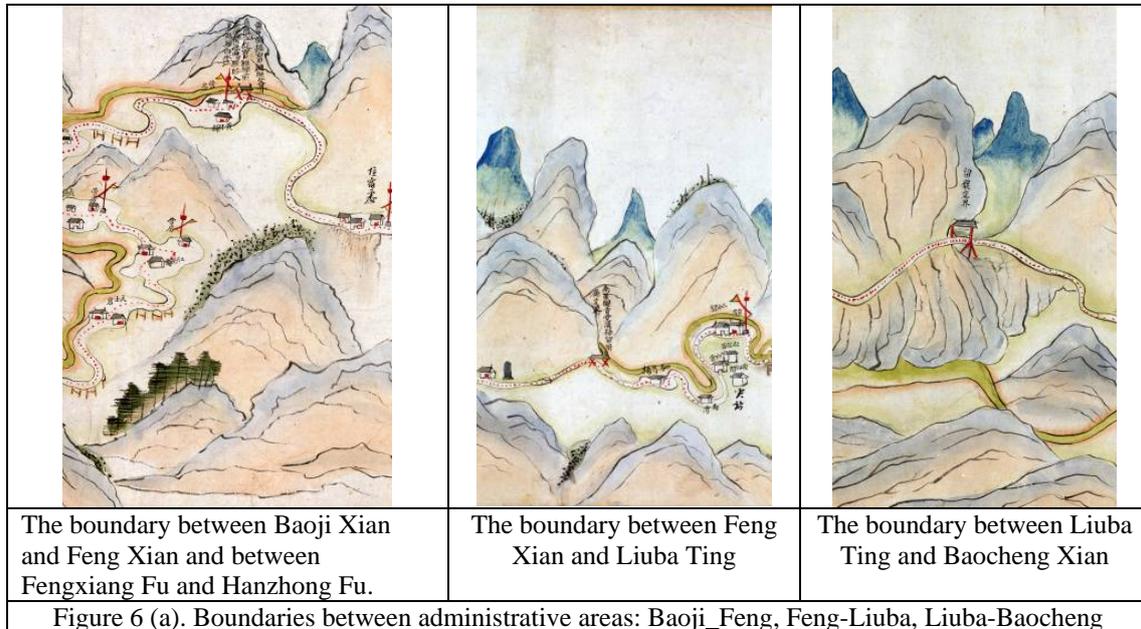


To the north of Feng Township, there is an amazing painted figure called Monkey Rock, in the lower reaches of the Bao River is a painting called Stone Carp, (see Figure 5) the figures are lifelike and “cute”. Monkey Rock is called Monkey Cliff by the locals. Because a dam was constructed in 1967-71, the Stone Carp was then inundated and (is now) under the water.



2.5 Discussion of administrative areas and several townships

The “Shu Road Scroll” clearly marks places where it records a “common boundary”, or “border between” etc. These are the boundaries between the (major) administrative areas. In the vicinity of some of the boundaries between counties or between provinces and counties, there are (also) some that have Memorial Gates, and some of the gates have three openings (Three Passage Gates). (See Figure 6 (a) & (b)).



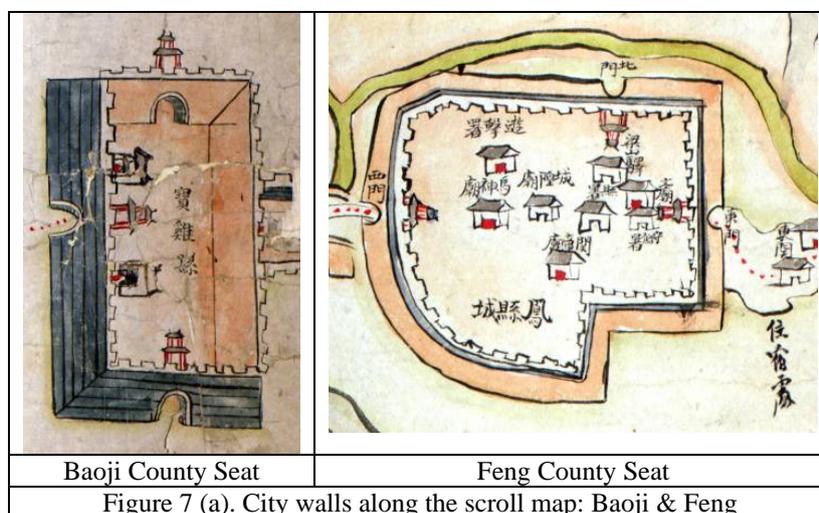
For example:

1. Near Huangniu Pu, the common border with Baoji Xian is clearly marked: This is “the common boundary of Baoji and Feng counties”. It is also the border between Hanzhong Fu and Fengxiang Fu (a major city North of Baoji).

2. At the Guanyin Gulley near Nanxing is the annotation, “the common border with Liuba Ting”, that is, it is the boundary between Feng County and Liuba Ting.
3. Between Chenzi Gulley and Wuguan Jie there is a memorial gateway with annotation “common boundary between Liu and Bao”, so here is the border between Liuba Ting and Baocheng County.
4. Between Jindui Ling and (Jindui) Bridge, is a memorial gateway with annotation “Ning Mian border”, and also “Ning Mian boundary gate”, meaning that this place is the border between Ningqian County (Zhou) and Mian County (Xian).
5. Between Qipanguan and Jieguan Ting Tang, the present scroll has a memorial gate with annotation “Border between Qin and Shu”, meaning that this is the border between Shaanxi and Sichuan.

The present scroll map shows Baoji County, Feng County, Liuba Ting (Greater Liuba), Baocheng County and Ningqiang Zhou with city walls. From the scroll it can be seen that the walls of Baoji, Baocheng and Ningqiang use black brick and have a circular wall, but the drawings of Feng County and Liuba Ting are different, being built in way suggesting rammed earth, and so had not at that time used black brick and a circular wall. (See Figure 7 (a) & (b)).

(In regard to) **Baoji County**: the annotations and drawing of the wall and four gates seem to be in a regular square, the interior has a few buildings, but no characters have been drawn for them. The likely explanation is that Baoji County is not a focus of the map and so can be disregarded.



(In regard to) **Feng County**: It has a city wall, but the south and west walls are not straight. There are only 3 gates in the east, west and north and no gate to the south; the east and west gates are facing; in the map these three gates are distinguished with annotations. In the city there is Liangshan Yi (Postal Station), a Confucian temple, the town god's temple, a temple of the Guanyu (Buddhist Goddess of Mercy), the bird spirit temple as well as the Magistrate's office, the military Youji Commander's office and a Shoubei Garrison Commander's office. There are also annotations to the north of the town at the (Buddhist) temple for “warding off calamities”, the Guolao Cave and the Monkey (Hou'er) Rock. To the south it records the South Qi Mountain. We

have noticed that in the scroll map near Feng County and areas under its jurisdiction, there is a greater volume of information, perhaps explained by there being a special affinity between the map drawer and Fengxian. (See Figure 7(a)).

(In regard to) **Liuba Ting**: The city wall and its four gates are clearly depicted, and the drawing style is not the same as for the other cities, using only simple marks for buildings, and no specific annotations for them. The present remains of the old city of Liuba Ting indicate they were square, from east to west being about 1500 metres, from north to south being about 1000 metres. They also show that the city wall was constructed on a base of rectangular stones, with lime, sand and rammed earth on top. A part of the wall was built with black brick, but the west wall has only the remaining footings. In the 40th Qianlong year, (1775), Liuba Ting was set up (as a Ting) and in 1913 it changed from a “Ting” to a County (Xian).²⁷

(In regard to) **Baocheng County**: It has a city wall, with the west wall having a curved shape. It only has south, north and east gates with no west gate. On the north and east gates there are annotations. The south gate annotation is not present (visible) in the map because it is the edge of the fragment. The south and north gates are not facing. The buildings inside the city have no annotations.

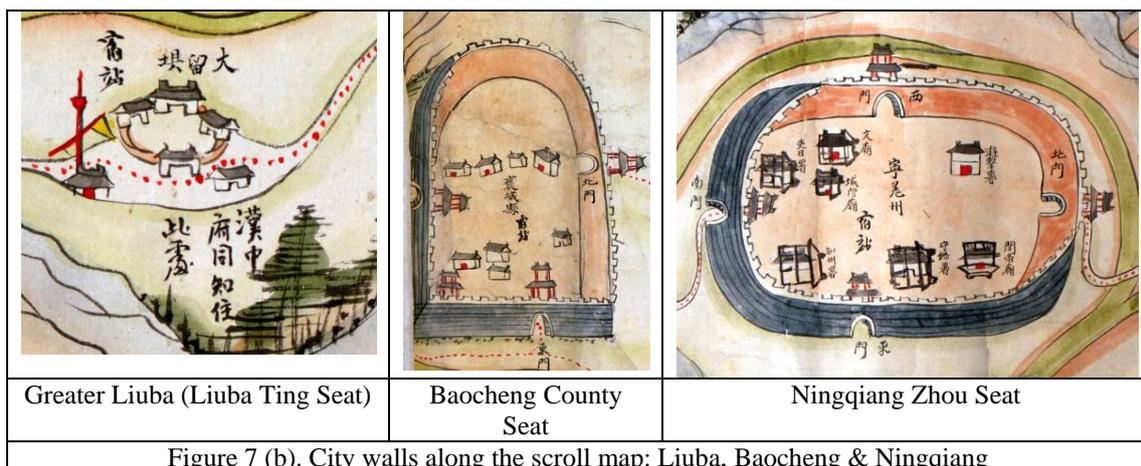


Figure 7 (b). City walls along the scroll map: Liuba, Baocheng & Ningqiang

(In regard to) **Ningxiang Zhou**: The city wall has a slightly elliptical shape, with the east and west walls being slightly straighter. It has east, west, south and north gates, and on the map they have separate annotations, however, the east-west and north-south gates are not facing. The explanation for this is that the city (shape) was influenced by course of the Yudai River (the river running past Ningxiang). In the city are a Guandi Temple, the Town God's temple, a Confucian temple, and the Zhizhou (County Chief) office, the Shoubei Commander's office, Youji Commander's office and Government clerk's office. Present day Ningqiang has remains of the west gate, called the Yonglian Gate, (which is) 21 metres wide, underneath of which there is a rammed earth and brick foundation, with central arch being 3.86 metres wide, and having a depth of 1.32 metres. On this base, the gate tower has a brick and timber construction with three entrances, which are altogether 11.35 metres long, with traditional peaked grey tile roofing with two tiers. (See Figure 7 (b)).

²⁷ With the start of the Chinese Republic in 1912, the administrative units Dao, Fu, Zhou and Ting were removed and the regional administrative structure became similar to that of today. Initially, all of the counties in this map retained their status as “County” (all written Xian, 县).

The “Zhou Li -- Records of technical examinations” records: “Workmen building (in the) country, use sides of 9 li, and in the sides there are 3 gates. There are 9 latitudinal and 9 longitudinal avenues in the city, each allowing 9 carriages in parallel. To the left (of the palace) is the ancestral temple and to the right is an imperial divine temple; to the front is the imperial court and to the back is the market place.” According to this method of construction, Qing period Xian (including Ting and Zhou) cities should have had square walls. However, construction in some counties was (only) accomplished taking account of the natural geography. (For example) Feng County north wall is influenced by the river, so where it joins the west wall is influenced by the flow and turns of the river and the west wall is also like this. Furthermore, the south wall is modified even more, under the influence of the mountain range. Baocheng west (wall) is influenced by the Liancheng mountain, giving it a slightly curved appearance and the east wall is along the flow of the Bao river, making it straight. Ningqiang Zhou is influenced by the Yudai River, so that the city wall is not quite square. At the same time, the city gates of these (Xian, Ting, Zhou) cities are not quite facing, and often vary. In the present pictorial scroll, Baoji County, Liuba Ting and Baocheng County are presented generally, while Feng County and Ningxiang Zhou are presented in greater detail.

In a similar way to the cities, Yimen Zhen to the south of Baoji is the start of the Plank road and at that time people would know this well, and may understand if this fact was omitted. But as the other annotations in Baoji, Liuba and Baocheng Counties are sometimes detailed and sometimes not, the writer may also have had a specific reason to omit the detail in this case.

3. A pragmatic evaluation of the “Map of the Shu Road to the Shaanxi border”

During the Qing period, the creation of pictorial scroll maps of the plank roads became of great cultural importance to poets and scholars. As far as we know, apart from the “Shu Road Scroll”, the other known plank road pictorial maps are as follows:

1. The pictorial scroll map “Plank road pictorial map”, drawn on paper, 6th Kangxi year (1667), drawn by Dang Juyi, with damage to the right end, in the collection of the Hanzhong Museum;
2. The pictorial scroll map “Hanzhong scenic pictorial map”, drawn on silk, in the early Kangxi period, drawn by Gu Fuzhen, original with a Hong Kong and/or Taiwanese collector;
3. “Qinling Plank roads pictorial map”, 41st Qianlong year (1776), Bi Yuan, intact, included in “Maps of famous places in the Guangzhong”;
4. “Map of the north-south plank road”, Jiaqing period (1796-1820), drawn by Yan Ruyi, intact, included in the Jiaqing “Hanzhong Fu Gazette”.

The scroll “Plank road pictorial map”, was originally drawn in the 6th Kangxi year (1667) by Dang Juyi, It was preserved in Baoji until the 1980s and is now in the collection of the Hanzhong Museum²⁸. It was painted on paper overlaid on silk in colour. It is 765 cm long and 42 cm wide, and is a Class A cultural relic (Hanbo serial number 1868). It has a few patches of mildew and some mould stains, but the main section is complete and intact. Overall contents show the Plank Road from the south boundary gate of Wuguan Yi (present Wuxiuguan) to Baocheng and Hanzhong Fu. I have previously presented some research on Dang Juyi's scroll in “A rare Qing period scroll of the Lianyun plank road - concerning Dang Juyi and his 'Plank road pictorial map” (Feng, 2008).

The scroll “Hanzhong scenic pictorial map”, painted on silk by Gu Fuzhen in the early years of the Kangxi period, is in the possession of an unknown collector who lives in Taiwan or Hong Kong. Its contents appear to be a pictorial scroll of the section of the Lianyun plank road from Baoji to Fengxian to Liuba to Baocheng. Its drawing technique is similar to that of Dang Juyi and it can be rated as a top quality fine art work. [13] Gu Fuzhen and the Qing Period “Shenyun” faction poet Wang Yuyang had a special relationship. In one period, Wang Yuyang travelled the plank road three times, therefore the time of his drawings should be later than that of Dang Juyi's “Plank road pictorial map”. Because the collector has not made more detailed information public about the scroll, little else can be inferred (at this time).

From the beginning of the Tang period, the Shu Roads became a subject within which travellers and painters vied with each other to produce works of art. Today, both in China and overseas, there are still many of these art treasures intact. However, the production of pictorial scroll maps only started from the Kangxi period (and continued) until the middle Qing. Dang Juyi's annotation at the end of the scroll painting “Plank road pictorial map” reads:

“Heroes consider their achievements as favours from their time, and wish to pass these favours on to other people. It is easy to pass these favours on to one place, but hard to spread them throughout the country; it is easy to pass them to one time but hard to pass them on to all ages. The southern Han Plank Road was once a narrow passageway; many generations wished to repair it. My ancestor and Teacher Jia finally repaired it, a daunting and mighty achievement that has overcome heaven and earth's limitations and eased Yao and Shun's concerns. It can be considered on the same level as the Great Yu's water controls and Shennong teaching men to plough. My late father admired Teacher Jia's work and virtue, and composed verses to praise his achievement and hoped that he could be remembered for all generations. There are some carved stones in southern Han commemorating him but my father's verses for Teacher Jia had not been carved. Humble Dang Ju Yi wanted to draw a map of the Plank Road repaired by Teacher Jia and engrave it into stone so that it can last through the ages. I guided the stonemason to the foot of Mingmu Mountain in Fufeng (near Baoji) to quarry sufficient good stone. I carefully carved the map (of the Plank Road) onto the stone. Although it could not reproduce the drawing's sophistication, it represented its essence. I also engraved my late father's un-engraved verses as a preface. After more than 1000 years, scholars and painters continue to write verses

²⁸ The scroll map in the Hanzhong Museum is the only accessible original such map. The second above is unavailable to the public and the others are known from being published in books and Gazetteers.

and frame them into pictorial scrolls based on the carved stone and carry them in a bamboo trunk as they travel along the way.”

We can see that the impact of the repairs to the Lianyun plank road in the first Kanxi year (1662) by Shaanxi Governor Jia Hanfu were of great influence as Dang Juyi's scroll map was being “carried in a bamboo trunk, and travelling along the way”, opening up new vistas as high quality Plank road scrolls continued to emerge in significant numbers.

From the above discussions we are led to conclude (that) the “Shu Road Scroll” from the collection in the US Library of Congress, is not well drawn and the technique is not very refined. Bi and Li's (2004) conclusion that “one would say this map was made by an artisan whose drawing skills were not high” is certainly in accord with historical fact. However, from the contents of the present scroll map it can be seen that the practical function and purpose is obvious, and the drawer aimed simply to provide guidance (for others), like today's travel maps. This scroll map was not completed, but its content of information regarding a journey along the Plank road within Shaanxi province is comparatively great, the area (covered) was also extensive and, apart from the missing section, it can be said to cover the complete area within the Shaanxi border. It is up until now, as far as is known, the most complete such scroll map of the Qinling Plank Roads, and its value is by no means small.

Acknowledgements

This document is only the translation of an original work, so the primary acknowledgement must be to the author, Hanzhong Museum Director Feng Suiping (冯岁平). His efforts have made it possible and his skill has made additional effort worthwhile. His endless patience answering silly questions and emails also needs acknowledgement and grateful thanks. I hope the result lives up in a small way to the scholarship of the original. Furthermore, any successful translation must be a shared effort with people who know the second culture well. To translate Chinese it is essential to know how Chinese think about China (为中土人谭中土) and not stay within how Western people think about China (为西洋人谭中土). For this help and support, I have had to rely heavily on generous Chinese. Three people provided help without hesitation; Li Lingtao (李领涛), originally from Chang'an, gave me access to his deep knowledge of Chinese history and culture, Jiang Qian (姜茜, Jesse), originally from Xi'an, is a teacher of English to Chinese and Chinese to English, and tried hard to make of my tortured text better than I was capable and finally Ye Linfeng (叶林峰, Linford), my former teacher, originally from Chenggu (城古) near Hanzhong, provided great help with the difficult classical verses written in praise of Jia Hanfu (贾汉复). With the help of this Shaanxi team, the result exceeded anything I could have hoped to do. But even with their help, since the final decisions in all cases were mine, my translation has more in common with the effort of the anonymous artisan of the scroll map than with the landscape painting of Dang Juyi (党居易). It is purposefully functional and not a refined attempt to interpret Chinese scholarship. It aims only to collate rich and interesting information about the Plank Roads, and the scroll maps that have mapped and celebrated them in ancient times, and make it available to English speaking people. I hope the information that remains

in my poor translation will be enough to inspire and guide Western people to travel the many roads from Qin to Shu and, through their growing interest and wonder, to attract more skilled people to undertake better translations in the future.

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ENDNOTES

[1] Herold Jacob Wiens: *The Shu Tao or the Road to Szechuan: A Study of the Development and Significance of Shensi-Szechuan Road Communication in West China*, PhD Thesis, The University of Michigan, 1949. See also: Wiens, Herold Jacob (1949) "The Shu Tao or Road to Sichuan", *Geographical Review*, 39, pp. 584-604.

[2] Bi Qiong and Li Xiaocong (2004). Research into the "Map of the Shu Road to the Shaanxi border", *Geography (China)*, number 4. See also Li Xiaocong (2004). "Commentaries on the ancient Chinese language maps in the collection of the US Library of Congress", Cultural Press, 2004. This book was financially supported by the Ministry of Education's National Fund for University research in key centres for Humanities and Social Sciences, the large project fund of the Beijing University Centre for Research into Chinese Ancient History and the National program for leading research and publication of ancient materials.

[3] This was a cooperative research project involving the Hanzhong Museum, The CAS Institute for soil and water conservation, Australia's CSIRO and New South Wales University entitled "The application of 3S technology to the preservation of historical relics in the Hanzhong region". For outcomes see "Collected papers from the International Symposium on Plank Road research and applications of 3S technology", published by the Shaanxi People's Education Press, August, 2008. Some materials from this workshop can be found at the [Project Web Site](#).

[4] Additional documents can support the period before or after which the scroll map was drawn, and clarify when Yimen Zhen in Baoji County was taken as the starting point for the Lianyun Road. For example, Chen Yixi in "Record of military service in Yi Zhou" in the 6th day of the 9th month of the 21st Kangxi year (1682) writes "The Lianyun road passes here". Fang Xiangying in "Diary of an envoy to Shu": on the 3rd day of the 8th Month of the 22nd Kangxi year (1683), notes that Yimen Zhen "is where you start to enter the Plank Road". Tao Shu in "Diary of a journey to Shu by carriage", on the 7th day of the 7th month of the 15th Jiaqing year (1810), notes at Yimen Zhen that "from this place you enter the Northern Plank Road".

[5] Feng Suiping "A rarely seen Qing period pictorial scroll of the Lianyun Plank road -- concerning Dang Juyi and his 'Plank road pictorial map'", in "Collected papers from the International Symposium on Plank Road research and applications of 3S technology", Edited by Hanzhong Museum, published by the Shaanxi People's Education Press, August, 2008. Also included in "Discovering Hanzhong", Huaxia Press, 2008.

[6] Bi Yuan (painter), Zhang Pei (editor) "Pictures of famous sites in Guanzhong" Chapter 22 contains "Qinling Plank roads pictorial map", Sanqin Press, Dec 2004.

[7] Bi and Li (2004) wrote: "Places that can supply food and drink indicated by 'Place to stop for refreshment' or 'stop station' occur 8 times, places that can provide accommodation indicated by 'accommodation place' or 'overnight stop' occur 8 times". Checking these statistics (in the scroll map), the former adds to 9 and the latter agrees.

- [8] (Qing) Fu Ge “Discussing the sound of rain” Chapter 11.
- [9] 12th Daoguang year (1832) “Notes on revisions to the Ningqiang Zhou Gazetteer” Chapter 1 “National road system”, Song Wenfu (scribe), pages 20-21, Huaxia Press, May 2006.
- [10] Feng Suiping “A synthesis of the Stele (recording) the repair of the Plank Road by Jia Hanfu in the Xi'an Beilin Collection”, Xi'an, “Collected Papers of the Beilin” 12th Edition, Shaanxi People's Fine Arts Press, 2006. Also included in “Discovering Hanzhong”, Huaxia Press, 2008.
- [11] Chen Yixi “Record of military service in Yi Zhou”, handwritten copy in “The Collected Writings from the Xiaofanghu series” (Shanghai, 1877-1897).
- [12] Fang Xiangying “Diary of an envoy to Shu”, handwritten notes in “The Collected Writings from the Xiaofanghu series” (Shanghai, 1877-1897).
- [13] Tao Yu “An examination of historical Plank Road art” Map 52, Page 464, 481, “Papers of the Shanghai Museum” 8th Edition, Shanghai Painting and Calligraphy Press, Dec 2000.