

Herrmann AN HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CHINA

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ALBERT HERRMANN

An historical atlas of China

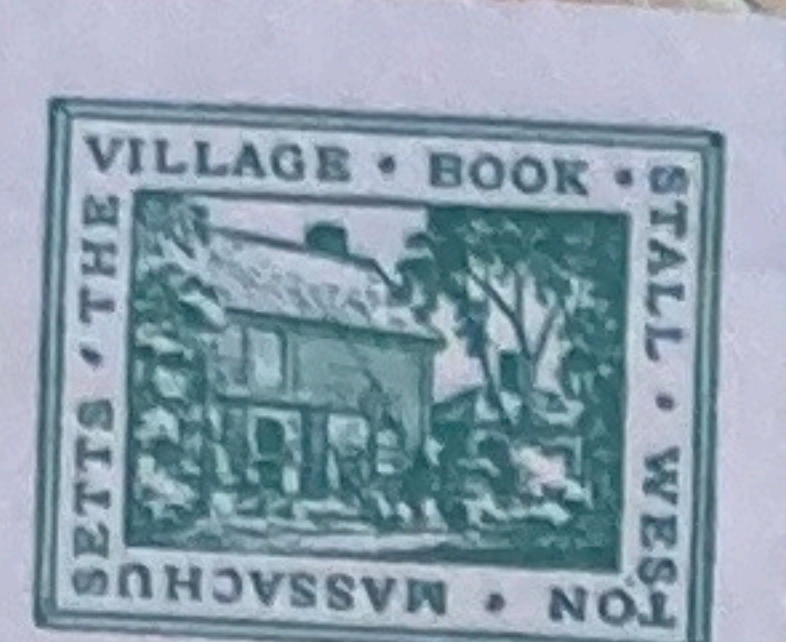
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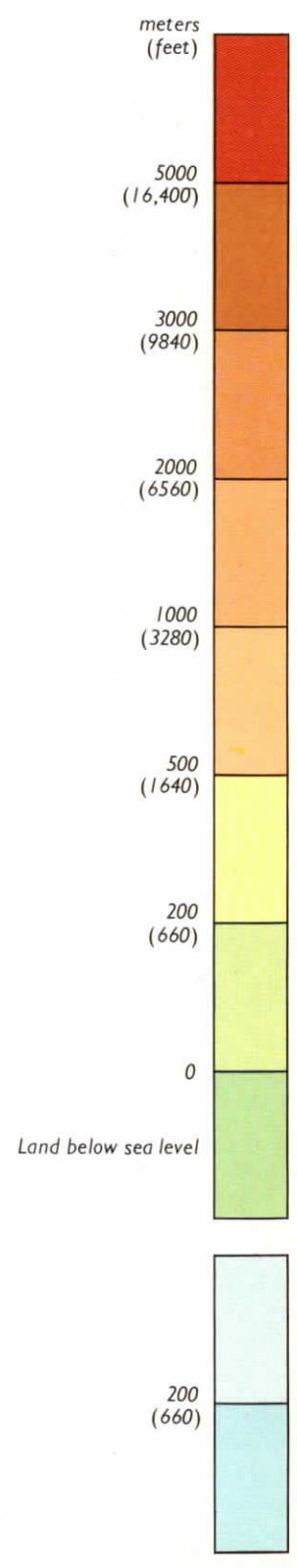
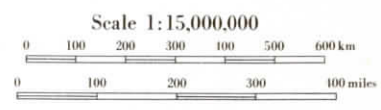
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MODERN CHINA PHYSICAL



An historical atlas of China

by

ALBERT HERRMANN

1911

late Professor of Historical Geography, University of Berlin

NEW EDITION

General editor

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Professor of Geography, University of Chicago

Prefatory essay by

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Professor of Geography, University of California



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Preface

Since 1935, when the Harvard-Yenching Institute first published Albert Herrmann's *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, the *Atlas* has been an indispensable companion of scholars and students of Chinese civilization and history. Indeed, it has had no rival in the Western-language literature and has been, in many ways, more convenient and reliable than rival modern publications in Chinese and Japanese. For these reasons, it was particularly unfortunate that the volume was out-of-print following the Second World War, when interest in China was reaching new heights and the scholarly communities, in both Europe and North America, concerned with China were expanding at an unprecedented rate.

Several solutions to the problem were considered. One possibility, of course, was to compile an entirely new atlas which would reflect the rapid advances in scholarly research on early China in particular, but it was rejected as requiring an extraordinary investment of time and the collective energies of a panoply of scholars, without the possibility of satisfying the existing demand for some years. Another possibility was to revise Herrmann's work, but to retain his organization and basic structure. This course, too, was rejected, since it would have required inputs almost as substantial as the first possibility, without substantial advantages other than those relating to the actual printing of the maps themselves.

Other possibilities also presented themselves, but the one chosen was designed to meet the need for an historical atlas of China as quickly as possible, and at the same time provide a cartographic introduction to modern and contemporary China. For the most part, Professor Herrmann's scholarship was not tampered with, except in a few instances where there were obvious misprints or syntactical inconsistencies. Thus, the first fifty-five pages of this *Atlas* consist of a redrafting of the historical maps in the original edition, with some reorganization and changes in sequence and with the use of completely new cartographic techniques, which make for greater clarity and legibility.

The modern maps in the original edition were dropped, however, and were replaced completely by a series of economic and cultural maps of modern and contemporary China, which, with due qualification on reliability-of-data grounds, is probably the most useful set of multi-colored, atlas-scale, systematic maps of China available in a European language. These include maps of population, ethnolinguistic groups, land use, major political-administrative units, minerals, industries, transportation facilities, and the Chinese in Southeast Asia, all of which are based on the most reliable information available. Although a general physical map of China is included in the group, no attempt has been made to reproduce maps of other physical elements, such as temperature, precipitation, and soils, which are readily available in other sources.

The editor and publishers are well aware of the inadequacies of even this portion of the atlas, however, since there remains a serious need for cartographic rendering of the fascinating kaleidoscope of political and social transformation that has characterized China within the past century and most conspicuously within the last half century; but they resort to the comfort of later editions-to-be, which might remedy this defect.

More important, they fully recognize that this new volume in its present state does not satisfy the need for a substantially original historical atlas of China, which would properly reflect the scholarly wisdom of contemporary Sinology. Fortunately, however, they, like other users of the *Atlas*, are the beneficiaries of Professor Wheatley's erudition and perspicacity, as displayed in his prefatory essay, a unique contribution in literary and scholarly criticism that physically precedes, rather than follows, the object of its concern. Every reader should profit from reading and re-reading this essay, which properly can be regarded as a guide to the *Atlas*, illuminating shadowy areas of obfuscation and raising caveats where caution is necessary, for scholar, student, and interested amateur alike.

NORTON GINSBURG

The assistance of Mr. Joseph R. Whitney and Mr. James Osborn in the preparation of this volume is gratefully acknowledged.

Refurbishing the nine cauldrons

Only a very bold or a very needy scholar would set out to compile an historical atlas of any description. Only one possessed of unusual audacity would select China as his field of endeavor, and only the most presumptuous would seek to include more or less the whole of Asia within the purview of his studies. Yet the price commanded by second-hand copies of the *Atlas of China* some thirty years after its publication testifies to the accomplished manner in which Albert Herrmann carried off just such an undertaking. The difficulties inherent in the enterprise were appalling, requiring an intimate acquaintance with scholarship relating to each of the great Asian cultural traditions, and committing the author to decisions on some of the most obscure and ambivalent questions in the history of that continent. Unlike the historian, the cartographer has no really effective means of registering doubt. He cannot easily qualify his opinions, but must either settle for a definite statement or omit the information altogether. He must, additionally, possess an intuitive appreciation of what is and what is not practicable and appropriate in matters of cartography. Professor Herrmann had intended to complement his atlas with a *Handbook of China*, which was to include an extended commentary on the maps, explain the rationale of his toponymic selections, and presumably justify his choice of names and localities in cases of controversy, as well as provide a detailed bibliography.² Since this clearly would have constituted a work of massive proportions, it is not surprising that he was unable to complete it before the outbreak of the Second World War, which he was unfortunately not to survive. He was killed while passing through Plzeň on 19 April, 1945.

Although Herrmann did not begin his quinquennium of labor on the atlas until 1930, he had already served a long apprenticeship in the study of the historical geography of Asia. After reading history and geography at Göttingen, he had spent two semesters studying Chinese at the University of Berlin. His doctoral thesis, written on the old trans-Asian Silk Route and presented at Göttingen in 1909, foreshadowed the main theme of his scholarly interests for the rest of his life, namely the relations between China and the West. It also brought him to the attention of Sven Hedin, to whose *Southern Tibet* he contributed a chapter on the treatment of Western countries in Chinese cartography. Subsequently he turned his attention to the sea route between the Middle East and China, and finally to the tradition of Chinese cartography. All this amounted to the sort of training that might ideally have been prescribed for the future author of an atlas of China.³

When the atlas finally appeared in 1935, it consisted of some sixty maps (not counting numerous insert maps), of which fifty or so were designed to convey historical information of one sort or another. The remainder either were vehicles for the representation of contemporary economic distributions or took the form of conventional atlas maps depicting

1. From Gerritsz's *Descriptio ac delineatio Geographica Detectionis Freti . . .* (Amsterdam, 1612), now in the James Ford Bell Collection, Walter Library, University of Minnesota.
2. This information was conveyed in two lines of very small print at the head of the bibliography on p. 85 of the first edition of the *Atlas of China*.
3. Some of the more important investigations into the historical geography of Asia undertaken by Albert Herrmann before the completion of his atlas include the following:
Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien. Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie, no. 21 (W. Sieglin, Berlin, 1910). Reproduced photographically in Tientsin in 1941.
"Die alten Verkehrswege zwischen Indien und Süd-China nach Ptolemäus," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 771-787.
"Ein alter Seeverkehr zwischen Abessinien und Süd-China bis zum Beginn unserer Zeitrechnung," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 553-561.
"Alte Geographie des unteren Oxusgebiets," *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* (Berlin, 1914), pp. 54-57.
"Marinus, Ptolemäus und ihre Karten," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* (Berlin, 1914), pp. 780-787.
"Die Seidenstrassen vom alten China nach dem Römischen Reich," *Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, vol. 58 (Wien, 1915), pp. 472-500.
"Die ältesten chinesischen Karten von Zentral- und West-Asien," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, vol. 8 (Berlin, 1919), pp. 185-198.

mainly political units and current nomenclature. Although the volume constituted the first in the Harvard-Yenching Monograph Series and was published by Harvard University Press, the plates—designed, of course, by Professor Herrmann—were executed and printed by the German firm of Georg Westermann. As such they reflected not only the high standards of German cartography of the period but also its technical predilections, such as, for example, the representation of relief by means of shaded brown caterpillars, a carry-over into photolithography of the style of shading favored on the old black-and-white maps. As it so happens, this was not too inappropriate, for the caterpillar method of depicting relief is of a respectable antiquity in China, possibly dating back to the T'ang dynasty.⁴ Both the letter-press and the transcription of names in the atlas were designed for the convenience of the English-speaking reader (cf. p. 66 of this edition), though occasional lapses in matters of capitalization, vocabulary, idiom, and spelling—some of which remain in the historical maps of the present edition—betrayed the foreign origin of the work. The production as a whole might be described as functional rather than extravagant.

Generally speaking, the atlas was well received by the community of Asian and specifically Chinese scholars. At one end of the spectrum of opinion Dr. Carl Bishop praised it as "excellent both in conception and execution,"⁵ Cyrus H. Peake characterized it as "an indispensable aid,"⁶ and Professor Georg Wegener, Herrmann's colleague at Berlin, referred to "der Neuheit und Grösse der Versuchs."⁷ At the other extreme crusty old John Ferguson could not understand "how such an atlas could be published by the Harvard-Yenching Institute without any mark of Chinese scholarship,"⁸ but such strictures were rare and comment was predominantly favorable. Eduard Erkes⁹ and Gustav Fochler-Hauke,¹⁰ knowledgeable in widely differing realms of East Asian scholarship, and anonymous authors in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*¹¹ and *Ostasiatische Rundschau*¹² wrote complimentary reviews, though voicing certain reservations about content and technique. Wolfram Eberhard,¹³ then of Leipzig, and Julean Arnold¹⁴ accorded the atlas qualified commendation while expressing disappointment at both the quantity and quality of the detail incorporated in the maps. Karl Haushofer¹⁵ regretted the absence of a series of charts depicting climate, an omission with which I have some personal sympathy: such information is a prerequisite for understanding the crop distributions and ocean sailing routes that were included in the atlas and, at the level of generalization required for this work, the necessary data were easily obtainable even in 1935. The reviewer in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*¹⁶ would have liked to see the agricultural section expanded; Baron Osten-Sacken¹⁷ wanted maps of Christian missions included; one good soul demanded a geological map, somebody else a map of population densities, and so on; but all acknowl-

Die Verkehrswege zwischen China, Indien und Rom um etwa 100 nach Chr. Geb. Veröffentlichungen des Forschungsinstituts für vergleichende Religionsgeschichte an der Universität Leipzig, no. 7 (Leipzig, 1922).

"Die Westländer in der chinesischen Kartographie," in Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet; discoveries in former times compared with my own researches in 1906-1908*, vol. 8 (Swedish Army General Staff Lithographic Institute, Stockholm, 1922), pp. 89-406.

"Chinesische Umschreibungen von älteren geographischen Namen," in Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, vol. 8 (1922), pp. 433-452.

[With Sven Hedin], "The Ts'ung-ling Mountains," in Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, vol. 8 (1922), pp. 1-88.

[With A. von Le Coq], "Zwei Osttürkische Manuskriptkarten," in Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, vol. 8 (1922), pp. 407-432.

"Die ältesten chinesischen Weltkarten," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, vol. 11, pt. 2 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1924), pp. 97-118.

"Die Hephthaliten und ihre Beziehungen zu China," *Asia Major*, vol. 2, pts. 3/4 (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 564-580.

"Die Lage des Landes Ta Ts'in," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, vol. 14, pt. 4 (1927), pp. 196-202.

"Die älteste Reichsgeographie Chinas und ihre kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung," *Sinica*, vol. 5, pts. 5/6 (1930), pp. 232-237.

"Marinus von Tyrus," *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungsheft 209 (1930), pp. 45-54.

Lou-lan. China, Indien und Rom im Lichte der Ausgrabungen am Lobnor (Leipzig, 1931).

"Die Gobi im Zeitalter der Hunnenherrschaft," *Hyllningsskrift tillägnad Sven Hedin. Bihang till Geografiska Annaler* (1935).

"Die älteste türkische Weltkarte (1076 n. Chr.)," *Imago Mundi*, vol. 1 (1935), pp. 21-28.

Subsequently, investigations carried out in connection with the atlas resulted in three further significant contributions to the historical geography of Asia:

"Das geographische Bild Chinas im Altertum," *Sinica* (Forke-Festschrift Sonderausgabe, 1937).

"Der Magnus Sinus und Cattigara nach Ptolemaeus," *Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie*, Amsterdam,

edged that the atlas constituted a remarkable achievement by one man. Even the great Paul Pelliot, who was at home in the literatures of almost all the Great Traditions of Asia and who was probably the scholar best qualified to comment on the historical features of the atlas, refrained from using the artillery that he undoubtedly commanded and contented himself with a volley of small-arms fire. On concluding an erudite evaluation of Herrmann's work,²⁸ he remarked that the undertaking, "dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, en était peut-être un peu ambitieuse, et l'industrie d'un seul homme ne pouvait dominer l'ensemble d'un sujet si vaste dans l'espace et dans le temps." That, I think, is the point to be borne in mind in any evaluation of this atlas.

Albert Herrmann was the pioneer on the road to China who, in the words of Hessel Gerritsz quoted at the head of this essay, "was impatient of undue delay," and who was prepared to accept imperfection as the price of progress. By the nineteen-thirties the tradition of European sinology had attained its apogee, the dominance of a training in classical and medieval textual and epigraphic skills was still unchallenged and a symposium questioning the validity of sinology as an autonomous discipline²⁹ was still thirty years in the future. Most of the giants of this phase of Asian studies had already made their major contributions to scholarship. So far as China itself was concerned, a large portion of the classical corpus had been translated into one or another of the European languages, and medieval accounts of foreign countries had received considerable attention from scholars such as Stanislas Julien, W. P. Groeneveldt, Le Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, Edouard Chavannes, Takakusu Junjirō, Gustave Schlegel, Henri Maspero, Berthold Laufer, Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill.

For the other cultural realms of Asia there were also substantial corpora of relevant translation and exegesis. The material relating to the Muslim world of the Middle East was particularly plentiful, for a good many of the first texts to be edited and translated into European languages by such early Arabists as J. T. Reinaud, the Abbé Renaudot, P. A. Jaubert, Kurt von Schlözer, A. Sprenger, F. Wüstenfeld, T. G. J. Juynboll, C. Barbier de Meynard, Stanislas Guyard, and MacGuckin de Slane had been geographical in nature. M. J. de Goeje's great corpus of Arabic texts with Latin prefaces, *Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum*, had appeared at Leiden between 1870 and 1894, and had been supplemented by Gabriel Ferrand's compendium of translations of Arabo-Persian sources relating to East Asia in 1913/4. For South and Southeast Asia Sanskritists had already accumulated a vast body of material relevant to ancient toponymy, while the kaleidoscopic ethnography of Central Asia had for decades exercised a fascination for scholars in all the major cultural traditions of Asia, as well as for the grand masters in this field such as Barthold, Grum-Grzhimailo and Grünwedel.

1938, vol. 2 (1938), pp. 123-128.

Das Land der Seide und Tibet im Lichte der Antike. Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde, vol. 1 (K. F. Koehler Verlag, Leipzig, 1939).

4. Ogawa Takuji, "Kinsei Seiyō Kōtsū Izen no Shina Chizu ni tsuite," *Chigaku Zasshi*, vol. 22 (1910), p. 413. Reprinted in Ogawa's *Shina Rekishi Chiri Kenkyū*, 2 vols. (Kyoto, 1928); Joseph Needham, *Science and civilisation in China*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1959), p. 546.
5. Carl Whiting Bishop, *The Geographical Review*, vol. 27, no. 3 (1937), p. 517.
6. *The Social Studies*. Journal of the National Council for the Social Studies, vol. 24, no. 6 (1936), p. 422.
7. Georg Wegener, *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, parts 3/4 (Berlin, 1937), p. 135.
8. John C. Ferguson, *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, vol. 3, no. 3 (1936), p. 301.
9. *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 7, pts. 1-4 (1937), pp. 247-249.
10. *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in München*, vol. 28, pt. 1 (1935), pp. 195-196.
11. Vol. 11, no. 30 (1935), pp. 385-387.
12. Vol. 16, no. 18 (1935), pp. 485-487.
13. *Monumenta Serica*, vol. 2 (1936-7), pp. 248-250.
14. Julean H. Arnold, *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 67 (1936), pp. 188-189.
15. *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, vol. 13, no. 7 (1936), p. 491.
16. Vol. 53, no. 1 (1937), p. 80.
17. Baron O. B. Osten-Sacken in letters of 26 February and 8 May, 1937, quoted in *Monumenta Serica*, vol. 2 (1936-7), p. 486.
18. Paul Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, vol. 32, pt. 5 (1936), pp. 363-372. Another detailed review of the atlas was provided by Gustav Haloun in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, vol. 42 (Leipzig, 1939), pp. 46-51.
19. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 23, no. 4 (1964).

The time appeared to be ripe for an attempt to crystallize the spatial and chronological relationships of this material in just such an atlas as Herrmann set out to produce. But the world-bestridding stature of a handful of scholars should not blind us to the fact that the nineteen-thirties still belonged to the formative period of Asian studies. Awestruck with admiration as we must be when we contemplate the erudition of a Chavannes or a Pelliot, a de Goeje, a Barthold or a Finot, let us not forget that a well trained graduate student of today can often ascribe significance and meaning to a text that defeated one of the great masters in the earlier decades of this century. To this extent Herrmann was, as Pelliot said, "un peu ambitieuse."

Yet, paradoxically, this may have been the one period when the scholarly community would have countenanced such an ambitious undertaking by one man. The 'thirties' may well have seen the last of the polyhistor, the men who could claim to have mastered a significant proportion of the major textual traditions of Asia. Of course, some of the giants lived on beyond the 'thirties'—Pelliot himself until 1945, and a very few, such as George Coedès, are with us yet—but by the end of the Second World War the intellectual climate had changed. During that war the social scientists had discovered Asia and opened up innumerable exciting new approaches to the investigation of the non-Western world. At the same time history and philology, the twin pillars of traditional Asian studies, were in the process of dissolving their long established partnership. Formerly the highly philological character of Asian historiography had imparted a universality to its principles and practice, and had induced an illusory unity in its intellectual universe that was reflected in the use of such rubrics as 'Oriental Studies' or 'Asian History.' However, this apparent unity was a measure of the disciplinary structure of the time rather than a quality inherent in reality, and in this respect the humanistic studies of the period were often as devoid of cultural relativity as were the social sciences that arose on their ruins. But after 1945 the old universality, valid enough in its way, had dissolved and the spurious unity of Asian studies had been shattered. Henceforward no one man could hope to produce an acceptable atlas of China—let alone of Asia. As Pelliot remarked at the conclusion of his review, "le travail de pionnier est fait, et il appartiendra à chacun de nous, dans son domaine propre, de le reprendre et de le compléter." In the future the compilation of such an atlas would of necessity have to be a collaborative venture. Even then it would be no easy task.

Let us turn now to the atlas itself. In this edition the plates relating to contemporary China have been completely redrawn to incorporate up-to-date information, so that it is necessary to concern myself only with the historical maps. These will be discussed under two headings, those relating to China Proper, the old Eighteen Provinces, the "Land

within the Great Wall," and those depicting the rest of Asia, including the Chinese dependencies. It will be my purpose not to point to lacunae in the composition of these maps, even less to suggest additional plates, but rather to draw attention to instances in which the passage of time has rendered some of the information that does appear erroneous or misleading.

MAPS OF CHINA PROPER

The maps of China Proper present a conspectus of Chinese development from prehistoric times up to the beginning of the twentieth century, often with considerable detail in the matter of territorial adjustments (cf., e.g., Plates 21, 25 and 33). Herrmann himself pointed out that he intended them to serve the purposes not only of sinologists but also of "other orientalists, historians of art, theologians, geographers and politicians,"²⁰ to whom we at the present day may add the flood (of a magnitude that Herrmann could never have envisaged) of students of social science, law, natural science, and technology (not to mention the omnipresent military), who are now bending their efforts to the study of things Chinese. This atlas is still virtually their only cartographic guide to the political, ecological, economic, and toponymic patterns of historic China.

Having said this, I must straightway enter certain caveats, the most pressing of which concerns the principles underlying the selection of information to be portrayed. Despite a superficial appearance of comprehensiveness, this information often seems to have been selected somewhat arbitrarily. By way of illustration, let us glance at the map of *The T'ang Dynasty: A.D. 618-906*, on Plate 29. This shows the boundaries and capitals of the ten great *tao* or provinces into which the empire was divided at the time of the Emperor T'ai Tsung, as well as some, but by no means all, of their constituent *chou* or prefectures. The difficulty arises when we try to discern the method by which Herrmann selected the *chou* that do appear on the map. Of the more than seventy (the exact number varied slightly from year to year) that were constituted in the southernmost *tao* of Ling-nan (B/C 3), for example, only twenty-eight appear on the map, and these do not readily betray the rationale of their choice. Some, such as Kuang, Hsün, and Shao, were reasonably populous centers of Chinese settlement with important economic and communication functions; others, such as Huan, I, and T'ien, were remote outposts in aboriginal territory. Of the seven Regular Prefectures (*Cheng Chou*) that were located in the Tong-king delta and on the coastal plains as far south as Hoành-sơn, only five appear on the map. Moreover, the seat of the Protectorate-General of **Kau* (Mand.=Chiao; Sino-Viêt.=Giao), later reconstituted as the Protectorate-General of the Pacified South, was known in T'ang times as **Suong-b'iywng* (Mand.=Sung-p'ing; Sino-Viêt.=Tông-bình) rather than as "Chiao" (B 3). In any case, this

21. The caption "An-nan 681-757" on Pl. 29, B3 is actually misleading for, although the name of the Protectorate-General was changed to **T'ien-nâm* (Mand. = Tien-nan) in 757, it subsequently reverted to **An-nâm* (Mand. = An-nan) in 768 [*Chiu T'ang-shu*, chüan 41, f. 33 verso; *Yüan-ho chün-hsien t'u-chih*, chüan 38, f. 9 verso; *Hsin T'ang-shu*, chüan 43A, f. 8 recto].

administrative apparatus functioned only on the plains; in the neighbouring uplands Chinese control was often only nominal. From time to time attempts were made to bring these territories within the prefectural hierarchy, but more often than not the more remote tracts, at least, were constituted as Prefectures (or Subprefectures)-under-Restraint (*Chi-mi Chou* [*Hsien*]), where local headmen acted on behalf of Chinese authority—what analogy might lead us to call Scheduled Territories today. None of these, of which there were sizable clusters along the southwestern frontier of the T'ang empire, appears on Plate 29. Neither is the significance of the Protectorate-General, an instrument of government developed by the T'ang to cope with the exigencies of border administration, adequately brought out. Although there were seven of these territories spaced in an arc round the land frontiers of the Empire, apart from the attachment to certain place-names of dates whose implications are apparent only to those already knowledgeable in the intricacies of T'ang administrative history, they receive no recognition on Plates 29 and 30/31.²¹

At an earlier epoch we find that on the map of the Ch'un-Ch'iu period (Pl. 6/7) only the larger feudal states are indicated, together with a very small proportion of the total number of ethnonyms and toponyms mentioned in the classical texts. Once again I have been unable to discover any consistency in their selection. The same uncertainty arises in connection with the map of the Han dynasty (Pl. 14/15), which depicts only the seats of princely fiefs, those ruled by governors, and a scattering of additional names which cannot be correlated with any easily discernible criteria of importance. The other maps of China Proper from Chou to Ch'ing, on close inspection exhibit comparable inconsistencies, or at least apparent anomalies which cannot be resolved on the basis of the evidence inserted on the map. Perhaps Professor Herrmann himself would have provided a rationale for his choice of information had he lived to complete his handbook. As it is, students of, say, T'ang or Sung China would do well to remember that the administrative hierarchies are depicted only imperfectly.

Whether or not the anomalies just described resulted specifically from Herrmann's choice of sources I have not been able to decide, but both the bibliography and the internal evidence of the maps indicate that he relied to a high degree on commentary and exegesis in European languages. Moreover, his evaluation of Chinese sources was not always judicious or overly critical. For example, much of the information relating to Yün-nan in earlier times is clearly derived from the *Nan-Ch'ao Yeh-shih*, a work belonging to a genre of "unconventional histories" which, although of value in other respects, are of dubious reliability. The publications of twentieth-century Chinese geographers are represented only sketchily in the bibliography, and virtually not at all in the construction of the maps.

Perhaps this was because the work of these geographers was not highly regarded by the group of scholars with whom Herrmann was associated at Berlin, but this excuse cannot be advanced in explanation of his neglect of the writings of the Japanese school of historical geographers. In any case, in my opinion Herrmann would have profited considerably from some acquaintance with the *Li-t'ai yü-ti yen-k'o Hsien-yao t'u* of Yang Shou-ching and Jao Tun-chih and with the maps prepared by T'ung Shih-heng, Su Chia-jung and Ou-yang Ying, as well as from the writings of contemporary Chinese historical geographers such as Ku Chieh-kang and Fu Tseng-hsiang. It is noticeable, too, that Herrmann resorted to English-language secondary sources only very sparingly, a reflection of the prevailingly low esteem in which British scholarship was held on the continent of Europe at that time. By contrast, his coverage of French and German literature—judging from the maps rather than the bibliography, which is clearly only skeletal in character—was extremely thorough. In fact, it is scarcely an exaggeration to characterize the atlas as a monument to the achievements of continental European scholars, to the virtual exclusion of Chinese and Japanese contributions.

Without doubt the map that has worn the least well of all the historical plates is the one concerned with prehistory (Pl. 1). Although it depicts more than a hundred individual sites, and numerous others under collective rubrics, it was not quite complete even in 1935 (largely owing to the author's neglect of English-language sources mentioned above). Moreover, a number of the sites, including some of the more significant, are not strictly speaking prehistoric: I am thinking of the Han tombs, for example, or of the Ordos bronzes, or of the tomb of Ch'in Shih-huang.²² Perhaps "archeological" would be a more apposite term than "pre-historic" in the caption to this plate. The non-specialist in matters Chinese who makes use of this map should also be warned that the arrows denoting immigrations from the northwest, northeast and southeast do not imply synchronous movements, nor are they directly associated with the sites that occur along their routes. But much more important than anything on the map is that which is missing, for this plate necessarily omits all mention of the extremely important excavations carried out by Chinese archeologists during the last fifteen years or so, which in fact far outnumber the aggregate of all previous discoveries. In fact, it would be my guess that this map records less than a tenth, possibly very much less, of the total investigations undertaken to date. At least nine new Paleolithic and about a score of Mesolithic sites have been opened up since Herrmann plotted his single site at Chou-k'ou-tien, and Neolithic finds have also become proportionately more numerous. Today at least eighty prehistoric sites are known in Ssü-ch'uan alone, where Herrmann was able to plot only two, and at least thirty in An-hui where he had none. In the middle Yang-tzū valley an abundance of finds has thrown new

22. On the other hand, sundry sites from the historic period, notably the excavation in 1930, under Japanese auspices, of the Ch'un-ch'iu and Chan-kuo city of **G'â-to (Mand.=Hsia-tu) are missing from the map. *Vide* Fu Chen-lun, "Yen Hsia-tu fa-chüeh pao-ka'o," *Kuo-Hsüeh Chi-k'an*, vol. 3 (Peking University, 1932), pp. 175-182.
23. *Yün-nan Chin-ning Shih-chai-shan kü mu ch'ün fa-chüeh pao-ka'o* (Wen-wu Press, Peiping, 1959).
24. An Chin-huai, "Cheng-Chou ti-ch'ü-ti ku-t'ai i-ts'un chiai-shao," *Wen-wu Ts'an-k'ao Tzū-liao*, no. 8 (Peking, 1957), pp. 16-20; Tsou Heng, "Shih-lun Cheng-Chou hsin-fa-hsien-ti Yin-Shang wen-hua i-chih," *K'ao-ku Hsüeh-pao*, no. 3 (Peking, 1956), pp. 77-103; An Chih-min, "I-chiu-wu-erh nien ch'iu-chi Cheng-Chou Erh-li-kang fa-chüeh chi," *K'ao-ku Hsüeh-pao*, no. 8 (1954), pp. 65-108, and "Cheng-Chou-shih Jen-Min-Kung-Yüan fu-chin-ti Yin-t'ai i-ts'un," *Wen-wu Ts'an-k'ao Tzū-liao*, no. 6 (1954), pp. 32-37; Chao Ch'üan-ku *et al.*, "Cheng-Chou Shang-t'ai i-chih-ti fa-chüeh," *K'ao-ku Hsüeh-pao*, no. 1 (1957), pp. 53-73; "Cheng-Chou Lo-ta-miao Shang-t'ai i-chih shih-chüeh tan-pao," *Wen-wu*, no. 10 (1957), pp. 48-51; Chao Ch'ing-yün, "1957-nien Cheng-Chou hsi-chiao fa-chüeh chi-yao," *K'ao-ku T'ung-hsin*, no. 9 (1958), pp. 54-56; Chao Ch'ing-yün *et al.*, "Cheng-Chou Ko-ta-wang-ts'un i-chih fa-chüeh pao-k'ao," *K'ao-ku Hsüeh-pao*, no. 3 (1958), pp. 41-62.

light on the origins and expansion of the kingdom of ***Ts'io* (Mand. = Ch'u), and excavations at Shih-chai Shan, in the vicinity of Tien Lake, have revolutionized our conception not only of conditions in southwest China from the later Chan-kuo period onward but also of the character of Dong-son culture in general.²³ Finally, it should be remarked that the great Shang ceremonial centers at Cheng Chou,²⁴ Lo-yang²⁵ and Hui Hsien,²⁶ together with their constellations of associated sites, have all come to light since this map was compiled. What I have been saying amounts to a pretty direct warning that anyone seeking the spatial pattern of modern Chinese archeological research should supplement the information on Pl. 1 with a perusal of recent issues of *K'ao-ku*, *K'ao-ku Hsüeh-pao*, *Wen-wu* and *Ta-lu Tsa-chih*.²⁷

Other maps which should be viewed with scepticism by the non-specialist in early Chinese history—such an admonition would, of course, be otiose for the specialist—are those dealing with the Hsia and Shang dynasties (Pl. 2/3 and 4). In the first place the historicity of the Hsia has so far received no confirmation from archeological investigation, and it is still a moot point whether the origins of the archetyped tradition of that dynasty should be sought, along with the three Sovereigns and Five Emperors, in the pre-Shang Lung-shan stage, in the earlier phases of the Shang, or possibly even as a projection backward from later times. Under these circumstances, to attempt to distinguish the Hsia culture hearth from later accretions to the alleged polity, and to ascribe a date to this dynasty (Pl. 2) betrays a wholly unwarranted devotion to the texts of the *Shu Ching*, *Shih Chi*, and *Chu-shu Chi-nien*. Much the same criticism can be directed against the maps of the Shang state (or perhaps states?), where Herrmann again seems to have accepted the Chinese textual tradition at its face value. Once more he has attempted to discriminate between, and assign dates to, an original nuclear hearth and subsequent territorial acquisitions. Even if it could be demonstrated that the Shang state of the texts exercised sole political authority within the Shang culture area—which, in my opinion, is by no means certain—the Shang metropolitan territory as depicted on the map would still be considerably more extensive than that attested by archeology. It is true that a late gloss on a passage in the *Chu-shu Chi-nien* delimits the state under Wu-ting, twenty-second of the Shang monarchs, as stretching far into west and south China, but this is certainly an exaggeration born of the an-historicity of Han, or later, perceptions of the past. The ceremonial centers which were the distinguishing marks of metropolitan Shang territory appear so far to have been restricted to an arcuate zone in northern Ho-nan running from the neighborhood of Lo-yang in the west, through Cheng Chou, to An-yang in the north. Important settlements exhibiting fully evolved Shang cultural characteristics formed a halo around this core area, extending from Shan Hsien in the southwest to Ch'ü-yang in

25. Kuo Pao-chün and Lin Shou-chin, "I-chiu-wu-erh-nien ch'iu-chi Lo-yang tung-chiao fa-chüeh pao-k'ao," *K'ao-ku Hsüeh-pao*, no. 9 (1955), pp. 91-116; Kuo Pao-chün *et al.*, "Lo-yang Chien-pin ku-wen-hua i-chih chi Han-mu," *ibid.*, no. 1 (1956), pp. 11-28; An Chih-min and Lin Shou-chin, "I-chiu-wu-ssü-nien ch'iu-chi Lo-yang hsi-chiao fa-chüeh-chien-pao," *K'ao-ku T'ung-hsün*, no. 5 (1955), p. 26.
26. Kuo Pao-chün, Hsia Nai *et al.*, *Hui-Hsien fa-chüeh pao-kao* (Science Press, Peking, 1956).
27. Three of China's four archeological journals have undergone changes of title since their inception: (i) From 1955 to 1958 *K'ao-ku* was known as *K'ao-ku T'ung-hsün*; (ii) The first issue in 1936 of the journal now known as *K'ao-ku Hsüeh-pao* appeared under the title *T'ien-yeh K'ao-ku Hsüeh-pao*, while for numbers 2-5 this was changed to *Chung-kuo K'ao-ku Hsüeh-pao*; (iii) From 1950-1958 *Wen-wu* was known as *Wen-wu Ts'an-k'ao Tz'ü-liao*. There are fairly recent compendious surveys of Chinese archeology and prehistory in English in William Watson, *Archaeology in China* (Max Parrish, London, 1960), and *Ancient peoples and places. China before the Han dynasty* (Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1961); Kwang-chih Chang, *The archaeology of ancient China* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1963); and in a series of continuing volumes by Cheng Te-k'un, *Archaeology in China* (W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., Cambridge, 1959-). Volumes on *Prehistoric China* (1959), *Shang China* (1960), and *Chou China* (1963) have appeared to date. See also the same author's *Archaeological studies in Szechwan* (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1957).

28. The German geographer Alfred Hettner had taken a more liberal view of the scope of historical geography at least as early as 1898: "Die Entwicklung der Geographie im 19. Jahrhundert," *Geographische Zeitschrift*, vol. 4 (1898), pp. 305-320. Cp. his much later summary statement on the character of this discipline in *Die Geographie, ihre Geschichte, ihr Wesen und ihre Methoden* (Ferdinand Hirt, Breslau, 1927), pp. 150-151.

the north and Chi-nan in the east. Beyond that lay a much wider zone, extending into northern Ho-pei, central Shan-hsi, Shen-hsi, Hu-pei, northern An-hui, and eastern Shan-tung, in which certain Shang culture traits had diffused among pre-urban societies. This archeologically attested cultural zonation is, in fact, not incompatible with the ternary world view of the Shang themselves, in which the district governed directly from the capital was surrounded by feudal fiefs, and those in turn by tribal territories, the home of non-Shang peoples.

It is evident both from the atlas and from the corpus of Professor Herrmann's published work that he interpreted historical geography to mean primarily the reconstruction of the political and toponymic patterns of the past rather than the study of former modes of ecological adaptation.²⁸

Attempts to depict information in this latter category are sporadic and usually not very successful. There is, for example, no attempt to plot the spread of wet-rice cultivation after the introduction of early-ripening varieties in the eleventh century A.D., or the diffusion of American food crops throughout China in post-Columbian times. A great deal of material of this nature is fairly readily available in the profusion of local topographies that constitute such a distinctive strand in the tradition of Chinese geographical writing, and it is significant that Herrmann made no use of this resource. Perhaps this was because such topographies were not well represented in the Berlin sinological collections, but I think it at least as likely that it reflected the overwhelming concern of the sinologists of the time with classical texts.

One map which does include such information from ancient times is that on Pl. 4, depicting the products which the *Yü Kung* (*Tribute of Yü*) assigned to the Nine Provinces of ancient China. It is curious that Herrmann, who himself offered a course at Berlin entitled "Historische Geographie Chinas (mit *Übungen*)," should have been one of the last scholars to persist in ascribing a Shang date to this text. In fact, it had already become evident before 1935 that the *Yü Kung* could not have been pre-Confucian, and was probably to be dated to the fifth century B.C., at which time it constituted a projection into the past of Chou-style conceptions. Plate 4 should be regarded, therefore, as a representation of possibly ancient economic information forced into a Late-Chou mould.

Two plates, based on information from the *Chou Li* and *Shih Chi* respectively, attempt to depict the contrasting economic condition of China during the Ch'un-ch'iu (Pl. 6/7, inset) and Former-Han periods (Pl. 12). Leaving aside the fact that the *Chou Li* was also a Former-Han compilation which possibly incorporated a certain amount of Late-Chou material, and that the insert on Pl. 7 should consequently be transferred to Pl. 8 at the earliest, it is difficult to see why Herrmann should have believed that, during the second half of the first millenium B.C., the

29. Ting I, "Chiang Han p'ing-yüan hsin-shih-ch'i-shih-t'ai hung-shao-t'u chung ti tao-ku k'ao-ch'a," *K'ao-ku Hsiieh-pao*, no. 4 (1959), pp. 31-33; Hu Yüeh-chien, *ibid.*, no. 1 (1957), p. 27; Hsieh Chun-chu, *Wen-wu Ts'an-k'ao Tzū-liao*, no. 8 (1955), pp. 50-51.
30. Hu Yüeh-chien, *K'ao-ku Hsiieh-pao*, no. 1 (1957), pp. 26.
31. *Nukhbat al-dhar fi' ajāib al-barr wa al-bahr*, p. 227 of A. F. Mehren's edition of the text in *Cosmographie de Chems-ed-Din Abou Abdallah Mohammed ed-Dimichqi* (Saint Petersburg, 1866). It is true, of course, that Dimashqi's information about East Asia was anything but reliable, and that he was simply repeating material from an earlier age.

northern and western limits of rice cultivation—presumably implying wet-rice cultivation—had retreated to the southeast. The truth, of course, is that these texts are inadequate sources for this kind of reconstruction. Their positive affirmations can be accepted with a degree of caution commensurate with the state and pedigree of the particular text, but arguments *ex silentio* are entirely untrustworthy. As rice had been domesticated in Southeast Asia, the frontiers of its cultivation were more likely to have moved in the opposite direction from that suggested in the atlas. The fact that they had done so long previously is attested by recent archeological reports, which imply that rice cultivation had formed part of the cultural repertoire of Lung-Shan farmers, though whether they planted wet or dry varieties is uncertain pending further analyses.²⁹ The introduction of wheat into the Huai region in about 1100 B.C. (Pl. 7, inset) is also based on a questionable evaluation of the sources which, since 1935, have been further discredited by the discovery of grains of that cereal from Lung-shan levels at Tiao-yü-t'ai in northern An-hui.³⁰ A last point in this general area of concern: paper, which appears on the map of economic development in about 100 B.C. (Pl. 12, B 2), was not invented for another two centuries.

Finally, I must enter a word of warning concerning some of the capitals that appear on Professor Herrmann's maps, more particularly as they represent the sort of information for which an atlas such as this is frequently consulted. First, as to their names. On Pl. 19 *Saraga* (a Sanskritized form of the *Sarag* of the Nestorian Inscription) is given as a name for Lo-yang. In actual fact this term is not encountered until T'ang times, and should therefore be transferred to Pl. 31, F3, where it is at present omitted. Moreover, on this latter map *Khamdan* is a poor reading for the Arabic *Khumdān*, deriving from ***G'em-djāng* (Mand.=Hsien-yang), the name of the Ch'in capital, which persisted in Arab geographical writings as the name of the Chinese metropolis at least as late as the fourteenth century, when Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Dimashqī was still making mention of it.³¹ *Khubdan* on Pl. 27, F3 is merely a deviant reading of *Khumdān*, not an alternative appellation. On Pl. 40, G3, entitled *Beginnings of the Mongol Empire*, the name *Ta-t'ung* should be replaced by the old Ch'in name of *Hsi Ching* (Western Capital), which was retained in the early days of the Mongol hegemony. At the same time K'ai-feng or Pien-ching was known only as *Nan-ching* (= Southern Capital: Polo's *Namghin*). On the same map, which relates to A.D. 1234, Shang-tu (G2) is an anachronism, for this name did not replace that of K'ai-p'ing-fu until June 16, 1263. Indeed, K'ai-p'ing-fu itself had not been founded as a summer residence for Qubilai, then Heir-Apparent, until 1256. Meanwhile the official capital remained at Qara-qorum until Qubilai's accession to the throne in 1260, when it was transferred to Ta-hsing, that is Peking. Professor Herrmann was also mistaken in

32. *Vide* Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1 (Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris, 1959), *sub* *Cambaluc* and *Ciandu*; vol. 2 (1963), *sub* *Namghin* and *Taidu*.
33. "T'ang-t'ai Ch'ang-an Ch'eng k'ao-ku chi-lüeh," *K'ao-ku*, no. 11 (1963), plates opposite pp. 596 and 610. See also "T'ang Ch'ang-an Ch'eng ti-chi ch'u-pu t'an-ts'e," *K'ao-ku Hsiieh-pao*, no. 3 (1958), pp. 79-94.

locating "Taidu" (G3) on this map and in relying on Bretschneider's date of 1271 for Qubilai's taking up of winter residence there. In actual fact the name of Chung-tu (which had been adopted in 1264) was changed to Ta-tu (Polo's *Taidu*) on March 4, 1272, but the palace was not completed until the end of 1273. Qubilai entered the great hall to receive the congratulations of the Court on New Year's Day (February 9) 1274.³²

As for the plans of the Chinese capitals on Plates 13, 42/43, 45 and 49, they display clearly enough the material expression of a canon of city planning that was permeated with cosmic symbolism, but investigations subsequent to 1935 have modified some of the detail. In particular, the systematic excavations at Ch'ang-an undertaken by the Institute of Archeology of the Academia Sinica since 1957 have added several new features, including the layout of the Great Luminous Palace containing more than twenty halls, details of the Hsüan-wu Gate and the location of the P'eng-lai Pool. The best reconstruction of ancient Ch'ang-an to date is that in *K'ao-ku* for 1963,³³ and there is a series of plans of the chief capitals, published some twenty years after Herrmann completed his atlas, in *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi*, compiled by Ch'eng Kuang-yü and Hsü Sheng-mu, and issued in Hong-Kong in 1956.

MAPS OF CHINA'S DEPENDENCIES AND OF THE REST OF ASIA

Even the primarily Chinese maps usually include information relating to neighboring territories, but what gives this atlas such a distinctive character is the way in which these maps are integrated into their Asian context. It was, of course, entirely logical and necessary to include the Central Asian territories over which the stronger Chinese dynasties claimed control, but there are in addition a series of maps showing, as it were, China-in-Asia, and there can be little doubt that these plates have contributed as much to the popularity of the atlas as have those relating specifically to the Eighteen Provinces. Yet, from a purely intellectual point of view, it may be queried whether such maps are justified by the largely autochthonous character of Chinese historical development. I think that the real reason for the inclusion of these maps of Asia is to be sought in the milieu in which Herrmann worked. When the treasures collected by Albert von Le Coq and Albert Grünwedel on their Turfan expeditions were brought back to Berlin in the early years of this century, that city almost at once became one of the premier European foci of Central Asian studies. In succeeding decades there gravitated toward the twin foci of the Anthropological Museum and the Prussian Academy a group of scholars who brought a mutually complementary array of skills to the study of Central Asia. Among those working there in Herrmann's time, in addition to von Le Coq and Grünwedel, were F. W. K. Müller, H. Schaeder, Ferdinand Lessing, O. Kummel, Otto Franke, and, of a younger generation, Walter Henning, W. Gelpke, E. Waldschmidt, A. von

Gabein, and Wolfram Eberhard, all of whom exhibited a sustained interest in Central Asian scholarship.

It was not surprising that in this stimulating intellectual environment Albert Herrmann should also have been attracted to the study of Central Asia, specifically in his case to Sino-European relations in early times. In a sense his atlas is a true reflection of the way in which he himself viewed China—primarily as the country at the end of a long Central Asian corridor filled with shifting and elusive peoples whose history had to be unravelled before one could come to grips with the historical geography of China Proper, and secondarily as the country at the end of the long southern sea-route, a topic which had provided him with his other main scholarly interest. And always, in accordance with this order of priorities, the Central Asian sectors of the maps receive fuller treatment than do the South and Southeast Asian maps. This is equally true of the maps relating to China Proper: the ethnic groups of the northwestern frontiers are more fully represented than those of the southwest.

Compare, for example, these frontier zones on the map of T'ang China on Pl. 29. In the north and west we discover most of the names that one would expect to find on an atlas map: Uighurs, Bayirku, Pu-ku, T'u-chüeh, Huns, Avars, Tatabi, and Kitan, but where are the Eastern **Ts'uân* or Black **Mwan* in the hills to the south of the Tien Lake? Similarly one will look in vain for any mention of the turbulent tribal groups such as the **Luo-iwo*, **Kuo-lâng*, **Sjæk-b'uk* **Puâ-lieu*, **Kjau-puät-dz'i*, **Mjüan-lâng* and **Zjwo-lâng* who surged round the Chinese colonial foundations in **Nzjët-nâm* Commandery in earlier centuries.³⁴ Not even the **Lák* (Sino-Viêt. =Lạc) tribes, the main ethnic group in the Tong-king lowlands in Han times, are represented. And, farther afield, while the ruins of Lou-lan and Qara-qorum rate inset reproductions, those of *Yaśodhara-pura* (Añkor), *Amarāvati* [Mī-son] and *Arimaddanapura* [Pagan] do not.

To some extent this northern and western bias, which reflected Herrmann's own predilections, was reinforced by a parallel tendency in the progress of Chinese studies. Prior to 1935 very few sinologists had devoted much attention to the southern parts of the Chinese culture realm. Even the band of scholars working at the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi had been concerned less with the south of China than with Chinese accounts of the *Nan Hai*. As for the countries lying to the east of China, it must be admitted that, compared with the attention that he bestowed on Central Asia, Herrmann treated both Korea and Japan in somewhat cavalier fashion. His competence and interest lay in directions remote from these two countries, with whose languages and literatures he was unfamiliar.³⁵

It was in the compilation of the maps relating to Asia as a whole that Professor Herrmann once or twice allowed himself to indulge a favorite but nonetheless unlikely theory of his own invention. Generally speaking,

34. It is true that, prior to R. A. Stein's magistral study of **Ljəm-·jəp* toponymy ["Le Lin-yi," *Han-Hiue*, vol. 2, pts. 1-3 (Peking, 1947)], the relationships of these tribal groups to each other and to Chinese authority were but ill understood, but their names and general locations were familiar enough to students of South Chinese ethnology.
35. With reference to Pl. 31, G2, it should be noted that the capital of Japan did not remain at Nara until A.D. 794, but was transferred to Nagaoka in the province of Yamashiro in 784. 794 was the year when the still uncompleted Nagaoka was abandoned for geomantic reasons in favor of Heian-kyō.

the atlas is unusually free of such personal idiosyncrasies, and Herrmann customarily stayed fairly close to the Berlin consensus. However, two different identifications of the same toponym proposed by him have never achieved acceptance, namely the equation of Ta Ch'in (*d'ai-dz'ien) with Arabia Felix on Pl. 18, C3, and with Baghdād on Pl. 30, C2. Long before 1935 it had become clear that this name referred to the Roman Orient, particularly Syria. Similarly, few scholars have accepted the identity of Issedon[es] and Ch'i-t'un (*ts'iet-d'uən: implied by Pl. 20, inset, and 32, F/G3; cf. also *Corrigenda* on p. 112 of the 1935 edition of the *Atlas*).

MAPS OF CENTRAL ASIA

As has been pointed out above, Central Asia is well represented in the atlas, and, in view of the amount of scholarly work that has been published since 1935, it is remarkable how well these maps have stood the test of time. Nevertheless, the non-specialist should take heed of a few points in which the recorded information is misleading. I shall ignore those matters which learned doctors are still debating, and mention only a few names which a layman might have occasion to look up in the atlas and which at the same time have been identified with reasonable certainty.

Some of the anomalies are anachronistic in character. The *T'uət-Kiūət (Mand.=T'u-chüeh) for example, are not attested before the middle of the sixth century A.D. and should, therefore, be deleted from Pl. 24, E2.³⁶ Others have arisen through errors in transcription. On Pls. 16, E2, and 20 (inset), for instance, the Chinese transcription of Kuča should read, Ch'iu-tz'ü (in Mandarin) rather than "Kuei-tzu". Still other anomalies involve the misplacement of names. The Kingdom of Fu (*B'iu), which crops up in Sui and later texts and which Herrmann took for a transcription of *dBu* (for *dBu*, the vicinity of Lhasa), should be disassociated from this latter name and located farther eastward, occupying territory lying approximately between Ta-chien-lu and Jyekundo (or Gyal-kun-mdo).³⁷ While it is true that T'u-jen (*t'uo-ńziĕn), or indigenes, assumed the overtones of an ethnic name in Chinese colloquial speech, it has not, as Herrmann implies in his index (*sub* Turen), been satisfactorily related to T'u-yü-hun (*t'uo-k'iak-γuən).³⁸ In some instances a name is displaced from its proper situation, as when the "Men with black carriages" (*Xək-kjwo-tsi), who occur in contexts which show them to have been Mongols, are located on the Orkhon and Selenga rivers instead of some distance farther to the east (Pl. 36, B/C 1).

The migrations of the nomadic groups of Central Asia in historic time are extremely obscure, but had the Chien-kun (*kien-kuən), who are usually equated with the Qyrghyz, been on the "Hunger Steppe" between Lake Balkash and the Sary Su in the first century A.D. in the manner indicated on Pls. 11, C1, 16, B/C, 1 and 18, D2, then—as Otto Maenchen-Helfen once remarked—they would surely have starved to death.³⁹ On

36. See Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux, recueillis et commentés par . . .* (Imp. Acad. Sci., St. Petersburg, 1903); Paul Pelliot, "L'origine de T'ou-kiue, nom chinois des Turcs," *T'oung Pao*, series 2, vol. 16 (1915), pp. 687-689; Peter A. Boodberg, "Three notes on the T'u-chüeh Turks," in Walter J. Fischel [ed.], *Semitic and Oriental Studies presented to William Popper*. University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vol. 11 (University of California Press, 1951), pp. 1-11; Liu Mau-tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe)*. Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, vols. 10 and 11 (Wiesbaden, 1958); E. G. Pulleyblank, "The Chinese name for the Turks," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 85, no. 2 (1965), pp. 121-125.
37. E.g., *Sui Shu*, chüan 83, f. 8 recto; *Pei Shih*, chüan 96, f. 10 recto. The reasoning behind Herrmann's location of this toponym is set out in Sven Hedin's *Southern Tibet*, vol. 8, p. 235. For remarks on the Kingdom of Fu see R. A. Stein, *Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines, légendes, classification et histoire*. Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, vol. 15 (Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1961), pp. 80-81, and Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2 (Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris, 1963), pp. 693-694.
38. For references to the T'u-yü-hun see the bibliography on pp. 41-47 of Thomas D. Carroll, S.J., *Account of the T'u-yü-hun in the History of the Chün Dynasty*. Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations No 4 (University of California Press, 1953)
39. Otto [J.] Maenchen-Helfen, "Manichaeans in Siberia," in Walter J. Fischel [ed.], *Semitic and Oriental Studies presented to William Popper*. University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vol. 11 (University of California Press, 1951), p. 317, note 19.

Pl. 31 the "Toghuzghuz" (=Toquz Oghuz), who are equated with the Uighurs of Outer Mongolia (E/F2), are the same people as "the 9 Oguz" who are located around the headwaters of the Kerulen river (F2), the element *toquz* being simply a Turkish numerical designation frequently applied to tribal federations in the eastern and northern territories of the Orkhon Turkish empire (cp. the Chinese term *chih hsing* applied to the Uighurs).⁴⁰ It also is a fact, which Professor Herrmann did not take into account, that Muslim writers retained the name Toquz Oghuz to denote the Uighur kingdom that was subsequently reconstituted in the vicinity of Turfan. Finally, anyone who is thinking of accepting uncritically the several locations of the ethnicon *Hun* in the pages of this atlas would do well to read Professor Maenchen-Helfen's papers on this topic.⁴¹

MAPS OF SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

When Professor Herrmann came to compile those sectors of his maps relating to South and Southeast Asia, he was confronted with even greater difficulties than he had encountered in dealing with Central Asia. The nuclear corpus of Chinese, Arabic, Persian, Greek, and medieval European texts with which he had been familiar for a quarter of a century were still relevant to his work, but the Turkish, Mongolian, and Tibetan materials were now replaced by Sanskrit and Dravidian literary-annalistic and archeological-epigraphic sources, supplemented by documents from nearly a dozen ancient civilizations in Southeast Asia *sensu stricto*. The fragmentation and ambivalence of the primary source materials certainly posed no less formidable problems than in Central Asia, but the available corpus of translation and exegesis was considerably smaller, and very probably of poorer quality. It is true that Paul Pelliot's magnificent excursus, "Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e siècle,"⁴² by integrating hitherto obscure and splintered scraps of information into a coherent whole, had provided a framework for the historical geography of early Southeast Asia. At the same time a succession of French scholars at the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient had made available to a wider public the historical resources of Indochina. Pelliot had collated the texts relating to **B'ju-nâm* (Mand. = Fu-nan) in 1903,⁴³ Georges Maspéro those relating to *Campā* in 1910,⁴⁴ and in 1909 George Coedès had published a compendium of translations of Greek and Latin texts bearing on the geography of ancient Southeast Asia.⁴⁵ In the then Netherlands East Indies the labors of members of the Archeological Commission (from 1913 the Archeological Service) had been synthesized by N. J. Krom in his *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*,⁴⁶ and Coedès, by delineating the form of an hitherto unknown thalassocracy as an integrating principle permeating apparently unrelated texts, had revealed the existence of the kingdom of Sri Vijaya.⁴⁷ Moreover, between 1924 and 1929 Coedès had published, transcribed, translated, and annotated a substantial corpus of

40. Boodberg, "Three notes," pp. 3-5. Note particularly the reference on p. 3, note 18 to Grum-Grzhimailo in *Zapadnaia Mongolii*, pp. 285-289; L. Bazin, "Notes sur les mots 'Oguz' et 'Türk'," *Oriens*, vol. 6 (1953), pp. 315-322; E. G. Pulleyblank, "Some remarks on the Toquzoghuz problem," *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*, vol. 28 (1956), pp. 35-42.
41. Otto J. Maenchen-Helfen, "Huns and Hsiung-nu," *Byzantion*, vol. 17 (1945), pp. 222-243; "The ethnic name Hun," in Søren Egerod and Else Glahn [eds.], *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata* (Copenhagen, 1959), pp. 223-238.
42. *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. 4 (1904), pp. 131-413.
43. "Le Fou-nan," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. 3 (1903), pp. 248-303.
44. "Le royaume de Champa," *T'oung Pao*, series 2, vol. 11 (1910), pp. 125-136, 165-220, 319-350, 489-526, 547-566; vol. 12 (1911), pp. 53-87, 236-258, 291-315, 451-482, 589-626; vol. 14 (1913), pp. 153-201. Reprinted in book form by Les Editions G. van Oest, Paris, 1928.
45. *Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient, depuis le IV^e siècle av. J.C. jusqu'au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1910).
46. The Hague, 1926.
47. "Le royaume de Çrīvijaya," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. 18, no. 6 (1918), pp. 1-36.

Thai texts,⁴⁸ but his six volumes of *Inscriptions du Cambodge*⁴⁹ and his summary statement on the Indianized realms of Southeast Asia⁵⁰ were still in the future, as indeed was the work of Louis Malleret on Oc-èò,⁵¹ of Pierre Dupont on Mōn archeology,⁵² of L. C. Damais on Sino-Indonesian toponymy,⁵³ and of C. C. Berg⁵⁴ and J. G. de Casparis⁵⁵ on Indonesian epigraphy, as well as Rolf Stein's study of **Liam-ḥap* toponymy.⁵⁶

Much else besides which today constitutes the communal store of received knowledge for workers in the field of Southeast Asian historical geography was unavailable to Herrmann in 1935. Under these circumstances his maps of South and Southeast Asia in former times, particularly in the earlier historical periods, represented an achievement of which he could well be proud. It will not be my purpose in the following notes—any more than it was in those concerning Central Asia—to undertake a modernization of these maps, which have actually survived the revisions of three decades uncommonly well. That would be a task to occupy a team of scholars over years. Rather I shall try to illustrate a few of the problems which confronted Professor Herrmann in this phase of his work, to demonstrate some of the uncertainties and ambivalencies which attend the identification of certain toponyms, and in general to sound a note of warning to the scholar from another discipline who may have occasion to use these maps.

A proportion of the necessary revisions, as was the case in Central Asia, are concerned with anachronisms. On Pl. 27 neither Haripuñjaya nor Pagan had come into existence by the beginning of the seventh century A.D. The former of these two kingdoms was, according to the *Jinakālamālinī* of Ratanapañña, not founded until the eighth century.⁵⁷ The latter, according to none-too-reliable Burmese chronicles, developed through a process of synoecism that was completed in A.D. 849 when nineteen hitherto discrete settlements were enclosed within a wall.⁵⁸ However, there is no epigraphic reference to the city earlier than a Cham inscription of A.D. 1000-1050.⁵⁹ In any case the legend "KINGD. OF PAGAN" should be deleted from Pl. 27, E3, which relates to c. A.D. 610. So, too, should the toponym "Pyū," though for different reasons. It is true that the people known to the Chinese in early times as **P'iaū*,⁶⁰ and to the Burmese in later centuries as *Pyu* and *Pru*,⁶¹ appear to have been the dominant ethnic group in the middle Irawadi valley during the period to which the map refers, but there is no evidence that their capital was ever called "Pyū." In fact they styled themselves *Tirḥul* or something similar,⁶² and their capital seems to have been known by the honorific *Śrī Kṣetra*. There is scope for disagreement as to its precise location, but there is no evidence whatever to suggest that it was on the site later to be occupied by Pagan. Meager archeological and epigraphic evidence, Burmese chronicles of less than desirable authenticity, and a few incidental remarks by two Chinese Buddhist travellers have led several

48. *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, 2 vols. (Bangkok, B.E. 2467-2472: A.D. 1924-1929).
49. *Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient: Collection de textes et documents sur l'Indochine, III. Inscriptions du Cambodge*, 6 vols. (Hanoi/Paris, 1937-54).
50. *Histoire ancienne des états hindouisés d'Extrême-Orient* (Hanoi, 1944). Second edition under the title *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie* (Editions E. de Boccard, Paris, 1948; third edition, 1964).
51. *L'archéologie du delta du Mékong*. Publications de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, no. 43 (Paris, 1959-63): vol. 1, *L'exploration archéologique et les fouilles d'Oc-èò*; vol. 2, *La civilisation matérielle d'Oc-èò*; vol. 3, *La culture du Fou-nan*; vol. 4, *Le Cisbassac*.
52. *L'archéologie mōne du Dvāravatī*. Publications de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, no. 41, 2 vols. (Paris, 1959).
53. Louis-Charles Damais, "Études d'épigraphie indonésienne," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. 45, pt. 1 (1951), and "Études sino-indonésiennes," *ibid.*, vol. 52, pt. 1 (1964), pp. 93-114.
54. This author's interpretations of Indonesian history, which are scattered through numerous and not always easily accessible journals, are summarized in C. C. Berg, "Javanese historiography—a synopsis of its evolution," in D. G. E. Hall, *Historians of South-East Asia* (Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 13-23. See also his "The Javanese picture of the past," in Soedjatmoko, Mohammad Ali, G. J. Resink and G. McT. Kahin [eds.], *An introduction to Indonesian Historiography* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1965), pp. 86-117.
55. J. G. de Casparis, *Inscripties uit de Çailendra-Tijd (= Praśasti Indonesia, diterbitkan oleh Djawatan Purbakala Republik Indonesia I)*, Masa Baru, Bandung, 1950, and *Praśasti Indonesia diterbitkan oleh Dinas Purbakala Republik Indonesia* (1956).
56. Cf. note 34 above.
57. George Coedès, "Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. 25 (1925), p. 19.
58. Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma* (Oxford University Press, 1923), pp. 28-29 (reprinted with identical

scholars to identify Srī Ksetra, at least during the seventh century, with the ruins at Hmawza, about five miles to the southeast of Prome.⁶³ Indeed, the city is so located on Pl. 27 of this atlas. However, ninth-century Chinese descriptions of the capital *may* be held to imply that the capital was transferred at a later date to Upper Burma.⁶⁴ Even so there is no reason to seek a site at Pagan; in fact it is the ruins at Halingyi which first come to mind, though nothing has so far been found to link these remains specifically with a Pyu capital.⁶⁵

On the same map the form "Ramaniyadesa" (presumably for *Ramaññadesa*) attached to the Mōn territories of Lower Burma (E4) is actually not attested prior to the Kalyāni inscriptions from the end of the fifteenth century. It was in fact a clerical Pāli term coined by Buddhist monks, even though it was apparently solidly based on a Middle Mōn form *Rman* < *Rmañ* which did occur in Khmer epigraphy of the seventh century.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, it was still a little too late to be included on this map. Moreover, in connection with Plate 31, F3 relating to c. A.D. 750 *Vyādhapura* (= City of the Hunter[s?]; cp. Chinese **D'ak-miuk*, a transcription of Old Khmer *dmāk* with the same connotation)⁶⁷ had been renounced as capital of **B'ju-nām* in favor of *Naravaranāgara* late in the sixth century A.D. By the first half of the eighth century the capital of Maritime **Tšjēn-lāp* (Mand.=Chen-la) had probably been constituted at *Bālādityapura*, and that of Continental **Tsien-lāp* at *Sambhupura*, neither of which appear on this map.

If Mlle. Jacqueline Pirenne succeeds in sustaining her recent contention that the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* should be ascribed to the early decades of the third century rather than to the close of the first century A.D.,⁶⁸ Plates 19 and 27 will incorporate a special suite of anachronisms for which Herrmann can hardly be held responsible. The ensuing revisions would entail a series of readjustments hingeing on the substitution of Ptolemaic toponyms for those of the *Periplus*. The city of *Minnagara* (Pl. 19, D3) in the Indus delta, for example, would be replaced by *Patala*. Of course, some of these changes would be made on the assumption that the Ptolemaic evidence was applicable to the end of the first century A.D., even though the text has traditionally been dated to the middle of the second century.⁶⁹ If strict contemporaneity were insisted on, however, then the *Minaei* (C4) should be omitted from what is presently the northern Yemen and *Salike* from Ceylon (E4). In any case *Carna* (C4) should be sited somewhat farther north, more or less on the latitude of *Makoraba*. In Ceylon the name "Palaesimundus" (= *Palaisimoundou*; F4), monstrous though long cherished child of mislection, should read *Simoundou*.⁷⁰ Moreover, it follows from Mlle. Pirenne's investigations that the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka was not reigning until about the second decade of the third century A.D.,⁷¹ which would imply that the Kuṣāṇa kingdom had not yet extended its control over Northwestern India (D3).

pagination, Rangoon, 1960); *Mahā Yazawin Gyi*, I, 163 (Burma Research Society Publication, series no. 5, 1926). See also J. S. F. [John Sydenham Furnivall], "The foundation of Pagan," *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (1911), pp. 6-9; Maung Htin Aung, "The Lord of the Great Mountain," *ibid.*, vol. 38, pt. 1 (1955), pp. 75-82; Maung Maung, "A history of Lower Burma," *ibid.*, vol. 11, pt. 2 (1921), p. 83.

59. Etienne Aymonier, "Première étude sur les inscriptions tchames," *Journal Asiatique*, 8th series, vol. 17 (1891), p. 29; Louis Finot, "Notes d'épigraphie," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. 3 (1903), p. 633.
60. *Hou-Han Shu*, chüan 116, f. 18 verso; *Fa-yüan Chu-lin* by Tao Shih (A.D. 668), chüan 49, f. 16 verso; *Kuang Chih* by Kuo I-kung [4th century. *Apud Yü-han Shan-fang Chi-i-shu* (1853), chüan 74]; *T'ai-p'ing Yü-lan*, chüan 353, f. 2 verso, chüan 359, f. 3 recto, chüan 956, f. 4 verso, chüan 981, f. 7 recto, and chüan 982, f. 3 verso; *Hua-yang-kuo Chih* by Ch'ang Ch'ü (A.D. 347), chüan 4, f. 16 recto; *T'ang Hui-yao*, chüan 100, ff. 17 verso-18 recto; *T'ai-p'ing Huan-yü Chi*, chüan 179, ff. 16 recto-17 recto, quoting *Hsi-nan I-fang Chih* and *Nan-chung Pa-chün Chih*, both of uncertain date; *Chiu T'ang-Shu*, chüan 197, ff. 16 verso-17 verso; *Hsin T'ang-Shu*, chüan 222C, f. 9 *et seq.*; *Man Shu*, chüan 10, pp. 45-46; and later works.
61. Vide G. H. Luce, "Names of the Pyu," *The Journal of the Burma Research Society*, vol. 22, pt. 2 (Rangoon, 1932), p. 89.
62. Cf. *Hsin-T'ang Shu*: **T'uat-lā-tšju*; Kyanzittha's palace inscription of c. 1011/2: *Tirçul*; Marvazi's *Ṭabā'i 'al-ḥayawān* (c. 1120): *T.rshul*; *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*: *Ṭusūl*.
63. For a bibliography relating to the archeological remains at Hmawza see G. H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin, "Burma down to the fall of Pagan" [Part I only published], *The Journal of the Burma Research Society*, vol. 29, pt. 3 (Rangoon, 1939), pp. 264-282 (reprinted in the *Burma Research Society Fiftieth Anniversary Publication No. 2* [Rangoon, 1960], pp. 385-403). The two Chinese travellers were (i) Hsüan-Tsang, *Ta-i'ang Hsi-yü Chi*, chap. 10, f. 51 recto (see also

A sprinkling of names in South and Southeast Asia are inaccurately transcribed or are derived from deviant recensions. On Pl. 27, E4, for instance, *Kānsipura* should read *Kāncipura*.⁷² On Pl. 39, F5, "Chaban" was not precisely the same place as the "New Town," Herrmann's translation of the name *Hsin Chou*, by which the Chinese designated Quinhon. On Pl. 19, E4, by inscribing "Telingāna" across Lower Burma, Herrmann made it clear that he subscribed to the popular belief that the ethnicon *Talaiñ*, by which the Burmese referred to the Mōn, was in some way related to the name customarily applied to the Madras district. In fact *Talaiñ* derives from an older **Tanluin*⁷³ which, though not attested epigraphically until A.D. 1204,⁷⁴ was surely the basis of the *Tanlwing* mentioned in the 'Akhbār aṣ-Ṣin wa'l-Hind as early as 851,⁷⁵ and which may have been constructed from a stem **tluin* and the ancient infix *-in-* or *-an-*. Neither **tluin* nor **Tanluin* can be derived from Telingā[na].⁷⁶ On Pl. 31, F4, "Sribuza," long considered the form by which the Arabs rendered *Srī Vijaya*, should now be rejected. Jean Sauvaget has shown that in the early Arab system of transcription, in which a foreign *v* was denoted by *b*, and *j* by *z*, *Srbza* was a phonetically perfect transcription of *Srī Vija[ya]*.⁷⁷ The apocope of the last syllable may have been accidental or, possibly, the result of mistaking it for the Arabic termination *-ya*. In any case "Zabag" (= *Zābaj*) could not have been a transcription, as Herrmann believed, of "Sribuza" (had that been the correct reading), *Srī Vijaya* or **Śi-lji-b'iuət-žjāi* (Mand.=Shih-li-fo-shih): it was, in fact, a transcription of the widespread ethnicon *Jāvaka*.

Incidentally, it should be remarked that so far as Southeast Asia is concerned, Herrmann does not follow his stated intention (p. 88 of the first edition) of rendering "non-Chinese names which have been handed down in the Chinese language" in the Chinese pronunciation current at the time. There are many examples of this but one must suffice for all. Let us take "Strait of Chih" on Pl. 31, F3. In Chia Tan's itinerary this is categorized as "a strait (*hsia*) which the foreigners call **tsjēt*."⁷⁸ As it was located unequivocally somewhere between the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra (Herrmann's position may not be too accurate), Pelliot was probably correct in regarding **tsjēt* as a transcription of Malay *selat*,⁷⁹ but Herrmann's retention of the Mandarin pronunciation *chih* effectively obscures the possibility of this identification.

The name "Kakola" on Plate 31, E3, deserves special consideration. It is an imprecise transcription⁸⁰ of the *Qāqulla* which early Arab authors located rather vaguely in the Orient, and which the Chinese seem to have denoted by the graphs **Kā-kuk-lā* or **Kāt-kuo-lā*.⁸¹ Because of an apparent interchangeability of *t-* and *k-* in Sanskrit and Pāli texts,⁸² some authors have equated *Qaqulla*/**Kā-kuk-lā* with *Takola Emporion* of the Ptolemaic corpus. None of this is very satisfactory, and I should prefer to treat the two names as distinct. Yet so far the locating of *Qāqulla* as a

Ta-T'ang Ta-tzū-en-ssū San-ts'ang Fa-shih Chuan by Hui-Li, which includes a parallel passage, chap. 2053, f. 240), and (ii) I-Ching, *Nan-hai Chi-kuei Nei-fa Chuan*, chap. 1, f. 3 verso.

64. From one point of view, information provided by Pyu embassies to the Chinese court in A.D. 802 and 807 and subsequently incorporated in both T'ang histories [*Chiu T'ang-Shu*, chüan 197, ff. 16 verso - 17 recto and *Hsin T'ang-Shu*, chüan 222C ff. 9 recto - 12 recto], as well as in sundry other annals and encyclopedias, does not agree with the picture of *Srī Ksetra* derived from archeology and Burmese chronicles. From another point of view, one of Chia Tan's itineraries [*Hsin T'ang-shu*, chüan 43B, f. 29 recto] and Fan Ch'o's *Man Shu* [chüan 10, p. 45] both imply that the capital *may* have been situated in Upper Burma.
65. *Archaeological Survey of Burma (1905)*, pp. 7-10; (1906), p. 7; Charles Duroiselle, "Excavations at Halin," *Archaeological Survey of India (1929-1930)*, pp. 151-155. A legendary account of Halin is summarized in the *Shwebo District Gazetteer* (Rangoon) and Charles Duroiselle, *Archaeological Survey of India, 1914-15*, pp. 44-45. At various times the city seems to have been known under the following honorifics: *Hamsavatī* (nothing to do with Pegu which shared the same honorific), *Hamsanagara*, *Pachchhi-managara* and *Kānavatī*. According to a local legend, the city was founded by a King Karabho, son of the famous Mahāsammata. Subsequently, 798 kings reigned at Halin, followed by a monarch styled Pyu-bhandhava [Duroiselle, *Arch. Survey India*, 1929-30, p. 152].
66. Pierre Dupont, *L'archéologie mōne de Dvāravatī*, pp. 2-4.
67. George Coedès, "Etudes cambodgiennes: quelques précisions sur la fin du Fou-nan," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. 43 (1943-6), p. 4, and *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. 2 (1942), p. 110, note 5.
68. Jacqueline Pirenne, "Un problème-clef pour la chronologie de l'Orient: la date du 'Périples de la Mer Erythrée,'" *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 249, pt. 4 (1961), pp. 441-459.
69. These remarks raise the problem of the precise mode of transmission and date of the Ptolemaic text, on which see pp. xxvii below. Here I am assuming that the

toponym independent of *Takola* has proved an insoluble problem. The only thing that can be said with a reasonable degree of certainty is that it seems to have been on the northern shores of the Bay of Bengal. My own preference would be to look for it in the neighborhood of Chicacole, the old *Uttarakākula*, but this is no more than a guess after a fairly intensive investigation of alternative possibilities in Southeast Asia has proved unrewarding.

The mere fact of putting a name on a map implies a certitude which is sometimes at variance with the ambiguities and perplexities of the texts from which its location is deduced. *Kalāh* is just such a name (Pl. 31, F3). There can be no doubt that it was the same name which the Chinese rendered as **Kā-lā*, but beyond that there is little agreement. *Quot homines...* in this instance is no exaggeration, but perhaps the more sober theories as to its location may be grouped into three categories: those which would place it in the vicinity of Kēlang at the narrowest part of Mēlaka Strait, those which seek it in Kēdah, and those which prefer a more northerly site on or near the Kra isthmus. Sayyid Qadratullah Fatimi is the exponent of the first thesis;⁸³ Groeneveldt, Schlegel, Ferrand, and Wheatley have espoused the third; and most other investigators of this problem, including Quatremère, Walckenaer, Van der Lith, de Goeje, Tomaschek, Le Strange, Nilakanta Sastri, Jean Sauvaget, and Herrmann, have preferred the second.⁸⁴ The reader who consults this atlas may take his choice, and Herrmann is certainly aligned with the majority opinion. What is unsatisfactory about his representation is that he depicts *Kalāh* as the point of departure for I-Ching's voyage across the Indian Ocean. Now I-Ching did not mention *Kalāh*. His last port of call in Southeast Asia was **yāt-tš'üt* (Mand.=Chieh-ch'a) = *Katāha* > Kēdah. Some of us may think it odd that *Katāha* should also have been known as *Kalāh* at this time, for the names cannot possibly have been etymologically related; but even if they were, **yāt-tš'üt/Katāha* should still appear on the map as the name of I-Ching's port of call. In any case this name exemplifies only too well the problems which beset the cartographer who would attempt to reconstruct the toponymy of ancient Southeast Asia.

One more example. The legend "City of red soil" on Pl. 27, E/F4, illustrates Herrmann's occasional fondness for translation as opposed to transcription. In this instance the phrase represents the author's translation of **Tš'jäk-t'uo* (Mand.=Ch'ih-t'u), meaning Red Earth, a name which was brought back from the *Nan Hai* by imperial envoys in 607-8.⁸⁵ Strictly speaking, it denoted a kingdom (*kuo*) rather than a city, probably the same country which featured as *Raktamṛttikā* on a Buddhist votive inscription from Kēdah.⁸⁶ The capital of this kingdom was *Sinhapura* (= Lion City), known to the Chinese in both transliterated (**Səng-g'jię žiāng*) and translated (**Ši-tsi žiāng*) forms. It should be noted in passing

- * Southwest Asian material does indeed date from the middle of the second century A.D.
70. Pirenne, "Un problème-clef," p. 453.
 71. *Loc. cit.*, p. 457.
 72. As, indeed, should "Kanchipura" on Pl. 22, C/D 4.
 73. C. O. Blagden, "Notes and reviews: etymological notes, I: Talaing," *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, vol. 4, pt. 1 (1914), p. 57.
 74. G. H. Luce, "Notes on the peoples of Burma in the XIIth-XIIIth. cent. A.D.," *Burma Census Report* (Rangoon, 1931), Appendix F. Reprinted, with slight changes in the references, in *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, vol. 42, pt. 1 (1959), pp. 52-112.
 75. Jean Sauvaget, *'Akhbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind. Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde* (Paris, 1948), p. 54.
 76. Louis-Charles Damais, "Études sino-indonésiennes. III. La transcription chinoise *Ho-ling* comme désignation de Java," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. 52, pt. 1 (1964), pp. 97-100.
 77. Jean Sauvaget, in George Coedès, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie* (Third edition, Paris, 1964), p. 242, note 2.
 78. *Hsin-T'ang Shu*, chüan 43B, f. 30 recto and chüan 222C, f. 8 verso.
 79. Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires," p. 232.
 80. In transliterating Arabic names Herrmann does not distinguish between the letters *qāf* and *kāf* so that, for example, on Pl. 31 we find both *Qāqulla* (E3) and *Kalāh* (F3) transcribed with *k*.
 81. The relevant Arabic texts have been translated and collated by G. R. Tibbetts ["The Malay Peninsula as known to the Arab geographers," *The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*, vol. 9 (1956), pp. 33-38], the Chinese texts by Wheatley [*The Golden Khersonese* (University of Malaya Press, 1961), pp. 56-58 and 270-271.]
 82. Sylvain Lévi, "Ptolémée, le Niddesa et la Brhathkathā," *Études Asiatiques*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1925), pp. 1-55 and 431-432.
 83. S. Q. Fatimi, "In quest of Kalah," *Journal [of] Southeast Asian History*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1960), pp. 62-101.
 84. References in Wheatley, *Khersonese*, p. 222.
 85. *Ch'ih-t'u Kuo Chi apud Sui Shu*, chüan 82, ff. 3 recto - 5 verso; *Pei Shih*, chüan 95, ff. 11 verso - 14 recto; *T'ai-p'ing Yü-lan*,

that this penchant for translation sometimes obscures the cultural origins of a toponym. For example, there is nothing to show that the "Great Gulf" on Pl. 19, F4, was a Greek term rather than a Chinese, Mōn, Khmer, Indian, or Malaysian name.⁸⁷

ROUTES TO AND FROM CHINA

The determination of routes is one of the main points on which an atlas such as this is likely to be consulted, and Herrmann has accordingly traced out the journeys of the most celebrated travellers in ancient and medieval times. The least acceptable of these routes is that ascribed to Chang Ch'ien (Pl. 10/11, II), which leaves out of account that envoy's decennary detention at the court of the Shan-yü of the Huns, at that time situated in Mongolia.⁸⁸ On the same plate the date of the campaign of Li Kuang-li to Ferghana that appears on the map contradicts that in the key. However, I think that 104–102 B.C. is more probable than either of the dates proposed by Herrmann.

On Pl. 22/23 Fa Hsien's return voyage is depicted as calling at "Yavadvipa (in Sumatra)." It is true that Fa Hsien did spend five months in a country which he called **Ia-b'uâ-d'iei*, a phonetically perfect transcription of the name of the Ptolemaic island 'Iaβaδιον, itself a transcription of a Prākṛit *Yāvadiu* < Sanskrit *Yāvadvīpa*. There is no doubt that this name is the Sanskritized form of an island of Java, but Java was a fairly widespread ethnonym in early Southeast Asia, and it has been suggested that this particular Java was situated somewhere north of the equator.⁸⁹ The argument in favor of this point of view takes note of the fact that Fa Hsien's vessel allegedly set a course northeastwards from "Java" in May, in other words at the onset of the southwest monsoon. If this information is to be taken literally, then such a course could have been set only from a position north of the equator. However, it is possible, even probable, that the course should be understood in the more general sense of a voyage in a predominantly northeasterly direction. In any case, there has been virtually no support among scholars for the location of **Ia-b'uâ-d'iei* in Sumatra.

On Pl. 30/31 the itinerary of another Buddhist monk, Hsüan Tsang, should be continued farther northeastwards into Kāmarūpa in the Brahmaputra valley. The voyage of I-Ching outward bound from Canton to India (Pl. 30/31) also requires some adjustments. Although Herrmann was correct in restricting sailing in the China sea virtually to cabotage at the end of the first century A.D. (Pl. 19), direct sailing before the northeast monsoon was regular practice by the seventh century. I-Ching's account of his voyage in the closing months of 671, a voyage (as he puts it) "over the illimitable deep where the sea was intersected by mountainous waves and where enormous swells, slanting across the mighty ocean, reached cloud-like to the sky,"⁹⁰ implies an ocean crossing, and the time that it

chüan 787, ff. 1 verso - 3 recto; ff. *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao*, chüan 331, ff. 2602–3.

86. James Low, "An account of several inscriptions found in Province Wellesley, on the Peninsula of Malacca," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 17 (1848), pp. 62–66 (reprinted in E. Rost [ed.], *Miscellaneous papers relating to Indo-China*, vol. 1 (London, 1887), pp. 223–226). See also J. W. Laidlay, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 17 (1848), pp. 66–72; R. L. Mitra, *loc. cit.*, vol. 17, p. 71; Hendrik Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften onder zijn Toesicht Verzameld*, vol. 3 (The Hague, 1915), pp. 255–262; and B. Ch. Chhabra, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters)*, vol. 1 (Calcutta, 1935), pp. 14–20.
87. It is not clear why Herrmann, who accepted as an article of faith the second-century dating of the whole of the Ptolemaic corpus, should have also inserted this name on Pl. 27, F4, which relates to c. A.D. 610. Could it be that he equated the Great Gulf with the **T'iang Xai* of the Chinese and the *Ṣankhay* of later Arab writers?
88. Herrmann followed the majority opinion in ascribing Chang Ch'ien's embassy to the years 138–126 B.C., but it is worth noting that Gustav Haloun believed that it did not begin until 133 ["Zur Üe-Tsi-Frage," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 91 (1937), p. 243].
89. A. Grimes, "The journey of Fa-Hsien from Ceylon to Canton," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 19, pt. 1 (1941), pp. 76–92.
90. *Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü Ch'iu-fa Kao-seng Chuan*, f. 98 recto.

took, less than twenty days from Canton to Śrī Vijaya, confirms this impression. Neither is there the slightest reason to suppose that his vessel passed through Singapore Main Strait ("Strait of Chih") as Pl. 31, F3, would indicate.

When dealing with Marco Polo's itineraries (Pl. 42/43) Herrmann was at a disadvantage compared with modern cartographers in that Moule and Pelliot had not then completed their scrupulously exact collation of the variant traditions which resulted in the establishment of a definitive text and English translation.⁹¹ Neither had Herrmann the benefit of Pelliot's annotations, published posthumously but the outcome mainly of his courses at the Collège de France from 1918 to 1930 and from 1936 to 1939.⁹² These "annotations" are nothing less than a series of treatises, many of monographic proportions, which serve as vehicles for that scholar's prodigious erudition in virtually all aspects of Chinese history and culture. These and other developments have had less effect on the precise tracks of Polo's journeys than on the readings of his place-names and similar matters. Professor Herrmann's views on the former reflect essentially the consensus of modern scholars with one or two exceptions, notably the depiction of a sea passage from Basra to Ormuz. There can be little doubt that on both his outward and return journeys Polo avoided such a passage and followed the old caravan route along the eastern foothills of the Zagros. I am also presumptuous enough to agree with Pelliot—though in the teeth of Leonardo Olschki⁹³—that Polo did not himself visit the kingdom of Pagan but reported on the campaigns there from hearsay. Neither do I think that he called at any point on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula on his homeward voyage, but this interpretation depends on the identification of *Lochac*, which in turn depends not only on philological arguments but also on one's view as to the structure of Polo's narrative at this point. If it is accepted that his notice on *Lochac* (like those on Java and *Malaiur*) is a digression, then Pelliot may be correct in equating that toponym with **La-yuk* (Mand. = *Lo-hu*) < **Lavo[k?]*, the ancient Thai name of Lopburī. However, not even Pelliot's ingenuity could explain away Polo's clearly worded direction, "500 miles by the sirocco" [i.e., southeast] from Pulau Kundur: "it is a mistake," he says, "whatever solution one may adopt for 'Lochac'."⁹⁴

There is, however, one way in which this difficulty might be circumvented. If we accept Polo's direction and distance as being reasonably accurate, then they would have implied a landfall in western Kalimantan, where Francisco Rodrigues two centuries later was to place the kingdom of *Llouçam*,⁹⁵ and where subsequent cartographers were to locate *Laue*, *Lauwe*, *Lave* or *Lao*.⁹⁶ Jan Broek has demonstrated that this name was associated with the Kapuas delta.⁹⁷ The *-m* in *Llouçam* is simply a Portuguese nasalized termination, so that the original name from which the above transcriptions derived was probably not too dissimilar from the

91. A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot, *Marco Polo. The Description of the World*, 2 vols. (George Routledge & Sons Ltd., London, 1938).
92. Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* (Imprimerie Nationale, Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris: vol. 1, 1959; vol. 2, 1963; vol. 3 [analytical index], in press).
93. *Marco Polo's Asia, an introduction to his Description of the World called il Milione* (University of California Press, 1960), pp. 328–335 and map at end. This work is a translation by John A. Scott of the same author's *L'Asia di Marco Polo* (G. C. Sansoni, Florence, 1957).
94. Pelliot, *Notes*, vol. 2, pp. 766–770.
95. Armando Cortesão, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires . . . and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues . . .* vol. 2: The Hakluyt Society, second series, no. LXXXIX (London, 1944), Pl. XXVI.
96. For a discussion of the maps, charts and MSS. in which this name occurs see Jan O. M. Broek, "Place Names in 16th and 17th Century Borneo," *Imago Mundi*, vol. 16 (Amsterdam, 1962), pp. 135–137. Cp. also the territory of *Lawai* which figures among the Bornean dependencies of Mapapahit in the *Nāgara-Kertāgama* (A.D. 1365). *Vide* Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the fourteenth century. A study in cultural history*, vol. 1 (Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1962), p. 11; vol. 3 (1960), p. 16; vol. 4 (1962), p. 31.
97. Broek, *loc. cit.*

Lavo or *Lvo* with which Pelliot was concerned. In the same article he had advanced reasons for believing that in Polo's dictation the name sounded something like **Logac*,⁹⁸ which, in view of the easy phonetic interchange between -g- and -v- (-w-), could well have represented *Lauwe*, *Lave*, etc. The final -k (which may also occur in the Arabic phrase "*Lawāqī* aloes-wood": *int. al. Ya'qūbī, Kitāb al-Buldān*, c. A.D. 891, de Goeje's edition, vol. 7, p. 795) is a difficulty, and in both interpretations must be held to imply an early **Lawāk/Lawek*. In either case it is to be assumed that Polo resumed his narrative from Pulau Kundur with an account of a voyage of 500 miles *per meridiōnem* (= southward) to *Pentan* = Bintan. This is not the place to argue the respective merits of these interpretations; suffice it to say that there is little reason to locate *Lochac* on the Malay Peninsula.

So much for the journeys depicted on Pl. 40. Polo's placenames are quite another matter. The publication of the *Zelada* codex [Z] in 1938, which could then be compared with the previously available Franco-Italian (F) and French texts and with Ramusio's Italian translation (R), has necessitated a revision of numerous Polan toponyms. Herrmann's "Cangigu" (F3), for example, a mislection which he apparently took over from Benedetto and Penzer, should read *Caugigu*, a form which Quatremère and d'Ohsson long ago derived correctly from *Chiao-chih Kuo*,⁹⁹ the old Chinese name for Tong-king. It is true that Polo heard of this country while he was in Yün-nan and was thereby led to append to the name a description of the district around the headwaters of the Red River, but the term should properly be located in the delta. Similarly *Aniu*, which Herrmann locates in present-day northeastern Burma, is nothing other than a corrupt version of Annam. Turning to Central Asia, "Erguiul" (Pl. 40, F3) and "Erginul" (Pl. 43, F3) both should read *Ergiuul* < **Ārjū'ūl* < *Ārjā'ū*, a form which appears in the Mongol text of the *Secret History*, § 265, possibly for **Ārjī'ū*. The final element -*ūl*, although attested by all the Mss., has not been satisfactorily explained. **Ārjī'ū* itself must have been a Hsi-Hsia toponym.¹⁰⁰ Somewhat farther westward (Pl. 40, E3) the form "Canpicou" does not occur in any manuscript. The Z reading is *Campçio*, which probably comes closest to an original orthography of **Campciou* (cp. the Catalan Map of 1375: *Cansio*) < *Kam Chou*, the pronunciation of Kan Chou in the Mongol period.¹⁰¹ On the same map, "Saciū" E2/3, should read *Saciou* (=Shachou = Tun-huang),¹⁰² and "Karakhocho" (E2) is an unorthodox transcription of *Qarā-qojo* or *Qarā-ḥōjo*,¹⁰³ an ancient Uighur capital. In China Proper, *Kaitam* (Pl. 43, G3) is not an alternative designation of, but merely an aberrant reading for, *Caitun* < *Çaitun* = *Zaitun*, the name by which Ch'üan-chou was popularly known after *tz'ü-t'ung* trees were planted round the city wall in about the middle of the Five Dynasties.¹⁰⁴ There are other textually inferior readings of Polan toponymy on Pl. 40, but exigencies of space require that the examples above stand both as

98. Pelliot, *Notes*, vol. 2, pp. 766 and 768.
99. For *kuo* represented by -*gu* in Polo's toponymy cp. *Çipingu*=Jih-pen Kuo.
100. Pelliot, *Notes*, vol. 2, pp. 646-647.
101. Pelliot, *Notes*, vol. 1, pp. 150-153.
102. Cp. *Sājū* in the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, *Sājū* in *Gardīzī*, *Sa-cu* in Tibetan sources and *Sacu* in Khotanese documents [Pelliot, *Notes*, vol. 2, p. 822]. For -*chou* rendered by -*ciou* (instead of -*giu*), cp. *Campciou* above.
103. *Carachoço* in Z.
104. Kuwabara Jitsuzo, "On P'u Shou-keng, a man of the western regions who was the Superintendent of the Trading-Ships' Office in Ch'üan-chou towards the end of the Sung dynasty," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōkyō Bunkō*, no. 2 (Tōkyō, 1928), pp. 30-33.

representative of the rest and as invitations to the users of this atlas to supplement its information by reference to the text, translation, and annotations of Moule and Pelliot.

THE PTOLEMAIC PROBLEM

The *Geography*¹⁰⁵ of Claudius Ptolemy is of such central importance in any reconstruction of the ancient geography of Asia that it requires a few comments in connection with Pl. 18/19. Professor Herrmann himself had devoted much of his life to the study of Ptolemaica, and there was already a massive quantity of exegetical material to hand. For the difficult problems of place-name identification inherent in Book VII (*Cis- & Trans-Gangetic India*) he could draw on the text established by Louis Renou in 1925,¹⁰⁶ but Herrmann was a little unfortunate in that he was engaged in the compilation of his atlas at the very time when Kubitschek, Schnabel, von Mžik, Bagrow, and others were elucidating the relations between the Ptolemaic textual and cartographic traditions.¹⁰⁷ Out of these investigations came the suggestion, first adumbrated by Bagrow in 1935 but formalized only in 1945,¹⁰⁸ that the information transmitted by the surviving manuscripts, all from the closing centuries of the Byzantine Empire, might not be all from the hand of Ptolemy. Problems raised by textual inconsistencies and contradictions, the inclusion of material which could not have been known to Ptolemy, and discrepancies between text and maps were, according to Bagrow, to be resolved by attributing the work as we now have it to a later cartographer, a Byzantine author of the tenth or eleventh century, who incorporated some original Ptolemaic data with a great deal of later material, the whole of which he endowed with authority in the form of a spurious Ptolemaic imprimatur. Although not all scholars working in this field have applied Bagrow's interpretation to their studies of early Asian history, no sustained refutation of this drastic revision of the nature of the Ptolemaic tradition has so far appeared. If it is sustained successfully, then it will mean that the *Geography* provides a composite rather than a synoptic framework for the early geography of Asia. By widening the scope of the enquiry this goes some way towards simplifying some of the problems of toponymic identification, but in other ways it evokes a multiplicity of new difficulties. Because of a relative scarcity of other sources relating to Western, South, and Central Asia in the second century A.D., a vast superstructure of toponymy has of necessity been erected on the hitherto apparently secure foundation of a synoptic Ptolemaic map. If Bagrow is right, this will have to be revised on the basis of the independent dating of individual names.

Pivotal in any interpretation of the Ptolemaic geography of East Asia is the position to be ascribed to the Golden Khersonese. On this decision depends the identification of the *Sinae*, the Great Gulf, *Kattigara*, the

105. *Geographia* or *Cosmographia* was the name under which later centuries knew the _____ or *Guide to map making* of Klaudios Ptolemaios of Alexandria.
106. Louis Renou, *Géographie de Ptolémée, l'Inde (VII, 1-4)* (Librairie de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, 1925).
107. W. Kubitschek, "Die sogenannte B-Redaktion der ptolemäischen Geographie," *Klio*, vol. 28 (Göttingen, 1935), pp. 108-32, and "Studien zur Geographie des Ptolemäus: I, Die Ländergrenzen," *Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse: Sitzungsberichte*, vol. 215, pt. 5 (1935); P. Schnabel, "Die Entstehungsgeschichte des kartographischen Erdbildes des Klaudios Ptolemaios," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, vol. 14 (1930), and *Text und Karten des Ptolemäus* (Leipzig, 1938); H. von Mžik, "Neue Gesichtspunkte zur Würdigung der 'Geographie' des Klaudios Ptolemaios für die Orientalistik mit den einleitenden Abschnitten der 'Weltschau' des (Pseudo-)Moses Xorenaçi in deutscher Übersetzung," *Litterae Orientales*, no. 54 (Leipzig, 1933), pp. 1-16. For Bagrow's contributions see note 108.
108. Leo Bagrow, review of Joseph Fischer's *De Cl. Ptolemaei vita operibus Geographia praesentim eiusque fatis in Imago Mundi*, vol. 1 (Stockholm, 1935), pp. 76-77; "Entstehung der 'Geographie' des C. Ptolemaeus," *Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie, Amsterdam, 1938*, vol. 1 (1938), pp. 380-387; and "The origin of Ptolemy's *Geographia*," *Geografiska Annaler*, vol. 27, pts. 3/4 (1945), pp. 318-387. The most recent statement of this point of view is to be found in the same author's *History of Cartography* (a translation of Bagrow's *Geschichte der Kartographie*, Safari-Verlag, Berlin, 1944 by D. L. Paisey, revised and augmented by R. A. Skelton, C. A. Watts & Co. Ltd., 1964), pp. 34-37.

Theriodic Gulf, the Islands of the Satyrs, and so on. It has long been realized that the Ptolemaic coordinates are unreliable guides to the identification of place-names, particularly toward the eastern limits of the known world, that they represent not a framework for the construction of the map but rather partake of the nature of an index to it. Leaving aside the conclusions of several early workers in this field who, in the process of devising correction factors with which to convert Ptolemaic to true coordinates, were led to the conclusion that the Golden Khersonese was in Lower Burma, there are seemingly only two acceptable alternatives. In the first of these the Golden Khersonese is identified with the Malay Peninsula. Supporters of this interpretation point to what they regard as an essential correspondence in the essential land patterns of the Ptolemaic and modern maps, the probable testimony of Chinese, Indian, and Arab sources that some of the place-names of the Golden Khersonese were located on the Malay Peninsula, the fact that the designation "golden" agrees well with what is known of the early history of the peninsula, and the custom of European cartographers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of adopting this identification, perhaps—it is suggested—in the light of evidence since lost. This was the interpretation espoused by Professor Herrmann and, apparently, favored by Pelliot in his *Notes on Marco Polo*.¹⁰⁹

Recently, however, Professor George Coedès has proposed an alternative solution, in which he has suggested that the Golden Khersonese may have constituted only the southern tracts of the Malay Peninsula, approximately present-day Malaya in other words.¹¹⁰ In support of this argument he equates the unexplored reed-covered swamps which Ptolemy located to the eastward of the *Sinai* with the marshes of the Mekong delta, particularly the Plaine des Joncs,¹¹¹ and likens the relative positions of the capital of the *Sinai* and the port of *Kattigara* to those of the capital of **B'ju-nâm* and the port excavated by Louis Malleret at Oc-èo. Neither of these two interpretations is at present capable of proof, and their implications cannot be debated here. Let these few remarks serve notice that the data on Pl. 18/19 should be consulted with the present state of Ptolemaic scholarship in mind.

The port of *Kattigara* must needs play an important role in either of the reconstructions discussed above. On Pl. 19, F3, Professor Herrmann placed it in Tongking, an identification with which Pelliot, who saw the name as an Hellenized version of **Kau-tsi* (Mand.=Chiao-chih; Sino-Viêt.=Giao-chí), was in agreement.¹¹² Subsequently, however, Herrmann changed his mind and located the port in the neighborhood of present-day Saigon.¹¹³ We do not have to accept his concomitant derivation of the name from the Indian *Kottiar* (present-day Cochin), of which he believed *Kattigara* to be a colony, in order to agree that a case can be made for such an identification. It is, in fact, in close accord with the reconstruction subsequently proposed by Professor Coedès. A decade or

109. This point of view is implicit in Pelliot's discussion of *Caugigu*, *Notes, sub verbo*. It is also the present author's conclusion in *The Golden Khersonese*, chap. X.
110. George Coedès, review of Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese in T'oung Pao*, vol. 49, pts. 4/5 (1962), pp. 433-439.
111. Unlike the bulk of the information relating to the *Sinai* which is in Book VII, these remarks occur in Book I, chap. 11, § 4 of the *Geography*.
112. Pelliot, *Notes*, vol. 1, *sub Caugigu*.
113. *Das Land der Seide und Tibet im Lichte der Antike*. Quellen und Forschungen der Geographie und Völkerkunde, vol. 1 (K. F. Koehler Verlag, Leipzig, 1939), p. 80; "Der Magnus Sinus und Cattigara nach Ptolemaeus," *Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie, Amsterdam, 1938*, vol. 2 (1938), p. 123. Cf. the review of *Das Land der Seide* by R. A. Stein in *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. 40 (1940), p. 459.

so after Herrmann had advanced this thesis, Paul Lévy and Rolf Stein had also come to the same conclusion by wholly independent arguments.¹¹⁴ Stein further equated *Kattigara* with **K'iwət-tuo-kuan/kân*, a settlement founded by migrants from the Chinese subprefecture of **Tšju-nguo* (Mand.=Chu-wu; Sino-Viêt.=Châu-ngô) in the commandery of **Nžžēt-nâm*.¹¹⁵ This, in his opinion, was the reason why the Ptolemaic text referred to *Kattigara* as *ἄρμος Σίγων*, "the roadstead (or anchorage) of the *Sinai*." In any case, acceptance of the general thesis, whether in the form proposed by Herrmann, Lévy, Stein, or Coedès, does require that the identification of the *Sinai* (or *Thinai*)¹¹⁶ with the Chinese *sensu stricto* be abandoned, and that the name *Thinae* on Pl. 19, F3, be deleted, along with *Saraga* discussed above, from the neighborhood of Lo-yang. Even if the older interpretation be retained, it is still more than doubtful that *Thinai* should be located at Lo-yang.

ENVOI

This then, is the *Atlas of China* after thirty years. It is still, as far as the Western world is concerned, the only atlas to present a conspectus of Chinese toponymy in the amplitude of its historical development; it is still the only atlas of China which attempts historical reconstruction in any degree of detail; it is still the only atlas to set China in its historical Asian context; and, rarest of all, it is the only atlas to record Chinese renderings of foreign toponyms through the ages side by side with the indigenous names that they transcribed and translated.

It cannot be claimed that Albert Herrmann was uniformly successful in carrying out this enterprise, but he probably achieved all that lay within the power of one man. The atlas reflects the preoccupations of an age no less than the predilections of the author and, occasionally, the fallibility of human judgment as well. Yet, although Herrmann's reach exceeded his grasp, he did manage to forge a tool which even today, chipped though it is after three decades of constant use, gives no indication that it is likely to be superseded in the near future. The long and arduous task of depicting the face of China that allegedly began when Yü the Great cast cauldrons bearing symbolic representations of the Nine Provinces is by no means complete, but the definitive historical atlas of China which lies somewhere in the future will certainly be the work, not of one man, but of a team of sinologues coming together in collaboration to produce a likeness worthy of a great civilization. Albert Herrmann, by contrast, belongs in the company of scholars such as P'ei Hsiu (A.D. 224-271), Chia Tan (730-805), the incomparable Chu Ssü-pen (1273-1337), Li Tse-min (fl. c. 1330), and Ch'ing Chün (1328-1392), who labored alone and with inadequate resources to furbish up the cauldrons as best they could. Like Emperor Wu of Han, who also made great sacrifices in order to acquire a map, Herrmann "manifested the spirit of the true scholar and never lost sight of the Tao."¹¹⁷

114. R. A. Stein, "Le Lin-yi, sa localisation, sa contribution à la formation du Champa et ses liens avec la Chine," *Han-Hiue*, vol. 2, pts. 1-3 (Pekin, 1948), pp. 122 *et seq.* Stein refers to Lévy's study on p. 1 but, as far as I have been able to ascertain, it was never published.
115. *Chin Shu ti-tao chi*, *apud Shui-Ching Chu*, chüan 36, f. 23 recto. But cf. J. J. L. Duyvendak's review of "Le Lin-yi" in *T'oung Pao*, vol. 40 (1951), pp. 336-351.
116. For the irregular declension of accusative *θῖνα*, genitive *θῖνός*, which occurs in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, § 64 (as opposed to *θῖναι* in Ptolemy, VII, 3, 6 and Martianus of Heraclia, I, 16), see H. Frisk, "Le périple de la Mer Erythrée," *Högskolas Årsskrift*, vol. 33 (1927), p. 126, and Pelliot, *Notes*, vol. 1, pp. 266-267. Pelliot, however, categorically rejects Frisk's hypothesis of a nominative **θίς*. "Either," he says, "the name was *θῖνα* in the nominative (with a final -α, which was not necessarily etymological) and the declension is irregular and due to analogy [of *θίς* = sand-heap, acc. *θῖνα*, gen. *θῖνός*]; or the nominative was **θῖν*, with a regular declension due perhaps to the attraction of that of *θίς*." The formal distinction between *Seres* and *Sinae* is peculiar to the Ptolemaic corpus and its adherents.
117. *Han Wu-ti nei-chuan* (probably 4th century A.D.). Ts'ung-shu Chi-ch'eng edition, Shanghai, 1937, p. 10.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATED TITLES

- AM = Asia Major, Leipzig.
 BEFEO = Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi.
 GR = Geographical Review, New York.
 JA = Journal asiatique, Paris.
 JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
 MSOS = Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, I. Abt., Berlin.
 OZ = Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Berlin.
 PELO = Publication de l'École des Langues orientales vivantes, Paris.
 PM = Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen, Gotha.
 TP = T'oung pao, Archives concernant l'histoire, les langues, la géographie, l'ethnographie et les arts de l'Asie orientale, Leide.
 VS = Variétés sinologiques, Shang-hai.
 YJ = Yen-ching Journal of Chinese Studies, Pei-ching.
 ZGE = Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, Berlin.

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




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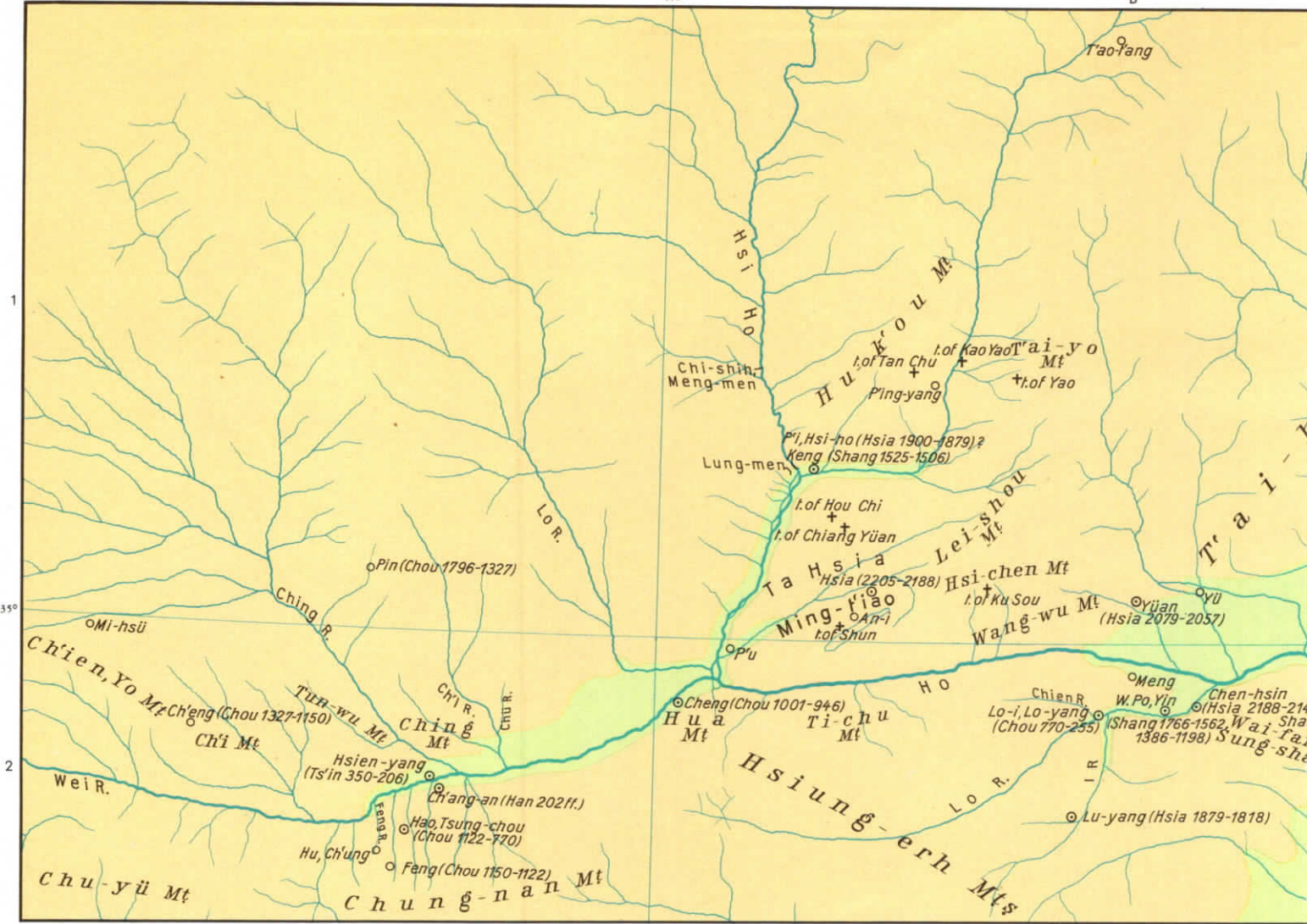
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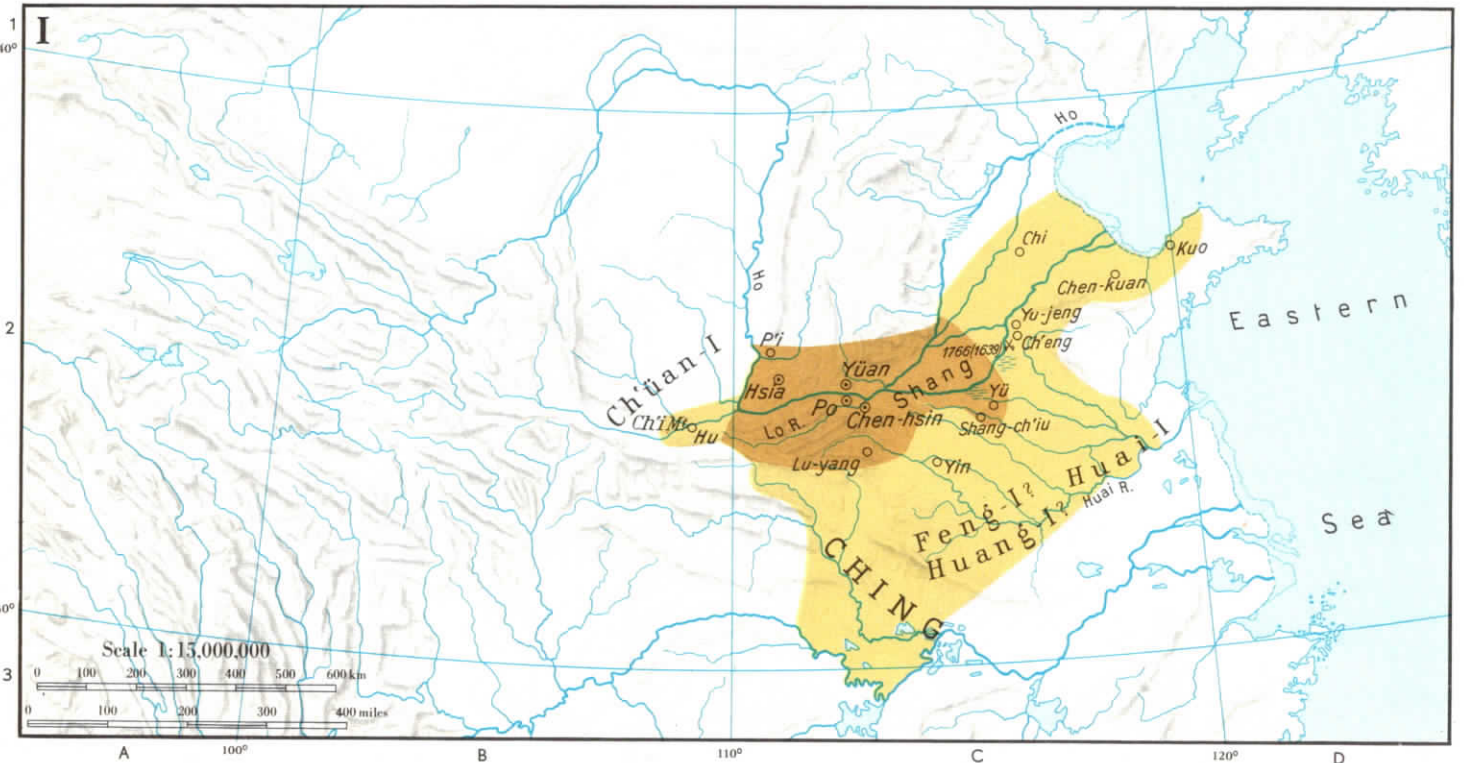


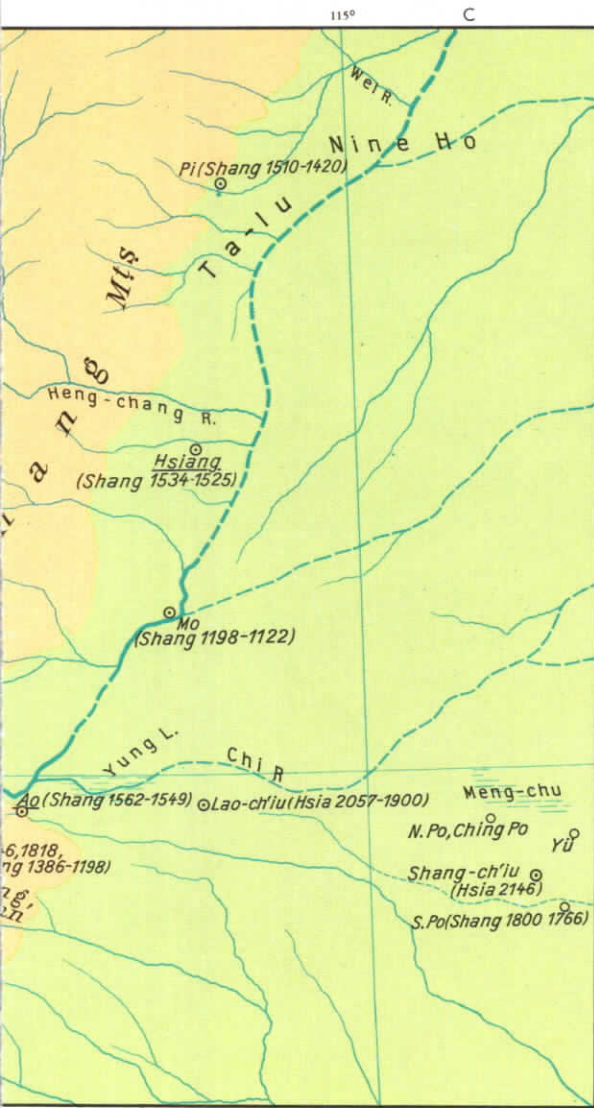
PREHISTORIC SITES IN CHINA

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
|  Immigrations |  Iron Age site |  Ordos bronzes (of Huns) |
|  Site or tomb of Neolithic Age |  Iron Age tomb |  Period of the earlier Han Dynasty (206 B.C. - 25 A.D.) |
|  Other objects of Neolithic Age |  Find of knife-money and spade-money | |
|  Bronze Age site |  Han coins | |



THE BEGINNINGS OF ANCIENT CHINA, 1900 - 1300 B.C.





ORIGINAL CENTER OF ANCIENT CHINA

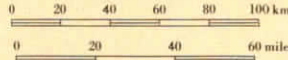
⊙ Seats of Dynasties with dates (B.C.) according to the traditional Chronology

Hsiang Excavated sites are underlined

+ Tomb

Plains

Scale 1:3,000,000

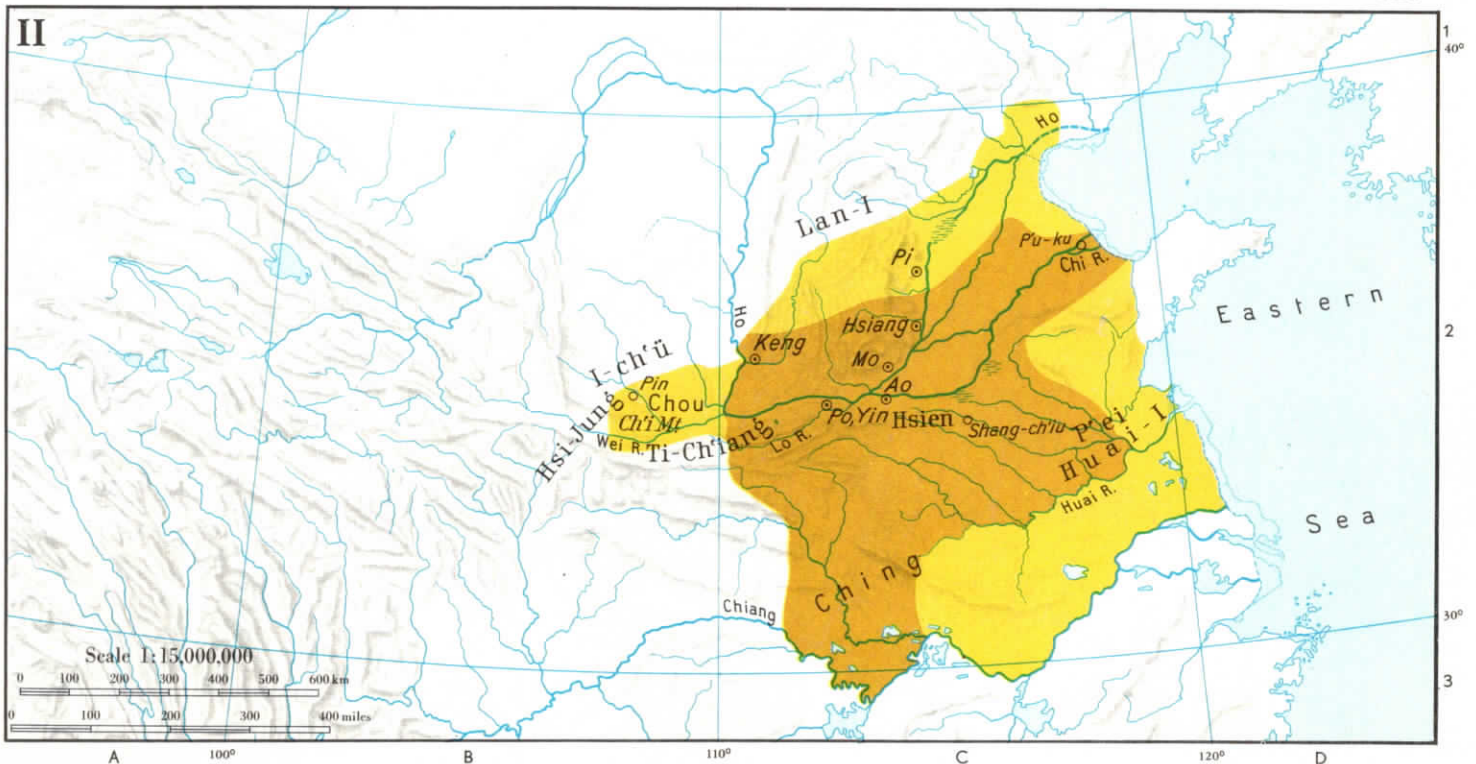


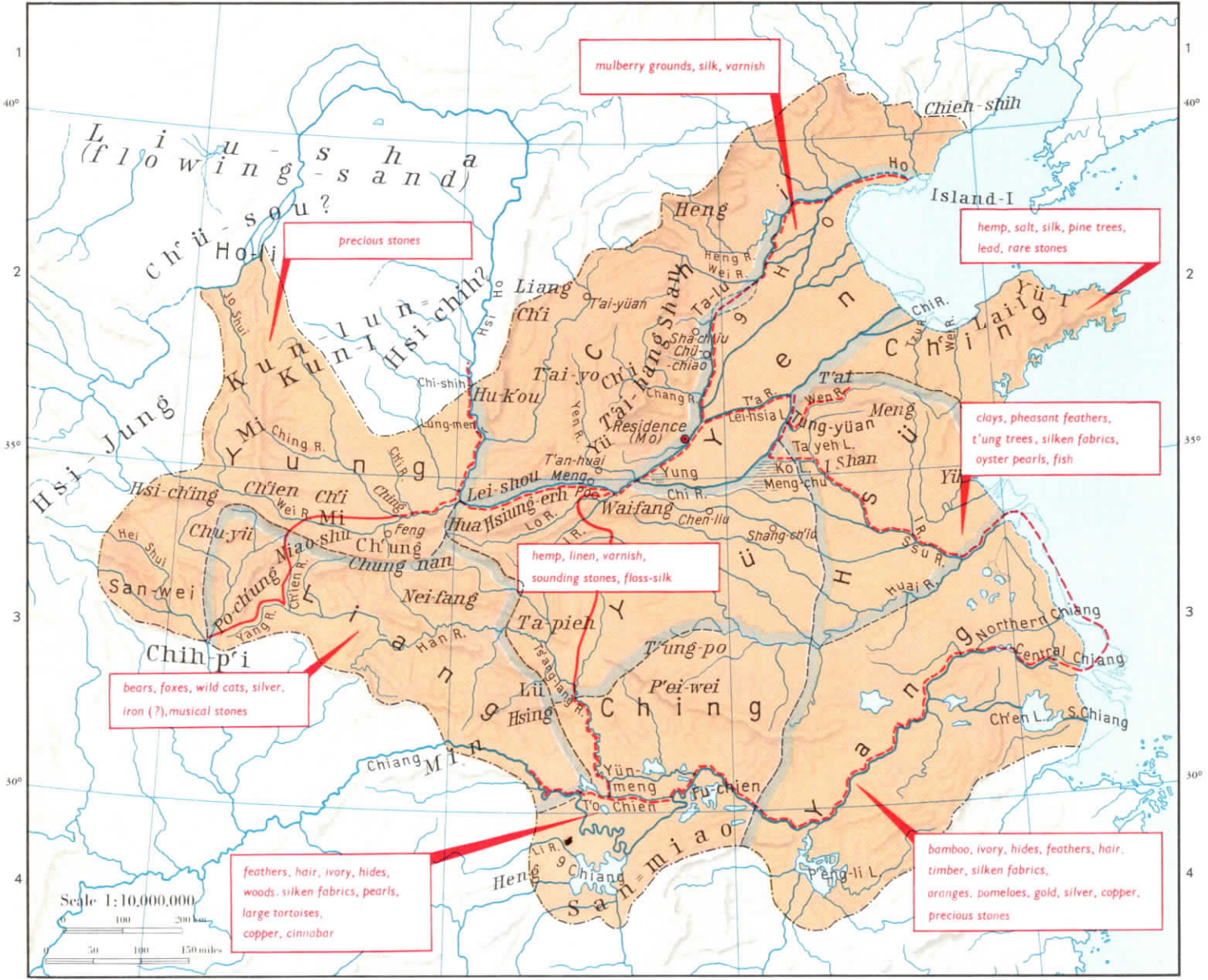
The original Principality of the Hsia Dynasty (ca. 1900 B.C.)

The original Kingdom of the Shang Dynasty (1766, corr. 1639 B.C.)

Later acquisitions of the Hsia Dynasty according to the Bamboo Annals

Acquisitions until the Period of Wu-ting (ca. 1300 B.C.) according to the Bamboo Annals





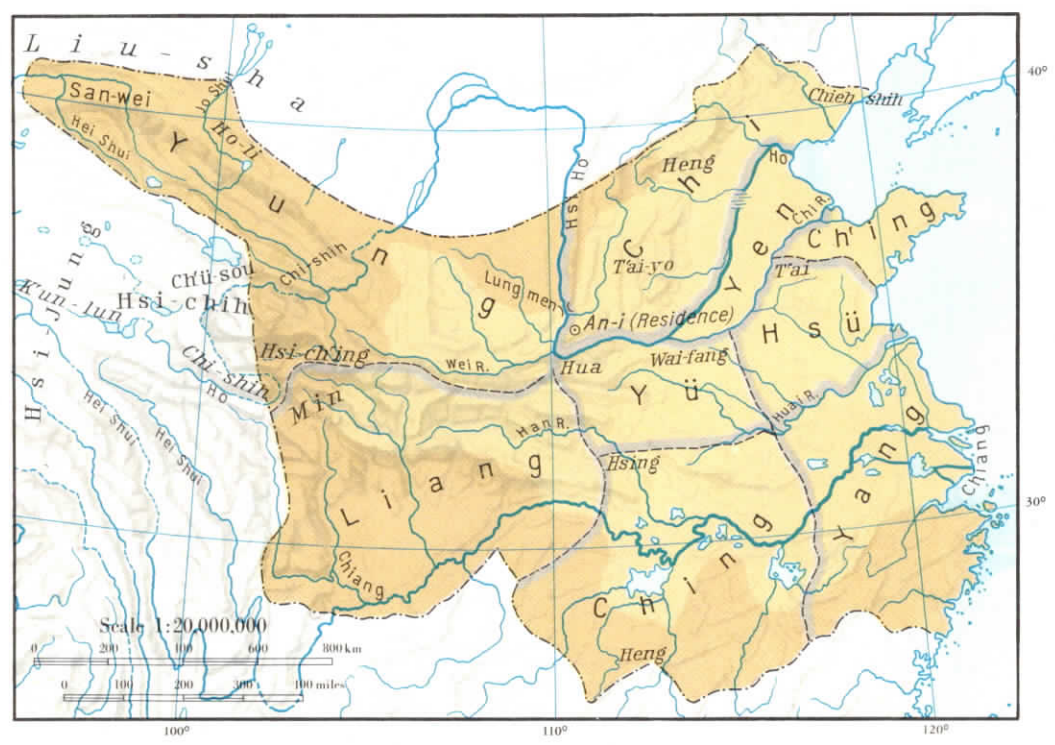
THE SHANG OR YIN DYNASTY, CA. 1110 B.C.

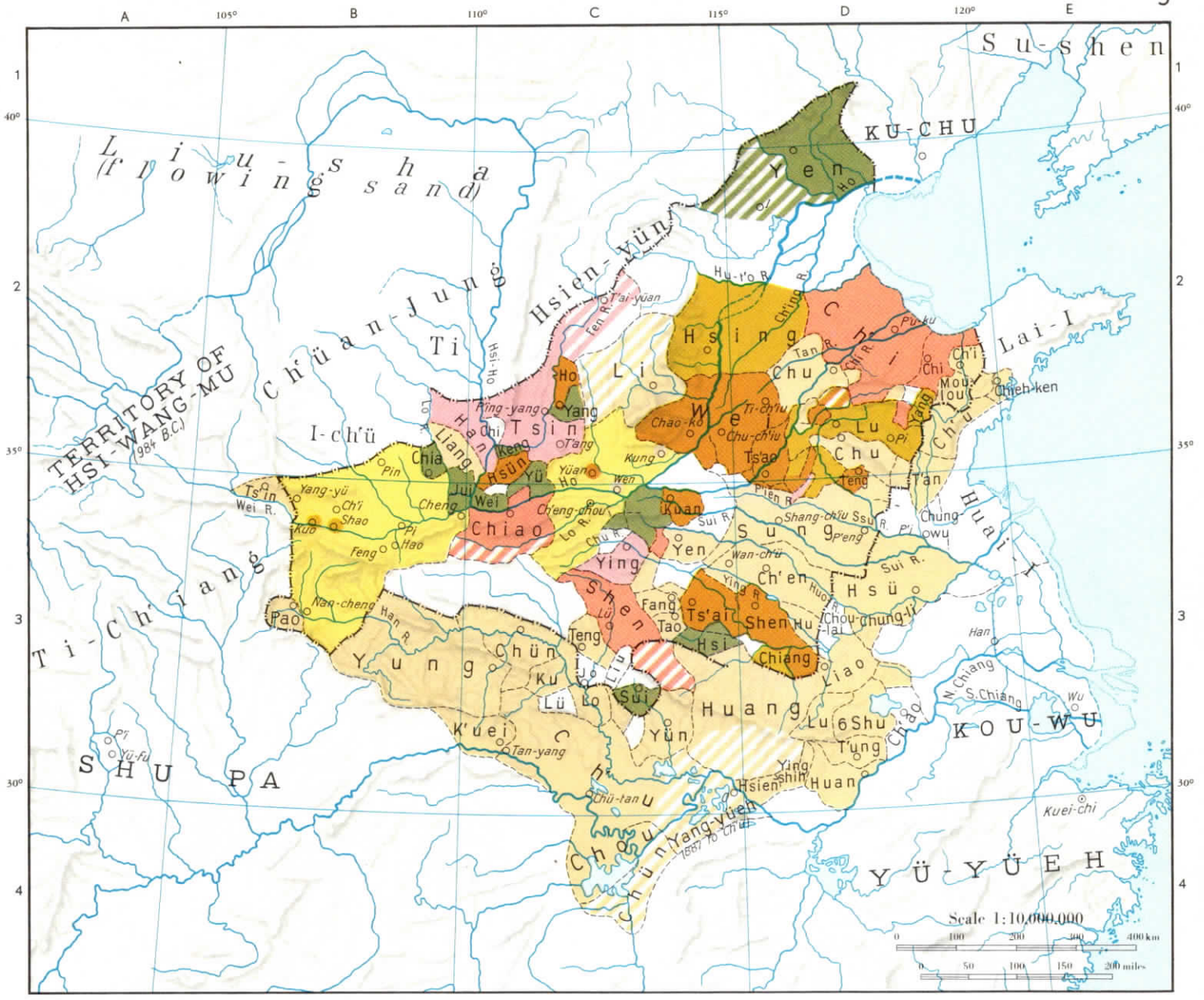
Highways
to the Royal Residence

Waterways
to the Royal Residence

The 9 Provinces (chou) with their **Tributes** according to the Geography of the Tribute of Yü (Yü-kung), dating from 1125 B.C.
(according to A. Herrmann)

Other data according to the Bamboo Annals





THE CHOU DYNASTY, THE 11TH - 9TH CENTURIES B.C.

- Royal domain
- Boundary of China under Ch'eng-wang (ca. 1100 B.C.)
- Boundaries under Hsüan-wang (827-782)

Fiefs bestowed on:

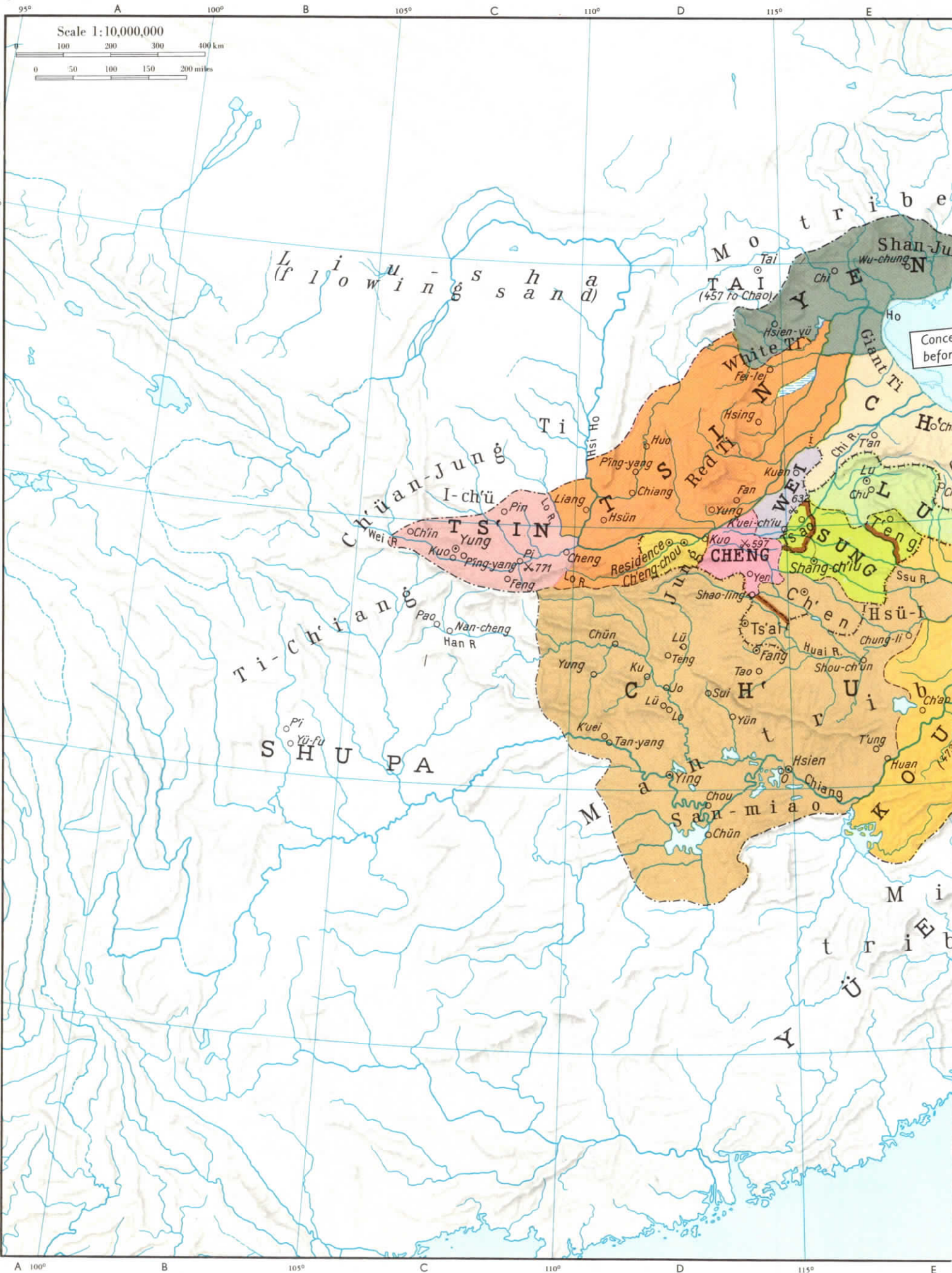
- sons of Wen-wang
- other lines of the royal king
- sons of Wu-wang
- members of the family Chiang
- sons of Chou Wen-kung
- members of other families

Concerning the barbarian tribes see also page 6/7
According to G. Haloun and others

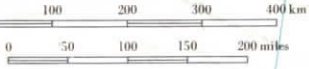
THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE YÜ-KUNG

according to the Confucian tradition, dating from 2200 B.C., and displacing the western boundary as far as Tibet and eastern Turkestan

- Territories mistakenly annexed by commentators



Scale 1:10,000,000



L i o w i n g s s a n d

M o t r i b e
Shan-Ju
Wu-chung
Chi
Tai
TAI
(457 fo Chao)

White Ti
Fei-lei
Hsing
Gian Ti
Ho
Conce before

Chuan-Jung
I-chü
T S I N
Wei R
Chin
Yung
Kuo
Ping-yang
Pi
Feng

Red Ti
Hua
Ping-yang
Chiang
Hsün
Liang
T S I N
Residence
Cheng-chou
Kuo
597
CHENG
Shang-ch'ü
Ssu R

Ti-ch'ian
Pao
Nan-cheng
Han R
SHU PA
Pi
Yu-fu

Wei
Kuen
Fan
Yung
Kuei-ch'ü
597
CHENG
Shao-ling
Ch'en
Hsü-l
Tsai
fang
Huai R
Shou-ch'un
Yung
Ku
Teh
Jo
Lü
Lo
Kuei
Tan-yang
Yün
Hui
Tung
Huan
Chiang
Chou
Ying
Chün
M i
A

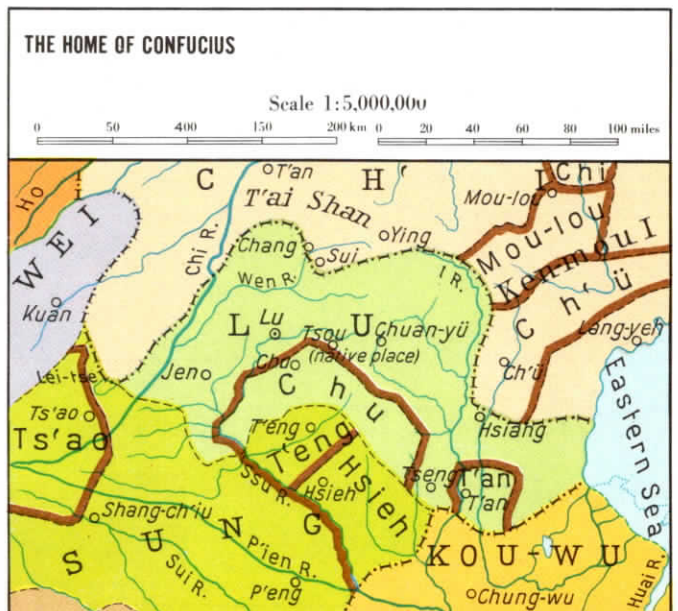
Shan-miao
Chün
M i
A
t r i b e
A
ü
A

CH'UN-CH'IU PERIOD, 722 - 481 B.C.



Royal Domain













Boundary between the Outer and the Inner States

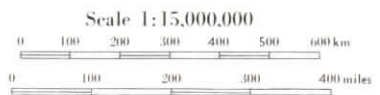




According to G. Haloun and others

THE CONTENDING STATES, BOUNDARIES OF 350 B.C.

- | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
|  ROYAL DOMAIN |  CH'I (TS' I) |  HAN |  T'eng |
|  YEN |  CH'IN (TS' IN) |  CH'U |  Tsou |
|  CHAO |  WEI |  Sung |  Lu |



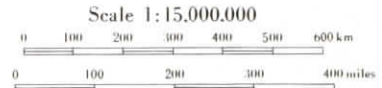


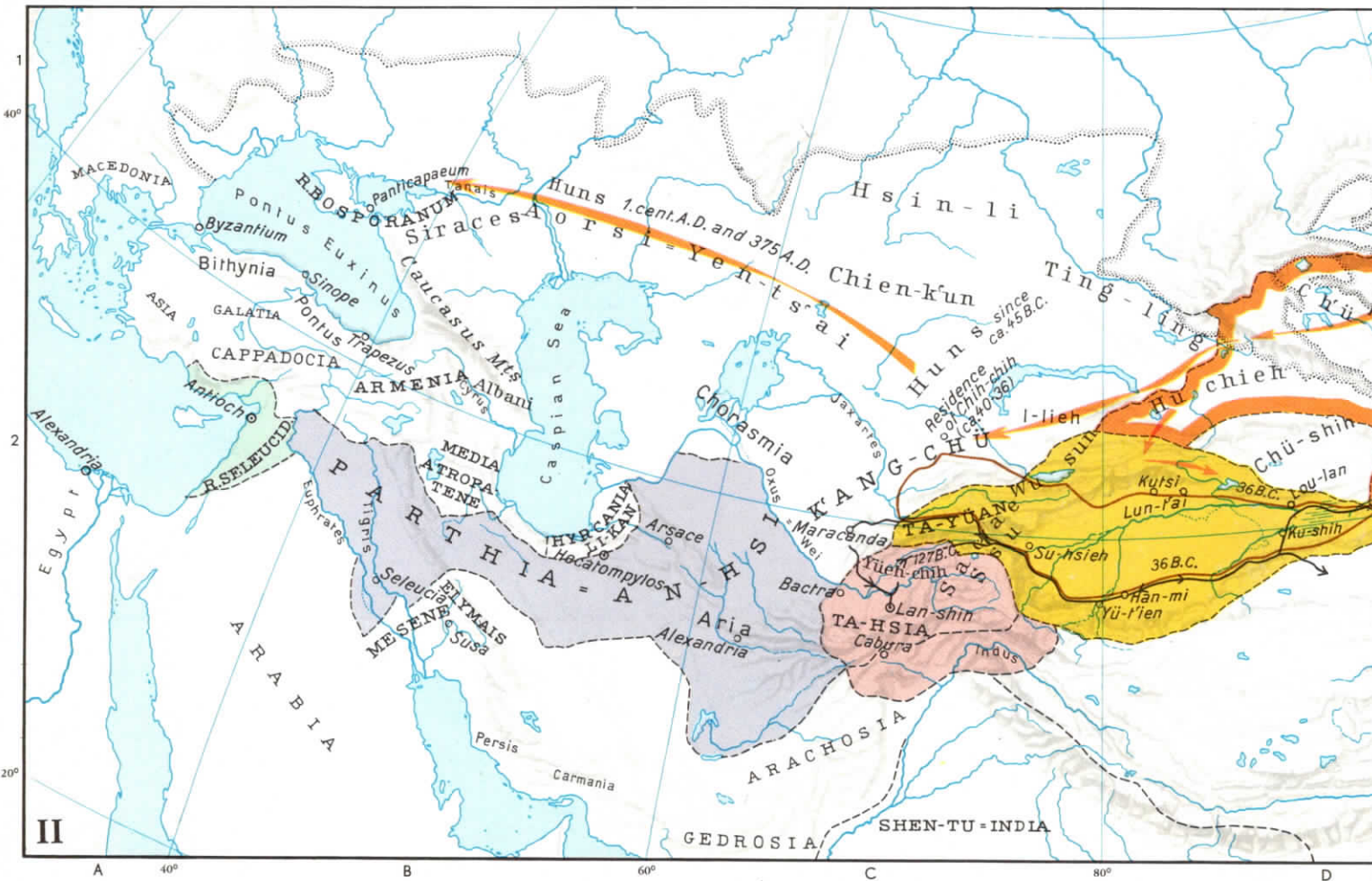
THE TS'IN DYNASTY, 255-206 B.C.

○ Capital of province

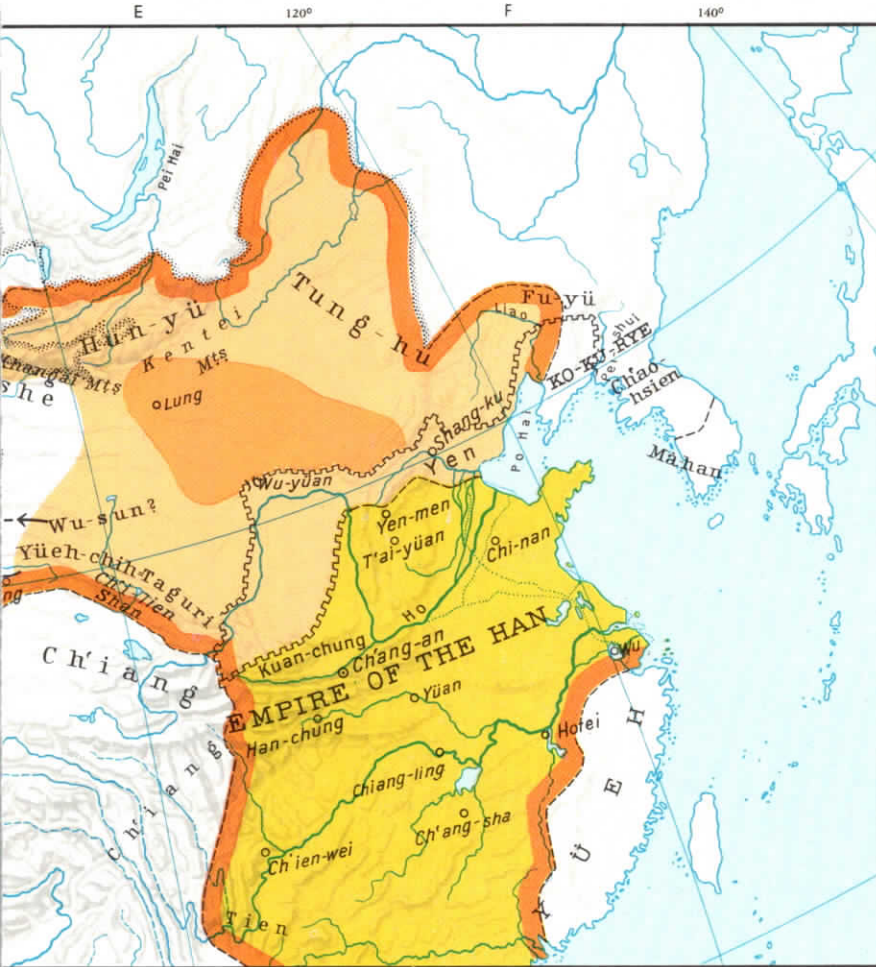
I Shan Mountains with inscription set by Emperor Shih-huang, 219-210 B.C.






— Highways

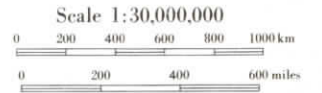




THE HSIUNG-NU OR HUNS IN CENTRAL ASIA, 176 B.C.













-  Northern border of the steppe
-  Original country
-  Conquests of the Huns
-  Under Mao-tun 210-174 B.C.
-  Migrations of other peoples



128-36 B.C.



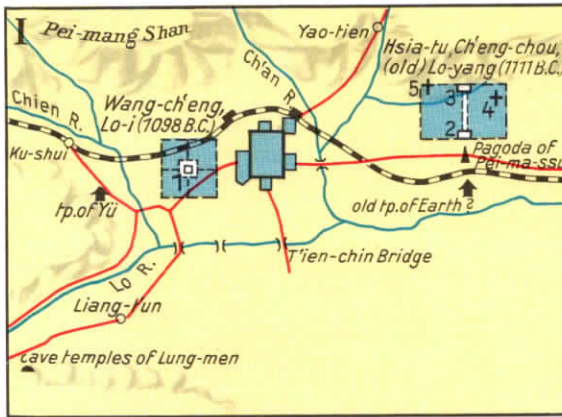
-  Northern border of the steppe
-  Power of the Huns about 100 B.C.
-  Later migrations to the West
-  Empire of the Han about 100 B.C. (beginning of the direct relations with western civilization)
-  Mission of Chang Ch'ien to the Yüeh-chih 138-126 B.C., twice prisoner of the Huns
- Campaigns against the Huns:**
-  Wei Ch'ing 128 B.C.
-  Ho Ch'ü-ping and Wei Ch'ing 119 B.C.
-  Li Ling 99 B.C.
-  Li Kuang-li 92 B.C.
-  Ch'en T'ang with two army expeditions 36 B.C.



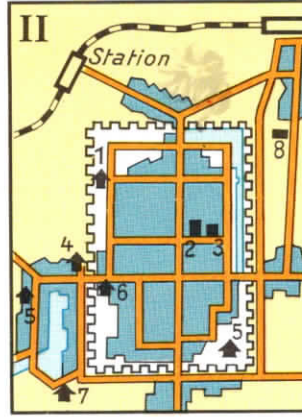
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE EARLIER HAN DYNASTY, CA. 100 B.C.

- Intensive agriculture
- West and north boundary of rice cultivation
- Highways

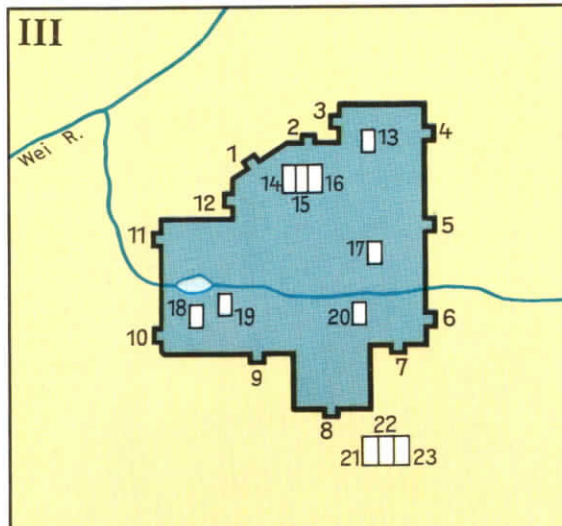
The economic data according to Shih-chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien chapt. 29 (translated by E. Chavannes) and 129 (translated by Fr. Jäger)



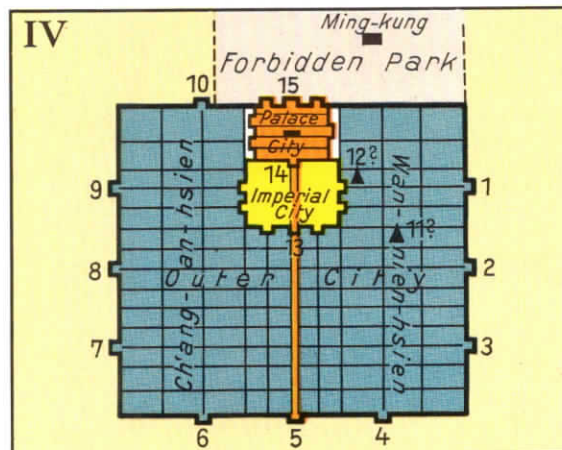
- LO-YANG**
- 1 Palace (770 B.C.)
 - 2 Southern Palace (ca. 250 B.C.)
 - 3 Northern Palace (60 A.D.)
 - 4 Tomb of Han Ming-ti (+76)
 - 5 Tomb of T'ang Ming-tsung (+934)
- Scale 1:500,000



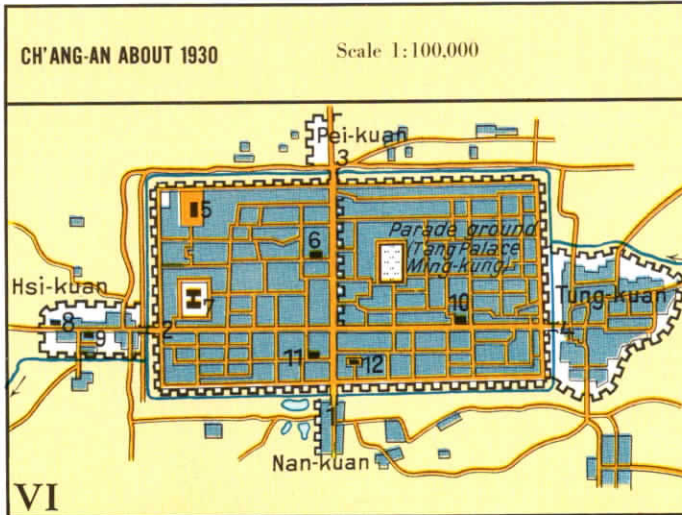
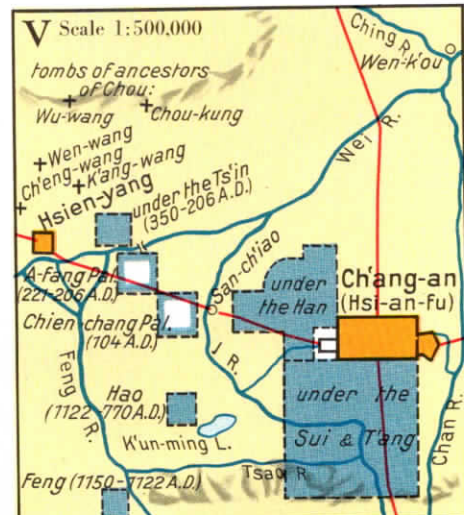
- LO-YANG ABOUT 1930**
- 1 Temple of Kuan-yin
 - 2 District Office
 - 3 Board of Education
 - 4 Pai-i-miao (Temple)
 - 5 Taoist Temple
 - 6 Temple of Town-God
 - 7 Chin-lung-miao (Temple)
 - 8 American Mission and Hospital
- Scale 1:100,000



- CH'ANG-AN UNDER THE HAN (since 200 B.C.)**
- Scale 1:200,000
- GATES:
- 1 Heng-men
 - 2 Lo-ch'eng-men
 - 3 Ho-ch'eng-men
 - 4 Hsüan-p'ing-men
 - 5 Ch'ing-ming-men
 - 6 Pa-ch'eng-men
 - 7 Fu-ang-men
 - 8 An-men
 - 9 Hsi-an-men
 - 10 Chang-ch'eng-men
 - 11 Chih-ch'eng-men
 - 12 Yung-men
- PALACES ETC.:
- 13 Ch'ang-hsin-kung
 - 14 Pei-kung
 - 15 Kuei-kung
 - 16 Ming-kuang-kung
 - 17 Ch'ang-lo-kung
 - 18 Po-liang-t'ai
 - 19 Wei-yang-kung
 - 20 Kao-ti-miao
 - 21 Pi-yung
 - 22 Ming-t'ang
 - 23 Ling-t'ai (Observatory)











- CH'ANG-AN UNDER THE SUI AND T'ANG**
- Scale 1:200,000
- OUTER CITY
- 1 T'ung-hua-men
 - 2 Ch'un-ming-men
 - 3 Yen-hsing-men
 - 4 Ch'i-hsia-men
 - 5 Ming-te-men
 - 6 An-hua-men
 - 7 Yen-p'ing-men
 - 8 Ch'in-kuang-men
 - 9 K'ai-yüan-men
 - 10 Kuang-hua-men
- IMPERIAL CITY
- 11 Ta Yen-t'a (Pagoda)
 - 12 Hsiao Yen-t'a (Pagoda)
 - 13 Chu-chui-men
- PALACE CITY
- 14 Ch'eng-t'ien-men
 - 15 An-li-men

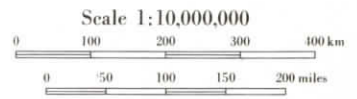


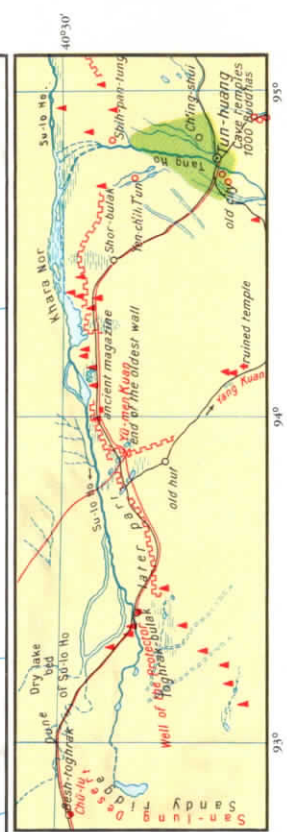
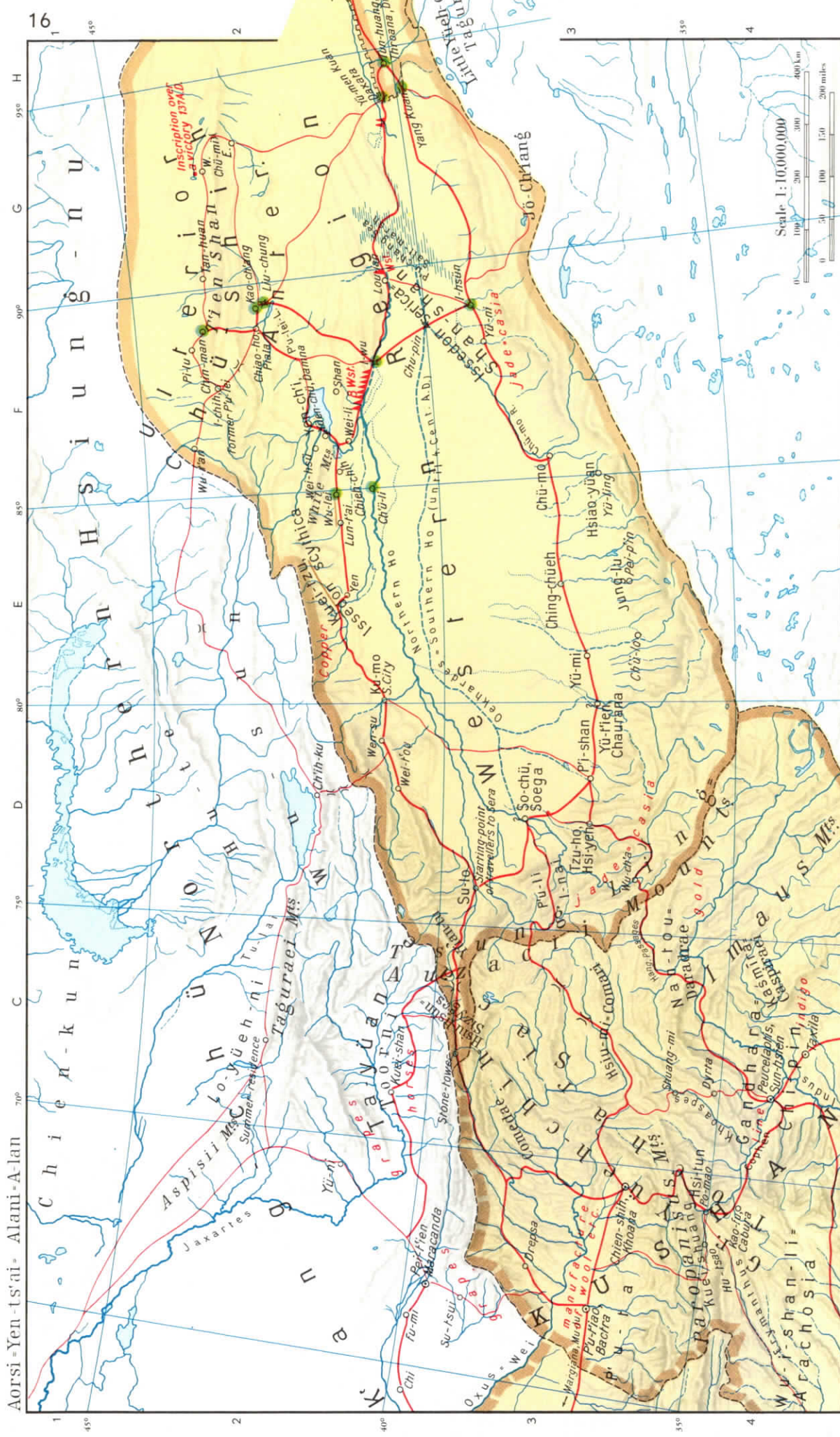
- CH'ANG-AN ABOUT 1930**
- Scale 1:100,000
- GATES:
- 1 Yung-ning-men
 - 2 An-ting-men
 - 3 An-yüan-men
 - 4 Chang-yüeh-men
- BUILDINGS:
- 5 Law College
 - 6 Local Court of Justice
 - 7 Provincial Military Governor's Office
 - 8 Agricultural School
 - 9 Police Headquarters
 - 10 Post Office
 - 11 Chambers of Commerce
 - 12 Normal School

CHINA UNDER THE EARLIER AND LATER HAN DYNASTIES, 206 B.C. - 220 A.D.



-  Boundary under the Western Han, 1st Century B.C.
 -  Boundary under the Eastern Han, about 100 A.D.
 -  Boundaries of chou (provinces) under the Eastern Han
 -  Capitals of chün (commanderies) with more than 100,000 inhabitants
 -  Capitals of chün (commanderies) with less than 100,000 inhabitants
 -  Capitals of kuo (principalities) with more than 100,000 inhabitants
 -  Capitals of kuo (principalities) with less than 100,000 inhabitants
- After the Western Han, kuo became chün, several with other names
 Special names of capitals in parentheses
-  Trade routes or highways





India = Shen-tu, T'ien-chu

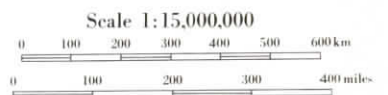
CHINA IN CENTRAL ASIA, 114 B.C. - 127 A.D.

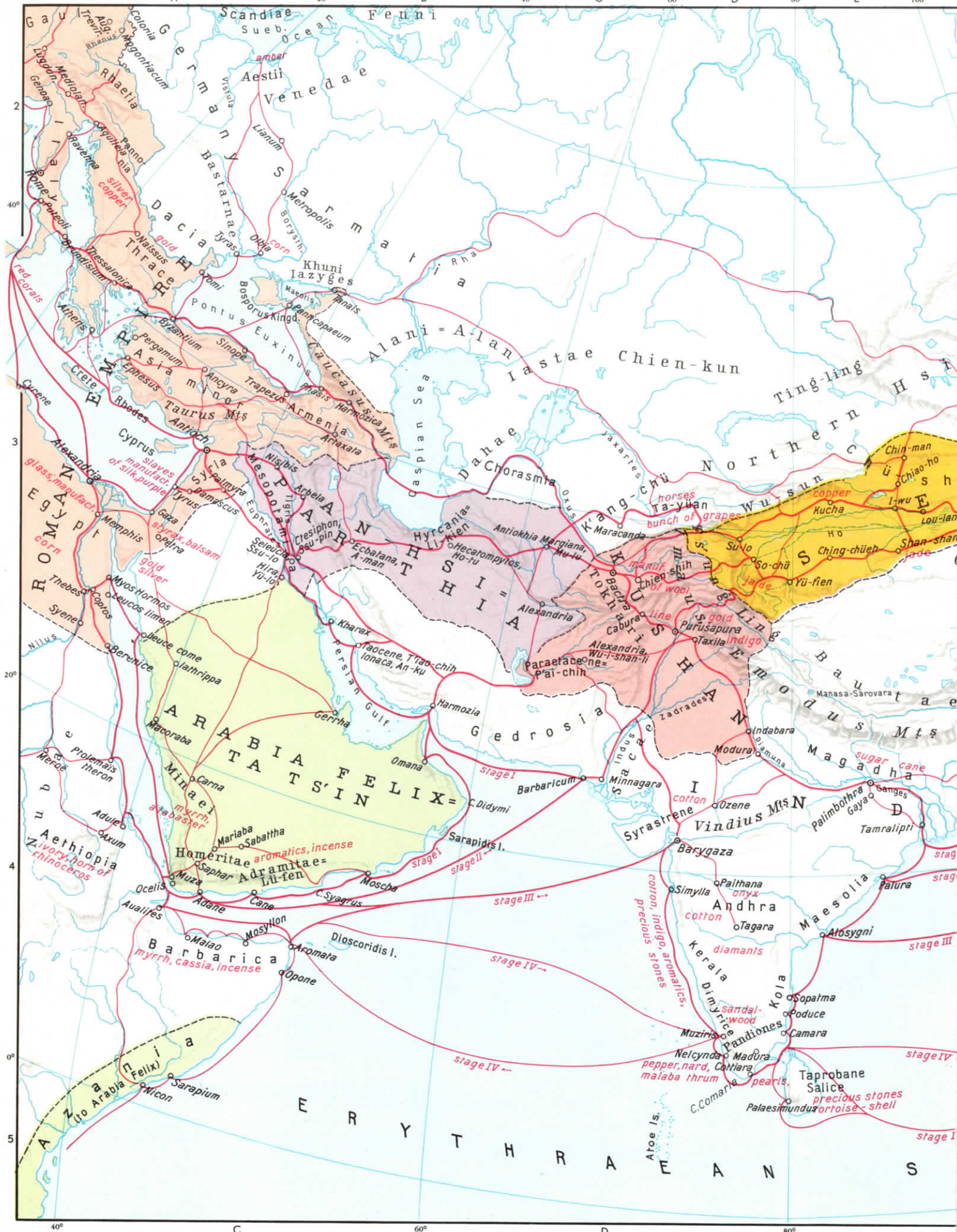
- ▲ Watch station
- Chinese garrison
- Highways
- Cultivation
- ▲ Watch station



THE THREE KINGDOMS, 220-265/280 A.D.

- Wei dynasty
- Shu or Minor Han dynasty
- Wu dynasty
- Boundaries of chou (provinces)





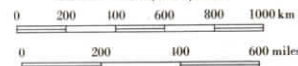


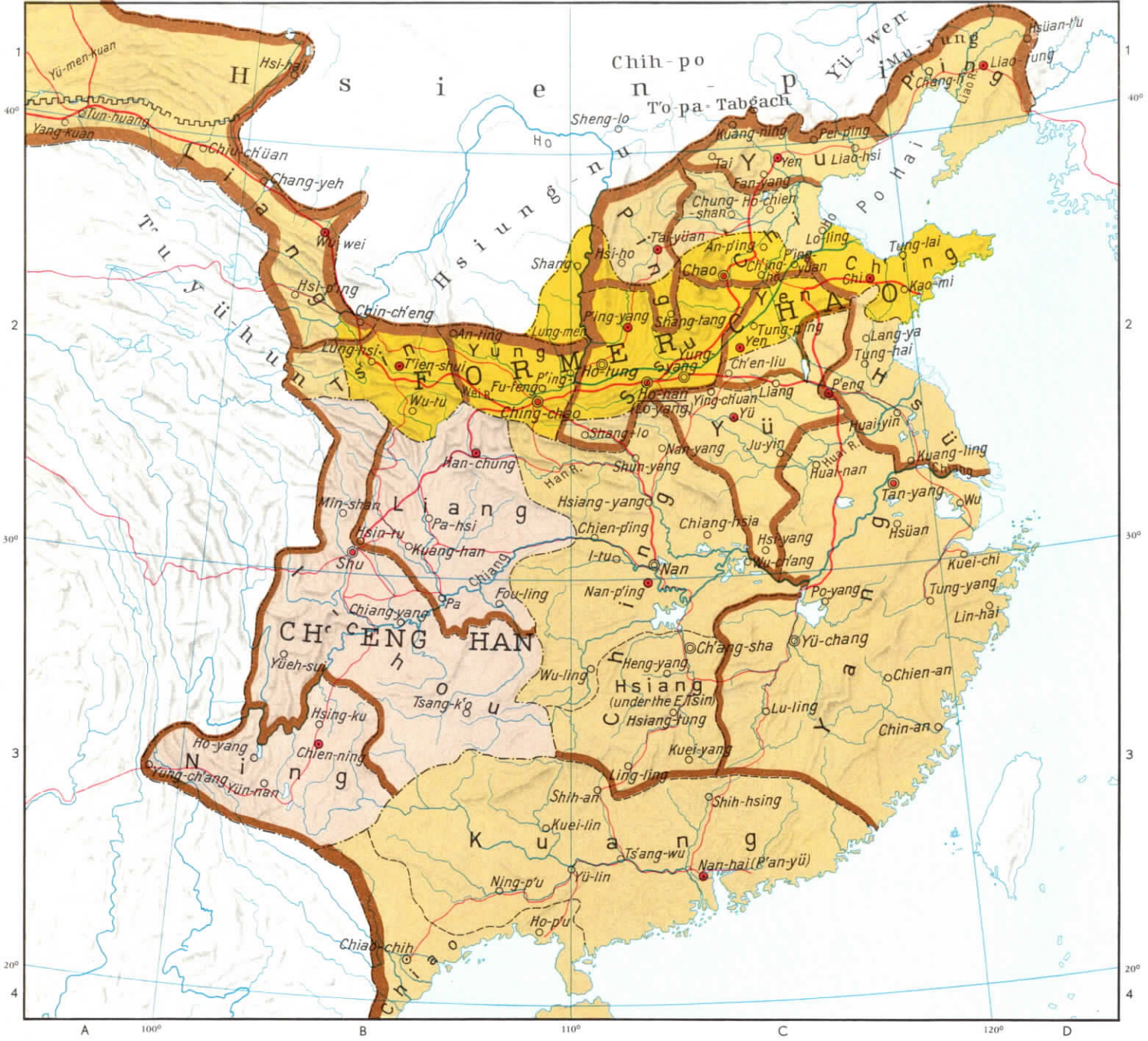
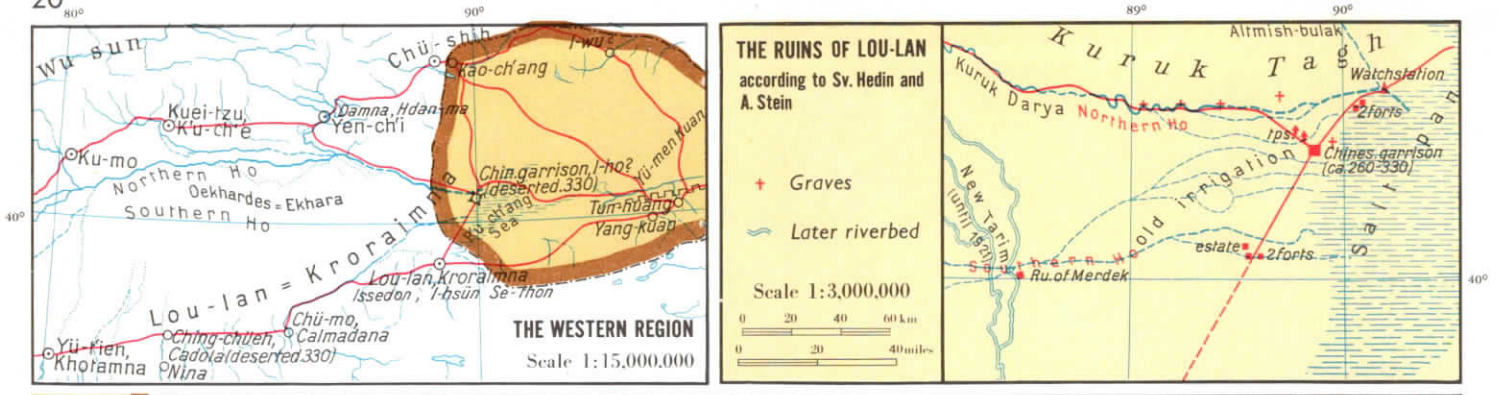
The four stages refer to Pliny's description of sea routes in Book VI of his Natural History.

sic Alexandri classis navigavit; postea ab Syagro Arabiae promunturio Patalen favonio, quem Hippalum ibi vocant, peti certissimum videbatur [XIII XXXII] p. aestimatione, secuta aetas propiorem cursum tutioremque iudicavit si ab eodem promunturio Sigerum portum Indiae peteret, diuque ita navigatum est, donec compendia invenit mercator, lucroque India admota est... nec pigebit totum cursum ab Ægypto exponere nunc primum certa notitia patescente...

(I) Such was the route followed by the fleet of Alexander; (II) but subsequently it was thought that the safest line was to take departure from Cape Syagrus in Arabia (= Ras Fartak) with the west wind, which is there known as Hippalus, and to set course for Patale, a distance reckoned as 1332 miles. (III) The following period considered it a shorter and safer route, setting out from the same cape, to steer for the Indian harbour of Sigerus, and for a long time this was the course followed, until a merchant discovered a shorter route, and the desire for gain brought India nearer... (IV) And it will not be amiss to set out the whole voyage from Egypt, now that reliable knowledge of it is for the first time available...

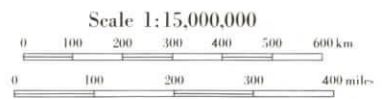
Scale 1:30,000,000



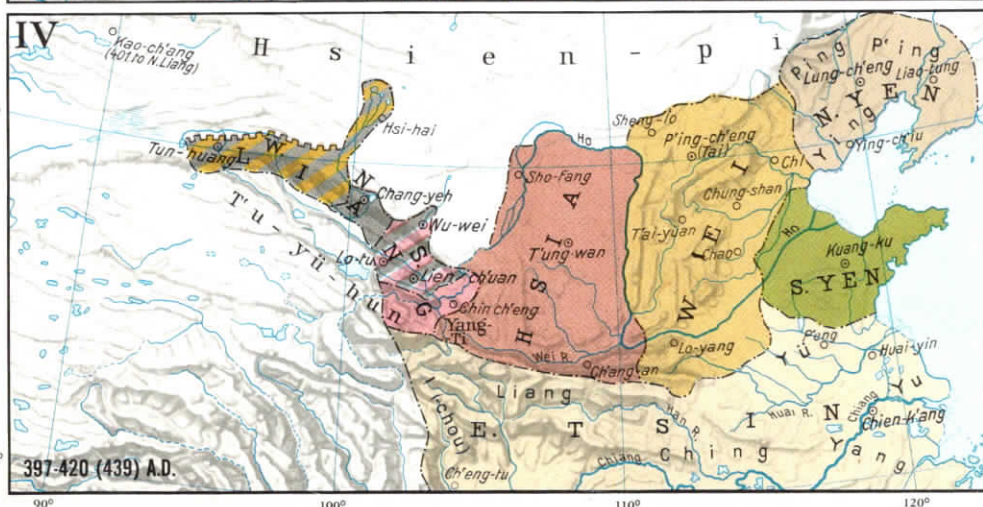
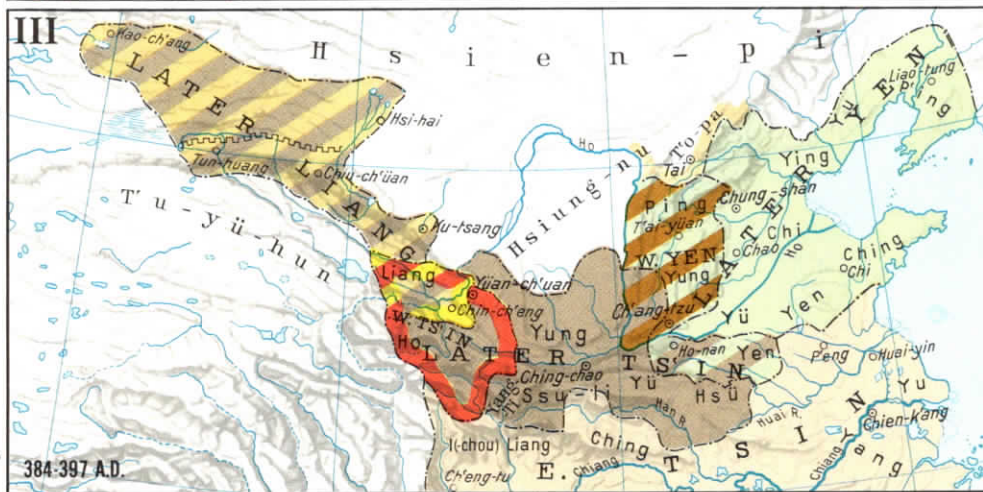
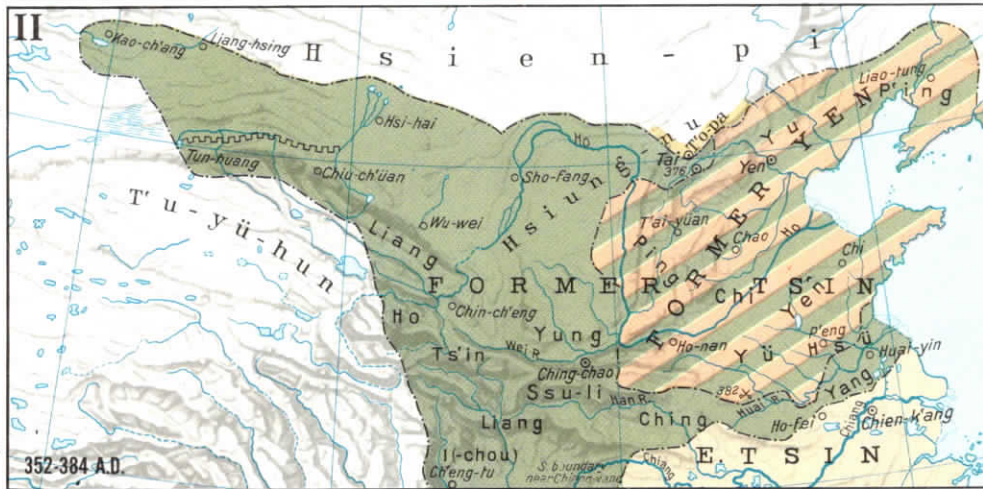
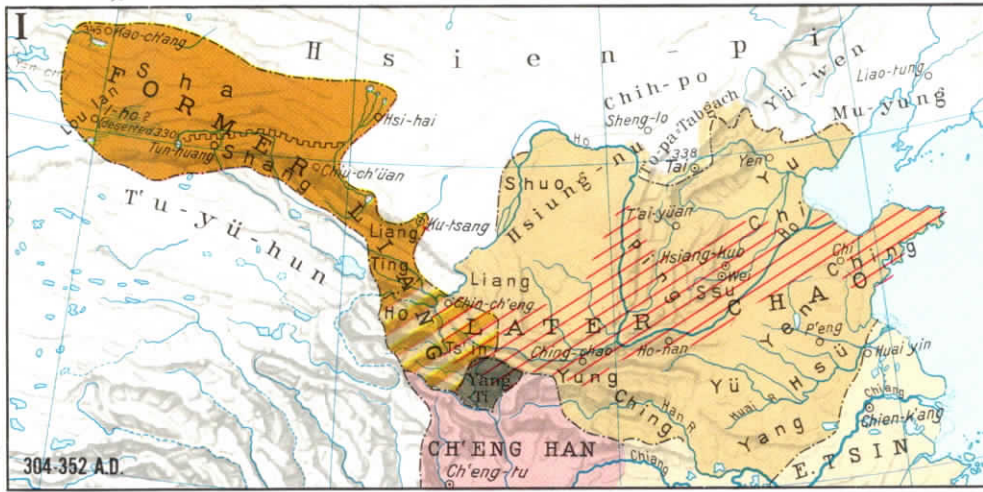


- Capitals of chou (provinces) with more than 100,000 inhabitants
- Capitals of chou (provinces) with less than 100,000 inhabitants
- ◎ Other places with more than 100,000 inhabitants
- Other places with less than 100,000 inhabitants

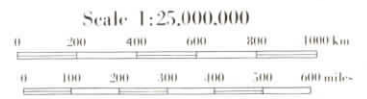
Regarding the states Han or Former Chao (304-329) and Ch'eng Han (304-347) see also p. 21 f



THE SIXTEEN STATES AND THE EMPIRE OF THE EASTERN TSIN DYNASTY, 317-420 A.D.



- Han or Former Chao 304-329 (see p. 20)
- Ch'eng-Han 304-347 (see p. 20)
- Former Liang 314-376
- Later Chao 319-352
- Former Yen 349-370
- Former Ts'in 351-394
- Later Yen 384-407
- Western Yen 384-394
- Later Ts'in 384-417
- Western Ts'in 385-400
- Western Ts'in 409-431
- Later Liang 386-403
- Southern Liang 397-404
- Southern Liang 408-414
- Northern Liang 397-439
- Southern Yen 398-410
- Western Liang 400-421
- (Ta) Hsia 407-431
- Northern Yen 407-436
- 382 Campaign of Lü Kuang to the west, conquest of Kutsi
- T'o-pa (Tabgach) or (Later) Wei take the title of emperor 398 A.D.



EASTERN, CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN ASIA, ca. 440 A.D.



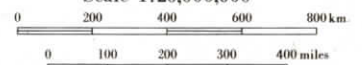
ROUTES OF BUDDHIST PILGRIMS:

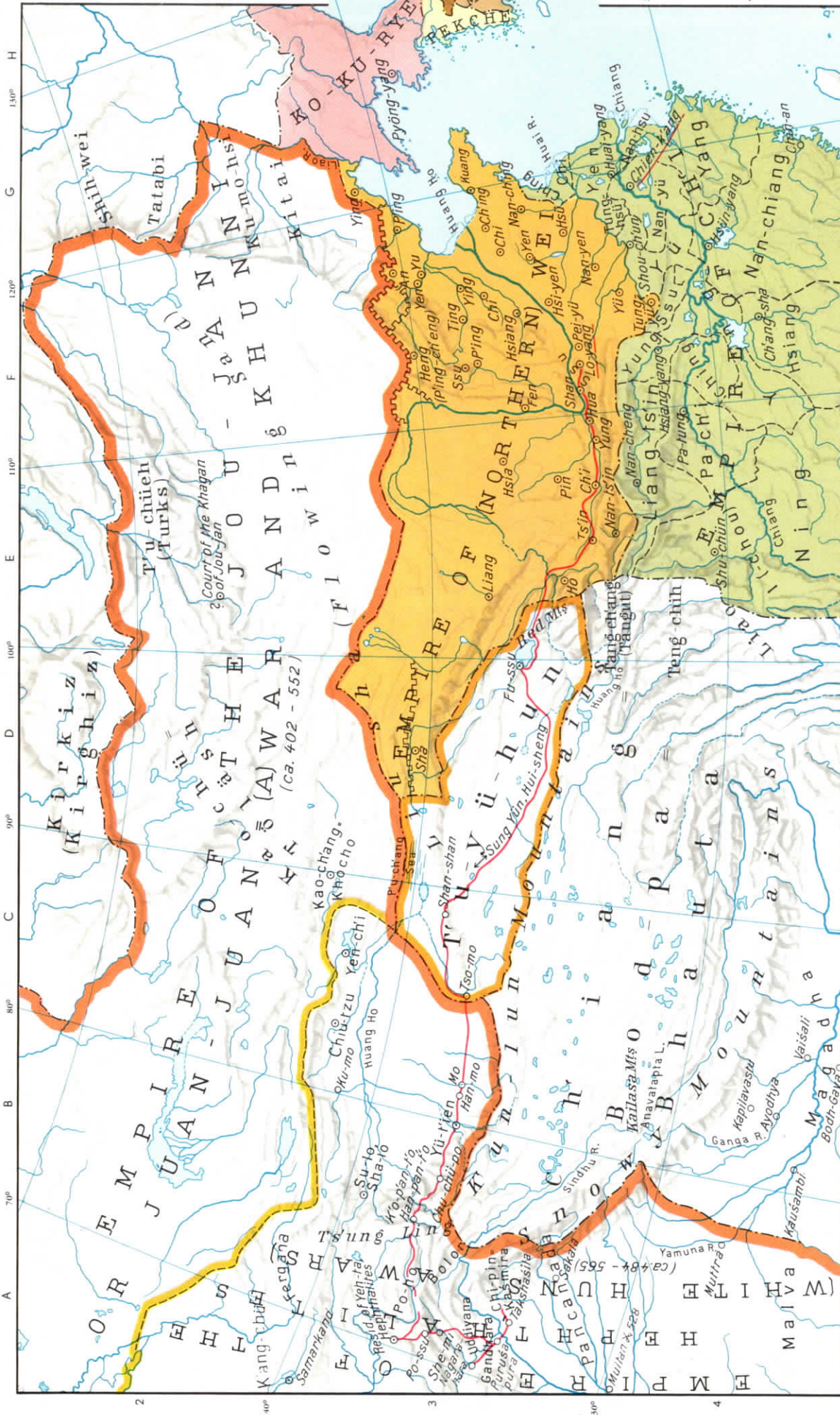
- Fa-hsien from Ch'ang-an to India and homeward by sea, 399 - 414 A.D. (Concerning the political states in China see page 21 IV)
- Chih-meng from Ch'ang-an to Pataliputra and back by the same route, 404 - 424 A.D.
- Gunavarman from Kashmir by sea to Nanking, 397 - 431 A.D.

Lo-yang In China Residencies are underlined

- Capitals of chou(provinces) in the Northern State with the same name as the corresponding chou

Scale 1:20,000,000





THE SOUTHERN CH'I AND THE NORTHERN WEI DYNASTIES, BOUNDARIES OF 500 A.D.

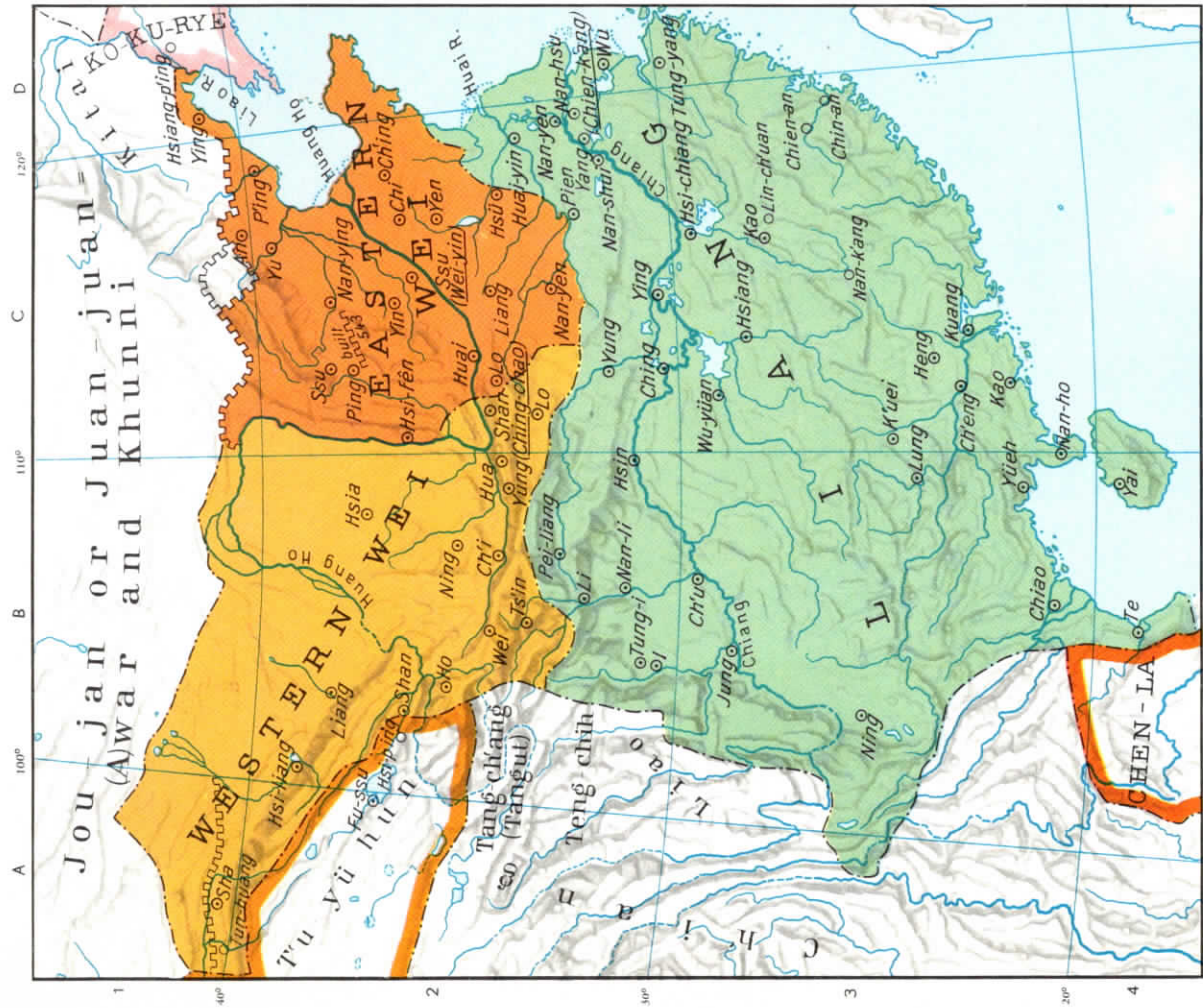
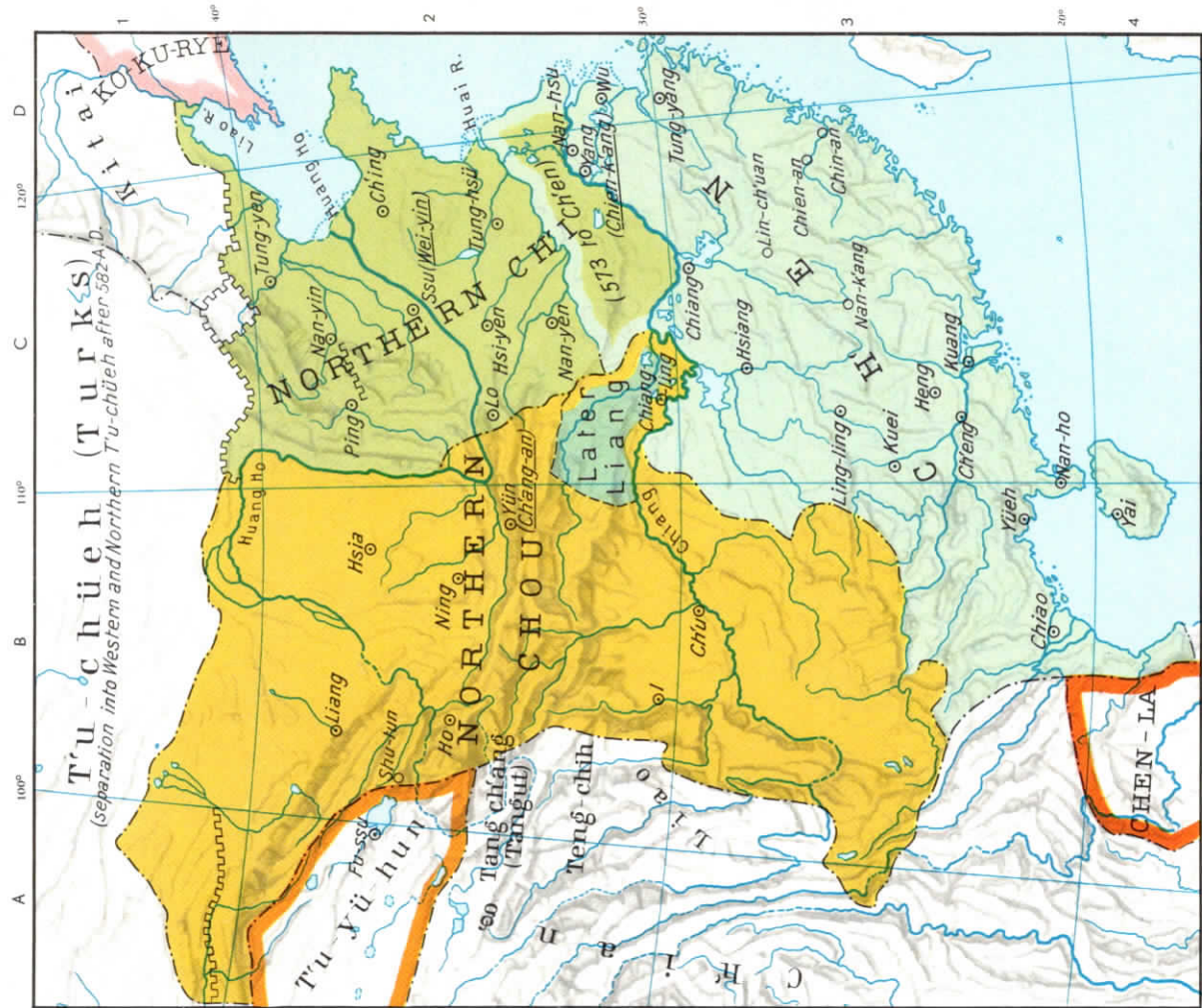
In China Residencies are underlined

○ Capitals of chou (provinces), in the northern state with the same name as the corresponding chou; concerning the southernmost chou, see page 22/23

— Route of the ambassador Sung Yün and the Buddhist priest Hui-sheng to the Hephthalites and back. 518-521 A.D.

Scale 1:20,000,000

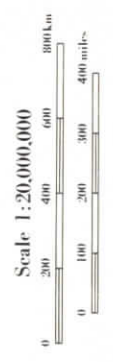




THE DIVISIONS OF CHINA, 535-560 A.D.

In China Residencies are underlined

○ Capitals of chou (provinces) with the same name as the corresponding chou; capitals with other than chou names in parentheses



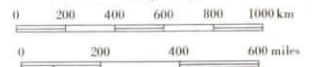




ROUTES OF TRAVELLERS:

- Byzantine ambassador Zemarchos, 568 - 570 A.D.
- Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, 629 - 645 A.D.
- - - Other routes

Scale 1:30,000,000



F 120° G 140° H

E 100° F 120°



THE SUI DYNASTY, 581-618 A.D.

- ⊙ Capitals of chün (commandery) with more than 100,000 inhabitants
- Capitals of chün (commandery) with less than 100,000 inhabitants

— Highways

Scale 1:15,000,000





THE T'ANG DYNASTY, 618-906 A.D. - BOUNDARIES OF 700 A.D.

- ◎ Capitals of fu and chou (prefecture) with more than 100,000 inhabitants
- ◉ Capitals of fu and chou (prefecture) with less than 100,000 inhabitants
- Capitals of tu-hü-fu (protectorate)
- Other places
- (Tu-chi) = New province from the division of 734-906
- Capitals of provinces and protectorates are underlined



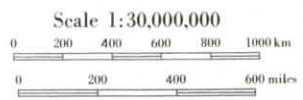
ROUTES OF TRAVELLERS:

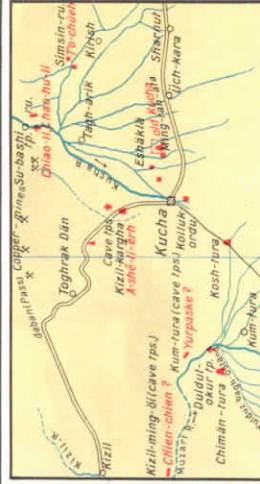
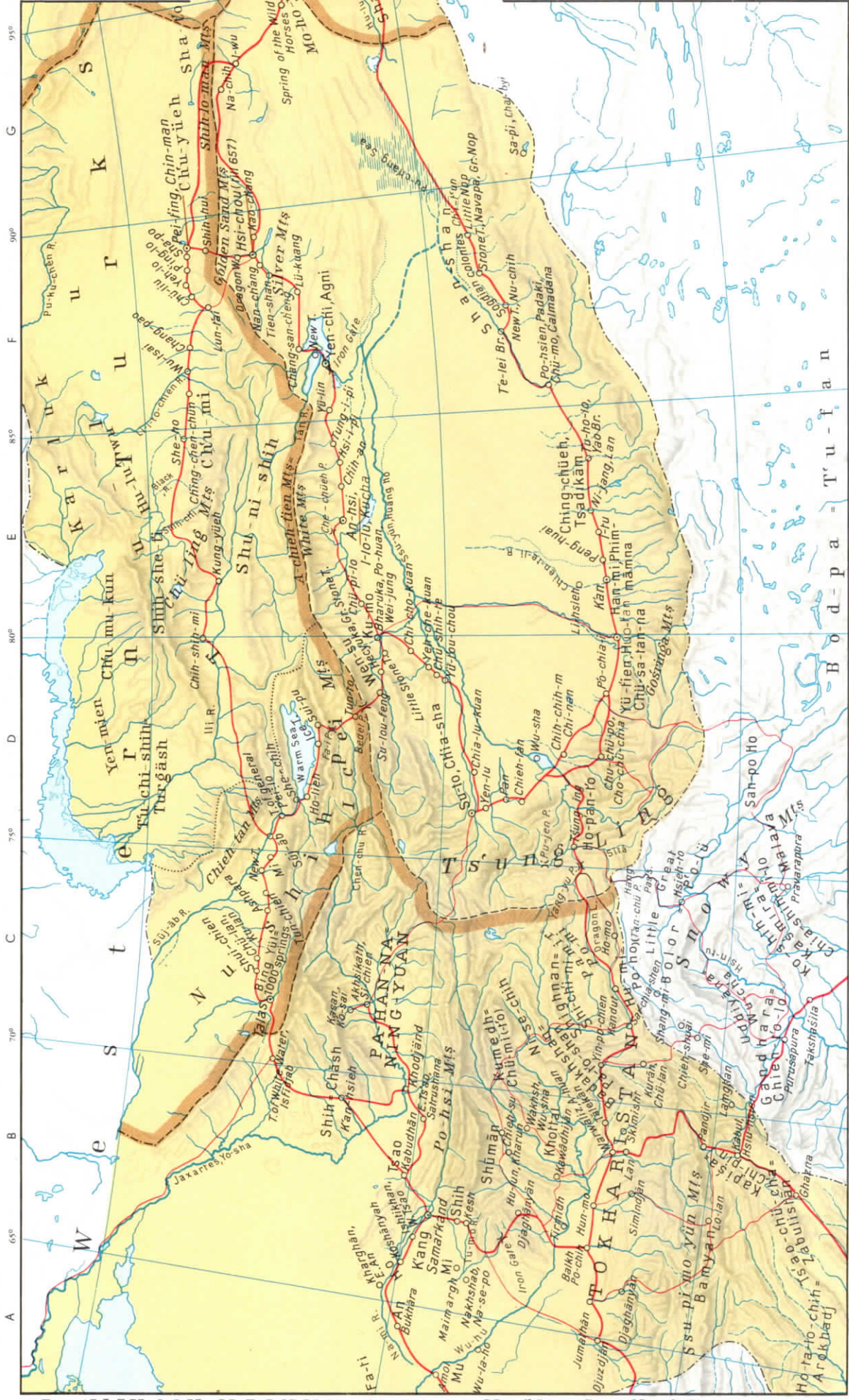
— Chinese pilgrim I-ching,
689 - 695 A.D.

- - - Chinese pilgrim Wu-k'ung,
751 - 790 A.D.

— Other routes

● Arab settlement





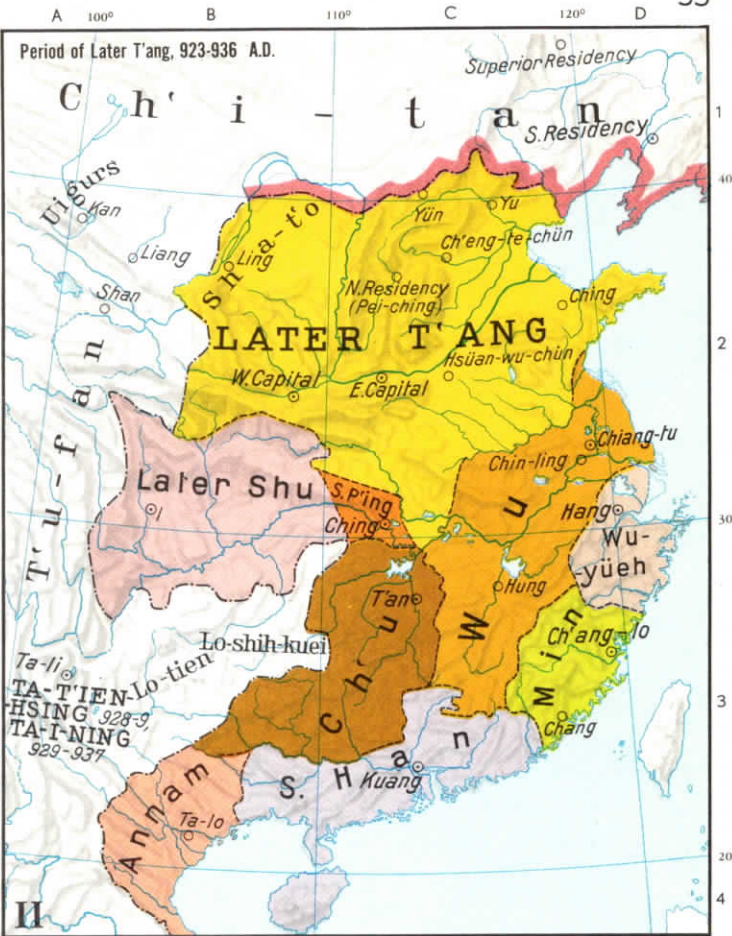
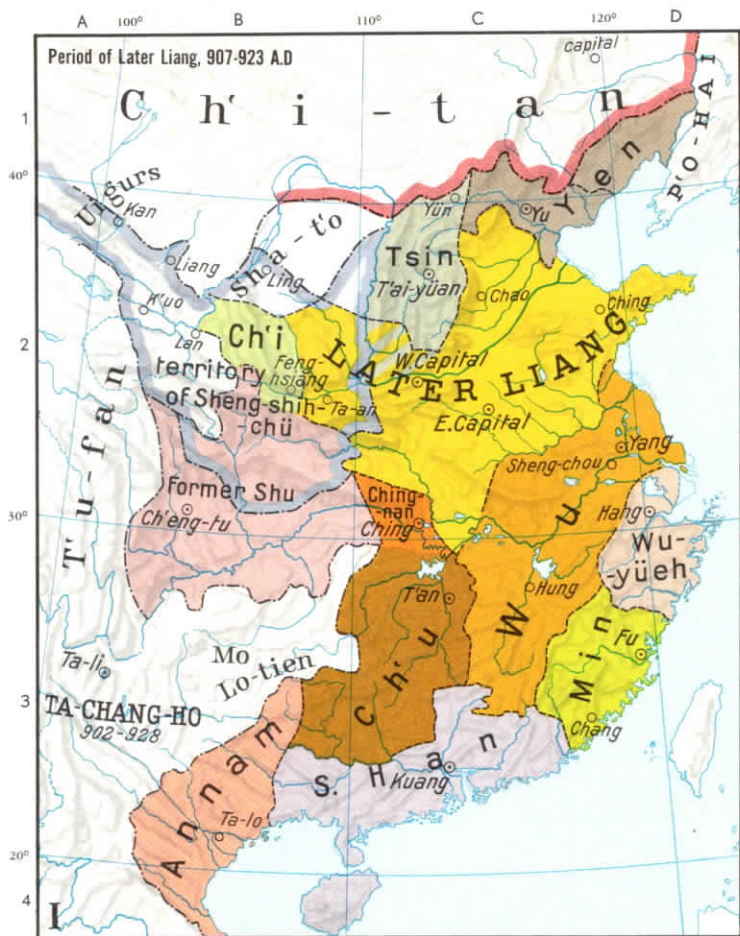
CHINA IN CENTRAL ASIA, 660 A.D.

An-hsi = Capitals and corresponding provinces

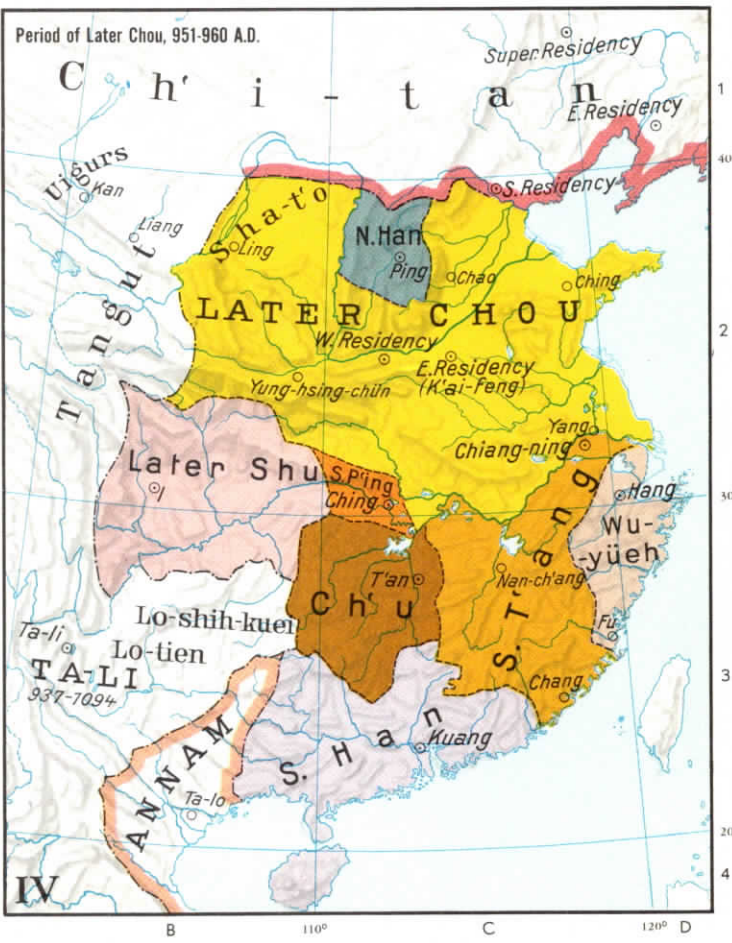
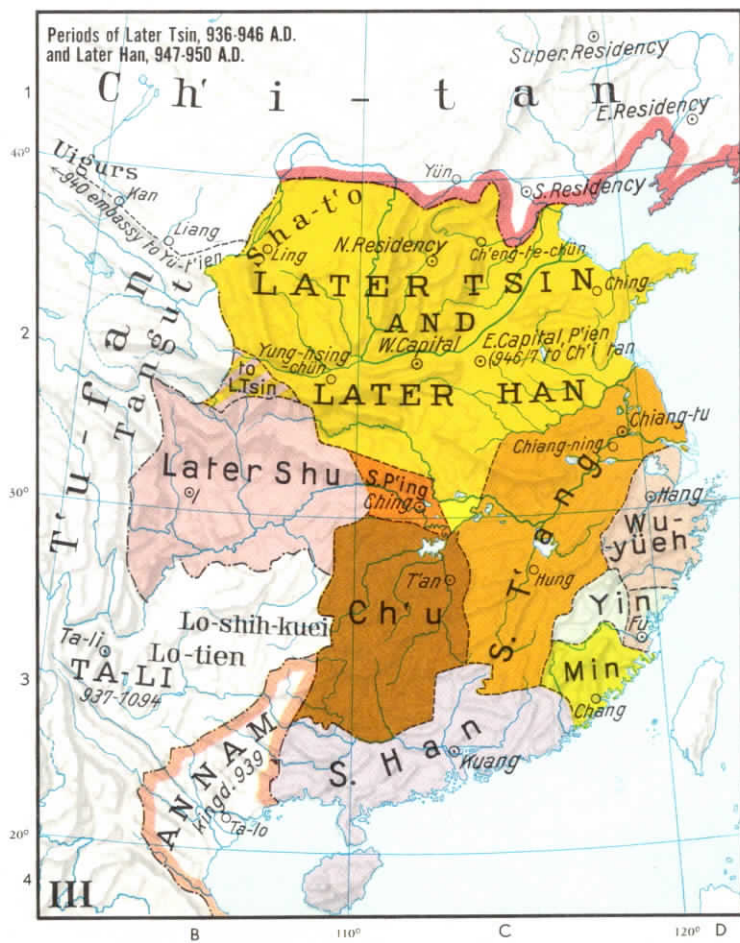
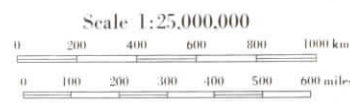
Scale 1: 10,000,000

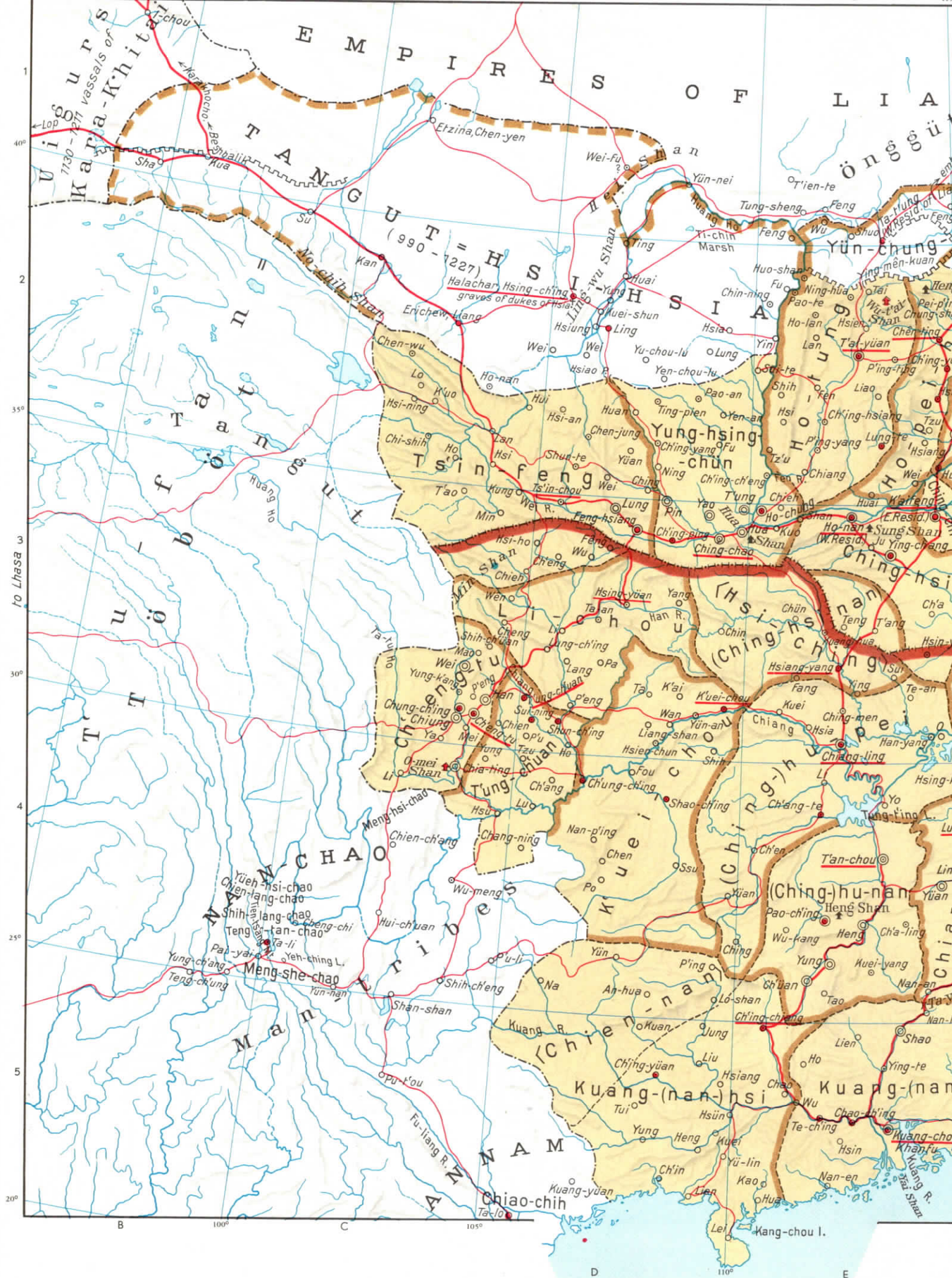
Scale 1: 1,000,000

• Temples • Buddhist stūpa



THE FIVE DYNASTIES, 907-960 A.D.





to Lhasa

THE SUNG, LIAO AND CHIN DYNASTIES, 960-1280 A.D.



IN THE COUNTRIES OF SUNG AND HSI-HSIA:

- Capitals of fu (superior prefectures) with more than 100,000 inhabitants
- Capitals of fu (superior prefectures) with less than 100,000 inhabitants
- ◎ Capitals of chün (prefectures) with more than 100,000 inhabitants
- Capitals of chün (prefectures) with less than 100,000 inhabitants
- ◎ Capitals of chou (superior districts) with more than 100,000 inhabitants
- Capitals of chou (superior districts) with less than 100,000 inhabitants
- Capitals of other countries with more than 100,000 inhabitants
- Capitals of other countries with less than 100,000 inhabitants
- Boundary between Southern Sung (1127-1279) and Chin (after 1234 Yüan)

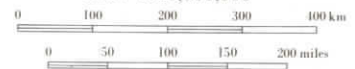
(nan-) = omitted under Southern Sung

(Che-hsi) = added under Southern Sung

⚡ The five holy old-Chinese mountains

⚡ The four holy Buddhist mountains

Scale 1:10,000,000



THE YANGTZE DELTA
Scale 1:5,000,000

Names of Marco Polo (1272-90) in parentheses

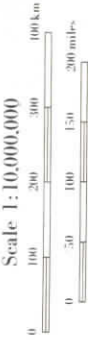


MANCHURIA AND MONGOLIA

UNDER THE LIAO (KITAN) DYNASTY, 937-1125 A.D.

In the 5 provinces of Liao:

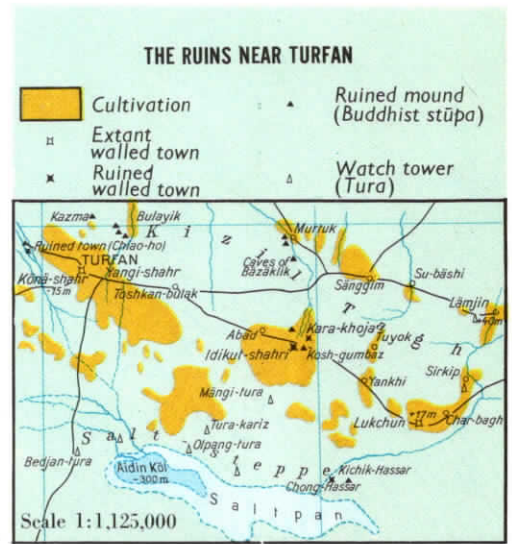
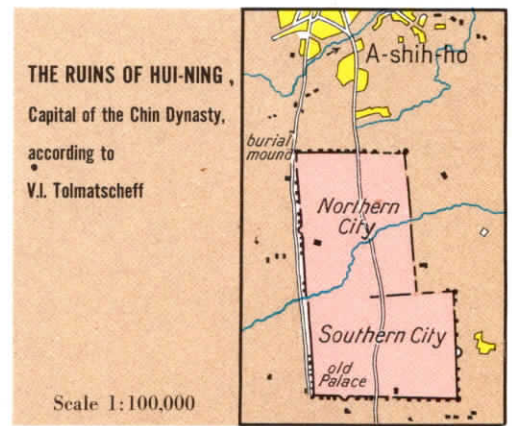
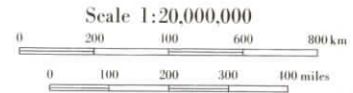
- Imperial cities
- Capitals of fu (prefectures)
- Capitals of chou (commanderies)

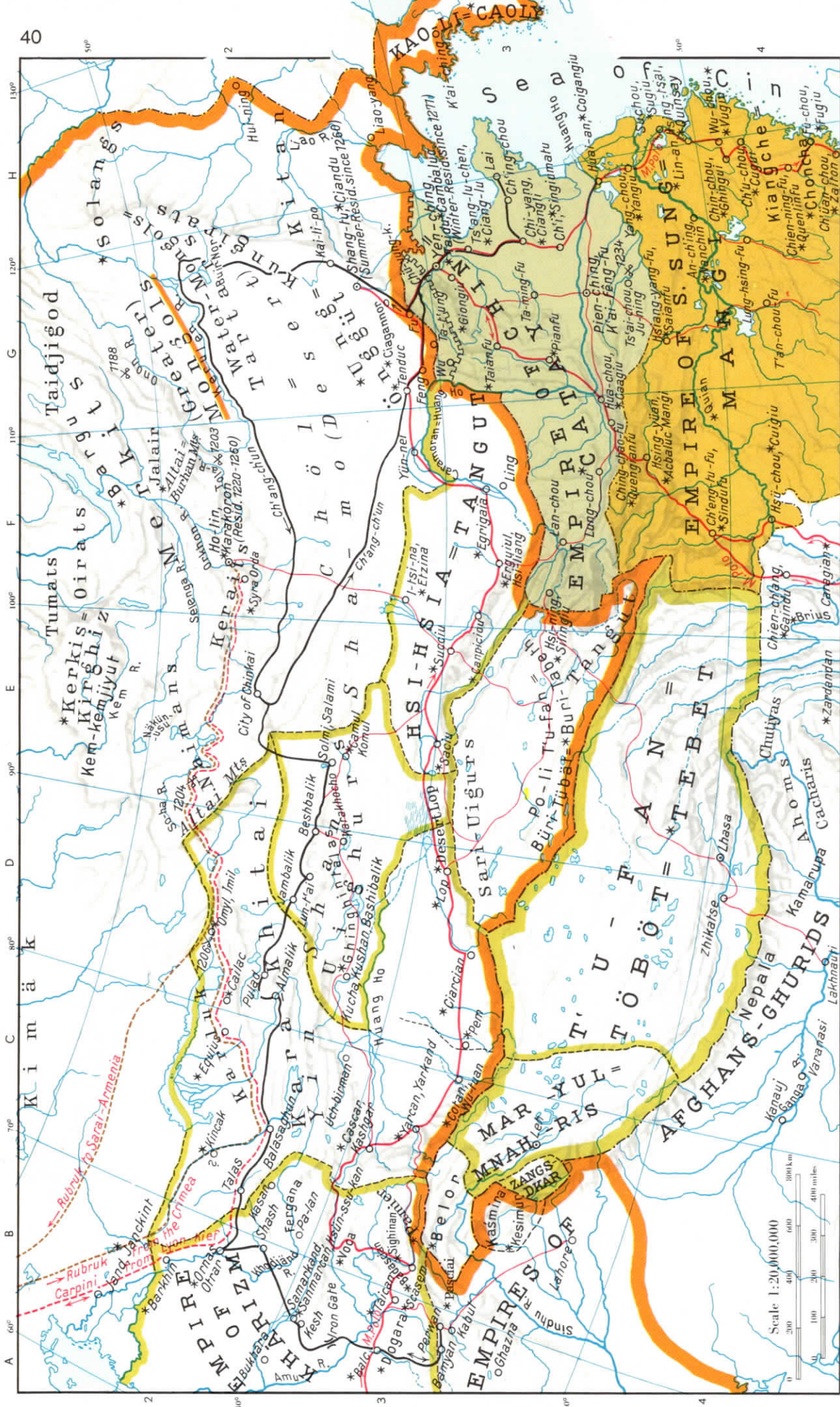




ESAN-FO-CHI = SRIVIJAYA

EASTERN, CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN ASIA, 1141 A.D.





BEGINNINGS OF THE MONGOL EMPIRE - BOUNDARIES OF 1234 A.D.

- Countries conquered by the Mongols, 1188-1233 A.D.
- Chinese Taoist Ch'ang-ch'ün, 1221-1224 A.D.
- Marco Polo, 1271-1295 A.D.
- Papal embassy of Plano de Carpini, 1245-1247 A.D.
- Papal embassy of William of Rubruk, 1253-1255 A.D.
- Other routes

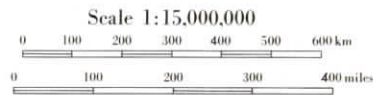
Geographical names noted by European travellers are marked with a star*

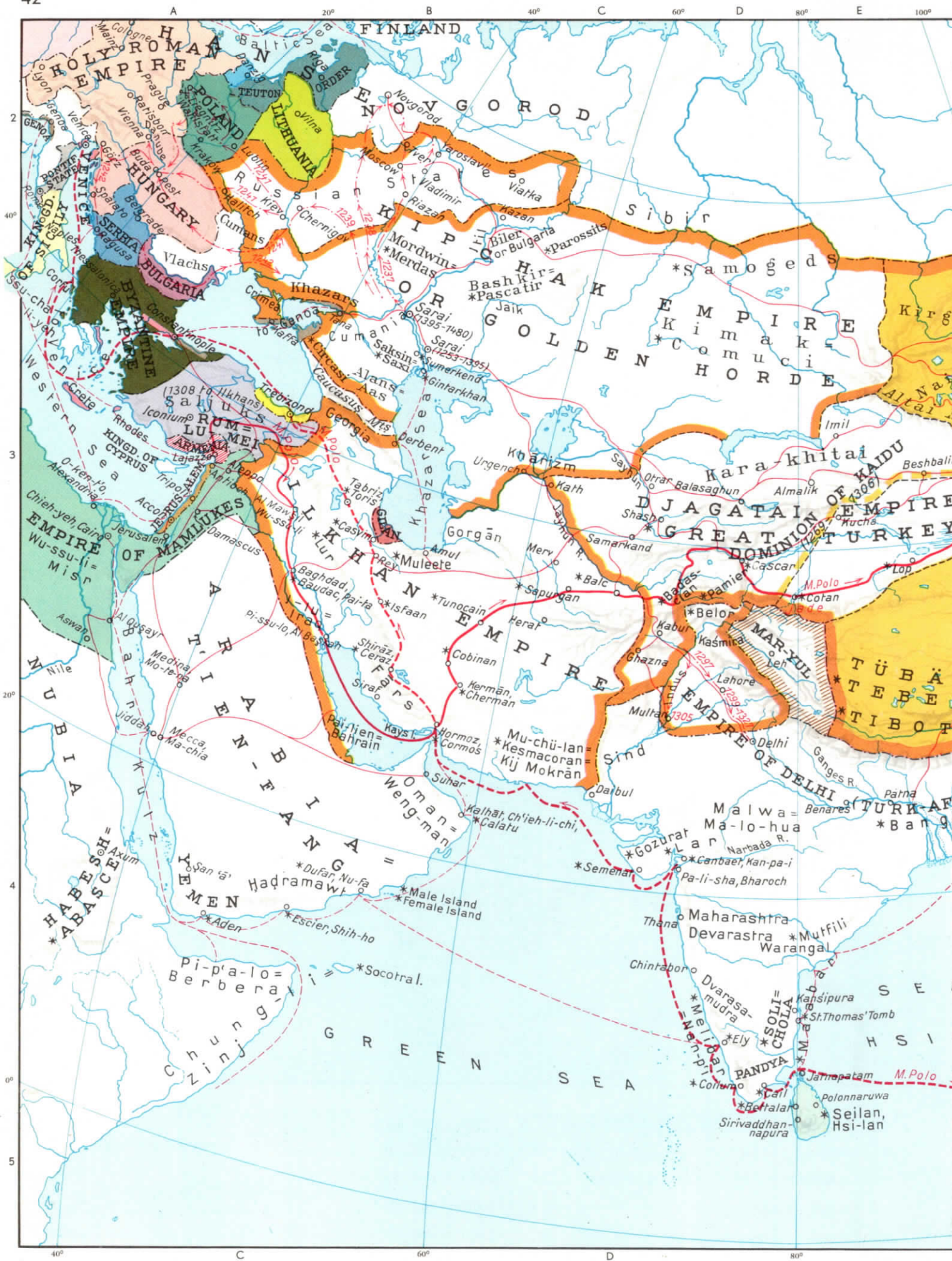


THE YÜAN (MONGOL) DYNASTY, 1280-1368 A.D.

- Capitals of lu with more than 100,000 inhabitants
- Capitals of lu with less than 100,000 inhabitants
- Capitals of fu, 1st class
- Capitals of fu, 2nd class
- Capitals of chou, 1st class
- Capitals of chou, 2nd class
- Capitals of an-fu-ssu
- Capitals of chün

Capitals of provinces are underlined



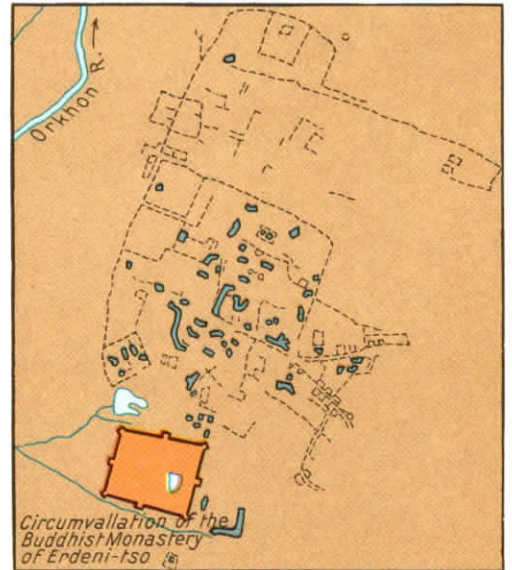
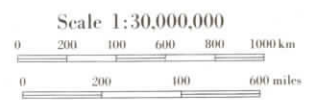


ASIA UNDER THE MONGOLS, 1290 A.D.

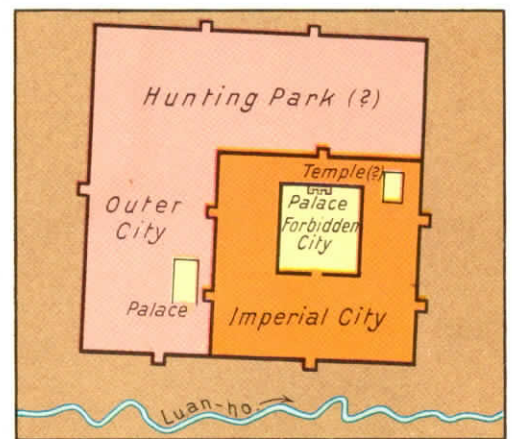


- Advances of Mongol hordes
- Route of Marco Polo, 1271-1295 A.D.
- Other routes

Geographical names of European travellers, mostly of Marco Polo, are marked with a star*



THE RUINS OF KARAKORUM according to W. Radloff Scale 1:50,000

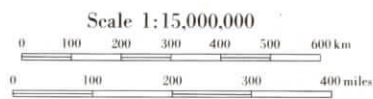


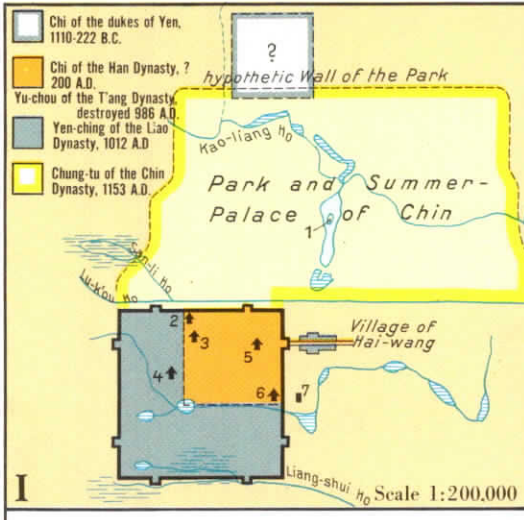
THE RUINS OF SHANG-TU according to Lawrence Impey Scale 1:50,000



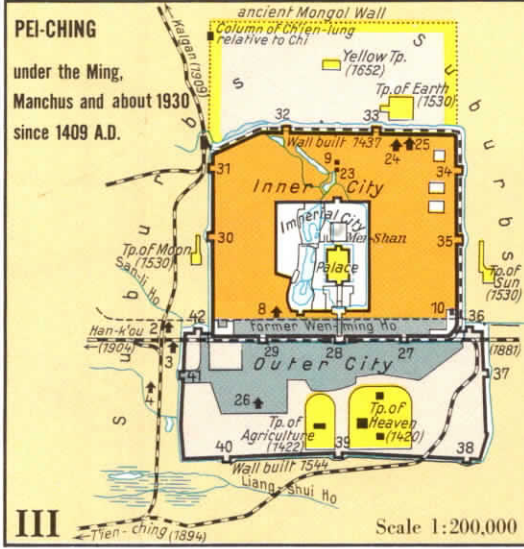
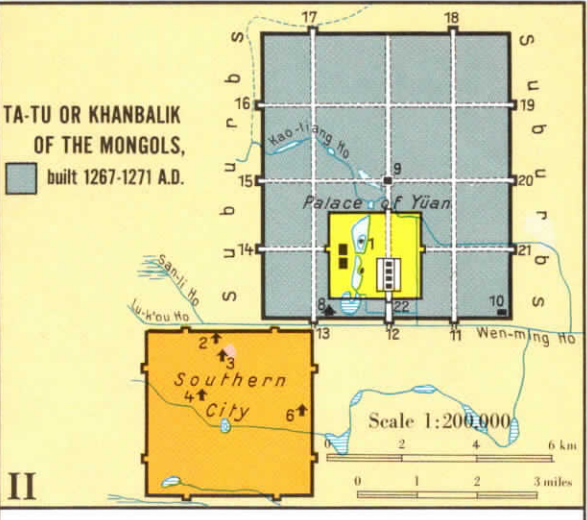
THE MING DYNASTY, 1368-1644 A.D. - BOUNDARIES OF 1580 A.D.

- Capitals of sheng (provinces)
- Capitals of chou (districts)
- ◻ Capitals of fu (prefectures)
- ◻ Capitals of wei (guard-districts)
- ◻ Capitals of shu-chou (districts)
- ◻ Capitals of ssu (districts)
- Port. = Portuguese

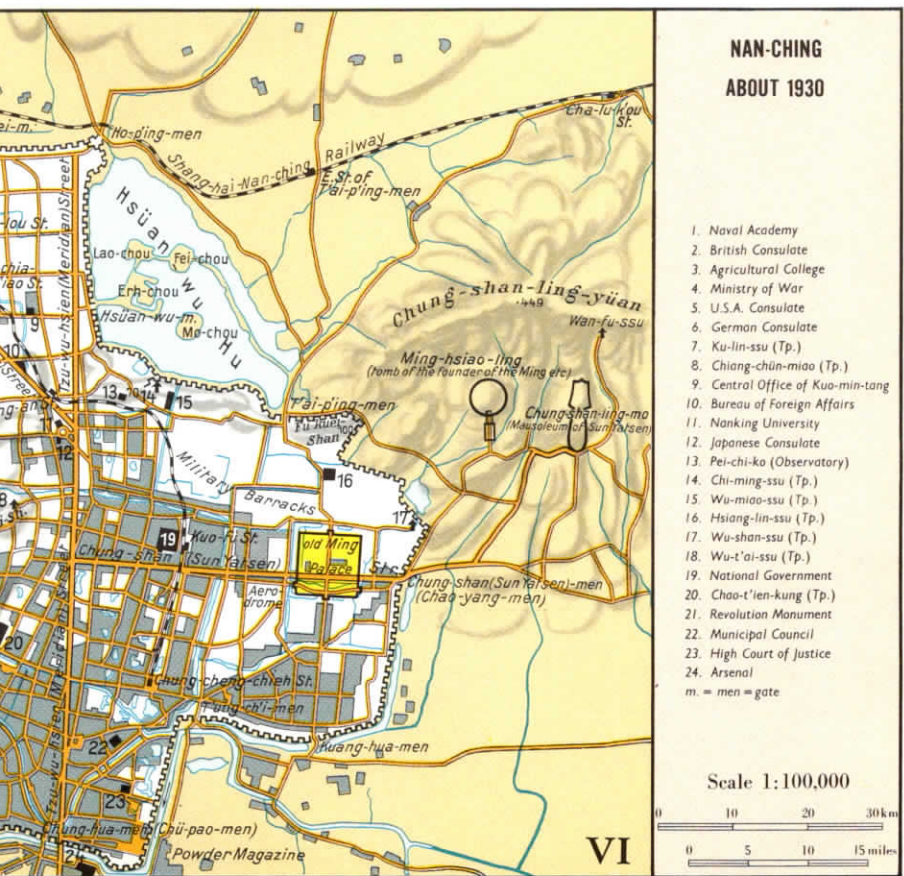
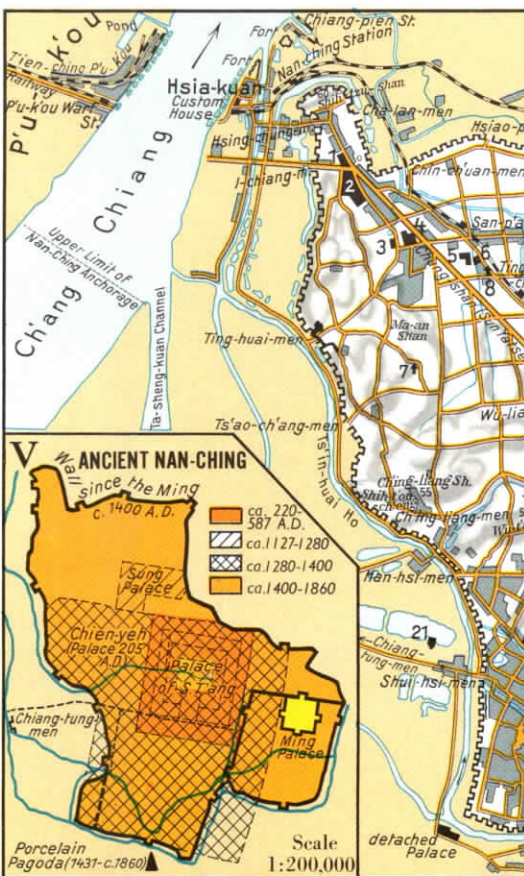
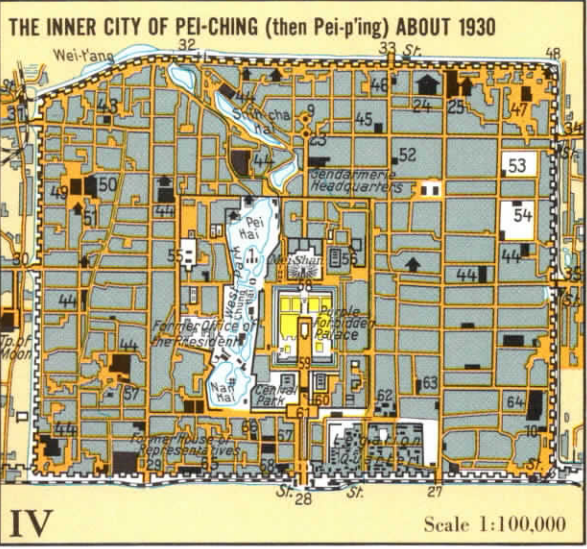




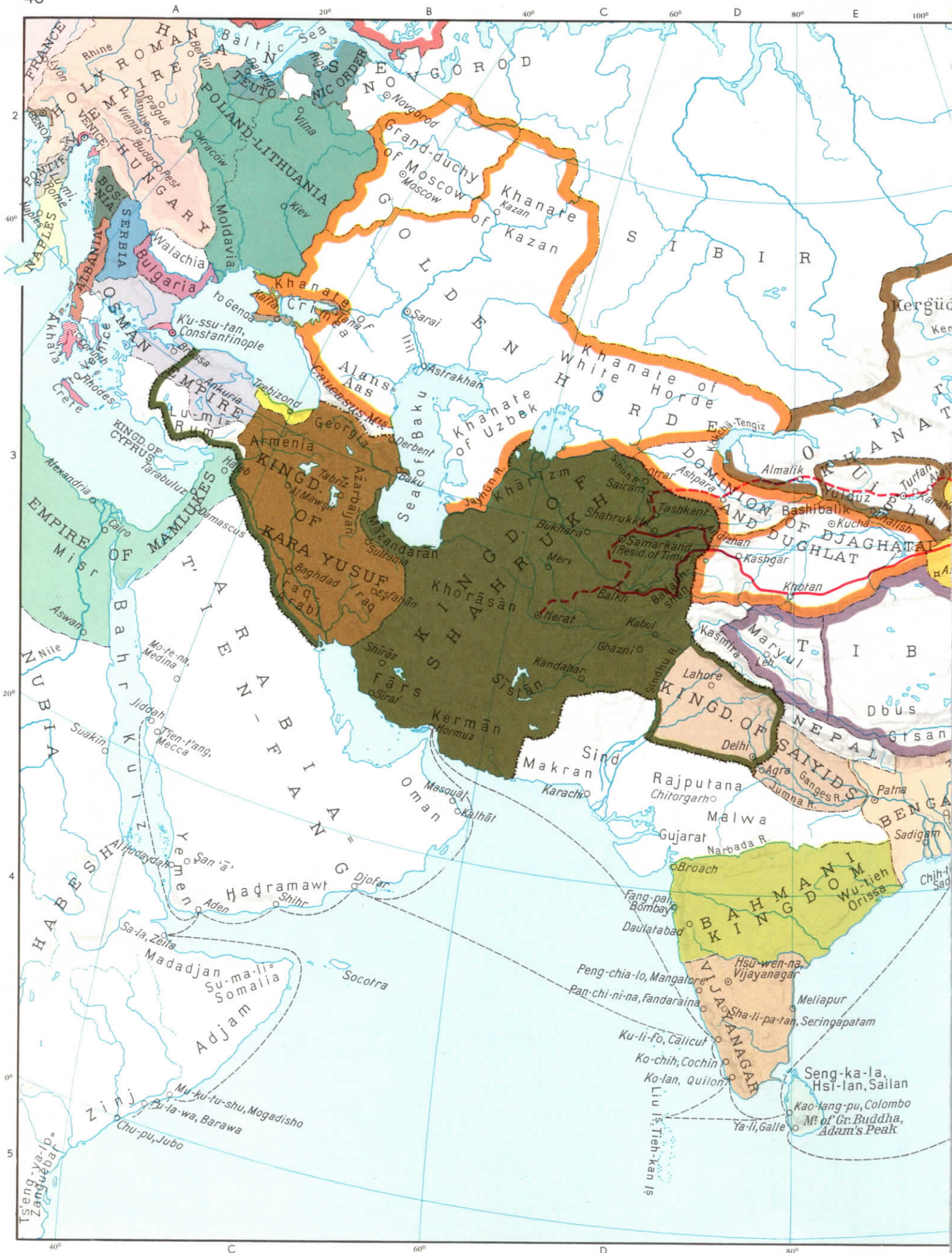
- Extant ruins
- Extant temples
- men = gate
- 1. Ch'ung-hua-t'ao
- 2. Po-yin-kuan
- 3. T'ien-ning-ssu
- 4. Feng-fu-ssu (Kuang-en-ssu)
- 5. T'u-ti-miao
- 6. Min-chung-ssu (Fa-yuan-ssu)
- 7. Hei-yao-ch'ang
- 8. Ch'ing-shou-ssu (Shuang-t'o-ssu)
- 9. Bell-tower
- 10. Observatory
- 11. Wen-ming-men
- 12. Li-cheng-men
- 13. Shun-ch'eng-men
- 14. P'ing-tse-men
- 15. Ho-i-men
- 16. Su-ch'ing-men
- 17. Chien-te-men
- 18. An-chen-men
- 19. Kuang-hsi-men
- 20. Ch'ung-jen-men
- 21. Ch'i-hua-men
- 22. Ling-hsing-men
- 23. Drum-tower
- 24. Tp. of Confucius
- 25. Tp. of Lamas (1745)
- 26. Fa-yuan-ssu
- 27. Ch'ung-wen-men
- 28. Cheng-yang-men
- 29. Hsuan-wu-men
- 30. Fou-ch'eng-men
- 31. Hsi-chih-men
- 32. Te-sheng-men
- 33. An-ting-men
- 34. Tung-chih-men
- 35. Chao-yang-men
- 36. Tung-pien-men
- 37. Kuang-chu-men
- 38. Tso-an-men
- 39. Yung-ting-men
- 40. Yu-an-men
- 41. Kuang-an-men
- 42. Hsi-pien-men
- 43. Military University
- 44. Princes Residence
- 45. District Governor's Office
- 46. Hall of Classics
- 47. Russian Church
- 48. Wu-chu-kuan (Tp.)
- 49. Ling-kung-fu
- 50. Technical College
- 51. Yuan-t'ien-kuan (Tp.)
- 52. Supreme Military Council
- 53. Chao-yang University
- 54. Military Veterinary College
- 55. Pei-t'ang Cathedral (Fa-yuan-ssu)
- 56. Pei-p'ing University
- 57. Sericultural Training Institute
- 58. Snen-wu-men
- 59. Wu-men
- 60. Tuan-men
- 61. T'ien-an-men
- 62. Portuguese Legation
- 63. Rockefeller Hospital
- 64. Examination Hall
- 65. College of Law & Justice
- 66. Local High Court
- 67. Local Court of Justice
- 68. Chung-kuo University



- 21. Ch'i-hua-men
- 22. Ling-hsing-men
- 23. Drum-tower
- 24. Tp. of Confucius
- 25. Tp. of Lamas (1745)
- 26. Fa-yuan-ssu
- 27. Ch'ung-wen-men
- 28. Cheng-yang-men
- 29. Hsuan-wu-men
- 30. Fou-ch'eng-men
- 31. Hsi-chih-men
- 32. Te-sheng-men
- 33. An-ting-men
- 34. Tung-chih-men
- 35. Chao-yang-men
- 36. Tung-pien-men
- 37. Kuang-chu-men
- 38. Tso-an-men
- 39. Yung-ting-men
- 40. Yu-an-men
- 41. Kuang-an-men
- 42. Hsi-pien-men
- 43. Military University
- 44. Princes Residence
- 45. District Governor's Office
- 46. Hall of Classics
- 47. Russian Church








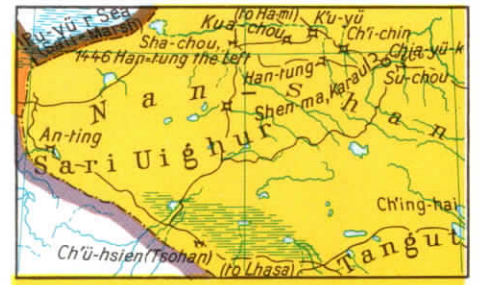
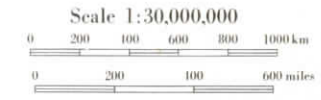
- 1. Naval Academy
- 2. British Consulate
- 3. Agricultural College
- 4. Ministry of War
- 5. U.S.A. Consulate
- 6. German Consulate
- 7. Ku-lin-ssu (Tp.)
- 8. Chiang-chün-miao (Tp.)
- 9. Central Office of Kuo-min-tang
- 10. Bureau of Foreign Affairs
- 11. Nanking University
- 12. Japanese Consulate
- 13. Pei-chi-ko (Observatory)
- 14. Chi-ming-ssu (Tp.)
- 15. Wu-miao-ssu (Tp.)
- 16. Hsiang-lin-ssu (Tp.)
- 17. Wu-shan-ssu (Tp.)
- 18. Wu-t'ai-ssu (Tp.)
- 19. National Government
- 20. Chao-t'ien-kung (Tp.)
- 21. Revolution Monument
- 22. Municipal Council
- 23. High Court of Justice
- 24. Arsenal
- m = men = gate



ASIA DURING THE MING DYNASTY – BOUNDARIES OF 1415 A.D.



-  Boundary of the Empire of Timur at his death, 1405 A.D.
-  Embassy of Shahrukh from Herat to Peking, 1419-1420 A.D.
-  Homeward journey, 1421-1422 A.D.
-  Cruises of the admirals Ma Pin (1403 A.D.) and Cheng Ho (1405-07, 1408-11, 1412-15, 1417-19, 1421-22, 1424-25, 1431-33 A.D.) to the Indian Ocean
-  H Seat of a Chinese guard district



THE NORTHWESTERN FRONTIER OF CHINA, 15th Century A.D.
Scale 1:15,000,000

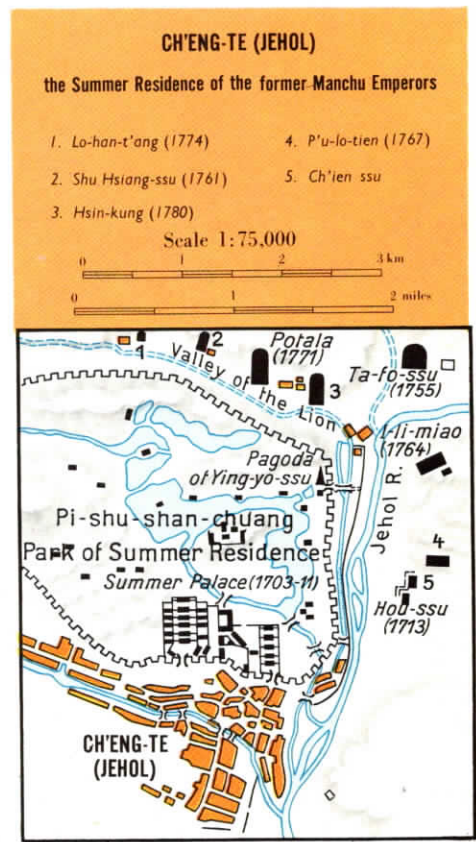
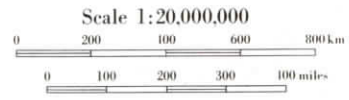
Men-lao-ku=Moluccas

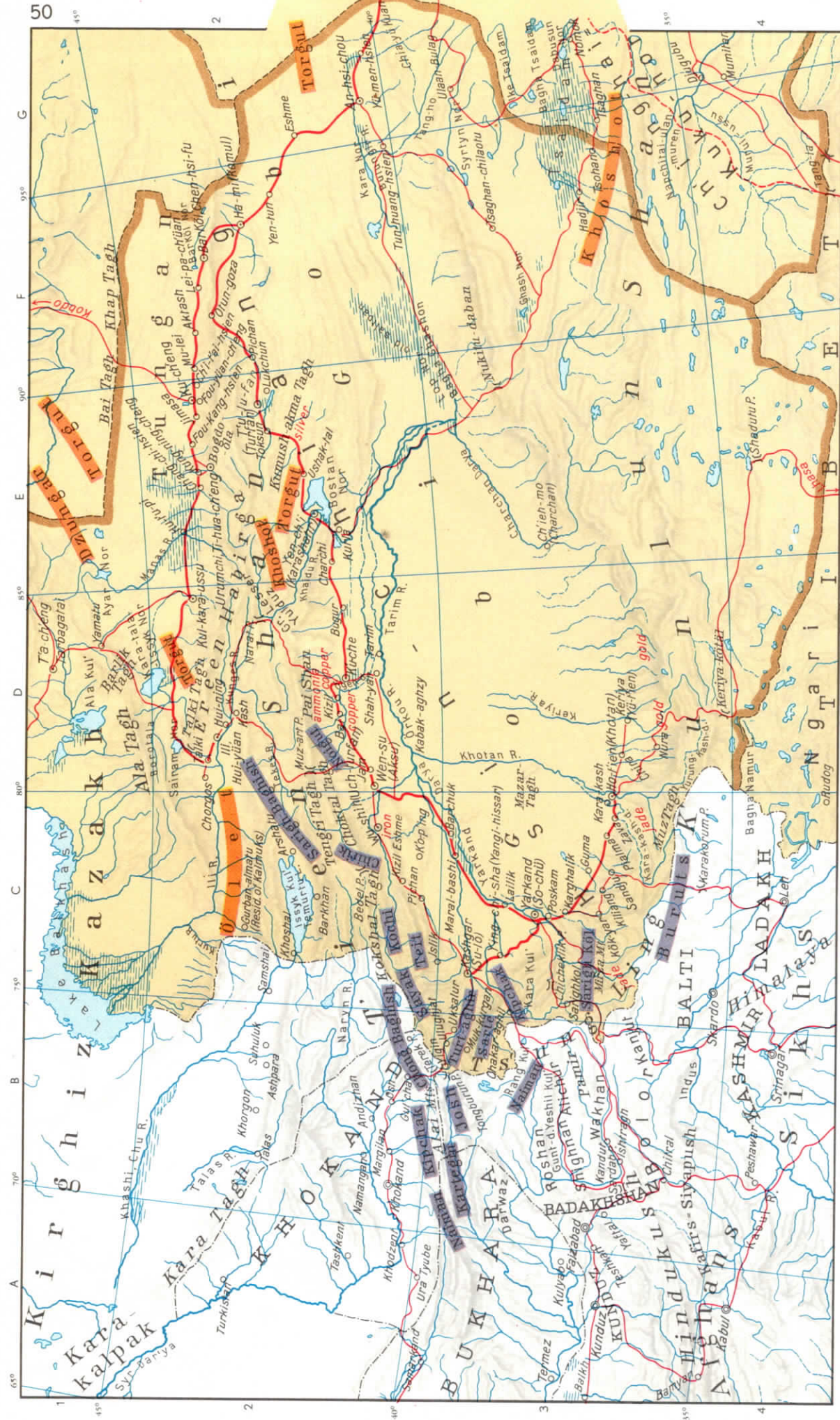


EASTERN CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN ASIA, 1760 A.D.



- China
- Dominions of China 1760 A.D.
- Dominion of the Kalmuks or Kalmak (Ölet, Dsungar), 1723-1756 A.D.
- The extreme extension of the Kalmuks to the East, 1690-1696 (1713) A.D.
- Tribes of Kalmuks are underlined
- Chinese campaigns against the Kalmuks (1696, 1755, 1759 A.D.)
- Russian campaign against the Kalmuks (1720 A.D.)





CHINESE TURKISTAN, 1820 A.D.

- Nomadic tribes of Kalmuks (Kalmak)
- Nomadic tribes of Buruts (Kara-Kirgiz)

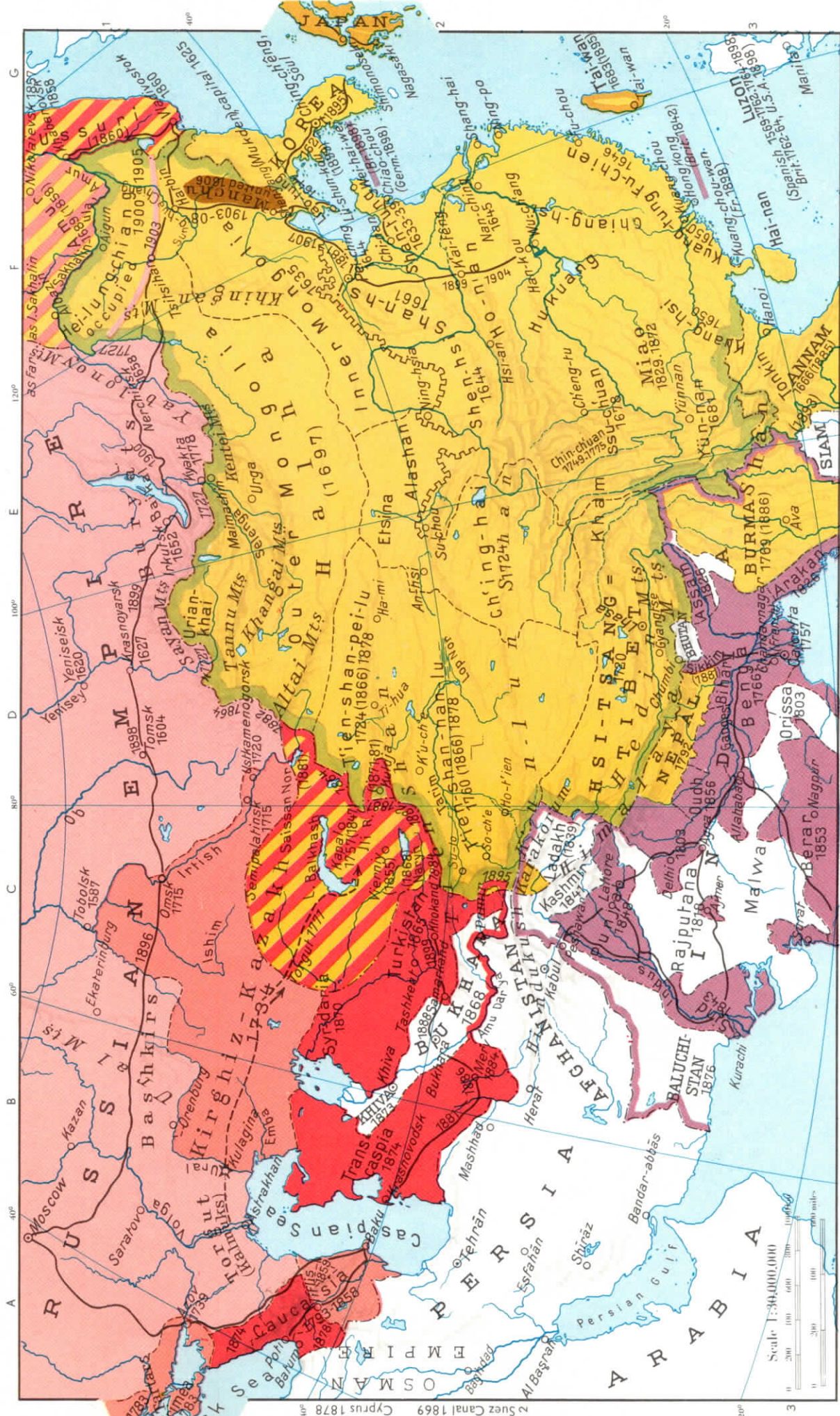
Later appellations of towns are in parentheses

- cheng (Chin.) = walled town
- hsien (Chin.) = district town
- Kul' (Turk.) = lake

- Nor (Mong.) = lake
- Tagh (Turk.) = mountain

Scale 1:10,000,000





THE MANCHU EMPIRE AND THE EUROPEAN POWERS, 1644-1912 A.D.

- Original country of the Manchus, 1606 A.D.
- The Manchu Empire during its greatest expansion, 1760-1842 and 1858 A.D.
- The later Manchu Empire until 1912 A.D.
- The British Empire
- The Russian Empire at the accession of Peter the Great, 1689 A.D.
- Russian conquests until 1858 A.D.
- Russian conquests 1858-1912 A.D.
- 1783 Year of foundation or acquisition

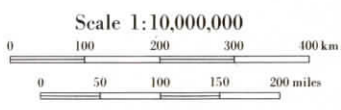
- (Br-1898) Year of loss for the Manchu Empire
- 1727 Year of boundary agreement
- Return migration of the Eastern Torgut (Kalmuks), 1771 A.D.
- Railways up to the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905 A.D.



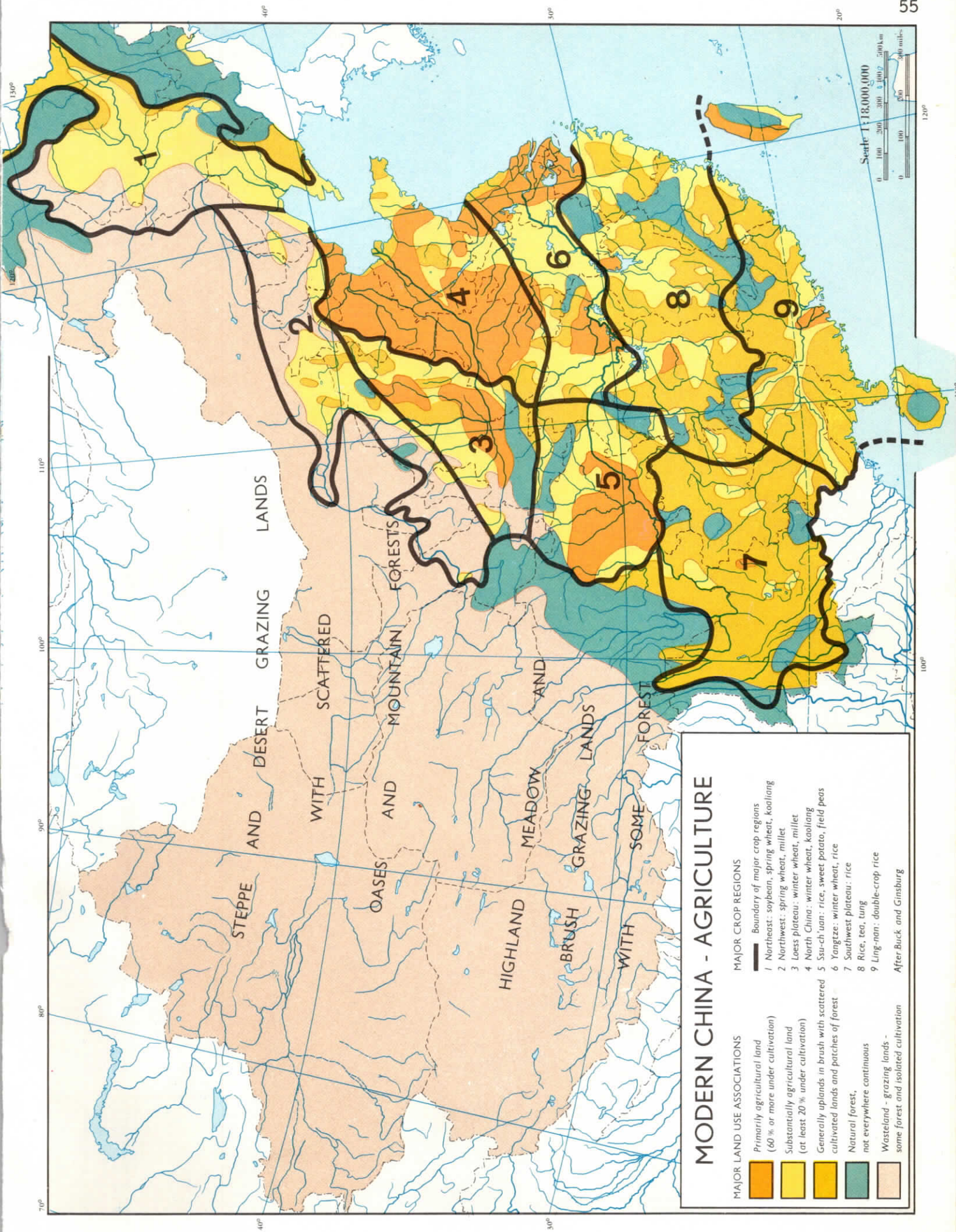
THE CH'ING (MANCHU) DYNASTY-BOUNDARIES OF 1900 A.D.

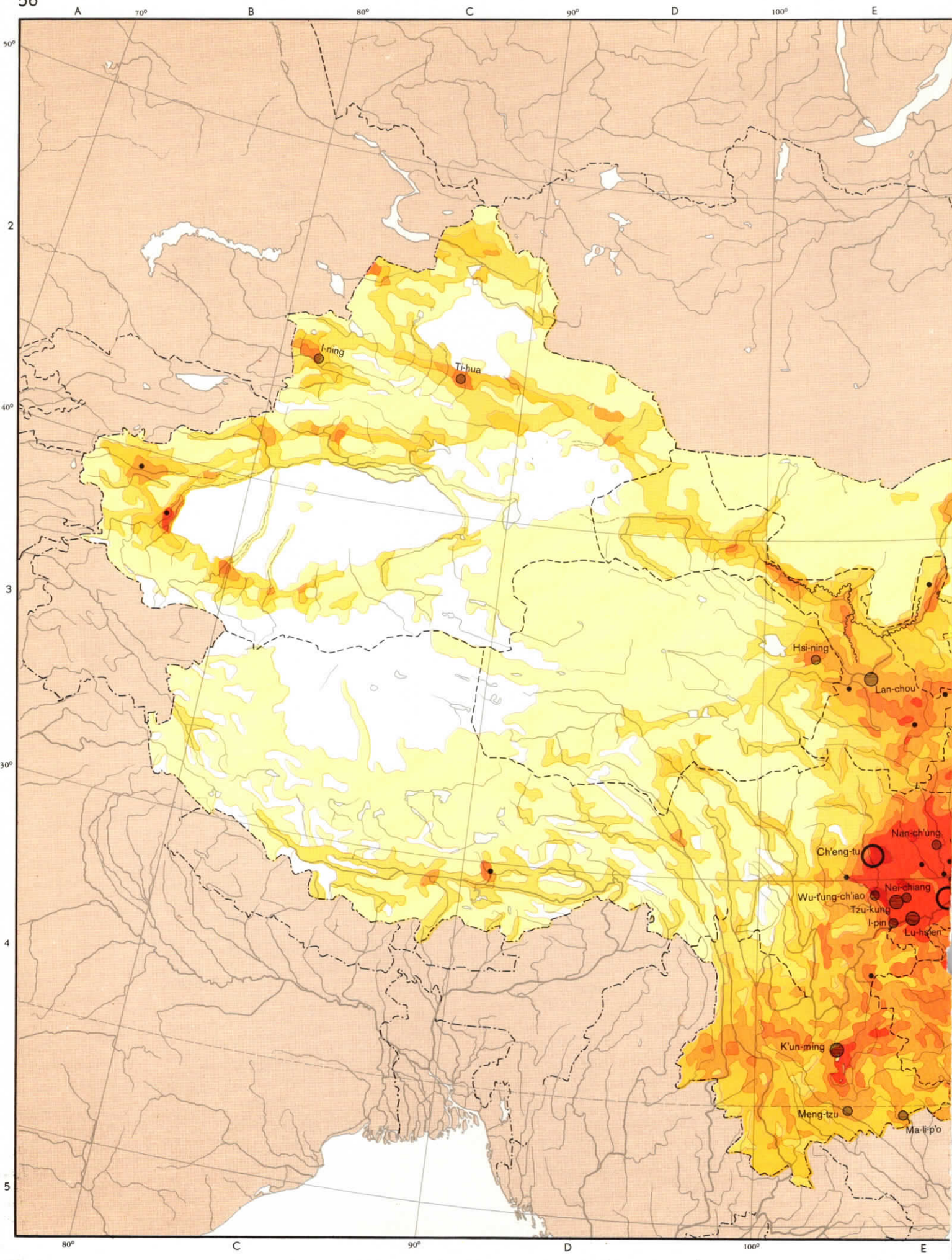


- Tributary territory
- Ceded territory
- Treaty port with date of customs opening
Chen-chiang (1861)
- Lamaist monastery
- Y a o = Half-independent aborigines of China
- Capitals of sheng (provinces)
- Capitals of fu (prefectures)
- Capitals of chih-li-chou (districts)
- Capitals of chih-li-t'ing (districts)
- Capitals of hsien (subdistricts)
- Capitals of chou (subdistricts)
- Capitals of t'ing (subdistricts)
- Towns with more than 500,000 inhabitants
- Towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants



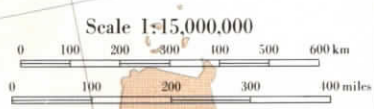
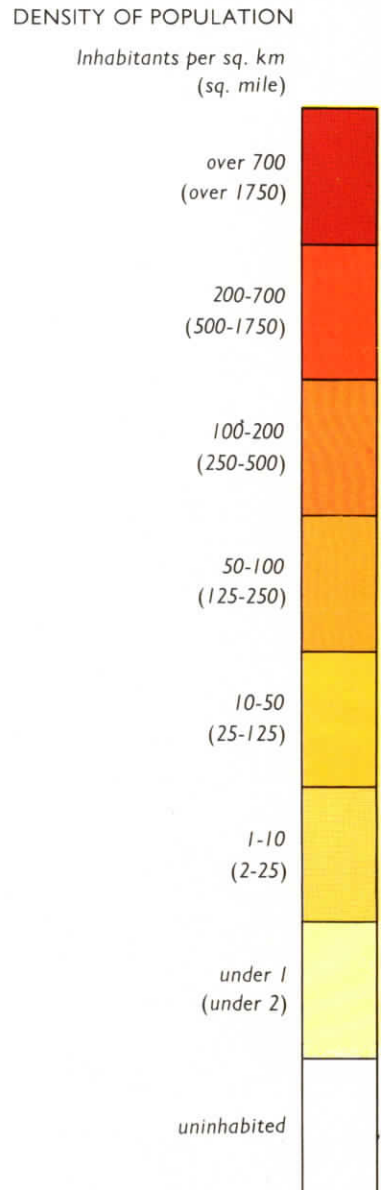
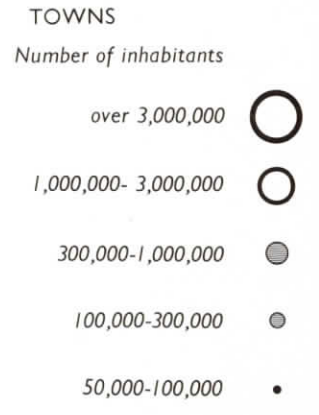
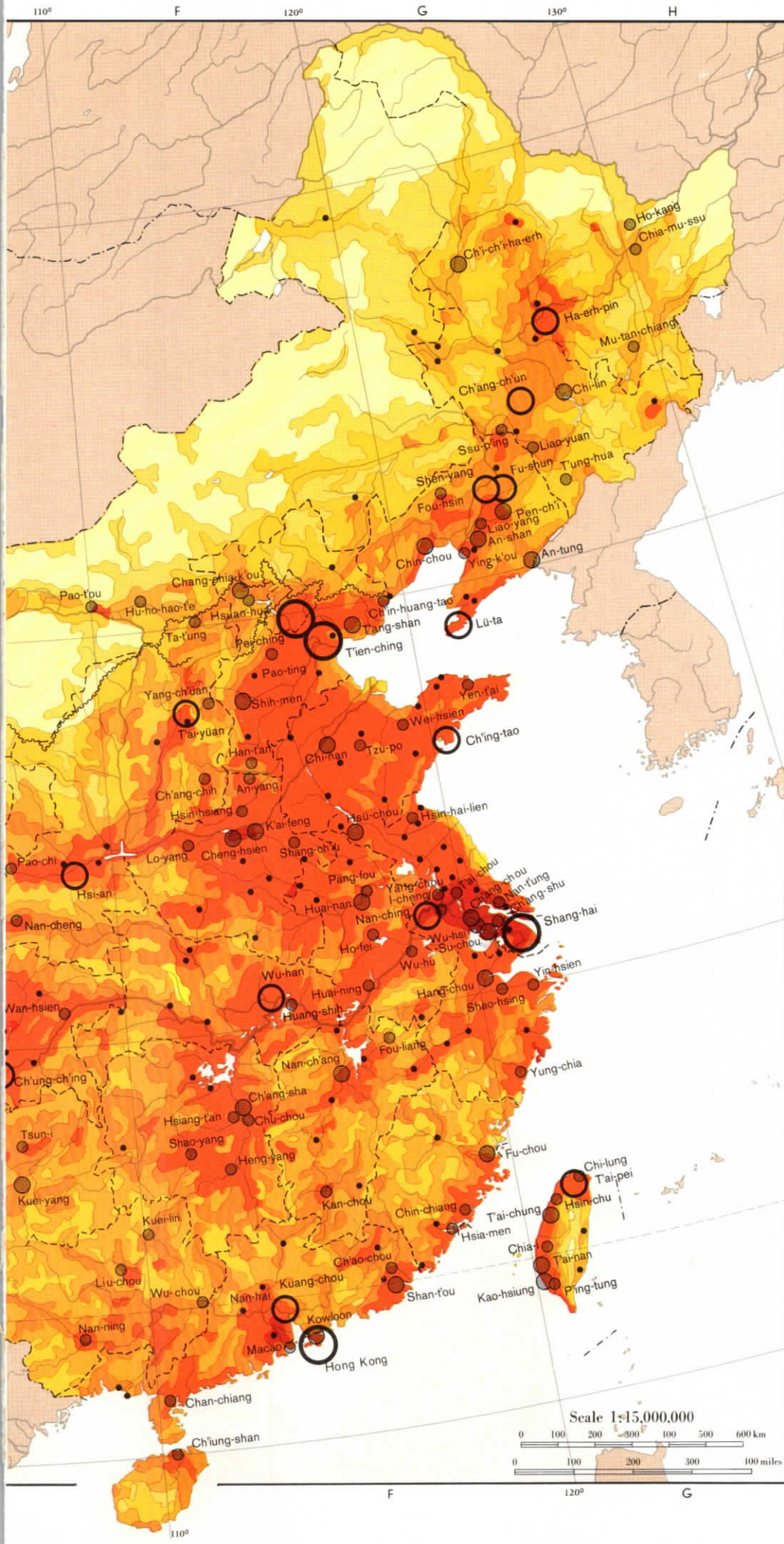


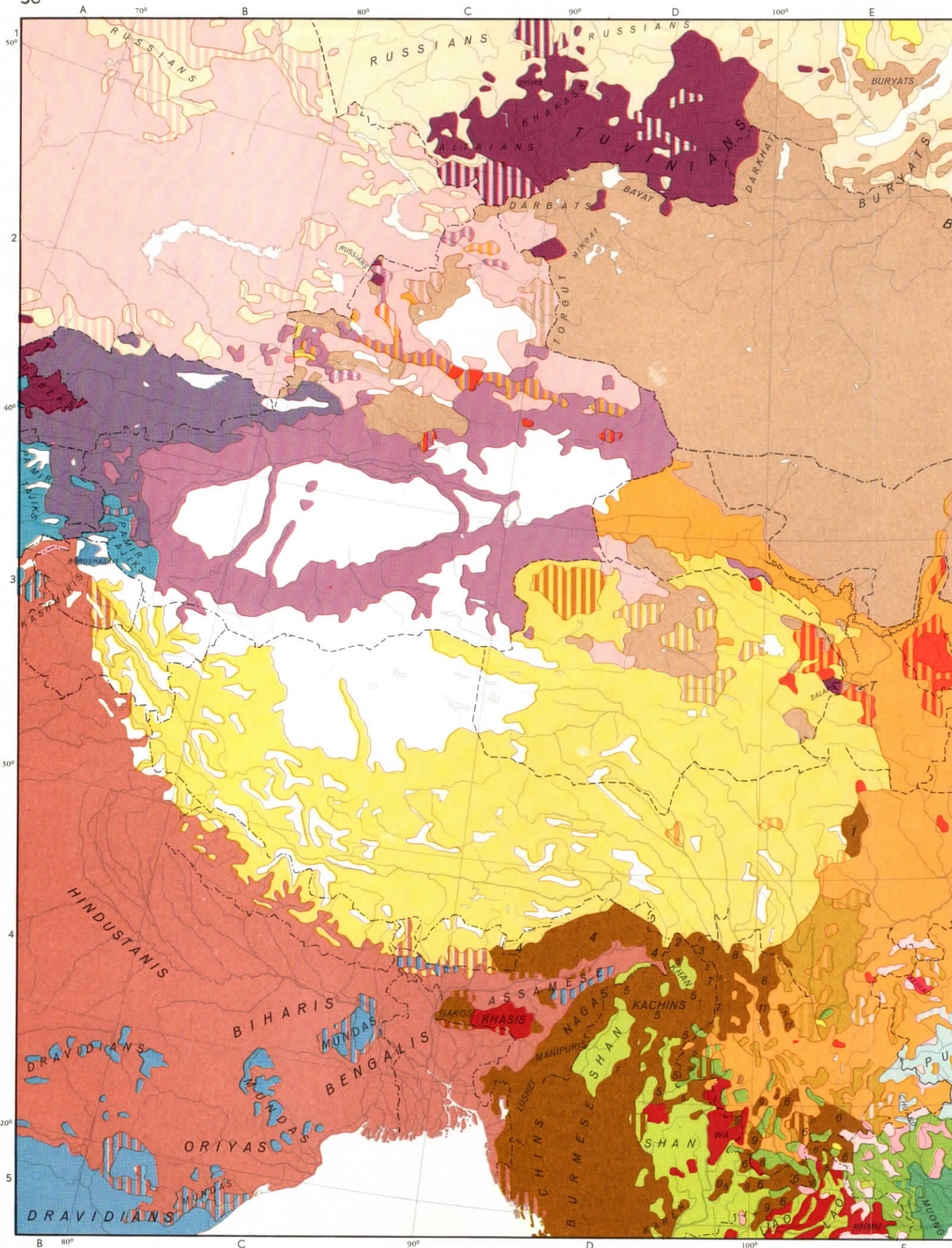




MODERN CHINA - POPULATION

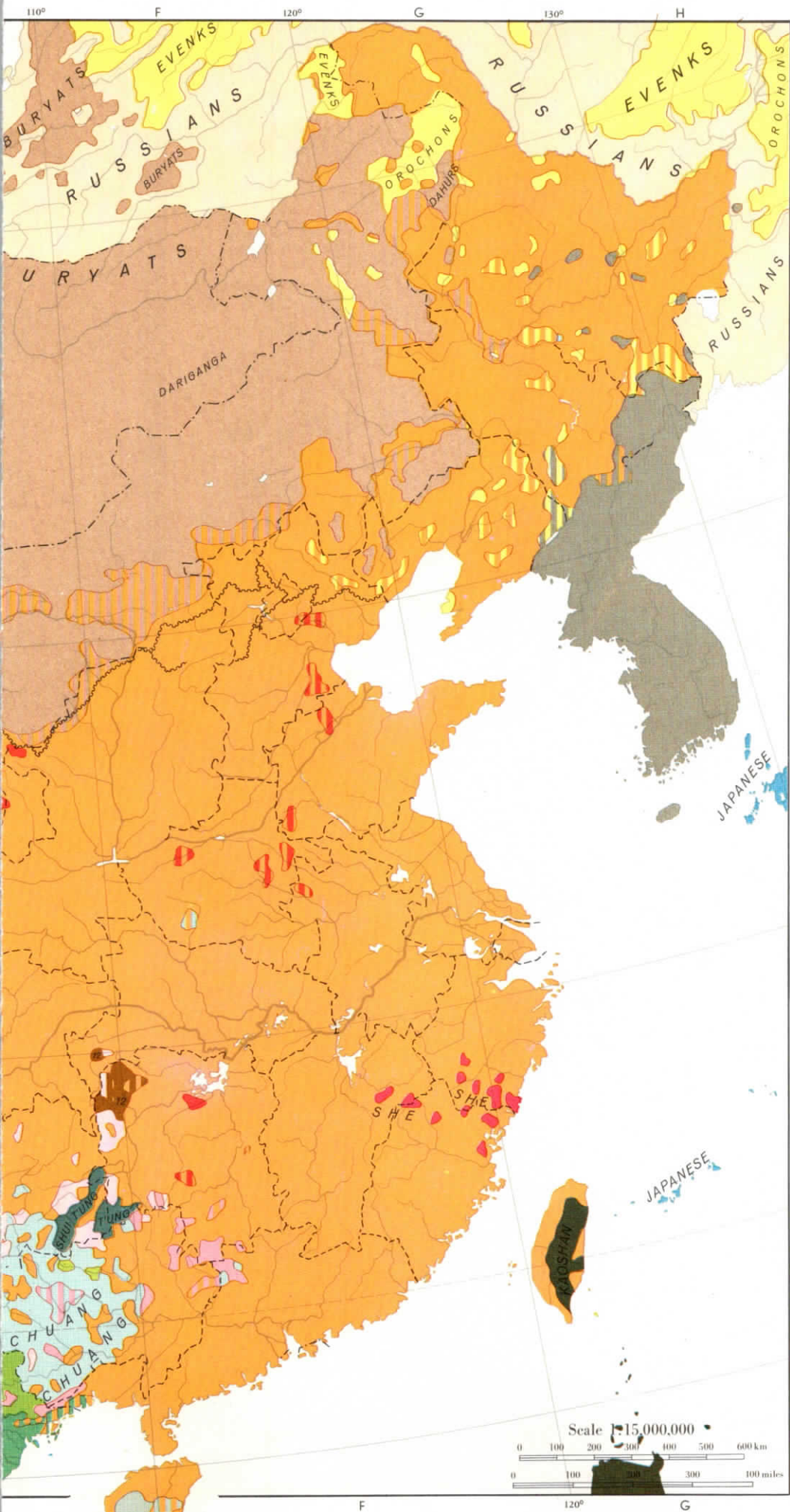
(after Atlas Narodov Mira)





MODERN CHINA

ETHNOLINGUISTIC REGIONS



SINO-TIBETAN FAMILY

CHINESE GROUP

- Chinese (Han)
- Hui (Dungans)

TIBETO-BURMAN GROUP

- Tibetans
- I
- Other languages (I = Ch'iang; 2 = Nu; 3 = Tu-lung; 4 = Lo-ba; 5 = Ching-p'o; 6 = Ha-ni; 7 = Li-su; 8 = Na-hsi; 9 = La-hu; 10 = A-chang; 11 = Pai; 12 = T'u-chia)

THAI-CHUANG GROUP

- Thai
- Chuang; Pu-i
- T'ung; Shui
- Li
- Other languages (incl. Lao and Shan)

VIETNAMESE GROUP

(mainly Vietnamese)

MIAO-YAO GROUP

- Miao
- Yao
- She; Kehlao

ALTAIC FAMILY

TURKIC GROUP

- Uighurs
- Kazakhs
- Kirghiz
- Other languages

MONGOLIC GROUP

- MONGOLIC GROUP
- T
- Tung-hsiang

TUNGUSIC-MANCHU GROUP

- KOREANS

MON-KHMER FAMILY

MALAYO-POLYNESIAN FAMILY

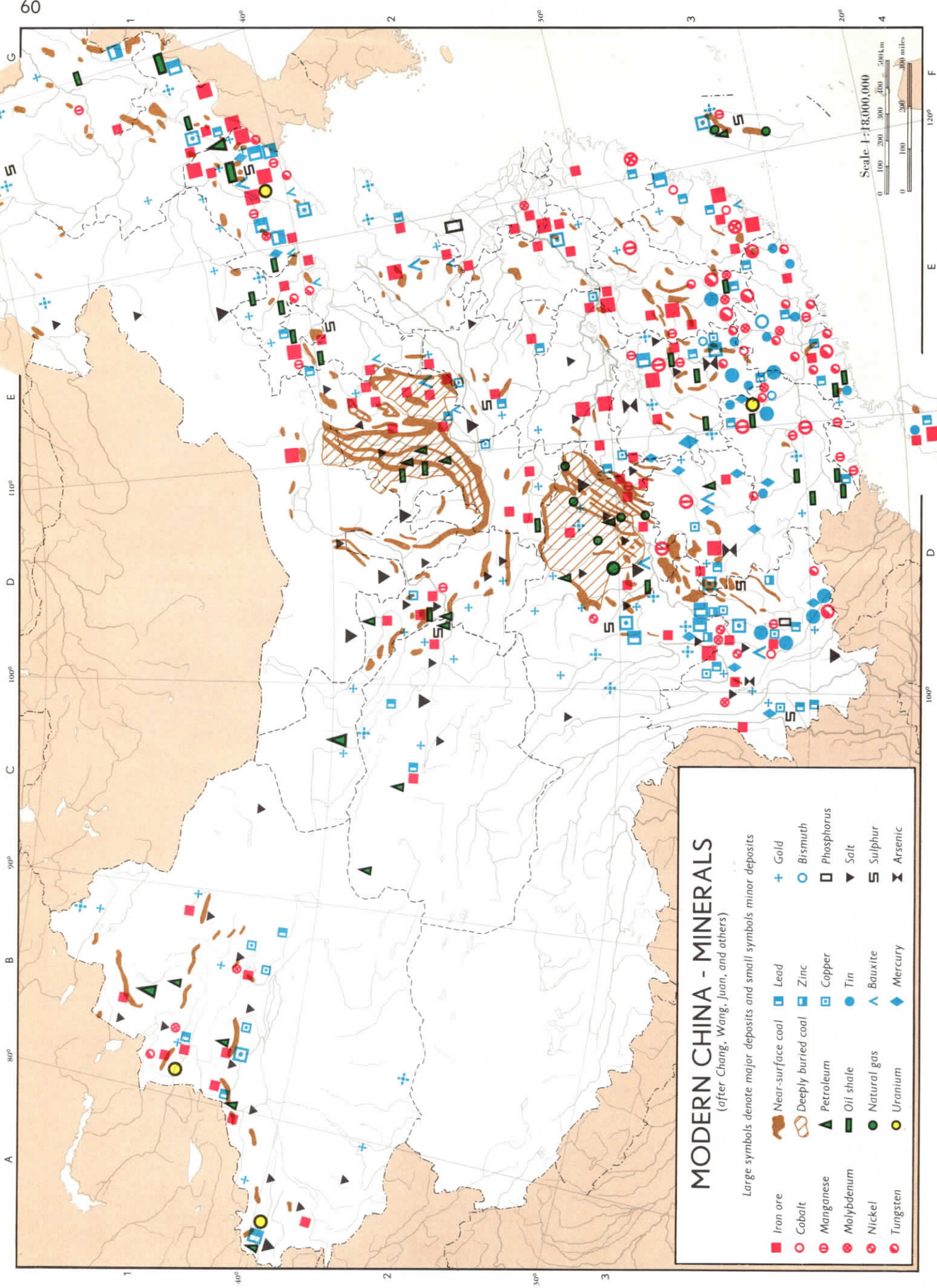
INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY

- IRANIAN GROUP
- INDIC GROUP
- SLAVIC GROUP

OTHER LINGUISTIC FAMILIES (JAPANESE; DRAVIDIAN FAMILY; MUNDA FAMILY; BURUSHASKIS)

After Bruk and Apenchenko





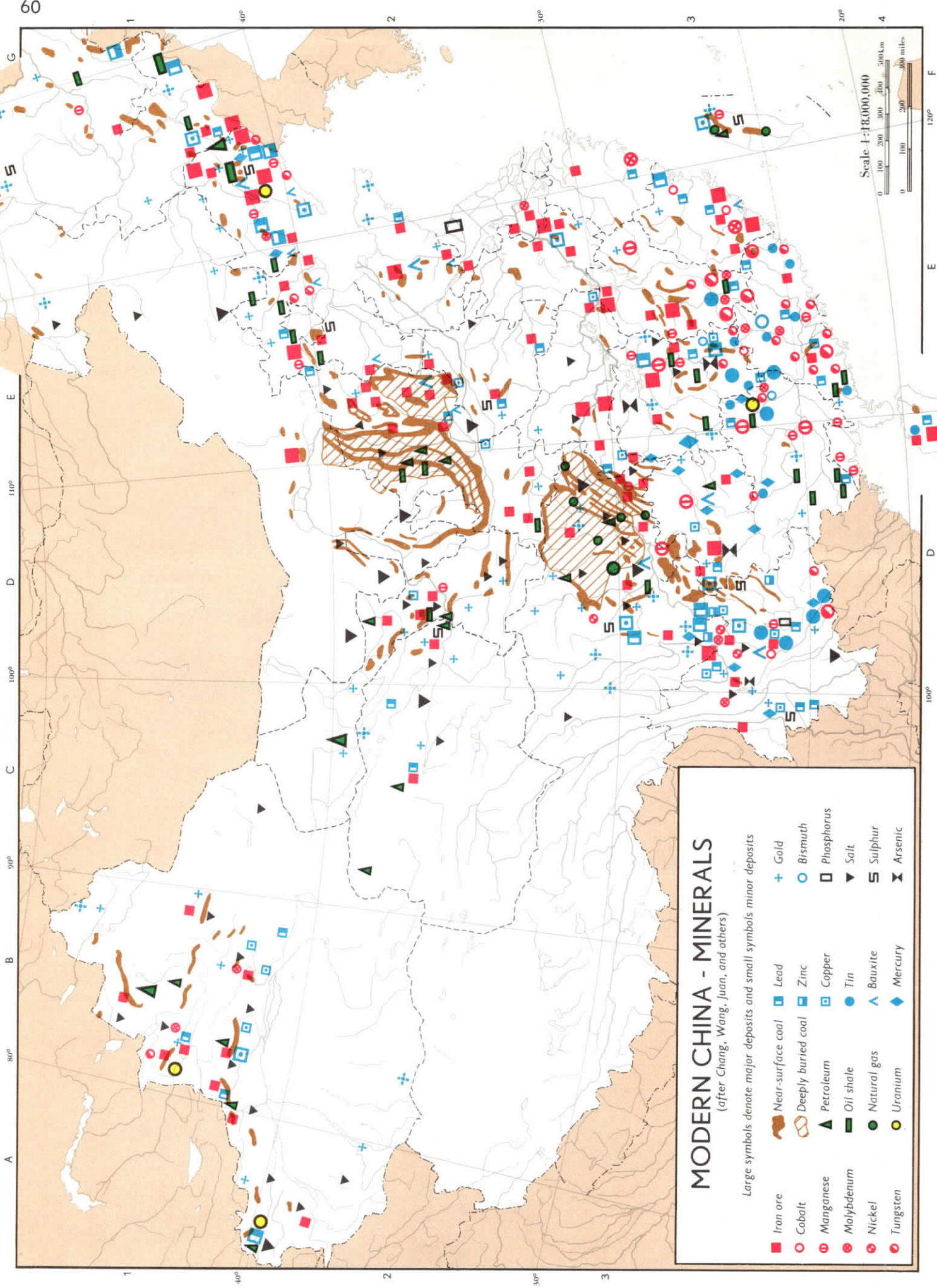
MODERN CHINA - MINERALS

(after Chang, Wang, Juan, and others)

Large symbols denote major deposits and small symbols minor deposits

- | | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|-----------|--------------|
| ■ Iron ore | 👤 Near-surface coal | 👤 Lead | + Gold |
| ○ Cobalt | 👤 Deeply buried coal | 👤 Zinc | ○ Bismuth |
| ○ Manganese | ▲ Petroleum | 👤 Copper | □ Phosphorus |
| ○ Molybdenum | ■ Oil shale | ● Tin | ▼ Salt |
| ○ Nickel | ▲ Natural gas | ▲ Bauxite | ⊞ Sulphur |
| ○ Tungsten | ● Uranium | ◆ Mercury | ⊞ Arsenic |

Scale 1:18,000,000



MODERN CHINA - INDUSTRIES

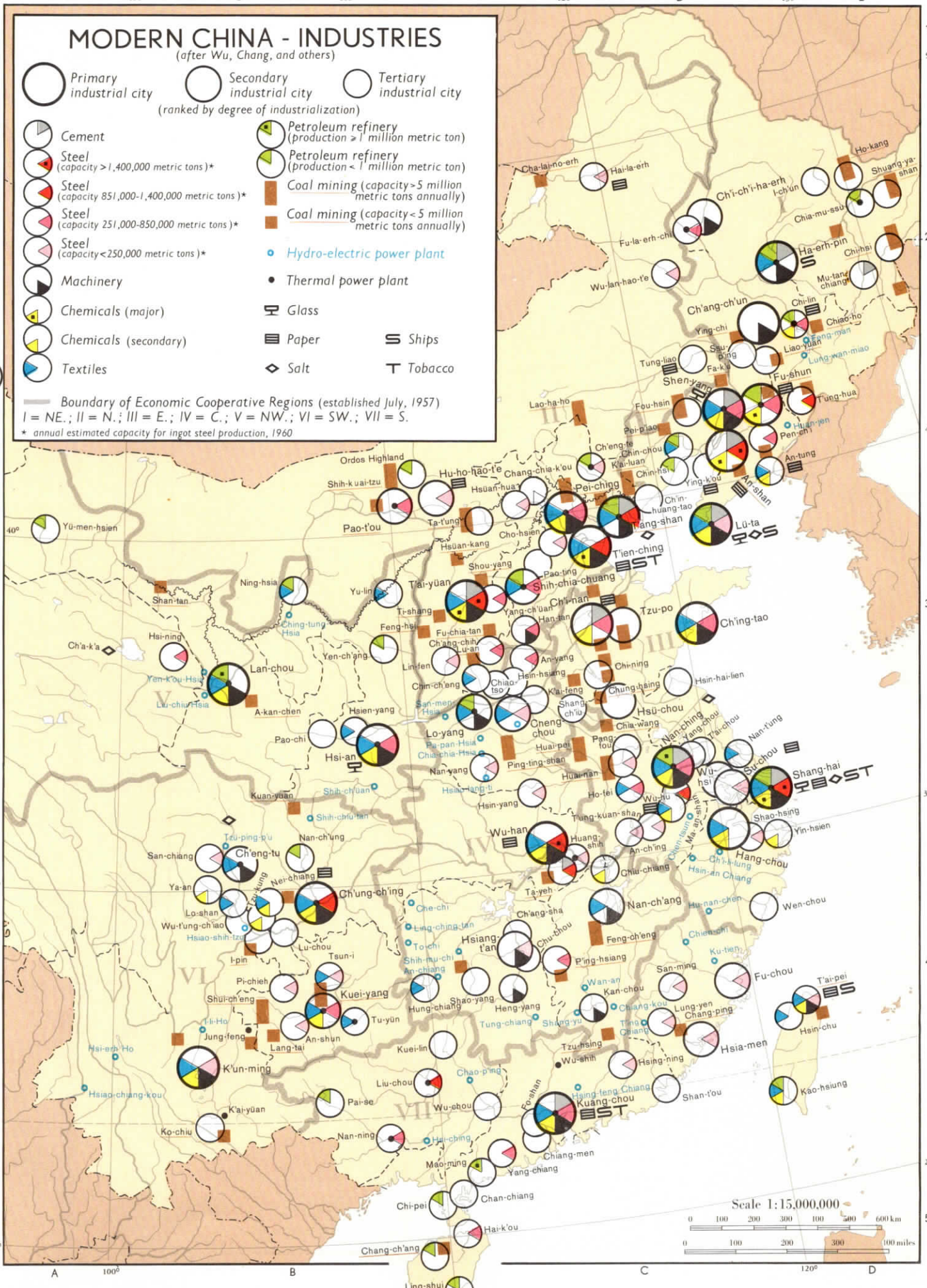
(after Wu, Chang, and others)

- Primary industrial city
 - Secondary industrial city
 - Tertiary industrial city
- (ranked by degree of industrialization)
- Cement
 - Steel (capacity > 1,400,000 metric tons)*
 - Steel (capacity 851,000-1,400,000 metric tons)*
 - Steel (capacity 251,000-850,000 metric tons)*
 - Steel (capacity < 250,000 metric tons)*
 - Machinery
 - Chemicals (major)
 - Chemicals (secondary)
 - Textiles
 - Petroleum refinery (production ≥ 1 million metric ton)
 - Petroleum refinery (production < 1 million metric ton)
 - Coal mining (capacity > 5 million metric tons annually)
 - Coal mining (capacity < 5 million metric tons annually)
 - Hydro-electric power plant
 - Thermal power plant
 - Glass
 - Paper
 - Salt
 - Ships
 - Tobacco

Boundary of Economic Cooperative Regions (established July, 1957)

I = NE.; II = N.; III = E.; IV = C.; V = NW.; VI = SW.; VII = S.

* annual estimated capacity for ingot steel production, 1960



Scale 1:15,000,000

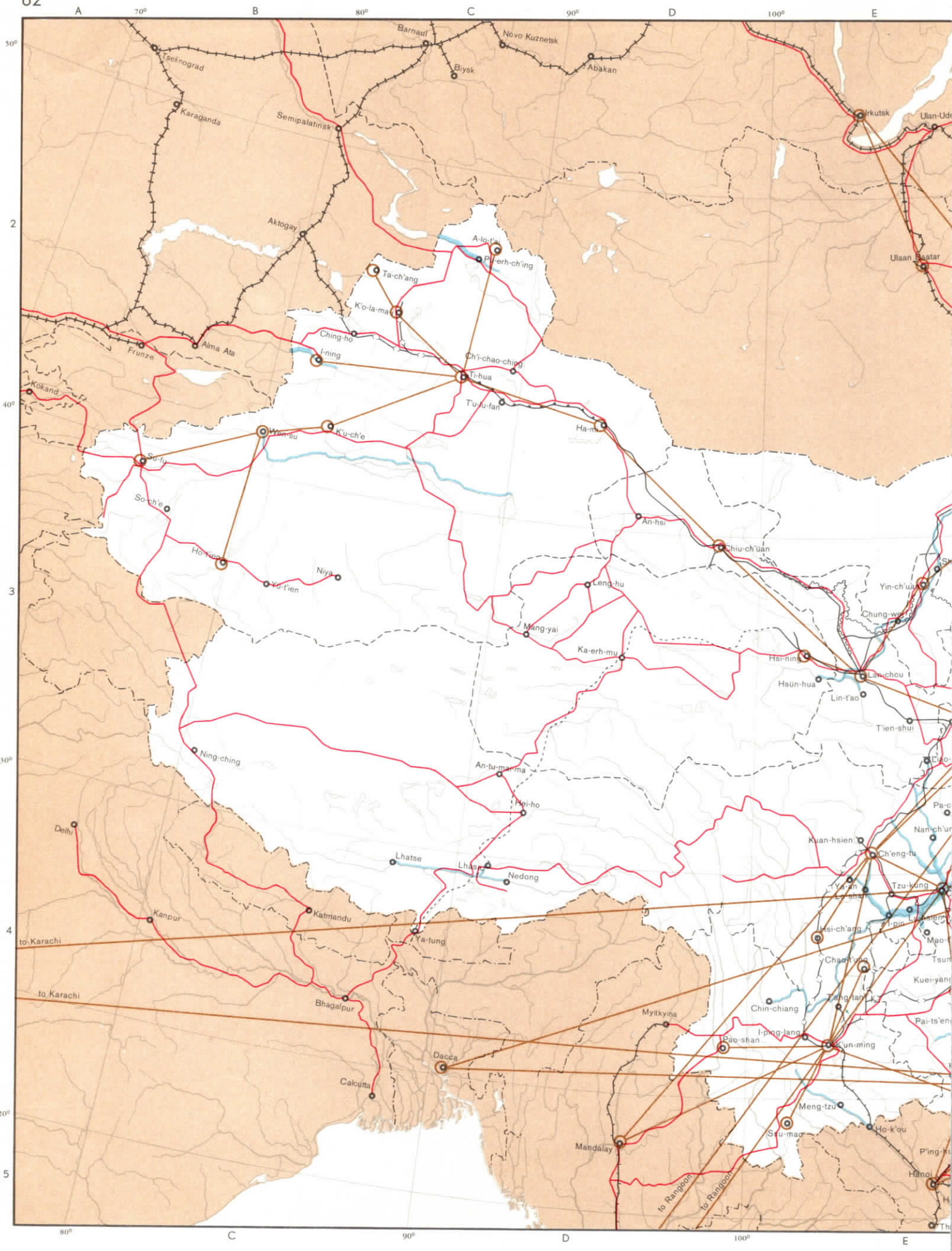


Ju-shan-tzu
Ti-hua
Huo-yen-shan
Ha-mi
Ining
Su-fu (Kashgar)
Ho-fien

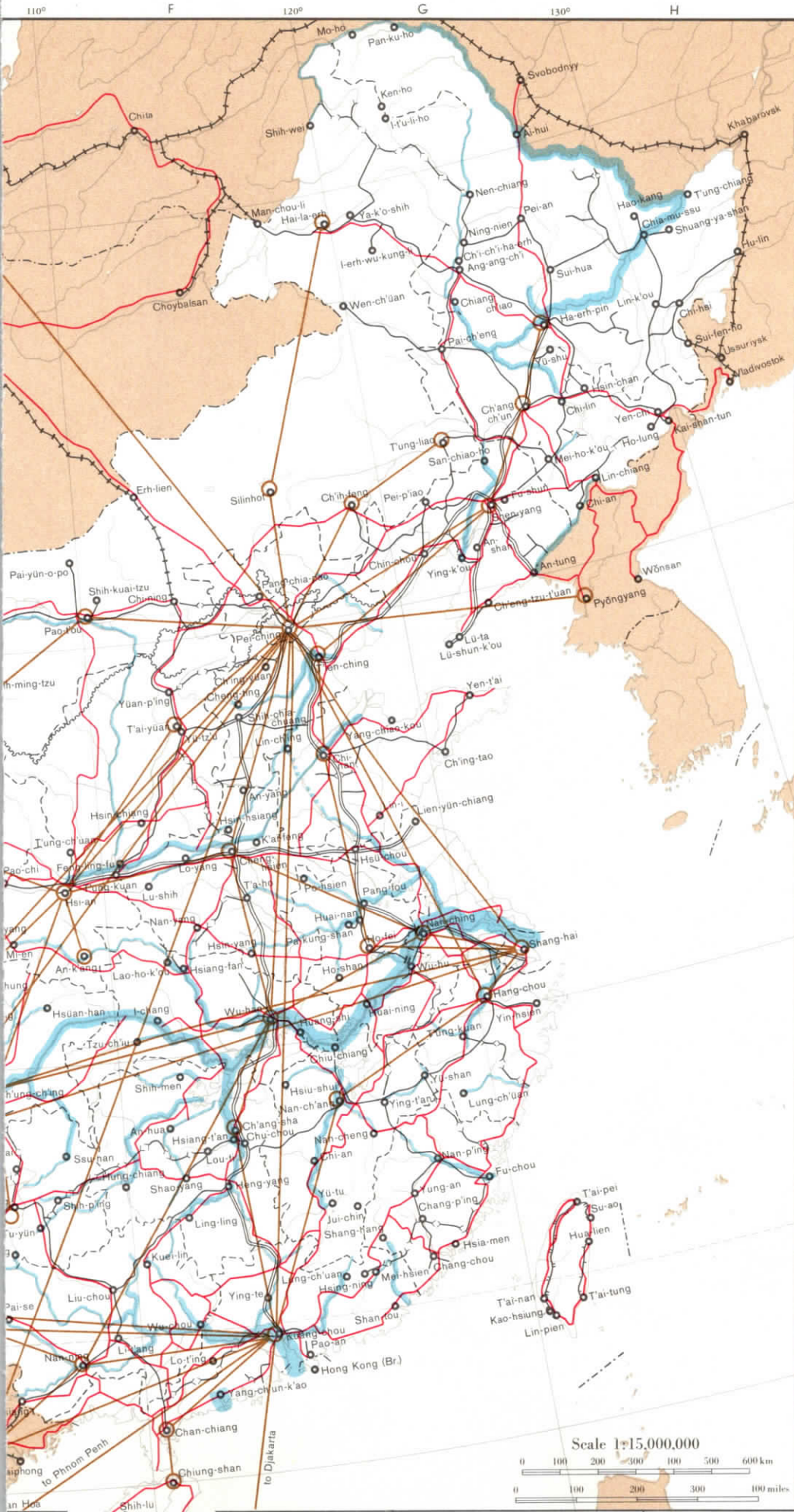
1
50°
2
40°
3
30°
4
20°
5

A 100° B 110° C 120° D 130° E

A 100° B 110° C 120° D



MODERN CHINA - TRANSPORTATION



RAILROADS

- Single track, regular gauge
- > Single track, regular gauge, under construction
- - - Single track, regular gauge, projected
- ==== Double track
- + + + + Broad gauge
- ▲▲▲▲ Temporary commercial line
- |—|—| Narrow gauge
- - -|—|—| Narrow gauge, under construction
- |—|—| Cape gauge
- ||— Ferry point

ROADS

- Main motor routes

AIR ROUTES

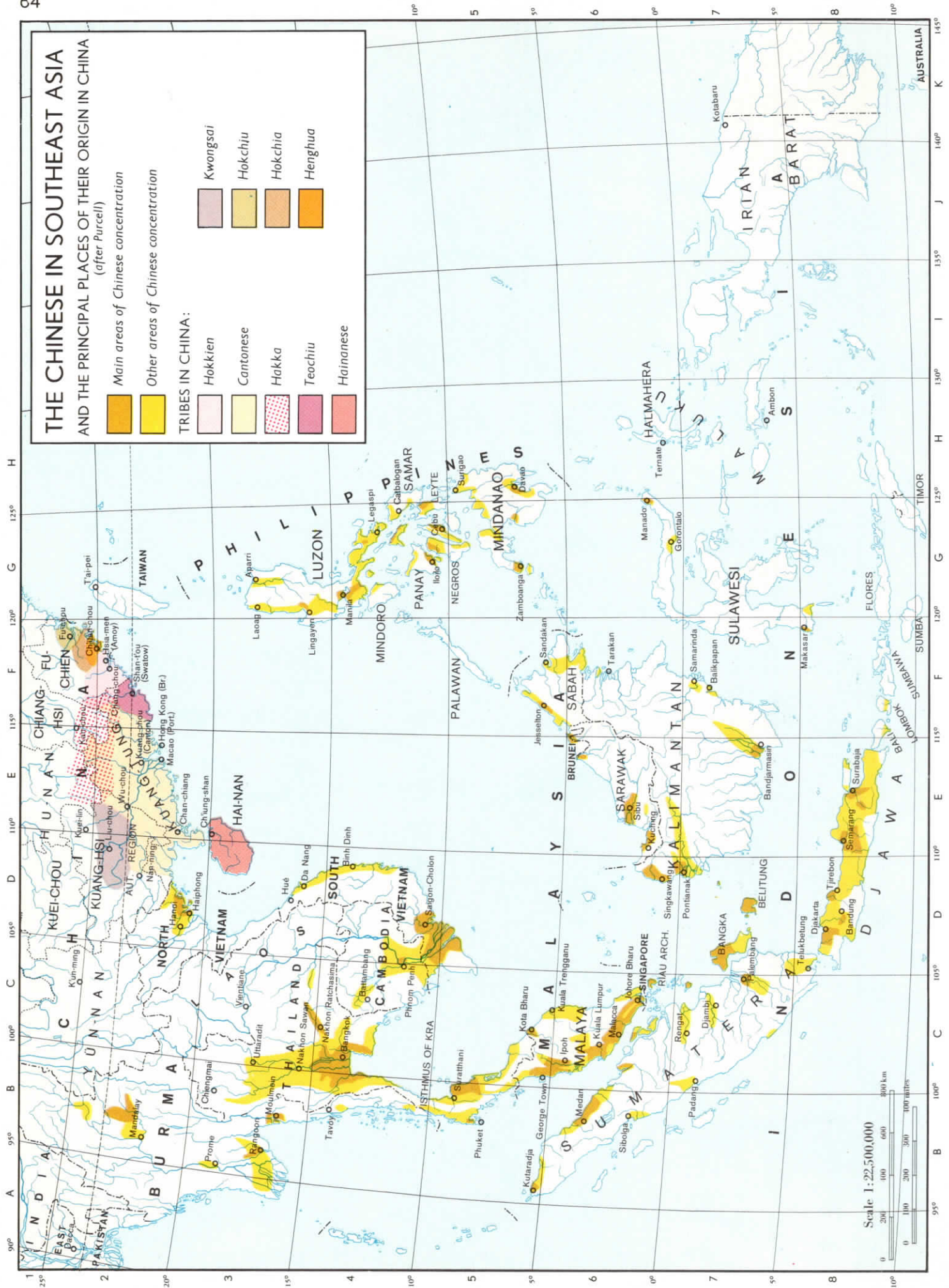
- Air routes
- Airports

NAVIGABLE INLAND WATERWAYS

- Ocean-going steamers
- Medium steamers
- Small steamers
- Junks and rafts
- Grand Canal in process of renovation

Scale 1:15,000,000





Index of Geographical and Proper Names

General Remarks

The headings in the Index refer to the geographical and personal names in the Atlas. Variant spellings, as well as explanations or locations, follow in parentheses.

The figures and letters following the name indicate the page number and quadrangle on the map in which the place or proper name is to be found. Small letters indicate insert maps. Where only a page number is given, the name will be found either in the title or in the legend. In the case of Chinese names a number follows in square brackets, which refers not to the maps, but to the Index of Chinese Characters.

Transcription and Pronunciation of Chinese names

For the most part, Chinese place names are transcribed according to the Wade-Giles system (with hyphen). On some maps, the common, familiar spellings appear alongside the Wade-Giles romanization. The same system is followed in this index. According to this system vowels are spoken as in German or Italian, consonants as in English; k', p', t' are aspirated k, p, and t; ch, somewhat nearer a soft g, and ch' like the English ch as in church, include also the ts or ts' used in some other systems. An exception is made in the inclusion of the

forms tsin and ts'in, which are written thus to differentiate from chin and ch'in (only regarding the names of dynasties). Widely varying spellings found in the "China Postal Album" are added in square brackets with the prefix P.

Transcription and Pronunciation of Other Oriental Names

Other oriental names appear on the maps in simplified usual form, while diacritical marks are reserved for the index:

ch	as in Engl. church (cf. ch' in Chinese)		
gh	with a guttural accompaniment	sh	as in Engl. shoe
h	sharply guttural	d t	supradental d t (in Sanscr.)
j	as in Engl. pigeon	y	as in Engl. yellow
q	deeply guttural	z	as in Engl. zone

Abbreviations

Ctry.	= Country	Loc.	= Locality
Distr.	= District	R.	= River
Dyn.	= Dynasty	Tn.	= Town
I(s).	= Island(s)	Tr.	= Tribe
La.	= Lake		

Index of Geographical and Proper Names

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 侯⁷³⁸ 淺⁷⁷² 洛⁶⁸¹ 方⁶⁵² 渠⁶²² 終⁵⁹⁵ 倉⁵⁴⁷ 牛⁵⁴⁷ 山⁴²⁴ 陽⁴²⁴ 景⁴²⁴ 欽³⁹⁰ 直³⁶⁷ 建³³² 蘇²⁷⁵ 雀²⁷⁵ 績²⁰⁶ 縣¹⁷⁶ 潮¹⁷⁶ 張¹⁷⁸ 陵⁶⁵ 福² 江²
 撫⁷³⁸ 豐⁶⁸¹ 正⁶⁸¹ 莎⁵⁹⁶ 崇⁵⁶⁸ 於⁵⁰⁸ 衛⁴⁵⁷ 青⁴⁵⁷ 興³⁹⁷ 芷³⁶² 平³⁰² 藕³⁰² 離²⁴¹ 戎¹⁷⁷ 昭¹⁴⁷ 堡⁸⁹ 岔⁸⁹ 連³⁹ 柳³⁹ 州³
 松⁷³⁹ 建⁷⁷³ 寧⁶⁸² 芳⁶⁵² 渠⁶²³ 寧⁵⁹⁷ 密⁵⁶⁹ 摩⁵⁴² 浦⁵⁰⁹ 金⁴⁷⁸ 陽⁴²⁵ 清⁴²⁵ 晉³⁹² 枝³⁶³ 建³³³ 丹²⁷⁶ 蕉²⁷⁶ 嘉²⁴² 鎮²⁰⁷ 家¹⁷⁹ 覺¹⁷⁹ 張¹⁷⁹ 路⁶⁶ 印⁴⁰ 府⁴
 縛⁷³⁹ 富⁷⁷³ 奉⁶⁸² 范⁶⁵³ 搜⁵⁹⁷ 且⁵⁶⁹ 諸⁵⁴² 塔⁵⁰⁹ 井⁴⁵² 化³⁹³ 郵³⁶⁴ 阮³⁰³ 揭³⁰³ 嶺²⁷⁷ 興²⁷⁷ 康²⁴³ 港²⁴³ 趙¹⁴⁸ 昌¹²⁰ 濯⁹⁰ 德⁴¹ 安⁴¹ 海⁵
 達⁷⁴⁰ 錦⁷⁷⁴ 聖⁶⁸³ 陽⁶⁵⁴ 曲⁶²⁴ 部⁵⁹⁸ 彌⁵⁷⁰ 諧⁵⁴³ 九⁵¹⁰ 金⁴⁷⁹ 研⁴²⁶ 清⁴²⁶ 昌³⁹⁴ 支³⁶⁵ 潛³³⁴ 陽²⁷⁷ 喬²⁷⁷ 嘉²⁴³ 軒²⁰⁸ 鎮¹⁷⁸ 家¹⁷⁸ 平⁹⁷ 郵⁹⁷ 鋪⁶ 息⁶ 河⁶
 福⁷⁴⁰ 福⁷⁷⁴ 豐⁶⁸³ 番⁶⁵⁴ 沃⁵⁹⁸ 俱⁵⁷⁰ 暨⁵⁴³ 原⁵¹⁰ 壇⁴⁵³ 洪³⁹⁴ 金³⁹⁴ 郵³⁶⁵ 鉛³³⁵ 甜³⁰⁴ 用²⁷⁸ 會²⁷⁸ 淮²⁴⁴ 羌²⁰⁹ 渡¹⁷⁹ 漳¹²⁷ 漳¹²⁷ 安⁶⁷ 安⁴² 西⁷
 鼎⁷⁴¹ 清⁷⁷⁵ 順⁶⁸⁴ 禹⁶⁵⁵ 珠⁶²⁵ 鐘⁵⁹⁹ 蜜⁵⁷¹ 竹⁵⁴⁴ 吉⁵¹¹ 金⁴⁸⁰ 遠⁴²⁷ 廠³⁹⁵ 支³⁶⁶ 建³³⁶ 野²⁷⁸ 夾²⁷⁸ 嘉²⁴⁴ 真²⁰⁹ 真¹⁷⁹ 肇¹⁴⁹ 平⁹³ 長⁹³ 定⁶⁸ 西⁸ 縣⁸
 佛⁷⁴¹ 福⁷⁷⁵ 奉⁶⁸⁴ 伐⁶⁵⁵ 崖⁶⁰⁰ 拘⁵⁷² 谿⁵⁴⁵ 陽⁵¹² 晉⁴⁸¹ 原⁴²⁸ 景⁴²⁸ 金³⁹⁶ 織³⁶⁶ 監³³⁷ 潛³⁰⁶ 佉²⁷⁹ 嘉²⁴⁵ 沈²¹⁰ 真¹⁸⁰ 鮮¹⁵⁰ 浦¹²² 安⁶⁸ 安⁴³ 湖⁹
 子⁷⁴² 州⁷⁷⁶ 天⁶⁸⁵ 地⁶⁵⁶ 曲⁶²⁶ 善⁶⁰¹ 謎⁵⁷³ 朱⁵⁴⁶ 濟⁵¹² 晉⁴⁸¹ 原⁴²⁸ 金³⁹⁶ 織³⁶⁶ 監³³⁷ 潛³⁰⁶ 佉²⁷⁹ 嘉²⁴⁵ 沈²¹⁰ 真¹⁸⁰ 鮮¹⁵⁰ 浦¹²² 安⁶⁸ 安⁴³ 湖⁹
 莊⁷⁴² 富⁷⁷⁶ 鳳⁶⁸⁵ 法⁶⁵⁶ 陽⁶²⁷ 中⁶⁰² 且⁵⁷² 角⁵⁴⁷ 祁⁵¹³ 沁⁴⁸² 元⁴²⁹ 井⁴²⁹ 金³⁹⁷ 柘³⁶⁷ 建³³⁸ 連³⁰⁸ 嘉²⁸⁰ 莪²⁴⁶ 陳²¹¹ 貞¹⁸¹ 化¹⁵¹ 三⁹⁵ 占⁹⁵ 園⁷⁰ 新⁷⁰ 門¹²
 富⁷⁴² 富⁷⁷⁷ 陽⁶⁸⁶ 源⁶⁵⁷ 鉅⁶²⁷ 受⁶⁰² 末⁵⁷⁴ 珠⁵⁴⁶ 陽⁵¹² 陽⁴⁸³ 源⁴⁵⁶ 檜⁴²⁹ 始³⁶⁸ 塘³³⁹ 建³¹⁰ 迦²⁸¹ 館²⁷² 鄭²⁸² 怙²⁴⁷ 長¹²⁴ 張⁹⁷ 次⁷¹ 化⁷¹ 北¹⁴
 陽⁷⁴³ 川⁷⁷⁸ 分⁶⁸⁶ 寺⁶⁵⁷ 野⁶²⁸ 降⁶⁰³ 處⁵⁷⁵ 曲⁵⁴⁷ 濟⁵¹⁴ 沁⁴⁸³ 源⁴⁵⁷ 藍⁴³¹ 興³⁴⁰ 建³¹¹ 濕²⁴⁷ 寧²⁸³ 鄭²⁸³ 釐²⁴⁸ 沙¹⁵⁷ 家¹²⁵ 安⁷¹ 安⁴⁶ 山¹⁵
 鹿⁷⁴³ 扶⁷⁷⁸ 宜⁶⁸⁷ 費⁶⁵⁸ 奇⁶²⁸ 崇⁶⁰³ 木⁵⁷⁶ 朱⁵⁴⁸ 陰⁵¹⁵ 源⁴⁵⁷ 藍⁴³¹ 興³⁴⁰ 建³¹¹ 濕²⁴⁷ 寧²⁸³ 鄭²⁸³ 釐²⁴⁸ 沙¹⁵⁷ 家¹²⁵ 安⁷¹ 安⁴⁶ 山¹⁵
 延⁷⁴⁴ 風⁷⁷⁹ 分⁶⁸⁷ 肥⁶⁵⁹ 台⁶²⁹ 德⁶⁰⁴ 昆⁵⁷⁷ 住⁵⁴⁹ 涿⁵¹⁵ 罰⁴⁸⁴ 遠⁴³¹ 金³⁸⁹ 赤³⁶⁹ 德³⁴² 章³¹² 彌²⁸⁴ 麻²⁷³ 成²⁸⁴ 朝¹⁵³ 長¹²⁵ 昌⁹⁸ 陽⁷⁶ 省⁷⁶
 未⁷⁴⁴ 撫⁷⁷⁹ 汾⁶⁸⁸ 肥⁶⁵⁹ 居⁶²⁹ 中⁶⁰⁴ 糜⁵⁷⁴ 注⁵⁴⁹ 斫⁵¹⁶ 賓⁴⁸⁵ 清⁴⁵⁸ 涼⁴³² 佛³⁴⁷ 建³¹² 選²⁸⁵ 邊²⁴⁹ 程²⁸⁵ 邑²⁴⁹ 長¹²⁶ 張⁹⁹ 安⁷² 安⁴⁷ 水¹⁷
 餘⁷⁴⁵ 仙⁷⁸⁰ 陽⁶⁸⁹ 鄉⁶⁵⁹ 延⁶³⁰ 甸⁶⁰⁵ 濬⁵⁷⁵ 清⁵⁴⁹ 甸⁵¹⁶ 稷⁴⁸⁵ 苑⁴³² 寺³⁷⁰ 直³⁷⁰ 德³⁴³ 昌³¹³ 嘉²⁸² 菽²⁴⁸ 鎮²⁴⁹ 峽¹⁸⁶ 朝¹⁵⁴ 壽¹²⁷ 審¹⁰⁰ 邑⁷³ 安⁴⁸ 村¹⁹
 孚⁷⁴⁵ 富⁷⁸⁰ 佛⁶⁸⁹ 汾⁶⁵⁹ 朱⁶³⁰ 中⁶⁰⁵ 昌⁵⁷⁶ 曲⁵⁵⁰ 迦⁴⁸⁶ 慶⁴⁵⁹ 流⁴⁰⁰ 隸³⁷¹ 力³¹³ 定²⁸⁷ 萌²⁴⁹ 平²⁸⁷ 歌¹²⁷ 常¹⁰⁰ 安⁷³ 安⁴⁸ 村¹⁹
 遠⁷⁴⁶ 新⁷⁸¹ 佛⁶⁹⁰ 豐⁶⁶¹ 園⁶³¹ 都⁶⁰⁶ 崇⁵⁷⁷ 靖⁵⁷⁷ 涿⁵¹⁷ 石⁴⁸⁷ 雲⁴³³ 涇⁴⁰¹ 赤³⁷¹ 健³⁴² 乘³¹⁴ 嘉²⁸³ 輯²⁴⁹ 陳²¹⁵ 安¹⁵⁵ 熟¹²⁸ 清¹⁰¹ 遠⁷⁴ 義⁴⁹ 東²⁰
 福⁷⁴⁶ 場⁷⁸² 岡⁶⁹¹ 豐⁶⁶² 處⁶³² 中⁶⁰⁶ 忠⁵⁷⁸ 楚⁵⁵¹ 鹿⁴⁸⁷ 薪⁴⁶⁰ 錦⁴⁶⁰ 樂⁴⁰² 嶺³⁴⁴ 德³¹⁴ 錢³¹⁴ 魚²⁸⁴ 安²⁸⁴ 湯²⁵⁰ 激²⁸⁸ 平²⁸⁴ 長¹⁰² 遠⁷⁴ 仁⁵⁰ 阿²¹
 永⁷⁴⁷ 扶⁷⁸³ 佛⁶⁹² 方⁶⁶³ 月⁶³³ 中⁶⁰⁷ 正⁵⁷⁹ 處⁵⁵² 周⁵⁷⁹ 契⁴⁸⁹ 進⁴⁶² 明⁴⁰⁴ 靖⁴⁰⁴ 隆³⁴⁵ 馱³¹⁵ 集²⁸⁵ 嶺²⁵¹ 定²⁸⁵ 家²⁸⁵ 通²⁵¹ 長¹⁰³ 春⁷⁵ 營⁵⁰ 阿²²
 肥⁷⁴⁷ 溝⁷⁸⁴ 坪⁶⁹³ 鳳⁶⁶⁴ 甸⁶³⁴ 渡⁶⁰⁷ 中⁶⁰⁷ 正⁵⁷⁹ 處⁵⁵² 周⁵⁷⁹ 契⁴⁸⁹ 進⁴⁶² 明⁴⁰⁴ 靖⁴⁰⁴ 隆³⁴⁵ 馱³¹⁵ 集²⁸⁵ 嶺²⁵¹ 定²⁸⁵ 家²⁸⁵ 通²⁵¹ 長¹⁰³ 春⁷⁵ 營⁵⁰ 阿²²
 景⁷⁴⁸ 府⁷⁸⁵ 佛⁶⁹³ 豐⁶⁶⁵ 容⁶³⁵ 街⁶⁰⁸ 中⁶⁰⁸ 中⁶⁰⁸ 駒⁵⁸⁰ 店⁵²⁰ 齋⁴⁹⁰ 金⁴⁶³ 寧⁴⁰⁶ 清⁴⁰⁶ 智³⁷³ 鉛³⁴⁴ 鉛³⁴⁴ 鉛³⁴⁴ 漢²⁵³ 濁²⁸⁰ 哇²⁸⁰ 常¹³⁰ 興⁷⁶ 郭⁷⁶ 安⁵¹ 田²³
 飛⁷⁴⁸ 谷⁷⁸⁶ 佛⁶⁹³ 鎮⁶⁶⁶ 居⁶³⁶ 衛⁶⁰⁸ 中⁶⁰⁸ 中⁶⁰⁸ 駒⁵⁸⁰ 店⁵²⁰ 齋⁴⁹⁰ 金⁴⁶³ 寧⁴⁰⁶ 清⁴⁰⁶ 智³⁷³ 鉛³⁴⁴ 鉛³⁴⁴ 鉛³⁴⁴ 漢²⁵³ 濁²⁸⁰ 哇²⁸⁰ 常¹³⁰ 興⁷⁶ 郭⁷⁶ 安⁵¹ 田²³
 沙⁷⁴⁹ 富⁷⁸⁷ 遊⁶⁹⁴ 放⁶⁶⁶ 庸⁶³⁷ 文⁶⁰⁹ 重⁵⁸¹ 波⁵²⁰ 州⁵²⁰ 堂⁴⁹¹ 鄉⁴³⁶ 慶⁴⁰⁷ 猛³⁴⁵ 敦³¹⁷ 濟²⁸⁶ 津²⁸⁶ 震²⁸⁶ 和²⁸⁶ 昭¹⁵⁸ 德¹⁰⁴ 長⁷⁷ 郭⁷⁷ 安⁵² 房²⁴
 鳳⁷⁴⁹ 貴⁷⁸⁸ 弗⁶⁹⁴ 拜⁶⁶⁷ 額⁶³⁸ 文⁶⁰⁹ 重⁵⁸¹ 波⁵²⁰ 州⁵²⁰ 堂⁴⁹¹ 鄉⁴³⁶ 慶⁴⁰⁷ 猛³⁴⁵ 敦³¹⁷ 濟²⁸⁶ 津²⁸⁶ 震²⁸⁶ 和²⁸⁶ 昭¹⁵⁸ 德¹⁰⁴ 長⁷⁷ 郭⁷⁷ 安⁵² 房²⁴
 林⁷⁵⁰ 弗⁷²⁴ 敵⁶⁹⁵ 奉⁶⁶⁷ 穆⁶³⁹ 吾⁶¹⁰ 慶⁵⁸² 俱⁵²¹ 甸⁴³⁷ 北⁴⁰⁸ 皮³⁷⁴ 為³⁷⁸ 建³⁷⁸ 館²⁵⁵ 鎮²⁸⁹ 貢²⁸⁹ 張¹⁵⁹ 汀¹³² 宮¹³² 嘉¹⁰⁵ 骨⁷⁸ 車⁷⁸ 弗²⁵ 阿²⁵
 巢⁷⁵⁰ 利⁷²⁵ 沙⁶⁹⁶ 節⁶⁶⁸ 恩⁶³⁶ 崇⁶¹⁰ 慶⁵⁸² 波⁵²² 鷓⁴⁸² 泰⁴⁶⁵ 桐⁴²⁹ 蟄³⁷⁵ 沂³⁴⁶ 劍³¹⁹ 冀²⁸⁷ 中²⁸⁷ 燕²⁸⁷ 園²⁸² 各¹³² 昌¹⁰⁵ 救⁷⁸ 車⁷⁸ 弗²⁵ 阿²⁵
 鳳⁷⁵⁰ 刺⁷²⁶ 阜⁶⁹⁶ 邨⁶⁶⁸ 恩⁶³⁶ 崇⁶¹⁰ 慶⁵⁸² 波⁵²² 鷓⁴⁸² 泰⁴⁶⁵ 桐⁴²⁹ 蟄³⁷⁵ 沂³⁴⁶ 劍³¹⁹ 冀²⁸⁷ 中²⁸⁷ 燕²⁸⁷ 園²⁸² 各¹³² 昌¹⁰⁵ 救⁷⁸ 車⁷⁸ 弗²⁵ 阿²⁵
 鳴⁷⁵¹ 拂⁷²⁶ 阜⁶⁹⁶ 邨⁶⁶⁸ 恩⁶³⁶ 崇⁶¹⁰ 慶⁵⁸² 波⁵²² 鷓⁴⁸² 泰⁴⁶⁵ 桐⁴²⁹ 蟄³⁷⁵ 沂³⁴⁶ 劍³¹⁹ 冀²⁸⁷ 中²⁸⁷ 燕²⁸⁷ 園²⁸² 各¹³² 昌¹⁰⁵ 救⁷⁸ 車⁷⁸ 弗²⁵ 阿²⁵
 豐⁷⁵¹ 蘇⁷²⁷ 新⁶⁹⁷ 奉⁶⁶⁹ 平⁶³⁷ 淳⁶¹¹ 興⁵⁸³ 港⁵²³ 楚⁴⁸³ 邨⁴⁸³ 集⁴⁶⁶ 邊⁴⁷⁰ 密³⁴⁷ 川³⁴⁷ 春²⁸⁷ 華²⁸⁷ 沅²⁸⁷ 國²⁸⁷ 陽¹³³ 昌¹⁰⁶ 場⁷⁹ 良⁵⁴ 緩²⁶
 台⁷⁵² 拂⁷²⁷ 阜⁶⁹⁷ 福⁶⁶⁹ 恩⁶³⁷ 化⁶¹² 場⁵⁸⁴ 阜⁵²⁶ 真⁴⁶⁷ 濟⁴⁶⁷ 平⁴⁷⁷ 齊³⁷⁷ 簡³⁴⁸ 中²⁹⁰ 寧²⁸⁹ 遠²⁸⁵ 止²⁸⁵ 陽¹³⁴ 長¹⁰⁷ 靱⁷⁹ 禮⁸⁰ 阿²⁷
 客⁷⁵² 臨⁷²⁸ 康⁶⁹⁸ 寺⁶⁷⁰ 恩⁶³⁸ 連⁶¹³ 祥⁵⁸⁵ 珠⁵²⁷ 九⁴⁹⁵ 寧⁴⁴⁰ 荆⁴⁴² 化⁴⁴² 陽³²² 錫²⁹¹ 寧²⁶⁰ 鎮²²² 寧¹⁶² 子¹⁶² 廣⁸⁰ 鶴⁸⁰ 安⁵⁵ 蘭²⁸
 海⁷⁵³ 墨⁷²⁹ 陵⁶⁹⁹ 翔⁶⁷¹ 恩⁶³⁹ 春⁶¹⁴ 崇⁵⁸⁵ 曲⁵⁵⁸ 昨⁵²⁸ 尺⁴⁸⁸ 金⁴⁶⁸ 毫⁴⁴¹ 奇⁴⁴³ 奇³⁷⁸ 黔³⁴⁹ 康³⁴⁹ 又²⁸⁶ 越²⁸⁶ 步²⁸⁶ 遠¹³⁵ 彰¹³⁵ 昌¹⁰⁸ 蓋⁸¹ 陸²⁸ 阿²⁸
 豐⁷⁵⁴ 富⁷²⁸ 浮⁶⁹⁹ 奉⁶⁷¹ 哉⁶³⁹ 明⁶¹⁵ 信⁵⁸⁶ 先⁵²⁹ 鋪⁴⁸⁶ 光⁴⁴² 鐵⁴⁴² 乾³⁵⁰ 建³⁵⁰ 捷³²³ 邊²⁶⁷ 冀²⁶⁷ 承²⁸⁷ 乍¹⁶³ 武¹⁶³ 黎¹⁰⁹ 山¹⁰⁹ 衛⁸² 龍⁸² 阿²⁹
 海⁷⁵⁴ 民⁷³⁰ 梁⁶⁹⁹ 賢⁶⁷² 邊⁶⁴⁰ 步⁶¹⁶ 中⁵⁸⁶ 楚⁵⁵⁹ 全⁵³⁰ 舊⁴⁸⁶ 金⁴⁶⁹ 波⁴⁴³ 清⁴⁴³ 吉³⁷⁹ 業³⁵⁷ 閣³²⁴ 枝²⁹³ 都²⁶² 蔣²⁸⁴ 德²⁸⁴ 浦¹³⁶ 長¹⁰⁹ 衛⁸² 龍⁸² 阿²⁹
 林⁷⁵⁵ 扶⁷³¹ 卓⁷⁰⁰ 奉⁶⁷² 洱⁶⁴¹ 軍⁶¹⁶ 崇⁵⁸⁷ 俱⁵⁶⁰ 泉⁵³² 九⁴⁹⁷ 金⁴⁷⁰ 浦⁴⁷⁵ 清⁴⁷⁵ 丹³⁵² 黔³⁵² 昆²⁹⁴ 陰²⁸⁴ 紀²⁸⁴ 天²⁸⁴ 雅¹³⁷ 長¹¹⁰ 遮⁸³ 寧⁸³ 厦³⁰
 倫⁷⁵⁵ 撫⁷³¹ 甯⁷⁰¹ 奉⁶⁷³ 源⁶⁴² 突⁶¹⁷ 化⁵⁸⁸ 蘭⁵⁶¹ 莊⁵³³ 舊⁴⁸⁸ 龍⁴⁴⁴ 湖⁴⁴⁶ 祁³⁸⁰ 始³⁵³ 劍³²⁵ 飯²⁸⁵ 油²⁸⁵ 吉²²⁷ 成²⁸⁹ 柘¹⁶⁵ 楊¹⁶⁵ 阜⁸⁴ 哩⁸⁴ 安⁵⁸ 安³¹
 寧⁷⁵⁶ 寧⁷³² 平⁷⁰² 化⁶⁴³ 弄⁶¹⁸ 崇⁵⁸⁸ 梁⁵⁶¹ 浪⁵³⁴ 酒⁴⁸⁹ 廟⁴⁴⁵ 符⁴⁴⁶ 連⁴⁴⁶ 安³⁸¹ 浪³⁸¹ 介²⁸⁵ 姜²⁸⁶ 汲²⁸⁸ 德²⁸⁸ 城²⁸⁸ 張¹⁷¹ 武¹⁷¹ 平⁸⁵ 安³²
 澄⁷⁵⁸ 牛⁷³³ 浮⁷⁰² 鳳⁶⁷⁴ 法⁶⁴³ 毗⁶¹⁹ 崇⁵⁸⁹ 梁⁵⁶² 畎⁵³⁵ 九⁵⁰⁰ 寧⁴⁷⁷ 壽⁴⁷⁷ 涇⁴⁷⁷ 林³⁸² 岸³⁵⁵ 利³⁵⁵ 藍³²⁷ 雲²⁸⁷ 柘²³¹ 定²⁸⁷ 車¹⁶⁹ 化¹⁶⁹ 昌¹⁷³ 阿⁸⁴ 安⁶⁰ 貞³⁴
 陽⁷⁶⁰ 邊⁷³⁴ 阜⁷⁰³ 風⁶⁷⁵ 乏⁶⁴⁴ 羅⁶²⁰ 仁⁵⁸⁹ 犂⁵⁶³ 夷⁵³⁶ 華⁴⁷² 寺⁴⁷² 川⁴⁷² 疾³⁸² 赤³⁵⁵ 利³⁵⁵ 藍³²⁷ 雲²⁸⁷ 柘²³¹ 定²⁸⁷ 車¹⁶⁹ 化¹⁶⁹ 昌¹⁷³ 阿⁸⁴ 安⁶⁰ 貞³⁴
 陽⁷⁶¹ 營⁷³⁵ 附⁷⁰⁴ 泰⁶⁷⁶ 法⁶⁴⁵ 屈⁶²¹ 雖⁵⁹¹ 六⁵⁶⁴ 戎⁵³⁷ 寧⁵⁰² 金⁴⁷³ 泰⁴⁷³ 絕³⁸³ 之³⁵⁶ 隆³⁵⁶ 力²⁸⁹ 焦²⁸⁹ 洪²³² 子¹⁶⁹ 辰¹⁶⁹ 益¹⁷⁴ 爾¹⁷⁴ 子⁸⁵ 鎮⁸⁵ 吉³⁵
 所⁷⁶² 富⁷³³ 附⁷⁰⁴ 泰⁶⁷⁶ 法⁶⁴⁵ 射⁶²² 中⁵⁹¹ 車⁵⁶⁴ 勸⁵³⁷ 瓊⁵⁰³ 門⁴⁴⁷ 慶⁴⁴⁷ 隆³⁵⁶ 采³²⁸ 吉³²⁸ 膠²⁷⁰ 卞²⁰³ 成²⁰² 振¹⁷⁰ 占¹⁷¹ 彰¹⁷¹ 察⁸⁵ 安⁶¹ 安³⁵
 鹽⁷⁶² 平⁷³⁴ 福⁷⁰⁵ 議⁶⁴⁶ 庫⁶¹⁹ 理⁶²³ 嶺⁵⁹² 朱⁵⁶⁵ 川⁵³⁸ 華⁴⁷⁴ 牟⁴⁷⁴ 場⁴⁷⁴ 清⁴²⁰ 即³⁸⁵ 采³²⁹ 虞³²⁹ 倍²⁷² 漆²³⁵ 正²⁰³ 陳¹⁷² 勞¹⁷² 常¹⁷⁵ 爾¹⁷⁵ 墟⁸⁶ 安⁶² 慶³⁷
 原⁷⁶³ 膚⁷³⁵ 廊⁷⁰⁶ 鳳⁶⁷⁷ 凡⁶⁴⁶ 提⁶²⁴ 崇⁵⁹² 朱⁵⁶⁵ 川⁵³⁸ 華⁴⁷⁴ 牟⁴⁷⁴ 場⁴⁷⁴ 清⁴²⁰ 即³⁸⁵ 采³²⁹ 虞³²⁹ 倍²⁷² 漆²³⁵ 正²⁰³ 陳¹⁷² 勞¹⁷² 常¹⁷⁵ 爾¹⁷⁵ 墟⁸⁶ 安⁶² 慶³⁷
 韓⁷⁶⁴ 施⁷³⁶ 釜⁷⁰⁷ 儀⁶⁴⁷ 繁⁶⁴⁷ 車⁶²⁰ 明⁵⁹³ 廬⁵⁶⁶ 沙⁵³⁹ 峽⁴⁴⁸ 屏⁴⁴⁸ 田⁴⁴⁸ 靜⁴²¹ 金³⁸⁶ 霞³⁸⁶ 建³³⁰ 石²⁷³ 交²⁷³ 葭²⁷³ 斟²⁰⁴ 鎮¹⁷⁴ 榆¹⁷⁴ 長¹⁷⁶ 北⁸⁷ 塞⁸⁷ 安³⁷
 鶴⁷⁶⁵ 撫⁷³⁶

曉	雲	永	嶋	沅	穎	考	明	武	五	進	護	顏	了	豫	同	鳳	多	天	至	頭	懷	養
善	內	和	夷	陵	瀛	橋	陽	威	國	武	井	萬	梓	敦	通	泰	彌	天	鄧	大	單	大
見	右	永	餘	元	應	杆	朔	無	烏	清	溫	里	漳	煌	同	嶺	拓	回	川	食	桓	理
師	北	新	干	謀	營	列	揚	為	拉	梧	汶	萬	子	敦	正	晉	跋	鎮	騰	大	丹	大
塔	平	永	禹	宛	榮	馬	子	舞	唱	武	文	年	牙	化	潼	寧	涪	天	衛	縱	菱	荔
兒	王	興	貢	平	成	支	楊	陽	烏	川	汶	萬	滋	屯	川	緡	豆	臨	登	大	單	大
寺	屏	軍	王	捐	營	鹽	羊	五	聖	娶	川	載	陽	留	桐	雲	莫	天	封	塘	馬	梁
雜	尉	永	聖	毒	丘	池	同	原	烏	川	龜	萬	紫	屯	鄉	左	婁	寧	澄	大	合	大
谷	氏	修	鬱	元	穎	壇	揚	武	庚	吳	翁	源	陽	頓	潼	左	斗	寺	造	田	談	連
藏	王	永	林	通	川	池	與	沅	兀	川	源	魏	資	多	通	馮	頭	電	登	大	馬	灣
允	樹	麻	榆	場	營	屯	耀	葵	良	五	聞	衛	陽	惇	化	翊	道	白	流	定	顏	大
邕	榆	寺	林	元	在	延	孫	源	哈	峰	喜	渭	自	物	銅	左	孕	天	眉	大	丹	凌
樹	仰	打	氏	迎	津	秋	吳	武	五	閔	閔	韋	由	獨	仁	末	顏	保	造	秦	巴	大
魚	詔	零	豫	仙	鹽	姚	越	陵	分	鄉	威	紫	獨	獨	銅	柞	裝	天	昧	大	炭	羅
臺	永	于	章	穎	津	克	烏	武	子	文	灘	雲	石	鼓	鄒	羅	堂	詔	都	丹	大	陸
王	康	羅	尤	上	延	鷄	雲	鳴	五	老	媽	韋	土	同	左	蔡	天	騰	大	陽	陸	道
田	瓚	王	漢	英	慶	店	雅	吳	福	古	穢	劫	地	官	雲	滄	德	越	渡	道	大	道
于	巽	打	王	氏	藍	室	崖	堡	五	溫	絡	子	廟	公	祖	蒼	迪	棟	大	洮	面	面
寘	永	彌	溪	英	州	宍	鴨	沃	無	嶺	離	外	吐	洲	簇	漢	化	狄	同	稻	鋪	鋪
于	明	榮	鬱	德	路	鴨	綠	沙	錫	文	衛	方	谷	萊	橋	將	定	揚	大	成	大	成
闌	永	雲	餘	應	延	子	鳴	無	武	明	尉	萬	渾	銅	崔	柯	定	底	通	道	名	名
鬱	年	郭	於	天	川	郭	漆	鐵	鄉	文	威	宛	都	梁	黃	滄	番	條	大	字	丹	丹
頭	邕	雲	潛	滄	鹽	葉	鴉	正	吳	明	舊	萬	勻	通	翠	浪	定	支	姚	桃	淡	淡
零	寧	浮	豫	薄	豐	掖	碧	烏	興	汶	衛	承	濞	遼	藍	蒼	襄	狄	大	花	儋	儋
都	永	庸	宥	健	沿	謁	陽	舍	武	上	青	萬	破	銅	從	梧	定	晃	治	坪	郊	郊
喻	壽	雍	州	陰	鹽	者	揚	武	宣	溫	威	全	慈	陵	化	譚	鄉	底	大	道	種	種
次	永	龐	路	獄	興	館	漾	勝	烏	宿	福	萬	磁	流	葱	蘭	鼎	柱	野	口	津	津
豫	綏	灘	姬	岳	延	業	洋	勿	游	文	威	泉	資	桐	嶺	頂	新	牒	大	鎮	丹	丹
旺	永	厥	池	興	鏡	陽	斯	燕	登	海	王	溪	盧	遵	城	定	幹	雁	陶	朱	朱	
餘	順	融	律	有	雁	野	翟	高	五	域	衛	王	慈	寧	兒	興	鐵	塔	林	坦	坦	坦
聞	永	榮	榆	仍	咽	人	陽	烏	華	毫	灘	家	豁	甌	祖	曹	定	驪	大	桃	駒	駒
字	泰	成	中	藥	麴	夜	曲	蘇	烏	狄	華	灘	潛	桐	師	滑	達	鐵	庾	林	儋	儋
文	永	永	越	殺	鹽	郎	陽	烏	桓	倭	維	王	紫	柏	廟	矩	亭	嶺	大	洮	耳	耳
酉	登	吉	越	都	邊	耶	春	孫	五	武	威	慶	金	通	都	叱	口	鐵	宛	沙	礪	礪
陽	永	永	裳	幽	僂	羅	陽	吳	湖	吳	信	坵	溜	化	突	草	丁	向	大	陶	唐	唐
漁	永	永	濟	月	攸	師	嗽	新	泓	咀	烏	危	王	川	廩	造	零	滇	庸	唐	宕	宕
陽	永	永	氏	虞	延	哇	陽	五	于	烏	須	陰	王	菑	同	吐	陽	定	天	德	桃	昌
餘	從	嘉	越	豫	寺	挹	信	臺	烏	托	威	王	資	普	善	棠	邊	長	德	源	党	党
姚	雲	永	折	羽	烟	怛	楊	五	弋	烏	戎	哥	資	普	親	澤	陶	鎮	德	樂	項	項
徐	和	靜	詔	郭	台	葉	柑	台	山	茶	尉	庄	中	子	貨	符	定	墊	大	塘	塘	塘
家	耶	永	悅	孟	鹽	調	墟	烏	離	五	鞏	望	合	通	都	冊	達	天	德	巴	沽	沽
滙	雲	靖	般	蔚	亭	燕	陽	會	武	寨	尉	奎	合	通	都	亨	營	津	忠	大	塘	塘
善	背	清	萬	元	蔡	寬	養	棟	武	鎮	未	營	洞	歸	都	岑	沱	天	德	刑	頭	頭
見	大	義	打	川	扶	沅	渡	延	楊	武	吉	宮	望	利	自	流	渭	度	歷	天	特	坡
義	打	川	扶	沅	渡	延	楊	武	吉	宮	望	利	自	流	渭	度	歷	天	特	坡	坡	坡
寄	泥	永	風	遠	烟	延	柳	烏	底	武	溪	尹	王	子	于	難	搖	坳	天	德	刑	頭
藤	雲	春	餘	苑	墩	長	青	底	武	溪	尹	王	子	于	難	搖	坳	天	德	刑	頭	頭
黃	岡	永	杭	川	鹽	鄺	養	改	周	武	強	遠	渭	源	屋	刺	鎮	秦	勒	天	登	塔
沙	雲	瀉	康	垣	源	鹽	樓	烏	武	強	遠	渭	源	屋	刺	鎮	秦	勒	天	登	塔	塔
濟	龍	永	鄉	曲	殷	延	宰	功	武	功	武	源	屋	刺	鎮	秦	勒	天	登	塔	塔	塔
物	雲	豐	王	員	銀	吉	滄	武	悟	武	源	屋	刺	鎮	秦	勒	天	登	塔	塔	塔	塔
充	夢	榮	環	渠	印	馬	陽	都	空	武	源	屋	刺	鎮	秦	勒	天	登	塔	塔	塔	塔