

The Qing Surveys of the Left Bank of the Amur after the Conclusion of the Treaty of Nerchinsk

MATSUURA Shigeru

Introduction

The Qing 清 dynasty began to extend its influence along the banks of the Amur in the middle of the seventeenth century. Russians too were advancing into the Amur region around the same time, and the two sides clashed violently over possession of the region. It was only in Kangxi 康熙 28 (1689), when the two countries signed the Treaty of Nerchinsk, that peace was restored in the Amur basin.

The following year, the Qing sent several survey parties to the left bank of the Amur. The aim of the survey parties was to survey the border with Russia and erect boundary stones near the border, and by this means not only did the Qing put the Treaty of Nerchinsk into concrete effect, but it was also able to dramatically expand its geographical knowledge of the left bank of the Amur. This survey was of great significance in the history of the Amur region.

But in spite of its importance, there has until now been virtually no serious research on this 1690 survey of the Sino-Russian border. The reason for this is obvious: there exists no material on the survey parties in existing written sources. Nonetheless, Yoshida Kin'ichi 吉田金一 discovered a map produced by Langtan, which was one of the outcomes of the survey, and used this to advance research on the subject.¹⁾ But there are limits to the usefulness of Langtan's map alone for shedding light on the survey as a whole, and it was absolutely essential to discover new written sources.

Research on the Amur region during the Qing has made enormous strides since the 1980s. This is because the study of archival sources preserved in China began around this time, and it has since then become common practice to utilize them. In 1995 I had the opportunity to examine Manchu archives in China, and on this occasion I discovered that a large quantity of material on the border survey conducted immediately

after the Treaty of Nerchinsk was contained in the *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 黑龍江將軍衙門檔案 (Archives of the Office of the General of Heilongjiang).²⁾ Since then I have been engaged in collecting and sorting through this material, and I have now finally managed to gain an overview of the relevant issues. In this article I shall accordingly first describe the survey conducted in 1690 and then clarify the Qing's interpretation of the border with Russia.

I. The Formation of Parties to Survey the Left Bank of the Amur

In Kangxi 28 (1689), a peace conference was held between China and Russia at Nerchinsk, on the Shilka River, starting from the 8th of the seventh month. As a result of this conference, the two countries succeeded in establishing their border in the Amur region from the Gorbitsa River to the Sea of Okhotsk, thereby bringing to an end the state of war that had existed between them and establishing diplomatic relations. This was the famous Treaty of Nerchinsk, and it was an important event in world history, for Russia was prevented from advancing southwards into the Amur basin and instead accelerated its advance into the Kamchatka Peninsula.

The question of how much knowledge the Chinese of the early Qing possessed about the left bank of the Amur is not necessarily clear from past research. But in my view, prior to the Treaty of Nerchinsk the Qing did not have any accurate knowledge of this region, and the scant knowledge that it did possess was even less reliable than that of the Russians. This is because the strategy adopted by the Qing when advancing into the Amur region was characterized by the suppression of ethnic minorities along the main course of the Amur. Consequently the Qing had considerable knowledge of the Amur basin as far as its upper reaches, and it was the Qing side that first proposed at the peace conference that small left-bank tributaries of the Amur such as the Chernaia and Gorbitsa be designated as the border.³⁾ But the area inland from the left bank lay virtually neglected by the Chinese. There are almost no records of Manchurians or Chinese having entered this area, and only twice, in Kangxi 22 (1683) and 23, did Qing troops belonging to the Eight Banners advance into this region to attack the Russians. On both of these occasions some of the Qing troops went up the Zeia River, while another squadron went up the Amgun' River as far as the valley of the Tugur River,⁴⁾ but they immediately turned back without conducting any surveys of these areas. This lack of information also had an effect on negotiations at the peace conference,

and the Qing representatives were unable to make any concrete proposals based on accurate knowledge regarding the border on the left bank of the Amur. It is said that the map used by the Qing showed the upper reaches of the Amur only as far as Albazin,⁵⁾ and there is a strong possibility that the area on the left bank was blank. A survey to ascertain the border was a pressing issue for the Qing which took precedence over all else.

The Qing embarked on its survey of the left bank of the Amur towards the end of Kangxi 28. According to the *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 10 (Kangxi 29/1/4), Sabsu, general of Heilongjiang, submitted the following memorial:

On checking our troops, there are some who are familiar with Merilken along the Ergune (Argun') River and the overland route [to get there], and so it would be possible to send them on a survey via one route. If one seeks among the troops some knowledgeable about the area from the mouth of the Ergune River as far as Merilken along its upper reaches and the area along the ridges of the Hinggan [Range], where no grass grows, in the upper reaches of the Gerbici (Gorbitsa) River on the opposite bank of the Sahaliyan Ula (generally the Amur, but here the Shilka, one of its upstream affluents) as far as the sea, there is no one knowledgeable about these areas. Now, the Oroncon and Solon, who are under the jurisdiction of Mabudai, Commandant of the Solon 索倫總管, graze animals and hunt in the area from the mouth of the Ergune River as far as Merilken along its upper reaches and in the headwaters of the Jingkiri (Zeia), Silimdi (Selemdzha), Nioman (Bureia), and other rivers that rise in the North Hinggan and join the Sahaliyan Ula, and therefore I wish to take the liberty of asking by which routes Mabudai and his associates should go on surveys once they have searched [among these tribes] for people familiar with the geography [of this region]. The headwaters of the Kimnin (Bira), Kuru, Gerin (Goriun), Henggun (Amgun'), and other rivers that rise in the North Hinggan from the confluence of the Sahaliyan and Sungari Ula (Sungari) as far as the sea and flow into the Sungari Ula are inhabited by the Kiler, under the jurisdiction of Tungboo, General of Ningguta, and therefore I wish to take the liberty of asking by which routes Tungboo and his associates should go on surveys once they have searched [among these tribes] for people familiar with the geography [of this region]. (Here and below, names in parentheses represent the present-day designations.)

It goes without saying that Sabsu sought people among his troops familiar with the geography of the upper reaches of the Amur and the area inland from its left bank because they were needed for a border survey that was being planned. The exact date of Sabsu's memorial is not known, but since it was submitted to the Kangxi emperor by princes of the Deliberative Council on Kangxi 28/12/8, planning for the survey must have begun prior to this.

The plans included, in addition to a survey of the geography of the region, the erection of stone monuments along the border with Russia. The erection of stone monuments had been a predetermined policy of the Chinese already before it attended the peace conference. The Qing representative raised this issue on the first day of the conference,⁶⁾ and once negotiations had been concluded, the Chinese went so far as to have mention of the erection of stone monuments, to be inscribed in Manchu, Russian, and Latin, explicitly added at the very end of the text of the treaty.⁷⁾ According to an entry in the *Qing shilu* 清實錄 for Kangxi 28/12/14 (*bingzi* 丙子), the Qing officially decided at this time to erect boundary stones inscribed in Manchu, Chinese, Russian, Latin, and Mongolian beside the Gorbitsa River and elsewhere along the border.

Sabsu's memorial elicited the following response from the princes of the Deliberative Council:

It is in our view important to examine the area that was made the border. ... We will immediately send from here two officials, one to General Sabsu and Commandant Mabudai and one to General Tungboo, who will together seek out people familiar with the terrain, and after we have had them submit memorials once they have carefully determined by which routes to conduct surveys or whether to go on surveys in formation, and after we have had memorials submitted about the people to be dispatched from the competent government agencies, we intend to await the emperor's decision.

Five days after the memorial had been submitted by the princes, on the 13th of the twelfth month, the Kangxi emperor granted his approval, and in accordance with this decision the princes sent bureau vice-director Dalai to visit Mabudai and Sabsu, commandant of the Solon and general of Heilongjiang respectively, and bureau secretary Sartu to visit Tungboo, general of Ningguta, so as to hold talks with them.⁸⁾

The results of the discussions held by Sabsu, Tungboo, and others

with Dalai and Sartu upon their arrival from Beijing had reached the princes by the start of the second month of the following year (Kangxi 29). According to the *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 10 (Kangxi 29/3/5), Dalai and Sabsu proposed six survey routes.

- (1) The area from the town of Mergen as far as Merilken along the Ergune River could be surveyed by an overland route in the eighth month in autumn.
- (2) The area from the mouth of the Ergune River as far as Merilken could be surveyed by river.
- (3) The source of the Jingkiri River could be reached in just over a month by horse if one left Mergen around the eighth month in autumn, and from there it took one day to reach the ridge of the Hinggan Range. This was a route that could be surveyed on horseback.
- (4) The mouth of the Yengken (Inkan) River, the source of the Silimdi River, could be reached in just over a month by horse from Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton if one went around the eighth month in autumn. It was not possible to go beyond the mouth of the Yengken River by horse, but if one went on foot it took four or five days to reach the ridge of the Hinggan Range. This was one possible survey route.
- (5) It was possible to travel from the mouth of the Gerbici River to its source in just over ten days if one went by horse around the eighth month in autumn, but there were places where there was no grass for horses to eat. One could not go any further either on foot or by horse because there was nothing but crags and rocks.
- (6) The mouth of the Olonki (Niman) River, the source of the Nioman River, could be reached in just over a month if one went by canoe from Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton, but one could not go any further either on foot or by horse because there was nothing but crags and rocks.

Sartu and Tungboo, meanwhile, proposed the following routes:

There is no one who knows of any overland route to the Hinggan Range. Since the Gerin, Henggun, and other rivers flow down from the Hinggan Range, once the ice melted, surveys could be conducted by boat or canoe via three routes along (7) the Gerin, (8) the Henggun, and (9) the seacoast.

Following deliberations by the princes, these plans were conveyed more or less as they stood to the emperor on the 14th of the second month, although with regard to routes (5) and (6), both of which were said to become impassable after a certain point by both foot and horse because of crags and rocks, the wording was altered to the effect that if there were places that could be reached, they should go there, but if they were unable to get past the crags and rocks, they should turn back. The emperor gave his approval of these plans on the 17th of the same month and also ordered the Ministry of War to put forward nominations for senior officials to accompany the surveys.

The Ministry of War promptly set about selecting personnel for the survey parties and submitted its selection to the emperor on the same day. The emperor then chose the following eleven people from among those who had been recommended and informed the Ministry of War of his choices on the 22nd.⁹⁾ Langtan (commander-in-chief of the Manchu Plain White Banner), Joosan (vice-commander of the Manchu Plain Red Banner), Šanahai (vice-commander of the Chinese Bordered Yellow Banner), and Anjuhū (commandant of the Solon) were assigned to the three parties setting out from Mergen (1–3); Mutu (captain-general of the vanguard of the left wing), Nomin (third-grade duke and commander-in-chief of the Mongol Plain Yellow Banner), Hūwašan (vice-commander of the Mongol Bordered Red Banner), and Nacin (lieutenant-general of Heilongjiang) were assigned to the three parties setting out from Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton (4–6); and Bahai (commander-in-chief of the Mongol Bordered Blue Banner), Suhe (vice-commander of the Chinese Bordered White Banner), and Balda (lieutenant-general of Girin Ula [Jilin]) were assigned to the three parties setting out from Ningguta (7–9).

Among the above eleven officials selected for the surveys, Langtan was a grandson of Urikan, who had distinguished himself in the battle at Gure in 1593, which became a historical watershed. Langtan himself had fought at the forefront of the Qing troops during the battle for Albazin, and during the border negotiations held in the previous year with Russia he had acted as the Qing representative along with Songgotu.¹⁰⁾ Joosan rose to the position of vice-director of the Bureau of Arrests in Kangxi 32, but nothing more is known about him because he was dismissed from office in Kangxi 34.¹¹⁾ As for Šanahai, it is known that he later served successively as lieutenant-general of Bedune and general of Ningguta and then in Kangxi 40 succeeded Sabsu as general of Heilongjiang, but further details about him are not known.¹²⁾ Anjuhū was a military commander who

had earlier distinguished himself when he was lieutenant-general of Girin Ula and Ningguta by relocating members of ethnic minorities who had only recently been organized into new Manchu companies (*niru*) from the lower valley of the Sungari River to various localities in the northeast, on account of which he was promoted to the position of general of Mukden in Kangxi 17 (1678). But subsequently the emperor took exception to him, and he was dismissed from office. However, he was later reinstated as commandant of the Solon owing to his services during the campaign along the Tugur River in Kangxi 23 and during the battle for Albazin in the following year.¹³⁾

Among the senior officials leading the three parties that were to set out from Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton, Mutu had participated in the suppression of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories, rising to the position of captain-general of the vanguard of the left wing, but he died shortly after the survey of the left bank of the Amur.¹⁴⁾ Nomin was the son of Tuhai, who had earlier served successively as commander-in-chief of the Manchu Plain Yellow Banner, general-in-chief who pacifies distant lands 撫遠大將軍, and grand secretary of the Hall of Central Harmony and was enfeoffed as a third-grade duke, and after Tuhai's death Nomin inherited his ducal title. In Kangxi 26 Nomin was appointed commander-in-chief of the Mongol Plain Yellow Banner, a position which he held until his death in Kangxi 32.¹⁵⁾ There are virtually no leads on the career of Hūwašan, while Nacin belonged to the Manchu Plain Red Banner but is said to have originally been of Korean descent.¹⁶⁾

Bahai, who surveyed the lower Amur, bore the heavy responsibility of defending the northern frontier region in his capacity as general of Ningguta, a post which he held from Shunzhi 順治 16 (1659), when he succeeded his father Šarhūda who had died of illness, until his discharge from office in Kangxi 22 (1683). After leaving the post of general of Ningguta, he assumed in Kangxi 23 the position of commander-in-chief of the Mongol Bordered Blue Banner.¹⁷⁾ Details of the careers of Suhe and Balda are not known.

The composition of the survey parties was also decided on around the same time, in which regard the Ministry of War submitted a memorial on the 25th of the second month. According to this memorial, the parties travelling overland were to be each composed of three officers (*janggin*) and fifty soldiers, while the parties travelling by water were to be each composed of three officers and fifty soldiers and boatmen, and the parties were all of roughly the same size. Officers and soldiers of the

Solon and Dagūr tribes were to be assigned to the three parties setting out from Mergen, while officers and soldiers from the Eight Banners due to complete their tour of duty in Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton and return to Girin Ula during this same year were to be assigned to the three parties setting out from Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton, and the three parties starting out from Ningguta were to be composed of officers and soldiers of the Eight Banners stationed in Girin Ula and Ningguta and of boatmen from the same regions.¹⁸⁾

However, the Kangxi emperor had some misgivings regarding this memorial and ordered the Ministry of War to submit a fresh memorial after enquiries had been made of Russians in Beijing about routes to the Hinggan Range.¹⁹⁾ During the earlier period of intense conflict with the Qing, there had been some Russians who had surrendered of their own accord or who had been taken captive and still remained in China. Kangxi had assembled them in Beijing, organized them into companies, and even granted some of them official posts.²⁰⁾ Since these Russians had formerly been active along the left bank of the Amur, they were considered to be more familiar than Chinese with the geography of this region.

The Ministry of War accordingly questioned the Russians residing in Beijing, but it became clear that they too were not familiar with the geography of the region in question. They all said that they knew nothing about the three routes setting out from Mergen, the two routes starting out from Ningguta for the Goriun River and the coast, and the route setting out from Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton for the upper reaches of the Bureia River. Some of them had, however, previously travelled along the other three routes. For instance, Lasari (Lazar') said that he had reached the Selemdzha River from Albazin by boat in a little over a month. Sergeant Oliksi (Aleksei) described how it had taken eleven days to travel by foot from the mouth of the Gorbitsa River to its source and how, with snow covering the ground because it was winter, they had skied across the steep and rocky sections beyond and reached the Tugur River on the seventh day. But he had not heard the name Hinggan. The most detailed testimony was provided by sergeant Situban (Stepan), according to whom a twenty-day trip by canoe up the Amgun' River from its mouth brought one to the Nimelen River, and after ascending this river for five days, one could reach the Tugur River in a further four days by travelling overland on foot. A further twenty-five days by foot brought one to the Uda River, but there were only trees and moss, and no grass, en route. The valleys of the Amgun' and Uda were inhabited by the Kiler and Oroncon, and there

were many mountain tracks, but he had not heard of Hinggan.²¹⁾ (Names in parentheses are the presumed Russian equivalents of the Manchu spellings.)

Having waited for the responses of the Russians, the Ministry of War submitted another memorial on the 27th of the second month. According to this memorial, among the nine routes that had initially been planned, routes (1) to (4) would be surveyed in accordance with these initial plans since the general of Heilongjiang had already reported that they had checked the routes to the border and the time required. As for the remaining five routes, since both generals were looking for guides familiar with the terrain and, in addition, one of the Russians had travelled from the Amgun' as far as the Uda, the survey parties would be sent as planned and, asking local Kiler and Oroncon about the Hinggan, would go to the summit if at all possible, and in the event that they found themselves unable to go any further, they would then turn back.²²⁾

The Kangxi emperor basically endorsed this memorial from the Ministry of War and also gave orders for one Russian to accompany each of the survey parties from Beijing. They left Beijing in the middle of the third month,²³⁾ and it would appear that Anjuhū, commandant of the Solon, and Nacin, lieutenant-general of Heilongjiang, joined them at Mergen and Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton respectively, while Balda, lieutenant-general of Girin Ula, joined them at Ningguta. The survey parties also included stone masons for erecting the boundary stones and painters for drawing maps, and attendants and servants of the senior officials came from Beijing.²⁴⁾

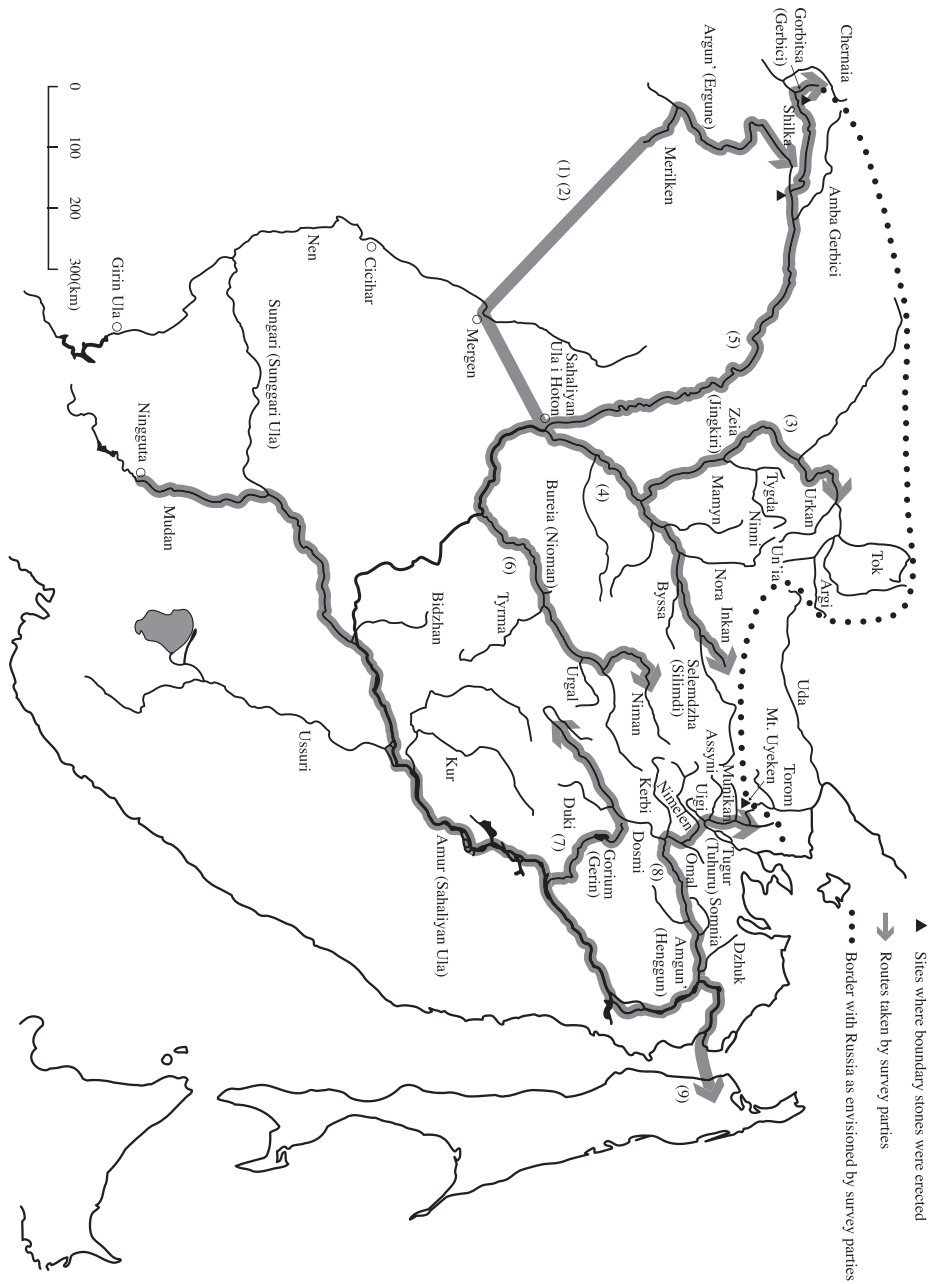
Bahai, who had been chosen as a member of one of the survey parties, submitted a memorial asking whether Russia would be informed of the plans to survey the border. By the 25th of the second month it had been decided that this matter would be discussed by the Ministry of War and the Court of Colonial Affairs,²⁵⁾ and it would appear that in the end the Qing decided to inform Russia of its intentions. Later in the same year G. Lonshakov, who was heading for Beijing with a letter from F. A. Golovin, encountered at Cichar a Qing envoy hastening to Nerchinsk with a missive notifying the Russians of the border surveys. Lonshakov resided in Beijing from the 21st of the fourth month (19 May [Julian calendar]) to the 24th of the fifth month (20 June), when he started on his return journey to Russia, and on his way back he learnt that the Qing survey parties had departed for the area on the left bank of the Amur.²⁶⁾ Lonshakov's account is in complete agreement with the Qing records.

II. A Summary of the Surveys of the Left Bank of the Amur

It was expected that the party made up of Langtan, Joosan, Šanahai, Mutu, Nomin, Hūwašan, and others would reach Mergen at the start of the fifth month and Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton shortly afterwards.²⁷⁾ During this time the selection of officers and soldiers to accompany the survey parties and various other preparations, including the boats to be used for the surveys, got under way at Mergen and Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton, which would serve as bases for the survey parties. However, two missives from the Ministry of War that arrived on the 1st and 14th of the third month announced substantial changes to the plans that had initially been discussed by Sabsu, Mabudai, and Dalai.²⁸⁾ Among the six routes proposed by them, it had initially been planned to use boats for only two routes—(2) from the mouth of the Argun' to Merilken and (3) from the mouth of the Bureia to the mouth of the Niman, its source—but the missives from

Table 1. Composition of survey parties and survey content

Survey Area	Composition of Survey Party	Survey Content
(1) Merilken → mouth of Argun' (2)	Langtan (commander-in-chief of Manchu Plain White Banner) Joosan (vice-commander of Manchu Plain Red Banner)	Stone monument erected at mouth of Argun'
(3) Headwaters of Zeia → Hinggan	Šanahai (vice-commander of Chinese Bordered Yellow Banner) Anjuhū (commandant of the Solon)	Initially intended to go by river to Bahana and then by horse, but these plans were changed because most of the horses died before reaching Bahana
(4) Selemdzha → mouth of Yengken → Hinggan	Mutu (captain-general of vanguard of left wing)	
(5) Mouth of Gorbitsa → headwaters	Duties shared by Nomin (third-grade duke and commander-in-chief of Mongol Plain Yellow Banner), Hūwašan (vice-commander of Mongol Bordered Red Banner), and Nacin (lieutenant-general of Heilongjiang)	Stone monument erected on east bank of mouth of Gorbitsa
(6) Bureia → mouth of Olongki (Olonki) → Hinggan		
(7) Goriun → headwaters of Amgun'	Suhe (vice-commander of Chinese Bordered White Banner)	Subjugation of 8 households at Uleji
(8) Amgun' → Nimelen → Tugur	Bahai (commander-in-chief of Mongol Bordered Blue Banner)	Stone monument erected on Mt. Uyeken
(9) Coasts of Sakhalin and Sea of Okhotsk	Balda (lieutenant-general of Girin Ula)	Subjugation of 53 households on Sakhalin



Map 1. Left-bank tributaries of the Amur and routes taken by the survey parties

Beijing informed them that boats were to be used by all six parties. In addition, the survey parties had originally been scheduled to set out for their respective destinations in the eighth month, but according to the new instructions from the Ministry of War this too had been changed, and a start was to be made as soon as the senior officials arrived from Beijing. This was because, with boats being used for the surveys, they would have wanted to complete the surveys before the rivers froze over in winter. Only the party setting out from Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton to ascend the Gorbítsa was to be divided into two groups, one going by boat and comprising two officers and thirty soldiers, boatmen, etc., and the other going on foot and comprising one officer and twenty soldiers. They arrived in Mergen by the early part of the fifth month and awaited the arrival of the senior officials.²⁹⁾

As for Bahai and Suhe, who set out around the same time for Ningguta, details of their movements are not known since no relevant records have been preserved in the *Ningguta fu dutong yamen dang'an* 寧古塔副都統衙門檔案 (Archives of the Office of the Lieutenant-General of Ningguta). But they too rendezvoused with Balda at Ningguta and then set out for their survey areas as planned (see Table 1 and Map 1).

I now wish to retrace the routes taken by each survey party. First, the party that set out in the direction of Merilken was under the command of Langtan and Joosan, who were accompanied by the Russian lieutenant Ogefán (Agafon) as well as stone masons, painters, and so on.³⁰⁾ Initially it had been planned that two separate parties, one travelling by land and the other by river, would survey the area around Merilken, but in the event it would appear that the two parties joined forces, with Langtan and Joosan acting in concert. In Langtan's biography in the *Baqi tongzhi chují* 八旗通志初集 153, the survey party's course of action is described in the following manner:

In the third month of [Kangxi] 29, [Langtan] went by imperial decree together with Vice-Commander Joosan to the mouth of the Ergune (Argun') River and erected a boundary stone. On the 15th of the fifth month he passed through the town of Mergen and crossed the Hinggan Range. There were still about a dozen Russian houses, and they saw crops covering the land.... Langtan had the houses destroyed, reimbursed the Russians, and allowed them to harvest their crops and take them with them. The Russians joyfully paid their respects and departed over the mountains. On the 21st they reached the Er-

gune, erected a tablet on top of a stone wall by the river mouth, and engraved it in five scripts—Manchu, Chinese, Russian, Mongolian, and Latin—whereupon they turned back.

If one considers this account in conjunction with the *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an*, the third month would have been when Langtan and his associates set out from Beijing upon receiving their orders, while the 15th of the fifth month would have been the date when they left Mergen for Merilken. Judging from the above passage, it would seem that Langtan's party arrived in Merilken after crossing the Da Xing'an Range 大興安嶺 on foot. Then, having evicted from Chinese territory the Russian inhabitants who remained on the right bank of the Amur, they had advanced by the 21st as far as the mouth of the Argun', where they erected a tablet (i.e., boundary stone) inscribed in five scripts on a nearby bluff.³¹⁾ It is to be surmised that Langtan's party travelled by boat from Merilken to the mouth of the Argun' and then down the Amur. It is recorded that this party carried one month's provisions.³²⁾

The survey party led by Šanahai and Anjuhū headed up the Zeia River towards the Hinggan. They carried four months' provisions and set out together with a Russian sergeant and painters. The "Wang Yanxu An jiangjun xingzhuang" 王燕緒安將軍行狀 appended to Anjuhū's biography in the *Jilin tongzhi* 吉林通志 87 includes the following passage:

Later, he established the border with Russia. His Excellency reached the Zeia River together with Vice-Commander Šanahai.

The survey of the Zeia basin is described in concrete detail in the *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an*. The entry for Kangxi 29/6/28 in vol. 13 gives the content of an interim report which Šanahai and Anjuhū sent to Sabsu, etc., from Bahana on the banks of the Zeia. According to this report, Šanahai and his associates had made detailed plans at Mergen prior to their departure in consultation with their guides. It happened to be the rainy season, and not only were the roads muddy, but there were also large numbers of horseflies and mosquitoes, making it difficult to travel by horse. The survey party accordingly left Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton on small boats and arrived at Bahana on the 9th of the sixth month. They had intended to swap their boats for horses at Bahana, but more than 170 of the 190 horses they had sent on ahead to Bahana had caught an infectious disease en route and died. Šanahai and Anjuhū consequently

changed their plans:

We have given up travelling on horseback from Bahana to the Hinggan and will go as far upstream as possible by boat, birch boat, plank boat, and canoe in search of the Hinggan. Once we are unable to go any further by boat or canoe, we will go on foot if it is possible to proceed on foot. If by chance it happens to be a year of drought, there will be no water, and so we will be unable to approach the Hinggan by boat or canoe, and we may also be unable to proceed on foot. In that case, we will turn back with the intention of coming [again] around the eighth month in autumn.

As soon as he received this report, Sabsu immediately wrote to the Ministry of War to inquire whether he ought to provide Šanahai's party with fresh horses and have them set out once again in the eighth or ninth month. The Ministry of War submitted a memorial to the emperor on the 21st of the seventh month in which it was stated that, in the event that the survey party was unable to reach the Hinggan, it was hoped to reorganize the party and send it off once again with the aim of reaching its destination at all costs. However, the Kangxi emperor gave an unexpected response:

Why go there time and again? Forget about places that cannot be reached.³³⁾

As will be discussed below, a map thought to have been produced by Langtan after the completion of the surveys shows the Zeia river system in considerable detail and gives the names of a total of nine tributaries, including the Tok, Argi, and Ninni Rivers.³⁴⁾ The furthest upstream among these tributaries was the Nelhesuhi, and it is to be surmised that this was about as far as Šanahai's survey party went (see Table 2).

The headwaters of the Selemdzha, a tributary of the upper reaches of the Zeia were surveyed by Mutu's party. They too were accompanied by a Russian and some painters, and they set out from Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton with four months' provisions.³⁵⁾ Their guide was an Oroncon *hala i da* (head of clan) by the name of Libdingge.³⁶⁾

Langtan's map shows four rivers flowing into the Selemdzha, including the Yengke and Nara Rivers. The Yengke is today known as the Inkan, and Mutu's party conducted their survey with this river as their goal (see Table 3).

As for the two remaining parties, it is known that the twenty soldiers

Table 2. Tributaries of the Zeia (Jingkiri) river system

Present-day River Names	Names on Langtan's Map	Names in <i>Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an</i> 291, Kangxi 49/11/12 (headwaters)	Remarks
Zeia	Jingkiri	Jingkiri (North Hinggan)	Joins Amur
Argi	Argi	Argi (North Hinggan)	Joins Jingkiri
	Elge	Elge (North Hinggan)	Joins Argi
Un'ia	Unen	Unen (North Hinggan)	Joins Argi
Urkan	Urkan	Urkan (North Hinggan)	Joins Argi
		Urge (North Hinggan)	Joins Jingkiri
Tok	Nelhesuhi	Nelhesuhi (North Hinggan)	Joins Jingkiri
	Tok	Tok (North Hinggan)	Joins Jingkiri
Ninni	Ningni	Ningni (North Hinggan)	Joins Jingkiri
Tygda	Kindu	Kindu (North Hinggan)	Joins Ningni
	Tiyenio	Tiyenio (Northeast Hinggan)	Joins Ningni

Table 3. Tributaries of Selemdzha (Silimdi) river system

Present-day River Names	Names on Langtan's Map	Names in <i>Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an</i> 291, Kangxi 49/11/12 (headwaters)	Remarks
Selemdzha	Silimdi	Silimdi (North Hinggan)	Joins Jingkiri
Inkan	Yengke	Yengken (North Hinggan)	Joins Silimdi
	Ormolkō	Ormolakū (Northeast Hinggan)	Joins Silimdi
Byssa	Nara	Biša (Northeast Hinggan)	Joins Silimdi
Nora		Nara (North Hinggan)	Joins Silimdi
Mamyn	Ungge	Mumin (Northeast Hinggan)	Joins Silimdi
		Ungge (Northeast Mt. Sukduliki)	Joins Silimdi

who went on foot up to the headwaters of the Gorbitsa River were given one month's provisions at Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton, with additional supplies being provided at Mergen after the arrival of the senior officials.³⁷⁾ But the all-important matter of who led this party is unclear. The Qing authorities had from the outset planned to erect a boundary stone on the banks of the Gorbitsa as well as the Argun', and the survey party that headed for the Gorbitsa was presumably charged with this task, but no records concerning this have survived. However, judging from other instances, such as Langtan's party, it is to be supposed that the party which surveyed the Gorbitsa would also have included personnel for this purpose and that they would have erected a boundary stone of about the same size as that erected beside the Argun'.

No details are known about the party that surveyed the headwaters of the Bureia River either. Langtan's map gives only two tributaries, the Si-

Table 4. Tributaries of Bureia (Nioman) river system

Present-day River Names	Names on Langtan's Map	Names in <i>Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an</i> 291, Kangxi 49/11/12 (headwaters)	Remarks
Bureia	Nioman	Nioman (Northeast Hinggan)	Joins Amur
Niman	Olongki	Olongki (Northeast Hinggan)	Joins Nioman
Urgal	(Silimdir)	Urgal (Northeast Hinggan)	Joins Nioman
Tyrma	Siyarmi	Siyarman (East Hinggan)	Joins Nioman

yarmi and Olongki. The Olongki, which was the party's goal, corresponds to today's Niman (see Table 4).

Next, I wish to give an outline of the surveys conducted by the survey parties that headed towards the lower Amur. Until now the sole source of information on their movements has been the *Liubian jilüe* 柳邊紀略 (fasc. 1) by Yang Bin 楊賓, according to which:

Weiyike'alın 威伊克阿林 is a large mountain in the far northeast. There are no trees on top, and only moss grows there. The moss is always three to four feet thick. In the cyclic year *gengwu* 庚午 of Kangxi's reign (Kangxi 29), the border with Russia was demarcated, and the Son of Heaven ordered Bahai, Commander-in-Chief of the Bordered Blue Banner, and others to split into three parties and go to inspect the border. One party entered from the Amgun' River, one entered from the Goriun River, and one went around from the North Sea. They all saw the same places, and in the end they erected a stele on top of the mountain. The stele was inscribed in the Manchu, Russian, and Khalkha scripts.

The author Yang Bin travelled to Ningguta during the Kangxi era in order to visit his parents, for his father Yang Yue 楊越 had been sent there in exile as punishment, and the *Liubian jilüe* is a valuable work in which he recorded his experiences in detail. Hitherto the precise date of his departure had been unknown, but according to the *Yang Dapiao xiansheng zawen cangao* 楊大瓢先生雜文殘稿, he set out for Ningguta in the second half of Kangxi 28.³⁸⁾ He remained in Ningguta until the following year and appears to have witnessed Bahai's survey from beginning to end. His testimony tallies perfectly with the survey party's route described above.

Next, I wish to retrace the routes taken by the three survey parties in the lower Amur with reference to the *Ningguta fu dutong yamen dang'an*. Un-

fortunately the section for Kangxi 29 is missing and not a single document pertaining to their surveys has survived. All that has survived is fragmentary passages quoted in later documents, and I shall therefore proceed by using these as leads. An entry for Yongzheng 雍正 12/1/26 in vol. 29, for example, gives the following account of the two survey parties other than that of Bahai:

Commander-in-Chief Suhe of the Chinese Banners said that he went to survey the Gerin (Goriun) in accordance with imperial orders and that when he crossed the Henggun (Amgun') from the Gerin and went up towards its headwaters, he reached a place called Uleji (Ulike) and wished to deliver to the competent authorities eight sable pelts that he had collected after subjugating eight households who had not been paying tribute, including Gūrbada. In the same year Balda, Lieutenant-General of Ningguta, etc. (Girin Ula), ...submitted a memorial, according to which he went to investigate the location of the border in the region of the Henggun and so on, subjugated the Cuweni clan and Dobononggo clan living on an island in the sea and the Kuye clan and Oroncon clan living on the shores of the East Sea, 53 households in all, and had collected 53 sable pelts, one from each household....

First, as regards the party led by Suhe, it is to be surmised that they went up the Goriun and reached the middle reaches of the Amgun', probably via the Dosmi River from Lake Evoron. It would seem that they then headed up the Amgun' and surveyed its headwaters and the water divide. The village of Uleji that Suhe's party is said to have subjugated is thought to have been the village of Ulike on the banks of the Kur River,³⁹⁾ and so they probably went back down the Amgun' and entered the Kur valley.

Balda's party travelled from the mouth of the Amur northwards along the coast by sea. The "island in the sea" mentioned in the above quotation refers to Sakhalin. The Cuweni clan corresponds to the Chfinung clan of the Nivkh people who lived in villages on the northwest coast of Sakhalin such as Cuwene (near the Chifunai River) and Bisike (Puisuki).⁴⁰⁾ Details about the Dobononggo clan are not known, but they too probably lived on the coast in northwest Sakhalin.

As for the Kuye and Oroncon clans said to have lived on "the shores of the East Sea," in the *Ningguta fu dutong yamen dang'an* 42 (Qianlong 乾隆 7/10/28) there is a reference to "65 villages and 268 households of the

Kuye, Oroncon, and so on on an island in the sea,” while in the *Ningguta fu dutong yamen dang’an* 59 (Qianlong 19/1/24) it is stated that “people of the Kuye, Oroncon, Kadaye, Warul, Coril, Dobononggo, Cuweni, Puniyahūn, Šulungguru, and other clans live on an island in the East Sea.” Judging from these references, these clans would appear to have lived not on the mainland, but on an island. Among the clans mentioned in the latter passage, it has already been noted that the Cuweni clan belonged to the Nivkh people, who lived on Sakhalin. Likewise, the Puniyahūn (Pniag’an) clan was also a clan of the Nivkh people living in the village of Bomodo (Pomuido) on the northern tip of Sakhalin.⁴¹⁾ It is to be surmised, therefore, that the references to “an island in the sea” or “an island in the East Sea” all refer to Sakhalin and that it was Sakhalin where the two groups known as the Kuye and Oroncon also lived. The Kuye were probably Ainu living to the north of the central part of the west coast of Sakhalin,⁴²⁾ while the Oroncon are thought to have been members of the Uilta people, the only people on Sakhalin to raise reindeer, who were living in northeastern Sakhalin. It might be noted in passing that Kuyedao 庫頁島, the Chinese name for Sakhalin, derives from “Kuye.”

The fact that Balda’s party went from the mouth of the Amur as far as Sakhalin can also be inferred from Jesuit records. For instance, according to J. F. Gerbillon’s journal, on 24 January 1691 (Gregorian calendar) after he had delivered a lecture in the presence of the Kangxi emperor, the latter remarked, “This year I have sent people to the mouth of the Amur in the east, and they have reported that although it was July, the sea beyond the river mouth was still frozen and no one at all was living in the nearby area.”⁴³⁾ The date 24 January 1691 corresponded to Kangxi 29/12/26, and so “this year” was Kangxi 29. July in the Gregorian calendar coincided with the period from the 25th of the fifth month to the 26th of the sixth month, and so there can be little doubt that the people sent by the emperor were Balda and his party. Further, a map produced in Kangxi 29 by the Jesuit A. Thomas, who was residing in Beijing at the time, shows a large island in the sea slightly to the south of the mouth of the Amur, and it bears the name “Regnu’ Huye.”⁴⁴⁾ Huye is a corruption of Kuye and refers to Sakhalin. Thomas thus already knew of Balda’s survey and promptly incorporated his findings in his own map.

The main party under Bahai took the route up the Amgun’ River. Like Langtan, Bahai reported the results of his investigations in the form of a map after the conclusion of the survey. The *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang’an* 290 (Kangxi 49/8/23) includes the following passage concern-

ing the Office for the Unified Gazetteer (Yitongzhiguan 一統志館), which was compiling the *Da Qing yitong zhi* 大清一統志 (Unified Gazetteer of the Great Qing) and had been checking place-names near the border with Russia:

Furthermore, if one looks at the *Amba nirugan* (Great Map) and the map that Bahai drew and brought back, there is the Duki River to the west of the Henggun (Amgun') River to the northeast of the town of Cicigar (Cicihar). This river flows from west to east into the Henggun River. The eastern source of the Henggun River is called the Hemen River. This river flows from northwest to southeast and becomes the Henggun River. To the north of the Henggun River there is the Gerbi (Kerbi) River. This river flows from southwest to northeast and enters the Imile (Nimelen) River. To the northeast of the Imile River there is the Amal (Omal) River. This river heads from northeast to southwest and pours into the Imile River. To the northeast of the Imile River there is the Si mur River. This river flows from northeast to southwest and enters the Imile River. To the south of the Henggun River there is the Imu River. This river heads from southwest to northeast and joins the Henggun River. To the north of the Henggun River there is the Luku (Dzhuk) River. This river flows from north to south and pours into the Henggun River. On the northern side of the Henggun River there is the Samnin (Somnia) River. This river heads from north to south and joins the Henggun River. Between the two Wergi (Uigi) and Asarni (Assyni) Rivers there is the Niowakta River. This river flows from northwest to southeast and enters the Tuhuru (Tugur) River. Between the two Asarni and Munike (Munikan) Rivers there is the Talin River. This river flows from northwest to southeast and enters the Tuhuru River. Between the two Talin and Munike Rivers there is Mt. Miyoo wan (Mevandzha). On the northern side of the Munike River there is the Miyemile River. This river heads from north to south and pours into the Munike River. To the east of the Munike River there is the Elgeken River. This river flows from north to south and enters the Tuhuru River. (The original has "Hengkun," but I have emended this to "Henggun.")

This passage describes the Amgun' and Tugur river systems. The names in parentheses are the names to be found on modern Russian maps. Setting aside questions concerning compass directions, the names

of the rivers and mountain mentioned here are extremely accurate when compared with present-day names. It may be assumed that this is because Bahai's party actually traversed this region and conducted a thorough survey.

What was the final point reached by Bahai's survey party? Here I wish to return to the *Liubian jilüe*, which stated that Bahai's party erected a stele inscribed in Manchu, Russian, and Khalkha (Mongolian) at Weiyike'alin, which probably refers to Mt. Uyeken (Uyeken *alin*) mentioned in the *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an*.⁴⁵⁾ According to the map discovered by Yoshida, there is a river called the Uyeken in the upper reaches of the Kilfi River, a tributary of the Toron (Torom) River, and to the west of the Uyeken River there stands a mountain. This mountain is thought to be Mt. Uyeken.⁴⁶⁾ As will be further discussed below, both Bahai and Langtan considered the chain of mountains dividing the Tugur and Torom river systems to mark the border with Russia, and therefore Mt. Uyeken was a mountain forming part of this mountain range. It is to be surmised that Bahai erected a boundary stone at the foot of Mt. Uyeken near a pass on the route leading from the Tugur to the Torom, but it had already fallen to the ground by the start of the Yongzheng era.⁴⁷⁾ Langtan's map shows the Toron and Kilfi Rivers to the north of Mt. Uyeken, but Bahai's survey party would probably have gone only as far as the vicinity of the boundary stone near Mt. Uyeken.

Now, according to a missive sent on the 10th of the seventh month by Ondai, lieutenant-general of Heilongjiang, to Sabsu, general of Heilongjiang, the parties that had gone to survey the Hinggan were then returning one after another to Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton.⁴⁸⁾ The surveys of the left bank of the Amur would have come to a provisional end around this time.

III. Langtan's Map and Questions Concerning the Border

The border surveys conducted by the Qing in Kangxi 29 (1690) were the first such surveys to be conducted in the Amur region, and in both the survey parties' scale and the surveys' range they were without parallel in Chinese history. It is, however, impossible to determine on the basis of extant written sources what sorts of reports were submitted by the survey parties when the surveys had been concluded and how the Qing authorities evaluated these reports. It is known only that the survey party leaders Langtan and Bahai each produced a map, and currently these are about all that may be described as outcomes of the surveys. The whereabouts of

Bahai's map is still unknown, but Langtan's map is thought to correspond to a map that was discovered in Taipei by Yoshida Kin'ichi. Basing himself on a Manchu inscription in the lower left of the map, reading, "Map of nine circuits which Langtan, who was Chamberlain (of the Imperial Bodyguard)(領侍衛)內大臣, and others drew and brought back," and on the fact that the map shows Aigun (Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton) and Mergen but not Cicihar, Yoshida surmised that this map was produced by Langtan around Kangxi 29. As regards the date in Chinese in the lower right, reading, "50th year, 12th month, 13th day," he went no further than to suggest that this was added when the map was put in storage in the Palace Treasury.⁴⁹⁾ I believe that Yoshida's conclusions are by and large reasonable, but since I cannot proceed with my own discussion while doubts remain about the date of the map's production, I wish to explain its provenance in a little more detail.

While searching through the entries for Kangxi 49 (1710) in the *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an*, I discovered that the map produced by Langtan was referred to by names identical or similar to the inscription on the map itself, such as "Map of nine circuits which Langtan, who was Chamberlain (of the Imperial Bodyguard), and others drew and brought back" or "Map which Langtan, who was Chamberlain (of the Imperial Bodyguard), and others investigated and brought back." The reason that Langtan's map is mentioned with such frequency around this time in the *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* is that it was needed for the compilation of the *Da Qing yitong zhi*. As is well-known, the Kangxi emperor had embarked on the compilation of the *Da Qing yitong zhi* by establishing an office for this purpose in Kangxi 25.⁵⁰⁾ Formerly, when the Office of the General of Heilongjiang had been located in Mergen, the general of Heilongjiang had sent material for compiling the gazetteer to this office, which was attached to the Grand Secretariat, but now that the headquarters of the general of Heilongjiang had moved from Mergen to Cicihar, the compass directions and distances for the place-names in the area under his jurisdiction had to be altered so that they were measured from Cicihar instead of Mergen. In addition, the initial report submitted by the general of Heilongjiang had been rather slapdash in content when compared with Langtan's map. The Office for the Unified Gazetteer accordingly asked the general of Heilongjiang to carry out a further investigation of the geography of the area under his jurisdiction, and for his reference it also sent him the "Map of nine circuits which Langtan, who was Chamberlain (of the Imperial Bodyguard), and others drew and brought back,"

which was held by the Grand Secretariat. This took place around the eleventh month of Kangxi 48.⁵¹⁾ The report's content was then reexamined locally by the lieutenant-general of Heilongjiang, the assistant commandant of Mergen, the commandant of the Solon, and others, but because their findings were still found to be wanting, the general of Heilongjiang ordered further investigations.⁵²⁾ This was repeated two or three times, and in this fashion the points at issue were narrowed down.⁵³⁾ Eventually the general of Heilongjiang completed the reinvestigations and sent the results to Beijing in the form of a written report and a map, but the Office for the Unified Gazetteer discovered some omissions in these too and requested further investigations for a third time.⁵⁴⁾ It was only after these exchanges that Yangfu, general of Heilongjiang, and his associates submitted the final report on Kangxi 49/11/12.⁵⁵⁾

The features of Langtan's map as described in the *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* are identical to those of the map discovered by Yoshida, and they are one and the same map. The date "50th year, 12th month, 13th day" found at the bottom right of the map is unrelated to the date when the map was produced. There can be no doubt that Langtan produced his map immediately after the conclusion of the surveys. It should be noted that the words "Map of nine circuits which Langtan, who was Chamberlain (of the Imperial Bodyguard), and others drew and brought back" would have been added after Langtan was appointed chamberlain (of the Imperial Bodyguard) in the third month of Kangxi 31,⁵⁶⁾ but since the designations for Langtan's map in the entries for Kangxi 49 in the *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* are not uniform, it is to be surmised that this inscription too would have been added in Kangxi 49 or later.

Next, I wish to consider what the surveys conducted in Kangxi 29 have to tell us today. First, there is the question of the chain of mountains extending from the source of the Gorbitsa River to the sea, which was established by the Treaty of Nerchinsk as the border between Russia and the Qing. There has been some debate in the past about how to interpret this mountain range. The prevailing view would identify it with the Stanovoi Range (Wai Xing'an Range 外興安嶺), a view that has also been widely adopted in textbooks and so on. But it has also been argued that this chain of mountains was nothing more than a water divide, and this view too cannot be ignored.⁵⁷⁾

In the Latin text of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, the official version of the treaty, this chain of mountains is not referred to by any specific name, and its position is defined only in terms of its being the source of tributaries of

the Amur.⁵⁸⁾ This seems rather vague for a national border, but the drafts of the treaty that were exchanged during the treaty negotiations all use the same expression.⁵⁹⁾ In contrast, Chinese works of the Qing call this mountain range the Great Hinggan (Da Xing'an 大興安 = Amba Hinggan). The word Hinggan does not exist in Manchu and was borrowed from Mongolian. In the entries for Kangxi 49 in the *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* one finds that frequent use is made of the word Hinggan, and various mountain ranges, large and small, are all called Hinggan preceded by a compass direction. "Great Hinggan" is a little more specific than Hinggan used as a general designation, but it still does not immediately tie in with the Wai Xing'an Range. The chain of mountains defined as the border in the Treaty of Nerchinsk was originally a chain of mountains shown on a map in the possession of the Russian representatives. On one of the Russian maps, the two branches of a V-shaped or Y-shaped mountain range were shown extending due east and northeast from the vicinity of the headwaters of the Gorbitsa, and the branch extending due east ran parallel to the Amur as far as the sea. In the course of the treaty negotiations these mountains running due east were chosen as the border between the two countries, but originally these two mountain ranges derived from maps of Siberia, and rather than being mountain ranges that actually existed, they would be better described as the products of human imagination.⁶⁰⁾ The other map used by the Russians (A. I. Beiton's map) also shows a chain of mountains thought to represent the border extending in an arc from the source of the Gorbitsa as far as the mouth of the Amur.⁶¹⁾ But there does not exist in this region any such rectilinear chain of mountains. In short, the chain of mountains defined as the border in the Treaty of Nerchinsk does not tie in with any specific range of mountains.

As for the Qing's interpretation of this chain of mountains, it would seem that the Chinese believed that it actually existed. When one looks at the routes taken by the survey parties, one finds that they faithfully adhered to the provisions of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, ascending the Zeia, Selemdzha, Bureia, Goriun, and Amgun', all left-bank tributaries of the Amur, as far as their headwaters in an effort to reach their sources. As far as they were concerned, the chain of mountains connecting the water divides or mountains at the sources of these rivers which they had thus located corresponded to the Great Hinggan and the border with Russia. The Great Hinggan shown on Langtan's map is a large chain of mountains extending east and west to the north of the Amur. Partway along, it splits into two, and the tip of the northern branch protrudes into the sea.

The Zeia, Selemdzha, Bureia, Amgun', and other left-bank tributaries of the Amur all rise in the southern slopes of these mountains, while the Uda flows between the two mountain ranges towards the sea.⁶²⁾ This chain of mountains meets all the conditions for the border agreed to in the Treaty of Nerchinsk. This means that on present-day maps the actual border corresponded to a line joining the water divides of the Zeia, Selemdzha, and Bureia Rivers traversed by the survey parties.

Next, I wish to consider questions pertaining to the Gorbitsa River, at the western end of the border, and the boundary stone said to have been erected beside it. In the past these questions had perplexed many researchers, but with the appearance of Langtan's map they have all been neatly resolved. The observation that there were two Gerbici (Gorbitsa) Rivers, the Great Gerbici (Amba Gerbici) and Small Gerbici (Ajige Gerbici), in the upper reaches of the Amur has its origins in the surveys conducted in Kangxi 29. It was said that, starting from the uppermost reaches of the Amur, the Gerbici, Jolokci, Amba Gerbici, Or, and Oldokon Rivers flowed from the north into the Amur and its upper tributary, the Shilka, and among these the Gerbici was the furthest upstream. In the report of the investigations conducted by the general of Heilongjiang in Kangxi 49 for the compilation of the *Da Qing yitong zhi*, the relative positions of the Gerbici and Amba Gerbici Rivers are the same as those indicated by Langtan's survey, and the Office for the Unified Gazetteer did not query them.⁶³⁾ As for the boundary stone, there is no reference to it on Langtan's map, but a stone monument is definitely known to have been standing in Kangxi 49 on the eastern bank of the mouth of the Gerbici.⁶⁴⁾ There can be no doubt that initially the Qing considered the Gerbici River in the upper Amur valley to mark the border with Russia.

At the same time as the *Da Qing yitong zhi* was being compiled, a party of Jesuits that included Régis visited the Heilongjiang region in Kangxi 49 (1710) for survey purposes. Their aim was to survey the upper Amur, and this included ascertaining the border with Russia. On a map produced by D'Anville, which drew on the *Huangyu quanlan tu* 皇輿全覽圖 (Map of a Complete View of Imperial Territory) later presented by the Jesuits to the Kangxi emperor, the names of the Amba Gerbici and Gerbici (called Ajige Gerbici by D'Anville) have been transposed so that they are the opposite of their names on Langtan's map, and a boundary stone is shown on the eastern bank of the mouth of the Amba Gerbici in the upper Amur valley.⁶⁵⁾ The Jesuits' treatment of these two rivers would at first sight seem to have been the result of confusion, but this cannot be at-

tributed to an error on their part, and they would have deliberately made this change for some reason or other.

At the time when the Jesuits visited the Heilongjiang region, locals' memories concerning the location of the Gorbitsa River and the stone monument had become somewhat hazy with the passage of time. For example, in the report submitted by the general of Heilongjiang in Kangxi 49, the stone monument was said to be located at the source of the Gerbici, but as a result of further investigations it was found to be standing on the eastern bank of the mouth of the Gerbici.⁶⁶⁾ This was hardly surprising since the only living person at the time who knew the location of the stone monument was Tungguni (Tunggunei), a Solon of Aral Aba.⁶⁷⁾ In addition, in the *Longsha jilüe* 龍沙紀略 Fang Shiji 方式濟, who lived in exile in Cicihar from Kangxi 52 until his death in Kangxi 56,⁶⁸⁾ refers on the one hand to a boundary stone beside the Amba Gerbici River, while on the other hand he mentions the Ajige Gerbici, Jolokci, and Amba Gerbici Rivers to the east of the boundary stone, indicating that the Ajige Gerbici (i.e., Gerbici) was upstream from the Amba Gerbici and that the stone monument too was on the banks of the Ajige Gerbici. This situation in Heilongjiang was, I believe, reflected in the views of the Jesuits.

A similar confusion was also introduced into gazetteers in later times. The *Da Qing yitong zhi* was edited three times during the reigns of the Qianlong and Jiaqing 嘉慶 emperors, and the two editions compiled during Qianlong's reign abandoned Langtan's view and followed that of the Jesuits. In the first edition, published in Qianlong 9 (1744), the hitherto official view was altered and the Great Gerbici (Amba Gerbici) River was positioned upstream from the Gerbici, and it was stated that the boundary stone stood to the east of the Great Gerbici. But in a section dealing with the boundary stone it is explained that the stone monument in question stood on the eastern bank of the mouth of the Gerbici River. The distance from Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton is given as 1,790 *li* 里, which is equivalent not to the distance from Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton to the Gerbici River (1,690 *li*) but to the distance from Sahaliyan Ula i Hoton to the Great Gerbici River, and therefore the Gerbici River mentioned in this section must be the Great Gerbici River further upstream.⁶⁹⁾ This same error reappears in the second edition compiled by imperial command in Qianlong 29.⁷⁰⁾ But in the third edition compiled by imperial command in Jiaqing 25 (1820) the relative positions of the Amba Gerbici and Gerbici Rivers were restored to those at the time of Langtan's survey, and the boundary stone was also said to be located on the eastern bank of the Gerbici River, upstream

from the Amba Gerbici, thereby resolving the inconsistencies of the first and second editions.⁷¹⁾ It is not known why these changes were made.

Lastly, a question concerning the border in the east is the affiliation of the Tugur River and other rivers to the north which flow into the Sea of Okhotsk. Were the provisions of the Treaty of Nerchinsk strictly applied, these rivers would become part of a neutral zone between China and Russia. But the survey parties' interpretation differed, and they considered the area as far as the Tugur to represent the border. As was explained earlier, the survey party led by Bahai crossed the Tugur and reached the vicinity of its headwaters, where they erected a stone monument marking the border with Russia on Mt. Uyeken, the watershed of the Tugur and Torom river systems. On Langtan's map, Mt. Uyeken lies near where the eastern end of the Great Hinggan reaches the coast. In the view of Bahai and Langtan, this divide marked the easternmost extremity of the Sino-Russian border. This interpretation of theirs would seem to be at variance with the Treaty of Nerchinsk. But an examination of this area on modern maps reveals that there is no high mountain between the Tugur River and the Nimelen River, which flows to its south into the Amgun' River, and the two rivers are quite close to one another. Bahai's party, which actually surveyed this area, would have been unable to draw the border line between the Tugur and Nimelen Rivers.⁷²⁾

This view of Langtan and Bahai was also the official view of the Qing. According to the *Ningguta fu dutong yamen dang'an* 29 (Yongzheng 12/8/19), Sabsu, general of Heilongjiang, who had participated in the peace conference at Nerchinsk, stated with regard to the boundary agreed on with Russia:

[In Kangxi 28] we extended our territory by several thousand *li* from north to south for more than 7,000 *li* in an east-west direction east from the Gerbici River as far as the East Sea and the Tugur River.

This indicates that he considered the area to the south of a line connecting the Gorbitsu and Tugur Rivers to be Chinese territory. Further, in Kangxi 49 the Qing confirmed its position that the Tugur River belonged to China. The *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 294 (Kangxi 49/10/21) records the following words attributed to Yangfu, general of Heilongjiang:

Investigations have shown that the Grand Ministers in the capital have

established the Tuhuru (Tugur) River as the border with Russia.

In addition, when the Office for the Unified Gazetteer asked the general of Heilongjiang to conduct further investigations of place-names, the officials wrote:⁷³⁾

If one looks at the map that Langtan, Chamberlain (of the Imperial Bodyguard), and others drew and brought back, there are in an area quite close to the border of Heilongjiang the Kilfi River and Torom (Torom) River in a northeasterly direction.... We want you to carefully investigate and report in which direction and how many *li* from the town of Cicihar...those of the above mountains and rivers under the jurisdiction of Heilongjiang lie.

Judging from this passage, there can be little doubt that the officials at the Office for the Unified Gazetteer considered the Torom River to the north of the Tugur and its tributary, the Kilfi, to lie in the vicinity of the border. Since there are no indications of any further discussion of the Torom and Kilfi Rivers, it was presumably decided that these two rivers lay on the other side of the border. In point of fact, no mention of either of these two rivers can be found in any of the editions of the *Da Qing yitong zhi*.

In contrast to the Chinese, it would seem that the Jesuits did not consider the Tugur river system to fall within Chinese territory. On D'Anville's map the Great Hinggan (Hinkan Chaine de Montagnes) is shown cutting across the headwaters of the Gorbitsa and other rivers, then running southwards so as to circle the Zeia and Amgun' river systems, and finally reaching the coast some way south of the Tugur. His map also shows the Tugur River, but the border as envisioned by the Jesuits corresponded to the chain of mountains to the south. They attached importance to the fact that this river flowed into the Sea of Okhotsk and, in accordance with the Treaty of Nerchinsk, regarded this as a neutral zone.

This Jesuit view concerning the Tugur River was to exert a certain influence in later times, and its most loyal supporter was Qi Zhaonan 齊召南, who wrote the *Shuidao tigang* 水道提綱 on the basis of Jesuit maps in the Palace Treasury. According to Qi Zhaonan, the Great Hinggan Mountains lay to the north of the Amur, were several thousand *li* in length, and reached the sea to the south of the Tugur River.⁷⁴⁾ But this view of his did not become the majority opinion, and the official view of the Qing consistently held that the border lay to the north of the Tugur River.⁷⁵⁾

Concluding Remarks

Immediately after the conclusion of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, several maps of the Amur region were produced in China. They were all influenced by Russian maps, and in the centre they showed a distinctive Y-shaped chain of mountains representing the border.⁷⁶⁾ Langtan's map was one of these, and it stands out from the other maps on account of its detailed information about river names and its accuracy. His map is also markedly superior to Russian maps of the same period. The reason that Langtan's map was able to boast the highest precision of any map at this time was that it was based on the fruits of careful field surveys.⁷⁷⁾

At the same time, knowledge of the geography of the Amur region among people of the Qing peaked with the surveys of Kangxi 29. After the Treaty of Nerchinsk, the Qing placed the left bank of the Amur under military rule and divided this region into east and west along a line starting from the Bidzhan River, with the two partitions under the control of the generals of Heilongjiang and Ningguta respectively.⁷⁸⁾ But even after this measure had been taken, regular troops of the Eight Banners were never stationed permanently on the left bank, and the area for the defence of which they were responsible was confined to the right, or south, bank of the Amur, with only small parties of troops dispatched by the two generals making regular patrols of the border region.⁷⁹⁾ Consequently, knowledge of the geography of the left bank made hardly any advances after this time, and during the remainder of the Qing dynasty there did not appear a single map superior to that by Langtan. An examination of the sections on the mountains and rivers of Ningguta (or Jilin) and Heilongjiang in extant editions of the *Da Qing yitong zhi* shows that for the most part they coincide with the materials that the general of Heilongjiang produced in Kangxi 49 with reference to Langtan's map and so on for the compilation of the *Da Qing yitong zhi*, and there is no evidence of any major changes in content.

Notes

- 1) See Yoshida Kin'ichi 吉田金一, "Rōdan no Kitsurin kyūga zu to Neruchinsuku jōyaku" 郎談の『吉林九河圖』とネルチンスク條約 [Langtan's *Map of the Nine Rivers of Jilin* and the Treaty of Nerchinsk], *Tōyō Gakuhō* 東洋學報 62-1/2 (1980); id., *Roshia no tōhō shinshutsu to Neruchinsuku jōyaku* ロシアの東方進出とネルチンスク條約 [Russia's eastward advance and the Treaty of Nerchinsk] (Tokyo, 1984); id., *Roshia to Chūgoku no tōbu kokkyō o meguru shomondai* ロシア

- と中國の東部國境をめぐる諸問題 [Questions concerning the eastern border between Russia and China] (Tokyo, 1992).
- 2) The *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* is currently held by the Heilongjiang Provincial Archives. I consulted a microfilm at the First Historical Archives of China.
 - 3) *Русско-китайские отношения в XVII веке*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1972), pp. 524–527.
 - 4) *Ningguta fu dutong yamen dang'an* 寧古塔副都統衙門檔案 29, Yongzheng 雍正 12/8/19; *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 1, Kangxi 23/8/18, 8/25, 10/20, 10/27; *ibid.* 3, Kangxi 24/3/11. See also Matsuura Shigeru 松浦茂, *Shinchō no Amūru seisaku to shōsū minzoku* 清朝のアムール政策と少数民族 [Qing policy towards the Amur district and minorities] (Kyoto, 2006), chap. 7, n. 69; Kusunoki Yoshimichi 楠木賢道, “*Kokuryūkō shōgun gamon tōan kara mita Kōki nijūsannen no Ro-Shin kankei*” 黑龍江將軍衙門檔案からみた康熙二十三年の露清關係 [Russo-Qing relations in Kangxi 23 as seen from the *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an*], *Rekishi Jinrui* 歴史人類 24 (1996).
 - 5) *Русско-китайские отношения в XVII веке*, vol. 2, pp. 556–557.
 - 6) *Ibid.*, pp. 510–511.
 - 7) J. Sebes, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689)* (Rome, 1961), p. 287.
 - 8) *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 10, Kangxi 29/3/5.
 - 9) *Ibid.* 10, Kangxi 29/3/14.
 - 10) Biography of Langtan (Langtan 郎談) in *Baqi tongzhi chujī* 八旗通志初集 153.
 - 11) *Qing shilu* 清實錄, Kangxi 32/11/*wuchen* 戊辰 & 34/8/*xinchou* 辛丑.
 - 12) *Ibid.*, Kangxi 35/7/*jisi* 己巳 & 40/2/*yichou* 乙丑. According to the first of these two entries, Šanahai rose from the position of lieutenant-general of Ningguta to general of Ningguta, but judging from the Chronological Table of Grand Ministers of Metropolitan Area and Provinces in the *Baqi tongzhi chujī* 121 and the *Jilin tongzhi* 吉林通志 62 (“*Zhiguan zhi*” 職官志), he was actually promoted from the position of lieutenant-general of Bedune.
 - 13) Biography of Anjuhū (Anzhuhu 安珠瑚) in *Baqi tongzhi chujī* 151.
 - 14) Biography of Mutu (Mutu 穆圖) in *Baqi tongzhi chujī* 205.
 - 15) Biography of Nomin (Nuomin 諾敏) in *Guochao qixian leizheng chubian* 國朝耆獻類徵初編 275.
 - 16) *Heilongjiang zhi gao* 黑龍江志稿 44, “*Zhiguan zhi*,” and biography of Hanni 韓尼 in *Baqi Manzhou shizu tongpu* 八旗滿洲氏族通譜 72.
 - 17) Biographies of Bahai (Bahai 巴海) in *Baqi tongzhi chujī* 167 and *Manzhou mingchen zhuan* 滿洲名臣傳 10. The former states that Bahai died of illness in Kangxi 25, but this is an error for Kangxi 35.
 - 18) *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 10, Kangxi 29/3/14.
 - 19) *Ibid.*
 - 20) See Mizuhara Shigemitsu 水原重光, “*Kinsei zenki kokka ryōiki kakuteiji no Boundary zone keiei no ichirei to shite no Shinchō no Kokuryūkō-shō keiei*” 近世前期國家領域劃定時の Boundary zone 經營の一例としての清朝の黑龍江省經營 [The Qing dynasty’s rule of Heilongjiang province as an example of rule of a boundary zone when demarcating state territories in the first half

- of the early modern period], *Nishi Nihon Shigaku* 西日本史學 3 (1950), p. 57; Yoshida Kin'ichi, *Kindai Ro-Shin kankeishi* 近代露清關係史 [The history of Russo-Qing relations in modern times] (Tokyo, 1974), pp. 195–196.
- 21) *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 10, Kangxi 29/3/14.
 - 22) Ibid.
 - 23) Ibid.
 - 24) Ibid. 14, Kangxi 29/3/26; 15, Kangxi 29/5/15.
 - 25) Ibid. 10, Kangxi 29/3/14.
 - 26) *Русско-китайские отношения в XVIII веке*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1978), p. 8; Yoshida, *Roshia no tōhō shinshutsu to Neruchinsuku jōyaku*, p. 297.
 - 27) *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 14, Kangxi 29/3/15. It would seem, however, that the party actually arrived almost ten days later.
 - 28) Ibid. 14, Kangxi 29/4/21.
 - 29) Ibid. 15, Kangxi 29/5/3.
 - 30) Ibid. 15, Kangxi 29/5/15.
 - 31) Yoshida considers the boundary stone erected by Langtan at this time to have been a temporary marker that was later rebuilt by the Qing authorities, but there is no evidence to support this view. Since these three boundary stones were in remote areas, I do not believe that they were subsequently rebuilt. Cf. Yoshida, *Roshia no tōhō shinshutsu to Neruchinsuku jōyaku*, pp. 294–304.
 - 32) *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 15, Kangxi 29/5/15.
 - 33) Ibid. 10, Kangxi 29/8/8.
 - 34) Here and below, see maps in Yoshida, *Roshia no tōhō shinshutsu to Neruchinsuku jōyaku*.
 - 35) *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 15, Kangxi 29/5/15.
 - 36) Ibid. 30, Kangxi 30/int. 7/21.
 - 37) Ibid. 13, Kangxi 29/5/7.
 - 38) *Yang Dapiao xiansheng zawen cangao*, “Xifatang shigao zixu” 唏髮堂詩稿自序 and “Fu Yang Dapiao chusai shengqin shiwen juan” 附楊大瓢出塞省親詩文卷. In the former we find the statement “In the cyclic year *jisi* (1689) I left the frontier to visit my parents” (己巳歲出塞省親).
 - 39) О. П. Суник, О языке зарубежных нанайцев, *Доклады и сообщения Института языкознания АН СССР*, 1958-11, p. 168; Б. О. Долгих, *Родовой и племенной состав народов Сибири в XVII в* (Moscow, 1960), p. 605.
 - 40) А. В. Смоляк, Родовой состав нивхов в конце XIX- начале XX в, *Социальная организация и культура народов Севера* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 194–195. See also Matsuura, op. cit., chap. 7, Table 15.
 - 41) Ibid.
 - 42) See Matsuura, op. cit., chap. 3, p. 87.
 - 43) J. B. du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* (hereafter *Description*), vol. 4 (Paris, 1735), p. 244. See also Yoshida, *Roshia no tōhō shinshutsu to Neruchinsuku jōyaku*, p. 297.
 - 44) See Map 2 in Sebes, op. cit. On Thomas's map, see A. Florovsky, “Maps of the Siberian Route of the Belgian Jesuit, A. Thomas (1690),” *Imago Mundi* 8

- (1951).
- 45) *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 290, Kangxi 49/1/4.
- 46) Weiyike'alın is identified by Yoshida as Mt. Elkire (2,384 m, lat. 53° N. and long. 135° E.) in the headwaters of the Torom River and by Liu Yuantu as the highest peak (2,278 m) of the Tyl'skii (Taikanskii) Mountains to the northwest of the Torom River, but both are in error. See Yoshida, *Roshia to Chūgoku no tōbu kokkyō o meguru shomondai*, pp. 102–104; Liu Yuantu 劉遠圖, “*Liubian jilüe suoji Weiyike'alın jiebei buzhen*” 《柳邊紀略》所記威伊克阿林界碑補証 [Supplementary evidence about the Weiyike'alın boundary marker noted in the *Liubian jilüe*], *Xuexi yu Tansuo* 學習與探索, 1985-6, p. 134.
- 47) Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'anguan 中國第一歷史檔案館 (First Historical Archives of China), ed., *Qingdai Zhong-E guanxi dang'an shiliao xuanbian* 清代中俄關係檔案史料選編 [Selected archival sources on Sino-Russian relations during the Qing], vol. 1 (Beijing, 1981), no. 282 (memorial dated Yongzheng 12/12/14 and submitted by Fengshenge [Fengsheng'e 豐盛額], Duke Yingcheng 英誠公 and Chamberlain of the Imperial Bodyguard). See Matsuura, op. cit., chap. 5, pp. 177–178.
- 48) *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 13, Kangxi 29/7/12.
- 49) Yoshida, “*Rōdan no Kitsurin kyūga zu to Neruchinsuku jōyaku*,” pp. 33–34. Although this map, currently held by the National Palace Museum, is referred to as the *Map of the Nine Rivers of Jilin* (*Jilin jiuhe tu* 吉林九河圖), this is not its proper name.
- 50) *Qing shilu*, Kangxi 25/3/jiwei 己未.
- 51) *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 290, Kangxi 49/1/4.
- 52) Ibid. 293, Kangxi 49/1/7, 2/3 & 2/9.
- 53) Ibid. 293, Kangxi 49/2/26.
- 54) Ibid. 290, Kangxi 49/8/23.
- 55) Ibid. 291, Kangxi 49/11/12.
- 56) Langtan was appointed chamberlain of the Imperial Bodyguard on Kangxi 31/3/16 (*yichou*). See corresponding entry in *Qing shilu*.
- 57) See Irie Keishirō 入江啓四郎, “*Neruchinsuku jōyaku no kenkyū*” ネルチンスク條約の研究 [A study of the Treaty of Nerchinsk], in Ajia-Afurika Kokusai Kankei Kenkyūkai アジア・アフリカ國際關係研究會, ed., *Chūgoku o meguru kokkyō funsō* 中國をめぐる國境紛争 [Border disputes involving China] (Tokyo, 1967), p. 31; Nomiya Atsushi 野見山温, “*Manbun Neruchinsuku jōyaku no kenkyū*” 滿文ネルチンスク條約の研究 [A study of the Manchu version of the Treaty of Nerchinsk], in id., *Ro-Shin gaikō no kenkyū* 露清外交の研究 [A study of Russo-Qing diplomatic relations] (Tokyo, 1977), n. 25.
- 58) With regard to the official Latin version of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, I have consulted the Russian translation in *Русско-китайские отношения в XVII веке*, vol. 2, pp. 645–646.
- 59) E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 563, 571, 574, 583, 593.
- 60) There is an explanation of the chain of mountains that became the border in the journal of the Jesuit Gerbillon, who participated in the peace conference at Nerchinsk; see Du Halde, *Description*, vol. 4, p. 198. On maps of Siberia, see, e.g., Mikami Masatoshi 三上正利, “*Supafari no Shiberia chizu*” スパファ

- リのシベリア地圖 [Spathary's map of Siberia], *Shien* 史淵 99 (1968).
- 61) See Yoshida, *Roshia to Chūgoku no tōbu kokkyō o meguru shomondai*, pp. 75–84, Map 9.
- 62) See maps in Yoshida, *Roshia no tōhō shinshutsu to Neruchinsuku jōyaku*.
- 63) *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 291, Kangxi 49/11/12.
- 64) Ibid.
- 65) It is clearly indicated on D'Anville's map, drawn on the basis of materials gathered by Jesuits, that the border between the two countries corresponded to the downstream Ajige Gerbici. It should be assumed that, rather than this being D'Anville's own idea, he was following the view of the Jesuits, who were probably unaware of the significance of the boundary stone.
- 66) *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 290, Kangxi 49/8/23; *ibid.* 291, Kangxi 49/11/12.
- 67) *Ibid.* 292, Kangxi 49/9/12; *ibid.* 293, Kangxi 49/int. 7/21. On the Solon, see Yanagisawa Akira 柳澤明, "Iwayuru 'Butoha hakki' no setsuritsu ni tsuite" いわゆる「ブトハ八旗」の設立について [On the establishment of the so-called "Eight Butha Banners"], in *Matsumura Jun sensei koki kinen Shindaishi ronsō* 松村潤先生古稀記念清代史論叢 [Collected essays on Qing history in honour of Professor Matsumura Jun's 70th birthday] (Tokyo, 1994), p. 113.
- 68) Li Xingsheng 李興盛, *Dongbei liuren shi* 東北流人史 [A history of exiles in the northeast] (Harbin, 1990), p. 209.
- 69) Section on Heilongjiang in *Da Qing yitong zhi* (Qianlong 9) 36.
- 70) Section on Heilongjiang in *Da Qing yitong zhi* (Qianlong 29) 48.
- 71) Section on Heilongjiang in *Da Qing yitong zhi* (Jiaqing 25) 71.
- 72) According to A. F. Middendorf, who visited this area in 1844, the Tugur and Nimelen Rivers were separated by only four or five miles and locals moved freely between the two rivers. See E. G. Ravenstein, *The Russians on the Amur* (London, 1861), p. 204.
- 73) *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 290, Kangxi 49/1/4.
- 74) Section on Heilongjiang in *Shuidao tigang* 24. See also Naitō Torajirō 内藤虎次郎, "Shina shigaku shi" 支那史學史 [A history of Chinese historiography], in *Naitō Konan zenshū* 内藤湖南全集 [Complete works of Naitō Konan], vol. 11 (Tokyo, 1969), pp. 374–376.
- 75) The rivers of the Tugur river system fell under the jurisdiction of the general of Ningguta (later Jilin). See, e.g., the section on Ningguta in the *Da Qing yitong zhi* (Qianlong 9) 35.
- 76) See Yoshida, *Roshia to Chūgoku no tōbu kokkyō o meguru shomondai*, chap. 6. On maps apart from Langtan's map, see W. Fuchs, "Über einige Landkarten mit mandjurischer Beschriftung," *Manshū Gakuhō* 滿洲學報 2 (1933); Funakoshi Akio 船越昭生, "Kōki jidai no Shiberia chizu" 康熙時代のシベリア地圖 [Maps of Siberia from Kangxi's reign], *Tōhō Gakuhō* 東方學報 (Kyoto) 33 (1963); Sebes, op. cit., Maps 1 & 2.
- 77) Yoshida has suggested that there existed during the Qing a map predating Langtan's map, on which the latter was based, and that this was used at the time of the peace conference at Nerchinsk. But now that details of the border surveys conducted in Kangxi 29 have come to light, this thesis is no

longer tenable. See Yoshida, *Roshia to Chūgoku no tōbu kokkyō o meguru shomon-dai*, pp. 55–57.

- 78) *Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang'an* 294, Kangxi 49/9/1, 9/22 & 10/21; *Ningguta fu dutong yamen dang'an* 22, Yongzheng 7/7/22.
- 79) *Liusha jilüe*, “Jingzhi” 經制.