Researches in Chinese Turkestan during the Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 Period, with special reference to the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志.

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I

It would probably not be disputed that the pacification of the Zungars and Mohammedan tribes was not only the most illustrious, but also, viewed historically, the most significant of the "Ten Victories" of Kao-tsung 高宗, the Ch'ien-lung Emperor.

In Ch'ien-lung 20, 2nd month (March/April, 1755), Kao-tsung took advantage of discord among the Zungars to mobilize a force against them. He crushed them at a blow and captured their leader, Tawachi (or Dawachi). He then proceeded against Amursana, who had been aiming at leadership of all the Zungars, in the stead of Tawachi. Amursana was crushed, the four Ölöt (or Ölöd) tribes subjugated, and Zungaria and Ili were annexed. In Ch'ien-lung 22 (1757) his troops proceeded to punish Khojijan (or Khoja Jihân) and other Mohammedan leaders, who had proved refractory to Ch'ing pacification. Making short work of the T'ien-shan Nan-lu 天山南路, they crossed the Pamirs and reached the upper waters of the Amur. Khojijan and his companions fled to Badakhshan, where, however, the chief, Sultan Shâh, seized them and put them to death, presenting their heads to the Imperial court. When, in Ch'ien-lung 25, 2nd month (March/April 1760), the Imperial army marched in triumph through Peking, the pacification of the Mohammedan tribes was complete.

Thus, the power of the Zungars, who, since the days of Galdan, had claimed supremacy over Chinese Turkestan, completly collapsed, the subjugation

of North-western Mongolia, which had been a constant problem since the time of the K'ang-hsi Emperor, was brought to a conclusion, and the Mohammedan tribes, who had enjoyed several hundred years of prosperous existence in the Taklamakan Desert, now exchanged their independence for the beneficent influences of the Ch'ing Emperor.(1)

To commemorate these glorious victories, the Ch'ien-lung Emperor put a number of measures in hand.

First was the erection of a number of memorials, including the P'ing-ting Chun-ka-êrh kao-ch'êng T'ai-hsüeh pei 平定準噶爾告成太學碑 and the P'ing-ting Hui-pu kao-ch'êng T'ai-hsüeh pei 平定回部告成太學碑.

Second was the construction of the P'u-ning-ssŭ 普寧寺 at the Jehol summer retreat. This was modelled on the Tibetan San-mo-yeh-ssŭ 三摩耶寺, a characteristically Tibetan style being selected, since the opportunity for its construction was afforded by the arrival at court, in Ch'ien-lung 20, 10th month, of the four Öl̈öt tribes, who were adherents of Yellow Lamaism. A detailed account of the circumstances and construction of this temple is to be found in Ch'in-ting Jê-ho-chih 欽定熱河志, 79 (and in works based on this, viz., Sekino Tei 關野貞 and Takeshima Takuichi 竹島卓一, 'Nekka' Kaisetsu 「熱河」解說, pp. 136–151; Murata Jirō 村田治郎, Manshū no Shiseki 滿洲の史蹟, Tokyo 1941, pp. 492–497).

Third was the construction of the Tzŭ-kuang-ko 紫光閣. This victory memorial building was erected in the western grounds of the palace. In it

(1) For the conquest of the Zungars and Mohammedan tribes, the basic account, mentioned elsewhere in this article, is the P'ing-ting Chun-ka-êrh fang-lüeh 平定準噶爾方略, but outlines are given in Hsi-yü-wên-chien-lu 西域聞見錄, Huang-ch'ao wu-k'ung chi-shêng 皇朝武功紀盛, Shêng-wu-chi 聖武記 and Shuo-fang pei-ch'êng 朔方備乘. There are also accounts by European writers, based on these materials, among which the most complete is M. Courant, L'Asie centrale aux XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles, Lyon-Paris, 1912. Among works by Japanese writers, a concise account appears in Haneda Akira 羽田明, Iminzoku Tōji jō kara mitaru Shinchō no Kaibu Tōji-seisaku 異民族統治上から見たる清朝の回部統治政策 (Shinchō no Henkyō Tōji Seisaku 清朝の邊疆統治政策, Tokyo, 1944, pp. 101 et seqq.)

were reposited the standards carried in the campaigns against the two tribes together with the captured arms, while its decorations included carvings of a poem by the Emperor, the texts of the Kao-ch'êng T'ai-hsüeh pei 告成太學碑, mentioned above, and other compositions, as well as sixteen paintings of campaign scenes and portraits of fifty distinguished officers. Subsequently, portraits of fifty persons, who had rendered distinguished service in the two Chin-ch'uan 金川 campaigns, and twenty distinguished officers, who had served in the Formosa campaign, were added.(1) After this, the building was used permanently as a hall of audience for foreign embassies and chiefs of foreign tribes.(2)

Fourth was to commission the four missionaries, Joseph Castiglione, Dennis Attiret, Ignace Sichelbart and Jean Damacène, to draw sixteen campaign scenes, which were sent to France for copperplate engraving. This is a matter of such remarkable interest viewed in the context of Sino-European cultural intercourse in modern times, that appendix I of this article has been devoted to the bibliography of some of the detailed studies of the subject, which have appeared.

Fifth was the compilation of the P'ing-ting Chun-ka-êrh fang-lüeh 平定準噶爾方略. This work consists of an introductory section (前編) in 54 chapters (卷), a main section (正編) in 85 chapters, and a continuation section (續編) in 33 chapters; there are versions in Chinese and in Manchu.

The introductory section deals with the period prior to the campaigns, from K'ang-hsi 39, 7th month (Aug./Sept. 1700) to Ch'ien-lung 17, 9th month (Oct./Nov., 1752), and describes the relations between the Zungars and the Ch'ing court after the fall of Galdan, and the conquest of Ch'ing-hai 青海

(1) See Hu Ching 胡敬, Kuo-ch'ao-yüan-hua-lu 國朝院畫錄, Vol. I, comment on Tzŭ-kuang-ko Hsi-yen-t'u i-chüan 紫光閣錫宴圖一卷.

(2) H. Cordier, Histoire des relations de la Chine, etc., I, p. 474; II, pp. 117–118; TP., 1921, p. 255, note 3.; Bland and Backhouse, China under the Empress Dowager, Peking, 1937, pp. 100–101, etc.

and Tibet by the K'ang-hsi Emperor. The main section contains a detailed account of the pacification of the Zungars and Mohammedan tribes, from Ch'ien-lung 18, 11th month (Nov./Dec. 1753) to Ch'ien-lung 25, 3rd month. The continuation section deals with the period from Ch'ien-lung 25, 3rd month, to Ch'ien-lung 30, 8th month, and describes the administration of Sinkiang, together with the revolt of the Mohammedans of Uch and its suppression.

The compilation of the work was put in hand in Ch'ien-lung 20, 7th month[1], and completed, according to Ssŭ-k'u-t'i-yao 四庫提要, 47, and Kuo-ch'ao Kung-shih hsü-pien 國朝宮史續編 85, in Ch'ien-lung 37. However, the work carries an Imperial preface of Ch'ien-lung 35, while we read also in the memorial written by the chief editor, Fu Hêng 傅恆, "The work was commissioned in the spring of the year of the boar (亥) and occupied a period of 15 years;" thus the work is stated to have been completed 15 years after the year 乙亥, i.e. Ch'ien-lung 20 (1755). Doubtless the text was completed in Ch'ien-lung 35, and publication took place in Ch'ien-lung 37. But however this may be, this work constitutes the greatest of the commemorative undertakings, and, as explained below, it was as a work of reference for this undertaking that the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志, the circumstances of the composition of which, in particular, are studied in this article, was originally compiled.

Sixth was the compilation of the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志, in 52 chapters (卷). This book is a geographical study of the Zungars and Mohammedan tribes. Four introductory chapters are entitled T'ien-chang 天章 and consist of a collection of compositions, in verse and prose, by Kao-tsung, while the remaining 48 chapters deal with the physical and political geography of Sinkiang, with details of its history and administration. A Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志, in 100 chapters, was also compiled in the time of T'ang under Kao-

(1) Kao-tsung shih-lu 高宗實錄, 492.

tsung 高宗, to commemorate the pacification of Chinese Turkestan(1), but it was early lost. In commissioning the present work, the Ch'ien-lung Emperor picked up this broken thread, and perpetuated a detailed account of the condition of Central Asia in the middle of the 18th century.

Seventh was the survey of the newly acquired territory of the Zungars and Mohammedan tribes, and the making of detailed maps based thereon. The relevant sections of the Ch'ien-lung Shih-san-p'ai-ti-t'u 乾隆十三排地圖 were produced on this occasion, and, as will be explained below, they are valuable as being the most detailed and accurate maps of Central Asia ever produced, whether in China or in Europe, before the second half of the 19th century.

As the eighth item we should include the production of the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 and Wu-t'i Ch'ing-wên-chien, 五體清文鑑, together with the revision and enlargement of the Ta-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih 大清一統志, which went on side by side with the historical undertakings already described.

II

As early as Ch'ien-lung 20, 2nd month (March/April, 1755), when the campaign against the Zungars began, Kao-tsung was already interested in investigating the history and geography of the region. We read in an edict under the 丙子 day of the 3rd month of this year (Morch 3, 1755) in the Kao-tsung shih-lu 高宗實錄: "We further decree (To the Chün-chi-ta-ch'ên 軍機大臣): In Han times, the western boundaries embraced extensive territories, with troops stationed throughout the regions of Urumchi and the Mohammedan tribes, some of the inhabitants of which acknowledged allegiance

(1) Kita Ajia Gakuhō (Dai ni shū) 北亞細亞學報 (第二輯), pp. 233–235. P. Pelliot, Notes sur quelques artistes, etc., TP., 1923, pp. 274–276.

to the court. With the establishment of governments general in the early T'ang period, the boundaries were widely extended to the north-west. But the traces of such power have long since disappeared. We, therefore, command Ê-jung-an 鄂容安 that, on the occasion of the present expedition, he compile a detailed report both of all information which he finds can be shown to be consonant with Han and T'ang historical records, and of such information on regions never penetrated by Han and T'ang, which he may elicit through interrogation of natives. His report shall be submitted in due course, to serve as a source for further work."

However, Ê-jung-an 鄂容安, who was thus charged with this research, was unable to meet the Emperor's wishes, and his place was taken by Liu T'ung-hsün 劉統勳, on whom was laid a strict injunction to produce a geography (the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志). In an edict of Ch'ien-lung 21, 2nd month 辛亥 (March 13, 1756), which appears in Kao-tsung shêng-hsün 高宗聖訓, 217, and in Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志, introductory chapter, we read:

"We decree to the Chün-chi-ta-ch'ên 軍機大臣. Previous histories are extremely inaccurate in their accounts of the physical features and inhabited localities of the region extending from the headquarter of the campaign to Ili and Kazak. The reason is that the foreign tribes have never had any records and historians, in consequence have had no reliable data. Moreover, instead of personal acquaintance with the territory, they have relied simply on hearsay; and these oral accounts being delivered in local dialects, important distinctions have been blurred by linguistic differences. The lapse of time has further intensified the difficulties of research. We have lately turned our attention to a thorough study of these matters... We entrusted the task to Ê-jung-an 鄂容安, who, however, has reported that he can find no material

(1) Kao-tsung shêng-hsün 高宗聖訓, 217. Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志, introductory chapter.

on which to work. For the requisite maps, documents, inscriptions and the like are not available in such remote regions. Being, moreover, at the time, occupied with pressing military duties, Ê 鄂 had no leisure for this separate undertaking. Reports have now been received that enemy prisoners have been taken. Liu T'ung-hsün 劉統勳, who is now at headquarters without any special task, should devote himself to this problem exclusively. Orders have now been issued to Ho Kuo-tsung 何國宗 to proceed to Ili and make a survey of the area, and he has received his instructions from Us in person. Ho Kuo-tsung 何國宗 is to join him immediately and proceed with him. A gazetteer is to be compiled of all place-names, according to their locality, old and new versions being carefully checked. The enquiries and investigations which they will thus be able to undertake at first hand will be of incomparably more value than research confined to the perusal of old papers. Correction of the accumulated inaccuracies of several thousand years will be an admirable achievement. We have at this moment a rare opportunity for a splendid enterprise."

Thus Liu T'ung-hsün 劉統勳 became responsible for field research in Chinese Turkestan, together with Ho Kuo-tsung 何國宗, who was engaged in surveying the Zungaria and Ili areas. Another edict, to similar effect, was issued in Ch'ien-lung 21, 4th month 丙午 (May 7, 1756): "...Liu T'ung-hsün 劉統勳 is ordered to join Ho Kuo-tsung 何國宗 and proceed with him. In accordance with the sense of Our previous edict, he is to check, record and submit lists of all physical features and place-names..."

Liu T'ung-hsün 劉統勳, however, had incurred the Emperor's displeasure by recommending the abandonment of Barkul, on the occasion of Amursana's revolt, and, on Ch'ien-lung 21, 4th month 乙丑 (May 26, 1756), he was recalled to Peking, after which the responsibility for research in Chinese Turkestan devolved on Ho Kuo-tsung 何國宗 alone.(1)

(1) Kao-tsung shih-lu 高宗實錄, 511.

Thus, by Ch'ien-lung 26, 6th month, preliminary work had resluted in the compilation and presentation of the Ch'in-ting Huang-yü-hsi-yü-t'u-chih 欽定皇輿西域圖志, but with the devolopment of Chinese Turkestan and the progress of research, the need was felt for revision and enlargement, and the beginning of Ch'ien-lung 47 saw the completion of the authoritative version.(1) The first version cannot be seen today, the current edition being the second version. It is not known when the work of revision and enlargement was undertaken, but that it was subsequent to Ch'ien-lung 29, 11th month 戊申 (Nov. 23, 1764) is clear from an entry for that date in Kao-tsung shih-lu 高宗實錄, 722, in which the desire is expressed to revise and enlarge the T'u-chih 圖志 as soon as the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 is completed. The memorials of the chief editor of the first version, Fu Hêng 傅恆, and of the chief editor of the second version, Ying Lien 英廉, are appended to the introductory chapter of the current edition. This work, based as it was on field research, with its systematic arrangement, its accuracy and its conciseness, may justly be called a pearl among books of reference, and it may well claim to have fulfilled to the letter the express desire of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor for a compilation "of incomparably greater value than research confined to the perusal of old papers," and his hope that "correction of the accumulated inaccuracies of several thousand years will be an admirable achievement."

It has been described above how, after Ch'ien-lung 21, 4th month, Ho Kuo-tsung 何國宗, who had originally been sent on a survey mission for cartographical purposes, found himself engaged also in the collection of material for the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志. Since, however, it was the survey of the territories of the Zungars and Mohammedan tribes about which researches in

(1) See decree in Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志, and Pan-li Ssŭ-k'u-ch'üan-shu tang-an 辦理四庫全書檔案, Vol. I, p. 82.

this region centred, it will be as well to attempt to give some outline of that undertaking.

It is well known that the Huang-yü-ch'üan-lan-t'u 皇輿全覽圖, based on surveys made between K'ang-hsi 47 and 55 (1708–1716), is not only the most accurate and detailed of Chinese atlases produced before the 20th century, but is also, even today, so generally reliable as to yield place only to more minute surveys(1). But surveys of this period never extended further west than Hamil and Ubsanor(2). It was Kao-tsung's intention to make use of the opportunity afforded by his subjugation of the Zungars and Mohammedan tribes to carry out a survey of Sinkiang, and so to carry on his grandfather's work, and he therefore followed up his conquest of Zungaria by instantly ordering that the newly acquired territory be surveyed and mapped(3). Accordingly, on Ch'ien-lung 21, 2nd month, 21st day (March 21, 1756), the Tso-tu-yü-shih 左都御史 Ho Kuo-tsung 何國宗 set out from Peking, accompanied by Minggantu 明安圖, Fu-tê 富德, Fu Tso-lin 傅作霖 and Kao Shên-ssŭ 高愼思(4), and, working with Ha-ch'ing-a 哈清阿 and Nu-san 努三, who were already on the ground, set to work on the survey.(5) Kao Shên-ssŭ 高愼思 and Fu Tso-lin 傅作霖 are the Portuguese Jesuits, Felix Da Rocha and Joseph d'Espinha. According to letters of Amiot and Gaubil, the party also

(1) F. F. v. Richthofen, China, 1, p. 8.

(2) J. F. Baddeley, Russia, Mongolia and China, 1, p. clxix. Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹之助, Ôjin no Shina-kenkyū 歐人の支那研究, 1st ed., pp. 191–192. W. Fuchs, Der Jesuiten-Atlas der Kanghsi-Zeit, Peking, 1943. Mikami Masatoshi 三上正利, Kōki Jidai ni okeru Zesuitto no Sokuzu-jigyō 康熙時代におけるゼスイット測圖事業, Shien 史淵, LI, 1952, pp. 25-50.

(3) Kao-tsung shih-lu 高宗實錄, 485, Ch'ien-lung 20, 3rd month 癸卯 (May 10, 1755); 490, Ch'ien-lung 20, 6th month, 癸丑 (July 19, 1755); Kao-tsung shêng-hsün 高宗聖訓, 217.

(4) Kao-tsung shih-lu 高宗實錄, 504. Ch'ien-lung 21, 1st month, 己卯 (Feb. 2, 1756). H. Bernard, Les étapes de la cartographie scientifique, Monumenta Serica, I, 2, 1935, p. 472.

(5) Kao-tsung shih-lu 高宗實錄, 506, Ch'ien-lung 21, 2nd month, 丙午 (March 8, 1756).

included two lamas deeply versed in mathematics(1). Nu-san 努三 and d'Espinha, going westwards from Barkul, proceeded to Ili, then, marking a detour northwards, they proceeded to Ebi-nor, Jaïr-dawan, Baï-tak and Khap-tak, and so carried out their investigations in Zungaria. Ho Kuo-tsung 何國宗, Ha-ch'ing-a 哈清阿 and Da Rocha proceeded south-westwards from Barkul, by way of Bogdo-ōla and Erin-habirga-ōla to Turfan, Ilalik and Karashar, and explored the greater and lesser valleys of the Khaidu-(tau)-gol and Yulduz(2). The party reassembled at Su-chou 肅州 and returned to the capital(3). There is no definite record of the field covered by Minggantu 明安圖 and Fu-tê 富德. The results of this survey were submitted in Ch'ien-lung 21, 10th month(4). It was probably for the maps submitted by Ho Kuo-tsung 何國宗 on this occasion that Kao-tsung composed his verses known as "Ch'ien-lung ping-tzŭ [21st year] yu-t'i Yü-ti-t'u shih" 乾隆丙子御題輿地圖詩(5). According to Gaubil, who was in Peking at the time, the party's researches covered 43 localities.(6) (It has been described above how the work of Ho Kuo-tsung 何國宗 and his party also included collection of material for the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志.)

With the subjugation of the Mohammedan tribes in Ch'ien-lung 24, it was not long before a further survey of the area was put in hand. A mission, which included, in addition to Minggantu 明安圖, d'Espinha and Da Rocha of the previous expedition, Wu Lin-t'ai 烏林泰 and Tê Pao 德保, set out from Peking in Ch'ien-lung 24, 5th month(7) and returned 11 months

(1) H. Bernard, op. cit., loc. cit.

(2) Ho Kuo-tsung Kuo-shih-pên-chuan 何國宗國史本傳 in Kuo-ch'ao-ch'i-hsien-lei-chêng ch'u-pien 國朝耆獻類徵初編 71; Bretschneider, Mediaeval Researches, II, p. 201; Pfister, Notices biographiques, II, p. 794.

(3) Pfister, op. cit., II, p. 774.; H. Bernard, op. cit., loc. cit.

(4) Ho Kuo-tsung Kuo-ship-pên-chuan 何國宗國史本傳, cited above, note 16.

(5) See Kuo-ch'ao-yüan-hua-lu 國朝院畫錄, Vol. 2, s.v. Hsü Yang 徐揚.

(6) Pfister, op. cit., p. 774.

(7) Kao-tsung shih-lu 高宗實錄, 586, Ch'ien-lung 24, 5th month, 庚辰 (May 26, 1759). Kao-tsung shêng-hsün 高宗聖訓, 218.

later[1]. This survey covered the area from Kucha, Aksu, Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan (or Ilchi) to Wakhan, Bolor and Badakhshan, as well as Tashkent, Andijan and Namanagan[2].

Using the results of these surveys and the maps brought back by the mission, the Ch'ien-lung Emperor supplemented the Huang-yü ch'üan-lan-t'u 皇輿全覽圖, and issued orders to the French Jesuit missionary, Michel Benoist (alias Chiang Yu-jên 蔣友仁), to make maps of China on three scales. Details of this project are to be found in a letter of Benoist, believed to be of the end of the year 1773[3]. The medium and small scale maps were printed by wood-block, while the largest were printed by copperplate. Pfister and Prof. S. Wada 和田清 have both shown that these copperplate maps are in fact the Ch'ien-lung shih-san-p'ai-ti-t'u 乾隆十三排地圖[4]. Since the completion of these copperplate maps is mentioned in a letter of Benoist, dated as early as 25 November 1770 (Ch'ien-lung 35, 10th month, 9th day)[5], if we take Pfister to be right when he assigns the beginning of the work of engraving to the year 1769[6], the engraving of the plates would have been completed between Ch'ien-lung 34 and 35 (1769–70). Professor S. Gotō 後藤末雄, in his

(1) Hsü Sung, 徐松, Hsin-chiang fu 新疆賦, preface, comment.

(2) Hsi-yü t'u-chih 西域圖志, 6, 7.; Lettres édifiantes, etc., nouv. ed. xxiv, p. 27, n. 1.; Mémoires concernant les Chinois, 1, pp. 399–400.; Baddeley, op. cit., loc. cit.; A. Herrmann, Westländer, etc., Southern Tibet, VIII, p. 291–297. Bernard considers it questionable whether a large scale survey was carried out on this occasion, but he is in error. See Bernard, op. cit., p. 473.

(3) Letters édifiantes, etc., nouv. éd. xxiv, pp. 381–383.; P. Pelliot, Les Conquêtes de l'empereur de la Chine, TP., 1921 pp. 222–223.; W. Fuchs, Materialen zur Kartographie der Mandju-Zeit, Monumenta Serica, III, P. 202.; Gotō 後藤末雄, Kenryū-tei Den 乾隆帝傳, p. 178–180.

(4) Wada Sei 和田清, Tōa-shi ronsō 東亞史論叢, pp. 573–575. Pfister, op. cit., II, pp. 820–821.

(5) H. Cordier, Les correspondants de Bertin, TP., 1917, pp. 337–340, 1921, p. 220.

(6) Pfister, op. cit., II, p. 820, does not indicate his basis for this dating, but see p. 776, n. 1, where he mentions Cibot's letter, dated 28 October 1770, quoted by Brucker, which says, "On vient de faire paraître les cartes et les notices des pays nouvellement conquis, sans dire un mot de nos Pères portugais qui les ont faites sur les lieux ouils étaient allés par ordre de l'empreur de la Chine".

Kenryū-tei Den 乾隆帝傳 (p. 178), does not indicate his grounds for assigning this to 1772 or thereabouts.

According to the reference of Benoist[1], one hundred copies of the Shih-san-p'ai-ti-t'u 十三排地圖 must have been printed, involving 10,400 sheets, but the work was so rare, even in China[2], that it was difficult to form an idea of its scale. Happily, however, it was reprinted, in 1931, from the original plates preserved in the Peking Imperial Palace Museum (北京故宮博物館), and has become, as a result, readily accessible to us today. The description in Lü-t'ing chih-chien chuan-pên shu-mu says, "This map extends from the Indian Ocean in the south to Arctic Ocean in the north, from the Eastern Sea in the east to the Mediterranean in the west. The whole map is several yeards wide, but it is divided into 13 sections, covering a number of sheets, degrees of latitude and longitude being indicated on each sheet. Based on K'ang-hsi maps, it is both more exact and more inclusive than those, and is unrivalled by any previous maps." While the Huang-yü ch'üan-lan-t'u 皇輿全覽圖 of K'ang-hsi provided the basis for China proper, the maps of the bordering regions embodied the results of subsequent surveys and researches. It is, however, an accepted criticism that its vastness of scale is not matched by its exactitude, and we find the general verdict to be borne out when we compare it with atlases, which may be said to approach the Huang-yü-ch'üan-lan-t'u 皇輿全覽圖 most closely, i.e. the Ch'ing nei-fu i-t'ung yü-ti-pi-t'u 清內府一統輿地秘圖 or D'Anvill's Nouvel Atlas de la Chine, etc. But this applies to the portions covered by the K'ang-hsi maps. When it comes to the Shih-san-p'ai-t'u 十三排圖 however, and the new delineations

(1) Letters édifiantes, nouv. éd. xxiv, pp. 381–384, 368, 424. H. Cordier, op. cit., loc. cit.

(2) See Shêng-ching tien-chih pei-k'ao 盛京典制備考, 1. Lu-t'ing chih-chien chuan-pên shu-mu 郘亭知見傳本書目, 5. Wên-mo-chai t'u-shu ching-yen-lu 文莫齋圖書經眼錄 (Yü-t'u chih shu 輿圖之屬). Lo Chên-yu 羅振玉, Wu-shih-jih-mêng-hên-lu 五十日夢痕錄, 4th month, 6th day (April 6, 1915).

of Chinese Turkestan, Ch'ing-hai 青海 and Tibet, it must be acknowledged that the work embodied, at least in its own time, the very highest geographical knowledge, and that it brought for the first time into the light of day the geography of Central Asia, which had hitherto lain locked in darkness. On it was based the "Map of Central Asia," made by J. Klaproth, published, with funds provided by the Prussian Government, in 1836[1] (Carte de l'Asie centrale dressée d'après les cartes levées par ordre de l'Empereur Khian Loung, par les Missionaires de Peking, et d'après un grand nombre de notions extraites et traduites de livres chinois par M. Jules Klaproth, 4 feuilles, grand aigle, paris 1836.)[2] The same geographer, Klaproth, translated and studied the information contained in the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志 and other Chinese geographical works. Indeed, when we consider how, until the latter part of the 19th century, the world's knowledge of the geography of inner Asia was dominated by the work of the Ch'ien-lung court[3], we cannot but acknowledge the immeasurable contribution to the advancement of human knowledge, which those researches made. However, Klaproth's map of Central Asia incorporates arbitrary alterations to the original, as is disclosed by a comparison of the Shih-san-p'ai-t'u 十三排圖 with the reproductions of Klaproth's map contained in the works of Baddeley and Hedin.[4] Rawlinson[5]

(1) The year after Klaproth's death. But it is given as 1835 in Eyrées' Life of Klaproth (Biographie universelle, Supplement, LXVIII, Paris, 1841, p. 547.); in Cordier, BS, 2nd ed., IV, 2805–2806, based on the preceding; and in Tanaka Suiichirō 田中萃一郎, Shina-gaku no Enkaku 支那學の沿革 (Tanaka Suiihirō Shigaku Rombunshū 田中萃一郎史學論文集, p. 184); Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹之助, op. cit., p. 256.

(2) J. Klaproth, JA, 1er Serie, 3, 1823 pp. 294–295.; J. H. Plath, Die Völker der Mandschurey, 2, Göttingen, 1831, p. 839 Anm. 1; A. von Humboldt, L'Asie centrale, 1, Paris, 1843, p. XXIV. But the original map, translated by Klaproth, which later passed into Pauthier's possession, consisted of only 13 leaves, which showed that Klaproth never had the whole of the Shih-san-p'ai ti-t'u 十三排地圖. Cf. H. Benard, Les étapes, etc., Monumenta Serica, 1, 3, p. 495, note 146.

(3) A. von Humboldt, op. cit., 1, II. S. Hedin, Southern Tibet, III, pp. 43–44.

(4) Baddeley, Russia, Mongolia and China, 1, pp. clxx-clxxii.; S. Hedin, op. cit., IV, pp. 43–44.

(5) H. G. Rawlinson, Proceedings of R.G.S., 1836.

and Wood[1] have pointed out how scholars were long troubled by this.[2] It may be mentioned that Klaproth supposed the Shih-san-pʻai-tʻu 十三排圖 to have been published in 1760. He must have inferred this from the date, Chʻien-lung 25, 8th month (September-October, 1760) of the Imperial verses, which appear in the introduction. But since the survey of the area of the Mohammedan tribes had been completed only three months earlier, we may be confident that it would not have been possible by then to have published the copperplate Shih-san-pʻai-tʻu 十三排圖, of which the engraving of the plates would have required some time.

On the Shih-san-pʻai-tʻu 十三排圖, the place-names are all given in Chinese script, but there was also published a map of China, on which the place-names in China proper are given in Chinese, and those in the outer territories, in Manchu script. This is the Ta-chʻing i-tʻung-yü-tʻu 大清一統輿圖, preserved in the former India Office. This was sent, in 1825, to the library of the head office of the East India Company in London, by John Reeves, the Company's official in Canton. It is a large map in "ten very long rolls" (shih-pʻai 十排), made up of some hundred sectional maps, each roll being 27 feet long.[3] W. Fuchs believes it to be one of the woodblock maps of China (medium scale) made by Michel Benoist, and he points out that, among the maps of China preserved in the Dairen Library of the South Manchurian Railway Company, there is a fragment which may also be supposed to be a section of such a map.[4] This identification may well be correct. In Kuo-chʻao kung-

(1) J. Wood, Journey to the Sources of the Oxus, 2nd ed., Preface, p.V.

(2) Also see, for Klaproth's map of Central Asia: W. Huttmann, J.R.G.C., 1844, p. 119; H.G. Rawlinson, ibid., 1872, pp. 476, 478; Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de feu M. Thonnelier, Paris, 1800, pp. 525–526; V. de Saint-Martin, Mémoire analytique, etc. dans Julien, Mémoire sur les contrées occidentales, II, p. 254.

(3) W. Huttmann, On Chinese and European Maps of China, J.R.G.S., 1884, pp. 119–120. J.H. Baddeley, op. cit., 1 pp. clxix-clxx, Separate Sheet, No. 17.

(4) Materialen zur Kartographie der Mandchu-Zeit, M.S., III, pp. 200–204, 201–208, pl. 3. The fragment concerned is listed as item 339 in the Shina Chizu Mokuroku 支那地圖目錄 published by the Dairen Library in October, 1930. It is described as a map of Shinkiang, (Manchu letterpress), woodblock, medium size.

shih hsü-pien 國朝宮史續編, 99, 100, or Ch'ing nei-fu tsao-pan-ch'u Yü-t'u-fang t'u-mu ch'u-pien, 清內府造辦處輿圖房圖目初編, etc., there is no mention of a map called Ta-ch'ing i-t'ung-yü-t'u 大清一統輿圖, but Huang-yü-ch'üan-t'u 皇輿全圖 (or Huang-yü fang-ko ch'üan-t'u 皇輿方格全圖 or Huang-yü shih-p'ai ch'üan-t'u 皇輿十排全圖), 'paper, ten rolls, with lines of latitude and longitude, are listed, with width of 1 ch'ih (尺) 7 ts'un (寸) and lengths from 8 ch'ih (尺) to 2 chang (丈) 6 ch'ih (尺) 1 ts'un (寸). Since the name Huang-yü ch'üan-t'u 皇輿全圖 means the same as Ta-ch'ing ch'üan-t'u 大清全圖, the map acquired by Reeves was probably one of these. But a point which does require clarification is that Huttmann dates this map about 1760, and Baddeley supposes it to have been published in 1760 or 1761. This is probably due, not to any specific year of Ch'ien-lung being stated on the original map, but to the Imperial verses of Ch'ien-lung 25, 8th month (September/October, 1760) printed with it. These verses appear on the first roll of the Huang-yü-ch'üan-t'u 皇輿全圖 (in ten rolls) preserved in the Imperial Palace, which is listed in the Kuo-ch'ao kung-shih hsü-pien 國朝宮史續編, 99. These verses, moreover, also regularly appear on all maps produced in the Ch'ien-lung period and on all subsequent maps which may have been, to a greater or less degree, based thereon. This probably accounts for the way in which, whenever they refer to Ch'ien-lung maps, European scholars confidently date them in 1760 or 1761. Michel Benoist's reference suggests that all the maps, on the three scales, whether woodblock or copperplate, were made at about the same time, while there is no evidence to support the statements of Huttmann or Baddeley that the woodblock ones alone were made as early as 1760. The fact is that the survey party did not return to Peking until 1760, and it would have been quite impossible, in that same year, to have sorted out the results of their investigations and completed the preparation of the blocks. It should be mentioned that the scale of the woodblock maps was four fifths of that of the copperplate ones. Comparison

of reproductions of the India Office map or the Dairen Library sectional map with the Shih-san-p'ai-ti-t'u 十三排地圖 shows that not only are there far fewer places entered on the smaller scale one but that, in general, it is considerably rougher. There is an article in "Mémoires concernant les Chinois"(1), dated at Peking 27 July 1776, in which it is stated that the Ch'ien-lung Emperor originally ordered the preparation of a map from 100 large blocks, in the hope of improving on the excessive smallness of previous maps, but that when this came from the press, it was found that the place-names it contained were too crowded and confused and, moreover, that many had been omitted, and that he therefore instantly ordered that an even larger scale map be prepared. This probably refers to the ten roll woodblock and thirteen roll copperplate maps. Nothing is known of the other woodblock map (i.e. the smallest), but it seems certain that at least three kinds of maps were produced, embodying the results of the field researches in the territory of Zungaria and the Mohammedan tribes.

Surveys of Chinese Turkestan during the Ch'ien-lung period were not confined to those of Ch'ien-lung 21 and 24 to 25. In Ch'ien-lung 36, 9th month (Oct./Nov., 1771), the transfer of the Torgut tribes, from the Don and Volga basins to Ili, provided the occasion for ordering the missionaries to carry out a further survey of the region. A letter of Amiot, dated 4 October 1772, mentions the departure of missionaries for Ili five months previously.(2) But nothing is known of the identity of the missionaries concerned or whether their findings were ever published.

The Kuo-ch'ao-yüan-hua-lu 國朝院畫錄 (2nd Volume) of Hu Ching 胡敬 lists a Hsi-yü-yü-t'u 西域輿圖 in one volume by Hsü Yang 徐揚 (an artist who worked iu the Hua-yüan 畫院 during the Ch'ien-lung period). A comment on the entry makes it clear that this production was connected with the

(1) Mémoires concernant les Chinois, II, Paris, 1777, p. 417.
(2) Mémoires concernant les Chinois, I, Paris, 1776, p. 327.

subjugation of the Zungars and Mohammedan tribes, but, just as in the case of the various Tai-ts'ai ch'ien-lung shih-san-p'ai-t'u 帶彩乾隆十三排圖 (ranging from one to 21 leaves) listed in the Pei-ching jên-wên-k'o-hsüeh-yen-chiu-so t'sang-shu chien-mu 北京人文科學研究所藏書簡目 (Shih-pu 史部, p. 82a.) it is impossible to discover anything about its character, in particular about its relationship to the section of the copperplate thirteen roll map covering Chinese Turkestan.

III

The compilation of the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 went on side by side with, or as a by-product of, the compilation of P'ing-ting Chun-ka-êrh fang-lüeh 平定準噶爾方略 and Huang-yü-hsi-yü-t'u-chih 皇輿西域圖志, the surveys of the territories of the Zungars and Mohammedan tribes and the preparation of maps of the new accessions. The Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih is in 24 chapters (卷) and may be described as a geographical, historical and biographical dictionary of the T'ien-shan Nan-lu 天山南路 and Pei-lu 北路, Ch'ing-hai 青海 and Tibet. Its contents are as follows:

Chapter 1. T'ien-shan Pei-lu 天山北路, places.

Chapters 2. and 3. T'ien-shan Nan-lu 天山南路, places 1 and 2.

Chapter 4. T'ien-shan Nan-lu 天山南路, and Pei-lu 北路, mountains.

Chapter 5. T'ien-shan Pei-lu 天山北路, rivers.

Chapter 6. T'ien-shan Nan-lu 天山南路, rivers.

Chapters 7 to 10. T'ien-shan Pei-lu 天山北路, Zungar persons 1 to 4.

Chapter 11 to 13. T'ien-shan Nan-lu 天山南路, Mohammedan persons 1 to 3.

Chapter 14. Ch'ing-hai 青海, places.

Chapter 15. Ch'ing-hai 青海, mountains.

Chapter 16. Ch'ing-hai 青海, rivers.

Chapter 17. Ch'ing-hai 青海, persons.

Chapter 18. Tibet, places.

Chapter 19 and 20. Tibet, mountains 1 and 2.

Chapter 21 and 22. Tibet, rivers 1 and 2.

Chapter 23 and 24. Tibet, persons 1 and 2.

The total number of proper names included is 3,111[1]. Each of these is first spelt in Manchu script and then in Chinese. This is followed by an explanatory note on the term, which includes, in the case of a geographical entry, its history, and, in the case of a person, his genealogical position, etc. The pronunciation is then given in Mongolian, Tibetan, Todo and Arabic script. These Manchu and Chinese phonetic renderings are used as standard spellings throughout the P'ing-ting Chun-ka-êrh fang-lüeh 平定準噶爾方略 and Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志 and in subsequent official or private records or glossaries. As is explained below, it was the pressing need for standardized spellings of proper names, confronting the compilers of the Fang-lüeh 方略, T'u-chih 圖志 and so on, which constituted one of the prime reasons for the compilation of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志. No particular comment is needed on the Manchu, Chinese, Mongol and Tibetan scripts. The Todo script, adapted from the Mongol for the purpose of rendering the pronunciation of the Ölöt dialect,[2] used an alphabet invented in 1684 by Zaya Pandita, a native of the Khoshut tribe,[3] "todo" in Mongol signifying "clear, lucid"[4]. The Arabic script was used by the Mohammedan peoples, whose language was Eastern Turki[5] However, although these various scripts were

(1) Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Orientale de feu M. Jules Thonnelier, Paris, 1880, p. 524, No. 3977.; B. Laufer, Skizze der mandjurischen Literatur, Keleti Szemle, IX, 1908, p. 41.; Do., Loan-words in Tibetan, TP., XVII, 1916, pp. 431–435.

(2) What is referred to in the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 as Zungar language is known to Europeans as Kalmuck Mongolian.

(3) B. Laufer, Skizze der mongolischen Literatur, p. 186.; Hattori Shirō 服部四郎, Mōko to sono Gengo 蒙古とその言語, Tokyo, 1942, p. 256, etc.

(4) Ramstedt, Kalmuckisches Wörterbuch, p. 396.; Kowalewskii, Dictionnaire, III, p. 1838.

(5) A detailed explanation of the Todo and Arabic scripts is given in the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志, 47, 48.

used, only one was used as the basic script for any one proper name. This principle is indicated in the following passage from the Huang-ch'ao Wen-hsien-t'ung-k'ao 皇朝文獻通考, 218:

"We would point out . . . when the entry is in Kalmuck, the basic script used is Todo, while the Tibetan, Mongol and Arabic scripts are merely used to give phonetic equivalents. Where the entry is in Eastern Turki, the basic script used is Arabic, while the Tibetan, Mongol and Todo scripts are merely used to give phonetic equivalents. Thus in each case, *mutatis mutandis*, both sound and meaning are elucidated."

It is this multiplicity of languages and their phonetic representation, by means of the Manchu and Chinese scripts, which is meant by T'ung-wên 同文 or "linguistic universality." The Imperial preface, in the introductory chapter to the T'ung-wên-chih, explains this in the following terms:

"By 'linguistic universality' we mean an extension of the function of the T'ung-wên-yün-t'ung 同文韻統, the addition of the corresponding words, in the languages of the various tribes, serving to clarify the records of Chinese Turkestan and to bring them to public notice, with all possibility of error, however slight, eliminated."

The function of the [T'ung-wên-] yün-t'ung [同文] 韻統, alluded to above, is indicated in the following passage in the Imperial preface to that work, where the efficacy of the Manchu and Chinese scripts, for spelling purposes, is mentioned,

"In its alphabet of twelve basic symbols, Our dynasty possesses an all-embracing literary instrument. No sound can elude the phonetic combinations of which it is capable. It can express any sound whatever with a precision and completeness, of which Chinese is incapable. This surely is the summit of linguistic universality."

For the study of Chinese Turkestan and Tibet during the Ch'ing period, the Hsi-yü t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 is an indispensable thesaurus. This

is so, not only because it serves as a dictionary or gazetteer to the P'ing-ting Chun-ka-êrh fang-lüeh 平定準噶爾方略, Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志 or Shih-san-p'ai-ti-t'u 十三排地圖, or bacause it constituted the standard for the transliteration of proper names in subsequent works, but also because it complements and amplifies such works and is thus itself one of the basic sources for research into the history, geography and culture of Central Asia at the period.

In the first place, the standardized Manchu and Chinese transliterations of proper names, in the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志, are accompanied both by the spelling of the words concerned in their original language and by their phonetic equivalents in various other alphabets. Although these are not necessarily always accurate, their comparative study affords us a valuable clue towards the reconstruction of the pronunciation of the time. Further, no record of many of the proper names existed until the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 came into being, and in this respect, therefore, the value of the work is very great indeed. In particular, what, above all, gives the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 its highest historical value, are the details it provides of the genealogies of the Dalai Lamas and of the royal families of the Zungars, the Mohammedan tribes, Ch'ing-hai 青海 and Tibet. It is true that these appear, to some extent, also in the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志 and in the Ch'in-ting Wai-fan Mêng-ku Hui-pu wang-kung piao-chuan 欽定外藩蒙古回部王公表傳, but the accounts in the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 are the most thorough. When we compare the relevant portions of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 with the genealogies of the Zungars, which appear in P.S. Pallas' collection of records of the Mongols[1], compiled about the same time, we can readily see how extremely thorough are those of the former work. The same may be said of the genealogies of the Mohammedan tribes, for which it has proved impossible to assemble such detailed information in spite of all the earnest endea-

(1) Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten über die mongolischen Völkerschaften, I, St. Petersburg, 1776, p. 29 ff.

vours of Oriental and Western expeditions since the end of the 19th century. Reference to the material collected, for example, by Dutreuil de Rhins[1] or A. v. Le Coq[2] makes this clear. The conquest of the Zungars and Mohammedan tribes was an event of very great significance for that part of the world, but the success with which the Ch'ing, not content to stop at conquest, went on to devote their energies to the preservation of ancient records, must also excite our admiration.

The T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 is of imperishable value as a source for the study of the languages of Central Asia in the 18th century. First of all, comparison of the transliterations in the six alphabets enables us to determine the pronunciation of the symbols in the several scripts and the phonetic relationships between the scripts, at the period concerned. Further, the etymological comments appended to each term enrich our knowledge of the vocabulary of the languages at that period, and so enable us to study their morphology. (Whether, however, the etymological explanations are accurate or not is another question.) Since the end of the 19th century a number of scholars have carried out research on the languages of this region, and some of the results have been published. But before this, by far the greatest contribution to the study of the languages of the Zungars, the Mohammedan tribes and, especially, the Tibetans, was made by the Ch'ing, in particular, by the publications of the Ch'ien-lung period, of which the T'ung-wên-chih is a shining example.

In addition to its scientific value, the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 has considerable cultural and political significance. This is one aspect of the historical value of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 *per se*. As is well known, the K'ang-hsi Emperor and his successors, anxious to eliminate anti-Manchu feeling

(1) Dutreuil de Rhins, Mission scientifique dans la Haute Asie, III, Paris, 1898, pp. 1 ff.

(2) A. v. Le Coq, Volkskundliches aus Ostturkistan, Berlin, 1916, p. 567.

among the Chinese, strove to imbibe Chinese culture and to translate Confucian ideals of government into reality; with the same object, they attempted, on the one hand, to suppress anti-Manchu sentiments by the institution of a literary censorship and publication of an *index expurgatorius*, and, on the other, with the publication of the Ta-i-chüeh-mi-lu 大義覺迷錄, to propagate the theme that what is essential is "Virtue," not the "man," and thus to point out the error of opposition to the Ch'ing on the ground of their foreign extraction; or again, with the Man-chou-yüan-liu-k'ao 滿洲源流考, they endeavoured to demonstrate that the Manchu people were not inferior to the Chinese, in point of history and culture. But also, with the expansion of Ch'ing territory and the extension of their rule over a number of peoples, the Ch'ing were at pains to emphasize that, however diverse in structure might be the languages of the subject peoples, now covering almost the whole of eastern Asia, and of the Manchus, there was not the slightest difference betweeen them as media of expression, that there was no distinction of cultural level between the various peoples, and that there was nothing unnatural in the domination of the Ch'ing. One might call this the concept or policy of T'ung-wên 同文 or "linguistic universality," which reached its high watermark during the Ch'ien-lung period, with the compilation of such works as the T'ung-wên-yün-t'ung 同文韻統, Ssŭ-t'i-ho-pi Ta-tsang-ch'üan-chou 四體合璧大藏全呪, Man-wên Tsang-ching 滿文藏經, and, finally, the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 and Wu-t'i-ch'ing-wên-chien 五體清文鑑. Nevertheless, we cannot but feel that we have here, also, some reflection of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor's personal literary or, rather, learned predilections. While far from being able to agree with Plath's view that the expeditions and conquests in Chinese Turkestan actually stemmed from the Emperor's interest in foreign lands and languages,[1] we can readily judge the interest he had in

(1) J.H. Plath, Die Völker der Mandschurey, II, p. 829.

linguistic studies and the progress he made in the study of Ölöt, Eastern Turki and Tibetan, by reference to the prefaces to the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志 or Yü-chih Man-chu Mêng-ku Han-tzŭ san-ho-ch'ieh-yin ch'ing-wên-chien 御製滿珠蒙古漢字三合切音清文鑑, or to the Imperial prefaces to the Hsi-yü-ti-ming k'ao-chêng hsü-shuo 西域地名考證敍說[1], Wu-ssŭ-tsang chi Wei-tsang 烏斯藏卽衛藏[2] or Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志. Thus these researches on the languages of Chinese Turkestan would seem to have been not simply the continuation of traditional policy, but also to a great extent the outcome of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor's personal inclinations. But, however that may be, the territory of the Ch'ing reached just about its greatest extent with the accession of Sinkiang, and the Hsi-yü t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志, which records the results of the diligent research on the languages of the area, serves, together with the Wu-t'i-ch'ing-wên-chien 五體清文鑑, as an admirable demonstration of the concept of "linguistic universality", which constituted one of the basic elements in the cultural policy of the Ch'ing dynasty. The Hsi-yü t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 is thus a work of great importance in a number of respects, yet the circumstances of its compilation have generally been left in obscurity hitherto. My own researches are, indeed, also far from complete, but an outline is attempted below.

IV

The Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 was originally produced as a work of reference for the compilation of the P'ing-ting Chun-ka-êrh fang-lüeh 平定準噶爾方略. The Imperial preface to the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 makes this clear: "With the termination of the conquest of Chinese Turkestan,

(1) In Kao-tsung yü-chih-wên ch'u-chi 高宗御製文初集, 14, and Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志, T'ien-chang 天章, 1.

(2) In Ch'in-ting Wai-fan Mêng-ku Hui-pu wang-kung piao-chuan, 9, 欽定外藩蒙古回部王公表傳 (Kuo-ch'ao-ch'i-hsien-lei-chêng ch'u-pien 國朝耆獻類徵初編)

it was essential that there should be a record of the campaigns (方略). Since, however, the compilers were unacquainted with the languages of the Zungars and Mohammedan tribes, it seemed desirable that there should be some guiding work, by following which all risk of error and confusion would be eliminated. Accordingly, all necessary information concerning the Zungars and the Mohammedan tribes of the T'ien-shan Pei-lu 天山北路 and T'ien-shan Nan-lu 天山南路, together with Tibet and Ch'ing-hai 青海, has been arranged under topographical and personal headings, in such a way as to be comprehensible to anyone who can read Chinese."

Similarly, the Hsi-yü ti-ming k'ao-chêng hsü-shuo 西域地名考證敍說[49] says:

"It was feared that the inadequacy of material available to those engaged in the preparation of the account of the campaigns (方略) would give rise to discrepancies, which, though initially trivial, might ultimately result in far-reaching errors. The Chün-chi-ta-ch'ên 軍機大臣 were therefore commanded to examine, verify and collate all information on the physical features of the terrain and on the personalities of the various tribes inhabiting the area."

Also, in Kuo-ch'ao kung-shih, 國朝宮史, 301, there is the following entry, doubtless based on the above: "Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志: In Ch'ien-lung 24 (1759), Chinese Turkestan was conquered, and compilation of an account of the campaigns undertaken. Since the official compilers had no knowledge of the languages and scripts of the various tribes, directions were given for the preparation of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志, which constitute a guiding work . . ." etc.

The reason for the inclusion in the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 of Ch'ing-hai 青清 and Tibet, which do not properly belong with Chinese Turkestan, was that the Fang-lüeh 方略 contains an account of the campaigns in those areas during the K'ang-hsi period.

But the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 was not prepared solely for use in the

compilation of the Fang-lüeh 方略. A passage in the memorial bu Fu Hêng 傅恆 in the introductory chapter to the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 makes it clear that it was also compiled to facilitate the preparation of the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志.

In the prefatory directions to the Huang-yü-hsi-yü t'u-chih 皇輿西域圖志 it appears that the spelling of the proper names is based throughout on the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志. It says "Minute care has been taken to follow the original meaning and to adopt the correct pronunciation, in complete conformity with the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志."

We may well suppose that the first difficulty encountered by the compilers of the Fang-lüeh 方略 or T'u-chih 圖志, when they addressed themselves to their task, would have been that of dealing with proper names. There were probably even cases where it was difficult to decide whether a term was the name of a person, an office, a place, a mountain or a river. Probably their greatest difficulty lay in determining which, or the multifarious transliterations used to represent a given term, was the correct one. There were even a number of cases in which, owing to the ethnological and corresponding linguistic diversity of the inhabitants of Sinkiang, Ch'ing-hai 青海 and Tibet, the same place would be called by a corresponding diversity of names. We may readily suppose that in these circumstances the standardization of the phonetic representation of proper names would have been acutely felt to be the most urgent task. It was further essential that there should be some means of determining, from the Chinese and Manchu transliteration, the original spelling in the original language. This was a *sine quâ non*, not only for the purpose of compiling the Fang-lüeh 方略 and T'u-chih 圖志, but also for that of governing the new territories. The Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 was thus the inevitable outcome of such needs. What doubtless started as some sort of compilers' notes seems soon to have been transferred to a department of specialists for systematic compilation.

Similar wants must have been felt by those responsible for making the Ch'ien-lung shih-san-p'ai ti-t'u 乾隆十三排地圖. But, although there are naturally many agreements in transliteration between the Map and the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志, disagreements are even more numerous. In particular, it is noticeable that the place-names contained in the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 do not include all those which appear on the map. Nor are these discrepancies between the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 and the Map all: for there are, also, not a few discrepancies in transliteration between the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 and the P'ing-ting Chun-ka-êrh fang-lüeh 平定準噶爾方略. This, as is explained below, is due to the difference in time between the completion of the three works, the Map having appeared first, then the Fang-lüeh 方略, and, last, the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志, which had been subjected to constant revision. In contrast to this, the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志, the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志 and the relevant portions of the Ta-ch'ing-i-t'ung-chih 大清一統志 (in 500 chapters 卷) are completely uniform in ther transliteration. This was simply due to the revision of the three having proceeded together (or that of the last two having waited on the final revision of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志). Klaproth says that when the difficulty arose of writing the place-names on the maps of the territory of the Zungars and Mohammedan tribes in Chinese characters, a special department was set up to investigate and list all place-names and that its work took in names of persons and offices as a side-line.(1) Herrmann states that the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 was compiled as a lexicon, from which to discover the original spelling of the names transliterated in Chinese on the Shih-san-p'ai ti-t'u 十三排地圖.(2) Both these statements are erroneous in attributing to the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 a close relationship with the Shih-san-p'ai-ti-t'u 十三排地圖 alone.

The most obscure points in connection with the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志

(1) JA., 2me Serie, VI, 1830, pp. 5-6.
(2) Southern Tibet, VIII, p. 378-379.

are the dated of the inception and conclusion of the work. We might suppose that, since the compilation of the P'ing-ting Chun-ka-êrh fang-lüeh 平定準噶爾方略 had started as early as Ch'ien-lung 20 (1755), that of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 would have begun very shortly afterwards. However, in the Ssŭ-k'u-ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao 四庫全書總目提要 41, in the Ssŭ-k'u chien-ming-mu-lu 四庫簡明目錄, 4, in the Huang-ch'ao Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao 皇朝文獻通考, 218, and in the Ch'ing-shih-kao I-wên-chih 清史稿藝文志, we read "Compiled at Imperial command, Ch'ien-lung 28 (1763)." (In the Ku-kung Tien-pen-shu-k'u hsien-ts'un--mu 故宮殿本書庫現存目 2nd vol. p. 1b., we find, "Compiled and published, Ch'ien-lung 20," but 20 must be a corruption of 28.) However, in Kao-tsung shih-lu 高宗實錄, 722, under the date, Ch'ien-lung 29, 11th month 戊申 (Nov. 23, 1764), there is an entry concerning the revision of the Ta-ch'ing-i-t'ung-chih 大清一統志 in which appears the following, in the form of a reply from the Chün-chi-ta-ch'ên 軍機大臣: "But revision of the Hsi-yu-t'u-chih 西域圖志 must await completion of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志, now in process of compilation." etc.(1)

This shows that in Ch'ien-lung 29 (1764) the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 was still being compiled. Moreover, the Wu-ssŭ-tsang chi Wei-tsang 烏斯藏卽衞藏 written by Kao-tsung,(50) is quoted in Hsi-tsang tsung-chuan 西藏總傳 in the following way:

"Ch'ien-lung 29th year. The Wu-ssŭ-tsang chi Wei-tsang 烏斯藏卽衞藏 in the Ch'in-ting Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 欽定西域同文志, says, 'In the compilation of T'ung-wên-chih 同文志, which we have ordered, Tibetan place-names etc. are to be classified, and included, with Chinese spellings. In writing the present article, it is Our purpose to point the way.'"

This tells us that compilation of that part of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文

(1) See also the 500-chapter (卷) Ta-ch'ing-i-t'ung-chih 大清一統志, introductory chapter.

志, which concerns Tibet, did not begin until Ch'ien-lung 29. This dating of this piece by Kao-tsung is not found in Yü-chih-wên êrh-chi 御製文二集, 5, where the same piece appears, so that it was probably added by the compiler of the Wang-kung piao-chuan 王公表傳, but in the light of the entry in the Shih-lu 實錄 to the effect that the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 was still in course of compilation at that time, we may suppose it to be correct. We cannot, therefore, take the "Compiled at Imperial Command, Ch'ien-lung 28" of the Ssŭ-k'u-t'i-yao 四庫提要 etc. to mean that it was completed in Ch'ien-lung 28.

There have been three theories on the dating of the completion of the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志. The first gives Ch'ien-lung 28, the second, that of B. Laufer, gives 1776 (Ch'ien-lung 31), and the third, that of Klaproth, gives Ch'ien-lung 36 (1771) or earlier. The difficulty of sustaining the first of these has been explained above. Laufer states that the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 was a comparative dictionary of six languages, published in 1776, in which were included 3,111 place-names of Central and Western Asia, and he dilates on the value of the work(1). He does not indicate the grounds for his statement, which, however, is that of so eminent an authority on Manchu and Mongol documents, that even such a scholar as W. Fuchs adopts it as a theory.(2) The statement is, however, no more than a heedless transcription of the note on the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 in the catalogue of Jules Thonnelier's library(3); Laufer even, in fact, identifies Ch'ien-lung 28 with 1766 instead of 1763, owing to the miscalculation in the chronological table in that catalogue. The figure of 3,111 also appears

(1) Skizze der mandjurischen Literatur, Keleti Szemle, IX, 1908, p. 41.; Loan-words in Tibetan, TP., XVII, 1916, pp. 434–435.

(2) Beiträge zur mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur, Tokyo, 1936, p. 91. Der Jesuiten-Atlas der Kanghsi-Zeit, etc., (Monumenta Serica, Monograph Series IV) Peking, 1943, p. 77: in this work, the year 1763 is adopted.

(3) Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Orientale de feu M. Jules Thonnelier, Paris, 1880, p. 524, No. 3977.

in the note. The essential part of the note is as follows:

"K'in ting Si yu Thoung wên tchi. Dictionnaire descriptif des contrées centrales et occidentales de l'Asie, en six langues; rédigé et publié par order impérial. 24 kiouan, en 8 pèn ou vol. in—4, dans une enveloppe. *Edition de la 28e année Khien-loung (1766)... Le nombre de ces noms* de lieux, de territoires, de montagnes, de fleuves, lacs et rivieres, et d'hommes historiques, ... *s'élève à 3,111...*"

Many of the books concerned with China in Thonnelier's library were acquired by the purchase of Klaproth's collection,[1] and it is quite probable that this Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 was one of these. As is explained below, Klaproth was the first person in Europe to make use of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志. The catalogue of the sale of Klaproth's collection was published, after his death, by the Merlin bookshop in Paris[2]. The titles of the oriental works were rendered into French by C. Landresse and said to have been accompanied by brief explanations[3]. Having been unable to inspect this catalogue myself, I have not established whether the note in the Thonnelier catalogue, or its error, were already present in the Klaproth catalogue. But, in any case, the 1766 dating must be rejected as due to a complete misunderstanding.

The basis of Klaproth's dating, 1772 or earlier[4], was probably the following reference in the Imperial Preface to the revised Ch'ing-wên-chien 清文鑑, written on Ch'ien-lung 36, 12th month, 24th day (29 January 1772):

"In the course of commenting on the T'ung-chien-chi-lan 通鑑輯覽 the necessity of investigating the inaccuracies in the translations in previous histories obliged Us to order the preparation of revised works on the Juchen

(1) Ibid., p. v.

(2) Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Klaproth, en 2 parties in 8°, Paris, 1839.

(3) Biographie universelle, LXVIII, p. 547.; Bretschneider, Botanicum Sinicum, 1, pp. 47, 50, etc.; L. Pfister, Notices biographiques et bibliographiques, II, p. 1000.

(4) JA., 1824, p. 330.

(金) and Mongol (元) languages. The results of this work were subsequently enlarged and expanded, on the occasion of the preparation of the Preface to the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 and other works."

This shows that the Imperial preface to the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 had already been written at this date, and it leads one to suppose that the body of the work may, therefore, also have been completed by this time. We can tell that the revised Ch'ing-wên-chien 清文鑑 was available to Klaproth from the detailed description of it, which appears in Verzeichniss der chinesischen und mandjurischen Bücher und Handschriften der königl. Biblothek zu Berlin, Paris, 1822. p. 61–117, compiled by Klaproth.

But in the parallel Manchu text of this preface, we find: *Jai wargi ba i hergen be emu obuha ejetun i jergi bithe i šutučin arara te,* "Now, when We are about to write a preface to a kind of geographical treatise in which all the scripts of Chinese Turkestan are brought together..." Strictly interpreted, this means that the preface to the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 had not yet been written. Moreover, there are many cases, among works compiled at Imperial command during the Ch'ing period, in which the writing of the preface and the completion of the work were not simultaneous(1), so that, even though we provisionally date the preface to the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 at the end of Ch'ien-lung 36 (1771) or the beginning of Ch'ien-lung 37 (1772), we cannot positively assert that the work itself was completed at about this time. However, taking other factors into consideration, I conjecture that compilation of the first version of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 was completed at about this time

The view that there were two successive versions of the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 is supported by consideration of such features as the following: in T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 chapter 1, a note on 固勒扎 (Gūlja,

(1) Cf. W. Fuchs, The dating of Chinese Books, The conference of the Junior Sinologues, London, 1950, pp. 11–13.

in the T'u-chih 圖志, 固爾札) says, "The *old transliteration* was 固爾扎" (22, b.); a note on 裕勒都斯 (Yūldūz or Yūldūs) says, "The *old transliteration* was 朱爾都斯" (25, a.); in chapter 2., a note on 吐爾番 (Turfan) says, "The *old transliteration* was 吐魯番" (8, b.); a note on 庫隴勒 (Kurūngla) says, "The *old transliteration* was 庫爾勒" (14, b.); a note on 賽喇木 (Sairam) says, "The *old transliteration* was 賽里木" (13. b.). (Many similar examples exist.) The dedicatory verses and titles of the Chun-hui liang-pu-p'ing-ting-tê-shêng-t'u 準回兩部平定得勝圖 are dated from Ch'ien-lung 23 and 24 to 30 (1758–1765)(1), and the entries all agree with what is given as the "*old transliteration*" in the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 or T'u-chih 圖志. Again, both on the Shih-san-pai-ti-t'u 十三排地圖, which may be supposed to have been completed in Ch'ien-lung 34 or 35 (1707 or 1770), and in the P'ing-ting Chun-ka-êrh fang-lüeh 平定準噶爾方略 completed between Ch'ien-lung 35 and 37 (1770 and 1772), the "*old transliteration*" survives. This can only show that, at that time, the "*old transliteration*" was not yet regarded as "old." Further, Fu Hêng 傅恆, who, as chief editor of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志, wrote the memorial in the introductory chapter of the present version, died in Ch'ien-lung 35, 7th month (Aug./Sept., 1770)(2). Again, the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 was really compiled as a handbook for the compilation of the Fang-lüeh 方略, which was itself completed between Ch'ien-lung 35 and 37 (1770 and 1772). Consideration of all these circumstances suggests that the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 was complete or in its final stage of compilation, by Ch'ien-lung 35, 7th month when Fu Hêng 傅恆 died, and that, by the end of Ch'ien-lung 36 (1771) the request for an Imperial preface had been submitted. According to Shu-yen-

(1) See Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹之助, Pari Kaichō Kenryū Nenkan Jun-kai ryōbu Heitei Tokushō-zu ni tsuite パリ開雕乾隆年間準回兩部平定得勝圖に就いて, Tōyō Gakuhō 東洋學報, IX, no. 2.; P. Pelliot, Les《Conquêtes de l'empereur de la Chine》, TP., XX, 1921, pp. 183 ff.

(2) See Kao-tsung shih-lu 高宗實錄 864, same month.

hsien-shêng nien-p'u 述庵先生年譜, compilation of the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 was begnn at command in Ch'ien-lung 25, 11th month (Dec. 1760/Jan. 1761) and completed in Ch'ien-lung 31, 4th month (May/June, 1766); and Shu-yen 述庵, i.e. Wang Ch'ang 王昶, who had been a member of the editorial staff, was promoted to the first grade for his distinguished contribution to the work of compilation. The basis for these statements is not clear, but it was a matter of such importance in the career of Wang Ch'ang 王昶 that there must have been some reliable foundation for them. It seems likely that in Ch'ien-lung 25 (1760) the compilation of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志, as a handbook for the compilation of the Fang-lüeh 方略 was put in hand, that in Ch'ien-lung 28 (1763) it became an independent undertaking, and that, finally, in Ch'ien-lung 31 (1766) it reached one stage of completion. Probably the reason why the Imperial preface was not written until the end of Ch'ien-lung 36 or in the following year, was that at about that time printing of the P'ing-ting Chun-ka-êrh fang-lüeh 平定準噶爾方略 for publication began, and, with that, the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 began to become more generally known. There is a fragment of the first version of the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 in the British Museum, but this is discussed in Appendix II.

But for some reason, the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 was not published at this time, and so its revision continued even after this date. This was perhaps because, with the completion of the map and the Fang-lüeh 方略, some disagreement was voiced on certain points of transliteration, or possibly because the discovery of a certain amount of divergence between the transliteration of the map and the Fang-lüeh 方略 suggested the necessity of further revision. Although the divergence between the map and the Fang-lüeh 方略 readily emerges from a comparison of the two, we may infer from the following extract the applications for revision of transliteration began somewhat later; Kao-tsung shih-lu 高宗實錄, 1132, for Ch'ien-lung 46, 5th month 戊申 (June

27, 1781) says,

"Ch'o-k'o-t'o 綽克托 has submitted the proposal that the spelling of 英阿雜爾 in 烏什 be changed to 英阿西爾牙爾, (the former of the two 爾 should perhaps be deleted), and that the spelling of 哈喇沙爾 be changed to 哈喇西牙爾. These place-names should have been revised to accord with the Mohammedans' pronunciation, but the names 英阿雜爾 and 哈喇沙爾 have long been erroneous, and Ch'o-k'o-t'o 綽克托 has proposed emendations. But Our memory suggests that a close approximation to the original pronunciation of the Mohammedans would be attained by altering 英阿雜爾 to 英吉沙爾 and 哈喇沙爾 to 喀喇沙爾."

However, 英阿雜爾 (Yangishar) appears on the Shih-san-p'ai-ti-t'u 十三排地圖 as 英阿薩爾, in the Fang-lüeh 方略 (e.g. main section, 66, 20 b.) as 英噶薩爾, and, likewise, in both the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 (2, 15) and T'u-chih 圖志 (17, 26 a.) as 英噶薩爾; 哈喇沙爾 appears on the Map as 哈拉沙拉, in the Fang-lüeh 方略 (e.g. main section, 70, 9) as 哈喇沙爾, and in the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 and T'u-chih 圖志 also as 哈喇沙爾; and the Emperor's memory would seem to be inaccurate; but, in any case, it is clear that constant efforts were made to make the transliteration of Sinkiang place-names as phonetically accurate as possible.

What, then, was the date of completion of the second version (i.e. the current version) of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志, which resulted from this continued editorial activity? In the Imperial preface, dated Ch'ien-lung 45, 1st month, 10th day (Feb. 14, 1780), to the Yü-chih Man-chu Mêng-ku Han-tzŭ san-ho-ch'ieh-yin ch'ing-wên-chien 御製滿珠蒙古漢字三合切音清文鑑, after emphasizing how difference of language should afford no ground for mutual hostility, the Emperor proceeds, "It was for such reasons that We commanded the preparation of revised works on the Juchen (金) and Mongol (元) languages; and Our purpose in compiling the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 is similar."

And in the parallel Manchu text he says: "*Geli wargi ba heregen be emu obuha ejetun i bithe weilebuhengge gemu ere jurgen kai*," "And Our purpose in having commissioned a geographical treatise, in which all the scripts of Chinese Turkestan should be brought together, is similar." "Weilebuhengge" is a verbal noun, with past sense, of 'weile-' which has the causative auxiliary suffix 'bu', and the literal meaning is 'the act of having caused to make.' However, it is not clear whether this means that the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 had been completed, or whether it means that the order for its compilation had been issued. But I have fortunately been able to establish that at this time the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志, together with the T'u-chih 圖志, had been compiled and was undergoing recopying or printing. This emerges from the text of a memorial of Ch'ien-lung 47, 2nd month 27th day (April 9, 1782) which is included in Pan-li Ssŭ-k'u-ch'üan-shu tang-an 辦理四庫全書檔案, (Vol. 1, p. 83), in which are collected the archives relating to the compilation of the Ssŭ-k'u-ch'üan-shu 四庫全書:

"Acting on His Majesty's command, we approached the departments responsible for the compilation of still uncompleted works or of works which might or might not yet have been published or incorporated in the Ssŭ-k'u-ch'üan-shu 四庫全書. We submit herewith an itemised list of works concerned, as a result of the answers to our enquiries, forwarded by the Wu-ying-tien 武英殿, Han-lin-yüan 翰林院, Fang-lüeh 方略 Office and other departments concerned. We await further commands. In obedience to the injunction we received, we are making an investigation every two months and reporting the result on each occasion. Our report follows:

Items of which compilation is complete, now in course of recopying or printing; Huang-yü-hsi-yü-chih 皇輿西域志; Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志; Jê-ho-chih 熱河志; Yin-yün-shu-wei 音韵述微; Man-chu Mêng-ku Han-tzŭ san-ho-ch'ien-yin ch'ing-wên-chien 滿珠蒙古漢字三合切音清文鑑; P'ing-ting Liang-chin-ch'uan fang-lüeh 平定兩金川方略; T'ung-

chien-chi-lan 通鑑輯覽; Liao Chin Yüan san shih 遼金元三史; Ming-shih pên-chi 明史本紀; Ming-chi kang-mu 明紀綱目; Hsü Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao 續文獻通考; Liao Chin Yüan Kuo-yü-chieh 遼金元國語解; Mêng-ku Yüan-liu 蒙古源流; Shêng-ch'ao hsün-chieh-chu-ch'ên-lu 勝朝殉節諸臣錄.

Items in course of compilation:

K'ai-kuo fang-lüeh 開國方略; Ta-ch'ing-i-t'ung-chih 大清一統志 [13 items in all, of which the remainder are here omitted.]

Items already completed and incorporated in the Ssŭ-k'u-ch'üan-shu 四庫全書:

Man-chou-chi-ssŭ-shu 滿洲祭祀書; Kuo-tzŭ-chien-chih 國子監志; Lin-ch'ing-chi-lüeh 臨清紀略 publication comleted by Wu-ying-tien 武英殿.

This passage is followed by details of the 13 items in course of compilation, showing the amount completed to date and the estimated date of completion of the remainder. The whole passage is a consolidated statement of progress reports on compilation and printing, required from the Han-lin-yüan 翰林院, the Fang-lüeh 方略 Office, other Offices responsible for works compiled at Imperial commond, and the Wu-ying-tien 武英殿. There is therefore a distinction, in the items listed as "compilation completed, now in course of recopying or printing," between those which were complete but still undergoing recopying and those which had been recopied and were in the press. To which of these two categories the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 belonged, is not clear, but at least its compilation was complete at this date. It may be mentioned that, according to the decree in the introductory chapter to the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志, a decree of Ch'ien-lung 47, 5th month, 10th day (June 20, 1782) ordered that the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志 be passed to the Wu-ying-tien 武英殿 for printing and for incorporation in the Ssŭ-k'u-ch'üan-shu 四庫全書. Thus the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志, when mentioned in the avove archive, was probable one of the items undergoing recopying.

The above considerations suggest that the "Compiled by Imperial command, Ch'ien-lung 28" of the Ssŭ-k'u-t'i-yao 四庫提要, etc. may be interpreted as meaning that in that year a decree was issued ordering its compilation as an independent work.(1) It would seem that the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 was undertaken in the first place as a handbook for the compilers of the P'ing-ting Chun-ka-êrh fang-lüeh 平定準噶爾方略 but that it rapidly became an independent project, and that when the need was felt of something which might have a wider application, the formal decree was issued, in Ch'ien-lung 28 (1763). The Emperor, moreover, was extremely interested in the compilation of this work; he wrote the Wu-ssŭ-tsang chi Wei-tsang shuo 烏斯藏卽衛藏說 (Ch'ien-lung 29); he also wrote the Hsi-yü-ti-ming-k'ao-chêng hsü-shuo 西域地名考證敍說 in which he investigated the desirability of transliterating Yarkand as 葉爾羌(2), and, in general gave the project his guidance. The first version of the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志 was submitted in Ch'ien-lung 27 (1762) but with the start of work on the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志, it was subjected to further revision in Ch'ien-lung 29 (1764), at which time both T'u-chih 圖志 and T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 became blue prints for the projected revision and enlargement of the Ta-ch'ing-i-t'ung-chih 大清一統志.(3) Thus, while the turn of the years Ch'ien-lung 34, 35 (1769, 1770) saw the publication of the Shih-san-p'ai-ti-t'u 十三排地圖 and the period Ch'ien-lung 35 to 37 (1770–1772) saw the completion of the Fang-lüeh 方略, the first version of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 may also be supposed to have come into being at about the same time by the end of Ch'ien-lung 36 (1771) at the latest. But the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 and T'u-chih 圖志 were subjected to protracted revision, and Ch'ien-lung 47, 2nd

(1) Cf. J. Klaproth, JA., 2me Serie, VI, 1830, p. 5.

(2) See note 49, above.

(3) Kao-tsung shih-lu 高宗實錄, 722, Ch'ien-lung 29, 11th month 戊申 (Nov. 23, 1764), and the 500-chapter (卷) Ta-ch'ing-i-t'ung-chih 大清一統志, introductory chapter.

month (March/April, 1782) saw the completion of at least their second versions, which were then prepared for the press by the Wu-ying-tien 武英殿 and at the same time incorporated in the Ssŭ-k'u-ch'üan-shu 四庫全書.

The work of compiling the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 went on in the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih-kuan 西域同文志館, an office specially set up for the purpose. It can only be said that the history and organization of this office are wholly obscure, but the following Manchu passage in Tsêng-ting ch'ing-wên-chien p'u-pien 增訂清文鑑補編 (2, 38 b.)[1] is translated as Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih-kuan 西域同文志館: *Wargi aiman i hergen be emu obuha ejetun bithe-i kuren,* "Office for the compilation of a geographical treatise, bringing together the scripts of Chinese Turkestan." This is explained in the following terms: *Wargi aiman i gubči ba na alin bira hoton hečen i julge te i gebu hergen be ilagafi emu obume bithe banjibume arara ba be wargi aiman i hergen be emu obuha ejetun bithe-i kuren sembi,* "The office responsible for classifying all the names, ancient and modern, of all the places, mountains rivers and towns of Chinese Turkestan, and compiling a book in which they should all be brought together, is what is meant by 'Office for the compilation of a geographical treatise, bringing together the scripts of Chinese Turkestan'."

This is the first appearance of the term Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih-kuan 西域同文志館[2]. According to Amiot[3], or Ssŭ-k'u-t'i-yao, 四庫提要, 41, or Kung-shih hsü-pien 宮史續編, 92, the Tsêng-ting Ch'ing-wên-chien 增訂清文鑑 and its P'u-pien 補編 (supplement) were completed in Ch'ien-lung 36 (1771); this office, therefore, was clearly in existence before this date. Indeed, if, on the grounds outlined above, one considers that the decree, ordering the compilation of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 as an independent

(1) Professor Haneda 羽田, Man-wa Jiten 滿和辭典, p. 461.
(2) Ch'ing-wên p'u-hui, 清文補彙, 8, 46, left.
(3) Plath, Die Völker der Mandschurey, II, 1831, p. 829 Anm. 1.

work, was issued in Ch'ien-lung 28 (1763), the establishment of the office may be assigned to this date also.

Who, then, were the persons responsible for the compilation of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志? Whereas in the cases of the P'ing-ting Chun-ka-êrh fang-lüeh 平定準噶爾方略 and Huang-yü-hsi-yü-t'u-chih 皇輿西域圖志, details are given of those concerned in their compilation, no such information appears in the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志, and we are, consequently, in no position to discover their identity. We merely know, from the Ssu-ku-t'i-yao 四庫提要, Kuo-ch'ao kung-shih 國朝宮史 or the memorial in the introduductory chapter to the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志, that the chief editor was Fu Hêng 傅恆. But Fu Hêng 傅恆 himself died in Ch'ien-lung 35, 7th month, and, although somebody must have succeeded him, it is wholly obscure who did so. (Whoever it was would surely, like Fu Hêng 傅恆, have functioned simultaneously as chief editor of the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志?) It does, however, seem likely, in view of the relationship between the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 and the Fang-lüeh 方略, Map and T'u-chih 圖志, that one of the people engaged on the latter works would have assumed responsibility for the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志. In the preface to Twelve Poems on Chinese Turkestan by Ch'u T'ing-chang 褚廷璋 contained in San-chou chi-lüeh 三州輯略, 8, the following passage makes it clear that Ch'u 褚 was engaged on the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志 and T'ung-wên-chih 同文志: "I served as an official historian, and spent seven years working on the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志 and T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 and examining material." Ch'u T'ing-chang 褚廷璋 not only appears with Ho Kuo-tsung 何國宗 and Ch'iu T'ing-lung 邱庭隆 at the head of the list of compilers of the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志, but he also figures as the most zealous of the compilers of the Chun-ka-êrh fang-lüeh 準噶爾方略. Again, Wang Ch'ang 王昶 served as compiler of the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志, Ta-ch'ing-i-t'ung-chih 大清一統志, Man Han Mêng-ku Hsi-fan ho-pi Ta-tsang-ch'üan-chou 滿漢

蒙古西番合璧大藏全呪 aud T'ung-wên-yün-t'ung 同文韻統.(1) These examples also show us the close interlocking of the editors of the T'u-chih 圖志, Fang-lüeh 方略 and T'ung-wên-chih 同文志. Again, in the introductory chapter to the T'ung-wên-yün-t'ung 同文韻統 there is a memorial submitted by Yün-lu 允祿, Prince Chuang 莊 of Ho-shih 和碩, dated Ch'ien-lung 14, 1st month, 3rd day, which informs us that Liu T'ung-hsün 劉統勳 and Ho Kuo-tsung 何國宗, who were both experts in spelling, were ordered to compile a work entitled Hsi-fan yin-yün fan-ch'ieh 西番音韻翻切 (a predecessor of part of the T'ung-wên-yün-t'ung 同文韻統, apparently corresponding to chapter 3. of that work, Hsi-fan Tzŭ-mu p'ei-ho tzŭ-p'u 西番字母配合字譜.) How closely these two were connected with the compilation of the T'u-chih 圖志 and the Map needs no further emphasis, but if we suppose them to have been previously engaged on the T'ung-wên-yün-t'ung 同文韻統, it would seem almost certain that when the compilation of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志, similar as it was to the T'ung-wên-yün-t'ung 同文韻統 was undertaken, they would have taken part in the work and brought to it the wealth of their knowledge and experience. Members of the Hui-t'ung-ssŭ-i-kuan 會同四譯館 and lamas resident in Peking probably also took a hand. The Yü-chih wu-t'i-ch'ing-wên-chien 御製五體清文鑑,(2) of which a reproduction was recently issued by the Toyo Bunko 東洋文庫 is a rare work, of which the only two copies in the world are the MSS in Peking Imperial Palace and in the British Museum; it brings together all the words in the Ssŭ-t'i-ch'ing-wên-chien 四體清文鑑 and Tsêng-ting-ch'ing-wên-chien 增訂

(1) Yüan Yüan 阮元 Shên-tao-pei 神道碑 in Kuo-ch'ao-ch'i-hsien-lei-chêng 國朝耆獻類徵, 92; Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, pp. 805–807.

(2) I am preparing an article concerning the compilation of the Wu-t'i-ch'ing-wên-chien. For the moment, see B. Laufer, Skizze d. mongolisch. Literatur, Keleti Szemle, 1907, p. 177 n. 2: T. Haneda, Gotai Shinbunkan, Geibun, IV, 8: W. Fuchs in Asia Major, VII, p. 478: E. Haenisch in Asia Major, X, pp. 59–93 and in Deutsche Akademie d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Inst. f. Orientforschung, Veroffil. 6, 1953: E. D. Ross, Dialogues in the Eastern Turki, Lond. 1934, pp. VIII–IX: M. Ishida, Tōshi Sōshō, Tokyo, 1948, pp.294–295.

清文鑑 and supplement, and includes Eastern Turki in addition to Manchu, Tibetan, Mongol and Chinese. The addition of Eastern Turki must have resulted from the research on that language, initiated in conjunction with the compilation of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志. We may, therefore, suppose that there was also a close connection between the compilers of the Wu-t'i-ch'ing-wên-chien 五體清文鑑 and of the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志, though we have no detailed information on the point.

The Fang-lüeh 方略, T'u-chih 圖志, the Map and the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 had not only editorial staff in common, for their sources would also have been largely common stock. Ancient and modern records, collected in the field, together with reports from civil and military officials on the spot constituted the materials for the Fang-lüeh 方略, T'u-chih 圖志 and the Map, and these would naturally have been available to the compilers of the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志, whose work, proceeding at the same time, would have involved the extraction, classification and arrangement of relevant items, determining correct transliterations, checking the suitability of Chinese spellings, referring to previous histories for the history of places, eliciting fresh information from natives of the area who had come to Peking(1), and, further, probably instituting frequent reinvestigation of the ground. The following passage from the directions to the Hsi-yü-t'u-chih 西域圖志 already cited, is probably precisely applicable to the editorial attitude of the T'ung-wên-chih.

In spite of revision over a period of 20 years, the transliterations and etymological explanations in the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 involve a very large number of disputable points, but discussion of these must be deferred, while a final word is devoted to the plan for a supplement to the T'ung-wen-chih 同文志, which arose in the Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶 period and to the circulation and study of the work. The question of a supplement to the

(1) See Yü-chih Hsi-yü-ti-ming k'ao-chêng hsü-shuo 御製西域地名考證敍說 by Kao-tsung; see note 49, above, for works containing this.

T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 is referred to in the following passage from the preface by Sung Yün 松筠 in the introductory chapter to the I-li tsung-t'ung shih-lüeh 伊犁總統事略:

"Ili is a district of the Government General of Chinese Turkestan. Fifty years have elapsed since the conquest of the Nan-lu 南路 and Pei-lu 北路 . . . In the winter of the year 丙寅, I petitioned for the preparation of a local gazetteer (通志). His Majesty was pleased to notice my requests, and, owing to the inadequacy of the few documents available in a frontier area, he commanded the preparation of a *supplement to the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih* 西域同文志. The documents subsequently submitted by the towns, in response to this command, were all sorted, collated and examined in Ili. The number of documents of various kinds involved was very great . . ." etc.

From this we learn that in the year 丙寅 i.e. Chia-ch'ing 11 (1806) the compilation of an Ili 伊犁 gazetteer (通志) was ordered, that the project met with difficulties, and that then a supplement to the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih 西域同文志 was undertaken, the materials for which were collected under the direction of Sung Yün 松筠. The date of this preface being Chia-ch'ing 13 (1808), work on the supplement would have started between Chia-ch'ing 11 and 13 (1806 and 1808), but the period is further limited to Chia-ch'ing 11 and 12 (1806 and 1807) by a reference in the preface (Chia-ch'ing 12) to Hsi-ch'ui-yao-lüeh 西陲要略 by Ch'i Yün-shih 祁韻士, "I have also received orders to compile a supplement to the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志." But nothing is known of the course of the work or its results.

The T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 is not a widely distributed work, though a number of copies are listed in Japanese, Manchurian and Chinese catalogues. Most of these are in 8 volumes (ts'ê 冊), but a 12-volume MS is included in the Ssŭ-ku-ch'üan-shu 四庫全書[1], while a 24-volume MS is listed in the

(1) Li Tê-ch'i 李德啓 (compiler) and Yü Tao-ch'üan 于道泉 (reviser), Kuo-li Pei-p'ing t'u-shu-kuan Ku-kung po-wu-yüan t'u-shu-kuan Man-wên shu-chi lien-ho mu-lu 國立北平圖書館故宮博物院圖書館滿文書籍聯合目錄, p. 51. Bunsokaku Shiko Zensho Yōryaku oyobi Sakuin 文溯閣四庫全書要略及索引, p. 59.

Ku-kung Tien-pên-shu-k'u hsien-ts'un-mu 故宮殿本書庫現存目. Perhaps this was the copy originally submitted. The first person to acquire and use the book in Europe was Klaproth. The book was left to him by the Russian, Baron Schilling von Canstadt, famous as a collector of Manchu, Mongol and Tibetan documents. Klaporoth made use of the book in 1824, on the occasion of his controversy with I.J. Schmidt on the famous question of the existence of the Ouigur people,(1) and subsequently used it in other publications. There is a manuscript German translation by Klaproth in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris(2). On Klaproth's death, as has been described above, his copy passed into the possession of Thonnelier, who intended to arrange the T'ung-wên-chih 同文志 in alphabetical order and compile a dictionary of Central Asiatic place-names. He communicated a portion of this work to the Société Asiatique(3). He entitled it, "Dictionnaire géographique de l'Asie centrale, offrant, par ordre alphabetique, des transcriptions en caracteres mandchoux et chinois, des noms géographiques donnes en langue nationale de chaque contrée, accompagnées de notices extraites ou traduites des ouvrages chinois et autres ouvrages originaux de l'Orient musulman, etc., Paris, 1869, in-4, (brochure lithographique)".

So grand a project, however, was quite beyond Thonnelier's power and he got no further than publishing, by lithography, 50 sample pages. A number of subsequent scholars have also used this book, the most notable among them being E. Blochet(4), M. Hartmann(5) and C. Imbault-Huart(6), in whose

(1) Observations critiques, etc., JA., 1824, II, p. 330. Beleuchtung und Wiederlegung, etc. Paris, 1824, p. 80.

(2) C. Imbault-Huart, Recueil des documents sur l'Asie Centrale, 1881, pp. 64-67.

(3) JA., 1870, pp. 91-92.

(4) E. Blochet, La conquête des Etats néstoriens de l'Asie centrale par les Schiits, Revue de l'Orient chrétien, V, Nos. 1-2, 1925-6, pp. 3-131.

(5) M. Hartmann, Der islamische Orient, 1. (Cf. Haneda Akira 羽田明, Min-matsu Shin-sho no Higashi Torukisutan 明末清初の東トルキスタン, Tōyō-shi Kenkyū 東洋史研究, vol. 7, p. 299.)

(6) C. Imbault-Huart, op. cit., loc. cit.

work the affiliations of the Mohammedan tribes are studied or the subject is introduced; E. von Zach, who translated chapters 18, 19 and 20 into German(1), and Laufer, whose study of Tibetan pronunciation was based on this(2).

Appendix I.

Bibliography of material relating to the copperplates representing the conquest of the Zungars and Mohammedan tribes during the Ch'ien-lung period.

Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹之助, Pari Kaichō Kenryū Nenkan Jun-kai Ryōbu Heitei Tokushō-zu ni tsuite パリ開雕乾隆年間準回兩部平定得勝圖に就いて, Tōyō Gakuho, 東洋學報, IX, 2, 1919.

Same, Rō Sei-nei Kōryaku 郎世寧攷略, Bijutsu Kenkyū 美術研究, 10, 1932 (Subsequently published, in Chinese, in Kuo-li Pei-p'ing-t'u-shu-kuan kuan-k'an 國立北平圖書館々刊)

Dairen Toshokan 大連圖書館, Kenryū Nenkan Jun-kai Ryōbu Heitei, Tokushō-zu 乾隆年間準回兩部平定得勝圖, 1931,

Ueda Kyōsuke 上田恭輔, Kenryū Nenkan Jun-kai ryōbu Heitei Tokushō-zu 乾隆年間準回兩部平定得勝圖 (not seen; cf. Shirin 史林 XVII, 1, 1932.)

Toriyama Kiichi 鳥山喜一, Kenryū Nendai no Sensō-ga ni tsuite 乾隆年代の戰爭畫に就いて, Chōsen 朝鮮, 281.

Same, Shin Kōsō Gyodai Heitei Iri Kaibu Zenzu, 淸高宗御題平定伊犂回部全圖, Shokō 書香, 112.

Gotō Sueo 後藤末雄, Shina Shisō no Furansu Seizen 支那思想のフランス西漸, Tokyo, 1933.

(1) Lexicographische Beiträge, I, Peking, 1905, p. 93–98, III, 1905, p. 108–135. See also the same author's Einige Ergänzugen zu Sacharow's Mandžursko-russki Slowarj, Mitteil. d. G. fur N.–u. Völkerkunde Ostasiens, XIV, I, Tokyo, 1912, p. 25.

(2) Loan-words in Tibetan, TP., 1916, pp. 434–448.

(Same, Shina Bunka to Shina-gaku no Kigen 支那文化と支那學の起源, Tokyo, 1939, p. 165)

Same, Kenryū-tei Den 乾隆帝傳 (pp. 161–166), Tokyo, 1942.

Ono Tadashige 小野忠重, Shina Hanga Sōkō 支那版畫叢考 (pp. 132–142), Tokyo, 1944.

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Same, Bibliotheca Sinica², I, 641–642; V, 3482–3, 3640–1, 3645, 3680.

Duboscq, A. et Brandt, J. van den, Un manuscrit inédit des "Conquêtes de K'ien-long" (Monumenta Serica, IV, 1939, pp. 85–115)

Fuchs, W. Die Schlachtenbilder aus Turkestan von 1765 als historische Quelle, nebst Bemerkungen zu einigen späteren Serien (Monumenta Serica, IV, 1939, pp. 116–124)

Same, Die Entwärfe der Schlachtenkupfer der Kienlung-und Taokuang-Zeit mit Reproduktion der 10 Taokuaug-Kupfer und der Vorlage für die Annam-Stiche (Monumenta Serica, IX, 1944, pp. 101–122)

Same, Der Kupferdruck in China vom 10. bis 19. Jahrhundert (Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 1950, p. 67–87, especially 79–80.)

* Fürstenberg, H. Kaiser Kien-lung's französisches Kupferstichwerk (Philobiblen, IV, 1931, No. 9, p. 371–377, cf. TP., 1932, pp. 125–127)

Haenisch, E. Der chinesische Feldzug in Ili im Jahre 1755 (Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, VII, 1918, p. 57–58)

* Hymans, H. Une phase de l'histoire de l'Art en Chine (Bulletin de l'Acad. royale d'archéologie de Belgique, 59 Série, 1, 1898, pp. 557–2, cf. B.S.² V, 3482)

Laufer, B. Christian Art in China (Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, XIII, 1, Ostasiatische Studien, 1910, p. 116–117; also reprinted in China in 1937)

* Monvall, J. Les conquêtes de la Chine. Une commande de l'empereur

de la Chine en France au XVIII[e] siecle. (Revue de l'Art ancienne et moderne, XVII, Juillet-Dec., 1905, pp. 147-160, cf. B.S.[2] V, 3482)

Pelliot, P. Les 《Conquêtes de l'empereur de la Chine》 (T'oung Pao, XX, 1921, pp. 183--247, cf. B.S.[2], V, 3483)

(Same, T'oung Pao, 1928, pp. 132–133)

(Same, Ibid., 1932, pp. 125–127)

It has been supposed, hitherto, that Chinese records contain no reference to the dispatch of the originals of the Tê-shêng-t'u 得勝圖 to Paris for engraving and printing. However, Ta-ch'ing Kao-tsung shih-lu 大清高宗實錄, chapter (卷) 871 (31 b. to 32 b.), under the date Ch'ien-lung 35th, 10th month records a memorial from Li Shih-yao 李侍堯, Viceroy of Kuangtung and Kuanghsi, and states that a French vessel had brought 232 sample prints of three of the scenes from the Tê-shêng-t'u 得勝圖, those of Ai-yü-shih 愛玉史 surprising a camp, of Archūr, and of the surrender of the people of Ili; as there were only four and twenty eight prints respectively of the last two of these, orders were given to hasten the production of furthere prints to bring these up to 200 each and at the same time to speed the engraving and printing (200 prints each) of the remaining 13 scenes; on completion of the latter, the original copperplates were also to be delivered, but printing ink and paper were not required.

Appendix II. The first edition of the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih preserved by the British Museum, Or. 7358, 40, B.g.

In 1952 when I was inspecting books at the Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS of the British Museum, I came across a MSS copy of the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih, consisting of five books now bound in one. These five books are arranged as follows.

Bk. I T'ien-shan pei-lu ti-ming 38 leaves (39 leaves)

天山北路地名

Bk. II (=XXII) Hsi-fan shui-ming 19 leaves (Bk. XXII=20 leaves)
西番水名

Bk. III T'ien-shan nan-lu ti-ming êrh 37 leaves (37 leaves)
天山南路地名二

Bk. IV T'ien-shan pei-lu shan-ming 38 leaves (38 leaves)
天山北路山名

Bk. V T'ien-shan pei-lu shui-ming 37 leaves (38 leaves)
天山北路水名

The number of leaves in the brackets is those of the prited edition. Among these five books, Bk. II corresponds to Bk. XXI of the printed edition and is arranged as it is by erasing second and third characters of 二十二 which were originally written on the first line of the first leaf and in the middle of each leaf of the book. Such a trick must have been made by a bookseller who sold the book to the British Museum. So the MSS copy contains only Bks. I, III, IV, V and XXII. If one compares this copy with that of printed edition, one can easily see that this is nothing but the first edition of the Hsi-yü-t'ung-wên-chih, of which the current printed edition is, as I have guessed in this article, the second and revised one. The orthography used in this MSS copy is similar to what remarked as *chiu-tui-yin* 舊對音 or old transliteration in the printed edition. Each book of the MSS copy is originally bound in yellow silk. Paper is white and thick and is columned in red. On the cover of Bk. III there is a rabel with the inscriptions 欽定西域同文志天山南路地名二. The MSS copy has no preface.