

Discarded Treasure: The Wondrous Rocks of Lingbi

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Abstract

There has been a substantial amount of writing on Song travel embassies to the dynasty's northern neighbors—the Liao, the Jin, and the Mongols. Nearly all, however, have been interested in the historical significance of the diaries: their place in diplomatic relations, the constitution and aim of the embassies, and recovering information that their eyewitness accounts offer about economic and social conditions. My attempt here is to look more closely at the relationship between cultural memory and place, the function of nostalgia, and the instrumental use of place as a vehicle to demonize and dehumanize foreigners. This is a complicated project and this paper cannot hope to accomplish all of that. Rather, I would like to look primarily at the travel diary of Lou Yue 樓鑰 (1137-1213), written at the end of 1169 and beginning of 1170, some 40-odd years after the fall of the Northern Song to the Jurchen. The place I have chosen is Henan 河南, the heartland of traditional Chinese civilization, the Central Plain 中原, specifically the part that lies between Suzhou 宿州 and Zuocheng 胙城, just north of the capital of Bianliang 汴梁, better known today as Kaifeng 開封.

Keywords: Lou Yue, *Beixing rilu*, memory, nostalgia, landscape

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Full have I heard of the strange rocks produced in these mountains,	飽聞茲山產奇石
The southeast treasures them like a foot of jade;	東南寶之如尺璧
None could know that, scattered about, they would be as chaotic as hemp,	誰知狼籍亂如麻
And often hollowed out just as if gouged and carved.	往往嵌空類鑿刻
Longlife Mountain in “the southeast of Chang’an”—	長安東南萬歲山
The rare and marvelous were searched and sought through all the human realm;	搜抉珍怪窮人間
A single argosy on the Bian’s flow transported many pieces,	汴流一舸載數輩
Dispatched immediately to heighten the ragged precipices of Gen Peak.	徑上艮嶽增孱顏
In those days “clever craftsmen hewed these bones of the mountain,”	當時巧匠斲山骨
And set them at river’s edge, where they rose high and imposing,	寔之江干高突兀
But spear and shield shook the earth, <i>hu</i> dust flew,	干戈動地胡塵飛
Easily turning rare stuff into discarded things.	坐使奇材成棄物
Don’t you see—	君不見
Broad belt of yellow gold, called “Divine Transport,”	黃金橫帶號神運
So many awarded the Third Rank in the Forbidden City?	不數臺城拜三品
But now alone and deserted in the wild grasses,	只今零落荒草中
An eternity of forlorn sadness possessing lingering vexation;	萬古淒涼有遺恨
A man of wood will float away, less than earth,	木人漂漂不如土
Sit and review dynasties’ rise and fall—and how many?	坐閱興亡知幾許
A traveler sighs deeply, the horse will not go forward,	行人沈嘆馬不前
Although these stones do not speak, I fear they can tell a story.	石雖不言恐能語

There has been a substantial amount of writing in the West on Song travel embassies to the dynasty’s northern neighbors—the Khitan-Liao, the Jurchen-Jin, and the Mongols.¹ Nearly all of this writing, however, has been interested in the historical significance of the diaries: their place in diplomatic relations, the constitution and aim of the embassies, and recovering information that their

eyewitness accounts offer about economic and social conditions. My attempt here is part of a project to look more closely at the relationship between cultural memory and place, the function of nostalgia, and the instrumental use of place as a vehicle to demonize and dehumanize foreigners. I would like to look primarily at two sets of documents and at one particular place. The first is the travel diary of Lou Yue 樓鑰 (1137-1213), written at the end of 1169 and beginning of 1170, some 40-odd years after the fall of the Northern Song to the Jurchen (see Appendix I). The second is the travel diary of Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126-1193), written a few months later. The place I have chosen is Henan 河南, the heartland of traditional Chinese civilization, the Central Plain 中原, specifically the part that lies between Suzhou 宿州 and Zuocheng 柘城, just north of the old Northern Song capital of Bianliang 汴梁, better known today as Kaifeng 開封.

Lou Yue's record, *A Diary of my Journey to the North* (*Beixing rilu* 北行日錄) is one of four major extant embassy diaries. The others are Zhou Hui's 周輝 *Record of a Northbound Cart* (*Beiyuan lu* 北轅錄),² Cheng Zhuo's 程卓 *Record of Being Sent as an Emissary to the North* (*shi Jin lu* 使金錄),³ and Fan Chengda's *Record of Holding the Reins* (*Lanpei lu* 攬轡錄).⁴ Very little has been done on

1 Édouard Chavannes, "Voyageurs chinois chez les Khitan et les Joutchen," *Journal Asiatique* 9.9 (1897): 377-441, 9.10(1898): 351-439; Herbert Franke, "Sung Embassies: Some General Observations," in *China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries*, ed. Morris Rossabi (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 116-149; and Tao Jing-shen, "Barbarians or Northerners: Northern Sung Images of the Khitans," in *China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors*, pp. 66-86. A convenient guide to diaries, including travel diaries, is Chen Zuogao 陳左高, *Lidai riji congtan* 歷代日記叢談 (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 2004).

2 Édouard Chavannes, "Pei Yuan Lou, Récit d'un voyage dans le Nord," *T'oung Pao* 5.2 (1904): 163-92.

3 Herbert Franke, "A Sung Embassy Diary of 1211-1212: The *Shih Chin lu* of Ch'eng Cho," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 69 (1981): 171-207.

4 James M. Hargett, "Fan Ch'eng-ta's (1126-1193) Lan-p'ei lu; A Southern Sung Embassy Account," *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* New Series 16.1/2 (1984): 119-177; Hargett, *On the Road in Twelfth Century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda (1126-1193)*, München

the language of these texts. James Hargett has made some preliminary analyses of their structure and language, dividing the language between what he calls “objective-descriptive” and “subjective-personal.”⁵ He further divides the objective into “conventional and reportorial,”⁶ and then goes on to discuss the second type, “These descriptions are objective in that they do not directly reflect the outlook or opinions of the author: rather their purpose is to provide vivid accounts of the sites and activities encountered on the road to the Jin capital.”⁷ This dichotomy of a dichotomy, which was meant to serve as a rough guide, presents problems if we understand that both perception and writing are at their basis individual acts and therefore governed by subjective criteria. “Objective” might be a term that conservative historians or social scientists would prefer, but if writing about any incident or place were truly objective, there would never be more than one single narrative, which everyone would accept as fully representative of their own perceptions and analyses of situations. This is not to say that we should devolve into the phenomenological nightmare that lies behind much of post-modern theory. Things and events do occur, and they are objective fact; but the meaning of that fact is not recognized as completely objective until shared consensually by everyone. We practice this partially all of the time by agreeing on the meaning of parts of events or facts, forming a fragmentary consensus; but seldom do we agree with others about the total meaning of any event or fact.

Hargett’s analysis indeed falls apart as he finds himself unable to deal with the “subjective” mode of writing and its place in the diaries. He winds up saying that “the personal opinions that are voiced in the embassy accounts are an

Ostasiatische Studien 52 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989), pp. 147-179. Since these translations appeared a new variorum edition of the travel diaries has appeared: *Fan Chengda biji liuzhong* 范成大筆記六種, ed. Kong Fanli 孔凡禮, *Tang Song shiliao biji* 唐宋史料筆記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002).

5 James M. Hargett, “Some Preliminary Remarks on the Travel Records of the Song Dynasty (960-1279),” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)* 7.1/2(1985): 80.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid., p. 81.

inevitable reflection of the grim realities envoys witnessed in the north.” That this contradicts his own argument by conflating “objective” and “subjective” should not obscure the fact that his statement rings partially correct. It is, however, very difficult to accept binomial adjectival descriptions about physical conditions as being any less subjective than one’s emotional reaction to those objects since the very act of selecting both the object and its descriptive adjectives (i.e., both perception and language choice) are essentially subjective processes. When one uses adjectives, particularly the gestalt binomes of Chinese (*lianmian ci* 聯綿辭), they are not created *sui generis*, but often have a contemporary or historical use that one must contemplate before committing them to writing. And if an adjective comes immediately and unbidden to the mind, then it operates in the world of cliché and, often, triteness. Like the adjectival phrases traditionally linked to specific events or feelings, such “ready made” emotional or gestalt adjectives (like *chengyu* 成語, “ready made phrases”) assign the event or fact to a pre-existent category of likenesses (of either kind or quality), which, in the Chinese case, helps predict meaning.

The question then arises, how can we interpret these diaries? First we must separate their writers and their audiences. All of the four diaries are private in terms of their production, and all are meant more for greater posterity rather than official readers. Both Fan Chengda and Cheng Zhuo were chief envoys, and their records would certainly have carried the weight of this authority. Fan Chengda’s, in particular, would have been well received since he had also performed a heroic deed at the Jurchen court, making a personal plea for Song sovereignty before the Jin emperor that fell completely outside the boundaries of propriety.⁸ Moreover, along his path Fan wrote 72 *jueju* 絕句 poems that have captured more interest than his diary.⁹ The poems all remain intact, while his

8 Officially, he was supposed only to deliver a letter from the Song court asking for the return of Henan. But after he had delivered the official memorial, he pulled out a private request that the Jin no longer request that Song envoys kneel [i.e., in a fully subordinate position] to receive the Jin memorials. The kneeling, of course, symbolized the nature of the relationship of the two countries.

9 See Fan Chengda, *Fan Shihu ji* 范石湖集, ed. Fu Shousun 富壽蓀 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006) 12.145-158.

diary has suffered at the hands of time and bibliographical indifference. Cheng Zhuo's diary is quite disappointing. It copies copiously from the notes Fan appended to each of his poems, and also in places from Lou Yue's diary.

The other two diaries are much more interesting, and both are much more personal. Zhou Hui's account is rich in detail, and its current Western language version, now more than 100 years old, is deeply in need of revision. Since Zhou never held any official post, he went as a private citizen.¹⁰ Lou Yue's role was as an amanuensis,¹¹ a post normally attached to the Office in Charge of Entourages with State Credentials Entering or Leaving the Country 管勾往來國信所.¹² This was an ad-hoc appointment, one of two or three that the Chief Envoy was allowed to make from his family members:

Renchen, the 10th (169.10.12) Cai Xing¹³ came with a letter from my uncle appointing me as his Amanuensis, and my parents allowed this one trip. On this day I roamed in the southern garden. Light rain. 十日壬辰。蔡興以仲舅書來辟，充書狀官，二親許一行。是日游南園，微雨。¹⁴

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- 10 See Yu Jiayi's notes 余嘉錫 in *Siku tiyao bianzheng* 四庫提要辨證, cited in Zhou Hui, *Qingbo zazhi jiaozhu* 清波雜志校注, ed. Liu Yongxiang 劉永翔, Tang Song shiliao biji congkan 唐宋史料筆記叢刊 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994), pp. 543-544.
- 11 Two other officials on the trip, scribes, (*shubiao si* 書表司) were in charge of producing fine copies of formal correspondence—the calligraphy, not the content. They were originally appointed from a variety of offices, mostly military, which caused many problems. They were in charge of transcribing all account books, travel orders, military regulations and status reports, and they invariably leaked information when sent out on missions to the Liao and Jurchen. Rescripts indicate this was a recurring problem, and was sporadically addressed by having them appointed directly by the Chief and Vice Envoys from private family members or various eunuch bureaus. See rescripts dated 1198.11.12 (Qingyuan 4.11.12) and 1171.12.25 (Qiandao 11.27) in *zhiguan* 職官 32.19a-b and 36.57b respectively, *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿, ed. Xu Song 徐宋 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962) VI.76.3015a-b and 78.3100b.
- 12 See Gong Yanming 龔延明, *Songdai guan zhi cidian* 宋代官制辭典 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), pp. 66-67.
- 13 Nothing is known of Cai Xing; he was probably a lower official in the yamen at Chuzhou 處州, which is located near modern Lishui 麗水. Chuzhou is referred to in this text as Guancang 括蒼, a literary name for the county.
- 14 Lou Yue, *Beixing rilu* 北行日錄, *Gongkuiji* 攻媿集 vol. 20, Csjc ed. 叢書集成 (shanghai: shangwu yinshuguan, 1919-1922) 101.1569. The text has been collated against the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 and *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 editions.

While he was on duty to his uncle to draft letters and official correspondence, his own diary was not compiled as an official report. Rather, it lies in the private domain of letters, a “personal” text clearly meant for his contemporaries and for posterity as an example of his ability to perceive and judge human and political events. The personal nature is reflected in the nine times he records sending letters home to his parents as well as his frequent references to the activities of members of his own family members who accompanied him on whole or part of the trip. Before crossing into Jin territory, these most often take the form of recounting sightseeing trips or private visits to second-rank officials in local governments while his uncle, the Chief Envoy, went to more official banquets. The part of the diary that takes place in the Jin is more focused on current conditions and on the historical significance of place. Lou Yue’s claim to authority as a writer in this text is expressed in the way he marshals evidence for each of the places he visits, both placing the sites in historical and geographical context but also demonstrating his wide mastery of the written tradition that contains that knowledge. It was as much from the mastery of the textual record as from his perspicacity as a keen observer that the authoritative nature of his interpretation logically flows.¹⁵

If we were to break apart all of the travel diaries to the north into discrete layers of text, we would find:

- Description of mileage and routes
- Description of place: spatial and architectural
- Description of place: events
- Reported conversations
- Discussion of historical events associate with sites

Lou Yue is particularly careful with his own comments and asides. Whereas all

15 There are two places in the entire text that the phrase “direct comment” (*an* 按) is introduced. These “direct comments” both presage a lengthy discussion of a particular place’s historical events. Since these discussions occur frequently, one is left to wonder why only these two spots are specifically marked. Perhaps they are later additions when he copied or revised his notes? Both of these places are to be found in Appendix I, days 6 and 12.

of the other diaries are liberal in their use of the term *lu* 虜, “caitiff” as a pejorative term, Lou Yue refers to the Jin only as “the Jin” and sometimes as “northerners” (*beiren* 北人). More often than not, he simply elides the subject when referring to the actions of northerners. Neither does he use the terms *fan* 番, “foreigner,” or *hu* 胡, in its meaning of “northern nomad” anywhere his text. This is, of itself, rather extraordinary, but one must be cautious in accepting this fact. As the various editions of the *Beiyuan lu* show, the character *lu* is often changed to *Jin* in texts printed during the Qing, since editors were scrupulous about removing any terms that could be considered critical of the Manchus—particularly in the case of the Jurchen, who were the Manchu’s direct ancestors. This is particularly so since all editions of Lou Yue’s collected works, the *Gongkui ji* 攻媿集, stem from the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 project.

Of course, Lou is free with his criticism of the way that the Jin govern the conquered area of Henan. He seems, however, to link this to a strategic military and economic policy rather than to any particular ethnic bias. For instance, in his descriptions of the tenth day, he writes:

Moreover, the Jin squeeze the citizens’ fat and blood in order to feather their own nests.¹⁶ The treasuries and warehouses are mostly in various locations associated with their Superior Capital (Acheng 安慶, near modern Harbin 哈爾濱), so the people of Henan are extremely poor, and the amount of metal cash grows smaller every day. Once on the road we ran into several carrying poles of woven rush baskets that were being guided by a flag and protected by two cavalry riders. Someone said, “It’s all paper currency.” The major-domos despise their masters’ avarice and often curse them with vile names. They also call them “Best o’ luck Commissioner Baos.”

In the context of his diary, however, this criticism is found sandwiched between two separate events that discuss the way that hard currency is shipped to the north. In the paragraph that just precedes the one cited above, Lou describes the manner in which the personal gifts that were given to each of the

16 His mixed metaphor; not mine.

members of the Accompanying Delegation were sold at fixed prices at the same spot every year, and how the proceeds were shipped north again, away from Henan. Whatever comment he desires to make about human greed, his real point is about monetary policy.

The difference between his diary and that of the other writers becomes clear if we compare Lou's description of the Eastern Capital to those written by others, particularly Fan Chengda. Lou Yue is spare with his description of the decline of the city. In his entire passage he uses only the four following phrases:

城外人物極稀疎

A sparse scattering of people and buildings outside the [inner wall]

城裏亦凋殘

.....desolate and crumbling inside the inner city wall

上清儲祥宮，頹毀已甚，金榜猶在

.....which was in deep disrepair (broken down)

頹垣滿目，皆大家遺址

.....crumpled walls filled ones vision, and all were the remains of houses of grand families.

If we compare this with Fan Chengda's description we can see a real difference:

From the time that the wall was destroyed in the old capital, it has been utterly devastated and never restored. When Prince Yang, Wanyan Liang 楊王亮, transferred the capital to reside in Yanshan, [Bianliang] first became the Southern Metrocapital. Concerned only with restoring the palaces and fore-towers to their former splendor, he made them much more imposing and flashy than the older ones. But the devastation and desolation among the people was blithely ignored. Practically everything inside the new city wall was a wasteland, even to the point some of it was tilled as farmland. Inside the old city there was some rough semblance of market districts, but everyone is just staying alive and little more. Gaze around in each direction and the towers and galleries rise jutting into the air, they are all the old palaces of the noble and the environs of monasteries—not a one is not decrepit and destroyed.

The Eastern Capital the caitiffs have changed to the Southern Capital. The people

have simply become long accustomed to *hu* customs, and their attitudes and penchants have transformed together with the *hu*. Men shave their pates, three or four times a month. If not, they sometimes let the hair grow in abundance and make a “hammer knot” on top of their head. This is tied with a silk cloth, and is called “clutching owl.”¹⁷ This can be maintained for several months or even some years. In the villages they do not cover their hair with scarves, but have disheveled braids like ghosts, which they consider, on the contrary, to be convenient. The most egregious have become completely *hu-ized*¹⁸ in their fashion of dress and accessories. This has been the case since crossing the Huai 淮, but the capital is particularly bad. Only the clothing of women has not changed much, but those who wear headdress are very few. Most coil their hair into a bun and the families of the rich use precious gems to hang casually over it,¹⁹ calling it “square bun.”²⁰

舊京自城破後，瘡痍不復。煬王亮徙居燕山，始以為南都。獨崇飾宮闕，比舊加壯麗，民間荒殘自若。新城內大抵皆墟，至有犁為田處。舊城內粗有市肆，皆苟活而已。四望時見樓閣崢嶸，皆舊宮觀、寺宇，無不頽毀。東京虜改為南京，民亦久習胡俗，態度嗜好與之俱化男子髡頂，月輒二四髡，不然亦間養餘髮，作椎髻於頂上，包以羅巾，號曰蹋鷗，可支數月或幾年。村落間多不復巾，蓬辮如鬼，反以為便，最甚者，衣裝之類，其制盡為古矣。自過淮已北皆然而京師尤甚。惟婦女之服不甚改，而戴冠者絕少，多館髻，貴人家即用珠瓏璫冒之，謂之方髻。

The term I have translated as “utterly devastated” (*chuangyi* 瘡痍) has long been used to describe a war-torn area, but its original meaning was the disfigurement of the body by the scars and scabs of a serious wound. What in Lou Yue’s description is a “sparse scattering of people and buildings” becomes in Fan’s a “wasteland” (*xu* 墟). And whereas Lou spends a good deal of time

17 That is, an owl grasping the head with its talons.

18 I have studiously avoided using the translation “barbarian” for any of these terms. It is probably safe to use that term in Fan Chengda’s writing, but in general, the terms often mean simply, foreigner. Any translation would have to consider very closely the contexts of the terms usages.

19 This could also be read, “use precious gems to cover it with a tinkling sound,” *longcong* means both “the tinkling sound of metal and jade” as well as “loosely hanging wisps of hair.”

20 Fan Chengda 范成大, *Lanpei lu* 攬轡錄, p. 12.

describing the imposing sights, Fan is more interested in ascribing whatever beauty there is to the senseless adornment of palaces at the cost of the neglecting the citizens. Fan, by the way, has conveniently forgotten to mention that the palace complex had been burned down in 1154 or 1155 and was then rebuilt in anticipation of moving the capital there from Yanjing, a plan that was thwarted when the reigning Jin emperor, Wanyan Liang was killed in a coup. There were major renovations to the forbidden city, including reconstructing the palace complex partially on the plan of Yanjing, shifting the axis slightly eastward, and expanding the forbidden city's size from "around 5 *li* 里 square" to "more than 9."²¹

Likewise, Fan spends an inordinate amount of space to describe clothing and hairstyles, particularly of Chinese men. While Lou only mentions some "extraordinary style" of the older women in the capital, Fan sees the changes in dress and manners as external signs of a devolution in humanity. The ready adaptation of northern style, the desire to "change together with barbarians," is reflective of a deeper loss of cultural value. One may ask, as well, whether the description by Fan has been intentionally gendered male to accentuate the loss of potency.

Lou sees Henan as an area stripped of viable economy and sustainable agriculture by an intentional policy designed to keep a safe space between Southern Song and the Jin heartland. On the second day of the 12th month (Dec. 24, 1169) as he was leaving Hongxian 虹縣 for Lingbi 靈壁, he wrote, "We had traveled several *li*, to where the flow of the Bian 汴 ceased. Those isolated places where a single family had lived were all burnt and torn down. I heard about the northerners' new laws. All residents living beside roadways were forced to move into a neighborhood collective system (*baojia* 保甲), for fear that they would harbor rebels or thieves. Those who opposed this law had their residences burned down" 行數里，汴水斷流，人家獨處者，皆燒拆去。聞北人新法，路傍居民，盡令移就鄰保，恐藏姦盜，違者焚其居。²² But he does not ascribe

21 Liu Chunying 劉春迎, "Jindai Bianjing (Kaifeng) cheng buju chutan 金代汴京(開封)城布局初探," *Shixue yuekan* 史學月刊 10(2006): 113-114. This fact was known to Lou Yue.

22 *Beixing rilu*, in *Gongkui ji* (Csjc ed.) 101.1576.

to the Jurchen everything that is wrong. For instance, in the barely mentioned aside in the beginning of the 9th day, in which he remarks that all of the graves enroute to the capital have been robbed, he does not address directly who it was who excavated them.²³ It is always difficult to guess what was in any writer's mind, and one could just assume of course, that it would be the Jurchen. But by remaining silent, Lou leaves open the possibility that it is the planned and extreme poverty of the place that has led its own citizens to raid the tombs, which is both a gross violation of traditional values, but also, even in good times, a relatively common occurrence in China. While authorial intent is an issue that cannot be resolved, by remaining silent about the perpetrators, Lou has brought a kind of even-handedness to his critique. Again, on the 12th day, he describes the heavy taxation necessary to keep an army on the borders of the Jin, but his comments are again muted.²⁴ To any reader of traditional texts like Lou Yue there would be nothing unusual about complaints about heavy taxation to support military action on a border; from the writings of Confucius himself through the famous descriptions of conscription in Du Fu's 杜甫 poetry, to Wang Yucheng's poem on supplying the Song armies, the native tradition itself presents ample evidence that the same kind of turmoil and oppression plague China domestically.

Lou seems, sometimes, rather drowned in nostalgia and mourning for the loss of the heartlands, or more precisely its historical fate. The few poems that he wrote during the trip provide a superb expressive counterpoint to the reticence of his prose. For instance, in the poem "Crossing the Huai in the Snow to Travel North" 北行雪中渡淮, one can see a complicated mix of anxiety, political criticism, and longing for his own home in the comfortable southland:

風捲清淮夜不休， Wind rolled the clear Huai, ceaseless the night long,
 曉驚急雪遍郊丘； Dawn surprised with quickening snow that had covered
 outlying hills;

23 Ibid., 101.1579.

24 Ibid., 101.1581.

坐令和氣三邊滿， If that were only to cause a peaceful atmosphere to fill all
 the borderlands,
 使覺胡塵萬里收。 And make us feel that *hu* dust had been gathered in over
 a myriad *li*.
 瑟瑟江頭輝玉節， But rustling and whispering, at river's edge it sparkles on
 jade tallies,
 蕭蕭馬上點貂裘； Pittering and pattering, on horseback it dots sable cloaks.
 歸來風物渾相似， When we come back the scenery will be exactly the same:
 二月楊花遶御溝。 Willow floss of the second month, swirling around the
 Imperial Channel.

The trepidation on the eve of his journey, expressed by the augury of the ceaseless wind, is an expectation thwarted by awakening to a quiet blanket of fresh snow. This leads him to the paradox of a peaceful scene that evokes a hope for peace but masks the violent historical and contemporary contestations for control of southern Henan. But, musing is dashed by reality, as the sound and sight of snowfall lead him back to the present from his reverie—highlighting the tallies and cloaks of the two groups of envoys about to stage their repetitive journeys. Finally, he acknowledges the impotence of the Southern Song. Nothing will change, but it will give strange comfort as he returns to more familiar snowfalls of willow floss. The poem clearly shows a complicated emotional state that is somewhat obscured in the prose passage on the same day:

29th day. *xinsi* 辛巳. Snow at daylight. The Chief Envoy, the Vice Envoy, and those below crossed the Huai at the *si* 巳 double hour (9:00 am to 11:00 am), and reached the Grass Hall at Sizhou, where they made obeisance at to the distant emperor, empress, and empress dowager, as is the custom. Each group went to its own tent, and the delegation of the three ranks completed their rituals to the Chief Envoy and the Vice Envoy. After the Chief and Vice Envoys had done their greeting rituals, there were three rounds of tea and wine. We then went on horseback into the city itself. The sky opened up and it turned clear, and it was warm and peaceful. When we reached the posthouse, we divided into appropriate hierarchical positions. On this day I took my leave from the youngest maternal uncle.

二十九日，辛巳，天明雪作。使副以下，巳時渡淮，至泗州草館，望拜如

儀。各就幕次，三節人互參使副，使副互展起居狀，²⁵ 茶酒三行，上馬入城。天色開霽，和氣翕然，至館分位，是日與季舅別。

In particular the poem helps explicate the phrase “warm and peaceful” (和氣翕然) in this passage a bit better. Without the poem, we are inclined to read that phrase simply as a term for the weather, and ignore the more common use of *xiran* 翕然 to designate a state of political harmony or the peaceful condition that obtains when violence is ended. But when the term *heqi* 和氣 is so clearly used in the poem to mean a state of peace, one is led to resurrect that implication in the prose. The four-character phrase *heqi xiran*, in fact is quite rare—in the *Siku quanshu* it is only used one other time. *Xiran* on the other hand is common (over 3000 individual instances in the *Siku quanshu*) as is *heqi*. What I mean by this digression is that, without the poem, we would perhaps be less inclined to unearth the emotional state behind the prose statement. I presume a native reader of literary Chinese might be sensitive to this, but I suspect that the context of the statement, the weather, would have captured the reading and the subtlety would have been lost.

In the poem cited above in the epigram,²⁶ Lou’s focus is clearly on a somber assessment of why the Northern Song lost its purchase on its own heartland. The first two stanzas (each written to a different rhyme) set the scene. Lou begins by describing how the rocks of Lingbi are treasured both as collectors’ items and as fine ink stones.

Full have I heard of the strange rocks produced in these mountains,	飽聞茲山產奇石
The southeast treasures them like a foot of jade;	東南寶之如尺璧
Who could know that, scattered about, they would be as chaotic as hemp,	誰知狼籍亂如麻
And often hollowed out just as if gouged and carved.	往往嵌空類鑿刻

25 From *Beiyuan lu*: 朝服對立於庭，至展起居狀，三節人講參禮（猶參拜），使副陞廳，茶酒三行。

26 *Gongkui ji*, 1.9.

His shock at seeing these precious items scattered around the canal lead him in the second stanza to probe the reasons why. The opening line of the second stanza is somewhat of a puzzle to me. Of course he is describing Huizong's 徽宗 creation of the famous Convoy of Flowers and Stones (*huashi gang* 花石綱) that stripped the southeast clean of rare specimens, but he seems to be doing it by referring to Han Wudi's 漢武帝 establishment of an altar to the Spirit Taiyi 太乙, on the southwestern outskirts of Chang'an, as part of the Feng Shan 封禪 sacrifices. This bit of circumlocution, perhaps a veiled reference to the Daoist motives behind the parks creation, does not make much sense, since the following references to the rapacious looting of stones and flowers by Zhu Mian, Huizong's minion and architect of the Convoy, is abundantly clear:

Longlife Mountain in “the southeast of Chang’an”—	長安東南萬歲山
The rare and marvelous were searched and sought through	
all the human realm;	搜抉珍怪窮人間
A single argosy on the Bian's flow transported many pieces,	汴流一舸載數輩
Dispatched immediately to heighten the ragged precipices	徑上艮嶽增孱顏
of Gen Peak.	

Lou uses the old chestnut phrase, “*hu* dust” to describe the Song-Jin wars. But this phrase is of such long duration and the line itself is so cliché, that it serves primarily to locate the poem in a long tradition of other poems and texts about the constant warfare between China, the sedentary agricultural world, and its northern neighbors, usually nomads (at least at the beginning). This moves the reader from a description and discussion of the actual stones, as concrete artifacts of one particular episode, into a more general rumination on the more general and recurrent nature of warfare. The following line then continues with a general premise about what happens to valuable objects and place when wartime comes: they are simply discarded, thrown away as their value disappears along with peace—the context that grants them value in the first place.

In those days “clever craftsmen hewed these bones of the	當時巧匠斲山骨
mountain,”	

And set them at river's edge, where they rose high and imposing,	寞之江干高突兀
But spear and shield shook the earth, <i>hu</i> dust flew,	千戈動地胡塵飛
Easily turning rare stuff into discarded things.	坐使奇材成棄物

The interjected phrase, “Don’t you see (君不見)—” brings the reader back from musing about this repetitive and non-historicized phenomenon of Chinese history by asking us now to consider its manifestation in the present moment:

Broad belt of yellow gold, called “Divine Transport,”	黃金橫帶號神運
So many awarded the Third Rank in the Forbidden City!	不數臺城拜三品
But now alone and deserted in the wild grasses,	只今零落荒草中
An eternity of forlorn sadness possessing a vexation that stays behind;	萬古淒涼有遺恨

The phrase, “broad belts of yellow gold,” seems to be a direct reference to an anecdote from the *Intrigues of the Warring States*, in which Tian Dan 田單, a very successful general, fails to quell the *Di* 狄, a non-Chinese group in the north. Tian returns from his campaign the subject of criticism and asks the famous rhetorician and politician Lu Zhonglian 魯仲連 why he did not defeat the *Di*, and Lu replies, “[your soldiers] strap on broad belts of yellow gold and spur about between the Zi and Sheng Rivers, they have a joy for life but no heart to die for their cause. This is why you could claim no victory.” 黃金橫帶而馳乎淄、澠，有生之樂，無死之心，所以不勝者也。²⁷ “Divine transport” was the popular name for the famous convoys called the “Convoy of Flowers and Stones” (*huashi gang* 花石綱) which shipped plants and rare stones from south China to Kaifeng to install in Huizong’s pleasure garden.²⁸ This bankrupted the treasury and brought a group of eunuchs from the palace into power. Lou asks us here to consider the reason for failure: while Tian Dan corrected his mistake to finally conquer the *Di*, Huizong employed his “generals” to dash about south

27 *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策, See *Zhanguo ce xin jiaozhu* 戰國策新校注, ann. Miao Wenyan 繆文遠 vol. 1 (Chengdu: Ba Shu chubanshe, 1988), p. 459.

28 See *Da Song Xuanhe yishi* 大宋宣和遺事, in *Xuanhe yishi deng liangzhong* 宣和遺事等兩種 (Zhongguo huaben daxi 中國話本大系) (Yangzhou: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1993), pp. 14-15.

China collecting and shipping stones and flowers to his garden. The most famous of these stones, taken from Taihu 太湖, was some forty-feet (12m.) high. Its transport involved tearing down bridges, widening the canal, destroying homes and walls, and a variety of other steps necessary to take it to the capital. When it arrived it was called “The Stone that Reflects the Merit of the Divine Transport” and was eventually given the feudal title of The Boulder Solid Earl (磬固侯) by the emperor.²⁹

This leads to the second line of the couplet, a reference to the acts of Xuanzong of the Tang who, in a grand move, gave the directors of his eunuch bureaus titles as “third rank generals” and installed halberds outside their domiciles in imitation of real military leaders.³⁰ What I have translated as “Forbidden City” is a name coined from two parts, *tai*, which meant high ministerial offices closed to outsiders and *cheng*, which was the forbidden city of the emperor. There was actually a place by this name on the southern boundary of Xuanwu lake in modern Nanjing, which was known as the “forbidden area” from the early imperial age. Like the mention of Chang’an, I take it to be a reference to the Eastern Capital, and therefore to the high posts that eunuchs like the infamous Zhu Mian, mastermind of the Convoy of Plants and Flowers, and Liang Shicheng, architect of the Genyue pleasure park, won.

Those stones that had so delighted Huizong and had catapulted sycophantic favorites into power now lay abandoned along the stream, cast away and forgotten when the war began.

But now alone and deserted in the wild grasses,	只今零落荒草中
An eternity of forlorn sadness possessing a vexation that stays behind;	萬古淒涼有遺恨
A man of wood will float away, not the equal of earth,	木人漂漂不如土
Sit and review dynasties’ rise and fall—who knows how	坐閱興亡知幾許

29 See “Sycophantic Favorites” *Ningxing liezhuan* 佞幸列傳, *liezhuan* 229, *Songshi* 宋史 (Zhonghua ed.) XXXIX.470.13684-13686.

30 See “Preface to Eunuchs” 宦者序言, *liezhuan* 132, *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Zhonghua ed.) XV. 207.5855

many?

A traveler sighs deeply, the horse will not go forward, 行人沈嘆馬不前
Although these stones do not speak, I fear they can tell a 石雖不言恐能語
story.

The next couplet (l. 17-19) is a direct reference to a passage from the *Conversations of the States*, a famous parable in which Su Qin 蘇秦 persuades Meng Chang Jun 孟嘗君 not to go to Qin. Originally, this was a political caveat—Qin was a violent state, and Meng Chang Jun would be swept away like a peach branch. It clearly speaks to the idea of *feng su* 風俗, a localized set of values, even human character, that place itself creates. The more universal values of Meng would be swept away while the ruler of Qin would disappear back into the earth, presumably to emerge again in the same form and with the same characteristics, bound intimately to local place.

Su Qin [Dai] said to Meng Chang Jun, “When I came recently, I passed by the Zi River, and there was an earthen idol talking to a peach bough. The peach bough told the earthen idol, ‘You are earth from the western bank, and have been pulled upright into human form. In the eighth month of the harvest year when heavy rains fall, the waters of the Zi will reach to you, and you will dissolve.’ The earthen idol said, ‘Not necessarily so. I am earth from the western bank, and if turn to earth again, then I will again become the western bank. Now you, sir, are a peach bough from the eastern countries, and they have shaved and carved you into human form. When the heavy rains fall and the waters of the Zi reach you, it will float you away, and you will drift off who knows where.’” 謂孟嘗君曰：「今者臣來，過於淄上，有土偶人與桃梗相與語。桃梗謂土偶人曰：『子，西岸之土也，挺子以為人，至歲八月，降雨下，淄水至，則汝殘矣。』土偶曰：『不然。吾西岸之土也，土則復西岸耳。今子，東國之桃梗也，刻削子以為人，降雨下，淄水至，流子而去，則子漂漂者將何如耳。』……」³¹

Lou has adapted the allusion to make a general point about human actors on the stage of the land. The land will remain, the stones stay, as historical figures play

31 “Meng Chang Jun jiang ru Qin zhang” 孟嘗君將入秦章, Miao Wenyuan 繆文遠, ed. *Zhangguo ce xin jiaozhu* 戰國策新校注(Chengdu: Ba shu shu she, 1987), vol. 1, pp. 361-362.

out their ephemeral roles. In this wonderful conflation of several threads—wood floating away on the waters of the now nearly dry canal, the eunuchs and the armies of the Song gone like flotsam, the discarded rocks both physically present and historically meaningful—Lou also washes away the safe distance between the detached reader of historical circumstance and text. Lou asks, in that peculiar way that Chinese rhetoric uses questions to make statements, “who knows how many there can be?” knowing that the implied answer will be, “too many to count.” No longer a hypothetical observer, he is now a participant caught in the cycle of futility, stymied and with no recourse except a sigh of lamentation, his own journey stopped on a horse frozen in time and space.

The second line of the penultimate couplet, as well as the last line of the poem, are both muted allusions to opening line of Du Fu’s iconic poem, “Spring Hope,” (*Chunwang* 春望: “Though a state be smashed, its hills and rivers remain” 國破山河在)—the rocks remain although the people are gone, they lie full of bitterness for the injustice done them, symbols of the waste and vanity of a delusional emperor. They also bear mute but communicative witness to the inexorable motion of history and the insignificance of human activity in the sweep of time.

Compare this poem to one written by Fan Chengda, on the Tower of Virtue Displayed, the main entry into the old Song imperial city:

宣德樓 虜加崇葺，偽改曰「承天門」	The Tower of Virtue Displayed The caitiffs have beautified and restored it, and have spuriously changed it to “The Gate Receiving Heaven”
峽闕叢霄舊玉京， 御牀忽有犬羊鳴； 他年若作清宮使， 不挽天河洗不清。	Vaulting fore-towers, gathered auras: the old jade capital, On the imperial couch suddenly sheep bleat, dogs bark; If sent in other years to be “Cleaner of the Palaces”— Unless you pull down the Heavenly River, you will never wash it clean. ³²

32 Fu Shousun 富壽蓀, ed., *Fan Shihu ji* 范石湖集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006) 12.148.

This is clearly very much in tune with traditional Chinese writing about foreigners, which modulates between cultural fashioning and racism. The bestial metaphors for the Jurchen highlight the cultural chauvinism of Fan Chengda, who seems to see humanity as a purely learned Chinese cultural process. His complaint about the dress habits of Chinese who have barbarized themselves now takes on more gravity if one re-reads that passage alongside the poem. For Fan there is the possibility that Chinese, themselves, will be devolve into the same kind of beasts. This issue of “transformation” is important, because the term lies at the heart of ethical and cultural identity: the sage kings are often said to have “transformed” the people through their ethical teachings and behavior. That is, they have led them to a more ethical life by providing models to emulate. Since the authority to rule is seen as a result of ethical perfection rather than simply carrying out a set of positive laws created for governance, the absence of a Chinese emperor, the most perfect ethical model, does not bode well.

Lou Yue, of course, liked the usurpation of China’s cultural heartland, no more than Fan. But Lou seems inclined to take a much longer-term view of the problem of the occupation and see it more as a predictable part of a repetitive historical pattern. He seems to have faith in the resiliency of the people, and views the actual human condition in Henan as a natural response to impoverishment, a momentary ethical capitulation to the exigencies of privation and disorder. In a short passage written about four days after he left the capital, he remarked:

Sixteenth day, *dingyou* (January 7). Clear. The food has gotten progressively better since we left Nanjing. Hebei is particularly good. It is possible to know the flourishing of the population and of things in general through this fact. From this point on it was not necessary to eat in homes. 十六日，丁酉，自南京來，飲食日勝，河北尤佳，可以知其民物之盛否。自是不必家饌。³³

It is this humane view of Lou and his awareness of the inevitable repetition of long-term changes that allow him to be more even-handed in his travel diary and

33 *Beixing rilu*, 101.1585.

his poetry.

Lou's and Fan's diaries were written about eight months apart, and it is difficult to ascribe the differences in their descriptions to anything but personal perception and interests. Still, one should not discount the issue of audience. Lou was simply on a New Year's felicitation embassy. Fan Chengda's diary was written when he was on an ad-hoc commission to resolve issues about certain rituals stipulated by a peace treaty, and he carried the hopes of a good number of colleagues to carry out his daring breach of ritual. Fan also held a high position in government, and his report would have been received in a far different way than Lou's. Since, after the peace treaty of 1165, positions had hardened between the peace and war factions, it is not unreasonable to assume that there is some element of posturing in Fan's writing. Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 pointed this out years ago in his notes to one of Fan's quatrains about the Eastern Capital (Zhou Bridge):

州橋南北是天街， North and south of Zhou Bridge—this is Heaven's Way,
 父老年年等駕迴； The oldsters wait year after year for the Imperial Chariot
 to return;
 忍淚失聲詢使者， Suppressing their tears, losing their voice, they question
 our Envoy:
 幾時真有六軍來？ “Just when, really, will the Six Armies arrive?”

Qian notes that no person would dare stop the envoy in the middle of the Jurchen capital to ask when the Song armies are going to arrive and that the poem was written “to stir up the patriotic activities of people at home.”³⁴ If anyone is speaking in this poem, it is Fan, not some putative codger who stops the embassy train in the middle of mainstreet. The one quoted comment in a similar situation that Lou cites, “He must be an old official of the Xuanhe era,” is in contrast presented as being overheard.³⁵ Any other conversations in Lou's text are

34 This astute comment is accompanied by one which I find incomprehensible: that Fan “directly and clearly exposes [the citizen's] patriotic hearts to do so.” This is a double stretch—imagining what Fan Chengda imagined in the minds of the citizens of Kaifeng. See Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, ed. and ann., *Songshi yanjiu* 宋詩選注 (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1985), pp. 224-225.

35 See Appendix, p. 231, note 38.

reported from private moments with locals who are assigned to work for the travelers while they are enroute.

This is not to say that Lou Yue does not have his own agenda, but that it is much more subtle and more an issue of deep yearning for the loss of the heartland set against an awareness of the historical inevitability of change. What seems the driest part of his descriptions, the listing of incidents associated with each site, is perhaps the most telling. His description of the 12th day, when he lists all of the sites around Kaifeng that have historical importance, is the culmination and expansion of a process he uses for each place. If we were to map the incidents along his route, we would find that he mentions primarily the Spring and Autumn and Warring States period and the founding of the Han. Only three times does he mention any other pre-Tang incident, one from the battle between Cao Cao 曹操 and Yuan Shao 袁紹 at the end of the Han, and two from the Six Dynasties era. There is, of course, a geographical rationale for this. Henan was the cradle of Shang 商 and Zhou 周 civilization. The great dynasties of China just prior to the Song were located primarily in the Shaanxi area. Thus, Lou's descriptions focus on the place where the very foundation of Chinese civilization occurred. And he also includes the cultural heroes of this axial age: Yu 禹, Kings Wen and Wu 文王武王, Confucius 孔子, and others. The Han dynasty is mentioned primarily in the context of the struggle between Liu Bang 劉邦 and Xiang Yu 項羽, much of which took place in Henan and northern Anhui. But he mentions none of the Tang sites that find such prominent mention in other diaries, including the grave of Lei Wanchun 雷萬春, or the temple to the "Two Loyal Princes," Xu Yuan 許遠 (707-757) and Zhang Xun 張巡 (before 700-757) all of whom made heroic stands against An Lushan's 安祿山 army in Suizhou. Likewise, he does not mention the pitched battles around Ningling at the end of the Tang.

This lacuna seems odd in light of the significance of these Tang sites to local cultures. I propose that he has purposely elided them in order to bring focus to his major concern, which is the loss of the heartland of Chinese culture, the very cradle of its civilization. This is clear if we look again at his poetry. The

poem on Lingbi, cited above, is only a part of the verse that the place itself inspired; its meditation on the Convoy of Flowers and Stone and the fall of the Northern Song is balanced by two other, shorter poems, that link the Northern Song directly to the Han. To fully understand this, we need to look at the diary entry for that day:

1169.12.24 2nd day, *guiwei* 癸未. Clear and windy. Traveled by cart for 80 *li*, taking the morning meal at Hong County. The gates to the city were too narrow to admit a cart, so we mounted up and entered the post house. The markets were mostly outside of the city walls. There was an old monastery with a two-storied large building, tiled with ceramic tiles and supported by pillars of stone. I heard that in the top story there were many surviving carvings (?) by Mi Fu 米芾 and other notables. Three years ago they hosted the envoys in the monastery. After eating we remounted and traveled on horseback for 80 *li*, stopping to spend the night at Lingbi. We had traveled several *li*, to where the flow of the Bian ceased. Those isolated places where a single family had lived were all burnt and torn down. I heard about the northerner's new laws. All residents living beside roadways were forced to move into a neighborhood collective systems for fear that they would harbor rebels or thieves. Those who opposed this law had their residences burned down. A deer flushed from amid the grass, cut in front of the horse and went westward. There were rare stones on the two banks, and as we approached Lingbi, there was an abundance of them on the east bank. They were all discards from the Convoy of Flowers and Stones of the *Xuanhe* and *Zhenghe* eras (i.e., ca. 1100-1125).

The tomb of the Beauty Yu 虞姬 was in the wild grasses on the western shore; here two stone slabs were placed about one foot or so apart. During the Longxing reign (1164-1165) when we obtained the districts of Si 泗 and Hong 虹, this tomb was the border. Outside of the county seat there was a shrine in the thickets, which was the Temple for Emperor Gao of the Han.

The Huai-North area was completely devastated, but houses on both banks at Lingbi were tiled, and there were small walls [or a small walled city]. Just where the path to the county seat turned into a real road, there was a whitewashed wall that said, "by permission of the Fiscal Intendant of the Southern Capital Route, this is a stipulated square for merchants that can collect taxes on business con-

ducted.” Each relay station had built a small enclosure and had stuck black pennants at the four corners. Two horses were prepared and sent to the south to greet the New Year’s envoy. According to the Jin laws: [An official] granted a Golden Plaque galloped on eight mounts, a Silver Plaque, three, and a Wooden Plaque two. All were post horses. The Wooden Plaque was the fastest, covering 700 li in a single day. These were used when there was a military order to meet an appointed time. 二日，癸未，晴、風。車行八十里，虹縣早頓。城門不容車，乘馬入驛。市井多在城外，驛之西有古寺大屋二層，瓦以琉璃，柱以石，聞其上多米元章諸公遺刻。三年前于寺中待使客。飯後乘馬行八十里，宿靈壁。行數里汴水斷流，人家獨處者皆燒拆去，聞北人新法，路傍居民盡令移就鄰保，恐藏姦盜，違者焚其居。有一鹿起草間，截馬前西去。兩岸皆奇石，近靈壁，東岸尤多，皆宣政花石綱所遺也。虞姬墓在西岸荒草中，橫安二石板，相去尺餘，隆興間我得泗虹以此墓為界。縣外山上有叢祠，漢高帝廟也。淮北荒涼特甚，靈壁兩岸人家皆瓦屋，亦有小城。始成縣道有粉壁云：「準南京都轉運帖，理會，買撲坊場。」遞鋪皆築小塢，四角插皂旗，遇賀正人使，先排兩馬南去。金法：金牌走八騎，銀牌三，木牌二，皆鋪馬也。木牌最急，日行七百里，軍期則用之。

This was a place overwhelming in its historical thickness. Not only were the stones of Lingbi scattered about as direct reminder of the fate of the Northern Song, but Lingbi was also place of much significance in the history of the Han. It was the burial site of the Beauty Yu, Xiang Yu’s consort killed at Gaixia 垓下, and where Xiang Yu, the Chu Hegemon 楚霸王, had been surrounded by Liu Bang. It was also the place from which Xiang Yu began his long and tragic march to defeat and suicide. On the mountains were also shrines to the victor, Liu Bang, or Gaozu, founder of the Han:

〈靈壁道中〉 “On the Road to Lingbi”
 古汴微流絕， The slight flow of the old Bian ends,
 餘民尚孑遺； But the people left behind still stay on.
 高丘祠漢祖， On a high hill is a shrine to the progenitor of the Han,
 荒草葬虞姬。 In the wild grasses, the burial site of the Beauty Yu.
 垓下空陳迹， Gaixia is emptied of old traces,
 鴻溝愴近時； The Hong Canal mourns present times.

膏腴滿荊棘， When the fertile lands are filled with thorns and stickers,
傷甚黍離離。 Who can feel pain at some “Luxuriant is the millet?”

The opening couplet presents a contrast between termination and endurance. The Bian, major transport from the southeast to support the Northern Song capital, is now cut off, but the people left behind by the dynasty's move to the south are still there. This set of contradictions continues through the poem. The two memorial sites that are left are the shrine of the victor and the grave of the beautiful consort of the loser. These apparently paradoxical conditions breathe life into the topography, as they reflect the elements of chance that end up making living history. Xiang Yu was one of the most powerful figures of his era, yet any trace of him has vanished. Gaixia, where he first realized that he had lost his purchase on the old Qin empire is now absent of any physical trace of that great and tragic moment, and Lou implies that this moment has lived on only as memorialized in text. On the other hand, Empress Qi, with whom Liu Bang was also infatuated and who suffered a cruel death after the emperor's death is also gone. Fan Chengda also remarked in a couplet from his *jueju* on this same site, “Do you, sir, know the place Beauty Qi is buried? / It cannot compare with ‘Ah, Yu’s’ possessing a burial site. 戚姬葬處君知否？ / 不及虞兮有墓田。” Gaixia has, in a sense, also been terminated as a place. Hong Canal, on the other hand remains, dividing the Song and Jin just as it had divided the area of the Central Plain in the Han: everything west to Liu Bang and everything east to Xiang Yu. The final couplet brings the reader back to the present: when the destruction of the Song-Liao-Jin wars has been so devastating and so denuded the land of Huaibei, who has the temerity to disappear into the cliché lamentation of the past? Ritualized metaphor will not do. This last couplet beautifully captures the complex relationship between memory, nostalgia, and immediacy, and between history and remembrance. At least the one who lamented the fall of the Zhou could do it at a site overgrown by a verdant field of grain in ear; Lou Yue is left to confront a land of utter chaos, with nothing but brambles to clothe the land.

Yet, it is to the Zhou and the Han that Lou Yue returns time and time again,

spurred by the historical memory of landscape itself. At the very start of his trip in Jin territory, he made his agenda clear:

〈泗州道中〉 “On the Road to Sizhou”
 宿雪助寒色， Last night’s snow bolsters the aspect of cold,
 相看汴水濱； As I look over at the bank of the Bian;
 輕車兀殘夢， Light war carts sever the remnant dream,
 群馬濺飛塵。 Herds of horse spatter flying dust.
 行役過周地， Serving on this mission, we pass the lands of the Zhou,
 官儀泣漢民； Carrying out official ritual, we weep for the people of Han.
 中原陸沈久， The Central Plain has long been land submerged—
 任責豈無人。 How can there be no one to bear the blame?

The poem starts simply enough, looking at the banks of the Bian River, but observation is soon broken like a shattered dream. The carts and horses intrude into his consciousness in a violent manner. The second couplet serves to unite the past and present in a moment of decided ambiguity. Are the horses and carts the wagons and mounts of the combined Jin and Song entourage 250 people strong? Or are they the war chariots and cavalry steeds that have run their course across Henan during the 1400 years before? The couplet brings past and present together in a way we may clearly read as political: the lands of Zhou are the lost lands of Song, the people those abandoned to “stay on” in this land of bare subsistence. The ones to bear the blame are Huizong and his court. Yet, we can also read it in another way. In the penultimate line Lou seems to give way to the realization that warfare is inevitable, that these are the lands of Zhou *and* the people of Han who, like the people of the Song, are lost to the rise and fall of historical dynasties, but remain attached to the land as a cultural group, the backbone and flesh of the land. They are caught in repetitive historical cycles into which warfare is imprinted and sustained by human agency. His claim that someone has to bear the blame is directed not at the Jurchen, as in Fan Chengda’s poems, but at the failure of human actors both Chinese and foreign, a failure in which he seems to say, he is also complicit. My understanding of this verse is supported, I believe, by another he wrote enroute to Xiangzhou 相州, just inside

the border of modern Hebei. In this poem, he comes as close as he ever does in his writing to making the links between history, human action, and landscape clear:

〈相州道中〉	“On the Road to Xiangzhou”
千古興亡一夢驚，	A thousand antiquities of rise and fall, startled awake from the whole dream
就中物理似持衡；	But the principles of things within it seem to balance out —
茜花空染朝歌血，	The <i>rubia</i> vainly dyed the blood of Chaoge,
荒草猶祠姜里城。	But in tangled grasses they still offer sacrifice at Youli.
但見反身知自咎，	Just see how he looked inward and knew to blame him self,
誰言修政欲相傾；	Who says the perfection of government will result in overthrow?
知音只有昌黎操，	The only one to understand is Han Yu 韓愈 in his Qin tune,
臣罪當誅主聖明。	“I have committed offence and should be punished, the ruler is sagely and wise.”

The poem begins with the same historical sweep of time and the same moment of abrupt awakening caused by encounters with geographical site, natural environment, and landscape form. The dream from which he awakes is one in which the historical past is aestheticized as a focus of intellectual pondering or nostalgia. He chooses, upon cognitive reflection, to understand this process as being constituted of a set of principles that balance poles of order and disorder, to create a momentary point of equilibrium between good and bad, wise and foolish, unjust and just that is by nature unstable. There is no middle ground, only the two poles of “rise” 興 and “decline” 亡; no stable political order that can avoid this enduring repetition. He uses two concrete examples to make his point. Xiangzhou was famous for the *rubia* that it produced. This grass, the root of which was used to produce a brilliant red dye, seems to have absorbed the blood spilt at the last capital of the Shang, Chaoge, where the despot Zhou

紂 ruled in terror before he immolated himself prior to being deposed by the Zhou. The red dye is the only vestige of his rule, left to mark the landscape a bloody red. King Wen, however, continues in the collective memory, commemorated in sacrifices at Youli, where Zhou kept him in captivity for several years before he was ransomed by Lü Shang. Later, he and Lü Shang would “perfect their own government” to “overthrow” the Shang, but King Wen died before that could happen. The last half of Lou’s verse is a meditation on the importance of self-knowledge and self-criticism of human behavior that oversteps the will of Heaven. The allusion is to a set of lyrics for the Qin written by Han Yu, which is supposedly sung by King Wen as he was in captivity:

〈拘幽操〉	“Tune of Imprisonment in You”
目揜揜兮其凝其盲，	My eyes are occluded, hard they are and blind,
耳肅肅兮聽不聞聲，	My ears are ringing, I listen but cannot hear sound,
朝不日出兮夜不見月與星，	In the morning, there is no sunrise, at night I see no moon or stars,
有知無知兮為死為生？	Do I have knowledge or do I not, am I dead or am I alive?
嗚呼，	Alas,
臣罪當誅兮天王聖明。	I have committed an offense and should be punished, the king of heaven is sagely and wise.

Lou Yue was very much a proponent of mounting an offensive against the Jin, yet his diary shows none of the vituperative language of Fan Chengda. Lou’s trip is something like a sentimental journey, a way to reestablish the links between place and text. He was, after all, a second-generation Southern Song person with no first-hand knowledge of north China. This shows clearly in his reportage, where he always lets the oldsters speak themselves or through their children, establishing bridges between a glorious past and a reduced present. As his poem about the lost treasures of Lingbi shows, each place he visited was a way to evoke the ancient past and to ponder the meanings of history. His

evocation of incidents may seem a blank list, yet by linking ancient text to place, he saw through the palimpsests of history to the very ground itself to resurrect history's actors on the enduring stage of the land. This seems to have had a profound effect on him, mixing experience and perception with book knowledge. I believe that this is also why he is both more nostalgic and less judgmental than others. Reading history became real in a way that it had not before, but at the same time he recognized that the ebb and flow of Chinese culture, the enduring cycles of expansion, invasion, and reclamation outlived any one person or any one dynasty. It seems for him that only the land and the "people" as a collective cultural group endure through time. Historical figures disappear from text but may remain in the landscape; or they disappear from the landscape and remain only in text. In either case, it is pure chance how remembrance inscribes historical figures into either. Text needs constant re-engagement with place to bring it back to life as Lou's own writing shows. But those figures that memory keeps alive in the landscape remain a vital part of a collective and enduring culture. As he said when he sat and mused about the rise and fall of dynasties, "the wooden man will float away, but the earth stays forever."

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Appendix

A Diary of My Journey to the North

By Lou Yue (1137-1213)

At the time, I was in waiting for an appointment as Instructor in Wenzhou and was in service to my father, Magistrate of Guancang. I received the message of appointment from my second maternal uncle, Minister Wang Dayou.

北行日錄

上

宋·樓鑰 撰

時待次溫州教授，隨侍堯公守括蒼，受仲舅汪尚書大猷之辟。

Part I

Seven Days in Henan

Lou Yue's *Diary of My Northern Trip*

December 27, 1169-January 3, 1170

Translated by Stephen H. West

^{1169,12,27} Fifth day, *bingxu*. Frost and cold. It took a lot of energy to travel; everyone's hair and beard were iced. Traveled 60 *li* to Yongcheng County, where we stopped for the morning meal.¹ The lamps were still lit in the post house. This county was originally composed of the two counties of Mang and Jingchou, and the land is where Mangshan and Dangshan meet. Emperor Gao of the Han once took refuge here.² The Han changed Jingchou to Taichou. Chen Shi was once a Post Commander at the Western Gate of the Commandery here.³ The ancient walled city is northwest of the modern

1 I realize that *dun* 頓 has been translated before in travel diaries as “to rest,” which is an attested meaning. However from the late Tang onward, it seems to have meant primarily a “place to rest and eat 宿食所也,” a definition found in the Yuan dynasty rhyme dictionary, *Gujin yunhui juyao* 古今韻會舉要. There are three terms used in the text: *su* 宿, which means “to rest,” but also “to sleep” and *xie* 歇, which also means “to rest” or “to sleep.” In this text *su* is clearly used in contexts that mean “to stay overnight” and *xie* “to remain in a place for a day or more.”

2 From the “Basic Annals 本紀” of the *Records of the Historian* 史記, “The First Emperor of Qin often said, ‘The auras of a Son of Heaven are in the southwest.’ At that point, he began an eastern travel to suppress it. Gaozu immediately became suspicious of this himself and fled to hide, taking refuge among the mountain marshes and rocky cliffs between Mang and Dang.” 秦始皇帝常曰「東南有天子氣」，於是因東游以厭之。高祖即自疑，亡匿，隱於芒、碭山澤巖石之間。Sima Qian 司馬遷, “Gaozu benji” 高祖本紀, *Xinjiao ben Shiji sanjia zhu* 新校本史記三家注 (Zhonghua ed.) I.8.348.

3 Chen Shi 陳寔, a learned official of the Later Han held this position 郡西門亭長, in Taichou. See Fan Ye 范曄, “Chen Shi liezhuan” 陳寔列傳, *Xinjiao ben Hou Hanshu* 新校本後漢書 (Zhonghua ed.) 5.62.2065.

county. After another 70 *li*, we overnighted at Huiting Market.

五日丙戌，霜寒，頗力行，人鬚髮皆冰。六十里永城縣早頓。驛中猶有燈。縣本芒、敬丘二縣，地有芒山與碭山相接。漢高帝隱于此，漢更敬丘爲太丘，陳寔嘗爲長，故城在今縣西北。又七十里，宿會亭鎮。

^{12.28} Sixth day, *wuzi*. Frosty and clear. Traveled by cart for 45 *li* to Sand Dune Ridge where we transferred to asses, and went 35 *li* to Gushou County where we stopped for the morning meal. This county was called Southern Bo in the Shang dynasty and was made the capital by Tang [the Completer of Shang].⁴ Outside of the county is a rainbow-arch bridge that is very imposing as it straddles the river. It was constructed during the Xuanhe reign (1117-1125). Currently either side has a small rammed-earth wall, but the whole is worn and broken down and impassible. So we cut across the river to enter Gushou. 22 *li* later we came to the Golden Apple Orchard, which was filled with fruit trees. Another 18 *li* by horse and we arrived at the Southern Capital, which is orderly and prosperous. Onlookers mostly peeked out from behind closed doors. There were more than a hundred armored cavalry lining the roads, and there were foot soldiers stationed outside of the city wall and in front of the posthouse. The major tower, called Suiyang, was of imposing and ancient construction, but was falling apart. The posthouse was also called Suiyang. An armored soldier from Gushou [who had accompanied us] volunteered, “Westerners ask for 500 short cash every month. When they hear how well our own soldiers are paid, they are moved to sighs.”⁵ There is a pavilion at the side of the tower

4 Founder of the state of Shang, purportedly ruled from 1782-1754 BC. *Shangshu jinzhuzhuyi* 尚書今註今譯, ann. and trans. Qu Wanli 屈萬里 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1970) p. 194: “When Tang had overthrown the Mandate of Xia, he returned to Bo, where he created ‘The Proclamation of Tang’.” 湯既黜夏命，復歸于亳。作湯誥。

5 “Short stringing” is an ancient practice, begun as early the Jin in the 4th century. A string of cash purportedly had 1000 copper coins (“thousand” in fact, becomes the common number-measure for strings of cash), but the amount of cash per string was set theoretically at 100. The actual number of cash varied with place and use. In the Song, government cash was set at 80 to 85 per hundred



in the Southern Capital, called “Releasing Sour Feelings.” A servant who volunteered that his name was Zhao—I did not want to question him too closely⁶—said, “The mansions of Grand Minister Xu,⁷ Director of the Board of War Lu,⁸ and Commissioner of the Court of Palace Attendants Zheng⁹ were still in the city, but were mainly occupied by government officials, but also by the male descendants of the families.” Remark: this

but other locales followed local practice, with as few as 48 per hundred. In the late 900s the Song set the government value at 77. In Jin, in the 1160s, commoners used 85 to 100 and the official rate was a full measure. The Jin later set the value of a string at 80-85. See Gu Yanwu 顧炎武, “Short String,” in *Rizhi lu jishi* 日知錄集釋 (Shijiazhuang: Huashan wenyi chubanshe, 1990) p. 536. The meaning of “westerners” is open to interpretation. In the Jin History, it refers to people living in the area south of modern Lanzhou 蘭州, near Linzhao 臨兆, who were probably Ouighers or Mongols. See “Biography of Zhang Zhongfu” 長中孚列傳, *liezhuan* 17. *Jinshi* 金史 (Zhonghua ed.) V.79. 1788 and “Biography of Pang Di” 龐迪列傳, *liezhuan* 29. *ibid.* VI.91.2013.

6 Because he has the same surname as the Song royal family.

7 Perhaps Xu Churen 徐處仁 (1062-27). See SRZJ III.2034. He was a native of Yingtian fu 應天府.

8 Perhaps Lu Yundi 路允迪 (ca. 1090-1150). See SRZJ IV.3207. He was a native of Songcheng 宋城, which was subordinate to Yingtian fu.

9 This may be Zheng Juzhong 鄭居中 (1059-1123); otherwise, unknown to me.

place is where E the Elder, son of Gao Xin lived,¹⁰ and is known as Shang Qiu. It is the place where King Wu of Zhou enfeoffed Qi, Baron of Hui and created the state of Song.¹¹ The Latter Tang (923-926) turned it into the Military Commission of Gui'de. Since it was a base of the Kingly Enterprise of our [Song] state, it was elevated to the Superior Prefecture of Yingtian in the 4th year of Jingde.¹² In the 7th year of Xiangfu (1014) it was elevated to the Southern Capital. The Jin changed its name to Gui'de Prefecture. This is where Liang Xiaowang had his capital in the Han. His Rabbit Garden, Level Terrace, Wildfowl Pond, and Duckweed Dike are all here.¹³ The five meteorites from the Spring and Autumn Period are still

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- 10 He did not get along with his younger brothers, so he was moved to Shang Qiu. See entry under Zhaogong 昭公 1.12 in *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注, ann. Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), pp. 118-19: "In the past Gao Xin had two sons. The elder was Yu the Elder, the youngest was Shishen, who lived in a broad forest. They were incapable of standing each other and daily used buckler and spear to try and quell each other. The later emperor (Yao) did not consider this good and transferred Yu the Elder to Shang Qiu."
- 11 Ziqi of Hui was the half-brother of the bad last emperor of the Shang. When King Wu conquered the Shang, Ziqi brought all of the ritual implements to the Zhou, bound himself to show he was guilty and should be punished, bowed to King Wu and approached him on his knees, pleading for the continuation of the Shang line. King Wu assented, moved him to Shang Qiu, and established the state of Song.
- 12 From Li Tao 李濤 *Xu Zizhi tongjiang changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 (Zhonghua ed.) III.1387.14, "Jiashen day [2nd month, 4th year/1007] Songzhou was made Yingtian Superior Prefecture." 甲申，以宋州爲應天府。This was because Songzhou was where the founder of the Song, known posthumously as Taizu 太祖, had his original military command under the former Zhou, from when he began his rise to become emperor. He actually assumed the mantle of emperor at Chenqiao 陳橋, north of Kaifeng.
- 13 Liu Wu 劉武 (184BC?-144 BC?). The second son of Han Wendi 漢文帝 and the brother of Han Jingdi 景帝, born of Empress Dou 竇. In 161 he was enfeoffed as the Prince of Suiyang 睢陽王. The empress doted on him and hoped he would become emperor after his elder brother had passed. Jingdi once off-handedly remarked that he would do that. Liang Xiaowang 梁孝王 was a successful leader in pacifying outlying states, and supposed himself in line for the throne. The plan was thwarted when a minister, Yuan Yang 袁盎, and others recommended Liu Che 劉徹, who would become Emperor Wu, as successor. Xiaowang dispatched an assassin to kill Yuan, and when the assault was uncovered by Emperor Jing. Xiaowang was pardoned, after appearing before the

extant.¹⁴

六日丁亥，霜晴，車行四十五里。沙山岡換驢，三十五里穀熟縣早頓。縣即商之南亳，湯所都也。縣外有虹橋跨汴甚雄，政和中造，今兩傍築小土牆，且敝損不可行，絕河以入。又二十二里至金果園，果木甚多。馬行十八里，入南京城，市井益繁，觀者多閉戶以窺。夾道甲騎百餘，城外及驛前皆步兵。大樓曰睢陽，製作雄古，傾圮已甚，驛曰睢陽。穀熟甲卒自言，「西人月請五百短錢。」聞本朝養兵之豐，歎感不已。南京城樓側有亭，名「解慍」。承應人有自言姓趙者，不欲窮問之。云：「城中猶有徐太宰、路樞密、鄭宣徽等大宅，多為官中所占，亦有子孫居者」。按此地即高辛氏子關伯所居，商丘也，武王封微子啓是為宋國。後唐以為歸德軍節度，本朝以王業所基，景德四年升應天府，祥符七年升南京，金改曰歸德府，漢梁孝王所都。兔園、平臺、雁鵞池、蓼堤皆在此。春秋隕石五猶存。

^{12.29} Seventh day, *wuzi*. Clear. Traveled 60 *li* by cart and stopped for the morning meal at Ningling. This was the ancient state of Gebo, who was chastised by

emperor with thorns on his back. He was, nevertheless, distanced from the emperor's heart and never regained his confidence. He died shortly after his last request to return to the capital. While in Suiyang he built many large structures: palaces, dikes, elevated walkways among others. His treasury was filled with gold on his death, as were his armories with weapons. See "The Hereditary Household of the Filial Prince of Liang" 梁孝王世家, in Sima Qian 司馬遷, *shijia* 世家 28, *Shiji* 史記 VI.44. 2081-2092.

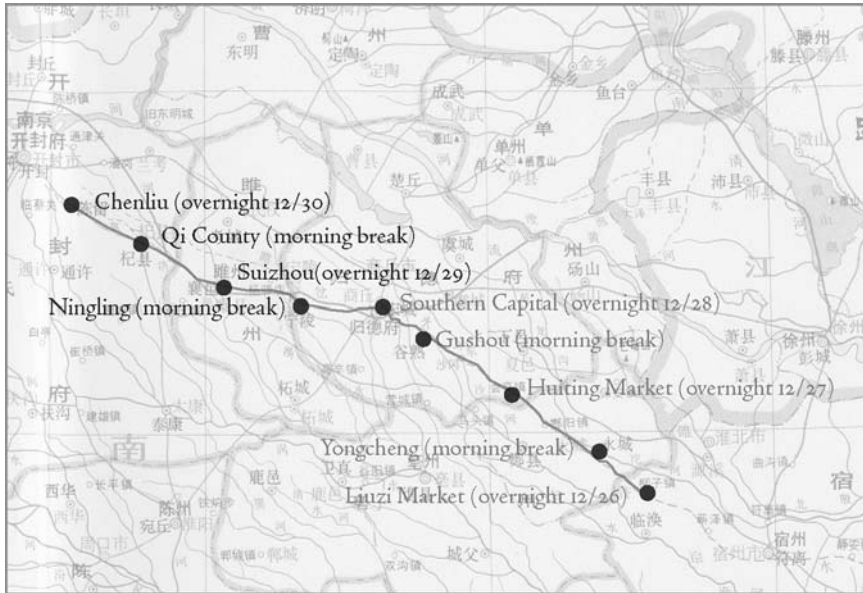
- 14 Duke Xi 16, *Chunqiu* "First day of the month, *wushen*, of the first month of the King, Spring of the 16th year [-644.12.16], stones fell five times at Song; this month six yi waterfowl flew in reverse, passed the Song capital." 十有六年春王正月戊由朔，隕石于宋五。是月六鷁退飛，過宋都。 *Zuozhuan* 左傳: " 'Stones fell five times at Song:' meteorites. 'Six yi waterfowl flew in reverse, passed the Song capital:' [high] winds." 隕石于宋五，隕星也。六鷁退飛，過宋都，風也。 Duke Xiang of Song misconstrues these as auguries of political events. A visiting scribe-astronomer provides him an explanation, but when he withdraws, tells another, "The lord asked the wrong question, these are cosmological events related to the flow of Yin and Yang, not something produced by fortune or misfortune. Fortune and misfortune stem from human action. But I [explained it thusly] because I did not want to cross the lord." 君失問。是陰陽之事，非吉凶所生也。吉凶由人。吾不敢逆君故也。 See Xigong 僖公 16, *Zuozhuan huizhu* 左傳會注, vol.1, pp. 368-369.

Tang's campaign.¹⁵ Wuji of Wei, Lord of Xinling was enfeoffed at this spot.¹⁶ Another 60 *li* and we overnighted at Gongzhou. Originally Xiangyi County, it was attached to the Superior Prefecture of Kaifeng, but in the fourth year of Chongning, they created the name of "Supporting District," and made it the "Eastern Support."¹⁷ It was then changed again to Gongzhou, and it governed Xiangyi. It was originally Xiang Tumulus County in Chengkuang; Duke Xiang was buried here, so it was called Xiang Tumulus.¹⁸ The Jin call it Suizhou.

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- 15 Gebo 葛伯 was chastised by Tang 湯 because of his cruelty and because he did not offer sacrifices. Although the *Book of History* is the earliest reference to the incident, it was more fully elaborated in *Mencius* 孟子: "The Earl of Ge was a willful man who neglected his sacrificial duties. T'ang sent someone to ask, 'Why do you not offer sacrifice?' 'We have no suitable animals.' Tang sent gifts of oxen and sheep to the Earl of Ge, but he used them for food and continued to neglect his sacrificial duties. Tang once gain sent someone to ask, 'Why do you not offer sacrifices?' 'We have no suitable grain.' Tang sent the people of Bo [his home state] to help in the ploughing and also sent the aged and young with gifts of food. The Earl of Ge led his people out and waylaid those who were bringing wine, food, millet and rice, trying to take these things from them by force. Those who resisted were killed. A boy bearing millet and meat was killed and the food taken. *The Book of History* says, 'The Earl of Ge treated those who brought food as enemies.' This is the incident to which I refer." *Mencius*, trans. D. C. Lau (Baltimore: Penguin, 1970), pp. 109-110 (3B. 5).
- 16 Obit. -243. Youngest son of King Shao of Wei 魏公子, half brother of King Anlin of Wei 安釐王. Noted for his military prowess and intelligence, he was a key figure in the defeat of Qin forces. Slandered, he went into a funk, indulging in liquor and women until he passed away from alcohol poisoning. Known as one of the "four ducal sons 四公子" of the Warring States period. He was enfeoffed at Xinling, so is also known as Lord of Xinling. See "Biography of the Ducal Son of Wei 魏公子列傳, *liezhuan* 17 *Shiji* VII.77. 2377-2385.
- 17 Toqto 脫脫 "Basic Annals of Huizong" 徽宗本紀, *benji* 20 *Songshi* 宋史 (Zhonghua ed.) *benji* I. 20. 374: "On the day xinchou of the seventh month, Autumn, of the 4th year of Chongning (1115), established the Altar to Mars, and established four Supporting Commanderies: Yingchang was made the Southern Supporting Commandery, Xiangyi was made the Eastern Supporting Commandery, Zhengzhou the Western, and Shanzhou, the northern." 秋七月丙申朔, 罷三京國子監官, 各置司業一員。辛丑, 置熒惑壇。置四輔郡, 以潁昌府爲南輔, 襄邑縣爲東輔, 鄭州爲西輔, 澶州爲北輔。
- 18 Buried in the 8th month of 621 BC. See entry under Wengong 文公 6.6 in *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* vol. 2, pp. 543, 550.

七日，戊子，晴。車行六十里，寧陵縣早頓。古葛伯國，湯所征也。魏信陵君無忌封于此。又六十里，宿拱州。本襄邑縣屬開封，崇寧四年建名輔州，以為東輔，又改拱州，治襄邑。本宋承匡襄陵鄉也，襄公所葬，故曰襄陵，金曰濰州。

12.30 Eighth day, *jichou*. Clear. Traveled by cart for 60 *li* and stopped for the morning meal at Yongqiu County. The county is the old [feudal] state of Qi, where King Wu of Zhou enfeoffed the descendants of Yu as Dukes of Eastern Lou.¹⁹ So, locals still called the place “Qi County.” Zu Ti fortified



19 “Hereditary Families of Chen and Fei” 陳杞世家, *shijia* 6, *Shiji* V.36. 1583, “Dukes of Eastern Lou in Fei are the descendants of Yu after the period of the Xia. During the Yin they were sometimes enfeoffed and sometimes cut off. When King Wu of Zhou defeated Zhou of Yin, he sought the descendants of Yu of Xiahou, and found a Duke of Eastern Lou, whom he enfeoffed at Fei in order to carry out sacrifices to the descendants of Xiahou.” 杞東樓公者，夏後禹之後苗裔也。殷時或封或絕。周武王克殷紂，求禹之後，得東樓公，封之於杞，以奉夏後氏祀。

this place in order to repel Shi Le.²⁰ Yucheng Market is in the southeast, and was originally Yu County of the Han, and was attached to Suiyang Princedom. Wang Mang struck Zhai Yi and made a lookout mound of bodies here.²¹ The old walled city of Waihuang County of the Han is to the east, as well as Kuiqiu (Mallow Mound), where Duke Huan of Qi held his parlay.²² A servant at our disposal, Du Cong, volunteered, “The hired personnel in our county government²³ are five: the county magistrate, the county recorder, county militia commander, and directors of the wine monopoly and tax registers, housed in the same directorate. For the vernal and autumnal taxes the people bring in millet and rice, as well as pay with woven silk, but it is thin and small/meager and small.”²⁴ This area really was a model of old time customs, except that they had changed their mode of dress. We traveled another 20 *li* and passed by Kongsang (Hollow Mulberry), where Yi Yin was born.²⁵ Another *li* and we passed by Yiyin’s

20 Zu Ti 祖逖 lived 266-321, *zi* Shizhi 士稚. He fought on behalf of the state of Jin to recover all territory south of the Yellow River, waging a long series of contests with Shi Le. The particular battle discussed here is described in Zu Ti’s biography, Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 et al., “Zu Ti *liezhuan*” 祖逖列傳, *liezhuan* 32, *Jinshu* 晉書 VI.62. 1696. Shi Le 石勒(274-333), *zi* Shilong 世龍, was of Tibetan descent, and was the founding ruler of the Latter Zhao dynasty, which he won through usurpation. He controlled most of the area of China north of the Yellow River, from the Ordos to Liaoning 遼寧.

21 He not only struck him, but destroyed his household, unearthed his father’s and other ancestors’ coffins and burnt them, killed three generations of the family and buried them all in the same mound. See “Biography of Zhai Fangjin and his son, Yi” 翟方進子義列傳, in Ban Gu 班固, *liezhuan* 54, *Hanshu* 漢書 (Zhonghua ed.) XIII.84. 3439.

22 Called in summer, 650bc, followed in the autumn by a treaty drawn up between Huan and various feudal lords. See *Zuozhuan*, Xianggong 襄公 9, *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, Vol. 1, pp. 324, 326-327, particularly the notes, where Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 points out an error in Sima Qian’s understanding of events. Kuiqiu 葵丘 is in the area of modern Lankao, just southeast of Kaifeng.

23 Hired employees of local yamen 衙門 (雇募的一種差役).

24 Unsure here if the phrase “meager and small” refers to the silk (“thin and small”), to the entire collection of taxes—indicating the poor state of agriculture, or to “meager grain and small silk.”

25 Yi Yin 伊尹, literally the “Upright Minister from Yi,” was the sagely advisor to King Wu. There was a folk belief that he was found inside a hollow mulberry tree as a child. Hu Sanxing’s 胡三省 notes to Sima Guang’s 司馬光 “Ninth Year of Wude” in his *Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid of*

gravemound. There was only one withered tree by its side with a broken stele recumbent at its foot that read, “Gravemound of Yi Yin, Minister of Tang [of Shang].” We passed three other tumuli in the next several *li*. Our driver, who called himself by the surname Zhao, said, “In the past no one was allowed to look at envoys from the south, and it has only been in recent years that they have been able to look at will. People from my area look well upon southerners, and if there are any who are taken captive and pass by, they will be hidden away. If they are found by soldiers, the whole house will inevitably be destroyed, but it is something we do willingly.” We stayed in Chenliu County, 60 *li* from Yongqiu. There was a hoary old cedar in the posthouse that one could cherish. This county (Liu) was originally a district of the state of Zheng, but it was annexed by the Chen, so it named thusly.

八日，己丑，晴。車行六十里雍丘縣早頓，縣故杞國，武王封禹後東樓公，故至今土人猶曰杞縣。祖逖鎮此以禦石勒。圍城鎮在東南，本漢圉縣，屬睢陽國。王莽擊翟義為京觀于此。漢外黃縣故城在東，又有葵丘，齊桓公所會也。承應人杜從自言：「邑手分邑有令、簿、尉、酒稅都監同監共五員。二稅輸粟及米，亦納絹，但薄而小。」此間只是舊時風範，但改變衣裝耳。又行二十里過空桑，伊尹所生之地也。又里餘過伊尹墓，惟一大枯木在側，斷碑卧其下，曰湯相伊尹之墓。又數里過三塚。駕車人自言姓趙云：「向來不許人看南使，近年方得縱觀。我鄉里人善見南家，有人被擄過來都為藏了，有被軍子搜得，必致破家，然所甘心也」。宿陳留縣，去雍丘六十里，驛中有蒼柏可愛，縣本鄭邑為陳所并故名。

^{12.31} Ninth day, *gengyin*. Clear. Traveled by cart for 45 *li*. There were many ponds by the side of the road and our path was quite meandering. Old tumuli were everywhere one looked, and every single one had been excavated. When we reached the Eastern Imperial Garden, we rested in a small pavilion. [All those in the ceremonial party] from the Envoy, Vice-Envoy on down put on their robes and caps, got on horseback and entered the walled city of the Eastern Capital, which is now called “The Southern

Capital.” New Song Gate, called Chaoyang of old, is now called Hongren. The wall and its towers are imposing and grand, and the towers, turrets, and protective moat are impressive and regular. Willows have been planted on either side of the moat like straight-lines. We had to first enter an enciente gate, which had “enemy towers” on top of it, and then another enciente gate with a three-bay tower, before we entered into the grand wall itself. There were three gates in line [at the main entrance], the whole topped with a large tower. We entered through the southernmost gate. We were still quite a distance from the inner city wall. There was only an extremely sparse scattering of people and buildings outside of the wall, and there was a whitewashed wall called Xinling Ward, a historical relic of Wuji of Wei.²⁶ It was also desolate and crumbling inside the [inner] city wall. On the south side of the street there were many imperial warehouse buildings, and far off one could gaze at the pagoda of Potai Monastery through a broken section of the wall.²⁷ North of the street one can see the two pagodas of

Government gives a long note: “In old days there was a girl from the Xin clan who was picking mulberries by Yi Stream, and she found a child inside a hollow mulberry. {the child} said that his mother had become impregnated at the banks of the Yin, and dreamt of a spirit who told her, ‘Scoop out a paired-handful of water and then go to the east.’ The mother was enlightened and stared at it [the river]. She took a scoop of water from it, informed her neighbors and went east. She turned around to look at her village, and it had all turned to water. His mother turned into a hollow mulberry and the child was in it. The girl from Xin took him and presented him [to higher ups], when he grew up he was wise and virtuous, and was taught to be an upright official. From this he is called Yi Yin.” 昔有莘氏女採桑於伊川，得嬰兒於空桑中，言其母孕於伊水之濱，夢神告之曰：「白水出而東走。」母明而視之，白水出焉，告其鄰居而走，顧望其邑咸爲水矣。其母化爲空桑，子在其中。莘女取而獻之，長有賢德，教以爲尹，是謂伊尹。See Sima Guang 司馬光, *Xinjiao Zizhi tongjian zhu* 新校資治通鑑注, ann. Hu Sanxing 胡三省, coll. Zhang Yu 張珏 (*Zhongguo xueshu mingzhu* 5) vol. 5 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962), p. 6006.

26 See footnote n. 16.

27 Chen Zuogao 陳佐高, ed. and ann., *Gudai riji xuanzhu* 古代日記選注 (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), p. 37, identifies this as a possible mistake for *puti* 菩提, and understands it as a reference to “Buddhism,” hence a “Buddhist Temple.” However, this is surely a reference to the *pota* 繁塔 (Po Pagoda; sometimes Pota si, Po Pagoda Monastery) the commonly used term for the pagoda in Tianqing si 天清寺, which was located just inside the easternmost gate of the southern side of the outer wall. It was constructed on the Potai 婆臺, an elevated landform around which the Po clan

Jingde²⁸ and Kaibao Monasteries,²⁹ as well as the Monastery of the Seven Treasure Gallery,³⁰ and the Palace of the Accumulated Blessings of Highest Clarity.³¹ All were in deep disrepair although the golden[-lettered] lintel plaques were still in place. The Shrine of the Skinning Field was highly invested with ornament. Even though it was stuck far out of the main way, there were two tall sign posts along the road, each with a plaque suspended

had gathered. See Li Lian 李濂, *Bianjing yiji zhi* 汴京遺蹟志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju) 10:158. This was one of the “eight scenes of Bianliang 汴梁八景.”

- 28 Built before the Song and originally located just outside of the Lijing Gate 麗景 (Old Song Gate), it had disappeared by the Ming. See *Bianjing yiji zhi* 10:161 and Huang Qijiang 黃啓江, “Bei Song Bianjing zhi siyuan yu Fojiao” 北宋汴京之寺院與佛教 (Monasteries and Buddhism in the Northern Sung Capital, K'ai-feng) in *Guoli Bianyiguan guankan* 國立編譯館館刊 (Journal of the Institute of Compilation and Translation) 18:2 (August 1990): 113, 121. The temple was also called the “eastern Xiangguo Monastery 東相國寺,” because it was constructed in the vegetable gardens east of Xiangguo Monastery to house a growing number of monks. See Zhou Baozhu 周寶珠, *Songdai Dongjing yanjiu* 宋代東京研究 (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 1992), p. 532, and Song Jijiao 宋繼郊 et al., *Dongjing zhi lue* 東京志略 (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 1999), pp. 55-57.
- 29 This was more correctly called Shangfang Monastery 上方寺, although it was known as the “eastern Kaibao Monastery 東開寶寺.” This is where the famous “Iron Pagoda” 鐵塔 is located. See *Bianjing yiji zhi* 10: 156-157; Zhou Baozhu, p. 532; Huang Qijiang, pp. 103-105; Song Jijiao, pp. 529-536.
- 30 I do not know to what he refers here; there were two “Seven Treasure” buildings, one in Xiangguo Temple, and the other in the Chan Abbey of the Opening Sage 啓聖禪院. The second was a stupa about 10 feet tall. See Huang Qijiang, pp. 103, 106. The seven treasures 七寶 are seven precious items that vary from text to text, but usually include gold, silver, agate, amber, coral, lapis lazuli, and mother of pearl.
- 31 Construction on the Palace of Highest Clarity 上清宮 was begun by Song Taizong in 988 using funds from the sale of items given him while he was Prince Regent; completed in 995 and comprised of 1242 different areas (區). Destroyed by fire in 1044, it was turned into an encampment for the emperor’s personal guard. Only one hall, Hall of the Star of Longlife, was left from the blaze, so they renamed the space of the hall, “Temple of the Star of Long Life 壽星觀” in 1062. The next year they renamed the hall “Temple of Venerating Forbears 崇先觀.” A reconstruction of the entire complex took place from approximately 1078 to 1092, when it was renamed “Palace of the Accumulated Blessings of Highest Clarity 上清儲祥宮” a reference to the importance the temple held for the progeny of the Song court (i.e., the accumulated blessings of generations of male descendants). See Zhu Baozhu, p. 551 and Song Jijiao, pp. 576-581.

from it. On the left it read, “Side Entrance to the Skinning Field,” and on the right it read, “Temple of Miraculous Response.”³² There was also the General Luan Bu Temple.³³ Crumbled walls filled one’s vision, and all were the remains of houses of grand families.

We entered Old Song Gate, formerly called Lijing Gate, now called Binyao, which was also a three-abreast gate. We entered from the northern gate, which was impressive and ornate and quite fine. There was a shrine outside

32 Chan Hok-lam 陳學霖, “Liang Song jingshi ‘pichang miao’ kaoshuo 兩宋京師「皮場廟」考溯”, *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao* 中國文化研究所學報 44(2004): 21-32. Online English summary:

This is a study on the Pichang miao 皮場廟 (Skinning Depot Temple) erected in the Northern Song capital Dongjing (Kaifeng) at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Huizong and its restoration known as Huiying miao 惠應廟 (Magnanimous and Efficacious Temple) built in the Southern Song capital Lin’an shortly after its establishment. The Pichang miao grew out of the earth-deity shrine (土地祠) attached to an animal skinning depot (皮剝所) located in the northeastern section outside the inner walls of Dongjing capital. It originated in 1101 when Huizong, responding to the locals who hailed the efficacy of the deity in curing deadly sickness, invested the spirit as the Marquis of Lingkuang 靈貺侯. The temple, which was housed inside the Wanshou shrine 萬壽觀 within the Xianren ward, honoured a litany of famed ancient Chinese physicians headed by the mythical Shennong patriarch. It attracted many faithful, but particularly candidates preparing for the departmental civil service examinations administrated by the ministry of Rites in the capital. Their visits for spiritual blessing was facilitated by the temple’s proximity to the examination halls, which was located in the Kaibao monastery 開寶寺, a little further to the east outside the walls. <http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/ics/journal/summaries/number44/Chan%20Hok-lam.htm>

See also Zhou Baozhu, p. 560 and Song Jijiao, pp. 607-608. One would assume that the temple was located near the Old Cao Gate, which was the site of the meat marketing district of Bianliang.

33 A local culture hero as well as a national figure. He was poor and was friends with Peng Yue 彭越, who would eventually become the King of Liang. He was, for a time, also sold into slavery, but rose to become a general of Yan. He was captured by Han armies but was saved by his old friend Peng Yue. Later, Peng Yue was executed on suspicion of rebellion and his head was stuck on a pike outside the walls. Liu Bang, the founding emperor of Han announced an edict that anyone looking at Peng’s head would be executed. When Luan Bu 爰布, who had been on a mission to Qi, returned, he set up a sacrificial shrine to Peng Yue, and was hauled before the emperor. The emperor was going to boil him alive, but Luan chastised him for turning his back on Peng, who had tipped the balance toward Han in the fight to succeed Qin. He was released and later rose to high rank in the Han. See “Luan Bu liezhuan” 爰布列傳, *liezhuan* 100, SJ, VII. 2733-2735.

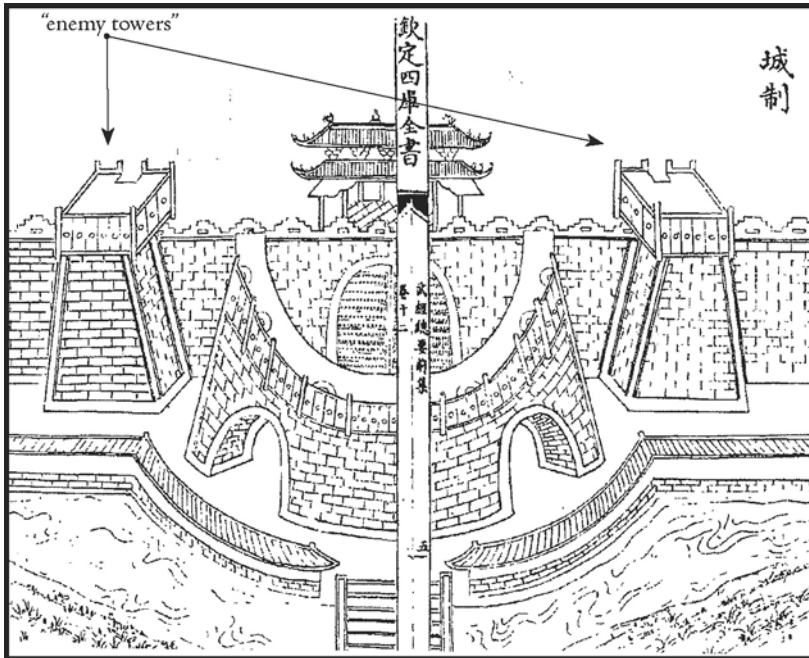


Fig. 1: A typical Song city wall from the
Wujing zongyao 武經總要
 but with only one enciente gate

the gate called “Miraculous Protection,”³⁴ and there were two ornamental towers on the left and right inside the two gates.³⁵ South of the Gate was the Bian River. Therefore, there were no streets on the south side of the street, and on the north was immediately Sweetwater Alley.³⁶ We passed by the mansion of the Grand Minister, King of Zheng,³⁷ and there was a small

34 The Temple to the City God 城隍廟, according to Zhao Yushi 趙與時, *Bintui lu* 賓退錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983)9: 110.

35 The flanking doors of Lijing Gate?

36 The water from wells in Bianliang was notoriously salty. There were two specific locations in the city where sweet water was available, hence the names of the alleys.

37 Fu Bi 富弼 (1004-83), who was given the honorary title Duke of Zheng 鄭 among others for his long and illustrious career in the Song civil service, including being Prime Minister. See SRZJ IV. 2785-2789.

tower at the southwest corner. People of the capital formed ranks to observe us, and among them were some older women dressed and made up in extraordinary style. The old white-haired folk mostly heaved sighs and covered their tears. One of them pointed out the Vice-Envoy and said, “This must be an official from the Xuanhe era].³⁸

Xiangguo Monastery was as of old, opening on the 8th, 18th and 28th of each month.³⁹ The two towers of the monastery face each other, and [on the finial] brass pearls taper to a point over the transmigration wheels,⁴⁰ the left now hidden and the right now revealed. We passed across [the imperial way] in front of the Grand Interior City, which was destroyed by fire during the reign of the usurper, Wanyan Liang.⁴¹ It was reconstructed exactly as it was, except that the foundations and Zhouchao Bridge were moved slightly to the east. It seems that the Tower of Virtue Displayed has five gates, and the two protruding side towers are exceedingly interesting. I have no idea about the size of the Imperial Corridor, but the two towers rose up spectacularly and there were many merchants inside [the corridors] in their temporary sheds.⁴² About ten paces beyond the Western Imperial Corridor,

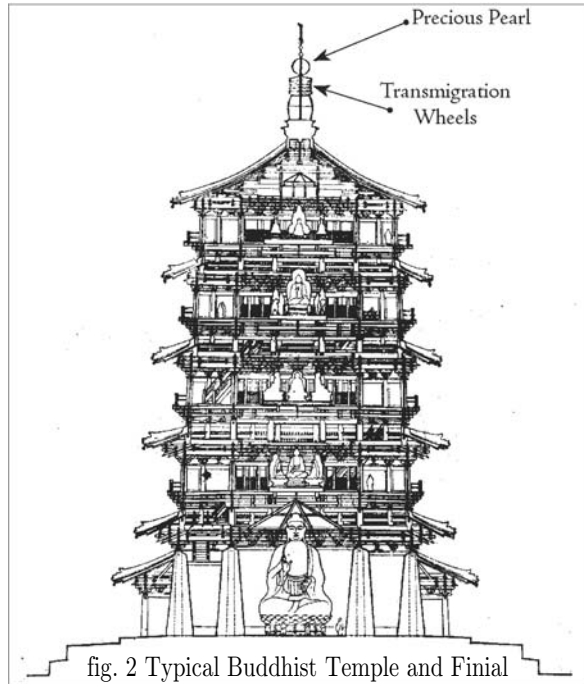
38 One assumes that Zeng Di 曾覲 (1109-1180) the Vice-Envoy was, at 60, white haired and therefore thought of sufficient age to be a former official of Emperor Huizong's Xuanhe reign (ended 1125). He was, in fact, born in Kaifeng, but had migrated to the south in his teens. Despite a long career as a personal advisor to Emperor Xiaozong 宋孝宗 when Xiaozong was still crown prince, and years of court administration, Zeng was then in disgrace, having been cashiered. One of the reasons he was sent on the trip was that Xiaozong wanted to raise him in rank, and court officials deputed him to this mission instead. At the time, Zeng was holding the post of Vice-Commander of the Eastern Zhejiang Region 浙東副總官. See SRZJ IV.2815-2816.

39 It was actually opened five times a month. In addition to the “three eight days” it was opened on the first and the 15th, i.e., the dead and full moon. See Xiong Bolü 熊伯履, *Xiangguo si kao* 相國寺考 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1985), pp 89-90.

40 See Guo, Qinghua, *A Visual Dictionary of Chinese Architecture* (Mulgrave: Images, 2002), pp. 56, 145.

41 In the 5th month of the 3rd year of the Zhenyuan 眞元 reign, June 8, 1155. See “Basic Annals of Hailing Wang” 海陵王本紀, in Toqto, *Jinshi* 1.5:104.

42 This term, *fuwu* 浮屋, “floating room,” is usually used for a boat. Here, I suppose, it refers to a small shed or lean-to like structure that could be thrown up and taken down in a matter of minutes. It could also be understood as “hawkers who drifted between the rooms selling things were numerous.”



we passed the Office of Currency Exchange,⁴³ and entered the Capital Inn,

- 43 The Jin did not want cash circulating in the southern part of their empire, lest it fall into Song hands. Both Lou Yue and Fan Chengda 范成大, who made the same trip in 1170-1171, ascribe this to a general policy to destroy the economy and society of Henan. Fan describes it thusly: “The Office of Currency Exchange: the caitiffs originally did not possess currency, except for the Zhenglong currency cast one time by King Yan, Wanyan Liang. But it was extremely limited and they used old Chinese cash for the rest. Moreover, they did not want to leave any cash in the Henan area, so they imitated the paper currency of China, and in Bianjing they established an office to make official paper currency, which they called ‘exchange currency’ intending to circulate it like metal coinage, but secretly collecting all brass currency [in exchange] which was then all shipped to the north. Once one crosses the Yellow River, then they immediately begin using metal coinage instead of paper currency.” Fan Chengda 范成大, *Lanpei lu 攬轡錄*, in *Fan Chengda biji liuzhong 范成大筆記六種*, ed. Kong Fanli 孔凡禮 (*Tang Song shiliao biji congkan 唐宋史料筆記叢刊*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), p. 12. 交鈔所者，虜本無錢，惟煬王亮嘗一鑄正隆錢，絕不多，餘悉用中國舊錢，又不欲留錢於河南，故倣中國楮幣，於汴京置局造官會，謂之交鈔，擬見錢行使，而陰收銅錢，悉運而北，過河即用見錢，不用鈔。
- However, as Li Yao points out, the primary cause of this policy was a critical shortage of metal, particularly bronze in the Jin; the policy was established to make sure that metal currency did not drain away to Southern Song. See Li Yao 李躍, “Dui Jinchao liutong zhibi de yixie kanfa 對金朝流通紙幣的一些看法”, *Nanfang wenwu 南方文物* 1(2004): 44.

which had been built on the foundations of the First Prime Inn of the Five Dynasties. Our dynasty [Song] used it to host envoys from the Liao state. It still uses the old buildings, but the western portion has already been abandoned to be a pleasure precinct.

九日，庚寅，晴。車行四十五里，道傍多陂塘，路頗迂回，古塚相望，發掘無遺，至東御園小亭少憩。使副以下具衣冠，上馬入東京城，改曰南京。新宋門舊曰朝陽今日弘仁，城樓雄偉，樓櫓壕塹，壯且整，夾壕植柳如引繩然。先入甕城，上設敵樓，次一甕城，有樓三間，次方入大城。下列三門，冠以大樓，由南門以入。內城相去尚遠，城外人物極稀疎，有粉壁曰信陵坊，蓋無忌之遺跡。城裏亦凋殘，街南有聖倉屋甚多，望見婆臺寺塔，云城破之所。街北望見景德、開寶寺二塔，并七寶閣寺，上清儲祥宮，頽毀已甚，金榜猶在。皮場廟甚飾，雖在深處，有望柱在路側，各挂一牌，左曰皮場儀門，右曰靈應之觀。又有欒將軍廟，頽垣滿目，皆大家遺址。入舊宋門，舊曰麗景今日宣曜，亦列三門，由北門入，尤壯麗華好。門外有廟曰靈護，兩門裏之左右皆有闕亭，門之南即汴河也。故街南無巷街，北即甜水巷，過鄭太宰宅，西南角有小樓，都人列觀，間有耆婆服飾甚異，戴白之老多歎息掩泣，或指副使曰：「此必宣和中官員也」。相國寺如故，每月亦以三八日開，寺兩塔相對，相輪上銅珠尖，左暗右明。橫過大內前，逆亮時，大內以遭火殆盡，新造一如舊製而基址并州橋稍移向東。大約宣德樓下有五門，兩傍朶樓尤奇，御廊不知幾間，二樓特起，其中浮屋買賣者甚衆。過西御廊數十步，過交鈔所入，都亭驛，五代上元驛基，本朝以待遼使，猶是故屋，但西偏已廢爲瓦子矣。

^{11701.1} Tenth day, *xinmao*. Intermittent cloudiness. Rested. There were some among those waiting on our needs who had seen the days of peace, and often were able to speak about former events. Some of those born later also said they had heard complete accounts from their parents. One said his father had left him with these last words, "I am at my end now, but your generation should witness times of happiness." He could not possibly have known that it would drag on for thirty or forty years, and [that happy time] would still not

to be seen. These were the words primarily of people in the capital “who carried bottles” in the market place.⁴⁴ There were still around 500 entertainers who still carried out the prescribed rituals of “welcoming and sending off” on the 1st and 15th of the month. Another said, “Families of former high status who were trapped here have all had their old official credentials completely erased, and are used for errands by the northern army. They are called “Officials Who Don’t Earn Their Keep.” They no longer have any salary, and rely on their children and other juniors or provide for themselves by working in the minor jobs [of merchant or craftsman].⁴⁵ A former office assistant said,⁴⁶ “We get a monthly allotment of two pecks of grain, and two short-strings of cash. We provide heavy service every day, and we cannot bear how it wears us down.” Every time they talked about former events they grew teary eyed and could not stop themselves.

The In-situ Defender of the city came to visit. The Envoy and Vice-envoy of the Welcoming and Accompanying Delegation and our Envoy and Vice-envoy sat together on the same couch, sitting on the upper floor facing south. The In-situ Defender placed his “barbarian chair” and sat, in a lesser position, on their left. He passed along the cups and urged them to drink, paid his respects and then withdrew. All of the personal gifts given to the Welcoming and Accompanying Delegation as ritual items on the trip were sold here. Each thing had a set price, and the responsibility [for selling them] was turned over to a middleman. Each item is purchased with ready cash, and is divided between all of the carts to be taken northward. It is like

44 I.e., merchants and service people.

45 This may also be read, “relied on their children to take up menial work in order to support themselves.”

46 See Wu Zeng 吳曾, *Nenggai zhai manzhi* 能改齋漫志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983) 2.39 “Those who carry out the orders in the various bureaus and courts are called *qinshi guan* [officials who personally take care of affairs]. They have existed since the Tang.” 省寺所用使令者，名親事官，自唐已有之。According to the Du Yu 杜佑, *Tongdian* 通典 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988) p. 965, these were sons of 6th and 7th grade officials above the age of 18 *sui* 歲.

this every year.

Moreover the Jin squeeze out the citizens' fat and blood in order to feather their own nests. The treasuries and warehouses are mostly in various locations associated with their Superior Capital (Acheng, near modern Harbin), so the people of Henan are extremely poor, and the amount of [metal] cash gets smaller and smaller. Once on the road we ran into several carrying poles of woven rush baskets that were being guided by a flag and protected by two cavalry riders. Someone said, "It's all paper currency." The major-domos despise their masters' avarice and often curse them with vile names. They also call them "Best o' luck Commissioner Baos."⁴⁷

We gave each of the people who served us some gifts of fine fragrant tea and red fruit.⁴⁸ Some kneeled and some verbally thanked us. Those who knelt performed a ritual of the north [Jurchen], those who gave verbal thanks maintained the ritual of the Central Plain. Some of their spoken language showed a slight Yan accent which particularly pains one.⁴⁹

十日辛卯，陰、晴。歇泊。承應人有及見承平者，多能言舊事。後生者亦云見父母備說。有言其父囑之曰：「我已矣，汝輩當見快活時。」豈知擔閣三四十年，猶未得見。多是市中提瓶人言。倡優尙有五百餘，亦有旦望接送禮數。又言：「舊日衣冠之家陷于此者，皆毀抹舊告，爲北兵驅役，號「閒糧官」，不復有俸，仰其子弟就末作以自給。有舊親事官自言：「月得粟二斗、錢二貫短陌，日供重役，不堪其勞」。語及舊事泫然，不能已。留守來謁，接伴使副，使副連一榻，南向坐廳上，留守設胡牀侍其左，過盞勸酒，翼而退。接伴所得私覲物，盡貨于此，物有定價，責付行人，盡取見錢，分附衆車以北，歲歲如此。又金人浚民膏血以實巢穴，府庫多在上京諸處，故河南之民貧甚，錢亦益少。塗中曾遇蒲篋數杠，導之以旗，殿以二騎，或云：「其中皆交子也」。都管愠其主人貪墨，以穢語詆之，又有

47 Judge Bao 包公 was a paragon of virtue and justice who became a folk hero and was apotheosized less than a hundred years after his death as the Overseer of Rewards in the underworld. Nice irony.

48 There is the possibility that this is some form of candy.

49 The area of modern Beijing.

「萬福包待制」之語。承應人各與少香、茶、紅果子，或跪或喏，跪者北禮，喏者猶是中原禮數。語音亦有微帶燕音者，尤使人傷歎。

- ¹² Eleventh day, *renchen*. Clear. We were given a banquet. Once the seating hierarchy was relayed, the Envoy and Vice-envoy led the third level embassy officials out in their official caps and gowns. They saluted the Welcoming and Accompanying Delegation in front of their station and went out. All went to their cushions, and stood directly across from the Welcoming and Accompanying Delegation and the Envoy from the [Jin Son of] Heaven. The third-level embassy officials stood behind the Envoy and Vice-envoy, who were first led to face to the northwest. An edict was sung out and obeisance was made twice. Then the Envoy from the [Jin Son of] Heaven, Wukuli Zhang relayed an oral proclamation:⁵⁰

You have held the envoy's tally from afar to assemble for year's prime,
And have just braved the severity of the cold;
So it is fitting to present a feast to honor your weary work,
Now all hasten to their seats
And Zhang will provide all a feast.

Yelü Cheng,⁵¹ In-situ Defender of the Southern Capital, was deputed to be master of ceremonies for the feast. They also provided music from the Entertainment District. Our Envoy and Vice-envoy made five ritual obeisances, and then another edict was sung out and two obeisances were made. Another oral proclamation was relayed,

You have come to court for year's first morn,
From afar have raised the envoy's flag aloft,

50 Nothing is known of this person. The surname Wukuli is more often transcribed as Wugulun 烏古論.

51 Yelü Cheng 耶律成 receives only one other mention in the world of text. In the anonymous work *Da Jin jili* 大金集禮 (dated to the late Dading period) it is noted in the chapter "Imperial Commanded Rituals of the 11th Year of Dading" 大定十一年冊禮 that he was deputed on the 22nd day of the 11th month of that year to offer sacrifices at the Altars of Earth and Grain in his role as the Vice Military Commissioner. See *Da Jin jili* (Skqs ed.) 2.20b.

And added luster to this land [?], whether broad or low and marshy.
 It is fitting that there be a bestowal sweet and fragrant;
 Now have Zhang provide all with wine and fruits.

Our Envoy and Vice-envoy stuck their staves of office into their belts, knelt on their left knees, and with crossed hands received the bestowal. They made obeisance five times as dictated by ritual, returned to their places and stood before their cushions facing each other. Next they saluted the Welcoming and Accompanying Delegation and retired to a tented enclosure, where they had three rounds of drinks with Zhang. They returned to their cushions a second time, and led in Shi Dan who knelt at the side to receive the memorial.⁵² The Chief Envoy made an obeisance and knelt to receive the memorial, and then in turn took it to present to Zhang. Then many local products [from the south] were dispatched to present to him. Zhang withdrew and immediately led out the Master of Ceremonies who, together with the Welcoming and Accompanying Delegation made obeisance and offered their thanks for the [the imperial] grace.

The Master of Ceremonies first ascended the court and stood at the side. Our Envoy and Vice-envoy made obeisance, and then ascended the court in two matching lines together with the Welcoming and Accompanying Delegation, turning to face the Master of Ceremonies. When this was finished, they went to their seats. Hot water being poured and their staves of office being set upright, [the Envoy and Vice-envoy] left their seats and stood for a moment. The third-level embassy officials faced northwest and made obeisance twice. They ascended to the court with a shout, and occupied positions facing east. They moved to the south and stood for moment to wait for the Envoy and Vice-envoy's first cup. Only when that was finished did the third-level embassy officials take their seats.

The first round was noodles with meat sauce.⁵³

52 Nothing known of Shi Dan 石旦.

53 *Saozi* 燥子 or 臊子, a southern dialect word for finely chopped meat cubes 肉丁 or meat sauce 肉末. This points out that these are not the actual names of the dishes offered, but are the nearest equivalent in Lou's own culinary vocabulary.

Next, oil cakes with meat,⁵⁴

Next, kidney stew,

Next, a variety of “tea dishes.”⁵⁵

Served on forty or more plates on a large wooden platter; they were much finer than those served on ordinary days. They also separately placed sweet congee with pine nuts, cakes filled with steamed “wax yellow”, and cross-scored lamb ravioli. I cannot account for them all.

Next, the main courses:

First two “mountains” of meat and large buns spiced with jujubes and fermented beans; then they set down five dishes of things like spiced fish and salted fermented beans. Ten or more other dishes followed one after another, all mixed in with items to eat. Twice they set out rice and tripe stew, and three times they set out buns, and five times fish—no one knew the meaning of this, probably a customary grand ritual.

Next, three [kinds?] of bread,

Next, small bowls of organ meats,

Next, sheep’s head,

Next, grilled meat,

Next, parings,⁵⁶

Next, ersatz turtle made from sheep’s head,

Next, double cooked buns with juicy meat filling,

Next, gruel made from millet with a platter of mixed dishes.⁵⁷

Altogether thirteen rounds. The progression of music was the unfretted zither (zheng), the mouth organ (sheng), and the ferrophones for the three times we ascended the main hall. The rest made music in order to send [each round?] There were also variety plays. Each time there were bound

54 Probably the same as the modern meat bun 肉餅 or meat-filled bun 餡餅.

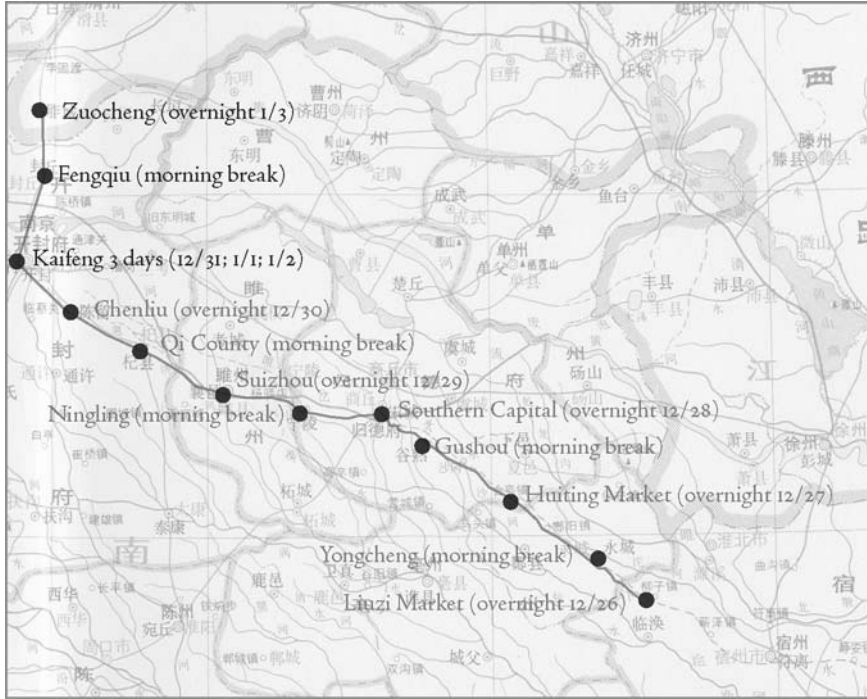
55 A variety of cakes, fruits, and sweets.

56 This is a mystery to me. As a noun, *chan* 剗 means a spade; therefore, these could be objects made in the shape of a spade. But it can also mean to “pare,” and could perhaps indicate a kind of noodle made from paring pieces of dough off a ball—much like modern *daoxiao mian* 刀削麵.

57 Presumably, the condiments like pickles, fermented bean curd, salted eggs, etc., that are served with modern gruel.

rolls of cloth or silver bowls as gifts. Our Envoy, Vice-envoy, and those below in rank all left their seats in order to wait on the opportunity to offer thanks for the beneficence of the [Jin ruler]. Someone said, “What they have bestowed are really not worth anything, all are no more than writing implements.” In the twelfth round, as is the precedent, after the upper and middle ranks drank the rounds they were urged to drink, and had finished, the embassy officials of the third rank first formed into squadrons, and then the Envoy and Vice-envoy entered. After the tea was drunk in the thirteen round, and after, together with the Master of Ceremonies and the Welcoming and Accompanying Delegation, offering thanks for the feast, [the Envoy and Vice-envoy] knelt in the courtyard and offered up a memorial, as ritual dictated. For a second time they gave Zhang local products [from the South], and bade goodbye to Zhang and Yelü Cheng. Then they immediately saluted the Welcoming and Accompanying Delegation and returned to their positions. They gave the Master of Ceremonies his private gifts and then returned. From this time on, the rituals of every banquet were done according to this procedure. The food and the music might differ, but not much.

十一日，壬辰。晴。賜宴，既傳銜，使副率三節人，具衣冠出。接伴位前對揖而出，就褥，位與接伴天使對立。三節人立使副後，先引使副東北向，開敕兩拜，天使烏庫哩璋傳口宣云：「卿等遠持使節來會歲元，適冒寒威，宜加宴勞，今遣具位，璋賜卿等宴」。仍差南京留守耶律成押宴，并賜教坊樂。使副舞蹈五拜，又開敕兩拜，再傳口宣云：「卿等來朝歲旦，遠抗使旌，爰增原隰之華，宜有甘芳之錫，今差璋賜卿等酒果。」使副搢笏跪左，義手受賜，五拜舞蹈如儀，還立褥位對展，次揖接伴，退就幕次，與璋茶酒三行。再立褥位，引接石旦側跪捧表，正使拜跪受表，卻以授璋。仍送土物與之，璋退即引押宴出與接伴拜舞謝恩。押宴先升廳側立，使副拜舞，訖與接伴對行升廳，與押宴對展，訖就座，點湯端笏離位少立，三節人東北向再拜，呼噪升廳，占位東向，南上小立，俟使副初盞罷，三節方坐。初盞燥子粉，次肉油餅，次腰子羹，次茶食，以大柶貯四十櫟比平日又



加工巧，別下松子糖粥、糕糜裹蒸蠟黃批羊餅子之類，不能悉計。次大茶飯，先下大棗豉二大餅肉山，又下燻魚鹹豉等五櫟，繼即數十品源源而來，仍以供頓之物雜之，兩下飯與肚羹，三下餌子，五下魚不曉其意蓋其俗盛禮也，次餅餃三，次小雜椀次羊頭，次燻肉，次割子，次羊頭假鼈，次雙下灌漿饅頭，次粟米水飯、大簇釘，凡十三行。樂次箏，笙，方響，三次升廳，餘皆作樂以送，亦有雜劇，逐次皆有束帛銀椀爲犒，使副以下，皆離立以待謝恩，或云：「所賜初不及，皆文具耳。」第十二行依例勸上中節酒，罷，三節先就班，使副進，第十三行茶罷，與押宴、接伴謝宴，拜表庭下如儀，再送璋土物。與璋成互展辭狀，即與接伴對揖歸位。送押宴私覲往回，自此每賜宴禮數準此，食味樂次大同小異。

¹³ Twelfth day, *kuisi*. Clear. Left the hostel at the fifth watch,⁵⁸ went across the

58 Fifth two hour watch of the night, specifically 3-5 a.m., however it often simply means “at first light.”

Imperial Avenue and followed the eastern Imperial Corridor. Passed by the eastern tower at side of the Tower of Virtue Displayed, and went into Pan Tower Street. We passed east of the Left Ancillary Gate, and went out along Horse Guild Street. Going north, passed the Gate of Eastern Florescence, and went out Old Fengqiu Gate, which the Jin had changed to “Dark Warrior.” New Fengqiu Gate was formerly called “Pacifying Distant Lands,” but the Jin have changed it to “Perfectly Normal.” There were stones scattered in the river, abandoned from the Hill of Long Life.⁵⁹ The “square altar” in the northern suburbs was on the west side of the road, and the “green city” was on the east.⁶⁰ Facing south there were three doorways opened in the center, and two ancillary gates opened on the left and right. A gate was opened to the east to lead to the altar. It was completely overgrown and abandoned. There were more inhabitants inside and outside of the northern gates [of the city] than there were in the south. Traveled by cart for 45 li, and stopped for food at Fengqiu. Another 45 *li* and we stayed overnight in Zuocheng.

Enroute we met an old gaffer who said, “My son-in-law has been guarding the border, and has not returned for ten years. Everyone suffers from this long forced service, and now I have to send him clothes and duffel.” Someone else said, “From the new regulations of the tenth year of Dading one inductee can be called for a provisioning tax of 50 strings of cash per head. In cases where 50 strings cannot be had, several households are made to provide it together. Even those who have only one or two strings cannot

59 This is the infamous imperial Genyue Park 艮嶽, and its associated convoy that brought stones, plants, and animals from the South, bankrupting the court and disrupting the lives of the people. See Hargett, James. “Huizong’s Magic Marchmount: The Genyue Pleasure Park of Kaifeng.” *Monumenta Serica* 38 (1988-1989), pp. 1-48.

60 So named because it was originally a tent structure of green cloth put up for the emperor’s temporary visit to the site to carry out sacrifices to the Altar of Earth. Permanent structures were eventually put up, as Lou Yue’s description indicates, but the name remained, as it did for a similar site south of the city.

avoid this tax.⁶¹ Each person's military expenditure is some 80 cords of cash, and money is given to the government in order to provide for this expenditure. There are 21 Chiliarchs in the Eastern Capital, each with three or four hundred men; altogether there are only 8000 soldiers. There was a certain Chiliarch Zhang, who led his troops earlier at the battle of Fuli, but he was defeated and had only a score or so of men left. When he got here he was stripped of his rank and made an ordinary citizen." Another said, "When Chinese conscript armies [of the Jin] engage the King's army [i.e., the Song] none of them put forth any effort, and they often scatter once they begin to battle, but they are pressured by the threat of the most severe punishment. If each of them was to put forth all their effort, they could not be matched by southerners. The Eastern Capital was not prepared for the

61 *Wuli* 物力 was a military service tax levied on households. 50 strings, in fact, is noted as the cost of provisioning a soldier on duty in a frontier brigade: See "Yang bing zhi fa" 養兵之法, in *bingzhi* 兵志 25, *Jinshi* III. 44.1007:

The monthly salaries of various inductees are set by precedent: troops at border post-houses, 50 strings of cash and ten bolts of sturdy thin silk. Military craftsmen of the first and second rank: 50 strings of cash and five bolts of sturdy thin silk; third rank, 40 strings of cash and four bolts. Soldiers on dike patrol along the Yellow River: 30 strings of cash and five bolts of silk. Troops the provision and soldiers who patrol dikes and sailors stationed along the dikes of raceways, ditches, and other waterways: 20 strings of cash and two bolts of silk. Militia: 10 strings of cash and one bolt of silk. As a rule, Commanders of Provisioning Troops as well as Commanders of dike patrol soldiers along the Yellow and the Qin Rivers, are given seven strings of cash, seven stone of grain, and six bolts of silk, their Deputies are given six strings cash, six stone of grain and the same amount of silk as above. Squadron leaders are given two strings of csh and three stone of grain, five strings for spring clothing, and ten strings for fall clothing. Press-gang leaders are given one string and five hundred cash, and two stone of grain, five strings for spring clothing and seven strings for fall clothing. In prison cities local militia are given 800 cash and two stone of grain, four strings for spring clothing and six strings for fall clothing.

諸招軍月給例物。邊鋪軍錢五十貫、絹十疋。軍匠上中等錢五十貫、絹五疋，下等錢四十貫、絹四疋。黃河婦兵錢三十貫、絹五疋，射糧軍及溝渠等處婦兵水手，錢二十貫、絹二疋，土兵錢十貫、絹一疋。凡射糧軍指揮使及黃、沁婦兵指揮使，錢粟七貫石、絹六疋，軍使錢粟六貫石、絹同上，什將錢二貫、粟三石，春衣錢五貫、秋衣錢十貫。承局押官錢一貫五百文、粟二石，春衣錢五貫、秋衣錢七貫。牢城贈土兵錢八百文、粟二石，春衣錢四貫、秋衣錢六貫。

battle of Fuli, and at first response they had already begun to waver in their confidence; we expected the southern soldiers to arrive any day, why did they abandon the Central Plain so quickly?" Such "thoughts of Han" [i.e., patriotic thoughts] were truly earnest, but the lands of Henan are desolate as far as the eye can see, and all has disappeared, without a single place that could be well-defended. Even if one found it, it would be hard to remain resolute.⁶²

Southlake lies to the south of Zuocheng. The Yellow River breeched its banks in the fifth month of last year,⁶³ and there was a lot of damage. The waters of the Yellow River merged with Southlake, washing away the old road. Brushwood was piled on top of it, and then straw and dirt in order to give carts and horses access.

My comment: The Eastern Capital was in the ambit of the three states of Wei, Chen, and Zheng in the Spring and Autumn period, belonged to Wei during the Warring States, and Eastern Wei established the city of Liangzhou there; the Latter Zhou changed it to Bianzhou. In the Xingyuan

62 In 1162, Emperor Xiaozong of the Southern Song had begun to turn to a hawkish stance on the Jurchen. He posthumously restored the great military hero Yue Fei's 岳飛 titles and nobility to him and also put Zhang Jun 張浚, a very skilled general, in charge of the army. Zhang's northward campaign on the heels of the Song victory over the Jurchen at Caishi 采石 in 1162 met with defeat at Fuli 符離. Simultaneously the Song court was undergoing a series of heated exchanges about whether to continue the war or sue for peace. With the withdrawal from Fuli and a subsequent thrust into Anhui by Jurchen armies in 1164, a peace treaty was signed between the two states: the Song no longer addressed the Jin ruler as "minister" to "lord," but as "nephew" to "uncle," the annual tribute was slightly lessened, the Song ceded two areas in Shanxi 陝西 and Gansu 甘肅 to the Jurchen, and people who escaped from the Jin to the Southern Song were no longer to be pursued. Lou Yue's last statement is quite interesting. *Jianning* usually means "hardened," or "set," and can be used to refer to city walls in terms of durability, i.e.: "it would be difficult to keep them firm enough." But it also refers to the state of mind of people, and I have chosen to translate it this way, since he may be alluding to the indecision at court and the lack of support at that time for an active campaign to recover lost land.

63 According to the *Jin History*, this occurred in the 6th month (July-August, 1168), see "Basic Annals of Shizong, A" 世宗本紀上, *benji* 6, *Jinshi*, I.6.142.

reign (of Tang) it was the headquarters for the Regional Governor of the Army of Might Displayed. Latter Liang founded their state at this prefecture and it was elevated to Kaifeng Superior Prefecture, the Eastern Capital. Latter Tang turned it back into Bianzhou, and the [Latter] Jin, Han, and Zhou as well as our Song followed the precedent of Liang. The Bian Canal is the old Changdang Canal, which received water from the Yellow River at its inlet. Emperor Yang of the Sui dredged a new channel and drew on the Bian River. There is a “Jun Canal” in Kaifeng District which is the “Jun Settlement” mentioned in the Wei Odes.⁶⁴ There is also a “sand sea” and the section of the *Intrigues of the Warring States* in which Yan Shuai said that the lord and ministers of Great Liang “desired to obtain the Nine Cauldrons. . .and planned it at the Sand Sea.”⁶⁵ The Duckweed Dike reaches for 300 *li* from Suiyang to here.⁶⁶ The “Playing a Wind Instrument Terrace” is now called Po Terrace; it was originally constructed by the Music Master Kuang, and was added on to by Prince Xiao of Liang.⁶⁷ There

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- 64 Mao ode 53, “Airs of Yong” 鄘風, “Gan mao” 干旄. I am following Qu Wanli’s notes to this ode. Yong 鄘 and Bei 邶 were part of the state of Wei 魏, so the odes found in these two sections are still those of Wei. Lou Yue certainly knew this from his own reading of annotations to the classics, therefore he considers all three sections of the *Book of Poetry*, Yong, Bei, and Wei to belong to the state of Wei. Modern scholarship places Jun in Shandong and it is clear that Lou Yue is confusing it with Junyi 浚義, located slightly north of the capital. See Qu Wanli 屈萬里, *Shijing quanyi* 詩經詮釋 (Qu Wanli quanji) (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 1983), pp. 42, 95.
- 65 When the state of Qi was pressuring Zhou to appropriate their Nine Cauldrons 九鼎, Yan Shuai 顏率 went from Zhou to Qi to persuade them not to take them. In his roundabout argument, he cites the lines, “Now the lord and ministers of Liang desire to obtain the Nine Cauldrons, and they plotted by the Brilliant Terrace and on the Sand Sea, and they have done it for a long time.” See the first anecdote in *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策, See *Zhanguo ce xin jiaozhu* 戰國策新校注, ann. Miao Wenxuan 繆文選 vol. 1 (Chengdu: Ba Shu chubanshe, 1988), p. 3.
- 66 Supposedly constructed by Prince Xiao of Liang during the Han, beginning just outside the city of Liang, near Shangqiu.
- 67 The blind Music Master Kuang 師曠, about whom stories abound in classical texts, is primarily noted as a lute player who could foretell the political and military fortunes of states by listening to their music. In the most famous sequence, he thrice warns Duke Ping of Jin that listening to certain songs will bring about his ultimate demise. He is forced to play on and his music ushers in three

is an Yimen Mountain in Xiangfu district, and Yimen was the eastern gate of Da Liang, and is the place where Hou Ying kept watch over the Gate.⁶⁸ The Cai River is the old Pipa Canal. Hanquan (Cold Spring) is that which is mentioned in the “Odes of Bei” in the *Book of Poetry*, “There is also a cold spring, / Just below Jun.”⁶⁹ Zhongmou District is where Bi Shi rebelled in the time of Zhao Xiangzi;⁷⁰ there is also Zhongmou Terrace, which was Government Ford City, which is where Cao Cao and Yuan Shao fought.⁷¹ Bolangsha in Yangwu district is where Zhang Liang attacked

years of drought and misfortune for the state of Jin. The major early narrative of his life is found in “Documents on Music 樂書 2”, in *Shiji* III.24. 1235-1236. This is partially translated in Robert Van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute* (Tokyo and Rutland: Tuttle, 1969), pp. 143-144. In this context, we can easily see the connections of the “Terrace” and politics.

- 68 Hou Ying 侯嬴 was a recluse of the Wei in the Warring States era. He was poor, and worked as a gate guard at Yimen Gate 夷門. He was honored as a “superior retainer 上客” by Wuji 無忌 (信陵者), the Prince of Wei when he was 70. He once helped Wuji plan to force Qin withdraw their armies and to aid in the rescue of the state of Zhao. In order to prevent any possibility of letting the secret leak out, he cut his own throat. See “Biography of The Duke of Wei” 魏公子列傳, *liezhuan* 17, *Shiji* VIII.77. p. 2378.
- 69 Mao ode 32. Qu Wanli, *Shijing*, pp. 55-56. Again, Lou’s location for Jun and the “cold spring,” is clearly wrong.
- 70 Bi Xi 佛肸 was the Administrator of Zhongmou which belonged to the state of Jin but was also a family retainer to Fan Zhongxing 范中行. When Zhao Jianzi 趙簡子 attacked Fan Zhongxing, Bi Xi resisted. Bi later summoned Confucius to Zhongmou. See *Analects* 17.6 (Yang Huo 陽貨): “Bi Xi summoned [Confucius] and the master was about to go. Zi Lu said, ‘Long ago, I heard this from you, master, “Where there are those who personally do bad where they are, the Gentleman does not enter.” Now Bi Shi has revolted in Zhongmou; if you decide to go, how can this be?’ The master said, ‘That is so, I spoke these words. But is it not said, “That which is durable cannot ground down to a sliver?” “That which is white can be soaked in carbon black but will not sully?” How can I just be a gourd? Can I just be strung up without being considered fit to eat 佛肸召，子欲往。子路曰：「昔者由也聞諸父子曰：『親於其身爲不善者，君子不入也。』佛肸以中牟畔，子之往也，如之何？」子曰：「然，有是言也。不曰堅乎，磨而不磷；不曰白乎，涅而不緇。吾其匏瓜也哉？焉能繫而不食？」” See Yang Bojun, *Lunyu shizhu* 論語釋注 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1965), pp. 190-191.
- 71 Contesting for control of the empire at the end of the Han, in 199. See Sima Guang, *Xinjiao Zizhi tongjian zhu* vol. 3 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962), p. 2016. This line appears to be taken verbatim from Du You’s *Tongdian*, p. 4662: 鄭州中牟縣北十二里……趙襄子時，佛肸以中牟叛，即此也。北十二里有中牟臺，是爲官渡城，即曹公、袁紹相持之所。

the First Emperor of Qin.⁷² This is also where the River breached the Jin Dike.⁷³ Changyuan District was Kuang District in the Wei, and was where Confucius was held prisoner;⁷⁴ it is also the ancient Pu District, where Zilu, his disciple, was minister.⁷⁵ Yanling District is where Earl of Zheng defeated Duan.⁷⁶ Fengqiu is the ancient Fengfu State, as stated in the *Zuo*zhuan, “Zhou awarded Lu the [famous bow] Fanruo.”⁷⁷ There is a Yellow Lake in the district, which is where King of Wu met with Duke Wen of Jin.⁷⁸ Zuocheng is subordinated to Huazhou, which is old Southern Yan,

72 Zhang Liang 張良 swore revenge for Qin’s annihilation of the State of Han 韓, where his father and grandfather had served as loyal ministers, and hired an assassin to kill the First Emperor. The assassin lay in wait, but struck the wrong cart. Zhang Liang later joined the ranks of the Han, where he shone as an astute general and counselor, both during the war against Xiang Yu, but also in the revolt of the seven states. He was enfeoffed as the Marquis of Liu in the Han, and upon his death as Marquis Wencheng. His biography is found in the “Hereditary Household of the Marquis of Liu” 留侯世家, in *Shiji* III. 2033-2050.

73 When the Yellow River had risen to within a few feet of overflowing, the people of the area around the section of the dike known as *huzi jinti* 瓠子金堤 (located near modern Puyang County, Shandong), fearing that the dike was about to break, panicked and fled. Wang Zun 王尊, who was the local administrator, refused to leave and actually camped out on the dike, promising to use his own body to fill the breach should one occur. He made proper sacrifice, and the waters receded. His steadfastness became renowned. Lou Yue has again miscalculated. This is not near Bolangsha, but is approximately 75 kilometers to the west northwest. See “Biographies of Zhao, Yin, Han, Zhang, and Two Wangs” 趙尹韓張兩王傳, *liezhuan* 47, *Hanshu* X.76. 3237-3238.

74 *Analects* 9.5. When Confucius was enroute from Wei to Chen, he made passage through Kuang. The people there mistook him for Yang Huo, who had ravaged Kuang, and took him prisoner for five days. See Yang Bojun, *Lunyu*, pp. 94-95.

75 Again, Lou Yue has made a geographical mistake. Pu 蒲 is considered to be in the area of Shanxi, Puxian. For Confucius’ praise of Zilu’s governance of this difficult area, see “Discerning Good Government” 辨政 *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 (Xinbian Zhuzi jicheng) (Taipei, Shijie shuju, 1962) III.34.

76 Reference to the opening passage of the *Zuo*zhuan, “The Earl of Zheng Overcomes Duan at Yan” 鄭伯克段于鄆. This passage has been well-studied by John Wang 王靖宇 in Chinese and English, his various articles collected in *Zuo*zhuan *yu* *chuantong* *xiaoshuo* *lunji* 左傳與傳統小說論集 (Beijing: Peking University Press, 1989).

77 See Dinggong 4, in Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuo*zhuan *zhu*, II. p. 1536.

78 *Ibid.*, Aigong 13, II. p. 1674.

and the place where the Duke of Zhou enfeoffed his children. As the *Zuozhuan* says, “Jiang, Xing, Mao, Zuo, and Ji are the offspring of the Duke of Zhou.”⁷⁹

十二日，癸巳。晴。五更出驛，穿御街，循東御廊，過宣德樓側東角樓，下潘樓街頭。東過左掖門，出馬行街頭，北過東華門，出舊封丘門，金改曰：「玄武」，新封丘門，舊曰：「安遠」，金改曰：「順常」。河中有亂石，萬歲山所棄也。北郊方壇在路西，青城在路東，面南，中開三門，左右開掖門，西開一門以通壇，皆荒墟也。北門內外人煙，比南門稍盛，車行四十五里，飯封丘。又四十五里，宿胥城縣。途中遇老父云：「女壻戍邊，十年不歸，苦于久役，今又送衣裝與之。」或云：「新制大定十年為始，凡物力五十貫者招一軍，不及五十貫者，率數戶共之，下至一二千者，亦不免。每一軍費八十緡，納錢于官以供此費。東京有千戶二十一人，各有三四百人，共有八千兵耳。有張千戶者，向來率其人戰符離，一敗止存數十人，至此除籍為民。」又言：「簽軍遇王師，皆不甚盡力，往往一戰而散，迫于嚴誅耳，若一一與之盡力，非南人所能敵。符離之戰東京無備，先聲已自搖動，指日以望南兵之來，何為遽去中原。思漢之心雖甚切，然河南之地，極目荒蕪，蕩然無可守之地，得之亦難于堅凝也。胥城之南有南湖，去歲五月河決，所損甚多。河水今與南湖通，衝斷古路，用柴木橫疊其上，積草土以行車馬。按東京春秋衛、陳、鄭三國之境，戰國屬魏，東魏立梁州，後周改汴州，興元為宣武軍節度使。後梁以州建國，升為東京開封府。後唐復為汴州，晉、漢、周、本朝因梁舊。汴河古萇蕩渠，首受黃河水，隋煬帝開浚兼引汴水。開封縣有浚溝，即衛詩浚都也。有沙海，《戰國策》顏率言大「梁君臣欲得九鼎，謀于沙海之上」。蓼堤自睢陽至此三百里。吹臺今日：「繁臺」，本師曠作，孝王增築。祥符縣有夷門山，夷門大梁城之東門，侯嬴抱關于此。蔡河古琵琶溝也。寒泉，邴詩所謂：「爰有寒泉，在浚之下」。中牟縣，趙襄子時佛肸以叛，有中牟臺，是為官渡城。曹、袁相持之所。陽武縣有博浪沙，張良擊始皇于此。河決金堤亦此

79 Ibid., Xigong 24, I. p. 423

地。長垣縣，衛之匡邑，孔子畏于匡，古之蒲邑，子路爲之宰。鄆陵縣克段之地也。封丘縣古封父國，《左傳》所謂：「周以封父之繁弱賜魯。」縣有黃池，吳王夫差所會。胙城屬滑州，故南燕國周公諸子所封，《左傳》「富辰曰：『凡蔣、邢、茅、胙、祭，周公之胤也』。」

遺寶：靈璧的奇石

奚如谷*

摘要

宋代出使北方鄰國（如遼、金及蒙古等）歷來是許多學者注視的焦點。他們的研究大多著重在當時日記裡呈現的史料：如使者在外交關係上的角色，出使的組織與目的，和日記中有關當時的經濟與社會情形的記述。在此我試圖更進一步檢視文化記憶與地域的關係，鄉愁的作用，以及地域作為媒介將胡人描述成如魔如獸。這樣的研究範圍較為複雜，也非本篇論文所能全面企及。因此，我想先初步分析樓鑰（1137-1213）的遊記，於 1169 年末至 1170 年初之間寫成，即北宋敗於女真的 40 餘年後。筆者選定的地域是河南，中國傳統文化的中心，即中原，特別是介於宿州與胙城間的地域，亦是舊都汴梁以北，現稱開封之處。

關鍵詞：樓鑰、《北行日錄》、懷念、懷舊、風景

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