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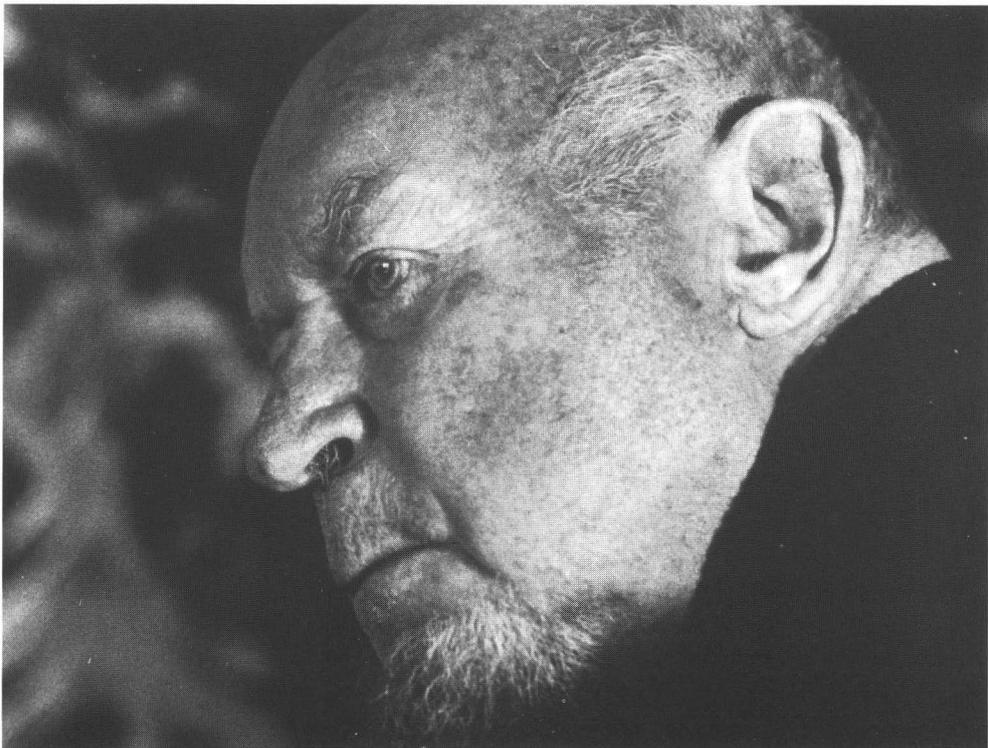
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Charles Patrick FitzGerald
1902–1992



Photograph courtesy Rei Zunde

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Two autograph pages from C. P. Fitzgerald's diary of
February 1928, reproduced with the permission
of his daughters, Mirabel and Anthea

down a inch. Into Canterbury
after lunch. No news.

February 25
Saturday
Temp 50. Sunny & very warm,
the best day so far, quite
extraordinary for February.
The stream down $\frac{1}{2}$
inch. It is very little
over the banks now
only just around the
middle bridge and
greenhouse, and by
the weir bridge.
In the morning we went into
the woods for primroses.
Christopher arrived in
time for dinner.
News. The Kuomintang
have at last held a
plenary session of the
Central Committee, at

hanking, which definitely
sets the stamp of legality
on that government
as opposed to the cliques
in Hankow or Canton.
This is a great political
triumph for Chiang, who
position is thus consolidated.
Teng is reported to be
attacking 大明.
The Ilford bye election
resulted in the Tory
losing 1000, out of 1400
of the previous majority,
almost all of which went
to the Liberal

February 26
Sunday (one day)
Temp 50. Sunny & warm
but a breeze, yet a very
fine day. The stream down
again. In the morning

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Cover calligraphy Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿, Tang calligrapher and statesman

Cover photograph Rubbing of a bas-relief, Hsin-ching, Szechuan Province
(C. P. FitzGerald, *Barbarian Beds* [London: Cresset Press, 1965])

TRACKS IN THE SNOW 鴻雪因緣圖記*

—episodes from an autobiographical memoir
by the Manchu Bannerman Lin-ch'ing (1791–1846),
with illustrations by leading contemporary artists



Translated by Yang Tsung-han

Edited by John Minford, with a Foreword by Liu Ts'un-yan

EDITOR'S REMARKS

During the last decade of his life (he was born in 1901, and was in his early nineties when he died in late 1992), Professor Yang Tsung-han 楊宗翰 worked on a complete translation of this illustrated memoir by the mid-nineteenth-century Manchu aristocrat Lin-ch'ing 麟慶. He was uniquely qualified to undertake this task, being himself the son of an eminent Mongol Bannerman, having a perfect command of the language and milieu of the book, and also possessing an extraordinary knowledge of the English language (as well as of several other European languages, living and dead).¹ The manuscript, written in his wonderfully eccentric hand, is teeming with little turns of phrase and critical remarks that bring his proud, sometimes irascible, personality back to life. He is occasionally impatient with the pretentious attitudes of our Manchu author (as he sometimes was with the pretensions of his own contemporaries). Sometimes in his commentary he just rambles, in the manner of a traditional Chinese commentator, and when he does he is often as fascinating as he was in personal conversation.

* Literally, *Wild swan on the snow: an illustrated record of my pre-ordained life*. The reference is to Su Tung-p'o's 蘇東坡 (1037–1101) famous lines, from an early poem written to rhyme with one by his younger brother Tzu-yu 子由 (Su Ch'e 蘇轍, 1039–1112), which freely translated run: "To what can this human life be likened? Perhaps to a wild swan treading on the snow; it leaves a few tracks and flies on blithely into the unknown." In *The gay genius* (London: Heinemann, 1948), p. 54, Lin Yutang improvises inimitably on the essence of these lines: "The flying bird was a symbol of the human spirit. In truth, the events and doings of Su Tungpo ... are but the accidental footprints of a great spirit, but the real Su Tungpo is a spirit, like a phantom bird, that is even now making dream journeys among the stars."

Note: ^{again} the detestable and disgusting way of calling a ~~Manchu name~~ ^{and defunct} by an ancient name which was abrogated a thousand years ago.

Figure 1

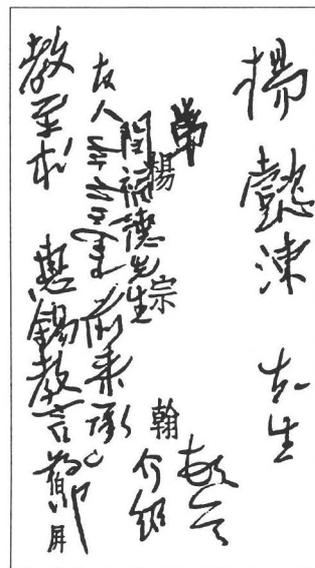
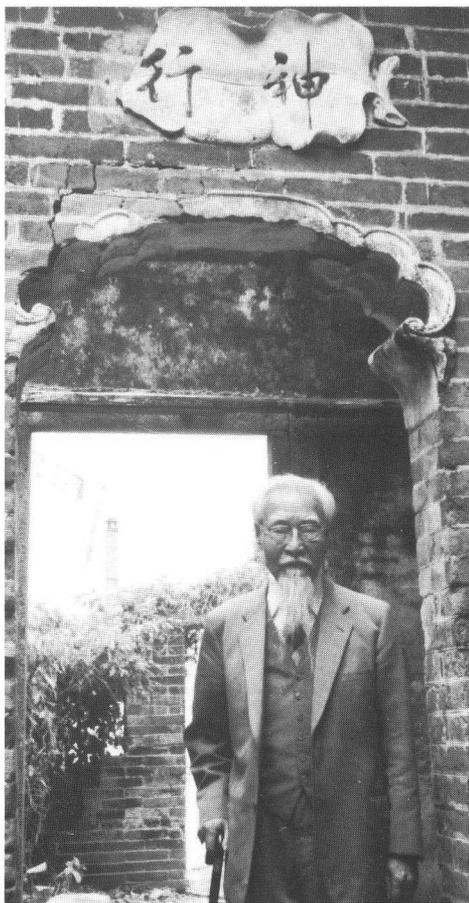
One of Yang Tsung-han's notes to his translation (cf. n. 59 below)

¹ His father, En-hua 恩華 (*tzu* Yung-ch'un 詠春, 1879–1954), a Mongol of the Balute clan, passed the *chin-shih* examination in 1903, and was at various times Military Lieutenant-Governor of Chen-chiang, Vice-Director of the Bureau of Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs, Vice-Minister of Justice, and President of Hua-pei University. He was a famous bibliophile, and his collection of Bannerman literature was renowned. Yang Tsung-han himself was educated at Tsing Hua and Harvard, and then returned to Peking in the 1920s, where he held various academic posts, including that of Head of the Department of Foreign Languages at Peking Normal University. After the Second World War he moved to Hong Kong, where he died in November 1992. I have heard it said that Yang was the original for one of the more colourful characters in Harold Acton's brilliant Peking novel, *Peonies and Ponies*. David Hawkes, who was in Peking from 1947, remembers him as a very stylish gentleman, always sporting a long gown, and often referred to as 'the Mongol Prince'. It must have been at this time (during the thirties and forties) that Yang first became a friend of C. P. Fitzgerald.

² Among his acquaintances Kao also counted such prominent men of letters as Fa-shih-shan 法式善 (1753–1813), Na-yen-ch'eng 那彥成 (1764–1833) and T'ieh-pao 鐵保 (1752–1824). The publication in 1805 of the imperially-commissioned *Hsi-ch'ao ya-sung chi* 熙朝雅頌集 [Anthology of Bannerman verse], edited by (among others) T'ieh-pao and Fa-shih-shan, indicates the growing awareness on the part of the Banner-men that their own literature constituted a separate lineage within Chinese (as opposed to Manchu-Mongol) literature. This had already found expression in the Bibliographical Monograph in *chi'uan* 120 of the second *Pach'it'ung-chih* 八旗通志 (Banner Chronicle), compiled in 1799 under the editorship of T'ieh-pao. Numerous literary collections by Bannermen are listed in this, whereas the equivalent monograph in the earlier Banner Chronicle compiled under Ortai in 1739 is mostly taken up with Imperial Edicts and other official compositions. Of course, the literary pretensions of these aristocrats are not always to be taken too seriously. A contemporary Manchu, Shu-k'un 舒坤 (1772–1845), in a marginal note to Yuan Mei's *Sui-yuan shih-bua* 隨園詩話, criticised Fa-

Figure 2

Yang Tsung-han in Hong Kong, 1983. The card, inscribed for the son of the scholar Yang Chung-hsi 楊鍾羲, was given to the editor in 1980. The signature is from a letter dated 1981.



Sincerely yours,
Lin-ch'ing Yang

I myself first encountered the original work in 1978, when I was researching into the life and times of Kao E 高鶚 (c.1740–c.1815), the editor of the last forty chapters of *The Story of the Stone* (石頭記). Kao was himself a Chinese Bannerman, and a minor member of the élite Bannerman literary circle of the late Ch'ien-lung, early Chia-ch'ing period.² He and the author of this memoir, Lin-ch'ing,³ were friends, though widely separated in age, and the only known 'pictorial' representation of Kao is the miniscule figure riding on a donkey in Lin-ch'ing's book.⁴ Dipping into the text, I was greatly struck by the unusual nature of the book, in that it combines features of the traditional travel journal and diary, including the sometimes tiresome details of a successful Mandarin's career, family and social relationships, with fascinating detail of everyday life and technology in the mid-nineteenth

shih-shan for toadying to the aristocracy and pandering to their literary aspirations. "Fa's poetic acumen was excellent," he wrote, "but ethically he was not above reproach. The first half of the anthology was based on a genuine previous collection made by T'ieh-pao, but in the second half he fabricated poems on demand and attributed them unscrupulously to influential Bannermen who were scarcely literate or else babes-in-arms." See Wu En-yu 吳恩裕, *Yu kuan Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in shih-chung* 有關曹雪芹十種 (Shanghai: Chung-hua, 1963), pp. 130-1.

³ (H & Ed) Lin-ch'ing (1791-1846), member of the Wanyen 完顏 (Wanggiyan) clan and descendant in the 24th generation of Shih-tsung, 5th emperor of the Jurchid Chin dynasty (r. 1161-90). His family belonged to the Imperial Household Bond-servant Division of the Manchu Bordered Yellow Banner. He was a direct descendant of Daciha 達齊哈, who in 1644 had followed the Manchu forces across the Great Wall, of Asitan 阿什坦 (d. 1683, "the

most outstanding of all translators—from Chinese into Manchu—of his time") in the 6th generation, and in the 5th of Hesu 和素 (1652-1718): "C'est lui [Hesu] qui a enseigné à la plupart des enfants de l'empereur Cang-hi les langues tartare et chinoise, qui a présidé à toutes les traductions des *King* et de l'histoire chinoise ... Il est mort depuis peu d'années avec la réputation d'un des plus habiles Mantcheoux qu'il y ait eu en ces deux langues." (P. Parrenin in *Lettres édifiantes*.) Among other texts Hesu translated the *Tso Chuan* and the *San Kuo Chib*. Lin-ch'ing's own career can be summarised as follows: *chin-shih*, 1809; Grand Secretariat, 1810; Board of War, 1814; Hanlin Academy, 1818; Prefect of Hui-chou-fu, Anhui, 1823; transferred to Ying-chou-fu, 1824; Intendant K'ai-Kuei-Ch'en-Hsu Circuit, Honan, 1825-29; Provincial Judge, Honan, 1829-32; Financial Commissioner, Kweichow, 1832-33; Governor of Hupeh, 1833; Director-General of River Conservancy in Huai-an, Kiangsu, 1833-42; deprived of rank and titles after collapse of

/part of Yellow River dyke, returned to Peking, 1843; recalled to undertake conservancy work in Honan, 1843-45; appointed Imperial Resident in Urga, Mongolia, but granted leave to retire temporarily because of leg ailment. In addition to the present autobiographical memoir, and his literary collection *Ning-hsiang-shih cbi* 凝香室集 (from the name of his mother's library—"Chamber of Concentrated Fragrance": Li Po talks of the dew "concentrating the fragrance" of a flowering branch), Lin-ch'ing also compiled another illustrated book about implements used in river conservancy (*Ho-kung ch'i-chü t'u-shuo* 河工器具圖說), and a historical account of the junction of the Yellow River and the Grand Canal (*Huang Yun Ho-k'ou ku-chin t'u-shuo* 黃運河口古今圖說). One of his daughters married Lai-hsiu 來秀, a grandson of the eminent Mongol Bannerman Fa-shih-shan, and of the equally eminent Manchu Ying-ho 英和 (1771-1839). For his two sons, see below (p. 15, n.4). One of his grandsons, Sung-shen 嵩申 (1841-91), rose to be President of the Board of Punishments in the last two years of his life. One of his great-grandsons, Ching-hsien 景賢, was an art adviser to Tuan-fang 端方 (1861-1911). It was one of the Ch'ing Dynasty's grand families until the end of the nineteenth century, when it fell on hard times. Twenty boxes of art treasures hidden in a well of the family home, the famous "Half Acre Garden," designed in the late seventeenth century by the great dramatist, poet, essayist and bon viveur, Li Yu 李漁 (1611-780), were stolen during the Boxer Rebellion, and during the twenties and thirties the remainder of the art collection, and the family mansion and garden, were sold off. For this see the fascinating article by Van Hecken and Grootaers (cited in n.7 below), which was based not only on written sources, but also on information from Wang Ch'un-ling 汪椿齡, the great-grandson of Ch'ung-shih 麟慶, Lin-ch'ing's oldest son. The Verbiest Academy (a missionary institution) finally purchased the garden in 1947. In July 1951, as part of the purge of Catholics, the secret police raided the premises, and the missionaries were arrested and imprisoned in wooden cubicles 7 feet by 4, specially constructed in the T'ao-fu T'ang ("Hall to Receive Happiness"), while the courtyard before the building known as Fei-t'ao Hsien-kuan ("Fairy Chamber of the Flying Waves") was used to hang and beat the prisoners.

Figure 3

Two eminent Bannermen of the late Ch'ien-lung/Chia-ch'ing era: the Manchu Ying-ho (left), and the Mongol Fa-shih-shan (right). Their grandson married a daughter of Lin-ch'ing. From Ch'ing-tai hsueh-che hsiang-chuan (1928)



⁴ (Ed) Third Series, no.30: "Hsien-ch'iao fu-t'u." Kao wrote a preface for the collected verse of Lin-ch'ing's mother. See *Kao Lan-shu chi* 高蘭墅集 (Shanghai, Ku-chi, 1984), pp.141-2.

⁵ (Ed) These were executed over a period of many years by a number of artists, some of whom had been in Lin-ch'ing's entourage at one stage or another of his career, and would therefore have had first-hand experience of the places mentioned in the text. Ch'en Chien 陳鑒 (*hao* Lang-chai 朗齋) supervised the whole project and was responsible for the final woodblocks. For full details see Third Series, no.42. One of the most famous of the artists involved was Ho Shih-k'uei 賀世魁 (died c.1844), who had earlier become famous for his portrait of the Tao-kuang Emperor, and his paintings to commemorate the suppression of the Moslems in Sinkiang. Derk Bodde used some of the illustrations for his delightful *Annual customs and festivals in Peking* (Peiping, 1936; reprint ed., Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1965), translated from the work of another Manchu Bannerman, Tun-ch'ung 敦崇 (1855-c.1924), himself the grandson of the gifted Bannerwoman poet Ku T'ai-ch'ing 顧太清 (1799-1876). Cheng Chen-to 鄭振鐸 speaks very highly of the woodcuts done for *Tracks in the Snow* in the Introduction to his *History of the*

century, and at the same time some of the lyrical autobiographical qualities of Shen Fu's 沈復 (c.1762-1803) *Six Chapters of a Floating Life* 浮生六記 (see some of the sections on West Lake translated here). Parts of it are even reminiscent of P'u Sung-ling's 蒲松齡 (1640-1715) *Strange Tales* 聊齋志異 (see, for example, "Witnessing the Alchemic Orbs at Longevity Hall" on p.19 below). For most Chinese scholars today it is appreciated primarily for its illustrations, which are indeed of a very high quality.⁵ But I found it fascinating most of all as a product of the highly cultivated Bannerman milieu,⁶ that also produced such wonderful things as the lyric verse of Nalan Hsing-te 納蘭性德 (1655-85), and of course *The Story of the Stone*.⁷

I discussed Lin-ch'ing's work with Professor Yang in Hong Kong during the early 1980s, and was delighted when he agreed to translate the text. The Asia Foundation and the Chinese University's Research Centre for Translation generously provided grants for the project. To my knowledge only two very partial versions exist: T. C. Lai's *A Wild Swan's Trail* (Hong Kong, 1978), and

Chinese woodblock (see the remarks quoted in the publisher's Introduction to Chang Pao's 張寶 [b.1762] *Fan-ch'a-t'u* 泛槎圖, reprint ed. (Peking: Ku-chi Ch'u-pan-she, 1988). The illustrations reproduced here are taken from the original edition, my copy of which was acquired in 1981 from a descendant of the author, resident in Tientsin, of whom I only knew that his nickname was "Little Stone" (Hsiao Shih-t'ou 小石頭) and that his aunt had once been engaged to be married to P'u-yi's

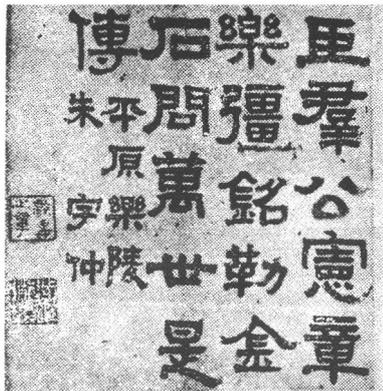
溥儀 younger brother, P'u-chieh 溥傑. This edition was recently reprinted in a somewhat reduced format (Peking: Ku-chi Ch'u-pan-she, 1984). I also have a reduced lithographic reprint (Shanghai: Tien-shih-chai, 1884), but this contains many errors, and the illustrations are of a poor quality.

⁶ Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716-98) wrote, of a slightly earlier period, that "nowadays the Manchus are much more cultivated than the Chinese. Even their military men all write poetry." See *Sui-yuan shih-bua* 隨園詩話, vol.2, *ch'uan* 7. Cf Arthur Waley, *Yuan Mei* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1956), p.28.

⁷ It is seldom acknowledged that the *Stone* is a Bannerman work, in the literary sense as well as the historical. It is not just that the women in the novel had unbound feet and wore Manchu head-dresses: the author (and his subsequent editor) were very much part of the Bannerman literary milieu, as undoubtedly were many of the novel's first and most avid readers. Just about every surviving poem mentioning Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in 曹雪芹 is from the hand of a Bannerman. While these poems have been read and reread in the search for some new and ever more tantalising clue about the novel and its evolution, few scholars have taken the literary and artistic milieu seriously. It is as if the Han Chinese have wanted very much to claim Ts'ao as one of their own. (For a discussion of this whole issue of the Han-Bannerman identity of the *Stone*, see Yu Ying-shih 余英時, *Hung-lou-meng te liang-ko shih-chieh* 紅樓夢的兩個世界 (Taipei: Lien-ching, 1978).) Wu En-yu 吳恩裕 is

Figure 4

The prolific writer on Bannerman and Peking culture, Chen-chün 震鈞, and a specimen of his calligraphy. From Hasbikawa Tokio, Chūgoku bungaku jinbutsu sōkan.



**Figure 5**

The author's eldest son, *Ch'ung-shih*: an official portrait (left), and a photograph taken in 1875, when he was acting Military Governor of Mukden (below) (from *Monumenta Serica* 18 [1959])



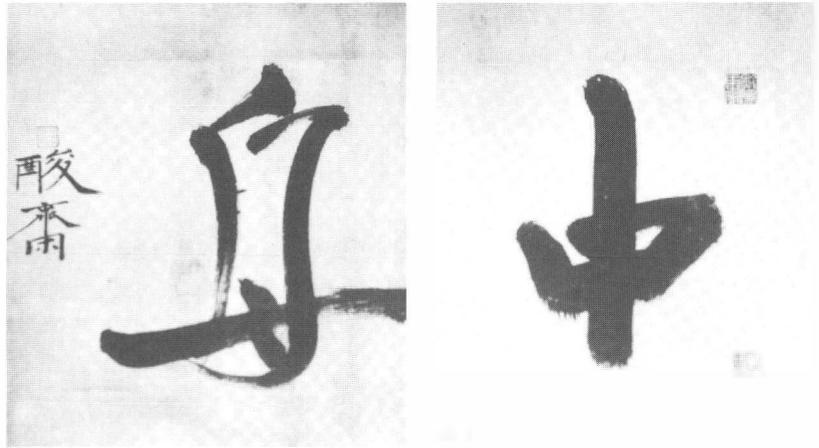
/one of the few *Stone*-scholars to have done justice to this. It is interesting to note that Chou Ju-ch'ang 周汝昌 speculates, on pp.964–70 of his *Hung-lou-meng hsin-cheng* 紅樓夢新證 (rev. ed., Peking, Jen-min Wen-hsueh, 1976), that the famous *chia-bsu* transcript of the *Stone* may have originated in Lin-ch'ing's family. Since the end of the Ch'ing dynasty the Banner-men have (for obvious reasons) been largely ridiculed and reviled. One of the few May Fourth literary figures to take them seriously was Chou Tso-jen 周作人. The only book-length treatment of the literature of the Banner-men is Hashikawa Tokio's 橋川時雄 (b.1893) *Manshū bungaku kobai kō* 滿洲文學興廢考 (A study of the rise and decline of Manchu literature) (Peiping, 1932), discusses Lin-ch'ing on pp.38–9. See also his *Chūgoku bunkakai jinbutsu sokan* 中國文化界總鑑 [Comprehensive mirror of personalities in the Chinese cultural world] (Peking: Chūka Hōkai Hen'in-kan, 1940) for in-

/valuable information on many later Banner-man figures. For Lin-ch'ing, see the biography in the *Ch'ing-shih kao* 清史稿, *lieb-chuan* 170, and Yang Chung-hsi's (1865–1940: one of the teachers of Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎) entry in his cousin Sheng-yu's 盛昱 (1850–1900) *Pa-ch'i wen-ching* 八旗文經 [Bannerman prose], *ch'uan* 59. There is a great deal of information contained in the article "The Half Acre Garden, *Pan-mou Yuan* 半畝園," by J. L. Van Hecken and W. A. Grootaers, *Monumenta Serica* 18 (1959), pp. 360–87. See also the entries on pp.9b, 43a, and 51a of the important *Pa-ch'i i-wen pien-mu* 八旗藝文編目 [Bannerman bibliography] of En-hua 恩華, Yang Tsung-han's father. This last work, completed during the years 1933–6, has a preface by the eminent Manchu statesman Pao-hsi 寶熙 (b.1871, minister in the Imperial Household Department till 1923, subsequently a member of the state council

/of Manchukuo), who states that the project, which En-hua began in Liao-tung in 1912–13, when he was "taking refuge from the disturbed political situation," had the support of both Yang Chung-hsi and Lo Chen-yu 羅振玉. The bibliography includes the books in En-hua's own extensive personal collection, which Wu En-yu 吳恩裕 arranged to be deposited in the Peking Library after the author's death. Some titles in the collection (those by Bannerman friends of Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in) were reprinted in the 1950s. In 1982 the Manchu calligrapher Ch'i-kung 啓功 confirmed that the collection was still there in the basement of the library, unread and untouched, in its original cardboard boxes. Yang Chung-hsi's *Hsueh-ch'iao shih-bua* 雪橋詩話 [Snow Bridge poetry talks], published in four series from 1914 to 1925, in the *Ch'iu-shu-chai ts'ung-shu* 求恕齋叢書, is also a mine of information on Banner- /over

Figure 6

*Calligraphy of the Uighur poet
Kuan Yun-shih. From Monumenta
Serica 9 (1944)*



/man writers, as are the various works of Li Fang 李放 (d. after 1940). Another prolific writer on the subject was Chen-chün 震鈞 (1857–1920), a Manchu of the Gualgiya 瓜爾佳 clan, once in the entourage of Lin-ch'ing's grandson Sung-shen, who, having lost his priceless art collection in the aftermath of the 1911 revolution, moved to Shanghai and sinicised his name to T'ang Yen 唐宴. See Hashikawa, *Comprehensive mirror*, pp. 155, 613, 730 for a detailed listing of the works of these three writers.

⁸ Joseph Needham refers to a later edition (1929) of this French version, which reproduces 26 of the 240 illustrations. See *Science and civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), vol. 4, pt 3, p. 759. On pp. 262–3, Needham reproduces and discusses at length one of the illustrations from *Tracks in the snow*, and he refers several times in this volume to Lin-ch'ing, whom he held in high regard as “an able director of engineering works.”

⁹ *Monumenta Serica 9* (1944), pp. 92–100, “Hsiao-yun-shih khaya (1286–1324).” To my knowledge this is the only thing Professor Yang ever published in English.

John Minford

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the rarer *Visite aux temples de Pékin: Extraits du carnet de voyage de Lin K'ing*, translated by Jean R. Baylin (Pékin, 1921).⁸ In due course, the whole of Professor Yang's manuscript will be edited and the entire book published in English, complete with all the illustrations and prefaces.

As editor, I have sought to treat Professor Yang's text as I believe he would have wished, preserving the essential style, but not hesitating to rewrite where I thought it appropriate. The footnotes that are his are marked 'YTH', mine are marked 'Ed', while the occasional passages (or adaptations of material) from Hummel's *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* are marked 'H'. Unmarked footnotes contain Lin-ch'ing's own inter-linear comments, often giving details of family relationships or official titles held.

Professor Liu Ts'un-yan, who knew Yang Tsung-han for many years, has written a foreword in Chinese, which I have translated into English, and has also read the manuscript and added many illuminating comments. These have, at his request, been absorbed into the text and notes.

Yang Tsung-han advised C. P. Fitzgerald informally when he was developing Chinese studies in Canberra. These first sections of his translation are edited and published here for the first time, as a tribute to a remarkable man. His own personality is best evoked by some words he wrote himself in 1944, describing a piece of calligraphy by the Uighur poet of the Mongol Dynasty, Kuan Yun-shih 貫雲石:

The example before us combines the astringent form, solidity, control, and force of the best of the classical art in calligraphy on the one hand and withal romantic fluidity, rhythm, grace and even mystery on the other. Apart from the signature, there are only two characters: but what two characters! They represent an epitome of culture and personality. They are, I repeat, inspired and inspiring. Calligraphy has its basis in pictogram and technique, but the glory of a great achievement is above and beyond that. It is 'lo spirito' that creates real art.⁹

FOREWORD

An Imperfect Understanding : a Memoir of Yang Tsung-han

—by Liu Ts'un-yan 柳存仁

Many years ago, some time in the thirties, the Shanghai publishing house Kelly & Walsh brought out a book entitled *An Imperfect Understanding* by Wen Yuan-ning 溫源寧 (a professor at Peking University and editor of the well-known *Tien Hsia Monthly* 天下雜誌). It contained a series of “silhouettes” of personalities in the cultural and academic world of Peking (Pei-p’ing), including such men as Hu Shih 胡適, Chou Tso-jen 周作人 and Hsu Chih-mo 徐志摩. Subsequently some twenty of these “silhouettes” were translated into Chinese and published under the title “Some Contemporaries” 今人志 in the journal *This Human World* 人間世, edited by Lin Yutang 林語堂. Wen Yuan-ning was an old friend and colleague of Yang Tsung-han’s, and during Wen’s time as Chinese ambassador to Greece in the late forties, the two men worked together again for a while. Wen Yuan-ning died some time ago, I am sorry to say; if he were still alive, he would have been the right person to write this reminiscence of Yang Tsung-han. He would surely have been able to bring to the task a deeper and more discerning understanding.

I came to know Yang Tsung-han much later on. And at first I did not know him particularly well. He was the eldest son of the Mongol En-hua (not to be confused with the late-Ch’ing Manchu also named En-hua, elder brother of Su-shun 肅順, the statesman put to death by Tz’u-hsi 慈禧 in 1861). The Mongol En-hua was a Bannerman of the Bordered Red Banner, who took third class honours in the *chin-shih* examination of 1903, the 29th year of Kuang-hsu, *kuei-mao*. It so happened that my father’s maternal cousin Tso P’ei 左霽 (a Chinese Bannerman of the Plain Yellow Banner) took second place in the first-class honours list of the same examination. People of the previous generation liked to talk about “old family” when they met, so when Yang Tsung-han and I met for the first time he brought up this family connection. And in fact the connection did not stop there. In the Republic, En-hua was for a time Vice-Director of the Bureau of Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs 蒙藏院, and he employed Tso P’ei as Principal or Deputy-Principal of the Mongolian-Tibetan School attached to the Bureau. Later Tso P’ei moved to the newly established Tsing Hua College 清華學校 to teach Chinese, and Yang Tsung-han, who himself studied at Tsing Hua from 1913 to 1921, undoubtedly received instruction from Tso, though much of his traditional education he “drank deeply at the source” of family learning.

From the beginning of the Ch’ing dynasty, under the Eight Banner system, there were Manchu, Mongol and Chinese Bannermen troops. The Chinese Bannermen were Chinese who had been captured and had surrendered to the Manchus. Their organisation was quite different from that of the regular

Chinese troops of the Green Standards--this is common knowledge. But a Chinese Bannerman was still Chinese, every bit as much so as a member of the regular Green Standards, and if a Chinese Bannerman became a scholar, then it was the culture of his own race and his own nation that he was studying. But in those times (unlike nowadays, when we regard the non-Han ethnic minorities as our equals), if a Manchu or a Mongol developed a passion for things Chinese, and became more of an expert in aspects of Chinese culture than many an ordinary Chinese, then we would say that he had been "acculturated", or "sinicised." How grand a thing we considered our own cultural tradition to be! Is there not just a whiff of the Ah Q spirit in all this? Nowadays at last certain people are beginning to recognise that there were Manchus and Mongols who actually had a more enlightened understanding of Chinese culture than some traditional Chinese scholars themselves. These Bannerman scholars (and the Han Chinese who imbibed their influence) often had a deep insight into Chinese culture, and a broad perspective, which contrasted strikingly with the narrow and slavish antiquarianism of some of their Chinese contemporaries. Many of the works contained in the *Bannerman Bibliography* (*Pach'i I-wen pien-mu* 八旗藝文編目, 1941), compiled by Yang Tsung-han's father En-hua, testify to the truth of this. So does En-hua's own decision to send his son to Tsing Hua College in the first year of the Republic, and later after eight years of study, to Harvard on a government scholarship, to study a western curriculum.

Tsing Hua College has a very special place in the history of Chinese education. The Americans returned a portion of the "Boxer" indemnity imposed on the Ch'ing government in the treaty of 1901, in the hope that the Chinese could use the money to develop a new-style education system—and this is how Tsing Hua came into being. Before it was founded in 1912, the money was used to support Chinese students already in the United States (such as Yuen Ren Chao 趙元任, Hu Shih 胡適 and the meteorologist Chu K'o-chen 竺可楨, all of whom had gone abroad in 1910). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs meanwhile planned the establishment of a

Figure 7

Part of Professor Liu Ts'un-yan's
Foreword in his original Chinese

宗翰先生和政行有關係，大約不過是抗戰時中國政府在青島設有 China Information
大學的文學院長之任（校長是傅鴻鵠），就南洋和滿洲等，全端去職……以至使華
新教徒 Professors，許多年後做了青島的天主教 Bishop 普人同步。青島論證了，他改
職使館作事，其後又帶去 Hamburg，在漢堡大學和 Professor Wolfgang Frankl 同事，
他到青島，在港大 F. S. Drake 主持的《東方文化》學報的編輯方面，擔任過一個
東教者，對中國的物理人情 ~~研究~~ 研究。直到 Drake 在六十年代得了英國的 O. B.
研究，Drake 家中吃晚餐。Drake 學研在基督教 (Nestorian Church) 的歷史，(夫婦都過其

school to prepare students for study abroad. Tsing Hua did not come under the Ministry of Education, but under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was only after the success of the Northern Expedition and the consequent reorganisation of the old Peking administration in 1928 that Tsing Hua became a University, and at the same time the system of automatic overseas study after graduation was abolished. In this way Tsing Hua underwent a gradual transformation. The original "preparatory" college examined candidates in every province, and the age of admission was fourteen or fifteen. The students selected spent four years in the Junior High School section, then a further four years in the Senior High School: altogether this comprised the six years of a complete High School curriculum and the first two years of university. So students who were fourteen or fifteen on admission were in their twenties by the time they went abroad; when they left China they were supported by government scholarships and carried official passports—they even had a special allowance to get themselves Western-style suits made up in Shanghai. By the time they arrived at university in the United States they were already at third year level. Yang Tsung-han entered Harvard in 1921 and graduated with an A.B. in Political Science. This was the only degree he was ever awarded. And yet on his return to Peking, the courses he taught for many years at Peking University were courses on Western literature—Shakespeare and Milton. I am not sure if he ever taught Political Science in his entire life. This versatility was not unusual for men of his generation. Once in the nineteen-eighties, when Yang Tsung-han was already well over eighty years old, I remember John Minford telling me that the old gentleman had corrected him—not for his Chinese, but for his Latin!

Mongol surnames have their own system, which is quite different from that of the Chinese. In the Republican period many Manchus and Mongols took Chinese surnames, or changed their names altogether. Chen-chün, for example, author of *Hearsay in the Capital* 天咫偶聞, became T'ang Yen 唐宴; Chin-liang 金梁 took the surname Chin 金 (which no doubt had something to do with the fact that the Manchus had once called themselves the

Latter Chin Dynasty); there is no need to bore you with more examples. En-hua, who held several positions in the Republic, never changed his name. But his son took the surname Yang, and gave as his place of origin Tan-t'u 丹徒, Chen-chiang 鎮江. And yet he never had any qualms about saying that he was a Mongol. He may have given Chen-chiang because he was born there, when his father was Military Lieutenant-Governor. En-hua had an extensive collection of valuable old Chinese books, especially rare works by Bannermen.

ration Committee, 那时他恰巧离开四川
 人
 年徐斌斌 (Francis Hsu, 这时转建
 上
 久潘先生转赴内地, 后来在轻
 借
 洋馆的睡屋我通不知道。五十年代初,
 都
 同时使的工作。Drake 先生早年曾在山
 . B. C 勋任该局之前, 宗翰先生亦曾
 其始也。

¹⁰ F. S. Drake (1892–1974) succeeded J. K. Rideout as Professor of Chinese at Hong Kong University, a position he held from 1954 to 1964. He was born into a Baptist missionary family in Tsou-p'ing, Shantung, and in addition to his work for the church gave some lectures at Ch'i-lu University in Tsinan.

With the huge interest in the study of the novel *The Story of the Stone*, a lot of writings by Bannerman authors connected with the novel and its author Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in were reprinted in the '50s—works like Yu-jui's 裕瑞 *Tsao-ch'uang hsien-pi* 棗窗閑筆, and Tun-min's 敦敏 *Mao-chai shih-ch'ao* 懋齋詩鈔. The originals of these came from En-hua's collection.

Yang Tsung-han's only connection with politics was during the anti-Japanese war, when he was involved in the China Information Committee set up in Hong Kong by the Chinese government. He had just left Szechwan University, where he was Dean of the Faculty of Arts (the President at the time was Jen Hung-chün 任鴻雋, H. C. Zen), and travelled south where he worked with people like Wen Yuan-ning, Ch'uan Tseng-ku 全增嘏 (T. K. Ch'uan) and younger scholars such as Hsu Ch'eng-pin 徐誠斌 (Francis Hsu, at that time still a protestant, but years later to become Hong Kong's first Chinese Roman Catholic bishop).

After the fall of Hong Kong, he travelled with Wen Yuan-ning into the interior, and later worked under him in the Chinese embassy in Athens. Subsequently I understand he worked for a time with Professor Wolfgang Franke at Hamburg University, but I do not unfortunately know the details.

In the early '50s he went to Hong Kong and worked for a while on the editorial board of the *Journal of Oriental Studies* under F. S. Drake 林仰山.¹⁰ Drake had earlier taught in Shantung, and was very familiar with China, the land and its people. Until the '60s, when Drake received an OBE and returned to England, Yang Tsung-han would go to Drake's home for dinner every Christmas Eve. Drake had done some research into the Nestorian Church (he and his wife were, needless to say, Christians).

In Hong Kong there is a government-run tertiary college, really a sort of night school, called the Evening School of Higher Chinese Studies. In the '50s there were a large number of refugees from the Mainland whose children needed further education, and the Hong Kong government set up this evening school to cater for them, with the intention of eventually merging it with Hong Kong University. In the '50s the Hong Kong government had not yet decided to set up a second university (the present Chinese University of Hong Kong). The evening school had already had two Principals (they were actually called Superintendants), but the position was vacant and the government appointed Yang Tsung-han. I was doing some teaching there myself, and from June 1955, when Yang took over as Principal, until August 1958 when he resigned, I had the opportunity to work with him and we became friends "across the chasm of the years" 忘年交 (I was ten or so years his junior).

Strictly speaking this was when my real friendship with Yang Tsung-han began. From 1955 until August 1962, when I left Hong Kong and came to Australia, we saw each other frequently and had many long conversations together. This enabled me to come to some sort of understanding, however imperfect, of his personality and his aspirations. Differences of environment, different ways of life and positions in life, can combine with differences in

personality and temperament to make a true and complete understanding of another person an extremely hard task. So even an “imperfect understanding,” however partial it may be, if it is sincerely arrived at, has its place and value. As I see it, Yang Tsung-han was a Chinese scholar formed by Chinese culture, and in this respect he was indistinguishable from other ethnically Han Chinese. There was one distinguishing feature, and that was the fact that he was not a Confucian scholar—or at least certainly not in the Neo-Confucian sense, more in the “expansive” mode of the Han-Tang Confucians. And to this should be added a touch of the severity and intensity of a Legalist. This was his character. There was something very noble about him. He never held a prominent public position, he never did anything “important,” he was never the leader of any grand movement—far from it. In his old age, when he was eighty or so, he was a solitary figure, and lived in greatly straightened circumstances. But it is still my opinion that he was one of the truly outstanding men to come out of China in the past eighty years.

In conversation on matters intellectual or scholarly, his views were legion, his flow of ideas unstoppable. He was no mealy-mouthed pedant quoting empty chapter and verse from the classics—no “Rotten Armchair Talk” 席上腐談 from him, to steal a title from the works of the Yuan dynasty Taoist Yu Yen 俞琰. There was substance in his every word, every sentence had something solid to back it up. I was born too late, alas! By the time he was in the fifth form of Tsing Hua College (1917) I was just a babe in arms. A lot of his anecdotes were beyond me—conversations with him were sometimes like intensive study sessions for me!

He could recall clearly and effortlessly people and events in Peking in the two decades or so before 1937, the Marco Polo Bridge incident and the arrival of the Japanese. He was able to talk about these things in great detail and with scrupulous accuracy. On one occasion we were talking about Shen Meisou 沈寐叟 (Shen ‘the Old Dozer’, Sheng Tseng-chih 沈曾植, *tzu* Tzu-p’ei 子培, 1851–1922), the great scholar, Manchu loyalist and restorationist of the late Ch’ing and early Republic. Yang told me that in his later years, when Shen lived in Shanghai, he would sometimes fall asleep on his visitors—hence he gave himself the sobriquet ‘the Old Dozer’. “Shen Tseng-chih’s learning was vast,” Yang told me. “He was at home in every field of traditional Chinese learning. Whatever the topic, he would be able to help you find your way through it.” It was true. And Yang Tsung-han himself was to some extent a person of similar abilities. In 1956–57, when I was writing my thesis on the mid-sixteenth-century novel *Feng-shen yen-i* 封神演義 (The Investiture of

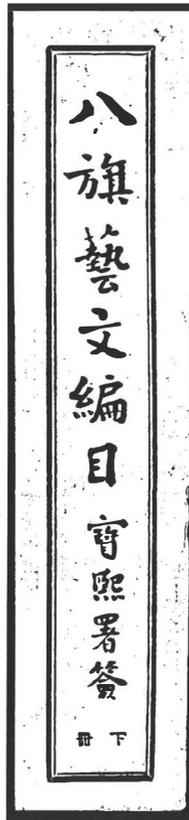


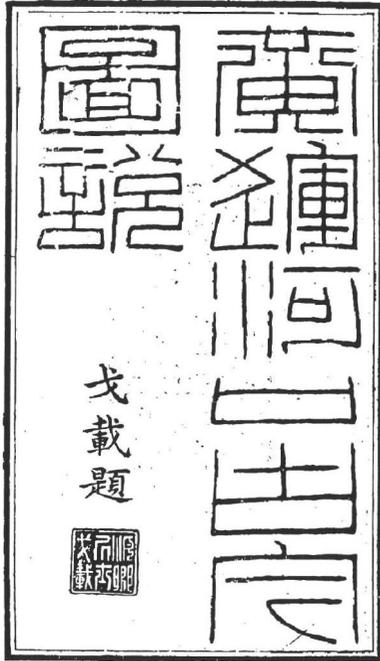
Figure 8

Calligraphy for the title-page of *En-hua's Pa-ch'i i-wen pien-mu*, by the Mongol *Ch'ung-i* 崇彝, of the Balute clan, grandson of the Grand Secretary *Po-chün* 柏俊 (d.1859) [below]; calligraphy for the book's outside cover, by *Pao-hsi* (left)



Figure 9

Calligraphy by Ko Tsai 戈載 for one of Lin-ch'ing's other books, Hua-yun ho-k'ou ku-chin t'u-shuo (1836)



the Gods), Yang Tsung-han remarked to me one day, quite out of the blue, that there was an interesting entry for the 17th of the the first month, 1893, in the diary of Wang K'ai-yun 王闈運 (1832–1916), *Hsiang-ch'i-lou jib-chi* 湘綺樓日記: "The titles used for the gods in *Feng-shen yen-i* show certain gross discrepancies. The book needs careful collating. The discrepancies can be established from textual evidence. The book uses the expression *lang-bsien* 狼筄, meaning a bamboo pike, which can only have occurred after the Chia-ching reign (1522–67)." This reference of Yang's indicates real learning, it is the sort of knowledge not to be derived from idle chat or hearsay. The "bamboo pike" was a weapon invented by Ch'i Chi-kuang 戚繼光 (1528–87) during the Chia-ching period to deal with the Japanese pirates (*wo-k'ou* 倭寇). It was made of a long bamboo staff with a sharp metal spike on the end of it and along its length a series of protruding bamboo branches. It was used by foot-soldiers. Yang Tsung-han studied Western political science and constitutional history, he was a scholar of Milton and Shakespeare, and there he was producing this reference from one of the more obscure byways of traditional Chinese learning. Imagine what else there must have been stored away in that brain of his!

In August 1958 he resigned from his position as Principal of the Evening School for Higher Chinese Studies. It was a sudden decision. I once asked him about it and he said:

"When I took on this job, it was a decision reached jointly by the Hong Kong government Department of Education and Hong Kong University. The idea was to merge the school with the university. Now the two parties have failed to reach an agreement. Hong Kong University does not seem predisposed to take on the Evening School. Consequently my being there no longer has any meaning."

His analysis was close to the truth of the case. Soon afterwards he also resigned from his concurrent position lecturing on Western literature at Chung Chi College 崇基學院 (now one of the constituent colleges of the Chinese University of Hong Kong). Colleagues at Chung Chi had criticised him for being too stringent in his marking, claiming that his standards were too high for an "independent college" such as theirs. In December of that year the Hong Kong government made him an Assistant Education Officer, and assigned him as a lecturer to the Northcote Teachers Training College. This was a very dependable job, but two months later he resigned again. He considered the training offered by Northcote College inadequate, and was totally unwilling to go along with what he saw as their slipshod approach. During the subsequent thirty-odd years I do not believe he ever had a definite job, although he may have taken on some literary piece-work. His fellow student from Tsing Hua days, the Wu-hsi man T'ang Ping-yuan 唐炳源 (better known as T'ang Hsing-hai 唐星海), later the owner of one of Hong Kong's largest textile factories, over the years until his death provided his high-minded old friend with occasional financial assistance. But Yang would not accept money from anyone else. Whenever I went to Hong Kong from

Australia I would always call on him at home. In the '80s he moved from Kowloon out to the New Territories, to a single-room apartment (with its own W.C.) in Yuen Long 元朗. But from there he could at least look northwards to China, and he continued to observe the world—I am sure I am not the only person to remember his well-informed and often idiosyncratic observations on world affairs. The well-known novelist Chin Yung 金庸 (Cha Liang-yung 查良鏞), until recently chief shareholder in Ming Pao Newspapers, hearing of Yang's plight, immediately proposed to make him an annual allowance (for "ice" and "charcoal", as the Chinese traditionally say). Yang let it be known that he did not wish to accept such a gift. But at the same time he remembered that one of Chin Yung's elder brothers Cha Liang-chao 查良釗 (a prominent figure in the Chinese legal world) had been at Tsing Hua, where he had been three years Yang's senior.

It must have been in the winter of 1991 that Yang Tsung-han went to live in a nursing-home in Aberdeen. In December of that year I passed through Hong Kong and called on him. He was still in good spirits, though he was beginning to show certain symptoms of persecution mania. He suspected that the sisters of the nursing-home were using "kindly" means to send the residents "back to their maker," and would plead with his friends to find some way of "setting him free." I talked with him at some length, trying to allay his fears, and left in a somewhat subdued silence. In June of the following year, once again I was passing through Hong Kong. A friend had already informed me that Yang had been sent by the nursing-home to the psychiatric ward of Queen Mary's (the Hong Kong University teaching hospital). It was raining slightly the day I went there to visit him. When finally I found him, he seemed in good spirits again, and there were no signs of his illusions of persecution. But as I was leaving he took hold of my hand and held it tightly, and asked me in a quiet voice: "How much does it cost here, per day?" I had no idea, and could not think how to answer him. In the end I just smiled. I am afraid my silence must have been a disappointment to him.

That was the last time I saw him. He had a younger brother. He once told me this brother, who died some time in the '70s, was my age. Yang Tsung-han was married, but had no children. His wife lives in Peking. She came to Hong Kong to see him once, and must have tried to persuade him to go back. For a while he seemed to have made up his mind to do so, but friends in Hong Kong advised him to stay, and he never went. I have on my desk in front of me a complete set (twenty-four thread-bound volumes) of the *Chin History* 晉書 in the *po-na* 百衲 edition of the *Twenty Four Histories*, a present from Yang Tsung-han. It is a lithographic reprint of the Sung edition that was once in the collection of Chi Chen-i 季振宜 (born 1630) and Chiang Kuang-yu 蔣光燾, which had thirty *chüan* (the *Tsai-chi* section) missing. When it was reproduced, this portion was made up from another Sung edition. My own family's set of the first series of the *Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an* also contained this edition. My family books are dispersed, and now each time I turn the pages of Yang Tsung-han's gift, my mind fills with recollections of the past, with shadows of old friends and of old books that I once knew.

Figure 10

An illustration from Lin-ch'ing's *Hokung ch'i-chü t'u-shuo* [Illustrations and explanations of the techniques of water conservancy and engineering], 1836. As Joseph Needham comments (*Science and civilisation in China*, vol.4, pt 3, p.596, fig.1009b), "this is the best traditional Chinese drawing of a standard transport junk, showing the system of battens, the multiple sheets with their euphroes, the balyards and the trapping lifts A transport of this kind could do coastal as well as river work." Elsewhere (*ibid.*, vol.4, pt 2, p.348) Needham refers to this work as "the great Ch'ing compendium of water-conservation technology."



TRACKS IN THE SNOW

— an autobiographical memoir by Lin-ch'ing

translated by Yang Tsung-han

PREFACE *

by P'an Shih-en 潘世恩¹

Figure 11

Calligraphy for the title page of *Tracks in the Snow* by Ko Tsai, author of the "Encomium" (see p. 17)



The late Director-General of River Conservancy,² Lin Chien-t'ing 麟見亭 of Ch'ang-pai,³ was a successful candidate in the Provincial Examination of the year *wu-chen* [1808], when I was appointed one of the examiners. Now, three years after his decease, his sons Ch'ung-shih and Ch'ung-hou 崇厚⁴ have commissioned the manuscript of his work *Hung-bsueh yin-yuan t'u-chi* 鴻雪因緣圖記 to be carved on woodblocks⁵ for publication, and have asked me to write a preface.

The work is a narrative of his lifetime's travels. In Mao's Commentary on the *Book of Odes* we read: That man who, having climbed a mountain, can compose poems to describe the scene and to express his feelings withal; that man who, having travelled among mountains and rivers, can describe them and narrate the legends and histories connected with them; that man has a truly edifying voice and is worthy to be a high official.⁶ From ancient times, distinguished scholars have written down accounts of their official travels, to the benefit of later ages. Examples of this are the *Record of Riding on a Phoenix* 驂鸞錄 and the *Record of the Ships of Wu* 吳船錄 by Fan Shih-hu 范石湖,⁷ and *Travels in Szechwan* 入蜀記 by Lu Wu-kuan 陸務觀,⁸ both of the Sung dynasty; while in the present dynasty there have been the *Narrative of Journeys by an Imperial Delegate* 皇華紀聞 by Wang Yu-yang 王漁洋⁹ and the *Sung-t'ing hsing-chi* 松亭行紀 by Kao Tan-jen 高澹人.¹⁰ As to writings with illustrations and maps there have been the *Embassy to Korea in the Reign of Hsuan-bo* 宣和奉使高麗圖經 by Hsu Ching 徐競 of the Sung dynasty,¹¹ and the *Ch'ang-an Illustrated Gazetteer* 長安志圖 by Li Hao-wen 李好文 of the Yuan dynasty.¹² These works follow varying plans, yet all are recorded in the bibliographies of the dynastic histories and have thereby achieved immortality.

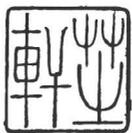
Chien-t'ing was widely read and proficient in composition; he passed the highest state examinations in the prime of his youth, served in the central government and thence was sent out to fill various responsible posts in different parts of the Empire. In this work, he has given a comprehensive narrative based on his extensive studies into local characteristics, picturesque locations and antiquities, legends and relics, climate, fauna, folklore and folkways, river conservancy and hydraulic problems. His own learning and

official achievements have thereby been demonstrated. But in its general plan the work is an autobiographical record of his travels, and is more or less similar to the various works of Fan Ch'eng-ta and Lu Yu, while in his provision of illustrations Chien-t'ing is a successor to Hsu Ching and Li Hao-wen.

During the latter days of his life, he lived in retirement at home, keeping his gate closed and neglecting to sweep the pathway, but constantly revising and touching up this work. Certainly he identified himself with Tsung Shao-wen 宗少文¹³: he kept his thoughts pure and meditated on the *Tao*,¹⁴ revisiting these haunts from the comfort of his couch. We are thereby enabled to picture, exactly as they were, those moments of leisure in the midst of official splendour: the elegant outpourings of the muse, the skilful games of pitch-pot,¹⁵ the exquisite refinement that informed his life.

Written in the eighth month, autumn,
the twenty-ninth year of the Reign of Tao-kuang [1849],

by P'an Shih-en of Soochow



/blocks were left in Yangchow and burned by the Taiping army in 1860. The Bodleian Library, Oxford, possesses a fine copy (Backhouse Collection no.139), as does the library of the Institute of Chinese Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

⁶ (YTH) The quotation is from Mao's commentary on Ode No 50.

⁷ (YTH) Fan Ch'eng-ta 范成大 (1126–93), Southern Sung poet and official.

⁸ (YTH) Lu Yu 陸游 (1125–1210), generally acknowledged as the pre-eminent and most influential poet of the Southern Sung dynasty.

⁹ (H) Wang Shih-chen 王士禎 (1634–1711), eminent poet and official from Shantung. He was sent by the K'ang-hsi Emperor to Kwangtung to offer sacrifices to the Spirit of the South Seas in 1685.

¹⁰ (H) Kao Shih-ch'i 高士奇 (1645–1703). The work in question concerns a journey to Jehol in the company of the K'ang-hsi Emperor in 1681.

¹¹ (Balasz & Hervouet) Hsu Ching (1091–1153) wrote and presented this work to the emperor in 1124, the year following his return from Korea.

¹² (Ed) Biography in *Yuan Shib, chüan* 183.

¹³ (YTH) Tsung Ping 宗炳 (375–443) lived in the Tsin dynasty. He was a famous traveller in his prime and a philosopher-hermit in his latter days. He painted the scenes of his former travels. Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*: "I can no longer see the hills; I must visit them in imagination from my couch."

¹⁴ (YTH) It is a happy coincidence that the Chinese word *Tao* 道 both literally and figuratively means the same as *bodos, via* and 'way' in the three Indo-European languages.

¹⁵ (YTH) *Tou-hu* 投壺, the throwing of a bamboo arrow into a standing vase containing sand, was a classical sport of great elegance played at inter-state, state and aristocratic meetings and dinner parties. It was first recorded in the *Tso Chuan*, the 12th year of Chao Kung.

* (Ed) This is only one of seven prefaces to the first volume. Among the others who contributed prefaces were the well-known figures Juan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849) and Ch'i Chün-tso 祁雋藻 (1793–1866).

¹ (H) (1770–1854), prominent official of the Chia-ch'ing and Tao-kuang reigns, rose to be a Grand Secretary and Grand Councillor of State (1834–49).

² (Ed) In most cases I have preserved the official titles used by Yang Tsung-han in his manuscript.

³ (YTH) Originally the name of a mountain in Kirin, Manchuria, here referring to the whole of Manchuria. For details of the career of Lin Chien-t'ing (Lin-ch'ing) see above, n.3.

⁴ (H) Ch'ung-shih (1820–76) and Ch'ung-hou (1826–93) were both prominent officials during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

/Ch'ung-shih's autobiography, *T'i-an nien-p'u* 揚盦年譜, was published in 1877. He was acting Military Governor of Mukden before his death. Ch'ung-hou was especially famous as the Chinese envoy sent to apologise for the Tientsin Massacre, reaching France in January 1871. He subsequently travelled to Russia, had an audience with the Czar, and signed the Treaty of Livadia (1879). For this he was later disgraced.

⁵ (Ed) The publication history of *Tracks in the Snow* is complex. The first two volumes were printed between 1839 and 1841 without the illustrations. The third volume was ready in 1846, the year of Lin-ch'ing's death. His eldest son Ch'ung-shih had the complete work printed in Yangchow between 1847 and 1850 (*T'i-an nien-p'u*, I, 24–25). The first edition comprised one thousand copies and these were brought to Peking. But the wooden

A Likeness of the Author at the Age of Thirty-Nine

像水巖九十三乎亦帝昆

The Author's Own Inscription

The wise find joy in rivers,
 The humane in mountains;
 Motion and stillness
 Are the impulses of Heaven.¹⁶
 That I, a creature of folly,
 Should have lived among them
 Was due to my Liege's grace
 And the merits of my ancestors¹⁷;
 These granted me
 A providential enjoyment
 Of mountains and rivers.



汪英福恭寫
 曹

*Respectfully executed by Wang Ying-fu 汪英福*¹⁸

*An Encomium, by Ko Tsai*¹⁹

Behold the Star of Letters, Star of Blessing!
 Gaining his laurels at a tender age,
 He passed from grove of Hanlin Academe to halls of state;
 Then with emblem of office
 Was sent to govern two prefectures;
 With coach²⁰ and cap, toured his domain.
 His compositions were a torch illuminating his path in life,
 His administration a pattern for future ages.
 He ascended famous mountains, sailed great rivers,
 His steps traversed the land.
 Splendour shone in his writings,
 Brilliance blazed in his painting²¹;
 His was the deportment of a true scholar,
 The elegant bearing of a gentleman;
 How fortunate am I (and how unworthy)
 To have counted among my acquaintance
 Such a paragon!

親器乎半德露科是
 仰宇豪天政冕由文
 德雅素下為四薇星
 馨人炳皆典巡省是
 標采足型煥人福
 吳格乎跡登文槐星
 縣不丹之名章廳自
 戴才青所凶為出弱
 贊何此經涉事麾冠
 幸儒摘大業兩掇
 而臣華川旋守魏

¹⁶ (Ed) *Analects*, VI, 21.

¹⁷ (Ed) This must be an allusion to Hsieh Ling-yun 謝靈運 (385–433), famous for his landscape poetry, and also as the author of a “Poem to Describe the Merits of my Ancestors.”

¹⁸ (Ed) Served on Lin-ch'ing's staff from 1827. He executed the first of the three series of drawings (nos. 1–80).

¹⁹ Of Wu County (Soochow). (Ed) A well-known calligrapher-painter and writer of lyric verse (*tz'u*). Listed under his name in the *I-wen chib* of the *Ch'ing-shih kao* are several works on lyric verse. He also wrote the calligraphy for the frontispiece of *Tracks in the Snow* [Figure 11], and for another of Lin-ch'ing's books, *Huang-yun ho-k'ou ku-chin t'u-shuo* [Figure 9].

²⁰ (YTH) Here a pretentious pedant has deliberately used a wrong word in order to pose as a learned and extensively read person.

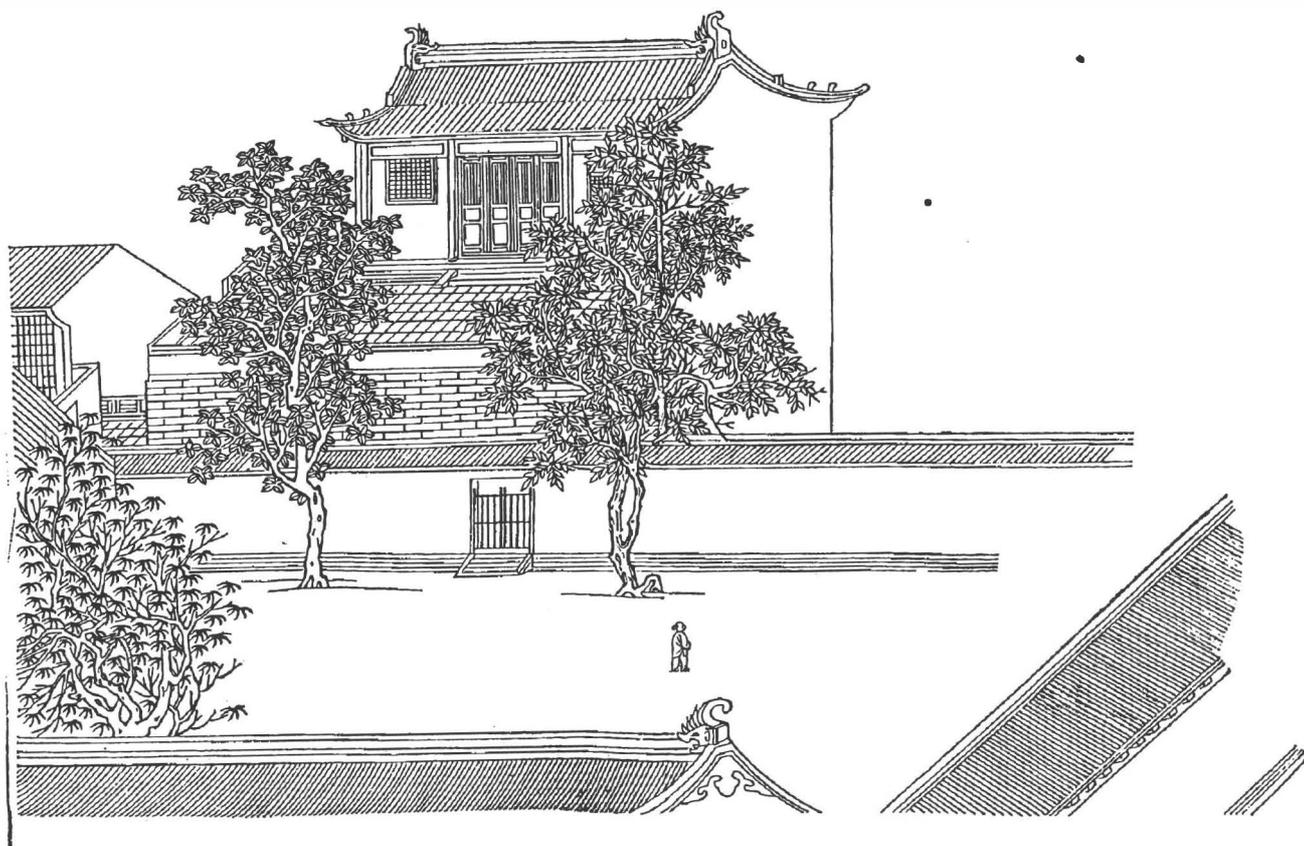
²¹ (YTH) “Crimson and blue”: figurative (and conventional) expression for painting. See Tu Fu's 杜甫 “Song of Painting”: “By his devotion to the ‘crimson and blue’ [i.e. painting], he is oblivious of the approach of old age.” Here “painting” really means the paintings that were done for Lin-ch'ing or presented to Lin by others; Lin himself could not paint at all.

Figure 12

The Encomium in the calligraphy of Ko Tsai

延年玩丹

○



Witnessing the Alchemic Orbs at Longevity Hall

In the fifty-sixth year of Ch'ien-lung, the year *bsin-bai* [1791], on the fourteenth day of the third month, I, Lin-ch'ing, was born in the Prefect's official mansion in Nan-yang Prefecture of Honan Province, where my grandfather, Sire Hsiao-yen 曉巖, was the local Prefect. Five years later, in the first year of the Reign of Chia-ch'ing, the year *ping-chen* [1796], at the age of five, I was taught to read by my grandfather. He also taught me our mother tongue, the Manchu language.²² Then in the next year, *ting-ssu* [1797], my grandfather was promoted to be Grain and Salt Circuit Intendant, and at the age of eight, I accompanied him to the Provincial Capital.²³ I lived in the quarters attached to the Intendant's official mansion. At the rear of my apartment there was a large garden with a two-storeyed building three bays wide, above the entrance to which there hung an inscription, "Longevity Hall," in the "Ancient Script."²⁴ Legend had it that Immortals had once lodged there, so the place was kept carefully locked, except on the first and fifteenth days of the month, when sacrificial offerings were made. In the eastern corner, on the ground floor of this building, was the family school, under the instruction of Ts'ao Hsu-chai 曹蕃齋.²⁵

Whenever I attended school, I would walk past the building. One evening I left school late and the moon was shining as bright as day, when suddenly I saw an Orb of the Alchemic Elixir²⁶ fly into the sky above the roof, round as a pearl, red as fire, riding on the wind and rivalling the moon in brightness. Other Orbs came bobbing up one after another, flickering into the night sky. One soared into the clouds and descended again, glowing with all the colours of the rainbow. Another had meanwhile risen from below, and when these two encountered each other, they exploded into a myriad Orbs, hanging in mid-air like so many strings of precious stones. I was gazing intently at this extraordinary spectacle, when one of these Orbs came flying down towards me and alighted on my shoulder. No sooner had I cried out in terror, than it disappeared altogether.

In the fifth year of the Reign of Tao-kuang [1826], I was promoted from Prefect of Ying-chou in Anhui Province to River Conservancy Circuit Intendant at K'ai-feng and Kuei-te in Honan Province. The day I arrived in the Provincial Capital, the first thing I did was to visit my old school-room. I wrote a poem about it:

Where once I played in boyhood days,
I now return in robes of state.
Before I take up my official seal,
I first pay homage to my "kindly nurse."
May I not sully the glory of my ancestors,²⁷
Though I can ne'er repay my Sovereign's grace!
How little I know how to govern the people,
Much less to manage the Yellow River!

All of this happened exactly as I have told it.

²² (YTH) *Kuo-yu* 國語 was the official nomenclature for the Manchu language. In the last days of Kuang-hsu, when the modified and improved 'Mandarin' speech was made the *lingua franca* of the land, this old meaning of the term was allowed to continue to exist without any alteration, and this caused some confusion. But only for a short time: less than ten years later, when the Ch'ing dynasty came to an end, it became naturally defunct, and experienced an unnoticed demise. (Ed) Mary Wright points out, in her book *The last stand of Chinese conservatism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), p.53, that by the time of the Tung-chih Restoration (1862-74), i.e. only a decade or so after the death of Lin-ch'ing, "the use of Manchu even as a secondary official language, had almost disappeared—the Manchus themselves no longer knew it." And yet Yang Chung-hsi's (see above, Editor's Remarks, n.7) great-grandfather, who served at the court of Ch'ien-lung, was 'demoted' from Manchu to Chinese Bannerman (*Han chün* 漢軍) for failing to reply to the Emperor promptly in the Manchu language.

²³ (Ed) K'ai-feng.

²⁴ (YTH) Vulgarly referred to as the 'Seal Script'.

²⁵ Ts'ao Ts'ui 曹萃, a Tribute Student from Tai-hu in Anhui Province.

²⁶ (YTH) *Tan* 丹 is a venerably ancient word in the Chinese language, and first appeared on a Bronze vessel of the early Chou dynasty. (This vessel is still in existence, and the inscription was published by Kuo Mo-jo and Liu T'i-chih.) The word simply refers to the mineral 'cinnabar', but here it means the alchemical 'article' produced by the Taoists. Hence my translation.

²⁷ (YTH) This reminds us of lines in the *Book of Odes*. For example, in the "Greater Elegantiae," Ode No. 235, "King Wen," we have the line "Ever think of your ancestor!," which is a rhetorical exhortation; in the "Lesser Elegantiae," Ode No. 196, we have the line "Do not disgrace those who gave you birth!," in the imperative mood.

²⁸ (YTH) *Pu-cheng-sbib* 布政使, colloquially called *fan-t'ai* 藩臺.

²⁹ (YTH) Now vulgarly called the Yangtze River.

³⁰ (YTH) This granting of official posts to the legitimate descendants of a meritorious high official has been a continuous institution handed down from antiquity to the end of the Ch'ing dynasty.

³¹ T'ing-lu 廷鏞 (1772–1820).

³² Her father was Sire Sun-chai 巽齋, whose name was Te-feng 德風, a *chin-sbib* of the year *jen-sben* of the Ch'ien-lung reign (1752). His last official post was that of Vice-President of one of the Six Boards.

³³ T'ing-chün 廷鈞, who later served as Assistant Administrator to a Prefect in Chihli Province.

³⁴ A native of Hsiang-ho in Shun-t'ien Prefecture. (Ed) She was a cousin of Ying-ho, who also wrote a biography of Lin-ch'ing's mother. See *Pa-ch'i wen-ching, chüan* 53. These prominent Bannermen families were very closely interconnected.

³⁵ A native of Yang-hu in Kiangsu Province. (H) Yun Chu 惲珠 [1771–1833] was herself a poetess and a descendant of the painter Yun Shou-p'ing 惲壽平 [1633–90]. To her Lin-ch'ing owed much of his literary talents and artistic inclinations ... She is best known for her anthology of Ch'ing dynasty woman-poets, *Kuo-ch'ao kui-hsiu cheng-sbib chi* 國朝閩秀正始集.) My maternal grandfather, Sire Chih-t'ang 芝堂, named Yu-hsiu 毓秀, served as a minor county official in his lifetime, and then in the 24th year of Chia-ch'ing (1824), when I was serving in the office of the Heir Apparent, he was granted the title Grand Master for Governance: this was part of the general largesse dispensed on the occasion of the Jubilee celebrations of that year. At the same time my maternal grandmother, Madame Chuang 莊, was granted the title Lady of Suitability.

³⁶ Of the Manchu Bordered Yellow Banner. Her father was the Viceroy Nasuto 那蘇圖, who enjoyed the additional honorary title of Senior Tutor to the Heir Apparent, and was posthumously canonised as "Earnestly Diligent" and granted admission to the Temple of the Conscientious and Virtuous.

Presenting Verses to my Parents in the Gallery Ringed by Verdure

In the year *hsin-yu* [1801] of the Reign of Chia-ch'ing, my grandfather, who was serving in the post of Financial Administrator²⁸ of Honan Province, was given a special concurrent appointment to command the troops guarding the Great River.²⁹ He died on duty on board ship and was rewarded with an Imperial commendation: his official career was deemed "meritorious," and he was therefore granted, as a mark of great favour, a formal sacrificial offering and burial rites, while his legitimate descendants were to be granted hereditary rank according to law.³⁰

In the previous year, *keng-sben* [1800], in the twelfth month, my father Sire Shu-ch'ih 曙埤,³¹ then serving as Assistant Administrator to the Prefect of Soochow, had suffered the bereavement of my grandmother, the Lady Socolo 索緯羅, of the Plain White Manchu Banner.³² My father had vacated his official post and returned to the Capital to observe his period of mourning. Now, accompanied by my uncle Sire Shih-p'ing 石屏,³³ he reverently went to the Military Headquarters to transport my grandfather's coffin back to the Capital. When the cortège reached the county of Pai-hsiang in Chihli Province, he also suffered the bereavement of his own mother, the Lady Lu 陸.³⁴ Then my own mother, Lady Yun 惲,³⁵ reverently went to conduct my great-grandmother Lady Tai-chia 戴佳³⁶ home to the Capital, to our old mansion east of the Drum Tower, where she could live surrounded by her devoted family.

In the eastern part of the mansion, there was a building named the Gallery Ringed by Verdure. In front of it stood a "Horse Tassel Tree," so big it took two people to reach their arms around its trunk, while two old wisteria vines rambled up a trellis nearby, their lovely shade covering more than a rood. Nearby a banana-palm had been planted beside a rockery. It was a delightful spot. During the summer months my great-grandmother would go there to escape the heat. When I was eleven years of age, I used to keep the old lady company and amuse her, together with my two brothers, Chung-wen 仲文³⁷ and Chi-su 季素,³⁸ and the older of my younger sisters.³⁹ One evening, when there was a refreshing breeze and the moon was bright, my parents composed poems to amuse the old grand-dame. As I was then just beginning to learn how to versify, I presented a 'regulated' poem of my own composition, which ran as follows:

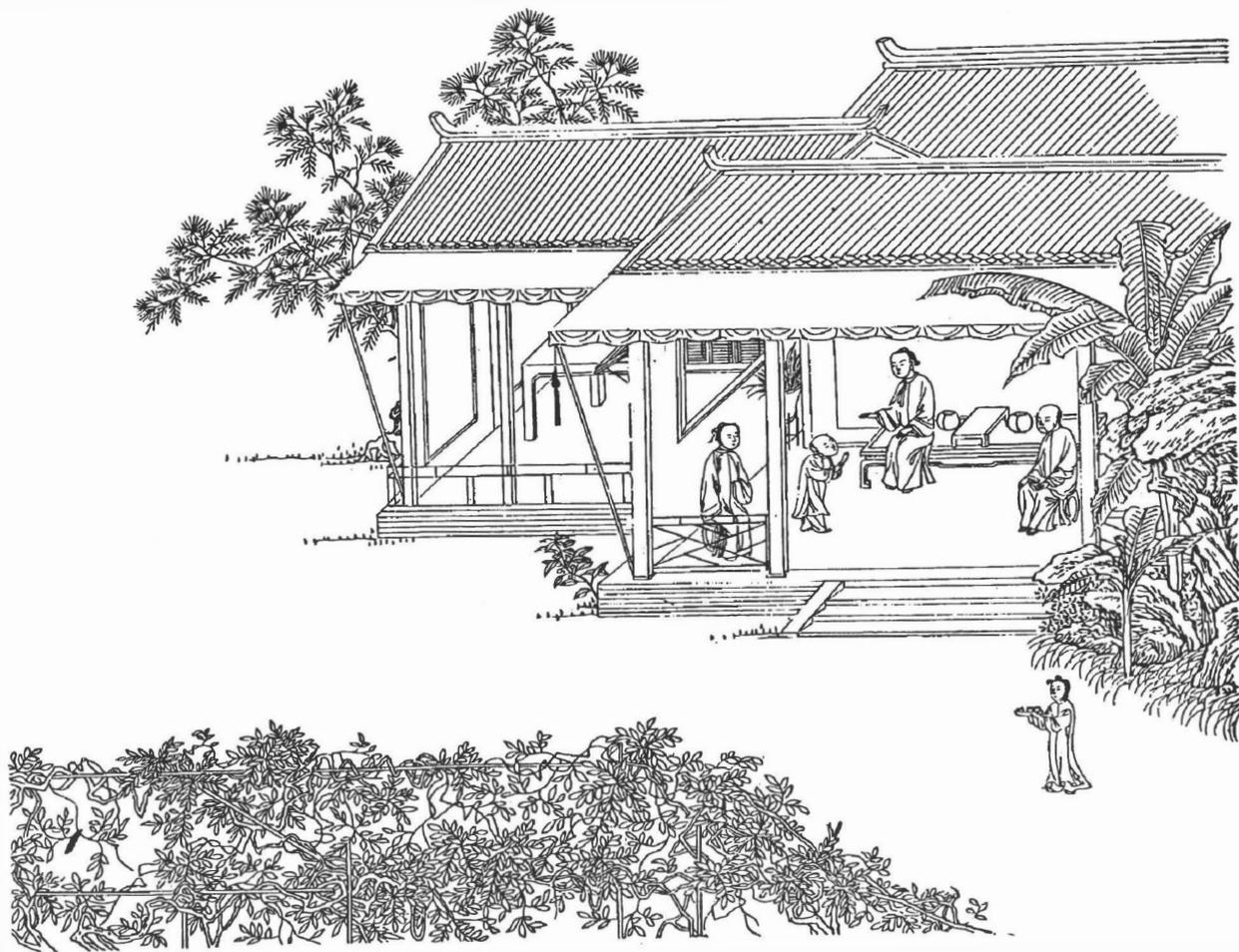
³⁷ Named Lin-ch'ang 麟昌, then aged ten, later served as Chief Custodian of the Arsenal.

³⁸ Named Lin-shu 麟書, then aged eight, later served as Administrator of a *chou* in Kwangsi Province.

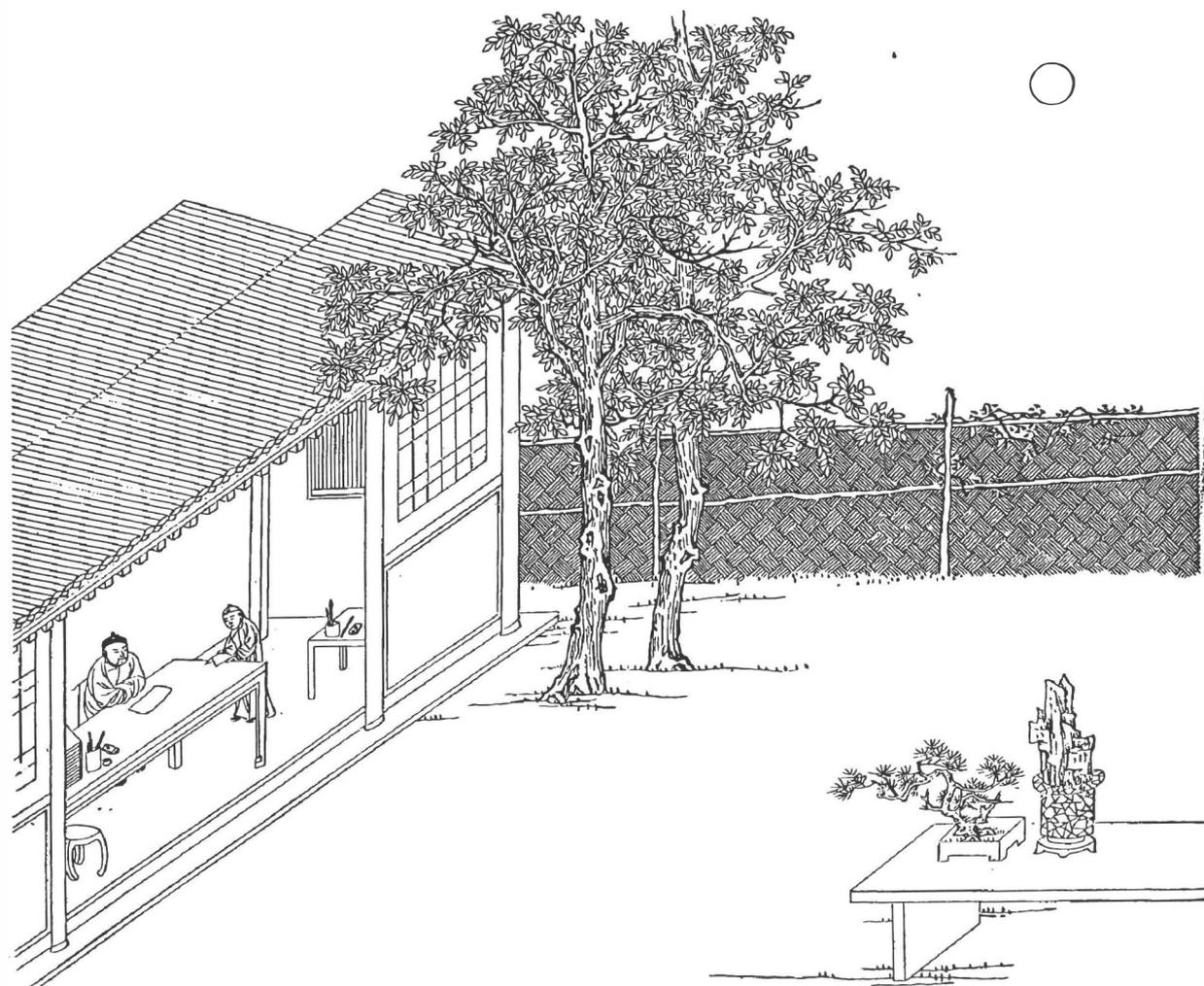
³⁹ Then aged seven, later married to Tung Yen-yung 童衍榮, who served as Department Magistrate.

Beyond the flowers the clepsydra tells the night,
 Above the quiet gallery, the moon shines bright,
 Both parents are hale and well,
 Poetry and the Rites have left their mark:
 Sitting in my corner, I offer my evening duty,
 Sharing in a family joy that warms my heart.
 Fain would I follow in the footsteps of my forebears,
 And wet my brush to imitate their elegant refrain.

詩呈翠環



靜存受經



Studying the Classics in Serenity Hall

In the year *jen-bsu* [1802], when I was twelve years of age, I studied the classics, together with my two brothers, my two elder cousins, Ku Ch'un-ku 顧春谷⁴⁰ and Yun Tzu-shang 惲子尚,⁴¹ one younger cousin, Tzu-p'ien 子駢,⁴² and also Chang Hsiao-lou 張曉樓⁴³ and Yu Hsing-chieh 豫星階.⁴⁴ We were taught by my maternal uncle Chieh-shih 潔士.⁴⁵ The family school was named Serenity Hall.

One day I reached school rather late and as soon as I appeared I was requested by our Preceptor to provide a response to a line which he supplied:

The red sun fills the window, yet he lies abed.

I came up instantly with:

The blue clouds pave a way, for me to tread.⁴⁶

My uncle the Preceptor was rather impressed and commended me. He then assigned me the Theme "Worse than Flood and Fire" for a short Diagnostic.⁴⁷ He was quite pleased with my attempt and wrote the comment: "Outstanding Reasoning, Splendid Inspiration! If a juvenile piece can attain this, will not the young writer grow to be one who grasps the Essence of the Classics and wields the Vital Force of the Sages?"⁴⁸ He spoke with pleasure to my mother, the Lady Yun, saying: "This boy has a naturally superior gift. Please do not spoil him with leniency and indulgence. Let him be properly disciplined, that he may develop into an accomplished scholar." Later, when another of my maternal uncles Ch'üeh-shih 確士⁴⁹ came to Peking, he said the same thing to my mother, and she became stricter than ever.

At this time I received, by gracious Imperial favour, a hereditary appointment. As the grandson of a meritorious official, I was entitled to a post of the sixth rank. But the officials in the Government Office concerned were a greedy lot. They proposed to consider my grandfather as having been granted an additional honorary title of President of the Court of Sacrificial Worship⁵⁰ and then grant me an appointment as the grandson of an official of that rank. This made it look as if they were doing me a favour, whereas in fact they were demoting me to a post of the seventh rank. Moreover they pointed out that since there had never been a Junior Metropolitan Official of the seventh rank in the Office of the Imperial Household, the only available post of equivalent rank would be that of Clerk. This obstructive trick of theirs merely strengthened my resolve to build my career on my own scholarship and hard work. This is not to deny the part played by the benevolent and judicious guidance of my elders, and the silent working of Heavenly Grace, which have indeed helped me to make something of my inherited privilege.

I first began my studies under my teacher Cheng Yueh-t'an 鄭月灘,⁵¹ then under Ts'ao Hsu-chai, then under my maternal uncle Chieh-shih, and then under Niu Kung-yu 鈕公瑜.⁵² I give their names here as a memorial.

⁴⁰ Name Yin-liang 寅亮, a Student in the Provincial Academy of Kiangsu.

⁴¹ Name Shou-chang 受章, later passed the state examination and became a Master of Arts, now serving as a County Magistrate.

⁴² Name Hui-ch'ang 彙昌, later admitted into the Prefectural Academy as Student, and now serving as a County Assistant Education Officer.

⁴³ Name I-ch'un 綺春, a Chinese Bannerman, later served as an Official Copyist, and promoted to be Salt Distribution Commissioner.

⁴⁴ Name T'ai 泰, a Chinese Bannerman, Student in the State Academy, later became a Master of Arts, and served as Prefect.

⁴⁵ Name Ping-i 秉怡, passed his Provincial Examination in the first year of Tao-kuang (1821) and became a Master of Arts. (YTH) Here the full official term is used, meaning literally 'filial, righteous and upright'.

⁴⁶ (YTH) The trick here lies in the fact that 'blue clouds' traditionally was the figurative expression for success in one's career.

⁴⁷ (YTH) In the Octopartite, or Eight-Legged Composition, the writing is divided into parts of which each has a special name, and the students are taught to practice the writing of each part separately, until they are proficient enough at each part and ready to write an entire composition. The Diagnostic is the first part of the Octopartite.

⁴⁸ (YTH) The word *sheng* should not be translated as 'saint'. The Buddhists and especially the Christians introduced the notion of saintliness into Chinese thought. Even the Taoists did (and do) not exactly have this notion.

⁴⁹ Name Ping-hsun 秉恂, served as a subordinate officer under a County Magistrate in Hunan Province.

⁵⁰ (YTH) Office in charge of the rites and ceremonies and official activities in connection with all the Religious and Ancestral Temples.

⁵¹ Name Tao-yin 道印, a native of Yen-shih County in Honan Province, *chin-shih* in the year *i-mao* of the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1795), Chief Educational Officer (*chiao-shou* 教授) of a Prefecture. (YTH: Not the modern 'University Professor', but the name of an official post in the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties.)

⁵² Name Shih-yuan 士元, a native of Shun-t'ien, who passed the State Examination and became a Master of Arts with me in the same examination, in the year *wu-chen* (1808), later serving as a County Magistrate.

⁵³ (YTH) A cryptic reference to the year *chen*, popularly called the Year of the Dragon. The author of this book became a Master of Arts in such a year, and thus inaugurated his life as an official.

⁵⁴ (YTH) Another cryptic reference, to the year *wu*, popularly called the Year of the Horse, when the author was promoted to Prefect, thus launching his official career proper.

⁵⁵ (Ed) Implying marriage.

⁵⁶ (Ed) Symbolic animal of the 12th Branch, *bai*.

Recollecting a Dream of the Temple of Gracious Clouds.

When I was fourteen years of age, I dreamed that I came to a Temple with the inscription "Gracious Clouds." Before the Temple gate there ran a blue stream, in the distance stretched a range of emerald hills, while an old fisherman sailed his boat down a reedy bend of the water. Some lines of verse sprang into my head:

Blooming rushes, misty trees,
Riverside hamlets, fish-marts close at hand;
Fishermen in green coats and blue capes
Sailing home at dusk—

Truly a picture of the southern river-world!

Having composed the poem, I entered the Temple, turned west and followed the path into a garden. Here I found a pond with water-plants growing profusely over its surface and sprays of crab-blossom mirrored in its water, a riot of contrasting red and green. By the pond stood a small building, bearing the inscription "Retreat for Meditation." On the pillars were two columns of characters:

Success will spring from the Horns of the Dragon,⁵³
Pomp will breathe on the Ears of a Horse.⁵⁴

I went inside to rest a little, and then proceeded into the Hall where I saw seven seats. There were three judges seated facing south, and four facing east and west. The first judge facing west rose to vacate his seat for me. Then a clerk presented me with a document for me to give a judgement on, the cover stamped with the two gilt characters "Predestined Affinity."⁵⁵ Taking up the pen to write I suddenly saw my own name on the page before me, and on the following page a picture of a pig.⁵⁶ I left the Hall and walking south came out of the Temple by another gate. There a boat was waiting for me, and I embarked upon it. The wind blew the sails and joy filled my heart. By the riverside I saw a man watering a rusty-coloured horse. Suddenly the bank subsided and the horse fell into the water. I woke up in a great fright. What happened afterwards I have forgotten.

This all happened in the winter of a *chia-tzu* year [1804], and sure enough, in a *wu-chen* year [1808] I became a Master of Arts. I was later promoted to be a Prefect in Anhui Province, in a *jen-wu* year [1822]. Both of these events tallied exactly with the predictions contained in those two cryptic lines on the pillars of the Temple.

My first wife was a young lady of the Gualgiya clan of the Plain White Manchu Banner; then, after a period as a widower, I took as my second wife a young lady of the Shushugioro 書書學羅 clan of the Manchu Bordered Yellow Banner. Neither of these two ladies however, was born in the Year of the Pig. Then I became a widower again, and in the year *ping-tzu* [1816], when I went to pay my filial respects to my parents in T'ai-an where my father was Prefect, many relatives and friends volunteered to suggest desirable

夢尋雲慈



水間湖西



persons for my third marriage, and even to perform the good office of go-between. My parents were undecided, and they bade me go to the Temple of Patriarch Lü⁵⁷ at the Leaping Spring⁵⁸ in Tsinan, the capital of Shantung Province, to pray for enlightenment. There I obtained an oracular sortilege, saying: "The pledge revealed in the former dream." Just then the *ssu-ma* Wang Ku-yu 王古愚⁵⁹ came to discuss a marriage proposal from the young lady Ch'eng Chia 程佳 of the Plain White Chinese Banner. Her year of birth tallied with the prediction in the "dream document,"⁶⁰ and so the decision was taken, a proposal of marriage was offered and accepted, and a formal engagement, a 'presentation of fowl', was made and announced.⁶¹ Since our marriage, the lady has been dutiful in her attendance and service to the elders and has educated our sons and daughters with wisdom. Consequently during all my official peregrinations through Anhui, Honan, Kweichow and Huai-an, I have never had the least worry about family matters. This celestially ordained union of ours was thus revealed to me long beforehand in a dream.

All the illustrations in this book of mine represent real scenes and actual experiences, except for this dream and the "Roaring Waves at the Gate of the Emperor Yu,"⁶² which are imaginary scenes included to commemorate propitious omens.

*Paying my Compliments to West Lake*⁶³

In the first month of the year *ping-yin* [1806], my father was appointed Prefect and assigned to the province of Chekiang. He proceeded there immediately. In the following month my mother and I accompanied my great-grandmother on the river-trip to the South. When we were about to weigh anchor, I received a poem sent to me as a parting gift by Uncle⁶⁴ Chü Shan-t'ao 車珊濤.⁶⁵ The poem included the following lines:

The year contains so little spring enchantment;
When you visit West Lake, enjoy it to the full.

When I did reach Hangchow it was already the beginning of the sixth month. Just then Uncle Li K'ang-chieh 李康皆⁶⁶ came from Shan-yin⁶⁷ and invited me to visit West Lake with him. That very day, accompanied by my brother Chung-wen, we went to the Water Pavilion outside the Yung-chin Gate⁶⁸ of the city, and hired a boat to sail downstream. All around us the hills stood like screens of azure and jet, while purple halls and crimson palaces shone to right and left, as if we could pluck them from our very sleeves. Then we paid our respects at the Temple to the Prince of the Water Immortals.

Evening was approaching as we sailed into the thick of the lotus flowers; we smelt the fragrance of the wind on the gentle ripples of the water, and became oblivious of the cruel heat. I cut a lotus stem and used it as a straw with which to sip my wine. The moon was up by the time we left.

⁵⁷ (YTH) Lü Yen 呂岳, or Lü Tung-pin 呂洞賓, known as Ch'un Yang-tzu 純陽子, a historical person in the T'ang dynasty, who later became in popular Taoist legend one of the Eight Immortals and was referred to as Patriarch Lü.

⁵⁸ (Ed) See the photograph on p.19 of Harold Shadick's translation of Liu E's 劉鄂 (1857-1909) *The travels of Lao T's'an* (New York: Morningside, 1990).

⁵⁹ Name Shu-wu 殊渥 Master of Arts, native of Chihli. (YTH) Again the detestable and disgusting way of designating a Prefect, using an ancient name which was abrogated and became defunct a thousand years ago.

⁶⁰ (YTH) This refers to the Year of the Pig (*hai*), the year of birth of this young lady and also of the author, both having been born in the year *hsin-hai* (1791) in the reign of Ch'ien-lung.

⁶¹ (YTH) A traditional literary expression for the formal pledge and engagement, since a goose was regularly offered in ancient days as a token from the man's family.

⁶² (Ed) Series I, no.42.

⁶³ (YTH) *Wen* 問 is used here in the ancient classical meaning, to 'pay compliments with a gift', as in "The Ruler of Wei sends his compliments to Tzu-kung (a notable pupil of Confucius) with the gift of a weapon." This did not mean that the Ruler of Wei 'asked some questions' about the bow. See also *Tso Chuan*, 11th year of Duke Ch'eng (576 bc).

⁶⁴ (YTH) The term used here, *chang* 丈, is the common Chinese courtesy appellation for a father's close friend or a family close friend of rather advanced age. The word literally means an elder, senior, venerable old man.

⁶⁵ Name Wangdorgi 旺多爾濟, a Mongol and a Student in the Imperial Academy, admitted by Special Grant.

⁶⁶ Name Pu-ying 步瀛, Academy Student from Shan-yin, later served as Chief County Education Officer.

⁶⁷ (Ed) Shao-hsing.

⁶⁸ (Ed) Cf. the lines by Chao Ch'ung-chih 晁沖之 (c.1090): "Outside Yung-chin /OVER

/Gate you'll be free of the red dust"; and Yu Ch'ien 于謙 (1398–1457): "Outside Yung-chin Gate the willows are like smoke." (Angus Graham's translation in *Poems of the West Lake* [London: Wells weep, 1990].)

⁶⁹ (YTH) A form of short poem with four lines which is supposed to be an abbreviated or truncated form of the 'regulated verse'. The form was started in the T'ang dynasty and almost all the great masters employed it. Many wrote perennially renowned and touching compositions in that form, which became more and more popular in Ming and Ch'ing days. But alas! Waning popularity and lack of inspiration make it a less and less honoured form.

⁷⁰ (YTH) The auspicious South Wind which symbolises Well-being and Happiness.

⁷¹ (YTH) A variant name of Hangchow.

⁷² (Ed) Li Tao-yuan (d.527).

⁷³ (YTH) Li Pi 李泌 (722–89), a fascinating, enigmatic and talented character in Chinese history.

⁷⁴ (YTH) The courteous name for Po Chü-i 白居易, the famous poet and renowned civil administrator of the T'ang dynasty.

⁷⁵ Name Wei 魏, Provincial Academy Student of Kiangsu. (Ed) Hummel, or rather Fang Chao-ying, in the biography of T'ien Wen-ching, gives Li's dates as (?1687–1738), and leaves a somewhat different impression of the man: "A provincial official highly favoured by Emperor Shih-tsung (Yung-cheng) Although in his term at Hangchow he improved greatly the architecture and scenic beauties of West Lake, he saw nothing incongruous in having an image of himself placed in the main hall dedicated to the Spirit of the Lake, a divinity known also as the Spirit of the Flowers. In a smaller structure to the rear of this image was placed a group of figures representing himself and his wives. When, some five decades later (in 1780), Emperor Kao-tsung (Ch'ien-lung) visited Hangchow he ordered these figures removed and replaced by others more in harmony with the Spirit of the Lake."

During my days as an official in the Capital, I would recollect this happy experience, and fly there in my imagination.

I have written a series of sixteen "truncated poems"⁶⁹ entitled "Reminiscences of West Lake," and I beg to append one here:

Outside the Tower to Welcome Auster⁷⁰
 the green flow is rich;
 Visitors are loth to leave
 the fragrance drifting these many miles;
 If this mortal frame can change
 into a butterfly dreaming,
 Surely tonight it will fly
 around the lotus flowers.

On investigation there are altogether in our Empire thirty-one expanses of water bearing the name West Lake, but the Ming-sheng Lake of Ch'ien-t'ang⁷¹ is the most famous. In the ancient Han dynasty, there occurred the miracle of the Golden Cow, as recorded in Li Tao-yuan's 酈道元⁷² *Notes on the Water Classic*. And West Lake is not merely a picturesque scenic spot, it is also a useful source of water. In the T'ang dynasty, the Duke of Yeh⁷³ drilled six wells, Po Hsiang-shan 白香山⁷⁴ constructed stone conduits to irrigate the farm land, and Su Tung-p'o of the Sung dynasty introduced vegetable farms. The economic benefits of West Lake have been enhanced from age to age. During the Yuan and Ming dynasties, it was left unattended and came to be more and more in need of dredging. In the present dynasty, during the second year of the Yung-cheng Reign [1724], the Governor of Chekiang, the posthumously canonised Lord Li Min-ta 李敏達⁷⁵ received an Imperial order to dredge the Lake and make other necessary improvements. The Lake thus came to be of great benefit to the livelihood of the people in the western part of Chekiang. Moreover the same Governor restored the antiquities and revised the gazetteers. He certainly did much for West Lake, and it is fitting and proper that he should be worshipped together with the Prince of the Water Immortals.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ (YTH) First of all, this has nothing to do with the narcissus, though the narcissus is regularly known as *shui-bsien bua*. Here *shui-bsien* 水仙 means the various Immortals of the Water, just as there are Immortals of Heaven and of Earth. Some of the most famous Immortals of Water were formerly mortals, e.g. Wu Yun 伍員 and Kuo P'u 郭璞. But the Prince of Water Immortals here is not a former mortal. In the Sung dynasty there was a Temple for the Prince of Water Immortals which was actually a Temple for the Dragon

/King in Hangchow, near the small temple for the poet Lin Pu 林逋 (967–1028). When Su Tung-p'o was the Civil Administrator of Hangchow, he ordered that Lin Pu be worshipped together in this Temple of the Prince of Water Immortals. Hence the temple is mentioned in Huang T'ing-chien's 黃庭堅 poetical works. So here you have a happy marriage (or ridiculous confusion) of Taoist religion, popular folklore, poetic licence, official arbitrary power and cultural diversion and amusement.

Practising Zen in the Monastery of Purity and Grace

After coming to Hangchow I was unable to adjust to the climate, and became gravely ill with malaria. I moved to the Monastery of Purity and Grace for a period of rest and convalescence. The Prior of that establishment, the Venerable Chu-yun 主雲, a monk of profound religious devotion and learning, one day accosted me: "According to my observation," he said, "your spirit is surpassingly pure, and your illness can be cured. It has indeed been providentially arranged that we should meet one another. Would you care to sit in meditation on the mat?" I answered in the affirmative and was invited to enter the Prior's own room and to sit on the mat facing his. There was incense burning in the censer on the side table, there was holy water in a phial, there was a screen fashioned from rare and beautiful Hunanese bamboo swishing against the floor. There was not a human sound in the place. When first I sat down, I felt intolerably restless and hot, then I felt a shuddering cold; but I observed Chu-yun with his closed eyes and his drooping eyebrows, and his spirit of serene tranquillity had a salutary effect on me. I made an effort to restrain myself for a while and then I too attained deep contemplation.

Then Chu-yun expounded the gatha of "not being subjected to the continuous wheel of transmigration." Suddenly I heard the wind blowing the bamboos against each other, and I attained Zen enlightenment. I hummed an extemporaneous verse:

Best I love this first hill
 south of the Lake,
 Seeking the Cloudy Path
 to knock at Zen's Door.
 Outside the window vie
 a thousand bamboos forlorn;
 When our words went beyond the wheel
 I felt true tranquillity.

The Prior, hearing me recite this verse, was delighted and uplifting his two hands palm to palm⁷⁷ he said: "You are hale and well now." Then he rose from the mat and went to the desk to wash his ink-stone, took a brush and did a free-hand ink-painting of South Screen Hill⁷⁸ on a fan,⁷⁹ as a compliment to me and to my appreciation of his exposition. He also wrote out a prescription for an infusion of boiled ginger and dates, to be taken in lieu of tea, and recommended that I abstain from eating beans. Bidding farewell to the Prior, I returned home and after nursing myself for ten days, I found my malaria completely cured.

On investigation I learned that the monastery where I had stayed was originally named the Monastery of the Ever-bright Enlightening Sun. It was first built in the first year of the Hsien-te Reign of the Chou dynasty of the

⁷⁷ (YTH) The customary Buddhist sign of salutation or approval or congratulation.

⁷⁸ (Ed) The Monastery is at the foot of this hill.

⁷⁹ (YTH) Perhaps it sounds ridiculous and absurd to translate *pien-mien* 便面 ('face convenience') as fan; well, the ridiculous absurdity lies in the then fashionable pseudo-literary style of employing an archaic expression which was once in existence in the 4th century AD.

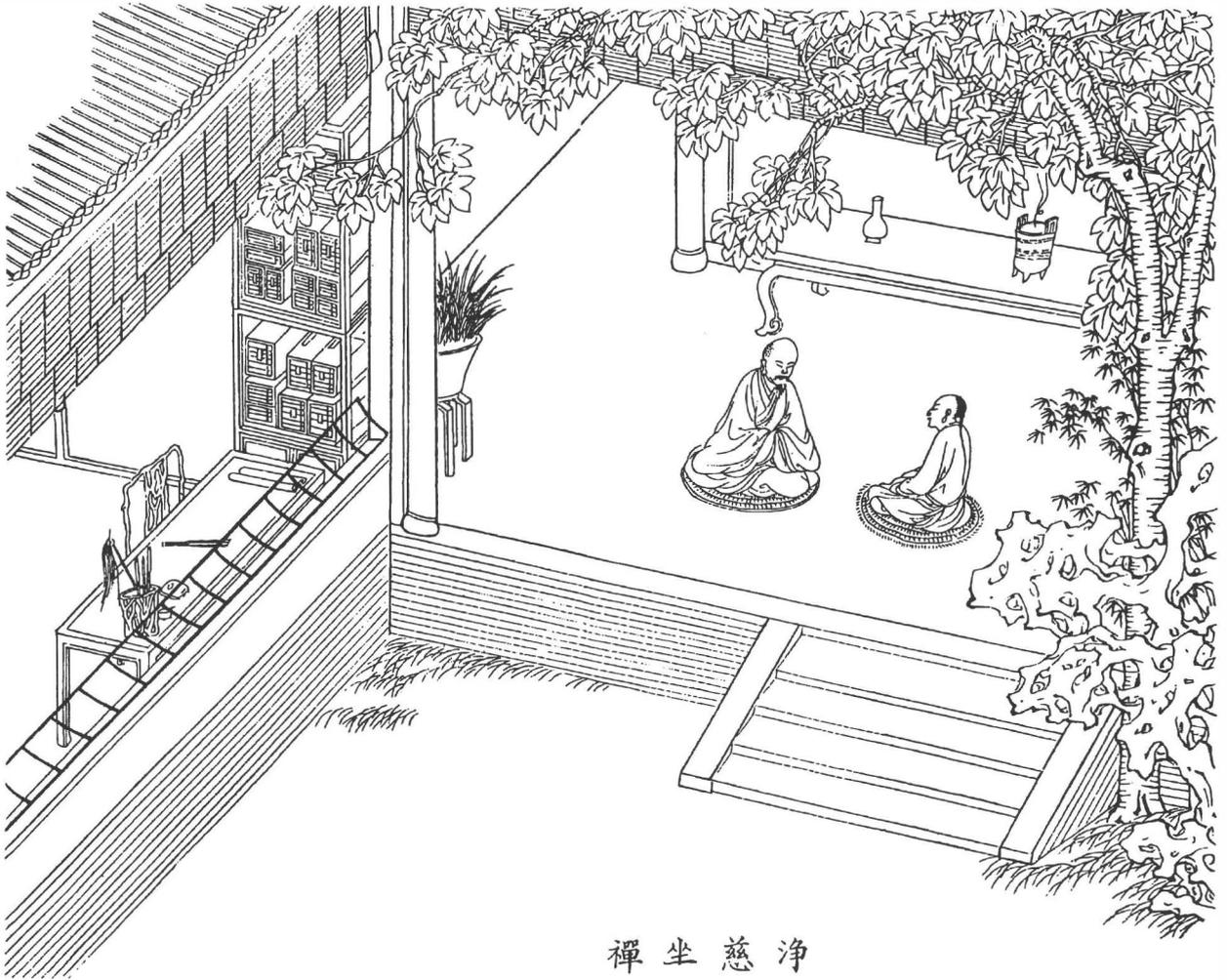
⁸⁰ (YTH) A work which represents the doctrines of all the three schools of T'ien-t'ai, Hsien-shou and Tz'u-en Buddhism; it contains a long and elaborate discussion with the noted representatives of the three respective schools, and a careful collation of the various sutra texts and their Chinese translations. It has been regarded as a veritable compendium of Buddhism since its first publication in the Yuan-feng (1078–1985) period of the Sung dynasty, and has been a rather popular work. In the Ch'ing dynasty the Yung-cheng Emperor bestowed a eulogistic Preface on this work.

⁸¹ (Ed) The Living Buddha Chi-kung 濟公 of traditional fiction.

⁸² (YTH) His 'baptismal' name.

Five Dynasties period [954 AD]. The Prince Ch'ien Shu 錢俶 of the Wu Yueh Kingdom, later posthumously canonised as the Loyal and Exemplary Prince, invited the monk Yen-shou 延壽 to stay there, and it was there that the monk compiled the *Tsung ching lu* 宗鏡錄 in one hundred volumes.⁸⁰ In the Sung dynasty, the main hall was burned down, and while the monk Tao-chi 道濟⁸¹ was soliciting contributions to rebuild it, there occurred a miracle: great timbers floated up from the Temple kitchen well. A second miracle involved a monk who attained Nirvana as soon as he had finished fashioning by hand the figures of five hundred Arhats. A special hall was built to house and worship the five hundred statues and to commemorate this devout monk-artist. At the same time the Priory received its present name. During the Yuan and Ming dynasties it burned down and was rebuilt many times.

In the present dynasty, in the forty-sixth year of the K'ang-hsi Reign [1707], it was renovated, the whole work lasting three years. On its completion, the Emperor himself graciously composed the text for a stele and presented a pair of pillar couplets in his own calligraphy: their splendour complements that of the surrounding lake and hills. Then in the eleventh year of the Yung-cheng Reign [1733] the (long deceased) monk Yen-shou was honoured by special edict with the additional title Perfectly Wise and Enlightened Zen Master, and the Priory was presented (as were other monasteries throughout the Empire) with special reprints of (among others) the *Maxims of the Heart* 心訣, the *Ode on the Heart* 心賦, the *Tsung ching lu*, and the *Wan shan t'ung kuei chi* 萬善同歸集. The Priory was also included in the edict ordering the repair of all Buddhist shrines, the renovation of all statues and the verification of the Buddhistic succession. This further enhanced the renown of the Priory, which has had venerable monks through the generations. Prior Chu-yun's Buddha-name,⁸² Chi-hsiang 際祥, testifies that he is a veritable orthodox successor in the Transmission of the Lamp.



淨慈坐禪

翠踏光韜



Treading the Emerald Shade to Hidden Light Hermitage

Hidden Light Hermitage is at the foot of the Northern Peak. It is built against a steep precipice, and seems to float in mid-air. Behind the hermitage there is a cave and by the side of the cave a two-storeyed building looking down to where the Ch'ien-t'ang River joins the sea. A famous couplet by the poet of the Early T'ang, Sung Chih-wen 宋之問, runs:

The tower beholds the sun on the sea,
The door faces the tide on the river.

From this comes one of the names of the building: "Sea Prospect." The path through the bamboos is equal to that at Cloud Nest Temple.

Once I went on a pleasure trip to the No-Whence Peak⁸³ with my maternal uncle Chieh-chih, my cousin Tzu-shang, and my two younger brothers Chung-wen and Chi-su. We rested at the Pavilion of the Cold Spring, went through the Hall of the Arhats of the Ling-yin Temple, and then turned west to proceed along a serpentine path, that wound its way through thick luxuriant bamboo groves. We walked in emerald shade and never saw the sun nor any ray of sunlight, but just turned and turned and climbed higher and higher without ever being able to see a way out ahead of us. As we progressed we saw large bamboo pipes made and installed by the monks to conduct water from the springs and streams all along this winding route to their various abodes. The gentle gurgling of the water was as pleasing to the ears as music played on the lute. Climbing thus for about three or four *li* we reached the hermitage with its windows facing the hills and its door looking onto the ghyll;⁸⁴ it was a place absolutely bright and clean without spot. Whenever I recollected this scene afterwards I felt a yearning to leave this dusty world.

Hidden Light⁸⁵ was a monk from Szechwan who came here to build his hermitage in the Ch'ang-ch'ing Reign of the T'ang dynasty [821–4]. He was a friend of the monk Bird's Nest⁸⁶ and the acolyte Cloth Hair.⁸⁷ The poet Po Chü-i was Governor of this region at the time and once ordered the preparation of a dinner and summoned Hidden Light with a specially composed poem, which read:

The fragrant rice is cooking in my white thatched cot,
No pungent⁸⁸ taste or rancid smell within my door.
Filtered spring water to cleanse the bean-powder,⁸⁹
Washed hands to dress the wistaria flowers;
Dark green mustard shorn of its yellowing leaves,
Red ginger with its purple shoots intact;
I beg the Master to partake of my fare,
And to enjoy a flagon of tea after the Attic⁹⁰ repast.

The monk replied in similar vein:

⁸³ (YTH) Literally, the 'peak that flew here from nowhere'.

⁸⁴ (Ed) The translator first wrote "ravine," then substituted "ghyll," a fanciful spelling for 'gill', no doubt taken from Wordsworth, who used it in his verse and also in a guidebook to the Lake District. Professor Yang was fond of quoting Wordsworth, and continued to enjoy rambling in the hills well into his eighties.

⁸⁵ (Ed) T'ao-kuang 韜光, literally 'light in a scabbard'. From a poem by K'ung Jung 孔融 (153–208).

⁸⁶ A monk from Ch'in-wang Hill, also called Tao-lin 道林

⁸⁷ A monk from the Chao-hsien Temple, also called Hui-t'ung 慧通.

⁸⁸ (YTH) *Hun* 葷 in Classical Chinese meant vegetable tasting like onion, leek, garlic, pepper etc., never animal flesh: the latter was a subsequent misconception of the word. Its morphology (the 'grass' radical) indicates its true meaning.

⁸⁹ (YTH) The scientific name of this plant is *pueraria thunbergiana*. The root is made into an arrowroot-like preparation.

⁹⁰ (Ed) Professor Yang's choice of word perfectly conjures up the simple elegance implied by Po Chü-i's *chai* 齋.

⁹¹ (YTH) Figurative expression for VIPs.

⁹² (YTH) The Golden Lotus is an important item in Buddhist lore. (1) It refers to the seat, or 'lotus-throne', of Buddha. (2) At the dying moment of an ascetic devotee, Amitābha will come to welcome him with this flower.

⁹³ (Ed) For the Ch'ien-t'ang Bore, see A. C. Moule, "The bore on the Ch'ien-t'ang river in China," *T'oung Pao* 22 (1923), pp.135-86.

⁹⁴ (YTH) Where the river flows into the sea. (Ed) Moule, "Bore," p.146, quotes a thirteenth-century text as saying that the Sea Gate was formed by the two hills K'an and Che facing one another.

⁹⁵ (Ed) "At every mid-autumn full moon when the fury of the tide is specially great, the people of Hangchow swim in the water with flags in their hands to meet Tzu-hsu. This is the origin of the performance called 'sporting the tide'." Moule, "Bore," p.153, quoting the same source. For these "acts of bravado," see also Jacques Gernet, *Daily life in China* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1962), pp.195-6. Gernet comments (n.35): "It looks suspiciously as if these vainglorious acts contained an echo of ancient religious rites."

⁹⁶ (YTH) An early Han dynasty literary figure. (Ed) See John Scott's *Love and protest* (London: Rapp & Whiting, 1972), pp.36-48, for a spirited translation. See also *Mao Tse-tung ssu-bsiangwan-sui*, reprinted. (Tokyo, 1974), pp.310-12, for a more recent reference to this Rhapsody.

⁹⁷ (YTH) Our author seems to have confused Hangchow with Yangchow. In Chinese tradition Hangchow has never been called Kuang-ling, which has always referred to Yangchow. Lest the Gentle Reader may suppose that the translator is being too harsh on, or even antagonistic towards, the Author, the translator should point out that this thorny question has involved many renowned scholars through the ages; the gist of the irrefutable truth is as I have stated it, but if any reader should be interested in this debatable question, he is requested to consult the summaries given on pp.494 and 648 of the *Tz'u Hai* (one volume edition, Hong Kong, 1947).

The mountain monk loves forest and spring—
wild his nature;
Forever sleeps against the ravine,
pillowed on a stone.
Knows not how to plant pines
or receive jade bridles,⁹¹
Can only guide water to a pond
to plant the golden lotus.⁹²
The white clouds may drift
to the blue slopes of the hills,
But the brilliant moon is loth
to descend from the azure sky.
I will not fly with my tin staff
to city and mart;
Lest my presence hinder the lark
from warbling before the emerald tower.

One can imagine the lofty refinement and elegance of the man! To this day the hermitage enjoys his name (and fame).

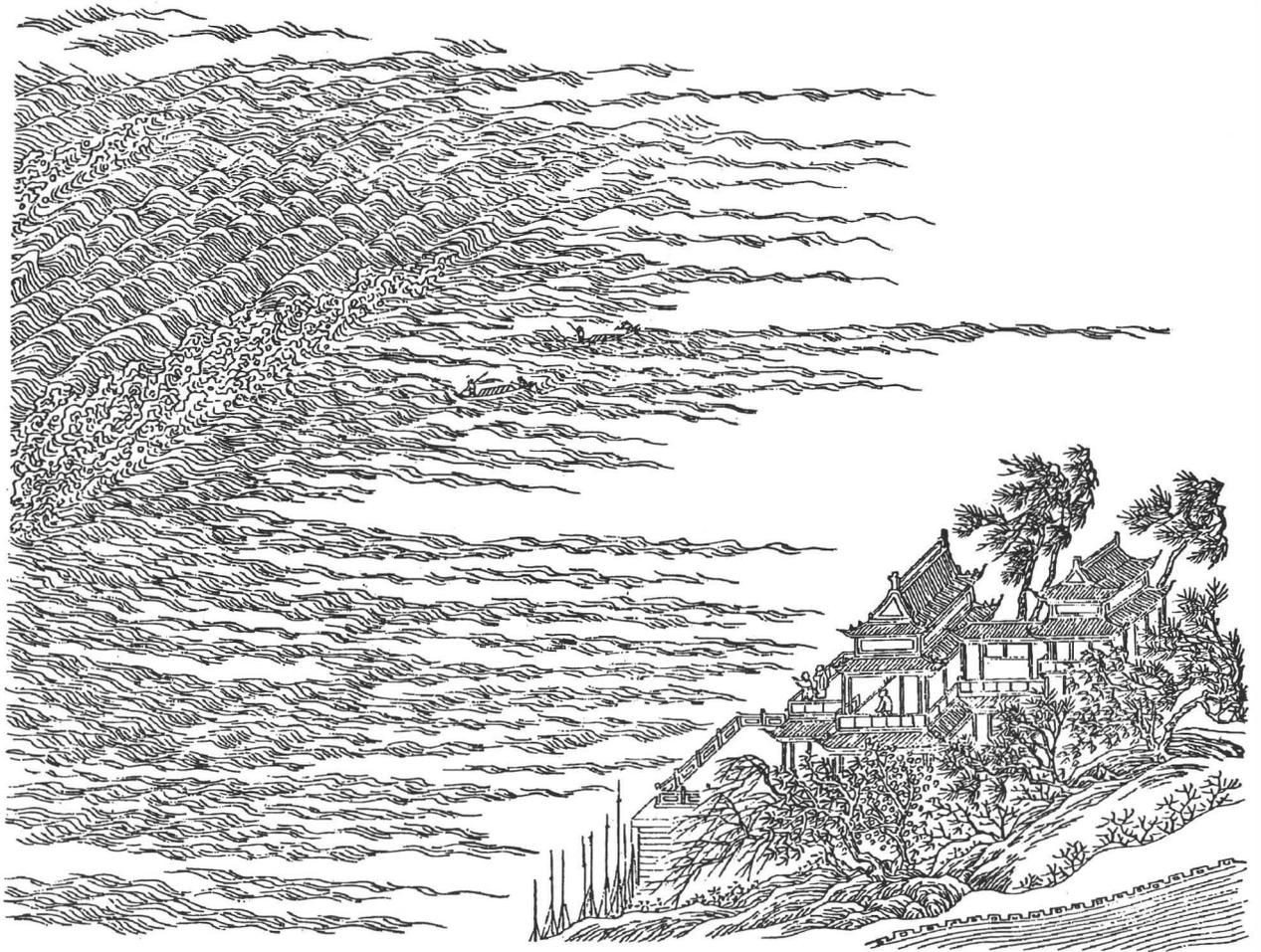
Watching the Ch'ien-t'ang Bore

At Ch'ien-t'ang, legend has it that the eighteenth day of the eighth month is the birthday of the God of the Bore, the Marquis of Chiang 蔣, and for this reason the Bore is particularly high at this time.⁹³ In the autumn of the year *ping-yin* [1806], when my illness was partially cured, I went with my maternal uncle Chieh-shih to the Palace of the Autumnal Waves, to wait for the Bore. Arriving there, we saw in the far distance, at the Sea Gate,⁹⁴ a long white ray of light. Then the wind began to roar and the water "stood up." The braver souls went punting out⁹⁵ and beat the surf with their poles, then swung their craft round to ride the crest of the Bore, down to the west, arriving instantly at Fu-ch'un; here they turned back again to the middle of the Sea Gate, where another wall of water rose up and went surging to the front of the Temple to the Marquis Chiang, the two colliding with a thun-dering crash, the flying spume filling the upper air and the earth seeming to shake. In the whole Empire there is no sight to rival the wonder of this!

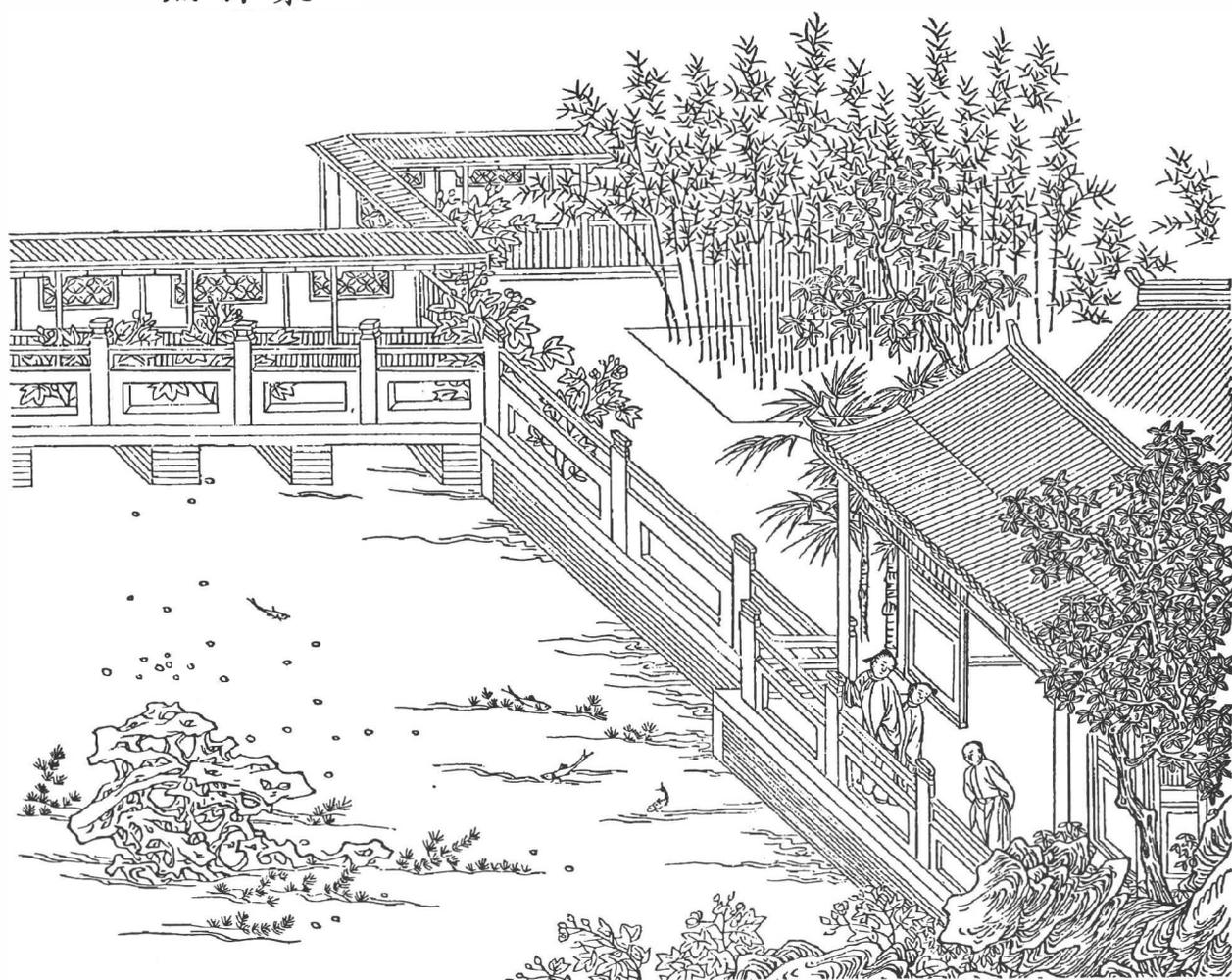
All rivers meet the sea, but the mouth of the Che River is unique: it is formed like the character *chib* 之, bending three times; and where the outward-flowing river meets the incoming tide stand two hills, the K'an 龕 and the Che 楮, which constrain the free movement of the tide; the tide being constrained, the water struggles with the hills and produces mighty waves. Mei Sheng 枚乘⁹⁶ in his "Seven Exhortations to Rise" 七發 writes that "in order to witness the wonder of the Tidal Bore one must go to the river with the twisting mouth at Kuang-ling."⁹⁷

Nowadays, people who have been to Chekiang say that the Bore is not

潮 觀 塘 錢



魚引泉玉



as powerful as it once was; this puzzles me. Recently I met Kuei Hsing-nung 桂杏農⁹⁸ and in the course of conversation I learned from him that there are at present three channels⁹⁹ containing the movement of the tide. The hills K'an and Che to the south form the channel known as the Lesser Southern Channel. This is now silted up and the tide moves through the Greater Northern Channel. The third channel is at Chien Hill 尖山 near Hai-ning, which directly obstructs the incoming tide. That is why the Bore's thrust into the river has weakened. This is truly an instance of the mutability of things!¹⁰⁰

According to the *Record of Dreams*¹⁰¹ the Chiangs were three virtuous brothers named Ch'ung-jen 崇仁, Ch'ung-i 崇義 and Ch'ung-hsin 崇信, to commemorate whose deeds the locals built a Temple. And in the *Ch'ien-t'ang Gazetteer* we read: "During the third year of Hsien-ch'un [1267] an Imperial Edict especially bestowed the title of Extensive Blessing on the Temple and in the sixth year of the same reign [1270] invested the three brothers with marquisates, with the titles Truly Righteous, Truly Benevolent and Truly Propitious respectively. The Temple was built at the riverside, and an imposing and splendid occasion it was, with flutes and drums, pennants and banners. The people of Hangchow regularly celebrate their annual offerings and thanksgivings, and individuals worship with incense and candles. Among other outstanding Gods of the Bore, there are the Ambassador Wu Yun of the ancient Kingdom of Wu, and the Minister Chang Hsia 張夏 of the Sung dynasty, who have been worshipped through the ages. In the second year of the Reign of Yung-cheng [1724] an Edict was issued investing Wu Yun as the Heroically Protective Duke, and Chang Hsia as the Calm and Peaceful Duke, both to be regularly worshipped with offerings in spring and autumn. This was entered in the Official Calendar of Worship. The present descendants of the Chiang brothers still live in Chiang Village by West Stream, and the Marquises are also privately worshipped in their native village.

Luring Fish at Jade Spring

On further investigation, of the eight traditional views of West Lake, the fourth is called Enjoying the Fish at Floral Haven, and many is the lyrical description it has inspired.¹⁰² I went to see it for myself and found that the pond in question had been gradually losing its supply of fresh running water and was in danger of becoming nothing more than a marsh. Then I discovered that recently the best spot for fish was Jade Spring in the Temple of Clear Ripples. The weather was still balmy, the hibiscus in full bloom, and I suggested to my mother that we should accompany my great-grandmother to Jade Spring. The water was clear right to the bottom, and multi-coloured fish over a foot long swam up and down, their scales and excrescences

⁹⁸ Name Ch'ang 昌, of the Gioro clan (YTH: a more distant branch of the Imperial clan than the Aisingiuro), who passed the Master of Arts examination with me in the same *wu-chen* year, and later served as Commissioner of Salt Transportation.

⁹⁹ (YTH) I wonder why our author wanted to employ the archaic classical word *men* 壑 which few of his readers could be expected to pronounce and still fewer to understand. Perhaps he wanted to show off his familiarity with the *Book of Odes*. (Ed) The *locus classicus* for this rare character is indeed Ode 248, and the traditional commentators give the meaning "a gorge where the stream flows between high banks, narrowing the channel." The word was later (from Ming times onwards) used in a technical sense for the channels at the Ch'ien-t'ang rivermouth, and is therefore being used here in a precise sense. I think the answer to Professor Yang's question is quite simple: Lin-ch'ing, having spent a great deal of his life dealing with river conservancy problems, was familiar with this rare word and therefore used it quite naturally. For a detailed historical treatment of the hydrology of this region, see the unpublished conference paper by Mark Elvin and Su Ninghu, "Man against the sea: natural and anthropogenic factors in the changing morphology of Hangzhou Bay," where the term *men* is translated as 'clefs'.

¹⁰⁰ (YTH) Here I give a free, but accurate, translation of the meaning, in order to avoid tedious annotation.

¹⁰¹ (YTH) The *Meng Liang Lu* 夢梁錄, a book written by Wu Tzu-mu 吳自牧 of the Southern Sung dynasty, following the example and spirit of the *Dreams of the Splendour of the Eastern Capital* 東京夢華錄—i.e. K'ai-feng, the capital of the Northern Sung—by Meng Yuan-lao 孟元老. Neither book is a literary masterpiece, but both are interesting and historically informative.

¹⁰² (YTH) If the translator may be allowed an audacious comment, to begin a personal, and rather pleasant, essay with the words "On further investigation," 按, is rather laughable and bad style. It smacks of officialese. Our author had to read this kind of thing every day and was unconsciously influenced by it.

¹⁰³ (YTH) The Ch'i dynasty of the Hsiao family.

¹⁰⁴ (YTH) In this local colloquialism, *yu-erb buo* 魚兒活, the enclitic means nothing. Hangchow people append it to almost every noun. It may look a little like the English diminutive (-let, -kin), but it is not; here, *yu-erb* does not mean 'tiny fish'. *Huo* does not mean 'living', but 'livelihood' or 'trade'. Some people think this phrase is a hawker's cry, meaning 'Fish alive!' Well, this must be left to older Hangchow natives to decide.

clearly visible from above; if the slightest edible morsel was cast into the water they would gulp it down—and then away they went instantly. Around the pond hibiscus bushes had been planted and were in full bloom, their splendid flowers seemingly able to resist the frost. The reflection of the blossoms in the water perfectly complemented the riot of red and green water-plants.

My great-grandmother when she saw this became very jolly, arranged for a feast to be served by the balustrade and ordered that bait be thrown into the water to lure the fish, which without the slightest sense of fear all swam and played about, totally relaxed and utterly oblivious of the human beings above them.

Beside the pond stands the Precinct of the Pure Void, where in the Southern Ch'i dynasty¹⁰³ the monk T'an-ch'ao 曇超 lectured on the Dharma, and a dragon came to listen; and then the monk clapped his hand and a spring gushed forth. There is also the Temple of Propitious Response, so named because here, during the Sung dynasty, whenever there was a severe drought prayers for rainfall were invariably answered. The monk T'an-ch'ao was given the honorific title the Spiritually Enlightened Great Master, the dragon was ennobled as the Duke of Propitious Response, and a statue duly erected.

There is also Drizzling Shower Spring, where minute drops of water fly through the air scattered by the slanting winds like tiny pearls, misleading people into thinking that rain is falling. Hence the name. This was the site where the Sung dynasty monk Neng-hui 能會 blessed the water with a magic spell, for the benefit of the common people. And there is also the Pavilion of the Cleansed Heart, to the right and left side of which a serpentine porch surrounds a pond, where visitors can lean on the balustrade and observe the fish, of which there are many kinds, golden yellow, silvery white, tortoise-shell, azure blue. None dare take fish over one foot in length. In the springtime the adult fish spawn their eggs amongst the water weed. The local people sometimes take the eggs, keep them in porcelain containers till they become grown fish, and then sell them—this is known locally as the "fish trade."¹⁰⁴

In one of my series of poems entitled "Recollections of West Lake" there are the following lines:

Ever since the decline of Floral Haven,
The holiday crowds flock to Jade Spring.