

Stories from Teichman's Tangluo Road

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Summary: This document collates four stories. They were originally written during a project that established the track taken by Sir Eric Teichman along the Tangluo Road [W.1]. When these stories were added to the main document, it became too large and complex. They have therefore been collected separately here and include topics touched in passing in the main text.

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1. Introduction

In 1917, a British Consular Official, Sir Eric Teichman set out on a zigzagging journey through north west China to observe present compliance with treaties Britain had enforced onto China to eradicate its opium growing and trafficking. Some may think that Great Britain should have tried this 100 years before in Bengal, to much greater benefit for Chinese and probably many others, but given the circumstances, perhaps it was as good as could be done at the late time.

The book he published (Teichman, 1921, [R.1]) about his travels contained careful descriptions of his journeys, a more accurately constructed map than others available at the time and records showing close attention to geographic distances, bearings and altitudes. These all together have made the book an important source of information for studies of China's mountain roads as they were in 1917. He also provides important and valuable observations on China and Chinese at the beginning of the Republic that make it an important source of historical information.

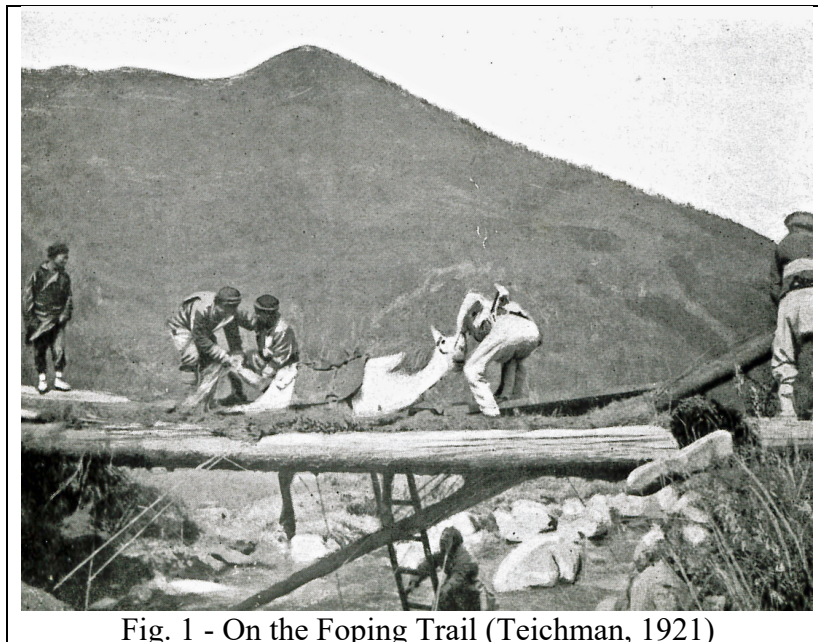


Fig. 1 - On the Foping Trail (Teichman, 1921)

Sir Eric was an excellent horseman and his travels all made use of ponies to cross hills and dales. He had decided to go off the main roads as much as possible so his travels went to places only a few western people had written about, he also spoke and wrote Chinese and his stories – like his adventures – were neither dry nor boring. On the basis of these qualities, a document was developed that sought to map one of Sir Eric Teichman's adventures and put it in the context of the ancient roads that also passed through the places where he travelled.

The route followed during his journey first went east along the Han River to Yangxian from Hanzhong then north over the Qinling Mountain Range to Zhouzhi in the Wei River Valley and finally north west to Fengxiang across the Wei River plain. He wrote [R.1]:

“From Hanzhong it was our intention to re-cross the Qinling Shan back into the Wei valley. The Qinling Shan, or Nan Shan, which consist of a series of precipitous parallel ranges trending across the path of anyone travelling between south and north, have always proved an extraordinarily effective barrier to communication between the Han and Wei basins. It was this barrier which prevented the Taiping Rebellion spreading north from the Han valley into Central Shaanxi, and the Mahomedan Rebellion spreading south from the Wei valley into Southern Shaanxi; and in recent years it has kept the upper Han basin comparatively peaceful while rebellion and brigandage raged in the Wei valley and Northern Shaanxi.”

As they passed through the mountain areas, the travellers reached a Chinese District Administration called Foping in a valley set among the highest mountains of the journey. During the Qing period, Foping was designated a “Ting”¹ but in 1913, after the start of the Republic, it had, like other districts at a similar level, become a “Xian”. Nevertheless, we will still refer to it here as “Foping Ting”. Sir Eric started from the Han Valley at Yangxian, went north through Foping Ting and reached the Wei River at Zhouzhi. This suggested that he probably travelled close to an ancient track known as the Tangluo Road. Although it had been used regularly by local people since ancient times, this road was at the height of its fame, infrastructure development and official recognition in the Tang Period (618-907 CE).

To help place Sir Eric’s journey in context, material from standard authorities such as Prof Li Zhiqin’s Shu Roads book (Li Zhiqin, 1986, [R.2]) and a recent paper by Zhou Zhongqing (Zhou, 2008, [R.3]) have been made accessible in English to provide background information about the routes making up the Tangluo Road. Zhou Zhongqing’s paper has been translated into English and is available at the Qinling Plank Roads to Shu Web Site [W.1]. A comprehensive document has also been produced outlining the steps followed to locate the proposed track for Sir Eric’s route. Google Earth presentations have also been developed showing the final proposed track as well as a proposed network of routes making up the ancient Tangluo Road. The document produced has also been translated into Chinese by Peng Minjia at the Hanzhong Museum and the matched documents have been made available on the project Web Site. You are welcome to read them as well as access the supporting material gathered for the project at the [Teichman Web Page](#) [W.1].

In the development of these texts, a number of topics off to the side of the main study appeared and were also pursued with interest. The results of these excursions became a number of smaller documents which were initially included on the web site. Later, they were merged with the main document about Sir Eric Teichman’s journey. But then the document became unwieldy so they were finally not included in the document and its matching Chinese version. Instead, they have been gathered into the present document as “Stories from Teichman’s Tangluo Road”. The name indicates their links both with the Shu Road and also Sir Eric’s route through it.

In this document there are four such stories:

¹ During the Qing Period, the main levels of administration were Province (Sheng, 省), Prefecture (Fu, 府) and District (three kinds Zhou 州, Xian 县 and Ting 厅) with administrators generally called (in English) Governor, Prefect and Magistrate (for any District). There were also administrations covering a number of Fu called “Dao” (道) often called Circuits in English with administrator often called an Inspector. The English terms used can vary widely but we will try to stay with the above.

1. The Story of Foping Ting

Foping Ting was a relatively recent mountain administration, being formed in the late Qing in 1825. It was established in a very remote but beautiful high mountain valley not far from Taibai Mountain, the highest point in the Qinling Range. For nearly 100 years, with support from garrisons at Huayang (华阳), Houzhenzi (厚畛子) and Yuanjiazhuang (袁家庄), Foping managed the border region and its rough but hard working people and travellers. However, in 1924 it fell to bandits when China collapsed into chaos and Opium Trafficking re-appeared. This occurred soon after Sir Eric Teichman had visited and reported very favourably on the remote outpost and its generous but isolated Magistrate. The story of Foping has many pleasing parts and some sorry parts but it is an interesting story and a less well known piece of Qinling history that needs to be told.

2. The Huayang Map

In 1808, a new Prefect of the Hanzhong Prefecture came to manage the border regions. His name was Yan Ruyi. Between 1808 and 1822 he was responsible for extensive mapping and planning for border defences and administration over almost the whole of the Han River catchment area. His tenure in interests followed the White Lotus Rebellion that had shocked the Qing administration. It was also enlightened and progressive in its recognition that the problems (which arose from large numbers of impoverished refugees streaming into the mountain areas) could only be solved by a combination of good administration, adequate security and opportunities for people to be able to find or generate sustainable shelter, food and employment. The Huayang map was one of the first made using detailed field visits and it was included in the 1813 “Hanzhong Fu Gazetteer” and later included in revised form in a much more wide ranging set of maps published by Yan Ruyi in 1822. The explanations from the map and text are translated and its ideas developed in this story. The translations show clearly how Yan Ruyi hoped to deal with the problems of refugees. Yan Ruyi’s “good medicine” for the mountain regions is of basic interest in the Huayang map.

3. Wildlife of the Qinling Tangluo Road

Travellers on the Tangluo Road have shared the track with some famous wildlife. Sir Eric showed great interest in some of them, although mainly from the point of view of someone keen on hunting and game shooting. The Qinling Range lies on a boundary between major ecozones and has been home to a rare diversity and abundance of species over geological times. But many of the species in the Qinling have been reduced in the past and are now threatened or endangered. These include some of China’s most famous animals such as the Giant Panda (大熊猫) the Golden snub-nosed monkey (金丝猴), the South China Tiger (华南虎), the Asian Crested Ibis (朱鹮) and the Black Stork (黑鹳). Information from the first major study of Chinese Panda that was carried out in the Qinling Mountains north of Huayang, (Pan Wenshi et al., 1988, [R.4]) was primarily used to develop this story. In addition, extensive but relatively recent wildlife conservation efforts are described and some reasons provided why people and Pandas may have not met very often are described to complete the Story.

4. Yang Guifei and the Tangluo Road

The fourth story is a little different from the others. For a start, it is a translation of an article written by a photo-journalist, Shui Xiaojie² who travelled on the Han River in the early years of the 21st Century [R.5]. His opinions are those of a young and modern Chinese and his interests include ancient history and conservation. But he is also keen to find interesting stories not usually told by the standard histories. He recounts in some detail a legend that Yang Guifei did not die at Mawei Po but rather escaped across the Tangluo Road and eventually went over the sea to live in Japan. His stories provide an interesting alternative to normal tourist texts for people wanting to visit places along the Han River - where history, legend and tourism meet. Young Chinese are visiting the mountains in increasing numbers and their interest in the past is very strong. This story expresses such interests without bias or motive. It is a fitting way to finish the collection.

You are welcome to read the stories as companions to the primary story of Sir Eric Teichman's journeys in the Qinling. The main documents can be found, together with other background information, on the [Web Page](#) at [W.1]

Notes on the Text:

The text is organised with references [R] collected together in one place at the end and referenced in order of first occurrence in the document such as [R.4] etc. Web references [W] are also collected and referenced in the text as (eg) [W.3]. The four stories each start on a new page, but they do not have separate titles or abstracts and the first main heading is the title of the story. The story is also generally short enough not to need a separate summary. A block of text in italics is normally a quotation from another source, including translations from Chinese. Where text comes from Chinese as a translation, the original Chinese is included as an End Note. Names of places in China and names used by Chinese people are given in Pinyin with the Chinese characters (using simplified form) in most cases following the first instance. Place names attempt to follow Pinyin Standards with name and designator (administrative or geographic) as separate words but may stray from the standard as it is hard to know when some characters are part of a name or a designator. This document is available as a PDF file on the Web. Until reviews and responses are complete it is a Draft. At this time you are welcome to comment and correct errors or suggest clarifications!

² Shui Xiaojie, (税晓洁) also called Shui Hongzhou, male, was born in June 1969 in Zhouzhi in Shaanxi Province. He followed his parents and moved to Shiyan in Hubei Province. He has been a peddler, an itinerant worker, a Ganbu, a reporter, and found occupation as a free lance writer. He has also been a free lance photographer. In the past he has won a Hubei News Award, a National Newspaper supplement contribution Award and a National Award for supplementary special features.

2. The Story of Foping Ting

In Sir Eric Teichman's account of his travels "From Hanchung in the Han Valley across the central Ch'inling Shan to Fenghsiang in the Wei Basin" [R.1] he describes his travel plan as follows: "*We returned to the Wei Valley by the Fop'ing trail, which debouches on to the plain at Chouchih Hsien*". A modern day westerner reading this might consult a map and find the "xiancheng" (县城) of the District of Foping as an important modern town at County level in the Hanzhong City area. However, if they assumed that this is where Sir Eric had visited they would be mistaken. The present day County of Foping Xian certainly shares some tracks of the Tangluo road network with Yangxian and Zhouzhi but the place that Sir Eric visited was located much higher in the mountains (Fig. 2) in a sheltered but remote valley where the former county seat is now simply the main centre in a village group in the Houzhenzi Zhen district of Zhouzhi County. In recent times, the village of Lao (old) Xiancheng (老县城) has become a management centre for the Lao Xiancheng Wildlife Reserve.

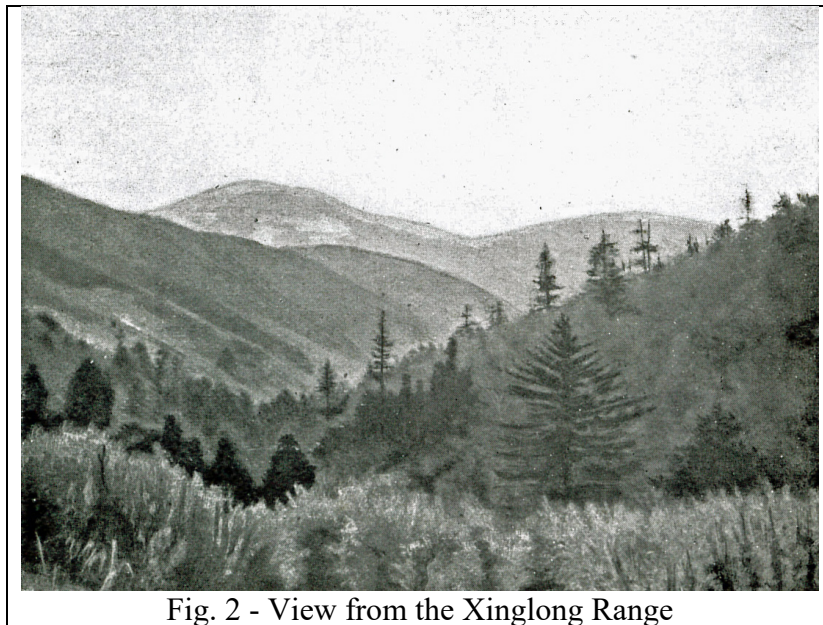


Fig. 2 - View from the Xinglong Range

Sir Eric wrote of the location of Old Foping: "*This valley, over 6000 feet (1830m) above sea level, is a quarter to half a mile wide, and surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains; it produces wheat, barley, maize, beans, peas, and potatoes, the latter being a most important crop in these mountains and in many parts the staple food of the people. The wheat was just showing above ground in the middle of May when it is ripe for harvest in the Hanzhong plain. This valley appears to be the best and most populous part of the district which is entirely covered by high ranges, including Taibai Shan in the N.W. corner*". Despite its beauty and advantages, the story of this remote place on the "Foping Trail" tells of a varied but not always happy history that it is not well known and so is useful to recall here.

The establishment of Foping Ting

The establishment of Foping Ting occurred in the late Qing period at the end of the first quarter of the 19th Century. An account of this activity including references to the most pertinent Fangzhi (local gazetteers) can be found at web reference [W.2]. The un-attributed text seems to have been at least partly written using source material from a publication of the Zhouzhi County Government called “A Cultural Survey of Foping”, Chen Yongbo (Ed)³ [R.6]. Only draft forms of this publication seem to be available from the web. A selection from the description has been translated into English and the Chinese text is available as Endnote [1] of this document. The authors write:

“In the “East China Records of 11 Dynasties⁴”, which was published in the 23rd Guangxu year (1897) of the Qing dynasty, we find: “In the 4th Daoguang (Yiyou) year [4th Daoguang year was 1824] a Tongzhi Civilian Official and Xunjian Militia Official were established at Foping by the Shaanxi government. The Xunjian of Zhenping was later amended to instead establish a township level Xunjian at Yuanjia Zhuang”. From “The history of Qing geography”, published by the China Bookshop in 1955 we find: “In the 4th Daoguang year (1824), the administrative centre of Foping Ting was established from areas of Yangxian [in Hanzhong Fu] and Zhouzhi Xian in Xi’an Fu”. The material used in this book was apparently taken from “The records of Gaozong” [the Qianlong Emperor] and the “Foping Ting Gazetteer”. However, the “Foping Ting Gazetteer” states that Foping Ting was established in the 5th Daoguang Year as the “Yiyou” year was properly the 5th Daoguang year [4th Daoguang year being Jiashen and not Yiyou]. Foping Ting was originally Foye Ping and in the “Records of repair to Stele at Confucian and Wenchang Temples” (published in the 18th Daoguang year, 1838) we find: “the Foping Ting government was established 4 years after the present Daoguang Emperor ascended the throne”.

Based on what has been recorded in the “Foping Ting Gazetteer”, “Sketch of Qing history”, “Shaanxi gazetteer of repairs”, “The history of Shaanxi geography”, “Shaanxi provincial gazetteer: Establishment of administrations” etc, we believe that Foping Ting was fully established in the 5th Daoguang year (1825). In 1986, the Foping Gazetteer office surveyed the original Ting wall and discovered the characters “Foping Ting wall brick manufactured in the 5th Daoguang year” on bricks. We can therefore say that the Foping Ting town was being built in the 5th Daoguang year. Taking everything together, it is possible to conclude that Foping Ting was initially approved by the Imperial Government in the 4th Daoguang year (1824) when the first Tongzhi official Jing Liangceng (景梁曾, 1779-1843) was appointed to make arrangements. Jing Liangceng initiated the construction of the town wall in the 5th Daoguang year and Foping was fully operational as a Ting by the end of the 5th Daoguang year (1825).”

Zhou Zhongqing [R.3] writes in his description of Huayang: *“It is clear that following the suppression of the White Lotus Rebellion [1796-1805], during the 6th Jiaqing*

³ 《佛坪文物概况》陈永波主编，佛坪人民政府。[R.6]

⁴ Note by Wang Chunmei: (see [W.3]) This publication covers records from the very beginning of the Qing dynasty to the Tongzhi reign. That is, in Chinese: 天命，崇德，顺治，康熙，雍正，乾隆，嘉庆，道光，咸丰，同治，光绪。There was another reign in the Qing dynasty, that is 宣统, but the book is mainly by Wang Xianqian (王先谦, 1842-1918), who died in the early years of 宣统 reign. So in 1963, people have added 宣统 as part of the book and re-published it as 十二朝东华录 or “East China Records of 12 Dynasties”.

year (1801 CE) the Qing government despatched a garrison commander to Huayang in order to strengthen the administration of the Huayang area. He founded the Huayang Garrison and later built the Garrison Fort. In the 7th Jiaqing year (1802 CE) a civilian administration was set up at Huayang, following the appointment of a Xianshu (Deputy Magistrate) with grade of the 7th (Cong) Pin ...”. The development of Foping can be seen as additional evidence of this general move to increase security and government presence in the Qinling after the scare afforded by the White Lotus Society. The White Lotus rebels had not only occupied Hanzhong for nearly three years but also had at one time crossed the Qinling via the Tangluo road in an attempt to attack Xi’an, so scholar officials were doing their best to ensure it did not happen again. Foping was founded as a Ting (3rd grade District) as one of a number of moves to establish the Emperor’s authority in the mountain regions.

In the main project document describing Sir Eric Teichman’s journey across the Qinling [W.4] and in some other Chapters of the present document, we can see how, following the rebuilding and investment that was made in these regions in the early years of the 19th Century, the upper reaches of the Han River experienced an economic boom in which Huayang and the mountain regions of the Qinling would have had a considerable share. Zhou Zhongqing [R.3] reports that: *“Between 1840 and 1949, Huayang also had a ceramics factory and manufactured porcelain. Therefore, in all the years along the Huayang High Street, commerce has flourished and prospered. Among the organised Traders Societies that operated in Huayang, one was the Shanxi Traders Society, specialising in the management and production of mountain products. Another was the Henan Traders Society, specialising in management and production of medicinal herbs, purchasing musk, bear gall, tiger bone etc precious medicinal herbs in Chinese Medicine. Another was the Sichuan Traders Society specialising in paper and groceries. There was also the Lianghu Traders Society, specialising in cloth, silks and satin. The Guild Halls for the Traders Societies were on the main street and included the Shanxi Guild Hall, the Henan Guild Hall, the Lianghu Guild Hall, the Sichuan Guild Hall etc. The rich merchants of Huayang’s main street gradually invested in local commercial activities in Huayang and the nearby mountain areas. At one time, there were Medicine farms growing a variety of medicinal herbs; paper factories using Garcinia and making paper from Mulberry bark, as well as processing the raw materials into various paper products and stationary; and Timber Mills specialising in end processing of various kinds of milled wood for sale. There was also specialised production of Black Mu’er (edible tree fungus), honey, a steel works to manufacture iron and steel, factories for casting iron cooking ware etc etc.”*

The source area for most of these products was the mountain region between Huayang and Houzhenzi, and the Shanxi and Henan traders would have needed to transport their goods north to market. It is reasonable to suppose that because of this, over the same period of time, the Foping area was also a busy and thriving economy as well as a place where traders would often pass or stay over while travelling north and south. It is also possible that during this time the Tangluo Road revisited some of its former glory. Unfortunately, records are limited as few writers and (fewer) poets seem to have visited as they had previously (eg) in the later Tang, and many of the official records of Foping Ting were lost or destroyed when the seat of government was later hastily moved to various temporary locations before settling at its modern site. We do, however, have the comments made by Sir Eric Teichman when he reached the pass

over the Xinglong Range: *“There are additional signs that this trail, now unused except by a few isolated coolies carrying salt into the Han valley, smugglers, and others with good reasons for avoiding the main road, was once a much more important route. It is of course the most direct road from Hsian to Hanchung.”* He also found the ruins of a barrier gate at the pass. All of these were quite possibly relics of the boom of the mid-1800’s.

Sir Eric Teichman’s Foping

It is clear that the Foping visited by Sir Eric Teichman had been established by 1825 and had been operating as remote administrative centre overseeing local trade and traders for nearly 100 years when he visited. In 1913, the new Republican government had abolished many of the Qing administrative structures, as well as the titles “Zhou” and “Ting”. Some of the former sub-prefectures and also garrisons, including Huayang, lost their status as administrative centres. The previous districts that were not rescinded were all henceforth to be called “Xian”. So Foping Ting became Foping Xian and it was to Foping Xian that Sir Eric Teichman came in 1917. He was very impressed with the natural resources as well as the hunting and sporting potential of the sheltered valley in which Foping Ting was located in the upper reaches of the Xu River. He wrote: *“When the railway reaches Hanzhong a month in Foping in the autumn with dog and gun will form a pleasant way of spending a holiday”*. The farming and herding associated with the presence of the “Ting” were most likely reasons for the abundance of the pheasant he found there. However, musing generally over the nature of the (former) “Ting” grade of district in China, Sir Eric noted:

“The T’ing, usually translated “sub-prefecture” and now abolished, appears formerly to have been always the centre of a sort of military district located in mountainous country for the purpose of holding aboriginal tribesmen of some kind in check. Thus one will find many T’ing on the western confines of Yunnan, Szechuan, and Kansu facing the Tibetans; in the Miaotzu country of Kueichou and adjacent provinces; on the borders of Lololand in Szechuan; on the Burma-Yunnan frontier; and in Northern Shensi on the Mongolian border; but not in provinces like Anhui, Kiangsu, Shantung, etc., which have never contained a non-Chinese population. There are quite a number of T’ing in the Nan Shan of Shensi. But every vestige of an aboriginal non-Chinese population seems to have disappeared, if it ever existed. I have a vague recollection that some European scholar has evolved a theory that the non-Chinese tribes now living in Southern China originated in the mountains of Southern Shensi. Incidentally it may be noted that the former T’ing are usually marked in foreign maps of China as more important places than the Hsien. But with the exception of a few larger places such as Tachienlu and T’engyueh, nine out of ten of the T’ing are miserable little walled villages in the mountains, nowadays ranking as the poorest of third class Hsien.”

Poor and miserable as it was, Foping was still able to organise a generous welcome for Sir Eric and his party. The magistrate had come to meet the travellers at the border between Yang Xian and Foping Xian some 3 hours north of Huayang and escort them to his district seat. They were then well provided for at least until they went beyond the responsibility of Foping into Zhouzhi. But as noted previously, Sir Eric reported

that “*The Chinese consider Fop’ing a ‘dreadfully bitter’ place (k’u ti hen)⁵, since there is no rice nor pork, nor other desirable food supplies*”. It is likely that this was so for most of Foping’s life in the Xu river valley in the remote Qinling Mountains. Unfortunately, not long after Sir Eric had left for the Wei Valley, life got even more “bitter” for the hardy officials at remote Foping.

The fall of Foping Ting to bandits

A weak point in the choice of site for Foping Ting was that it was often isolated from the southern military garrisons at Huayang and Maoping and northern garrison at Houzhenzi by poor weather in the high passes of the Qinling divide. Moreover, the Xunjian (militia commander) official originally planned for Foping was instead sent to Yuanjia Zhuang (袁家庄) which was well to the east of Foping Ting. This meant that the officials at Foping Ting were sometimes not well protected. Despite this, Foping successfully provided effective local administration for nearly 100 years after it was established and it was still fully functional when Sir Eric Teichman visited.

Unfortunately, after the fall of the Qing, China started to drift steadily into terrible times. Bandits, militias, warlords and warring factions of the revolutionary groups fought over who could unite the country or simply who could profit most from its chaos. In many places the result was not immediate chaos as the Officials who had governed China since the Song Period maintained their activity – albeit without knowing to whom they should answer or report. In the Hanzhong Basin and surrounding mountain areas the situation seems to have been, at first, somewhat better than others. When Sir Eric came though in 1917 he reported:

“When Yuan Shikai was busy with his monarchical scheme and was centralizing his rule by posting his own Generals and detachments of his Northern troops at various strategic points in the provinces, he sent a Northern Mixed Brigade into the upper Han valley to hold that region, and to keep open his overland communications with Sichuan. Owing to the geographical isolation of its position this Brigade and its Northern General⁶ were still in Hanzhong at the time of our visit, a year after Yuan and his short-lived Empire had been swept away by the rebellion of 1916, and were continuing to control the basin of the upper Han though the rest of the province was enjoying a sort of independent home rule. It must be admitted that under the control of these comparatively well disciplined Northerners the Han valley was much more peaceful and less preyed on by brigands than the rest of the province under home rule.”

But as time passed, the situation became much worse. At Foping Ting, well away from the remnant elements of administration and law, the officials at Foping became very exposed. The account from the web site (based on “A Cultural Survey of Foping” by Chen Yongbo [R.6] or [W.2]) continues:

⁵ kǔ de hěn, 苦的很

⁶ The Garrison Commander (Zhenshoushi) was like a “Warlord” at this time of the Republic. Between 15 July 1916 and 9 June 1920 the Zhenshoushi of Hanzhong was Major General Guan Jinju (管金聚, 1870-1927) of the Beiyang Army.

“In the early part of the Republic of China (1912), the Qinling mountain region (once again) became an area where opium was produced, and the scourge of banditry in Foping became chronic. At night in 1922, during a freezing time in March, a band of bandits breached the wall and captured two Magistrates, one of whom had only that night arrived to take over the administration. The bandits passed out through the Fengle gate⁷ and went. Later, travellers discovered the two magistrates beheaded at Caishen Ling. After this, replacement magistrates never again went to the old location of Foping Xian, and the seals of office were moved from place to place. The old Foping Xiancheng became a bandit stronghold.

In 1924, the Foping magistrate moved the government offices to Yuanjia Zhuang in the [present day] Foping Xian district. Most of the residents of Foping’s old Xiancheng also relocated with their herds and animals. After the Foping Xiancheng had moved, the population was decimated as the previously flourishing market town went into decline, and the former Foping Ting “Tingcheng” became a village called “Lao Xiancheng” [Old County Seat]. Between November 1958 and August 1961, Foping’s status as a Xian was revoked, and the area where Lao Xiancheng was located was taken over by Zhouzhi Xian. In August 1961, Lao Xiancheng was returned to Foping Xian. In July 1962, Lao Xiancheng village was [once again] assumed into the Houzhenzi people’s commune under Zhouzhi Xian. After that, Yuanjia Zhuang became the new seat of Foping Xian and it also assumed the name “Foping” from the former Xiancheng. Many people today mistakenly think that Lao Xiancheng village is Zhouzhi Lao Xiancheng. For example, in the development of the “Zhouzhi Gazetteer”, in regard to Lao Xiancheng originally being Foping, the historical facts are no longer in the records, as there seems to be no remaining written account of the modern history of Lao Xiancheng. It seems as if at this point the historical link was broken.”

The place where the officials and population moved after the murder of Foping’s officials was Yuanjia Zhuang, where the militia originally planned for Foping Ting had been located since 1825 – too far away to help when needed. Eventually, even the name was transferred and now Foping Xian, Foping Xiancheng and Foping Wildlife Protection Area do not include the former site at all and many people do not realise that the original Foping Ting was not located at the site of today’s Foping county seat.

The writer of the article claimed that the rise of opium growing (and presumably of cross-mountain traffic transporting it to market) in the Qinling occurred after the start of the Republic in 1913 (民国初年). Sir Eric does not, however, record any of this activity during his visit in 1917. It appears, in fact, that it was only after his visit that the situation changed for the worse. Sir Eric was making his journey with the express aim of assessing the effectiveness of China’s suppression of the Opium Trade. His report at the time seems to have been very positive. He explained the background briefly in the statement:

⁷ On the web site at [W.5] is an article outlining the relics at Lao Xiancheng Wilderness Area (it does not mention Foping Ting). It lists the three gates of Lao Xiancheng in the Qing period as being the Jingyang (景阳门) gate in the east, the Fengle (丰乐门) gate in the west and the Yanxun (延薰门) gate in the south. The Xu River and mountains provided natural cover in the north.

“The stimulus exercised by the Treaties with Great Britain of 1907 and 1911, under which the import of Indian opium was to cease if China could succeed in putting her own house in order with regard to cultivation, has of course had a great effect on the good results obtained. It now remains to be seen whether suppression can be maintained after the withdrawal of this foreign stimulus.”

Perhaps Great Britain not introducing Indian opium at all would have been even better, but given the situation, any attempt to break its hold on Chinese was worth trying. He also wrote:

“The success of China’s measures for the suppression of poppy cultivation has been one of the most striking events in her recent history. In 1907 the policy of total suppression within ten years was adopted amidst general scepticism on the part of most foreigners and many Chinese. It was generally felt that this policy would be but another instance of the maxim Yu Ming Wu Shih (Theory but not Practice, yǒuming wúshí, 有名无实), so deeply engrained in Chinese official life. The ten years have now elapsed, and though cultivation may not be completely extinct in wild mountain districts and amongst the semi-independent tribes of the west and south-west, yet one may travel for months through the plains and valleys of provinces such as Szechuan, Shensi, and Kansu, where most of the native opium consumed in North China used to be produced, and never see a single poppy plant.”

Unfortunately, by the time Sir Eric’s book [R.1] went to Press (in 1921) things were rapidly deteriorating. In his Preface (written in 1920) he writes:

“The remarks about the successful suppression of opium cultivation, which reached its high-water mark in 1916 and 1917, contained in Chapter XI unfortunately no longer hold good. At the time of writing the poppy is again being extensively cultivated in the distant provinces of the interior, notably in Shensi and Szechuan, under the open encouragement of the local officials, who derive their principal revenues from the taxation of the opium produced. In the spring of 1919 the writer travelled for days through districts in Western Szechuan, where the cultivation of opium had previously been completely eradicated, without ever being out of sight of the countless fields of red and white poppy in full bloom; the price of opium was everywhere rapidly falling, and the populations of the out of the way cities were again sodden with the drug. This flagrant violation of the country’s treaty engagements is not the fault of the Central Government, who continue to do their best to carry out suppression of production and consumption. But the various semi-independent military chiefs in the distant interior care nothing for the orders of the Peking administration or for China’s treaty obligations, and aim only at their own enrichment.”

Sir Eric’s comments can be confirmed for Hanzhong as well, at least for the time the book was published, by the observations made by General George Periera [R.19] who came through Hanzhong on his way to Tibet in May 1921. He wrote:

“And in spite of Government orders much opium was grown about here, the officials not only cultivating it themselves, but compelling people to grow it for their own

profit. In the previous year, when they grew too much, there was a slump in the opium market, causing heavy loss to many people.”

Guan Jinju’s tenure as Garrison Commander at Hanzhong had finished in June 1920 and the power and status of the local Commanders reduced. Then soon after Pereira left going south on the ancient Micang Road to Sichuan (to avoid rebels on the main roads) a Shaanxi warlord called Chen Shufan (陈树藩, 1885-1949) arrived in Hanzhong with his troops after being ousted from office as Governor of Shaanxi. As a local of the Han River valley (he was born near Ankang) it is possible (but not certain) that he continued the type of administration admired earlier by Sir Eric who reported that Beiyang Troops sent by Yuan Shikai since 1915 had administered Hanzhong well and kept it peaceful until at least 1917 and probably until 1920. But as 1921 ended Chen Shufan was forced out of Hanzhong by troops under another warlord commander Wu Xintian (吴新田, 1876-1955) who took control of Hanzhong and proceeded to plunder the Han Valley with at one time 40% of the farmland being turned over to Poppy production and opium processing.⁸

So, it was when opium production returned to China’s west and Wu Xintian was Garrison Commander in Hanzhong that bandits in the mountains grew bold, destroyed the administration at Foping and forced the new officials, the people and the Foping “name” to move east to Yuanjia Zhuang. In the years that followed, the situation in China only became worse as bandits, warlords and armies running on the proceeds of opium and corruption turned China itself into a ‘dreadfully bitter’ place. Msgr. L. Balconi of the Italian Catholic Mission at Guluba (near Hanzhong) wrote of this time:

“Robbers, organized like real armies with military discipline, in no way differed from the regular soldiers, except in the flag and sometimes in the uniform. Obviously, the robbers of today were the soldiers of yesterday and the authorities, who now come to visit you, could very well be the brigands of the near future”.

In such a situation, there was little chance for foreigners to relax at Foping hunting pheasant as was suggested by Sir Eric. We will return to the pheasants and other wildlife of the Qinling, which provide a more cheerful story, in another Chapter of the present document.

Foping’s position in Qing Tangluo road Maps

Foping Ting was set up in the early to mid 19th Century partly to address the concerns created by the White Lotus Rebellion and also to administer a booming legitimate trade route in this part of the Qinling Range. The booming trade of the mid-19th Century has been discussed elsewhere in the contexts of the Han River [R.7] and Huayang Zhen [R.3]. Prior to the founding of Foping Ting, when the scholar official Yan Ruyi arrived to take up the post of Prefect of Hanzhong Fu in 1804, we know he oversaw the publication of the “Hanzhong Gazetteer” [R.8] (finally printed in 1813) which included many maps of the Districts of the Hanzhong Prefecture. These materials can be found on the Qinling Plank Roads to Shu Web Site at [W.6].

⁸ Wu Xintian stayed in command at Hanzhong until 1926 when he left at the time of the Northern Expedition. He became a Guomindang commander and left for Taiwan in 1949 where he died in 1955.

Yan Ruyi oversaw the development of maps covering the Qinling area made as part of a general survey of the border regions and their defences [R.9]. An extent general map, which has been used in a number of documents to sort out alternative routes and tracks of the Tangluo Road, was published as the “Map of the Four Provinces on the North Bank of the Han River” and has been preserved in the US Library of Congress Map Collection [R.10]. A small part of the complete map is displayed in Figure 3. It shows the roads and places as they were in the upper reaches of the Xu River before Foping Ting became an administrative centre. More is available at [W.6].



Figure 3: Detail of the upper reaches of the Xu and Black Rivers near the Qinling divide before 1820.

Reading place names from top to bottom or right to left in Fig.3 , we can establish that the major river running north (at the top) is the Black River (黑水). The third track on the bottom to the left of the image has two branches at Dudu River (都督河) on the way to Houzhenzi (厚畛子). The left hand one goes through Dudu River and Qinling (秦嶺 which is Teichman’s Pass 7) and the other goes through Foye Ping (佛斧坪 with present day simplified character 斧 rather than the traditional character 爺) with both routes going eventually to Houzhenzi. At the time the map was drawn, the biggest and most important township in the area was at Houzhenzi, which is also true today. But judging by the other maps prepared by Yan Ruyi in 1813 and 1822, which are consistent with modern usage, the character used on the map for “hou” (后) seems to be wrong.

Foye Ping was the original name of the village that was made the Tingcheng of newly established Foping Ting in 1825. The townships of Foye Ping and Yuanjia Zhuang (where the District administration of Foping moved after the place Teichman visited was destroyed by bandits in 1922) both occur in the “Map of Four Provinces” as well as in the maps contained in the 1822 “Three Provinces Defences” [R.9] but they do not appear in the maps of the Hanzhong Gazetteer published by Yan Ruyi in 1813 [R.8]. It seems that these two places were added to maps as their growing strategic

importance developed during the investigation that eventually led to Foping Ting being founded in 1825. Curiously, the map of 1822 records Foye Ping as 佛葉坪 in traditional characters or 佛叶坪 in modern simplified characters. Both are pronounced “Foye Ping” but the character for “Ye” has changed. The place is obviously in the same location but the annotation most likely contains an error made by someone who did not know the place involved or its history.

In the main description of Sir Eric’s travels [W.4] and in the story in this document about the Huayang Map, it has been noted that the route to Dudu He from Huayang to be found in the maps of 1813-1822 went via the Xu River and did not cross the two high passes of the Xinglong (興隆嶺, Teichman pass 5) and Caishen (財神嶺, Teichman pass 6) Ranges. These passes are very high, being 2658m and 2570m respectively at the pass saddles with Caishen Ling being flanked by mountains reaching to heights above 3000m. It was likely the high passes were often closed in winter and it is very likely they were in too bad a condition to be used at all at the time the maps were prepared. But they were certainly in use later as Sir Eric used this direct route, finding a relic barrier pass at Xinlong and it was the pass over the Caishen (God of Wealth) Range where a traveller found the bodies of murdered Foping officials in 1922. At some time after 1825 and prior to 1917, we can say that the route over the high passes must have been repaired and then effectively maintained as the Main trunk Route. The most striking other thing about this map is the extent and complexity of the network of tracks passing through these areas. It was clearly not a disused road as some have suggested, but it is equally clear that until the administrative changes were made in the early 1800’s it was also not an official road network.

Sir Eric Teichman’s use of the Tangluo Road has provided a great deal of useful information about this rugged “smugglers road”. It helps tie together information from many sources and it helps put the story of Foping Ting into its rightful place in the recent history of the Qinling Plank Roads to Shu. Today a village called Lao Xiancheng (Old Xiancheng or Old District Seat) is to be found at the former site of Foping Ting and has become the site of a centre for wildlife conservation in the “Lao Xiancheng Nature Reserve”. Western visitors may not be wandering along in the beautiful upper valley of the Xu River with dog and gun but can nevertheless be hiking or biking with backpack and camera whilst enjoying the natural mountain environment and visiting the remaining historical relics.

3. The Huayang Map

Huayang history

In 1808, how best to administer and control the wild mountain areas to the north of Yangxian on the Han River and south of Zhouzhi on the Wei River must have posed significant problems for Qing officials. At that time they were responding to the challenges of the White Lotus Rebellion (1794-1804 CE) that had occurred throughout this and other border regions of Shaanxi, Sichuan and Hubei. The area had also, but for only one relatively short period in the late Tang, been a major route between north and south with the type of infrastructure common along most of the ancient Shu Roads. At that time and in the less official usage of other periods it was known as the Tangluo Road and was also regarded as probably the hardest road across the Qinling Mountains to Shu. To find out more about this road, which was the forerunner of the road taken by Sir Eric Teichman in 1917, we have made much use of material provided by Zhou Zhongqing of the Yangxian Cultural Museum [R.3].

As well as providing descriptions of the routes making up the ancient Tangluo Road network, Zhou Zhongqing [R.3] recounts historical stories of the travels along the ancient road by poets, officials and Emperors in the late Tang period. At that time, the Tangluo Road was an official postal road and had an extensive infrastructure of stables, water storages, inns etc. to serve the needs of the travellers. A translation of Zhou Zhongqing's paper can be accessed at [W.7] and is well worth reading for its interesting accounts of the times. Following on from the Tang period history of the road network, Zhou Zhongqing covers the history of the township of Huayang which lies to the north of Yangxian at the entrance to the main mountain region from the south. Huayang has been a central place in the mountain system and for the Tangluo Road since ancient times. In regard to this central position, Zhou Zhongqing, wrote: *“Yangxian people going to the Guanzhong, whether they went northwards via Maoping, via Heixia or via Tiehe must all pass through Huayang. Guanzhong people coming south to Yangxian, whether they went via Xinkouzi in Zhouzhi County, via the West Luo Valley, or via Guozhen in Baoji County, or even if they went via the Xie Valley Pass in Qishan County, must all pass through. We can therefore say: Huayang was the vital strategic guardian of the Tangluo Road.”*

Based on Zhou Zhongqing's paper, it is clear that Huayang has had a long history as “strategic guardian” and as early as the Tang period a garrisoned administrative area called Huayang Xian was at times operative and at others replaced by alternative arrangements. However, after the relatively short period in the late Tang period when the Tangluo Road was a postal road, it had much less official attention. In the Qing Period, after the region generally near where the provinces of Shaanxi, Sichuan and Hubei meet had been battered by the White Lotus Rebellion (1794-1804), garrisons were established at Huayang and Maoping to improve control of the wild border areas between Yangxian and Zhouzhi. The Huayang garrison with its “Garrison Fort” and a strong earth wall was established in the 6th Jiaqing Year (1801) and in the 7th Jiaqing year (1802) Civilian administration was established at Huayang with the appointment of an assistant magistrate. In 1800, a new “Ting” level administration at Ningshaan had also been established to the east of Huayang and later in 1825, yet

another “Ting” level administration was set up in the high mountains at Foye Ping (佛爷坪) to the north of Huayang and various garrisons established through the border areas. The administrations at Huayang, Ningshaan and Foping were there to “sooth the people” for roughly the next 100 years during a time of economic boom that occurred throughout the Han River valley and adjacent mountain areas (Figure 4).

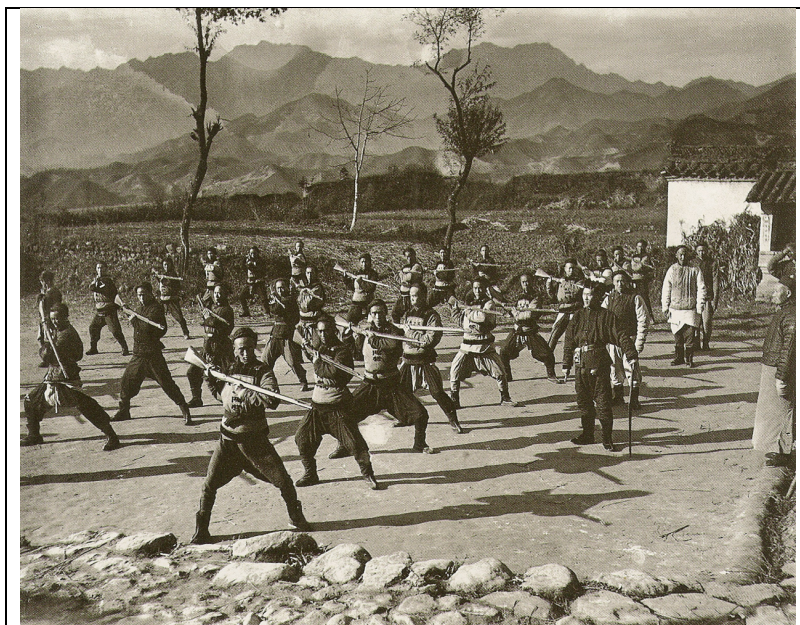


Figure 4. Qing Huayang Garrison drills in 1912 with the high Qinling mountains in the background (Nani, 2003)

After the Xinghai Rebellion of 1912 and the founding of the Republic, there were changes to the administrative system. At this time Huayang ceased to be home to an assistant Magistrate, and when Sir Eric Teichman came through in 1917 he made very little of it. At that time, the nearest administrative centre was further north at Foping Ting. As we have seen in the Story of Foping Ting, Foping was over-run by bandits in 1922 after Sir Eric Teichman had travelled the Tangluo Road and no officials went to the area after 1924. According to Zhou Zhongqing [R.3], Huayang was briefly made a Xian in 1922, possibly following the fall of the Foping Administration and the subsequent lack of administration in the mountains. But Huayang’s time as a Xian only lasted until 1931 when bandits managed to scare away the last officials. In modern times, the status of the Huayang township has changed a number of times but it is now a “Zhen” level township and has recently been designated a “Guzhen” (古镇). It is also an administrative centre for sections of the extensive wildlife reserves that now cover the previously wild and unruly mountain region. More about these wildlife reserves and the wildlife they preserve is to be found in the story of the “Wildlife of the Qinling Tangluo Road”.

However, in the late Qing, as a result of increased economic activity that occurred in southern Shaanxi, it seems that the Tangluo Road had once again become a major trade route between south and north. It could well have been this increase in traffic that justified the establishment of Foping Ting. We have presented the “Story of Foping Ting” elsewhere and it seems possible there was more activity on the Tangluo Road network at this time than at any other since the late Tang. If so, a key difference was that during this time very few scholars, writers or poets took the opportunity to

travel the hard road! So taking everything into account, it seems that understanding the central place of Huayang and the economic boom of the 19th century is also important to understand the history of Foping and why Sir Eric Teichman should choose this route to investigate the extent of opium poppy plantings in 1917. For that reason, we will look in greater detail at the earlier story of Huayang.

The Huayang Map of 1813

In the 13th Jiaqing year (1808) of the Qing period, the scholar official Yan Ruyi (嚴如煜; 1759-1826) was appointed as Hanzhong Zhifu (ie Prefect). While he was at Hanzhong, Yan Ruyi made many contributions to the development of local educational institutions and cultural activities. He also managed the production of the “Hanzhong Gazetteer” [R.8] and was later engaged in the much more extensive mapping activity as part of the Qing government’s desire to gather information to help provide greater security throughout the region. His signature is on the Hanzhong Gazetteer as Zhifu (知府, Prefectural Magistrate). It was printed in the 18th Jiaqing Year (1813) and tells us he was from Zhejiang (see Figure 5).

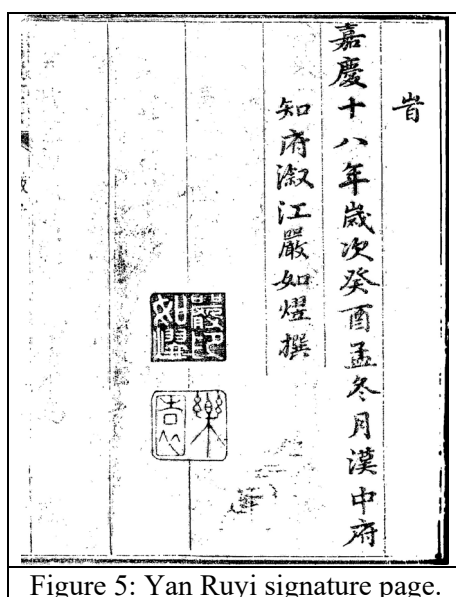


Figure 5: Yan Ruyi signature page.

There are many interesting maps in the Gazetteer, among them being a map of the extent of Huayang administration. By the time of printing, Huayang had been established as a garrison fort for 11 years. An image of the 1813 Huayang map is shown in Figure 6.

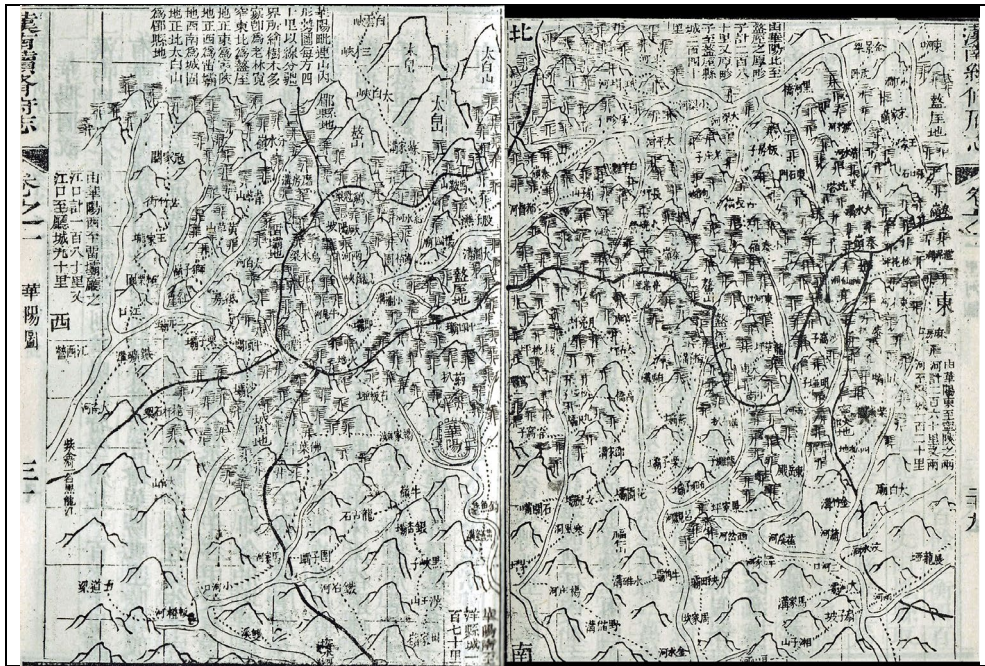


Figure 6: The Huayang area map in the “Hanzhong Gazetteer” of 1813.

The area administered by the assistant Magistrate at Huayang is in the lower middle area of the map within the solid black line indicating the extent of the Yangxian administration. To its west is Chenggu; to the east is Ningshaan (which had been established in 1800, two years before the Huayang garrison was established) and to the north and north-east is the Zhouzhi District. In the middle of the area is the walled garrison town of Huayang (華陽; see Figure 7) with two gates⁹ and roads radiating around it to all places in every direction. To the north and east of the garrison fort is the heavily forested mountain area that Yan Ruyi wished to secure.

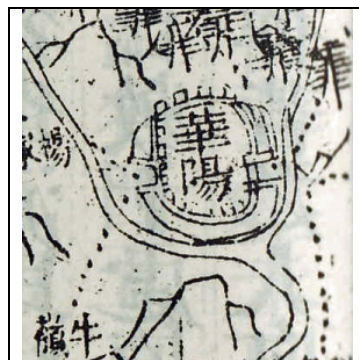


Figure 7: The walled garrison fort at Huayang

The map also has some additional interests. The first aspect has been discussed by Feng Suiping in reference [R.11 and W.10] who noted that the maps of the Hanzhong Gazetteer of 1813 used the “method of squares” to indicate scale and distances. The method of squares was an ancient mapping method first described by Pei Xiu (裴秀) during the Jin Dynasty (晋朝, 265-420 CE). The “squares” refer to the grid of lines on

⁹ In the maps of the Hanzhong Gazetteer of 1813, it is common for garrisons to be indicated by towns having walls with two gates and District administrations to be indicated by towns with walls having three gates.

the map. The boxes they define are square and scale is indicated by an annotation on the map such as (in this case) 每方四十里 or “each square has side 40 Li” indicating the side of the square is 40 Li (roughly 16km). This allows you to estimate distances in “squares” or state a scale for the map. The scale depends, of course on the physical size of the map and changes with enlargement. It seems from Yan Ruyi’s preface that the maps were re-drafted to this form after a suggestion by a High Official called Lu Nanshi (卢荫溥; 1760-1839). This is dealt with in detail in the translation of Feng Suiping’s paper [R.11].

In addition to scale, the map shows the four directions with North (北) at the top and East (东) on the right. This is standard in western maps but was not so for Chinese. Most Chinese maps of this period indicated the four directions but they quite often have south at the top and west on the right. Finally, there is a set of annotations around the map. Some of these list road distances and others list resources of the area. An examination of Figure 6 shows that there are five blocks of characters forming the annotations. One of these is a general statement about the map and the other four provide road distances to major adjoining centres. The contents have been translated here and the Chinese has been provided as old characters in Endnote [2]:

Annotation 1: Main Description at Top North West Corner

“Topographic map of the mountain areas adjacent to Huayang; scale is indicated by squares of side 40 Li. [District] boundaries are drawn as continuous lines and the forest cover is indicated by density of the tree symbols. The north east area belongs to Zhouzhi District; due east is Ningshan Ting; due west is Liuba Ting; south west is Chenggu; due north is Taibai Mountain and Mei Xian district.”

Annotation 2: North-East position of the Map

“From Huayang north to Houzhenzi in Zhouzhi District is 280 Li and from Houzhenzi to the Zhouzhi District Towncentre is 240 Li.”

Annotation 3: West Position of the Map

“From Huayang west to Jiangkou in Liuba Ting district is altogether 180 Li, and from Jiangkou to the [Liuba] Ting township is 90 Li.”

Annotation 4: East Central Position of the Map

“From Huayang east to Lianghe in Ningshan (Ting) District is altogether 260 Li, and from Lianghe to the Ting township is 120 Li.”

Annotation 5: South Central Position of the Map

“From Huayang south to Yangxian city is 170 Li.”

These distances place Huayang in a central position among the existing administrative centres and garrisons of the southern slopes of the Qinling. However, the distances are larger than one may expect using modern maps and established estimates of the length of a Li in southern Shaanxi and Sichuan (eg 400m). For example, the length of the Tangluo Road from Yangxian to Zhouzhi comes to 690 Li. These numbers have been discussed in the main document [W.4] and will not be discussed further here.

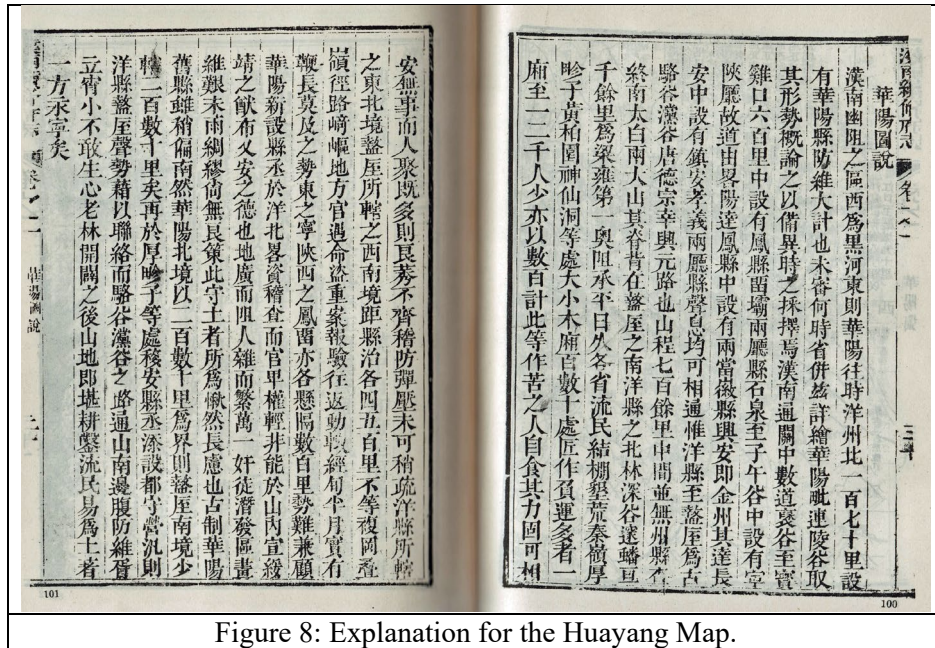


Figure 8: Explanation for the Huayang Map.

Explanation of the Map

In addition to a map with scale and orientation, the Hanzhong Gazetteer provides an explanation in the pages of the Hanzhong Gazetteer following the map. These are shown in the original form in Figure 8. A translation of this text follows in three subsections (numbering added to original text for clarity). The translation and original Chinese are also provided as a separate document that can be found at [W.8] and the Chinese text is also provided here as Endnote [3].

“Explanation of the Huayang Map:

(i) *Huayang lies on the east of the remote [central] barrier region and the Black River¹⁰ on the west. In the past, Huayang was formerly an important strategic Xian located 170 Li to the north of Yangzhou, but in some unknown period it was combined with other places. The map provides a detailed drawing of Huayang and the adjacent hills and valleys, enabling planning in troubled times. Distances for the routes between Han Nan and the Wei Valley are as follows: from the Bao Gorge to the entrance to Baoji is 600 Li, with the path going through the two counties of Feng Xian and Liuba [the Lianyun Road]; from Shiquan to Ziwu Gorge the route goes through Ningshan [the Ziwu Road]; the old road goes through Lüeyang to reach Fengxian, on the way going through Liangdang and Huixian [the Old Road]; from Xing’an (also previously called Jin Zhou) to Chang’an another route goes through the two counties of Zhen’an and Xiaoyi [the Kugu Road]. Altogether these routes enable information to be communicated widely. Only the route between Yangxian and Zhouzhi through the ancient Luo and Tang Gorges, which extends for a distance of more than 700 Li, includes no county level towns. This is the road that Tang Dezong took to “fortunate” Xing Yuan [Hanzhong].*

¹⁰ The Black River here is not to be confused with the river that rises near Houzhenzi. That Black River is on the northern slopes of the Qinling while the area involved here is north of Mianxian. The Huayang and Black River regions were regarded as critical in managing the mountain regions.

(ii) *Examining the region containing the two great mountains of Zhongnan and Taibai, the central range is to the south of Zhouzhi and to the north of Yangxian. It has thick forests and deep gorges that wind for more than 1000 Li and form the main barrier between Liang and Yong. When it has been peaceful for a long time, people have migrated from other provinces, build huts and tilled the soil, and settled in towns of the Qinling such as Houzhen Zi, Huangbo Yuan, Shenxian Dong etc. At times there have been more than 100 large and small timber mills, with large ones employing some 1000's of artisans and small ones some hundreds. The hard working people earned their own livings, and were originally able to live together in peace. But when the number of people, some of whom were good and some bad, greatly increased they became without a doubt hard to monitor and control - which was unacceptable. The northeast boundary of Yangxian and the southwest boundary of Zhouzhi have different administrations and are located 400 or 500 Li away from the county seats. In the rugged and complex terrain, it takes a long time for murder or robbery to be reported and dealt with by officials, and it may take 10 days or a half month for someone to attend. These are clearly situations too far from central authority to control.*

(iii) *In Ningshaan to the east and Fengxian and Liuba to the west, there are also 100s of Li of isolated territory, so that it is very hard to deal with all these places at once. The recently appointed assistant magistrate of Huayang must deal with the northern area of Yangxian and check smuggling, but a magistrate with such little authority has limited ability to carry out the plan to pacify the mountain region, or to maintain peace and good order. The area is a frontier region, but there are still many people. When bad people rise up, management is very difficult. Taking precautions and creating plans is [therefore] what a defender of the territory must be concerned with. The control exerted by the former Xian at Huayang, although a bit too far to the south, could cover a boundary region of more than 200 Li, so Zhouzhi had over 200 Li less to administer in its southern border area. By setting up other assistant magistrates at places such as Houzhenzi etc. and additionally providing military garrisons with "Dushou" officers, the strengths of Yangxian and Zhouzhi can be combined. In this situation, on the road between the Luo and Tang Gorges and in the Qinling hinterland, with the protection of officials, bandits would not dare to operate. After the old forests have been cleared, and the mountain areas tilled, the people who come can become local natives and build a tranquil region."*

This explanation underlines the central position of the Huayang garrison geographically and (more particularly) in Yan Ruyi's mind as a key area in the development of a management plan for the mountain areas. However, it is significant that there is a note of warning in the third sub-section (sub-section (iii)) where Yan Ruyi notes that "the control exerted by the former Xian at Huayang, although a bit too far to the south, could cover a boundary region of more than 200 Li, so Zhouzhi had over 200 Li less to administer in its southern border area." Following the time when this was written, the border area was further secured by the establishment of Foping Ting further north between Huayang and Houzhen Zi, which has been dealt with in another Story.

The first sub-section (sub-section (i)) summarises the general state of linkages between north and south Shaanxi. The situation reported in 1813 was very similar to

that summarised by Sir Eric Teichman nearly 100 years later in 1917. The main communication roads were to the west from Baoji into the mountains or in the East from Xi'an through to the western end of the Hanzhong Basin. It is significant that there is no mention of the ancient Baoye Road from Meixian through to near Liuba as sections of it were not in operation over this time. The Tangluo Road, however, obviously had the interest of both writers. The background to the discussion in sub-section (ii) lies in an earlier time of Qing period history. A good summary of the historical background can be found in a paper by Shi *et al.* [R.7] which addresses the boom in water trade that occurred along the Han River during the late Qing. The boom that Zhou [R.3] refers to in the Huayang region was parallel with that along the Han River and had most likely sprung from the same causes. Shi *et al.* [R.7] write:

“At the beginning of the Qing, the government put in place a policy of reclamation and resettlement by immigration in southern Shaanxi, so that a countless number of refugees moved to southern Shaanxi and Hubei from Huguang, Anhui, Jiangxi and Sichuan to cultivate the land. “Following the 37th and 38th years of the Qianlong Emperor (1772 and 1773), because of the poor harvests in Sichuan and Huguang, people went into the wastes in order to get food and spent their time reclaiming land. Furthermore, because Henan, Jiangxi and Anhui were so poor, many dependants came after them in an endless stream and those who came also cultivated the land.” There were two main consequences of this policy of migration and cultivation; one was that the population of southern Shaanxi increased rapidly, but because the capacity of the land was not sufficient, the population of unemployed labourers also greatly increased. By the first year of the Daoguang Emperor (1821), the population of southern Shaanxi had increased from 490,000 in the first Kangxi year (1661) to 3.84 million, and the population density had increased to 54.7 people per km-sq.”

The problems faced by immigrants in the area where Shaanxi, Sichuan and Hubei meet reached a point of crisis during the reign of the Guangxu Emperor and the White Lotus society was able to harness the growing dissatisfaction to openly rebel against the Qing government in the period (1794-1804). It was a serious problem for the court and Hanzhong was itself occupied by rebels for 3 years. Following suppression of the revolt, government officials seriously attempted to address the base causes of the problems the people faced as well as to secure the region in case of further trouble. These objectives are on display in sub-section (iii) of the explanation for the map. One objective was to increase economic activity and employment and another was to establish the presence of garrisons and administrators in what were previously wild areas “too far from central authority to manage”.

The Map of Four Provinces

At the time the Hanzhong Gazetteer was published, it was probably clear that a garrison at Huayang was still too far from the central spine of the Qinling to fully control the wild border areas between Huayang and Houzhenzi. As part of the development of a military strategy for the general region, Yan Ruyi and the skilled cartographer Zheng Bingran also developed maps of the north and south of the Han River for the four adjacent provinces of Gansu, Shaanxi, Sichuan and Hubei. One of the maps produced at this time has previously been used to sort out some of the routes and places on the Tangluo Road. It was called the “Map of four provinces for the area

north of the Han River”. It has been preserved by the US Library of Congress and is available as an image from their website. It has been described by Li Xiacong [R.10] and images and information from it can be accessed at [W.6]. A complementary map for the region south of the river does not seem to have been preserved¹¹ but an associated text with discussions of military assets, future options, maps of most areas not covered in the Hanzhong Gazetteer and lists of route distances [R.9] does exist and information about its contributions can be found at [W.6].

Feng Suiping [R.11] has published a discussion of the contents of the map preserved by the Library of Congress as well as many examples of the literature available concerning its construction and its contents. He estimates that the “Map of four provinces for the area north of the Han River” was most likely surveyed and drawn after 1808 when Yan Ruyi went to Hanzhong and published relatively soon after 1813 when the Hanzhong Gazetteer had been completed and printed. Li Xiacong [R.10] estimated it to be drawn between 1800 and 1820 based primarily on the observations that the district of Foping Ting not yet being in existence while Ningshaan Ting (founded in 1800) was in place but gave no indication that the character “ning” had been replaced – as it would presumably have been after the Daoguang Emperor (1820-1850 CE) was installed. The associated maps and texts provided a major geographical and strategic analysis of the mountain area and were developed in parallel with the collation and drawing of the maps used in the “Hanzhong Gazetteer”.

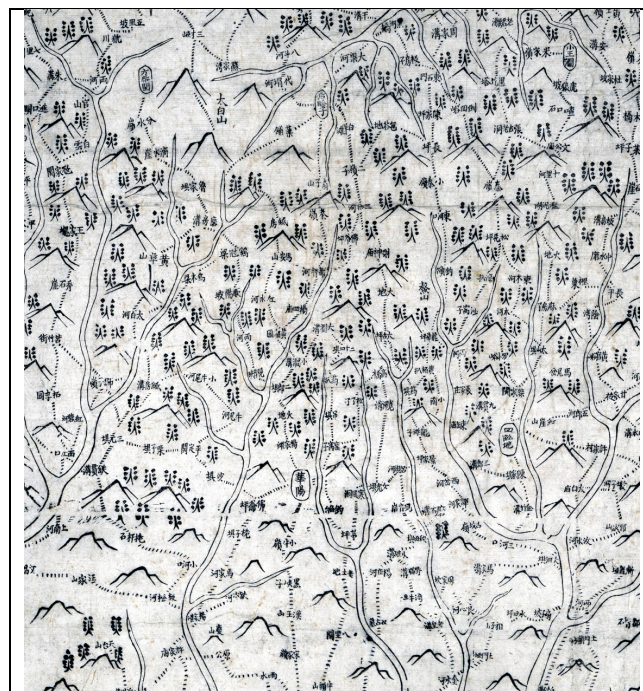


Figure 9: Detail of the extent of the Huayang Map of 1813 in the Map of the Four Provinces.

The map of the four provinces incorporates similar information to the map in the “Hanzhong Gazetteer”, but it is also arranged somewhat differently with a greater spread of the rivers to accommodate the increased density of information it contains.

¹¹ Recently (September 2014) it was found that copies of the maps of the north and south of the Han River exist and are preserved at the Palace Museum in Taipei, Taiwan. Examining the work already done for these maps by the local researchers and alignment of findings are under way. DLBJ.

In Figure 9, a sub-image from the Four Provinces map is shown which covers approximately the same area as that displayed in the Huayang Map in the Hanzhong Gazetteer in Fig. 6. When the two maps are compared it is clear that the rivers and terrain of the two maps have the same basic topology and that many of the places mapped are the same. However, the Map of Four Provinces generally has more places marked and has a number of places marked that are only likely to have been added later than 1813¹². They are probably arranged differently to take account of the different scales and because the Map of the Four Provinces was not restricted by the scaling squares in its layout. The Four Provinces map does not show District boundaries but it does indicate status and importance of centres using rectangular boxes for major centres (eg Fu, Zhou, Xian and Ting) and oval shapes for garrisons. The later Map of the Four Provinces and the Huayang Map from the 1813 Hanzhong Gazetteer are both very useful as maps to establish the physical and political geography of the region as it was from before 1813 and up to 1820.

In another story in this document, the history of Foping Ting is discussed. It seems clear that there had been discussions before 1820 as to the insufficiency of the administration and defence of the mountain areas and that a new District was planned with the planning coming to fruition in 1824 when Foping Ting was established. It is therefore likely that the decisions leading to this step were based in part on the information gathered by Yan Ruyi, Zheng Bingran and others and that both the Huayang map in the 1813 Hanzhong Gazetteer and the information in the Map of Four Provinces were part of the general activity. The eventual site of Foping Ting, at a small village called Foye Ping (佛爷坪) is marked on the Map of Four Provinces.

The Four Provinces Map also has a set of annotations around its edge. One of these is nominally about the ancient district of Liang Zhou but it diverges from this purpose as follows (Chinese Texts provided as Endnote [4]):

“As to the territory within Liang Zhou, according to the Book of Documents (尚书) it covers ‘Huayang Hei Shui’. Huayang is in the present South Mountains and the source of the Hei Shui (Black River) is at Zibai Mountain. On both sides of the river there are timber resources and fertile forests. It links to Fengxian, Liuba, Baocheng, Mianxian and Lüeyang in Shaanxi and Liangdang and Huixian in Gansu. It is filled with high mountains and steep cliffs, which are dangerous and difficult to access, and is often said to extend for 800 Li. By the Hei Shui there are fertile forests, just like those of the Southern Mountains. In the recent past, a great number of destitute people have come here from Sichuan and Hubei, carrying all they own on their backs, to till the mountains and become ‘shanty dwellers’”.

Another annotation further expands on the topic of the destitute people:

“To the north of Fengxian and the east of Qin Zhou [present day Tianshui], in Wuzhai and Liqiao, there are high mountain valleys winding for 100 Li, throughout much of

¹² Two places not in the Huayang Map of the Hanzhong Fu Gazetteer of 1813 but present in the Map of the Four Provinces are Foye Ping (佛爷坪), a village that became the site of Foping Ting and Yuanjia Zhuang (袁家莊), a village that later became the present day location of Foping. At the time when Foping Ting was formed, Yuanjia Zhuang had been upgraded to be the site of a military Xun. The presence of these places here and in the strategic planning map of 1822 is unlikely to be accidental.

which there are unexploited forests. Homeless people from Sichuan and Hubei have entered these Northern Mountains to develop and cultivate the land. Several years after, the mountain area has become degraded as more and more people have moved into the Wuzhai and Liqiao areas, and the Shanty Dwellers have become very numerous.”

The issues discussed in the Huayang Map of 1813 clearly became even more critical in the wider context of the border regions as time passed. A name has been developed in this annotation for these refugees as “Peng Min” (棚民), literally “Shack People” which has been translated above as “Shanty Dwellers”. Yan Ruyi made developing livelihoods for these people and providing effective administration for the regions where they settled as his life’s task and the Huayang region and Black River region north of Mianxian (the subject of the Liang Zhou annotation above) were two of his target areas. The combination of providing security through administration and life needs through shelter, access to food and employment comprised Yan Ruyi’s “good medicine” for the mountain regions (Feng Suiping, [R.12]).

The Huayang Map of 1822

Yan Ruyi had been involved in mapping the border regions from his Hanzhong base for nearly 20 years between about 1804 and 1822. For much of this time he was ably assisted in field inspections and map making by Zheng Bingran. The Hanzhong Gazetteer of 1813 was an initial compilation that was confined to areas within and adjacent to the administrative region of Hanzhong Fu and its five districts. But the Map of Four Provinces North (Gansu, Shaanxi, Henan and Hunan) and the companion Map of Three Provinces South (Shaanxi, Hubei and Sichuan) between them covered the much wider extent of the mountainous border regions of the Han River watershed. An accompanying document of road distances was also developed to help journey distances and accessibility of the places within these strategic areas.

Then in 1819, Yan Ruyi was asked to head a committee that sought to urgently collate all possible information about these areas and provide a basis for strategic planning of security in the border regions. These plans would include placement of administration centres and garrisons. In this activity, Zheng Bingran was seemingly not available to support Yan Ruyi but Yan Ruyi had access to an able group of people with knowledge of the widely spaced areas and map making capacity. The result of the work by the committee was a compendium of maps and information in a book called the “Three Provinces Defence” [R.9]. It seems to have included material from the 1813 Hanzhong Gazetteer and the maps of the Han River catchment referred to above, as well as the collected road distances and additional input and revisions based on recent field surveys. It was prepared for publication during the first two years of the Daoguang Emperor and printed in 1822 [R.9]. These events are discussed in much greater detail in Feng [R.11].

The maps of the 1822 “Three Provinces Defence” are similar to those of the 1813 Hanzhong Gazetteer in that they used the “method of squares” to provide map scale and to structure the map layout. The method of squares had been used for the Hanzhong Gazetteer because of the review made of the early material by Vice-

Minister Lu Nanshi (卢荫溥; 1760-1839). His commentary, discussed by Feng [R.11] was:

“Great consideration and deliberation was taken to produce these maps, but if the method of squares had been used, what is near and what is far would have been easier to understand.”

In addition to new maps (using revisions of information from the maps of the Han River north and south) the publication of 1822 included two maps almost identical in extent, layout, scale and geometry to their 1813 counterparts. These were the Black River Map and the Huayang Map. The Black River map is covered more fully elsewhere but it is interesting to note that its 1822 version contains a direct attribution to Zheng Bingran as the original map maker. As we have seen previously, Yan Ruyi regarded these two areas as focal test cases for his “good medicine” for the mountain regions [R.12].

The Huayang Map has been extracted from [R.9] and is presented below as a mosaic of the two pages in Figure 10.

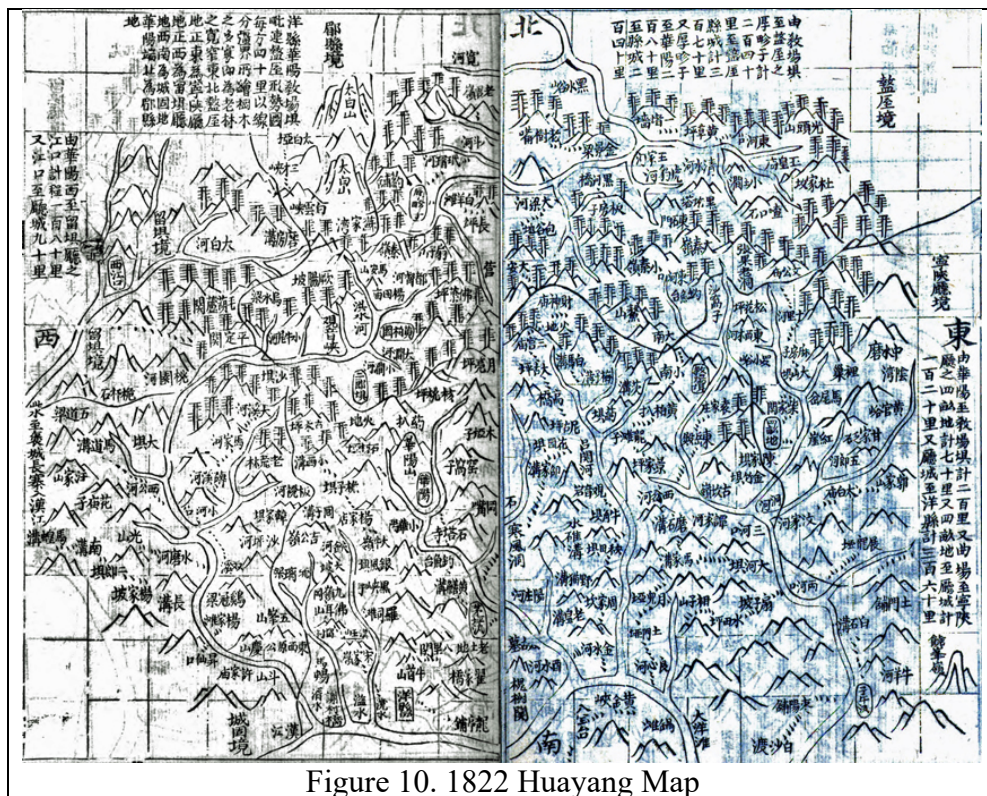


Figure 10. 1822 Huayang Map

If it is compared with the original map in the 1813 Hanzhong Gazetteer (Figure 6), it becomes clear there are a number of differences:

1. The southern extent of the map has been increased (although the number of squares and quoted scale are the same) to include Yangxian and the Han River;

2. Similarly as with the more recent Maps of the Han River catchment, district administrations have rectangular symbols and garrisons are oval in shape with no city walls drawn (as they were in the 1813 maps);
3. A significant number of places have been added, especially in the north and east of the map, including many more garrisons than before and some proposed garrisons;
4. The overall name and the annotations have changed in details.

Of these, 3 and 4 are most significant. As to the 3rd area of differences, places such as Foye Ping, and newer garrisons such as Simudi, Maoping, Jiaochang Ba etc have appeared that were not in the 1813 map. The overall map name also seems to have changed to something like “Map of Huayang and Jiaochang Ba in Yangxian and adjacent areas of Zhouzhi” and other differences appear in the annotations. There are now four annotations; as before, one is a general introduction to the map and the other three give routes and distances. The southern most annotation has been included into one of the others. Following a similar presentation to that used before (only the southern annotation has been dropped) we find (Chinese is available in Endnote [5]):

Annotation 1: Main Description at Top North West Corner

“Topographic map of Huayang and Jiaochang Ba in Yangxian and the adjacent areas in Zhouzhi. Scale is indicated by squares of side 40 Li. Boundary lines are drawn as continuous lines and the forest cover is indicated by density of the tree symbols. In the north east is Zhouzhi District; due east is Ningshan Ting; due west is Liuba Ting; south west is Chenggu; to the extreme north of Huayang is Mei Xian.”

This annotation is essentially the same as the one in the 1813 map except the map is now a map of “Huayang and Jiaochang Ba in Yangxian and the adjacent areas in Zhouzhi” rather than just “Huayang”.

Annotation 2: North-east of the Map

“From Jiaochang Ba north is 240 Li to Houzhenzi in Zhouzhi District and on to Zhouzhi District Township is altogether 370 Li. From Houzhenzi to Huayang is 280 Li and the Zhouzhi District Township is 240 Li.”

This annotation has all of the information previously in the 1813 map and adds a new place called Jiaochang Ba to the list. On the 1822 map, Jiaochang Ba is indicated as a garrison which is very close to the village of Yuanjia Zhuang. Yuanjia Zhuang has previously been discussed in the context of both the establishment and destruction of Foping Ting¹³.

Annotation 3: West of the Map

“From Huayang west to (west) Jiangkou in Liuba Ting district is altogether 180 Li, and from Jiangkou to the Ting township is 90 Li.”

This annotation is the same as it was in 1813 but uses a more modern character for “Liu” (留 rather than 畱) and a more simplified version of “Ba” (坝 rather than 壩). These indicate that a new person was re-writing the annotations.

¹³ Yuanjia Zhuang (袁家庄) is present on the “Map of Four Provinces” as is Foye Ping (佛爷坪) and Simudi (四畝地) is shown as a garrison. But Jiaochang Ba (教場坝) is not present in that map.

Annotation 4. East of the map

“From Huayang to Jiaochang Ba is altogether 200 Li and from [Jiao]chang east to Simudi in Ningshan (Ting) District is altogether 70 Li, and from Simudi to the Ting township is 120 Li and from the Ting township Yangxian is altogether 360 Li.”

This annotation has changed from the 1813 map as it includes Jiaochang Ba and Simu Di. These two places are both marked as garrisons on the 1822 map. Simu Di (四畝地) is also marked as a garrison in the Map of the Han River North (but not the 1813 map) and had been a walled garrison town since the time of the White Lotus Society Rebellion.¹⁴

Despite an overall general similarity between the maps, the differences are significant. What seems to have happened is that the strategic plan for the area has changed to include various alternative possible administrations and garrisons to the north and east of Huayang. By 1825, as discussed in the story of Foping Ting, there was finally a completely new Ting formed closer to Houzhenzi at the village of Foye Ping (included in the Map of the Han River North [R.11] and also included in the 1822 map but with a spelling in the later map that is most likely wrong) which was later to be the Tingcheng for Foping Ting. In addition, in 1824, as described in the Story of Foping Ting, a garrison was definitely established at Yuanjia Zhuang. Yuanjia Zhuang is very close to Jiaochang Ba, so perhaps in this area even the revised map is still “a work in progress”.

But whatever changes were made to the details, this central “Huayang” region had remained as a prime focus for Yan Ruyi’s development of administration, security and economic development as a combined “medicine” for the mountain regions. This consistent focus led to both the Huayang and Black River maps being repeated in the compendium of 1822. No doubt, Yan Ruyi along with other scholar officials hoped that with these changes in place the instability that appeared during the White Lotus Rebellion would not recur. Indeed, after Foping Ting was established it served the region well at least until the time when Sir Eric Teichman visited (nearly 100 years later) in 1917.

The 100 years of Huayang’s mountain administration

When Foping Ting was established it did not have a military garrison but only a Magistrate and supporting staff. It would seem that the Huayang Garrison and other smaller garrisons in the area were seen as enough to maintain order and go to the aid of the magistrates if trouble arose. Given that the terrain could not be changed, for this to be the case it is likely that the roads had to be improved. We found in the Chapter on Foping Ting that the “Map of four provinces for the area north of the Han River” as well as other maps published by Yan Ruyi and others between 1813 and 1822, did not show a road over the two high passes across the Xinglong and Caishen ranges.

¹⁴ Strictly, there is a fifth annotation on the boundary in the due West position near West Jiangkou. But it just a short sentence: “此水至褒城長寨入漢江” which translates as: “*These waters go on to Changzhai in Baocheng District where they enter the Han River*”. The village of Changzhai where the Bao apparently met the Han River is now in Changlin Township of Mianxian County.

Yet this road was open and part of the main trunk route when Sir Eric Teichman visited later. The presence of an assistant magistrate and a professional Garrison at Huayang and the garrison at Mouping were obviously significant factors in any works that were carried out on the road north to improve communications and maintain it in future years. Their efforts clearly worked well for the 100 years between the time when the new arrangements were first put in place and when Sir Eric reported his journey. It was only after that time, as China slid into chaos and bandits ruled in the wild border regions that the system failed. The magistrates at Foping were murdered in 1922 and none dared return with the district seat moving to the site of the present day Foping. Then, as we find in Zhou Zhongqing's paper [R.3], in 1931 bandits overran Huayang as well and all trace of effective administration ceased in the high country.

Nevertheless, the preceding century had been one of booming economy and frontier spirit. Zhou Zhongqing [R.3] describes Huayang in its good times (1840-1913) as:

“On the main street of Huayang, from its top to its bottom, there were many rows of shops and many and various goods for sale. Whether it was local mountain products, groceries from Sichuan and Guangdong, clothing from the capital or goods for daily use, there was everything anyone could need. From the level of trade and service that existed there we can see that whether one wanted their head shaved, take a bath, gamble, smoke opium, drink tea, drink wine, entertain guests, or put on a banquet, Huayang main street had somewhere to do it. Of the 24 Provinces of pre-Liberation China, Huayang Main Street would usually have people from 21 Provinces actively taking part in its life. From the Inns that catered for travellers to the warehouses that catered for Porters and Pony Teams; from the tailor shops sewing clothes to the smiths making agricultural instruments and shoeing horses; from the shops making soy sauce and vinegar to the rooms cooking corn to make Baijiu etc., with so many trades and professions, there was everything anyone could need.”

Despite such profit and activity, Huayang remained a frontier town with only minimal levels of administration and control. Zhou Zhongqing finishes his interesting paper with the summary: *“it did not matter whether people were intelligent or ignorant, nor matter what accents they had or where they came from, just as long as they were willing to work hard. In the Huayang Mountain area there was a mixed society, but life could also be comparatively easy.”*

Today, Huayang Zhen is still the gateway to the mountains and its history, traditional buildings and relics are being preserved as a “Guzhen” with national support and encouragement. It is also the site of a management centre for important areas of the extensive wilderness and wildlife protection areas that cover much of the area where the Tangluo road network existed in former days. In this task, Huayang, Lao Xiancheng (Old Foping), new Foping (former Yuanjia Zhuang) and Mouping must work together as they would have in the late Qing Period but in a new role to protect wildlife rather than settlers. In the future, conservation, wilderness, adventure tourism and historical relic preservation will make up much of the activity for which the present day town of Huayang and others nearby will continue to be well known.

4. Wildlife of the Qinling Tangluo Road

Nature Conservation on the Tangluo Road

In his travels from Hanzhong to the Wei River Valley in 1917, Sir Eric Teichman took the shortest, but generally regarded as the most difficult, track that crossed the Qinling Watershed between Yangxian on the Han River and Zhouzhi on the Wei River. In doing this, he essentially followed sections of the ancient Tangluo Shu Road. The high relief and slope variation of the Qinling range, across which the Tangluo Road takes the most direct route, have made this road possibly the “hardest” of all the Shu Roads which could also explain why it is the one many feel was the least used of the main roads between Qin and Shu.

But the area through which the Tangluo road passes is also one where wildlife abundance and diversity is extremely high. Throughout its history, travellers have noticed its early inhabitants (such as the Hua Bear or “Flower” Bear, 花熊, today called the Panda) and in recent times, a set of major nature conservation areas has been formed to preserve its abundance. The area through which the network of ancient Tangluo roads passed is now largely covered by the Foping, Changqing, Lao Xiancheng and Zhouzhi Nature Conservation Parks. The route Sir Eric Teichman took passed through the Changqing, Lao Xiancheng and Zhouzhi Parks. As we have seen in another story, the former district centre of Foping Ting was at the site of the present day township of Lao Xiancheng (the “Old County Seat” township) which is now a centre for Wildlife Administration.

Sir Eric Teichman’s view of the wildlife on the Foping trail

After his party left Huayang, the last major township before they reached the Wei River Valley, Sir Eric proceeded by the upper reaches of the Youshui River to Daping. At this point they were 60 Li further on from Huayang which is sometimes called the “gateway” to the mountain areas. From here they went deep into the present day Changqing Nature Reserve. The next day they climbed to the top of the Xinglong Ling Pass where Sir Eric noted [R.1] the presence of interesting wild life. He wrote:

“From the summit of the pass (9000 feet) there is a fine view to the north towards T’aipai Shan (12,000 feet), which appears as a rocky ridge sprinkled with snow, with a lower range in the immediate foreground over which the path leads to Fop’ing. All around are forest-clad ranges, uninhabited, and abounding in big game, deer, bear, pig, leopard, goral, and takin; but owing to the nature of the country their pursuit would involve great difficulties and hardships.”

After crossing the high pass, the scenery changed and as they got closer to Foping Sir Eric wrote:

“From the pass there is an easy descent through another flat open valley, where we saw some silver pheasants (or perhaps they should be referred to as blood pheasants, a species of Ithagenes), into the valley of a stream flowing west, where there is some

cultivation, as usual mostly potatoes, and some huts, called Huangts'ao P'ing; these valleys are less thickly wooded than those on the southern side of the pass."

Foping was situated in a protected high valley on the headwaters of the Xushui River where the climate was less severe than in the surrounding mountains. At Foping, they had yet to cross the main Qinling Divide into the watershed of the Yellow (Huang) River and were still on the southern slopes. Sir Eric's opinion of Foping as being "dreadfully bitter" has been noted before, but he found some things he liked, adding:

"... but to the foreigner the abundance of game, bracing healthy climate, and magnificent mountain scenery combine to make it a delightful spot. When the railway reaches Hanchung a month in Fop'ing in the autumn with dog and gun will form a pleasant way of spending a holiday."

Even if they had been possible at that time, such "delightful" vacations certainly cannot be experienced now, as the former site of Foping, now called Lao Xiancheng, is the administrative centre of the Lao Xiancheng Wildlife Protection Reserve. The big game and blood pheasants are safe! But at the time Sir Eric visited it was not so. He wrote:

"The cultivated fields round the city and the brush-covered hills to the south abound in pheasants, and I shot a good many cocks, which in spite of the season were excellent eating and a welcome addition to our food supplies. I have shot a great many cock pheasants in the highlands of Shensi and Kansu in the summer for food, as the parts where supplies are scarce and pheasants abundant always seem to coincide. The game-exporting companies have not yet extended their activities to these parts, which provide probably the best wild pheasant shooting in the world. The pheasants usually met with are the usual Mongolian ring-necked species, with the white ring growing less and less as one goes west till it dies out altogether in the mountains of the Kokonor border. These birds literally swarm in the corn fields in many of the cultivated valleys in the mountains of the North West and must consume a great deal of grain. While we were routing out pheasants on these hills we put up four deer, apparently a large kind of roe, which showed very little alarm and kept on reappearing at intervals for the rest of the afternoon."

After this, the party moved on quickly to reach Zhouzhi and there is no further mention of pheasants or any other wildlife.

Wildlife Conservation in the Tangluo road area of the Qinling

But there is much more to the wildlife of the Qinling than was noticed by Sir Eric. In a comprehensive book edited by Pan Wenshi [R.4], outlining the ecology of the Qinling Panda, there is also an outline the basis for the ecological diversity of the Qinling wildlife. The authors wrote (this section is translated, for Chinese text see Endnote [6]):

"As previously described, the land based vertebrate animals of the Qinling are extremely diverse and plentiful. The known animals and beasts, birds and amphibians of the Qinling region have been compiled into a summary, which lists the geographic

distributions and inter-relationships for each animal, and from this [Table from the book not included here] it is possible to appreciate the scale of diversity found there. Among the vertebrates, it is useful to give particular attention to the animals' habitats and distribution, because their activities occur in major zones, which are useful to know as they help us understand how the Giant Panda survived on the southern slopes of the Qinling.

In analysing the history of animal associations in the Qinling, Chen Fuguan and others (1986) have suggested that the zonal distribution of species from north to south within the extent of the northern Euro-Siberian region [a region of the Palearctic Ecozone] is:

- The China-North East region: extends south from Siberia and China's Northeast and includes the north China plain;
- The Central Asian region: extends from the northwest to include Xinjiang and stretches into Gansu;
- The Qinghai-Tibet region: extends from the northwest and into the Qinghai-Tibet plateau.

Within the Indomalaya Ecozone, animals of the Oriental China-Mianma species group [the Indochina ecological region] are distributed from south to north. Consequently, the Qinling mountain area is a place where all of the ecozones meet. This fully explains the complexity and diversity of animal species associations found in the Qinling.”

The writers then go on to list the species they had found to be in the Qinling area and which had a high grade of National protection by law in 1988. They are described in three groups and while it is possible if the table were compiled today it may be a little different, it is still of great value as an indication of the protected and endangered species that have been known to occur in recent times on the south slopes of the Qinling. In addition to the information provided by Pan Wenshi [R.4], the most current International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) species Red List classification (<http://www.iucn.org/>) has been added as well as the most common western name for the animal in English. Otherwise the three tables are as presented in [R.4].

Briefly, the IUCN codes used are:

IUCN code	Chinese code	Interpretation
LC	无危	Least Concern
NT	近危	Near Threatened
VU	易危	Vulnerable
EN	濒危	Endangered
CR	极危	Critically Endangered
EW	野外灭绝	Extinct in the wild
EX	灭绝	Extinct

The three categories CR, EN and VU can be grouped to indicate species that are referred to generally as “Threatened”. It is almost certainly too late for improvement

in the situation of EW and EX so the “Threatened” species are the ones requiring the most immediate attention and protection. For the IUCN codes in the Tables below, the Threatened species have their code highlighted in yellow and the extinct in red. Other species listed here are all still protected by law in China – and will hopefully avoid progression to more concerning categories in the future.

Continuing with the translated quotation from Pan Wenshi [R.4], the writers note:

“There are 30 types of animal protected by law in Shaanxi Province, of which there are presently 26 types found in the Qinling Mountain range.

In the Class 1 grade of National Nature Protection there are 6 species:

Chinese Name	Scientific Name	Classifier	Common English Name (code)
大熊猫	<i>Ailuropoda melanoleuca (qinlingensis)</i>	David (1869)	Giant Panda (EN)
金丝猴	<i>Rhinopithecus roxelanae</i>	Milne-Edwards (1897)	Golden Snub-nosed Monkey (EN)
羚牛	<i>Budorcas taxicolor</i>	Hodgson (1850)	Takin (Gnu Goat) (VU)
华南虎	<i>Felis tigris amoyensis (Panthera tigris amoyensis?)</i>	Hilzheimer (1905)	South China Tiger (EW)
黑鹳	<i>Ciconia nigra</i>	Linnaeus (1758)	Black Stork (LC)
朱鹮	<i>Nipponia nippon</i>	Temminck (1835)	Asian Crested Ibis (EN)

In the Class 2 grade of National Nature Protection there are 11 species:

Chinese Name	Scientific Name	Classifier	Common English Name (code)
小熊猫	<i>Ailurus fulgens</i>	Cuvier (1825)	Red Panda (VU)
猞猁	<i>Lynx lynx</i>	Linnaeus (1758)	Eurasian Lynx (LC)
金猫	<i>Felis temmincki</i>	Vigors et Horsfield (1827)	Asian Golden Cat (VU)
云豹	<i>Neofelis nebulosa</i>	Griffith (1821)	Clouded Leopard (VU)
豹	<i>Panthera pardus fusca</i>	Meyer (1794)	Indian Leopard (NT)
林麝	<i>Moschus berezovskii</i>	Flerov (1829)	Dwarf Musk Deer (EN)
毛冠鹿	<i>Elaphodus cephalophus</i>	Milne-Edwards (1871)	Tufted Deer (NT)
猕猴	<i>Macaca mulatta</i>	Zimmermann (1780)	Rhesus macaque (NT)
红腹角雉	<i>Tragopan temminckii</i>	Gray (1831)	Temminck’s Tragopan Pheasant (LC)

白冠长尾雉	<i>Syrnaticus reevesii</i>	Gray (1829)	Reeve's Pheasant (VU)
大鲵	<i>Megalobatrachus davidianus</i> (pref. modern name <i>Andrias davidianus</i>)	Blanchard (1871)	Chinese Giant Salamander (CR)

In the Class 3 grade of National Nature Protection there are 9 species:

Chinese Name	Scientific Name	Classifier	Common English Name (code)
大灵猫	<i>Viverra zibetha</i>	Linnaeus (1758)	Large Indian civet (NT)
小灵猫	<i>Viverricula indica</i>	Desmarest (1804)	Small Indian civet (LC)
青羊(斑羚)	<i>Naemorhedus goral</i>	Hardwicke (1825)	Himalayan goral (Goral) (NT)
鬃羚	<i>Capricornis sumatraensis milneedwardsi</i>	David (1869)	Chinese serow (VU)
岩羊	<i>Pseudois nayaur</i>	Hodgson (1833)	Bharal (Himalayan blue sheep; naur) (LC)
金雕	<i>Aquila chrysaetos daphanea</i>	Linnaeus (1758)	Himalayan Golden Eagle (LC)
血雉	<i>Ithaginis cruentus sinensis</i>	David (1873)	Blood Pheasant (LC)
金鸡(红腹锦鸡)	<i>Chrysolophus pictus</i>	Linnaeus (1758)	Golden Pheasant (LC)
大鸨	<i>Otis tarda</i>	Linnaeus (1758)	Great Bustard (VU)

Among these animals are five (5) of China's "Top 10" (中国十大) national treasure species with the Giant Panda (大熊猫) being first in the China list; the Golden snub-nosed monkey (金丝猴) being second; the South China Tiger (华南虎) being fourth; the Asian Crested Ibis (朱鹮) being fifth; and the Black Stork (黑鹳) being eighth. The remaining five of the "Top 10" include the Yangtze Dolphin and the Yangtze Alligator, which would not obviously occur in mountains, and the Pere David's Deer which only exists at all today in survivors of a few specimens taken to France in the late 1800's. The final two, which are not found in the Qinling Mountains, are the Tibetan Antelope and the Brown Eared Pheasant.

In the lists above are others mentioned by Sir Eric Teichman such as the Takin which is now endangered and the Blood Pheasant and leopard which are not. Obviously, the lists for such important animal species reinforce the assertion that the Qinling is a place of high conservation value and underlines the critical need for active species preservation. This is certainly underway. For example, north of Yangxian in southern Shaanxi, at the southern end of the ancient Tangluo Road, is the National Grade Asian Ibis (朱鹮) Natural Conservation Area. It was founded in 1981 and has preserved a major wetland breeding ground that has been part of the migratory route of the Ibis for

many years. The associated extended migratory bird reserves stretch along the Han River as part of modern preservation of these important areas for all migratory birds.

However, it is the presence of a population of about 200 Giant Panda in the Qinling that has accelerated the growth of a network of Nature Reserves covering the middle sections of the ancient Tangluo Road network. This Panda population is unique and has recently (Wan, 2005, [R.13]) been declared a specific sub-species (*Ailuropoda melanoleuca qinlingensis*) of the Giant Panda. The extensive study of the Qinling Panda population in the 1980's documented in Pan Wenshi's book was the beginning of modern Panda studies and led the national effort that has today arisen to protect and preserve China's national treasure. The book edited by Pan Wenshi [R.4] has a valuable English language summary comprising translations of Chinese summaries from each of its Chapters. This summary has been scanned, extracted, edited and made available for interested people on the Qinling Shu Road website at [W.1].

In the English language summary from the first Chapter, the authors write:

*“Pandas have had a long history in the Qinling Mountains. Both *A. microta* Pei and *A.m. baconi* appeared there during the early middle Pleistocene Period, about 700,000 years ago. From fossil and historical records it has been shown that pandas lived on both slopes of the Qinling Mountains up to a few thousand years ago. At that time, the pandas quickly vanished from most of their ranges because their habitat had been damaged by people. Though local people and local chronicles indicate that there have been giant pandas, or “Hua Bear” (“Flower Bear”, 花熊) as they are locally known, on the south slope of the Qinling Mountains [for a long time], the first specimen was not collected until 1964. Today, pandas living in the Qinling Mountains are located on the south slope, including six counties and covering about 1650 km². Within this area the pandas live at elevations ranging from 800m to 3100m. There are [were] about 220-240 pandas living there according to calculations done both in the 1970s and the 1980s.”*

Later, they summarize the unique situation of the southern slopes of the Qinling as follows:

“Giant Pandas appeared on the Qinling Mountains at the beginning of the middle Pleistocene period and have continued to live there for some 7,000,000 years. These pandas are unique because they are still living on their original range in the southern slopes of the mountains, although other pandas [that remained] living in their original ranges have generally died out. The ways in which the southern slopes of the Qinling Mountains shelter these pandas are as follows:

(1) The distinctive landform is a climatic screen. The highest sector of the Qinling Mountains topped by Taibai Mountain effectively blocks cold air currents from the north. Even during the last glacial epoch, the snow line on Taibai Mountain, was at about 3350m. The southern slopes of the mountains are gentle and broad, and the South-eastern Monsoon rain can easily reach there along the Hanjiang River. Thus the climate on the southern slopes has generally been warm and wet, allowing the giant pandas to survive through the glacial period.

(2) *With this favourable climate, a diversity of vegetation grows quickly on the south slopes. The mountains' great range of elevation provides a large variety of vegetation that can be divided vertically into many zones. Among the existing vegetation zones the mid-mountain coniferous-deciduous broadleaf mixed forest (theropencedrymion¹⁵) combined with Bashania Bamboo forest and the subalpine dark coniferous combined with Fargesia Bamboo forest are both suitable for present day giant pandas. In addition, the micro-climate resulting from the varied topography causes plants in different locations to be at different phases of their growth at any given time. This is of benefit to the pandas as not all the bamboo blossoms and dies at the same time.*

(3) *On the southern slopes of the Qinling Mountains, the dividing line between the mountainous warmer temperate zone and the temperate zone is at an elevation of 1400m. For about 2000 years people have periodically cultivated above this line, but they have always moved away because the natural conditions are too unfavourable for long term cultivation. Thus 1400m of elevation is the upper limit of continuous agriculture. People are presently distributed as follows, there are dense populations in the hills and the lower mountainous regions, where the forest has been replaced by farms; there are fewer people (about 2 per sq-km) living on the lower mid-mountain regions; and above 1400m there are no permanent human settlements. Thus people have unconsciously left the region above 1400m to the giant pandas. This factor has favoured the panda's survival especially in the last 200 years.*

(4) *On the gently sloping southern slopes, the soil is nourishing, the weather is pleasant and therefore vegetation damaged by people recovers quickly. For the above reasons the southern slopes of the Qinling Mountains is a superb natural refuge for the giant panda. It is one of the last natural refuges left to them."*

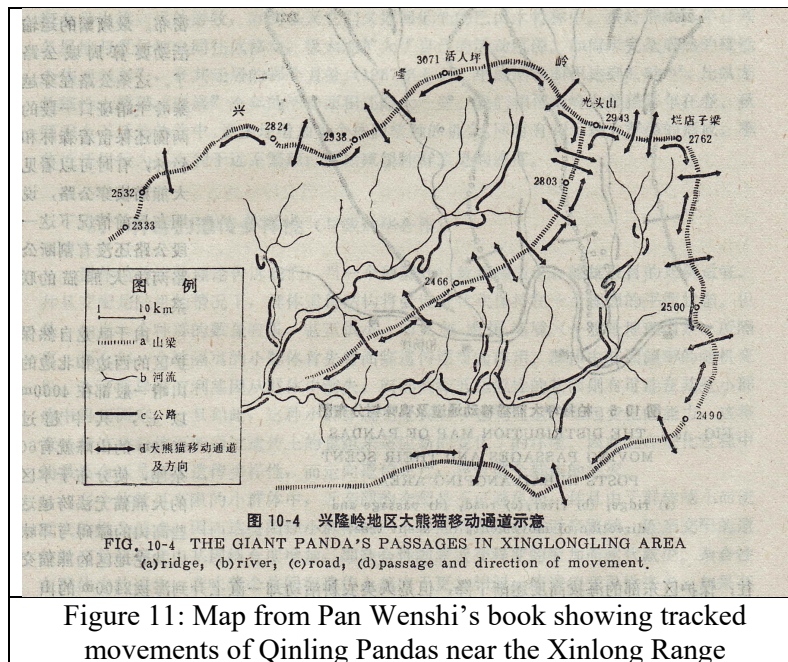
Where the winter conditions were too harsh for Panda then they are certainly too harsh for humans!

Since Pan Weshi's book was written, significant administrative changes have occurred in the area where the remaining Qinling Pandas live. The Taibai and Foping Nature Reserves had been in existence for some time (declared in 1965 and 1978 respectively) including when the basic research was carried out in Changqing by Pan Wenshi and others. The Zhouzhi Nature Reserve was declared in 1988 and Lao Xiancheng in 1993. But it was not until 1995 that Changqing became a Giant Panda Conservation Area and forestry ceased. Before that time it had been a successful shared use zone between wildlife protection and forestry and it was only after a change to clear felling threatened the Panda that it became a declared reserve. For maps and further information about these areas it is useful to consult the paper by Louks *et al.* [R.14], the Thesis by Wang Tiejun (Wang, 2003, [R.15]) and papers by Liu Xuehua (Liu *et al.*, 2002, 2005, [R.16], [R.17]). The second reference focuses on the Lao Xiancheng Reserve (where Teichman's Foping Ting was located). It is clear that future development of the historical and cultural aspects of the Tangluo Road network can and must work hand in hand with the important mission of the Nature Reserves.

¹⁵ Mixed predominantly coniferous forest type mapped commonly in mountain areas of China

The terrain background to joint use of the Qinling

Using the combined power of terrain analysis, Google Earth and some of the hard won field data as summarised in the Panda Book [R.4] can help us to understand how travellers and Pandas may have co-existed in the past and may continue to co-exist in the future. In Pan Wenshi [R.4], the writers summarise painstaking field observations of the way Pandas move through the terrain to various places to feed during the summer. They summarised their observations for the Youshui catchment inside the Xinglong Ling high ridge system as shown in Figure 11:



The map shows two branches of the upper headwater area of the Youshui River that meet lower in the catchment and run down to Huayang Zhen. The arrows indicate Panda movements determined by radio tracking. The two roads shown exist today and were part of the ancient Tangluo network. The upper road is the one Teichman followed to get to the Xinglong Ling Pass and the lower is the alternative route he mentions. This alternative route crosses the divide at the Landianzi Pass. It is relatively easy, using the terrain enhancements described earlier, to map these ridges and peaks. The result of doing this in Google Earth is shown in Figure 12:

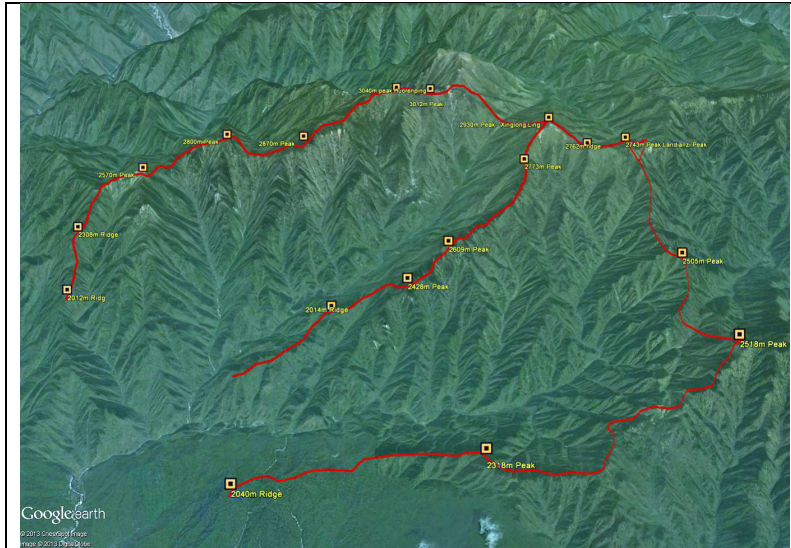


Figure 12: Panda Tracks transferred to Google Earth

If the proposed routes making up the Tangluo Road network are opened in Google Earth we find (Figure 13) that the two sets of routes have differences:

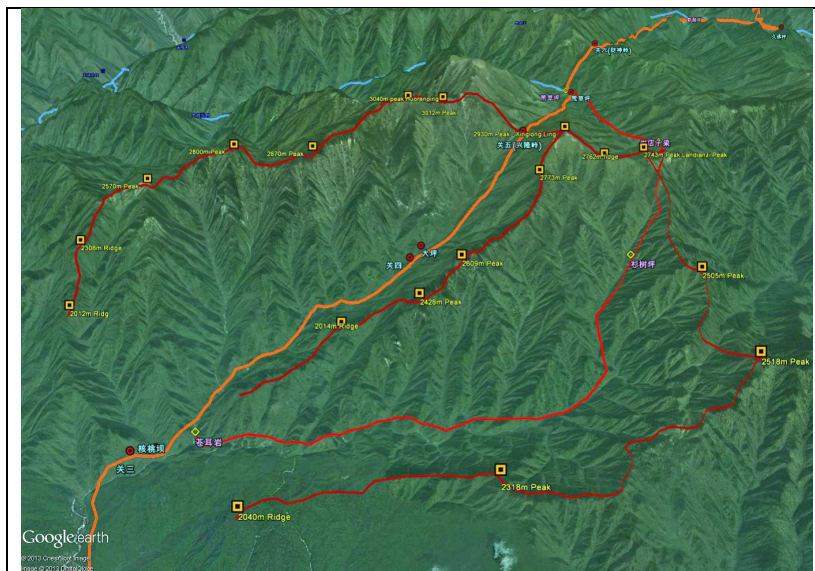


Figure 13: Tangluo Road Network tracks and Panda Tracks. People move in valleys, Pandas via ridges, so they rarely meet.

The Pandas apparently traverse the catchment along ridge lines, moving down from the ridges to feed as needed. If this pattern is persistent it could explain why Pandas and travellers rarely met. That is because the travellers move through the area along roads in valleys and cross from valley to valley by the high passes. The only places where the two groups may meet in Figure 13 are the high passes such as the Xinglong Pass and the Landianzi Pass. Perhaps this is why Pandas have stayed almost “invisible” throughout the historical times.

The high areas of the Qinling Mountains are areas of great wildlife diversity and in recent times have become centres for wildlife conservation. One of the most precious of its inhabitants is the Qinling Panda that has survived for many thousands of years in a unique environment in the high passes on the southern slopes of the Qinling

through which the ancient Tangluo Shu Road passed and despite the presence of such travellers and resident “shanty dwellers” the wildlife and people have co-existed until only recently when it was modern forestry technology that threatened the balance. If Pandas and travellers have shared the mountains since ancient times then Pandas, adventure tourists and trekkers can surely also share them in the future? This will be possible as long as it is we who take greatest care – the Qinling Pandas being more endangered by us than we are by them.

5. Yang Guifei and the Tangluo Road

From “Short Stories of the Han River”, No. 5 by Shui Xiaojie
“Did Yang Guifei escape along the Tangluo Road?”
(Chinese text provided as Endnote [7])

Geography and history of the Tangluo Road

Wandering upstream by the Han River, on the way to Yangxian, we bought tickets to visit what is said to be the most valuable bird in the world - the Zhu Huan (Asian Crested Ibis). However, it was difficult to appreciate the place, as the security was heavy to the point of antagonism, except we did find out this bird is much loved by Japanese. So we became immediately angry and bored and determined to quickly go and walk along the ancient Plank Road.

Among the various Plank Roads, the Tangluo Road is the closest to the highest peak in the Qinling - Mount Taibai, as well as being the shortest and hardest of them all. Its southern entrance, called “Tang”, is the entrance to the Tangshui River in Yangxian County, and its northern entrance is the West Luo Ravine in Shaanxi's Zhouzhi county, hence its name. Not far from the exit point is my Family Home and among my vague childhood memories, it seems it was at the West Luo Ravine, in a half forgotten time, when we ran wild breaking walls and destroying cultural relics. The Qinling lies across the central region of China, and is known by the name “Huaxia Longmai” (“China's Arterial Range”), its highest peak, Tabai, is 3767m high, and it is the boundary line between the climates of north and south China. Roughly speaking, to the north of the Qinling is the Yellow River drainage area, and to the south is the Changjiang (Yangtze) drainage area. In the “Records of China's waterways”¹⁶ it says of Taibai Mountain that “among all mountains it is the most outstanding, covered in snow in summer and winter, and shining brightly”.

The Tangluo road is 480 Chinese Li in length, but *en route* you must cross 5 or 6 passes over major watershed boundaries in the vicinity of Taibai Mountain, where there are very few inhabitants, and wild beasts come and go. The great poet Li Bai¹⁷ in “The hard road to Shu” writes: “... west on Taibai Mountain was a “bird track”, where suddenly from the heights you could tumble. The earth fell apart, the mountains fell and the great warriors died, and after that stone ladders and trestles were linked together ...” but it is also hard to know if the venerable poet travelled the Tangluo Road or not.

¹⁶ An ancient work on China's hydrology by Li Daoyuan, (酈道元, 472-527 CE), written in the Northern Wei period. It contains China's waterways and information about towns along them - an early Gazetteer.

¹⁷ Li Bai, also pronounced Li Bo (李白, 699-762 CE) is one of China's most famous poets who lived in the Tang Period.

Nevertheless, up to this time, the local people still worship Li Bai as a Taibai spirit, and he became one the “Three Immortals” of Taibai¹⁸. Historians record that several famous people definitely travelled along the Tangluo Road. In 748 CE, in the Jianzhong year of Tang Dezong, the eldest daughter of the Dezong Emperor Li Shi, Princess Tang'an, was travelling through the Qinling. Not long after passing through the mouth of the Tangshui River, she was overcome by the hardship of travel, got sick and died at the age of 23 years. At Machang Zhen, 20 Km to the west of Yangxian City, you can find the tomb of the Princess Tang'an.

(In that year, the great poet Bai Zhuyi¹⁹ was just 12 years old, still 10 years from when he would come to the northern entrance of the Tangluo Road as the county magistrate of Zhouzhi.)

Princess Tang'an was following her father, who was fleeing to avoid a rebellion. 100 years later, at the zenith of the Tang, there was also the Emperor Xizong, called Li Xuan, who for much the same reason was using the Tangluo Road to flee and seek refuge. In the “History of the Former Tang” it says: “In the first Guangming year (880 CE) (of Tang Xizong) on the Xinsi day of the Gengcheng month²⁰, the rebels seized Tongguan on that day, more than 100 members of the court, with concubines and nobles got together in a group and rode out by the Jinguang Gate to flee to the fortunate south of the mountains [Hanzhong and/or Sichuan]. The civil and military officials had no knowledge of this, and they took no attendants. All the while, the capital carried on as usual ...” 1000 years later, common people like us in fact have little interest in this, except to be puzzled that the Emperor would do such a thing.

The song of everlasting sorrow

I was much more interested in some things that the official history does not include. One of these is the possibility that a very famous Lady, Yang Guifei²¹, while fleeing from home, passed along the Tangluo Road. It is said among the local people that the person who hanged herself at Mawei Po in Xingping county of Shaanxi in the 15th Tianbao year of Tang Xuanzong (756 CE) was only a scapegoat. When the Emperor Xuanzong dispensed with the love of his life, and went via the Ancient Baoye Plank Road to Sichuan, (they say) the 38 year old Lady Yang Yuhuan had secretly arranged to go by the Tangluo Road and Han River to reach Yang Zhou. In the end she travelled over the sea to reach Japan, [so that] up to the present day in that island country, Xiangjinju Banda in Shankou Xian (Yamaguchi prefecture) is “Yang Guifei's home village”, [where] there are still many relics.

¹⁸ The President of the Chinese Daoist Society, Ren Farong, on the basis of local stories reported by the Zhouzhi branch believes the three Taibai were: Bo Yi, Shu Qi and Li Bai. (中国道教协会会长任法融根据周至楼观民间传说认为是：伯夷、叔齐、李白。)

¹⁹ Bai Juyi (白居易, 772-846 CE) famous Tang Scholar Official, Poet and writer of the "Song of Eternal Regret".

²⁰ Traditionally, Chinese used the 天干 (the ten Heavenly Stems: 甲、乙、丙、丁、戊、己、庚、辛、壬、癸), combined with the 地支 (the twelve Earthly Branches: 子、丑、寅、卯、辰、巳、午、未、申、酉、戌、亥) to name years, months and days. It also applies to time of day making 4 character pairs that characterise a time with considerable precision.

²¹ Yang Yuhuan (杨玉环, ca. 719-756 CE) is widely known as Yang Guifei or "Imperial Consort Yang". She was the favourite of Tang Xuanzong. Her Tomb is at Maweiyi (马嵬驿) in Shaanxi.

Some people point to evidence for the truth of this legend in Bai Juyi's famous poem "The Song of Everlasting Regret". For example, "Under the ground at Mawei Po, in this place of death there is no fair beauty", or "He learns of an island of immortals on the sea, a mountain in an illusory place", or "the inlaid jewellery case and golden pins were exchanged, the jewellery box has one door left the golden pin one arm". When Bai Juyi wrote this, the incident had only happened a few tens of years earlier, and people involved were still alive, so it was possible they still had a good idea of the truth. However, the same dynasty was [also] in power, and it was therefore impossible by law to reveal anything of the actual situation and the truth. So the truth had to be provided through hidden and secretive allusions, in order for clever people in later generations to understand.

Of the various ancient plank roads that lead to the two banks of the Han River, one seems to have changed its name on account of that the famous Lady. In Du Mu's "On the way to the Pure Palace" there is a verse that suggests this: "Looking back to the walls of Chang'an, the tops of the beautiful mountains open like the 1000 gates. An Imperial Lady laughs at the pursuing horses; nobody could know that a Lychee was passing by". The road called the "Lychee Road" (荔枝道) was originally the "Jian Road" (间道). Yang Yuhuan was addicted to the Lychee fruit, which addiction the court satisfied by establishing a top quality Lychee Garden at Fuling in Sichuan, and they repaired the road from Fuling in Sichuan to Chang'an. The Lychee fruit came by fast horse on the road via Da Zhou (present day Daxian in Sichuan) to Xixiang in Shaanxi, then entered the Ziwu Valley and arrived in Chang'an after only 3 days. In Chang'an they presented Lychee fruits to the Lady that were as fresh as when they had left Fuling. In this regard, Du Fu wrote with a sigh: "One hundred horses have died in mountain valleys, old people who remember are still filled with sorrow".

Du Fu²² also wrote a poem about the Tangluo Road: "Twenty one families entered the Luo Valley for Shu; only one has returned. I thought of the pledges of two sad Ladies; as I turned towards Qin I wept." so the great man sobbed.

The mystery of the missing Buddha image

The general principle in densely populated areas seems to be that few remains of ancient relics can be found. Creating buildings like stacks of lavatory tiles and the pursuit of material wealth flushes them away like a great flood. But Yangxian is still a remote area, so things are better. The town centre has a Tang period Pagoda, and its peripheral area has been "opened up". The roof of the Kaiming Temple (开明寺), as it is known by locals, used to have a rare and unusual Buddha Image, (but) a couple of years earlier some robbers had stolen it.

These robbers must have been really extraordinary. How did they get to the Pagoda roof several 10's of metres up into the air and commit the offence? So far it has been a total mystery. Around the tower on all sides is open space, its interior was long ago

²² Du Fu (杜甫, 712-770 CE) was a Scholar Official and major Poet of the Tang Period. He is regarded as equal of Li Bai by many people. He was on the road during the An Lushan Rebellion (755-763 CE), a terrible time in China and wrote many poems about the suffering of ordinary people.

sealed. On the basis of careful inspection, there was no apparent interior trace of the offence, and there was no apparent place on the exterior where someone could climb. After the crime was discovered, the local constabulary and the Ministry of Culture were only able to go up to the site after erecting scaffolding with considerable effort. So, how could the robbers get there? The local people guess that maybe the robbers used a hot air balloon. However, the activity associated with launching a hot air balloon and flying up to the tower would have been considerable, and how could it not be seen by somebody? This cannot have been a realistic way to steal something. This question remains unanswered, and it has turned into a hot topic of casual conversation.

Near to Yangxian there is also Cailun's Tomb²³ and quite a number of ancient temples. But the hot weather had made some of us impatient and we felt that at this time that they were just more ancient landmarks, and without much interest. So we then went to look for the southern entrance to the ancient Plank Road on the Tangshui River, not far from the county seat. We arrived not long after passing the gate of the Zhu Huan super coop to find that a large dam had been built there, where the fish produced are used in local famous dishes. On the top of the dam there was a sprawling restaurant, packed with many diners, but there were no relics of the ancient road to be found.

Huayang at the entrance to the mountains

After you leave the main roads, according to directions given by Zhou Zhongqing of the Yangxian Cultural Museum, you go first to Silang Village and then head for the Qinling. On this road, the only benefit is that it tests your imagination. Along the way there are places such as Gudao Mountain, Zhiguo Rock, Cancai Ya, Madao Ridge, Hanwang Mountain etc, but except for various legendary places it was rather ordinary hilly country that could be seen anywhere. As we arrived at the Ox Range near Huayang Township, we caught sight of a reasonably presentable relic. It was a large Stone Ox, but unfortunately two years earlier it had been struck by lightning and was disintegrating. Thick splinters of rock were falling down into the adjacent bamboo forest. However, at this moment we observed a meandering path, where underneath thick weeds we could see a road base a few meters wide, and sometimes some stone steps, providing a dim memory of how it may have been in previous times.

At Huayang we were happy to find a large plank hole, and because of the flourishing high mountain forests, and pleasantly cool air, the tiredness and irritation of the last few days went away. Huayang is located on a ship-shaped basin where two rivers come together. At the river mouth there is a stone stele, but because it had been eroded by floodwater or for some other reason, it is blank and without a single character. Guo Peng, a senior member of the Hanzhong Gazetteer Office, came to the cliffs on the bank of the Huayang River 20 years ago, where he saw there was a Tang period Stone Inscription with some carved characters. In four lines and 27 characters it said: “the 3rd Jianzhong year (782 CE), built the Pavilion of Pride and returned to the river town. Recorded by Zhang Daxia, the Tong Jie Du Fu Shi, cut by Stonemason

²³ Cai Lun (蔡伦, ca. 50-121 CE) is credited with the invention of paper. At Cai Lun's tomb, near Yangxian, paper is still made according to the original methods and is in demand by calligraphers.

Zhang Jun.” but today it has vanished, as at the time the main road was built it was blown up, and its whereabouts is now unknown.

The flagstones of Huayang's main street are now covered by concrete, but the old buildings alongside the road are still in good condition. Along with the “Gu Zhen” there are still ancient relics of unknown age, as well as places still to preserve for the future such as the old city wall (now used mainly for agriculture) where if you go for a stroll and scratch the surface you can still find some ancient ceramics.

Along the modern Tangluo road

From Huayang, to continue walking the Tangluo Road you must enter the Changqing (Evergreen) Wildlife Conservation Park. There are a number of National Wildlife Protection Parks in this area, with (High) National Grade, Provincial Grade and County Grade with so many that I am unable to clearly list their respective territories²⁴.

We entered the protected area, passed over the Xinglong Range, climbing down through the 40 Li Diaogou gulley, and all the while it was overcast and raining heavily. For the whole day we were stooping and ducking about through bamboo thickets in the middle of dense natural forests. My body felt humiliated, but my spirit was elated, and after several days, we walked into Liaoxiancheng in Zhouzhi County in the middle section of the Tangluo Road. (Unfortunately) it was also a rather dilapidated ancient relic, and the people doing the looking had become really tired, so we decided to temporarily take a rest from the journey on the ancient road, and go to climb Taibai Mountain to relax for a while.

What we found was quite unexpected, as my previous impressions of Taibai Mountain were that it is just an area of natural scenery and wildlife, with Giant Pandas, Golden Monkeys, Takin and so on. On this journey we were surprised to also find so many ancient Buddha statues. Compared with all of the relics and ancient sites we had seen on the southern Tangluo Road they made us exclaim in wonder.

²⁴ They most likely first entered the Changqing Park (长青自然保护区) from Huayang, then the Laoxiancheng Park (老县城自然保护区) and finally the Taibai Park (太白自然保护区) when climbing Taibai Mountain.

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7. ENDNOTES

ENDNOTE [1]: Chinese text: Document on Foping History

The following material came from the web site <http://baike.baidu.com/view/975609.htm>. However, it is clear by searching that the material comes (at least in the greater part) from a draft document being prepared by the Foping Government called:

“A Cultural Survey of Foping”, Chen Yongbo (Ed)

《佛坪文物概况》陈永波主编，佛坪人民政府

The parts translated and quoted in this document are as follows:

据清光绪二十三年编《十一朝东华录详节》载：“道光四年（1824）乙酉，添设陕西佛坪抚民同知、巡检各一。改……镇平巡检为袁家庄巡检”。据中华书局1955年出版《清代地理沿革表》载：“道光四年，析洋县及西安府之周至县地，置佛坪厅，隶府”（该书注资料来源为《高宗实录》及《佛坪厅志》。查《佛坪厅志》记载为佛坪厅建于道光五年）。“乙酉”为道光五年纪年。

另据原佛坪厅治佛爷坪《重建文庙、文昌宫碑记》（道光十八年立）载：“佛坪厅治建自皇上御极之四年。”

根据《佛坪厅志》、《佛坪乡土志》、《清史稿》、《续修陕西通志》、《陕西地理沿革》、《陕西省志·行政建置志》等资料记载，佛坪厅建于道光五年；1986年佛坪县志办公室赴厅城考察，发现城砖上铸有“道光五年造佛坪厅城砖”字样，知佛坪厅城建于道光五年。

综以上资料推断，佛坪厅建置时间：朝廷核准设立为道光四年（1824年），首任厅同知景梁曾赴任筹办建厅事宜，筑城建署时间为道光五年。佛坪于清道光五年（1825年）设厅。

1913年，佛坪厅改为佛坪县，属汉中道管辖，佛坪厅厅城成为佛坪县县城。民国初年，秦岭山区成为鸦片产地，佛坪匪患成为顽痼。1922年，在一个寒冷的3月夜晚，一伙土匪越过城墙，竟生擒了那夜正在县衙里交接任的两位县知事，穿过丰乐门而去。后来，人们在财神岭发现了两位身首异处的知事。此后，佛坪县接任的知事再也不敢在佛坪县城久居佛坪县，背着县府大印四处游荡。老佛坪县城成为土匪盘踞的据点。

1924年，佛坪县知事索性将佛坪县政府搬移到佛坪县袁家庄。佛坪老县城大批的居民，牵牛携犬，随之搬迁而去。佛坪县县城搬迁后，人口散了，繁华的市井败落了，原来的佛坪厅厅城，演变为“老县城”一个村庄。1958年11月到1961年8月，佛坪县曾一度撤销，老县城所在地归周至县管辖。—1961年8月，老县城复归佛坪县。1962年7月，老县城村所在厚畛子人民公社正式划归周至县。于是乎，袁家庄则作为佛坪县的新县城理直气壮地顶替了真正的佛坪老县城的地名——佛坪，许多人张冠李戴误将老县城村认为是周至县的老县城。甚至在《周至县志》中，由于老县城原来是佛坪的地盘，没有收录有关老县城的史料，而在《佛坪县志》中，因为老县城已经划归周至县管辖，因而没有关于近代老县城的记载。历史似乎在这里断裂了。

ENDNOTE [2] Chinese text: Annotations on the 1813 Huayang Map

Annotation 1: Main Description at Top North West Corner

華陽毗連山內形勢圖每方四十里以綿分疆界所繪樹木多寡即為老林寬窄東北為整屋地正東為寧陝地正西為畱壩地西南為城固地正北太白山為郿縣地

Annotation 2: North-East position of the Map

由華陽北至整屋之厚畛子計二百八十里又厚畛子至整屋縣城二百四十里

Annotation 3: West Position of the Map

由華陽西至畱壩廳之江口計一百八十里又江口至廳城九十里

Annotation 4: East Central Position of the Map

由華陽東至寧陝之兩河計二百六十里又兩河至廳城一百二十里

Annotation 5: South Central Position of the Map

華陽南至洋縣城一百七十里

ENDNOTE [3] Chinese text: Explanation of the Huayang Map

華陽圖說

漢南幽阻之區西為黑河東則華陽往時洋州北一百七十里設有華陽縣防維大計也未審何時省併茲詳繪華陽毗連陵谷取其形勢概論之以備異時之採擇焉漢南通關中數道褒谷至寶雞口六百里中設有鳳縣畱壩兩廳縣石泉至子午谷中設有寧陝廳故道由略陽達鳳縣中設有兩當徽縣興安即金州其達長安中設有鎮安孝義兩廳縣聲息均可相通惟洋縣至整屋為古駱谷灋谷唐德宗幸興元路也山程七百餘里中間並無州縣查終南太白兩大山其脊背在整屋之南洋縣之北林深谷邃蟠亘千餘里為梁雍第一奧阻承平日久各省流民結棚墾荒秦嶺厚畛子黃柏園神仙洞等處大小木廂百數十處匠作負運多者一廂至一二千人少亦以數百計此等作苦之人自食其力固可相安無事而人聚既多則良莠不齊稽防彈壓未可稍疏洋縣所轄之東北境整屋所轄之西南境距縣治各四五百里不等複岡疊嶺徑路崎嶇地方官遇命盜重案報驗往返動輒經旬半月實有鞭長莫及之勢東之寧陝西之鳳畱赤各懸隔數百里勢難兼顧華陽新設縣丞於洋北略資稽查而官卑權輕非能於山內宣綏靖之猷布久安之德也地廣而阻人雜而繁萬一奸徒潛發區畫維艱未雨綢繆尚無良策此守土者所為愀然長慮也古制華陽舊縣雖稍偏南然華陽北境以二百數十里為界則整屋南境少轄二百數十里矣再於厚畛子等處移安縣丞添設都守營汛則洋縣整屋聲勢藉以聯絡而駱谷灋谷之路通山南邊腹防維胥

立宵小不敢生心老林開辟之後山地即堪耕鑿流民易為土著
一方永寧矣

ENDNOTE [4] Chinese text: Annotations on the “Han River Map”

(i) 梁州

梁州之境，《書》稱“華陽黑水”。華陽為今南山，黑河源出紫柏山，繞河兩岸，棧壩老林。屬陝西者為鳳縣、留壩、褒城、沔縣、略陽，在甘肅者為兩當、徽縣。層山復嶂，地極阻深，俗稱八百里，黑河老林之旁肥美，與南山無異。近日，川楚無業之民入棧種山者，襁負而至，棚民甚繁。此處明言梁州之境，實則重點涉及黑河地區。由於優越的地理位置和條件，所以一度成為三省邊防之中的馬蜂窩，防治重點。

(ii) 棚民

鳳縣之北、秦州之東為吳寨、利橋，大山盤折數百里，多未辟老林。川楚流入南山垦種者，數年之後，山地稍薄，往往移至吳寨、利橋各處，棚民漸次繁多。

ENDNOTE [5] Chinese text: Annotations on the 1822 Huayang Map

Annotation 1: Main Description (North West of the Map)

洋縣華陽教場壩毗連整屋形勢圖
每方四十里以綿分疆界所繪樹木
之多寡即為老林之寬窄東北整屋
地正東為寧陝廳地正西為留壩廳
地西南為城固地華陽端北為郿縣
地

Annotation 2: North-east of the Map

由教場壩至整屋至厚畛子計二百四十里至整屋縣城計三百七十里又厚畛子至華陽二百八十里至縣城二百四十里

Annotation 3: West of the Map

由華陽西至留壩廳之江口計程一百八十里又江口至廳城九十里

Annotation 4. East of the map

由華陽至教場壩計二百里又由場至寧陝廳之四畝地計七十里又四畝地至廳城計一百二十里又廳城至洋縣計三百六十里

ENDNOTE [6] Chinese text: Translation of material from Pan (1988)

如上所述，秦岭的陆生脊椎动物种类是十分丰富的。我们把已知生活在秦岭地区的兽类、鸟类和两栖类的名录汇集为总表，[拜?]列举每种动物的地理分布和区系从属关系，便可以看到本区脊椎动物多样性的规模（见表 5-1）。

在所有的脊椎动物中，我们特别关注兽类的区系组成及分布特征，因为它们在地生动物区划中起了重要的作用，同时有助于我们认识大熊猫何以在秦岭南坡保留下来。

陈服官等（1986 年）在分析秦岭兽类区系的形成过程时指出，其中古北界类型中的欧洲 -- 西伯利亚种类由北方向南方分布至此；东北 -- 中国种类由西伯利亚和中国的东北地区经华北到达；中亚种类由西北方向经新疆、甘肃延伸而来；青藏种类则由西南方向的青海一带侵入。东洋界类型中的中国 - 缅甸种类则由南方向北方分布。故秦岭山脉为东南西北各路动物群的荟萃之处。这充分表明秦岭兽类区系组成的复杂性及多样性。

ENDNOTE [7] Chinese text: The story of Yang Guifei and the Tangluo Road

汉江短文 5:杨贵妃亡命傥骆道? 税晓洁者

沿汉江上行到陕南洋县，购票参观据说是世界最珍稀的鸟儿朱鹮，没甚感觉，还戒备森严到让人甚至产生对立情绪，又得知原来此鸟日本人最喜欢，一下子觉得面目狰狞，兴味索然，便早早去走古栈道。

诸条古栈道中，傥骆道最靠近秦岭主峰太白山，是最便捷也最艰险的一条，其南口曰傥，在陕西洋县傥水河口，北口在陕西周至县西骆峪，故名。出了西骆峪不远，就是洒家老家，童年印象里，曾在西骆峪不知是何年代的破土城上奔跑嬉戏，破坏文物。秦岭横亘中国中部，被称为华夏龙脉，最高峰太白山海拔 3767 米，是南北气候的分水岭。大致而言，秦岭以北为黄河流域，其南就是长江流域了。《水经注》载：“太白山”于诸山、最为秀杰，冬夏积雪，望之皓然。”

傥骆道长约四百八十华里，途中要翻越太白山周围的五、六座分水岭，人烟稀少猛兽出没。诗仙李太白《蜀道难》云：……西当太白有鸟道，可以横绝峨眉颠。地崩山摧壮士死，然后石梯石栈相钩连……难以考证他老人家是不是走过傥骆道？

百姓们却是至今还把他当作太白神仙供奉，为三太白。史书上倒是郑重记载了李白时代走过傥骆道的几个名人：公元 784 年，大唐德宗建中年间，德宗皇帝李适的大女儿唐安公主走出秦岭大山，过了傥水河口不久，就不堪艰险暴病而亡，年仅 23 岁，洋县城西 20 公里马畅镇现存唐安公主墓。

是年，大诗人白居易 12 岁，离他在日后在傥骆道北口的周至县做主管政法的县官，还有数十年。

唐安公主是随父亲躲避兵变而逃亡的，百年之后，大唐盛世还有一位皇帝僖宗李儂，因为差不多的原因，也从傥骆道亡命奔逃，《旧唐书》载：“广明元年（880 年）庚辰朔、辛巳，贼据潼关……是日，[皇]上与诸王、妃、侯数百骑，

自子城含光殿、金光门出幸山南。文武百官不知，并无从者，京城宴然……”皇帝做成这样，千年之后我等草民除了觉得惶惑不解，兴趣其实不大。

我更感兴趣另一位正史上没有，但可能真从僦骆道逃亡过的女女人——杨贵妃。民间有传说，唐玄宗天宝十五年（756年）在陕西兴平马嵬坡上吊的，只是一个替死鬼。

玄宗皇帝处理了儿女情长，从褒斜古栈道入了四川，38岁的杨玉环女士则被偷偷安排过僦骆道沿汉江达长江到扬州，后来竟飘洋过海去了日本，至今该岛国的山口县向津具半岛尚存“杨贵妃故里”，留下不少古迹。

有人还从白居易著名的《长恨歌》中找出这个传说具有真实性的证据：比如“马嵬坡下泥土中，不见玉颜空死处”、“忽闻海上有仙山，山在虚无缥缈间”、“钿合金钗寄将去，钗留一股合一扇”等等。白居易写下这些的时候，距事件发生也就几十年，当事者有些还在人世，掌握实情的可能性是有的，但尚在本朝，宣传纪律不可能允许将实情和盘托出可以想见，只好遮遮掩掩埋下伏笔，后人看不懂，那是智商问题。

汉江两岸的诸条古栈道中，有一条干脆就是因为这个名女人而改名，杜牧《过华清宫》绝句“长安回望绣城堆，山顶千门次第开。一骑红尘妃子笑，无人知是荔枝来。”，说的就是这件事。荔枝道，原称间道，杨玉环嗜食荔枝，朝廷遂在四川涪陵建优质荔枝园，并修整四川涪陵至长安的道路，取道达州（今四川达县），从陕西西乡快马入子午谷，至长安不过三日，进呈贵妃的荔枝犹新鲜如初。杜甫曾对之叹曰：“百马死山谷，至今耆旧悲”。

杜甫在僦骆道也写过一首诗：“二十一家同入蜀，惟残一人出骆谷。自说二女齿背时，回头却向秦云哭”，令人唏嘘。

那个年代的遗迹在人烟稠密处照例已经看不到什么了，厕所瓷砖堆积的建筑在这个物欲横流的时代正浩浩荡荡淹没一切，洋县现在是个偏远地区，还算稍好，城中央有一个唐代古塔，正被圈起来在周边搞“开发”。开明寺塔顶当地人称原来有了不得的佛像，前两年刚被人盗走。

此盗贼也是十分不得了，怎么到达几十米高的塔顶作案？至今匪夷所思。塔的四周是空地，内部早已封死，仔细检查，皆没有作案痕迹，外部看起来也无处攀援。案发后，当地公安、文化部门是在费尽九牛二虎之力搭了脚手架才上去的。那么，盗贼难道飞上去的？当地人猜想，盗贼用的可能是热气球？然而发射一个热气球飞来飞去那么大的动静，能不被人发现？这从盗窃技术上讲也是不现实的。留下一桩悬案，成为人们茶余饭后的热门话题。洋县城边还有蔡伦墓以及好几个古寺，天却热得人心浮气躁，这些古董斯时于我也就是个古地标，别无意义。便去找古栈道南口僦水河，离县城不远，过了关朱鹮的超级大笼子不久就是，修了一个大水库，出产的鱼是当地名菜，大坝上餐桌横陈，食客如云，古道遗迹已荡然无存。

弃公路，按照洋县文博馆长周忠庆先生的指点，走四郎乡，奔向秦岭。

这一路，唯一的好处是极端考验想象力，途中有古道山、支锅石、饭菜埕、马道梁、汉王山之类，空留下一些地名和传说，和一般常见的丘陵地带风物无异。快到华阳镇的牛岭才算看到一点像样的古迹：一个巨大的石牛，可惜前两年被雷劈了，四分五裂，碎片淹没在茂密的箭竹林里。不过，这时仔细观察羊肠小道，能看出荒草淹没下的一丈多宽的路基，间或还有石阶梯，依稀想见当年繁盛。

在华阳欣喜地看到巨多的栈孔，海拔增高林木茂盛，空气也凉爽宜人，多日疲惫烦躁也一扫而光。华阳处位于两河相汇处的一个船形盆地，河口有一石碑，不知是洪水冲刷还是另有原因，空空荡荡竟全无一字。

汉中地方志办郭鹏老先生二十年前曾在华阳河边的悬崖上看到过有字的东西——唐代的石刻，4行27字：“建中三年造此得意阁并回河镇，同节度副使张大侠，石工张浚记”，现在没了，修公路的时候被炸成碎片，不知所踪。华阳老街的石板路已经铺了水泥，两边的老屋倒还是很多。古镇旁边还有一个不知年代的古城遗址，残存下来的也只有正在成为庄稼地的城墙，随便走走，抠出一大把古瓷片……从华阳再走傥骆道就进入了长青自然保护区，这一带的保护区众多，国家级的、省级的、县级的，多到我至今也没搞清楚其各自具体地盘。进保护区，过兴隆岭，翻四十里吊沟，一路阴雨霏霏，整天弯腰穿梭在箭竹茂密的原始森林中，肉体饱受摧残，精神极端愉悦，几天后，走到傥骆道中段周志县的老县城，也是一些残破的古迹，却看得人疲惫不堪，便决定暂且中断古道行程，去爬太白山放松一下。没想到的是，以前的印象里，太白山也就是自然风光和野生动物，大熊猫金丝猴羚牛之类，这一路竟然看到最多的是古佛像，比我们在南傥骆道看到的全部古迹还令人感叹。