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A Famous Trip to Szechwan

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One of the most fascinating prose genres found in traditional China's rich literary heritage is the so-called "travel record" or "chronicled excursion" 游記. A more common modern rubric for this body of writings is yu-chi wen-hsueh 游記文学, lit., "travel record literature." The provenance of yu-chi in China can be traced at least as far back as the second century B.C., and here I refer specifically to the chronicled peregrinations of Chang Ch'ien 張骞 (7-114 B.C.) to Central Asia which appear in the Shih-chi and Han-shu. However, it was not until the Sung dynasty that the travel diary became a widely practiced literary genre. Although I have attempted to define and briefly sketch the history and characteristics of this important genre of prose writings elsewhere, perhaps may be permitted, in the interests of providing a very general literary and historical context for the work under review, briefly to define the scope and content of the Sung travelogue. First, such works are invariably organized in a


diary format, with individual entries chronologically arranged. Next, they describe the sights and experiences encountered during a brief or extended excursion. This may be to a neighboring prefecture, to a distant province, or even to a foreign land. Third, Sung travelogues always provide considerable factual information, most often of a geographical or topographical nature, although historical, social, economic, and political observations may be included as well. And finally, we always find (in varying degrees) the personal opinions and interpretations of the author, usually in the form of judgments on various historical events and sites, impressions of selected (and usually celebrated) geographical landmarks, evaluations of social and political conditions, the author's critical views on past and contemporary literary works (which relate to locales and events witnessed during the course of the journey), etc. Thus, the term "travel record literature" should not be construed as referring to the numerous works of traditional China that deal in a very broad sense with geography or topography. Rather, it refers to those writings which, in addition to providing empirical data, also display the activities of the human imagination.

Although a comprehensive critical history and evaluation of Sung yu-chi remains to be written, purposes of convenience these varied writings may be roughly grouped into three broad categories. The first of these are "daytrip" accounts of journeys to specific locales, such as an alp, a monastery, a grotto, etc. Wang An-shih (1021-1086) and Su Shih (1037-1101) are surely the best-known composers of such perielgeses. The second category includes journals written during diplomatic embassies, usually to the non-Chinese states of Liao and Chin. The first major Sung literary figure to try his hand at this form was Ou-Yang Hsiu (1007-1072), who kept a diary of an embassy to the Liao empire in 1036 entitled Yu-yi, 儒遊志 (An Account of Going Into Active Service). Later, probably because of increased diplomatic contacts with the Liao and Chin, these "diplomatic travelogues" proliferated.

Among the best-known extant specimens of such embassy reports are Lou Yeh's 楼頫 (1137-1213) and Pei-hsing jin-lu 北行日記 (A Daily Register of a Northern Excursion) of 1169-1170, Fan Ch'eng-ta's Fan-chao (1126-1193) Lan-p'ei yu 擇邸錄 (A Register of Grasping the Carriage Reins) of 1170, Chou Hui's Chou yin (1126-after 1198) and Pei yin yu 柏隴錄 (A Register of Northbound Trips) of 1176-1177, and Ch'eng Ch'ao's 程卓 (1153-1223) Shih-Chin yu 使金錄 (A Register of an Embassy to the Chin) of 1211-1212, all of which chronicle embassies to the state of Chin. The third and final category of Sung yu-chi might be termed "extended travelogues." Usually composed by scholar-officials on their way to assume a new bureaucratic appointment, these are not only the longest and most detailed of the Sung travel diaries, but they are also the best-known to posterity. Three of these texts in particular have received critical acclaim: Fan Ch'eng-ta's Ts'ao-chuan yu 縱貫錄 (A Register of Riding a Simurgh) and Wu-ch'uan yu 吳船錄 (A Register of a Wu Boat), which record trips from Wu (Shangdu) to Kweilin 桂林 (Kwangsi) in 1172-1173, and from Szechwan to Wu in 1177, respectively, and Lu Yu's Huo-ting (1125-1210) Ju-Shu chi 入蜀記 (A Record of Going Into Shu), which is the subject of the book here under review. Although there have been a few annotated translations of Lu Yu's diary published in Japanese, and an abridged translation in English—that of Burton Watson included in his The Old Man Who Does As He Pleases, Selections From the Poetry and Prose of Lu Yu (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), South China in the Twelfth Century presents the first complete translation of the JSC to appear in a


5. Chou Hui's diary has been translated by Édouard Chavannes. See his Pei Yuan Lou, Récits d'un voyage dans le Nord, Ts'oung Pao 5.2 (1904), 163-192.


7. Fan Ch'eng-ta's Wu-ch'uan yu has been the subject of a dissertation at the University of Paris. See Delphine Weulersse, "Journal de voyage d'un lettré chinois en 1177, Wu-ch'uan yu de Fan Ch'eng-De" (Diss. University of Paris, 1967). Several of the short poems Fan composed to accompany this diary have been studied and translated in A. D. Syrokomla-Stefanowska, "Fan Ch'eng-ta's Wu-Boat Journey of 1177," Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia 10.1-2 (June, 1975), 65-80. To date, no study or translation of the Ts'ao-chuan yu has appeared in any language.

8. These are listed and discussed briefly on pp. 23-24 of the text under review.
Western language. For Sung specialists and students of late medieval Chinese history and literature this is a joyous occasion indeed.

Before considering the Chang-Smythe translation of the JSC and other related matters, a brief note concerning the evolution of this book from its formative stages to eventual publication is in order. The translation was originally intended to be the doctoral dissertation of Ms. Joan Smythe at Harvard University. After her untimely death in 1963, Chun-shu Chang (who had earlier assisted Ms. Smythe with her translation of the text), undertook the arduous task of completing the unfinished manuscript, adding the appropriate notes and annotations, and revising the entire text for publication. The finished product, although based on the original structure of Smythe's draft, underwent a thorough revision by Chang, who also prepared all of the copious footnotes and textual annotations. His generous comment in the Preface that "Credit for whatever merits this work may have should go to Joan Smythe" (p. xv) notwithstanding, the final version of this translation is largely the result of Chun-shu Chang's scholarly acumen and many years of assiduous research.

The JSC comprises 5 chuan and describes, in very vivid detail, a journey Lu Yu made from his ancestral home in Shan-yin (Chekiang) to K'ueichou (Szechwan) in 1170. The event which occasioned the trip was Lu Yu's appointment to the post General Judge (t'ung-p'an) of K'ueichou. As indicated in the subtitle of the Chang/Smythe book, Lu's diary covers the period 3 July to 6 December 1170, and contains entries for all but four of the 157 days it took him to complete the 1800 mile journey. The progress of Lu Yu's sojourn, most of which was undertaken by boat along the Yangzte River, had already been traced in full or in part by some of China's most redoubtable litterateurs, among them Li Po (701-762), Tu Fu (712-770), Ou-yang Hsiu, Su Shih, and Huang T'ing-chien (1045-1105). The celebrated writings indited by these renowned men of letters (portraying the environs of the Yangzte), coupled with the spectacular riparian landscapes and areas of historical interest Lu Yu personally visited during the course of his peregrination, quite naturally provided strong inspiration for description and commentary. Consider, for instance, Lu's description of the famous Yellow Crane Loft (or Yellow Crane Tower, as it is rendered by Chang and Smythe):

As for the Yellow Crane Tower, according to an old tradition, Fei i (d. 253) made his immortal's ascension (to heaven) here, and afterwards returned riding a yellow crane; thus was the tower named. It is reputed to have the finest scenery in the empire. Ts'ui Hao's (d. 754) poem (about the tower) has been the most famous, while the marvelous verses which (Li) T'ai-po got here are especially numerous. Now the tower has already been destroyed, and the old foundation, too, no longer exists. I asked an old (government) clerk and he said that it was between the Stone Mirror Pavilion and the South Tower, directly facing Pao-tu Island. I can still see the place in my imagination. The name placard of the tower, inscribed by Li Chien in Seal Characters, is alone extant. Li T'ai-po climbed the tower to see off Meng Hao-jen (689-740) and wrote a poem, 'A single sail in the distance vanishes beyond the green mountains. I could only see the Long River flowing to the boundary of the sky.' The sail and mast shining against the distant mountains was particularly worth seeing; unless one has been traveling on the river for a long time, one cannot understand what it means (p. 134).9

Passages like this occur frequently throughout the JSC, and are valuable not only for their historical and geographical data--in this case, the popular origin of the loft's name, the precise location of its ancient foundation, the state of its remains in Lu Yu's time, and so forth, but also because they vividly illustrate how literary and historical associations from the past oftentimes came into play when the author would visit or pass by some locale of note. Lu Yu's literary response(s) to sites already celebrated by his predecessors is particularly interesting, I think, because he found himself in a situation where he had to respond to themes, sights, or events which had already become well known, in part, because of that prior attention. On many occasions, as in the diary excerpt on the Yellow Crane Loft, Lu Yu doesn't hesitate at all to quote from notable literary works of the past and then follow with a brief comment or quip of his own, such as "Unless one has been traveling on the river for a long time, one cannot understand what it means." However, on other occasions he responds to lines from the past in different ways: at times his comments may concern philological matters, as when he discusses the terms Chang-nien san-lao 長年三老 and t' an-ch'ien 搭錢 in a Tu Fu poem (p. 137); they may concern apocrypha, as when he compares poems on Chih-chou 池州 by LiPo and Tu Mu (803-852) (p. 92); or they may be related to literary criticism, as when he summarizes and assesses developments in the so-called "Ku-wen movement" during the T'ang and Sung (p. 122), to cite just a few examples.

Aside from commentary on literary matters, the JSC also contains a wide variety of information on other topics and subjects of interest. Indeed, it is this diffusive quality which helps to distinguish works in the yu-chi

9. Footnote references by Chun-shu Chang which appear in this and subsequent quoted passages will not be cited.
tradition from the more staid prose genres in the literary tradition. During 
Lu Yu’s journey we learn something perforce of almost every aspect of life in 
twelfth century China; we find passages describing economic conditions, social 
customs, religious beliefs and practices, local political organization, naval 
maneuvers on the Yangtze, and even "monsters":

Towards noon we untied the boat and passed the San-shan 
Chi (Three Mountain Rock). . . . In the middle of the 
river ten or more dolphins were rising up and disappearing again. Some were black and some were yellow. 
Suddenly there appeared something several chi long and 
true red in color. It resembled a great centipede.

Brandishing its head, it went upstream against 
the current, stirring up waves two or three chi high. It 
was a very fearful sight (p. 89).

As this passage suggests, there certainly was no want of suspense and danger 
during the author’s journey to Szechwan. In several other entries Lu Yu also 
mentions the appearance of tigers and wolves (p. 136 passim), the frightening 
experience of watching his boat shoot rapids through Horse Liver Gorge 
(p. 165), and the occasion when the chief helmsman attempts to commit suicide 
because he lost his job to a favorite of the boat owner (pp. 143-144). To be 
sure, the diary as a whole is noteworthy because of its intrinsic literary 
merit. However, these varied descriptions and commentaries are particularly 
valuable in that such information is not generally available in the standard 
Sung sources. For this reason alone, Yu-chi deserve greater attention than 
they’ve received by students of the period.

The book consists of two principal parts. The first of these, entitled
"The Ju-Shu chi and Its Translation," is further divided into four sub-
sections, all of which were prepared by Chun-shu Chang. I don’t have much 
to say about the first of these, "The Composition, Transmission, and Editions 
of the Ju-Shu chi."10 Chang’s critical survey of the transmission of the 
diary in Lu’s prose collection Nei-nan wen-chi, and its later circulation as 
an independent volume, is quite thorough. Further, his critical evaluations 
of the various editions of the JSC are based on a complete examination of 
all texts available. Chang is correct when he remarks that "in terms of its 
length, the Ju-Shu chi is clearly a separate work and should not be included 
as part of the Nei-nan wen-chi" (p. 5). But Lu Yu’s apparent fear that 
the text of the diary might have been lost had it circulated separately was not 
totally unfounded. I suspect that many Sung travelogues have been lost to

posterity for this very reason; for instance, Fan Ch’eng-ta’s three extant 
diaries (i.e., Lan-p’ei lu, Ts’an-yuan lu, and Wu-ch’uan lu), which appar-
ently did circulate independently from Fan’s oeuvre, would likely have been 
lost had they not been anthologized in Tao Tsung-yi’s 陶宗儀 (~1320-
c. 1402) massive collection Shuo-fu 談郛 (The Barbarians of Talks).

In the next section of Part One, "Procedure, Structure, and Spirit of the 
Translation," Chang states outright that "the translation is meant to be 
literal" (p. 17), and that he has "essentially followed the method, style, 
and spirit of the classic Western-language translations of the most signifi-
cant Chinese historial works" (p. 16-17). Judging from the names and titles 
invoked in his footnote to this statement—Chavannes’ Les mémoires histori-
ques de Sene-ts’ien, Dubs’ The History of theFormer Han Dynasty, 
Michael C. Rogers’ The Chronicles of Fu Chien, to name a few, Chang has set 
formidable scholarly standards for himself. He also notes that the most important 
model for his translation has been Edwin O. Reischauer’s Ennin’s Diary: The 
Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law (New York: Ronald 
Press, 1955). In the remainder of this section Chang outlines his procedures 
for handling dates and place-names, office-titles, Lu Yu’s numerous quotes 
from and allusions to earlier poetry and writings, and also discusses some 
of the particular problems one encounters when translating Yu-chi, such as 
conveying its “obscure, terse, and informal style” (p. 16). Whether or not 
Chang has met his standards and achieved his goals will be discussed shortly.

The third section of Part I, "Textual Sources and Technical Refer-
ces," briefly discusses the quality and usefulness of several of the major 
editions and reprints of the JSC (there is thus some overlap with the earlier 
section "The Composition, Transmission, and Editions of the Ju-Shu chi"). As 
well as a few Japanese annotations and translations of the diary. Sung 
specialists will find the chart on "Weights and Measures" (p. 25) especially 
useful because Chang attempts therein to give calculations and estimations 
for various Sung dynasty weights and measures based upon his consultation 
of nine different source works in this area (though precisely how the trans-
lator arrived at his estimates is not explained). Also useful is his 
"Chronology of the Sung Dynasty, 960-1279" (pp. 27-28), in which I have one 
correction to make, concerning the reign dates of Chao Chi 趙佶 (posth. 
Hui-tsung 武宗). According to the Sung-shih, Chao Chi formally relin-
quished the throne to his son Chao Huan 趙瑗 (posth. Ch’in-tsung 正宗) 
on 18 January 1126 (i.e., kung-shen 庚申 day of the 12th month in the 7th

10. An earlier version of this section of Part One was published in Bulletin 
of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica 48.3 (October 
1977), 481-499.
year of the Proclaiming Peace (reign period). Assuming that this date is correct—and there is every reason to believe that it is—then Ch’ao Ch’i’s (or Huf-tsung’s) reign dates are properly 1100-1126 (rather than 1100-1125), and those of his son Chao Huan (or Ch’i’n Tsung) are 1126-1127 (rather than 1125-1126).

The fourth and final section of Part One lists the complete itinerary of Lu Yu’s journey and provides an excellent map (by W. K. Chan) tracing the entire route described in the diary.

Part Two consists of the Chang-Smythe translation, which, a close look reveals, is the product of a sound and consistent philological approach and exhibits a high degree of fidelity to the original text. One particular quality of Sung yu-ch’i that is difficult to convey in translation is the wide range in types of idiom and diction they contain, from the classical to the colloquial on the one hand, and from the reportorial to the lyrical on the other. Whether Lu Yu’s tone is critical and blunt, as in the case where he notes an obvious mistake in dating made by the locals (p. 162) or descriptive and lyrical, for example, in the entry on the famous Jade Void Grotto (p. 167), the Chang-Smythe translation consistently conveys the diversity of Lu Yu’s verbal expression. The translation here should perhaps speak for itself.

The entrance to the cave is small, only one chang wide. Inside it is extremely large and could hold several hundred people. It is spacious and magnificent. It is like entering a great palace hall. Rocks are shaped into the forms of such things as canopies and flags, chih-ts’ao (Fomes japonicus) and bamboo shoots, immortals, dragons, tigers, birds, and beasts. There are a thousand forms and myriad poses, all compellingly lifelike. The most marvelous of them are the eastern rock, which is perfectly round like the sun, and the western rock, which is a half-circle like the moon. Of all the grottos I have seen in my life, none can equal this one.

Care in the descriptive passages such as this is especially important because it is in these that the author displays his consummate skill as a wordsmith.

Another characteristic of yu-ch’i literature that presents a formidable difficulty to the translator is its generous quotes from past and contemporary literary works. Needless to say, the task of identifying these allusions, verifying them, and then rendering them into readable and understandable English is not easy. The judicious and copious footnotes accompanying the Chang-Smythe translation, which total 476 in number (this figure does not include the notes that appear in Part One of the book), are extremely detailed, and represent a virtual compendium of information on Sung culture and institutions. Just about every technical term, literary allusion, place-name, personage, and so forth, that appears in the diary is glossed. To find a good example which illustrates the almost exhaustive quality of Chang’s notes and annotations, one need only consult the first footnote to the translation, which glosses the term wu-ku, or “fifth drum” (an alternate expression is wu-keng, “fifth watch”). Normally, one would probably find this term glossed something like “Between 3:00 A.M. and 5:00 A.M.” (cf. Mathews’, p. 2276). But here Chang not only explicates the various different divisions of nocturnal hours in traditional China, he also discusses some of the regional differences in calculating these divisions. Further, he provides several scholarly references where more information can be gleaned about traditional Chinese time systems. This practice of exhaustive annotation runs counter to the prevailing (and lamentable) policy of several major university presses, highly restrictive in this regard, and yet obviously provides an important scholarly contribution.

A complete translation of a long text such as the JSC is bound to attract at least a few minor criticisms of one sort or another from reviewers, and I am no exception. My first concerns Chang’s statement that “The translation of certain terms and expressions has had to be very flexible and requires special knowledge of the background and origins of the terms and expressions. For example, the same term must be rendered differently in different textual, historical, and literary contexts” (p. 20). Of course, Chang is absolutely correct here, and the examples he cites (i.e., the topographical terms chia and t’an) are convincing (p. 21, n. 8). However, there appear in the JSC several lexical items whose semantic values (as far as I know) are fairly consistent, yet are rendered differently by the translators in different contexts. For example, the expression chao-yin 招欝, which means “to invite someone to drink [wine],” is translated variously as “invited me for wine and dinner” (p. 40) and as “gave me a banquet” (pp. 40-41). Similarly, the descriptive binome hua-ch’ieh 犀璃 (lit. “flowery and pure”) is rendered on one occasion as “bright and clean” (p. 39) and on another occasion as “lovelv and neat” (p. 42). The opposite problem occurs as well. That is to say, different expressions are translated in the same way. For instance, hsiao-yü 小雨 and chi-yü 惠雨 are both rendered on p. 41 as “there was a shower.” If the translation is meant to be literal, why not distinguish such expressions with English renderings such as “there was

a brief shower" and "there was a driving rain? I am nitpicking here to be
sure, but I do so to illustrate a point: lexical items whose meanings are
relatively consistent should be rendered in approximately the same way
throughout any translation that is intended to be literal and precise.

Another minor criticism I have concerns the translation of Sung civil
service titles in this book. Chang's policy on this matter is mentioned on
p. 18: "I have tried to translate all the official titles in the text, ex­cept
for those which do not have close equivalents in the English language."
Since a fair number of romanized titles appear through the translation--and
most of these, to use Krak's renditions, are "classification titles" or
"prestige titles"--we must assume that it is these which lack
"close equivalents in the English language." While no reviewer should ever
criticize an author or translator for something he or she did not intend to
do (in this case, render titles which lack approximate English equivalents),
the proposition that the target language is limited and thus compels the
translator to romanize certain terms is disturbing for a couple of reasons.
First, I submit that the transliteration of office titles (or any lexical
item, for that matter) is the least preferable policy for any translator or
author to follow in that romanized words usually mean nothing to the reader,
especially the general reader. More important, in works of high literary
merit such as the JSC, the frequent appearance of romanized titles could
conceivably detract from the literary value of that work as it appears in
translation. Of course, one can and should (as Chang did) consult the
standard reference sources on such matters, in this case, Edward A. Krak, Jr.'s
Civil Service in Sung China, 960-1067 (Cambridge: Harvard University
Press, 1953) and Translation of Sung Civil Service Titles (Paris: École
Materials Center, Inc., 1978), and Chang Fu-Jui's Les fonctionnaires des
Song: index des titres (Paris: Nouton & Co., 1962). However, I agree with
Edward H. Schafer's suggestion that translating official titles is best ac­com­plished by rendering their literal sense rather than their functional
referent, because "These were constructed, frequently from fragments of
classical quotations, to illuminate the dignities and responsibilities of
office." while I believe that this approach is useful when translating any
office title, it is especially effective when dealing with the so-called
"classification" and "prestige" designations which Chang found difficult to
render into English. This is because in the case of the former, they do not imply
place of duty at all, while in the case of the latter, such titles were conferred for the ostensible purpose of enhancing the prestige of the
holder (that Lu Yu would assiduously list these titles was, of course, an
expected courtesy to those officials he met during the journey and who find
mention in the diary). Thus, we might render Wen-lin-lang 文林郎 something
like "Esquire of the Literary Grove," Ch'ao-san ta-fu 朝散大夫 could be
translated "Great Officiial Unassigned to the Levée," etc. Granted, literal
renditions such as these more often than not fail to convey the referent of
the title. Yet they are preferable, I think, to romanizations with an ac­com­panying footnote reading "Classification Title, No. 25."

These minor caveats by no means detract from the overall superior quality
of this book. The background information in Part One on the author, text, and
related technical matters exhibits the highest standards of scholarship, while
the translation itself is both faithful and elegant. And the numerous primary
and secondary sources listed in the comprehensive bibliography (pp. 185­206) will prove to be a useful reference tool to all students of the period.
I am also happy to report that a companion volume is planned which will deal
with the "literary aspects of the diary, the life, thought, and times of its
author Lu Yu, and the circumstances in which he took his trip to Szechwan"
(p. xiv). I hope that the companion volume will also discuss some of the
many shih poems Lu wrote during the journey which were meant to complement
the diary entries. These poems also provide further insight into how Lu Yu
responded to the literary works of his illustrious predecessors. As far as
I know, the companion volume has yet to appear in print.

Finally, a few words regarding the condition of the text. Although the
printing (which includes Chinese characters for special terms, place-names,
persons, and authors and titles cited in the notes and bibliography) and or­ganization of South China in the Twelfth Century has been handsomely done, the
copy of the editorial work is questionable. The inordinate number of typo­graphical errors and unidiomatic constructions (the latter do not occur as
frequently as the former) indicates that another proofreading was badly needed.
A work that took so long to prepare, and one which will hold major importance
in Sung studies for years to come, deserves better quality in preparation.

12. E. A. Krak, Jr., Translations of Sung Civil Service Titles, Classification
Terms, and Government Organ Names, 2nd rev. ed. (San Francisco:

13. Edward H. Schafer, Easy Readings in T'ang Literature (Berkeley: Ber­keley