Part I

The Migration of Zhou Bida’s Family during the 1120s and the 1150s

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Lots of people emigrated from Northern China to the South after the invasion of the Jurchens in the 1120s. The main routes, distributions and consequences of this so-called *southward migration* have already been well illuminated.\(^1\) From a general perspective, the routes and destinations of the elite families involved represent this southward progress. This case study of Zhou Bida 周必大(1126-1204)’s family, however, does not attempt to provide merely the details of this migration. Instead this paper tries to provide an alternative perspective besides the “*southward migration*” approach.

Zhou Bida’s basic affiliation was Luling 廬陵, Jizhou 吉州, Jiangxi Circuit 江西路. Before the fall of the Northern Song Dynasty, his family resided in Guancheng 管城, Zhengzhou 鄭州 in the North. Thus the Guancheng-Luling migration seems to provide a typical example of this southward movement. After considering some main factors that shaped their migration, however, the picture will be very different. Among these factors are the involvement in the civil service, the distribution of relatives and the locations of their graveyards. These factors will be discussed below by presenting the process of the Zhou family’s migration.

\(^1\) 张家驹《靖康之乱与北方人口的南迁》, 《文史杂志》第 2 卷第 3 期, 1942 年。吴松弟《中國移民史》第四卷《遼宋金元時期》, 福建人民出版社, 1997 年。
1. The Starting Points of the Migration

Was Guancheng in Zhengzhou the starting point of the Zhou family? From the perspective of southward migration, the answer should be yes. In fact, the Zhou family’s migration had more than one starting points, and Guancheng was not among them.

First and foremost, under what kind of circumstances did the Zhous migration happen? According to Zhou Bida’s funerary stele, “in the years of Xuanhe 宣和 (1119-1125), his grandfather was appointed as the vice-prefect 通判 of Jizhou, by this chance the family was settled there”\(^2\). His grandfather’s name was Zhou Shen 周詵. In which specific year was he appointed to Luling? Why did he settle there? Unfortunately, there is no surviving biography of Zhou Shen, but in an essay composed for the building of the vice-prefect’s office in Jizhou, Zhou Bida was told by another person:

> Your grandfather, gentleman of Qin Guo, was appointed to this position in the spring of Xuanhe VII (1125). He used to be in charge of the prefecture. He was replaced after four inspection years. The literati and commoners were grateful for his benevolent rule and pleaded with him to settle his family [there].

公大父秦國公以宣和七年春居是官，嘗行州事，踰四考乃得代，士民懷德，因請家焉。\(^3\)

If Zhou Shen migrated because of the appreciation of the residents of Jizhou, then this has nothing to do with the Jingkang Disaster. In the epitaph of Zhou Bizheng 周必正’s, one of Zhou Bida’s cousins, however, Zhou Bida mentioned another reason for Zhou Shen’s resettlement of his family in Jizhou:

Encountering some chaos, he was unable to return to the North.\(^4\)

遇亂不能北歸。

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\(^2\) 周必大《廬陵周益國文忠公集》（以下簡稱《文忠集》），附錄卷五《忠文耆德之碑》，清道光二十八年刻本，2a。

\(^3\) 《文忠集》卷五九《平園續稿》卷一九《吉州通判廳記》，9b。

\(^4\) 陸游《渭南文集》卷三八《監丞周公墓誌銘》，中華書局標點本，頁 2361。
Obviously, this explanation makes more sense than the previous one. Considering the fact that war had broken out among the Song Dynasty, the Liao Dynasty and the Jurchens in late Xuanhe, the chaos mentioned here must refer to that. In the war, Zhengzhou, the Zhou family’s hometown, was “a key thoroughfare on which troops would constantly pass.”

Thereby the elite families in Northern China were influenced by the warfare before the fall of the Northern Song Dynasty in 1127. The shadow of war urged some elite families to leave the North for the South even early in Xuanhe IV (1122), when Tong Guan 童贯 raised an expedition.

For instance, what Wang Tao 王綯 from Anyang 安陽, Xiang Zhou 相州, did in that year was:

He knew chaos was going to happen, so he resigned and went back home. Then he destroyed the graves, sold off his property and migrated his family southward to Caizhou.

公知亂將作,投劾還家,平墳墓、鬻産業,南徙蔡州。6

Other family members vehemently objected to his decision, but his foresight was eventually proven right.

Since the Zhous did not have the ability to predict war and the fall of the Northern Song, they had no chance to do what Wang Tao had done in advance. The Zhous migration started from the reality of being unable to return to home to Northern China. The starting point of Zhou Shen’s fleeing was Luling of Jizhou, not Guancheng in Zhengzhou.

Another problem presents itself here. If Zhou Shen’s destination was also Luling, then it would seem that no migration happened to the Zhou family. To clarify this, other family members have to be considered as well. Zhou Shen at least had two sons whose names survived: Zhou Lijian(1) 周利見 and Zhou Lijian(2) 周利建. Where were they when the war broke out?

Zhou Lijian(2) 周利建 was Zhou Bida’s father, let us discuss him first. In Xuanhe VII (1125), an...
appointment mentioning Zhou Lijian (2) was issued, which concerned the personnel of the National University located in the capital of the empire. This appointment clearly indicated that Zhou Lijian (2) was in the Eastern Capital, namely Kaifeng 君京, at the beginning of the war. Of course he also was unable to return to Guancheng after 1125. In the third month of the year Jingkang I (1126), Zhou Lijian(2)'s father-in-law Wang Liang 王靓 was appointed as the prefect of Pingjiang Fu 平江府. As it happened, Zhou Lijian (2) and his wife were in service to him in Pingjiang Fu, and Zhou Bida was born there in the seventh month of Jingkang I.

Zhou Lijian (1) 周利見 was Zhou Bida’s elder uncle 伯父. His traces are more ambiguous than his brother’s. In the war, he held an office in the Xiazhou 峡州. In the epitaph of Shang Dashen 尚大伸, Zhou Bida’s elder brother-in-law, Zhou Bida wrote:

In the chaos caused by the war in Jingkang, gentleman [Shang] was still young. He entered Shu with my elder uncle, and then came to Jiangnan after the disorder subsided.

靖康兵亂, 公年尚幼, 依伯父入蜀, 亂定来江南.

Despite the specific location and time remained unknown, it was clear that Zhou Lijian(1) was far from his father and brother.

In short, Zhou Shen was in Jizhou, Zhou Lijian (1) was in Xiazhou and then Sichuan and Zhou Lijian(2) was in Kaifeng and then Pingjiang around 1125 and 1126. This star-studded situation would have been the symbol of success for the Zhou family, which was “a huge family in Zheng [Zhou]” if it were in peace. In the Jingkang disaster, however, the involvement in the bureaucracy seemed to be a double-edged sword to the Zhou family. The family had no

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7 《宋史》卷一六五《職官•國子監》。臣僚言: “新除太學博士胡世將、周利建乞改除正錄, 候將來升為博士”.
8 汪藻《靖康要录》卷三, 靖康元年三月十日。十萬卷樓本“靚”誤作“覿”。
9 周綸《周必大年譜》“靖康元年丙午”, 《宋人年譜叢刊》, 頁 5871。
10 《文忠集》卷三六《省齋文稿》卷三六《伯母安人尚氏墓誌銘》, 1b。
11 《文忠集》卷三四《省齋文稿》卷三四《武昌簽判尚宗簿大伸墓誌銘》(淳熙六年), 5a。
12 《文忠集》卷三六《省齋文稿》卷三六《伯母安人尚氏墓誌銘》, 1a. “周氏為鄭鉅族.”
opportunity to deal with their property and members in the North, as Wang Tao had done.

Furthermore, the members were separated from each other. Therefore, perhaps instead of asking about the process of southward migration of the Zhou family, we should raise another question: how did the dispersed family members reunite and become a new family in the Southern Song Dynasty?

2. The traces of the family members

(1) Zhou Bida’s Father and Grandfather

In the eighth month of Jingkang II (1127), Zhou Bida’s father Zhou Lijian（周利建）was appointed commissioner of the Southern Jinghu Circuit（荊湖南路）to inspect the financial affairs in co-operation with the Circuit Judicial Intendant（提點刑獄官）. Southern Jinghu Circuit was adjacent to Jiangxi Circuit. Therefore, in Jianyan II (1128), the convenience of this appointment allowed Zhou Lijian (2) and his family to visit Zhou Shen, who was at that time still the vice-prefect in Luling, Jizhou（鎮江府）. In Jianyan III (1129), Zhou Shen’s term of office finally expired and he had to report to the emperor. In the Chronicle of Zhou Bida’s Life, it said:

In this year, the emperor stopped at Yangzhou. Having completed his post, grandfather presented himself before the emperor. Father followed him in serving, and died at Yangzhou.

是歲，車駕在維揚，大父秩滿入覲，皇考隨侍，薨於揚州。

In fact, the emperor Gaozong had just spent a month and three days at Yangzhou in Jianyan III. He left for Zhenjiang Fu（鎮江府）on the third day of the second month, and the Jurchens burned the

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13. 《文忠集》卷十九《省齋文稿》卷十九《先太師潭州益陽縣清修寺留題記》，19a.
14. 周綸《周必大年譜》“建炎二年戊申”，頁5871.
15. 周綸《周必大年譜》“建炎三年己酉”，頁5871.
city fifteen days later. In Zhou Bida’s own recollection:

In the years of Wushen and Jimao, Jiangzhe was in terrible disorder. My family was battered in the fire of the war and my father was killed.

The years of Wushen and Jimao namely were the second and third years of Jianyan (1128-1129).

There is no doubt that Zhou Lijian (2)’s tragic death was the result of the Jurchen invasion. Here Zhou Bida’s narrative also demonstrates that Zhou Lijian (2) did not regard Luling to be his permanent residence, otherwise he would not have taken the family with him to Jiangnan.

The Zhous’ Yangzhou travels provide further evidence for the fact that the involvement in government was a double-edged sword for elite families. They had to go to Yangzhou to show up at a court that was struggling to survive. Officials were under the efficient control of the bureaucratic system even in this time of chaos. In the second month of Jianyan III, for instance, an edict was issued stating that officials and the general were permitted to escape from the war at their own convenience. In the tenth month of Shaoxing IV (1134), another edict was issued confirming that bureaux not involved in military affairs were permitted to escape from the war at their convenience. These announcements stated that officials were forbidden to flee at will.

On one hand, such efficient control over officials provided the bedrock of the rebuilding of the Southern Song Dynasty. To the elite families, on the other hand, their movements during the disaster were largely shaped by this official control. As the case of the Zhous shows, their routes of movement were determined by their appointments.

After the death of Zhou Lijian (2), his wife and children lived in Jizhou. Time was very
hard for them:

After the death of my father, my mother was in service to my grandmother at Jizhou. My elder sister was 10 years old. I was just 4 years old. My late brother was less than a year old. That was a hard time. We were terrified by barbarians, plundered by bandits, repeatedly forced to move and constantly short of food. My mother asked the maids to gather acorns and young shoots to feed my grandmother. Fairly and in proper order, she rationed food to the old and young, preferring to go hungry herself. This situation lasted for several months.

The age of Zhou Bida suggests the year was Jianyan III (1129). Where was Zhou Shen then? What did he encounter in Yangzhou? The latter question remained unknown. The only thing we know is that he died in the same year. Zhou Bida notes:

In the year of Jimao, when my grandfather had already passed away, my family temporarily resided in Luling. The Jurchens were plundering the land. We took refuge in Yangmei Village in Anfu.

“Jimao” was Jianyan III (1129). Probably Zhou Shen took Zhou Lijian (1)’s wife and children back to Luling and died there.

Because of this sudden death, neither Zhou Shen nor Zhou Lijian (2) had enough time to accomplish the family’s resettlement. But their deaths unexpectedly reduced the multiple locations of the family members. While they held offices across the country, they had to accept the reality that the family was divided and members dispersed. Death was a brutal but quick solution to this situation. But how would their widows and children deal with their future?

(2)Uncles and other relatives

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20 《文忠集》卷三十六《省齋文稿》卷三十六《先夫人王氏墓誌》 (乾道二年), 3b.
21 《文忠集》卷十五《省齋文稿》卷十五《大父秦公考試耀州倡酬詩卷》, 8b.
As mentioned above, Zhou Shen at least had two sons whose names have survived. Zhou Bida's elder uncle 伯父 Zhou Lijian is sometimes known as the Gentleman of Chenyang Fu 辰陽府君. But there is no doubt that Zhou Bida had a younger uncle 叔父 known as the Gentleman of Jingjiang Fu 靜江府君, whose name remains unknown. According to Zhou Bida's recollections:

In the very early years of Shaoxing (1131-1162), my younger uncle the Gentleman of Jingjiang Fu was the temporary assistant sub-prefect of Anfu. He intimated with Sub-prefectural Registrar gentleman [Liu].

昔紹興初，予叔父靜江君假丞安福，與簿[劉]君善。23

As mentioned, in Jianyan III (1129), after the deaths of Zhou Shen and Zhou Lijian (2) 周利建, the Zhou family took refuge in Yangmei Village, Anfu. It cannot be far from the truth that this was because one of the family members held office there.

Furthermore, in another post-face, Zhou Bida wrote:

My younger uncle, Gentleman of Jingjiang Fu, was the sub-prefect of Anren, [Hengzhou], and serving my grandmother there. I was seven or eight years old then. My mother and I visited my grandmother at Hengzhou.

叔父靜江府君侍祖母秦國夫人宰屬邑[按:指衡州]之安仁,某時年七八歲,侍先夫人省秦國于衡。24

The post-face describes the years Shaoxing II (1132) and Shaoxing III (1133). It seems that the Zhou widows and children were greatly dependent on the Gentleman of Jingjiang Fu at that time. They temporarily lived in Anfu and then Anren, where the Gentleman of Jingjiang Fu held offices, rather than Luling.

When the Gentleman of Jingjiang Fu was the sub-prefect of Anren in Hengzhou, there were

22《文忠集》卷三十六《省齋文稿》卷三十六《伯母安人尚氏墓誌銘》,1a。
23《文忠集》卷四二《平園續稿》卷二《無心居士劉君挽詞並序》,1a。
24《文忠集》卷四八《平園續稿》卷八《跋宋運判昞奏稿》,6a。案原文作“某時年十七八歲”，誤甚，“十”為衍文。
some other relatives of the Zhou family in Hengzhou. The concurrent prefect of Hengzhou was Song Bing 宋昞, great grandson of Song Xiang 宋庠. Zhou Bida’s maternal grandmother was Song Xiang’s granddaughter, which means Song Bing was her nephew and Zhou Bida’s mother’s elder cousin. Besides, the concurrent vice-prefect of Hengzhou was Wang Ji 王藉, Zhou Bida’s mother’s brother, with whom Zhou Bida’s maternal grandmother Song lived.\textsuperscript{25} In short, during late Jianyan and early Shaoxing, Zhou Bida could find his younger uncle, his mother’s cousin, his maternal grandmother, and his maternal uncle in Hengzhou. All these relatives made Hengzhou an amazing place in the chaos of the war. As no record of these years can be found in the Chronicle of Zhou Bida’s Life, I would like to regard this as the sign of peaceful life.

As late as Shaoxing VI (1136), this situation finally ended. Actually, after Shaoxing III, we cannot find any traces of the Gentleman of Jingjiang Fu. Probably he died. And other relatives also had to leave because of new appointments. Song Bing, for instance, left in Shaoxing IV (1134). This can explain why the Zhous moved out of Hengzhou. We find them in Luling in Shaoxing VI (1136). In that year, Zhou Bida’s maternal grandmother Song passed by Luling. According to his grandmother Zhang’s order, Zhou Bida’s mother took him and his siblings to wait upon Song. They moved to Xinzhou 信州 and took up temporary residence.\textsuperscript{26}

Tragically, Zhou Bida’s maternal grandmother died in Shaoxing VII (1137) and his mother died in the first month of the next year. Zhou Bida and his siblings became orphans. Then their elder uncle Zhou Lijian(1) 周利見 took the burden. According to the Chronicle of Zhou Bida’s Life, in Shaoxing VIII (1138), Zhou Lijian (1) was appointed to be the Fiscal Commissioner of Guangdong Circuit. By this chance he passed by Shangrao 上饒, Xinzhou, and took the Zhou orphans back.

\textsuperscript{25} 《文忠集》卷四八《平園續稿》卷八《跋宋運判昞奏稿》, 6a.
\textsuperscript{26} 《周必大年譜》“紹興六年丙辰”, 頁 5871.
Later in Shaoxing X (1140), when Zhou Lijian(1) left Guangdong Circuit for Ganzhou 贛州, Zhou Bida waited upon him. In Shaoxing XVII(1147), Zhou Lijian(1) was appointed to be the prefect of Chenzhou 辰州 and traveled together with Zhou Bida. In Shaoxing XIX (1149), Zhou Lijian(1) went back to Ganzhou because of Ms Zhang’s death, who was another wife of Zhou Shen’s. Zhou Lijian (1) himself died in Ganzhou in Shaoxing XXI (1151); his wife continued to live there until a rebellion broke out in the seventh month of that year.

It is easy to notice that the Zhou’s widows and orphans always followed in the footsteps of their relatives who held offices. The officials also constantly moved following the changes in their appointments. It is also easy to notice that from the 1120s to the 1150s, Zhou Bida and the other family members seldom resided in Luling. When the rebellion broke out in 1151 in Ganzhou, Zhou Bida and his younger brother fled to Luling, where they temporarily lived in a temple. The only explanation was that they barely had property in Luling. Therefore, although the warfare initiated the elite families’ migration, their migration was not merely a reflection of the general processes launched by this war. As argued in the History of Migration in China, “Jiangnan, Jiangxi and Fujian attracted most of the immigrants,” “immigrants from the North dreamed to enter the Sichuan Basin to escape from the chaos”. In 1126, Zhou Shen was in Ji prefecture (Jiangxi Circuit), Zhou Lijian (1) was in Sichuan Basin (Shu) and Zhou Lijian(2) was in Pingjiang Fu (Wu). But none of these place became the permanent residence of the family even before 1150s.

It was not the “southward process” that drove the Zhou family’s migration. In contrast, the whole

27《周必大年譜》“紹興十年庚申”，頁 5871。
28《周必大年譜》“紹興十七年丁卯”，頁 276。
29《周必大年譜》“紹興十九年己巳”，頁 5872。
30《文忠集》卷三十六《省齋文稿》卷三十六《伯母安人尚氏墓誌銘》，頁 2a。
31《文忠集》卷三十六《省齋文稿》卷三十六《孟媼葬記》，頁 14a。
32 吳松弟《中國移民史》第四卷《遼宋金元時期》，頁 276。
33 吳松弟《中國移民史》第四卷《遼宋金元時期》，頁 370。
family was driven by the bureaucracy and was constantly in move.

3. Resettlement and Family Graveyard/Burial

Even if the Zhous had seldom resided in Luling, in the autumn of Shaoxing XX (1150), however, Zhou Bida passed the prefectural examination of Jizhou. This meant that Zhou Bida was regarded as having a Luling affiliation by the government. How could they be Luling people if they did not even reside there? By what means did the Zhou family identify themselves as affiliated with Luling if they were not even resident in Luling?

Let us first turn back to Zhou Bida’s maternal grandparents’ family. The Wang family was also one of the elite families from Northern China. They used to live in Anyang 安陽, Xiangzhou 相州. After 1127, the Wang family’s traces almost disappear from the record. In Longxing I (1163), when Zhou Bida travelled from Lin’an 臨安 to Luling, he mentioned in his diary that he met some of the Wang family members in Xinzhou, and that the family had badly declined. This implies that Wang Liang’s descendents resided in Xinzhou, where Zhou Bida and his mother used to live with them.

In the diary, however, he also mentions that he offered sacrifices at his maternal grandfather [Wang Liang]’s grave in Yixing 宜興, Changzhou 常州. Twenty years later, namely Chuxi X (1183), a commissioner was sent by Zhou Bida to sacrifice at the graves of the Wang family. In the prayer, Zhou Bida said:

Your Zhou respectfully sent a commissioner called Li Chun, to offer pure wine and all kinds of delicious foods, to sacrifice respectfully at the graves of my maternal grandfather, Gentleman Wang, my maternal grandmother Madam Song, my late maternal uncle,
Gentleman 28, and his late wife, Madam Han.

Therefore members of the Wang family were buried in the same graveyard in Yixing, Changzhou. As mentioned above, Song died in Shaoxing VII (1137) at Xinzhou, not Yixing. And in Shaoxing VIII (1138), after Zhou Bida’s mother’s death in the first month, he and his siblings were immediately transferred to Zhou Lijian (1). Even worse, Zhou Bida’s mother, daughter of Wang Liang and Madam Song, was just temporarily buried at Tea Hill, north of Xinzhou city, after her death.³⁸

The location of the family graveyard can explain all those seemingly inexorable actions the Wangs took toward the Zhous. After Song’s death, the Wang family had to bury her in the family graveyard in Yixing, Changzhou. Thus they had to leave Xinzhou and were unable to take care of the orphans anymore. The Wangs were willing to dedicate themselves to maintaining the family graveyard hundreds of miles away, choosing to leave their close relatives. This indicates the special significance of the family graveyard.

The significance of family graveyard can also be told by tracing another branch of the Wangs. Wang Jue 王覺 was Wang Liang’s cousin. In his epitaph, Zhou Bida stated:

Firstly, the gentleman buried his mother in Turtle Headwater, Lingtai Town, Linchuan, [Fuzhou 撫州]. By means of this burial, he settled the home at Linchuan and stated in his will that he wanted to be buried besides his mother’s grave.

初，公葬太宜人於撫州臨川縣靈臺鄉烏龜源，遂家臨川。遺命卜葬於塋側。³⁹

This demonstrates that the start of the family graveyard could be the start of the resettlement. In the history of the Wang family, this had happened once. The sources suggest that Anyang became their hometown beginning with the burial of Wang Liang 王靚’s grandfather Wang Cha

³⁷ 《文忠集》卷三八《省齋文稿》卷三八《祭外祖王給事家諸塋》, 16b.
³⁸ 《周必大年譜》“紹興八年戊午·二月壬申”，頁 5871.
³⁹ 《文忠集》卷三二《省齋文稿》卷三二《叔外祖奉議郎王公覺墓誌銘》（淳熙二年）, 9a.
Before that, the family resided in Yongning Jun. It seems that in this process of migration, families sought ways to identify with their new affiliations, and the building of a *family graveyard* was a frequently used one.

Where is the Zhous’ graveyard? In the epitaph of his mother, Zhou Bida wrote:

The other generation of Zhous chose their graveyard at Gold Phoenix Hill, Gaoze Town, Luling. My father and uncles were buried near each other and in order.

In Shaoxing XIX (1149), Madam Zhang, who was another wife of Zhou Shen, died in Ganzhou but was also buried at Gold Phoenix Hill, Gaoze Town, Luling and shared the same grave with her husband. Thus Zhou Shen’s grave was located in the same place, although Zhou Bida did not mention it here.

Who built the graveyard for the Zhou family? In the epitaph for Wen Shiqing, who was a local literatus and an alchemist, Zhou Bida said:

In the past, my elder uncle, gentleman of Chenyang, wanted to choose a place in Luling to create a family burial site for the deceased in Jiangnan. By means of his skill, the student firstly offered his help and worked very hard.

The term *zuzang* means the concentration of tombs. Zhou Lijian built the family graveyard and buried the deceased close together and in certain order.

The proximity and the order of tombs are usually regarded to be signs of grave rites. As Patricia Buckley Ebrey has argued, because grave rites were gaining in popularity during the Song Dynasty,
it became crucial to bury agnates near each other: some concentration of graves would ensure that as the number of generations increased, old tombs would not be neglected, for many graves could then be visited on a single day. Thus graveyards and grave rites were characteristic of elite families in the Song Dynasty. According to Ebrey, some evidence implied that visiting graveyard during certain festivals, such as Qing Ming, was only a custom of Northern China before the early 11th century and only became widespread in the South during the Southern Song Dynasty. As the Zhous and the Wangs showed above, the families involved in migration were eager to build family graveyards. Therefore, the spread of the grave rites in the Southern Song probably was the result of the family-burial of the elite families from the North.

Considering none of the Zhou family members had permanently resided in Luling before the 1150s on one hand and the family was regarded as having a Luling affiliation on the other, it is not far from the truth that the family graveyard became the most remarkable measure for the Zhou to show their new affiliation. Luling ostensibly was the new homeland of the Zhou family, actually functioned ritually as an identity, which was mainly confirmed by the dead at Gaoze Town, not by the living, who constantly moved across the empire. From this perspective, Zhou Lijian as the architect of the family graveyard played a more important role than Zhou Shen did in the process of the resettlement of the whole family.

The family graveyard mattered a lot to Zhou Bida too. Considering his mother was temporarily buried in Xinzhou, Zhou Bida was bothered by this for decades:

Only my dead mother was buried in an alien land. Once I recalled the pine trees and tea trees [at her graveyard], I felt my soul fly away and my heart broken.……the graves were very near each other in the old graveyard, and there was no room to bury [my mother]. So I

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chose another place, which was two li away and located opposite the old ground at the other side of the river. It was at the foot of a long mountain, and still belongs to Gaoze Town.

At the same time, he reburied his younger brother Zhou Biqiang 周必彊 nearby his mother.47

The family members constantly struggled to enhance the concentration of the tombs of the members.

In short, first the homeland of the dead, then the home of the living, this was what some elite families did in the Jingkang disaster.

4. Very short conclusion

The Zhou’s migration was greatly shaped by their members’ involvement in bureaucracy. Zhou Shen and Zhou Lijian(2) 周利建 had to move along with their posts. Their widows and orphans also had to follow the posts held by other relatives. Death was the solution. Only the dead could be returned to “home”. After witnessing this exorable situation, what would be the response for the new generation of the immigrants? In western scholarship, it is widely accepted that literati in the Southern Song became more concentrated on local affairs than their predecessors in the Northern Song. Is there any possibility that this is partly the consequence of this tragic process?

46 《文忠集》卷三六《省齋文稿》卷三六《先夫人王氏墓誌》(乾道二年), 4b．
47 《文忠集》卷三一《省齋文稿》卷三一《子柔弟墓誌銘》(乾道二年), 9b-10a．
Part II

The Evaluation to the CBDB\(^\text{18}\)

After finishing my research I turned back to the CBDB. My research mainly traces the migration of a group of people. Historians frequently have to face the reality that people are constantly on the move. Theoretically, the CBDB can easily trace the movements (Addresses) of a given person. In fact, I see several challenges to this easy task.

First, how to integrate addresses from different fields? In the CBDB, addresses are filled into several fields, namely the field of 地址 (Addresses), the field of 官名 (Office), and the field of 社會關係 (Association). [See pictures]

Since the reporting system is still under development, this evaluation is highly tentative.
Assuming that there are data in all these fields, can the reporting system gather them together at the same time?

Assuming the answer is yes, there will be a second problem—the order of these addresses should be well organized. Although it has 遷徙次序 (Sequence of Movement) in the CBDB to deal with this, there is a problem when new addresses are added—we are likely to rearrange the sequence at all. More troublesome, how to automatically define the sequence of addresses from the three different fields when we search?

If the two challenges are solved in the forthcoming reporting system, then the third challenge will concern whether the CBDB can figure out how various people’s movements are linked. As my paper shows, people always move with others. For instance, Zhou Bida, his siblings, his mother, his grandmother, his maternal uncle and his maternal grandmother were in Heng Zhou around 1132. Can the CBDB find this for me? The CBDB needs, then, to be able to: 1) trace person A’s mobility—retrieve the various addresses related to him or her; 2) search among people who have relationship (kinship or association) with person A and are related to the addresses retrieved.

So far as I know, the CBDB is good at analyzing kinds of spatial distribution when it works.
together with CHGIS\textsuperscript{49}. Determining spatial movement, however, presents a challenge that goes beyond those involved in figuring out distribution. It requires the knowledge of order in which respective movements occurred. It seems to me that the CBDB deals well with data for which accurate times are known (c\_firstyear and c\_lastyear), but it is not flexible enough to deal with data that is dated ambiguously. And even when exact dates are not known, such ambiguous data can be very useful in reconstructing the traces of the biographees.

Finally, my research drew mainly on the writing of Zhou Bida rather than on the CBDB. This is because the CBDB’s data is not adequately detailed. There are two reasons for this: 1) PKU’s work is based on Wang Deyi’s index, which contains very limited information. 2) Though it would be better if we input into the CBDB original biographical texts, my paper shows that some crucial evidence cannot be found in biographies, but in prefaces and diaries. This indicates that we can maximize the information for the CBDB if different kinds of materials are well digested and organized. But the graduate students in PKU cannot do this. This is not just a problem of time, but also a problem of competence. How can we then widen and deepen the content of the CBDB?

Professor Bol is planning to develop a program for automatic abstraction.

My immediate concern with this issue is: the most valuable and well organized materials lie in the large number of existing second-hand works, such as the family history, the local history, the literary history and the political history, even some institutional history. Therefore, the most reliable contributors of data to the CBDB should be the scholars who use it. I bet most of the participators of this workshop have added data into MS-Access database while pursuing their research, just as I did in the inputting system. Imagine what will happen if all serious users are

\textsuperscript{49} “Mapping and Analyzing CBDB Data”, see the website of the CBDB. http://isites.harvard.edu/icb/icb.do?keyword=k16229&pageid=icb.page119700
willing to offer their data to the CBDB. I think if the CBDB inputting system is opened to reliable scholars, the database will be greatly enriched by their research. The improvement of the data depends on the solving of various questions raised in scholars’ particular research.[Yes, it sounds like Wikipedia.]