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THE TRAVELLING PALACE OF SOUTHERN SUNG IN KOWLOON

A lecture delivered on September 26, 1966

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I am honoured by being invited to talk to you on a subject which deals with a very important episode in the local history of Hong Kong and Kowloon. In recent years I have done some exhaustive research work on this subject and I am glad to have this opportunity to share with you whatever little knowledge I have gained.[1]

It is recorded in several Chinese historical books[2] that Emperor Tuan Tsung of Southern Sung (南宋) arrived at Kuan-fu (官富) in the spring of A.D. 1277. According to *Ta-Ch'ing I-t'ung Chi* (大清一統志) :

"There were over thirty travelling palaces of (Southern) Sung, and four of them can be located now. One of them was Kuan-fu Ch'ang".

The problems confronting us now are: Where exactly was Kuan-fu Ch'ang? Why and how did the Sung Emperor go there? Where is the Travelling Palace to be located now? What other historical relics and sites can be found connected with the royal visit? etc. Before answering these questions, however, you should be acquainted with one of the most pathetic stories in the history of China in order to gain a clear understanding of the historical background.

I. THE ROYAL REFUGEES

The story begins with the death of the 6th emperor of the Southern Sung Dynasty, Tu Tsung (度宗) in 1274, the 10th year of his reign, in the capital Lin-an (臨安), i.e. Hangchow. He was survived by the Queen Ch'uan (全), a few concubines and four children — three sons and a daughter. The eldest son, Shih (昰), 7 years old, was reared by the concubine Young (Yang) (楊). The second son, Hsien (㬎), 4 years old, was reared by Queen Ch'uan. The third son, Ping (昺) also 4 years old, was reared by the concubine Yu (俞). The daughter, probably

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)
 ISSN 1991-7295

older than Hsien and Ping, was also reared by Young, being the younger sister of Shih. Hsien, the 2nd son, by virtue of being the offspring of the Queen, was regarded as the legitimate heir to the throne according to Chinese tradition. After being crowned, the boy emperor named his new reign Tê Yu (德佑) beginning with the next year (1275).

In the first year of Tê Yu (1275), the Mongol army under the premier Pê Yen (伯顏) invaded South China and after many victories marched toward the capital Lin-an in the winter. The imperial court was alarmed and evacuated the Emperor's two brothers and sister under the care of mother Young and their uncles.[3] Before departure, the two princes received new titles: I Wang (益王) and Kuang Wang (廣王), respectively. Early in 1276 the royal party left Lin-an in a hurry heading for the south. It was the beginning of an itinerary of constant flight which would last for three full years.

Shortly afterwards, Emperor Hsien and the Queen Mother Ch'uan surrendered to the Mongols who subsequently took them to Peking. The Mongol Emperor Kublai Khan gave the dethroned Sung Emperor the new title of Duke of Ying Kuo (瀛國). Years later he was forced to become a Buddhist monk, was banished to Mongolia and died in exile there. It was said that his own son, who had been adopted by a Mongolian prince, would eventually become the last emperor of the Yuan (Mongol) Dynasty. The Ex-Queen Mother Ch'uan became a Buddhist nun and died of old age.[4]

When the capital Lin-an fell, the royal evacuees arrived at Wuchow (婺州), Chekiang. They continued their flight toward the south. They had to travel on foot for seven days and the two young princes were carried by their uncles on their backs all the way throughout the rough journey. After reaching Wenchow (溫州), a city near the seashore, they stayed for about three months trying to rally loyal supporters there. A few did come, such as a high official Lu Hsiu-fu (陸秀夫) and generals Chang Shih-chieh (張世傑) and Su Liu-i (蘇劉義) each bringing soldiers along. An army of considerable size was mustered. The Premier Ch'en I-chung (陳宜中), who had deserted the court after the Mongols entered Lin-an, also reported his presence at Wenchow, which was his native city. In view of the grave situation created by the capture of the young emperor, which thus

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)

ISSN 1991-7295

left the country without a ruler, the ministers and generals, after consultation with their mother, the concubine Young, unanimously installed I Wang Shih as the Generalissimo of the state and his brother Kuang Wang Ping as his deputy. After a while, they decided to travel south by boat. When everything was ready for departure, the cunning premier Ch'en I-chung begged to remain behind, using the excuse that he must bury his mother who had just died in Wenchow. Everybody disliked him and took him for a coward. The impetuous and impulsive warrior Chang Shih-chieh thought up a cunning scheme: he ordered some of his soldiers to remove the coffin of Ch'en's mother and to place it on a ship. Consequently Ch'en had to follow, much against his will.

In the 4th month they arrived at Foochow, Fukien. In the next month they crowned I Wang Shih Emperor who thus became the last Sung emperor but one. He was then eight years of age. His posthumous name is Tuan Tsung, (端宗) by which I shall call him hereafter. From that month on, his reign was called Ching Yen (景炎). His younger brother Ping received the new title of Wei Wang (衛王), and his little sister, that of Princess of Tsin Kuo (晉國), while his own mother was properly honoured as the Queen Mother. They stayed in Foochow until the 11th month when news came that the Mongols were invading Fukien, so they sailed southward.

After passing by Ch'uanchow (泉州) and Amoy in Fukien and Ch'aochow (潮州) (Swatow) and Chia-tsu-men (甲子門) (of Huichow) in Kwangtung, they entered the territory of Kwangchow-fu early in 1277. Passing by Mirs Bay (Ta-p'eng-wan (大鵬灣), northeast of Kowloon), the royal party probably went ashore for a short time to get a rest, since there remain a few historical sites by the names of *Wang-mu chuang-t'ai* (王母粧台 the Queen-mother's Dressing Table) and *Wang-mu hsu* (王母墟 Queen-mother's Market). During the next two months they stayed at an island then called "Mei-wei". (This place at present is still unidentified.) In the 4th month (May 1277) the royal refugees landed at Kuan-fu Ch'ang accompanied by many descendants of former Sung emperors who had joined the royal party from different places along the coast.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)

ISSN 1991-7295

II. KUAN-FU

Where was Kuan-fu Ch'ang? It can be definitely identified with no other place than the eastern side of the Kowloon Peninsula. For several hundred years from Sung to mid-Ch'ing Kuan-fu was the official name of the area, while Kowloon was the vernacular name used by the local people.[5] To avoid confusion, we must carefully differentiate Kuan-fu Ch'ang from Kuan-fu Tsai (寨 stockade), Kuan-fu-shan (山 mountain) and Kuan-fu hsun-ssu (巡司 sub-district).

Kuan-fu Ch'ang meant Kuan-fu Field, one of the four salt-producing fields in the Tung-kuan District amongst the thirteen fields of the whole province of Kwantung in the Sung Dynasty. The area of the Field covered not only the entire peninsula but also the nearby islands, including the present Hong Kong. It was under the administration of an office in the stockade called Kuan-fu Tsai, the present so-called Kowloon Walled City. During the last years of the Emperor Tu Tsung, (1265-75) the administrator of the field was Yen I-chang (嚴益彰) of Kaifeng, Honan Province, who had the engraved stone made at North Fu-t'ang in 1274, less than three years before the royal visit to Kuan-fu.[6]

My interpretation is that the name Kuan-fu has a political and economic meaning: "Kuan" means Tung-kuan District and "fu" means rich. The field was thus christened by officialdom to signify the rich resources of Tung-kuan. Or else, it might signify the riches of the Emperor, for *Kuan Chia* (官家) was a popular term for the emperor. Anyway, it could not be a natural name and it may be inferred from this that the name of Kuan-fu Mountain, which was a long range of mountains with many hills, was adopted from the Kuan-fu Ch'ang and not vice versa. Researches into the Gazetteer of Hsin-an District, the writings of some historians and maps furnished by the Public Works Department of the Hong Kong Government lead to the conclusion that the Kuan-fu Mountain was along the western side of the Kowloon peninsula (see Plate 12). There were a number of hills of various heights inside the area and the highest, the rocky peak west of Ma-tau-wei Road, reaches a height of 405 feet. On the plain and in the valleys at the foot of the hills were separate salt-producing fields. Certainly, there were other such fields all over the Kuan-fu

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)

ISSN 1991-7295

area, e.g. some places on Lantau island (Tai-yu-shan) were salt-producing fields. All such fields, together with the people living in the villages, were under the administration of the Salt Administrator of Kuan-fu Ch'ang.

In the Yuan Dynasty, the political status of the Kuan-fu Field underwent a drastic change. Kuan-fu as an independent salt-producing area under a salt administrator was abolished and was incorporated into the Huang-t'ien (黃田) Field which was one of the original four fields in Tung-kuan. In the third year of the reign of Hung Wu, the first Emperor of Ming (1370), Kuan-fu's status was changed from that of a salt-field into a *Hsun-ssu* (巡司), a political sub-district still called Kuan-fu but under the charge of a Hsun-chien (巡檢).[7]

The name of Kowloon was not officially adopted until 1840 (Tao Kwang 20th year, in mid-Ch'ing), when Kuan-fu *Hsun-ssu* was changed to Kowloon *Hsun-ssu* under the charge of a Kowloon Hsun-chien, still under the general administration of the Hsin-an District.[8] Three years later (1843) the Manchu Governor-general Ch'i-ying (耆英) constructed a city wall around the Kowloon Tsai (formerly the Kuan-fu Tsai) with the explicit purpose of warding off a British invasion. The wall was completed in 1847. It may be added that this city wall was demolished by the Japanese when they occupied Kowloon, using the stones for the construction of the extended air-field; but the so-called Kowloon Tsai still exists.[9]

III. THE LANDING

Let us now go back to May 1277. The exact place where the royal party landed was along the beach on the western shore of the Kowloon Bay from the Sung Wong Toi Hill to To-kua-wan in the south. There were three villages along the coast, namely Ma-tau-kok, (馬頭角) Ma-tau-ch'ung (馬頭涌) and To-kua-wan (土瓜灣). They were fairly large in size and populated by many fishermen and workers of the salt-field. Upon the arrival of the royal party the local villagers extended to them an extraordinarily warm welcome. The Imperial Court rewarded them with some parasols made of yellow silk and embroidered with many Chinese characters, in gratitude for the enthusiatic reception and loyal protection they had received. Years later the original gifts wore

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)

ISSN 1991-7295

out and the local people made facsimiles of the originals and preserved them from generation to generation in order to commemorate the glory of their ancestors. Moreover, in the Dragon Boat Festival (the 5th day of the 5th month) every year since then, they have placed the parasols on the racing boats, called *huang-chou* 皇舟 (Imperial boats). Before the boat race started the gentry and elders of the villages used to kneel and kow-tow to the royal gifts to pay respect to the Sung Emperor. Sung Hsueh-p'eng says that the custom was perpetuated for many years.[10] Less than a month after the landing of the royal party the Dragon Boat Festival was observed. It can be imagined what a delightful day the boy Emperor Tuan Tsung (Shih) and his small brother Wei Wang (Ping) had in watching the races, along with the Queen Mother and many dignitaries, generals and ministers, and, of course, the local people who were particularly happy to have such distinguished guests participating in their annual festival.

IV. SUNG WONG TOI (Sung Huang Tai—*Man*)

The most important site which furnishes the key to our study of the Kuan-fu Travelling Palace of Southern Sung is a small mound near the seashore, north of Ma-tau-kok. It can be definitely located and is recorded in the Hsin-an Gazetteer, other literature and maps. Besides, there were three Chinese characters engraved on one of the great rocks there which many of us have seen with our own eyes.

The small mound was called Sacred Hill (聖山) (see map). This name was probably given to it by the Hong Kong Government when it took over the territory in 1858, as no Chinese literature recorded such a name and even Hong Kong people of the older generation, including Sung Hsueh-p'eng, did not know of it. On the top of the mound were two large rocks, one on the northern side, the other on the southern. The characters Sung Wong Toi (宋王臺) were engraved on the western face of the northern rock in the Yuan Dynasty[11] long after the royal party departed from Kowloon and after the Mongols conquered the Southern Sung.

The characters were horizontally inscribed, being uniformly 20 inches in width and respectively 26, 22½, and 27 inches in

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)

ISSN 1991-7295

height. The character *toi* was in a variant which has been mistaken by many people for *t'ang* (堂). Later, a further seven characters were added, vertically, on the right side, recording that repairs had been carried out in the *ting mau* year of the Ch'ing Emperor Chia Ch'ing (A.D. 1807). Of course, this means the re-engravement of the three original characters, for there was otherwise nothing to be repaired. The character *wang* (王) "king" should be *huang* (皇) which stands for "emperor". It was first intentionally inscribed in that erroneous form in the history of the Sung Dynasty compiled by the Yuan officials where it was recorded that there were two Sung "Kings", implying that they were not recognised as Emperors perpetuating the Sung dynastic throne. This was a grave mistake subsequently pointed out by many Chinese scholars. We should use the character *huang* for "Emperor" instead. The naming of the Sung Huang Tai Garden and Sung Huang Tai Road by the Hong Kong Government is therefore correct.

The precise meaning of the name Sung Wong Toi is not easily ascertained. It has been alleged that the boy Emperor Tuan Tsung used to rest in the cave beneath the great rock and sometimes played hide and seek there with his small brother. The mound has been likened to a *toi*, a terrace or high building. One historian has asserted that a watch tower was built on the top of the mound to look out for the advent of the enemy, hence its name. This last theory is not credible since the mound itself was already high enough for watching over the sea to the east without the superstructure. In my own research work, a line has been found in the Hsin-an Gazetteer which gives a very useful hint for the interpretation of the name. It reads: "There were three characters 'Sung Wong Toi', on the great rock which was beside the Toi".[12] In reverse the last part can be read "the Toi was beside the great rock". Therefore, neither the great rock nor the hill itself can be identified as the Toi. The logical conclusion cannot be anything but that a separate *toi* must have been constructed near the foot by the side of the hill and the big characters were later engraved on the great rock merely as an indication of the historic spot commemorating the visit of two Emperors. It might have been a real watch tower, for the rocky hill was not easy to climb for military purposes. But where exactly was the *toi* or tower is a problem which remains to be solved.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)

ISSN 1991-7295

It is recalled that the area north of the Sacred Hill was known locally by the name of Chiao-pei-shih (Kau-pui-shek in Cantonese) (筊杯石). Chiao-pei, or more properly *pei-chiao,* means two pieces of wood carved in the shape of oyster shells which are used for the purpose of divination in worshipping idols. This has induced me to think that the Sacred Hill just to the south was originally named Chiao-pei-shih, for the two large rocks really looked like a pair of divining blocks.[13]

On 24th October, 1860, when the Peking Treaty was signed, the area south of Boundary Street in Kowloon was ceded to Great Britain, and on 19th January, 1861 was formally taken over by the Hong Kong Government. Since then the Government has taken a deep interest in, and made special efforts for, the preservation and protection of the Sung Wong Toi. In February, 1899, the Sung Wong Toi Reservation Ordinance* was enacted expressing the popular wish of the local residents to preserve this area as a public resort and to prohibit the leasing of any piece of land within it for constructing buildings or any other purpose. The Government also erected a small stone tablet at the foot of the Sacred Hill bearing the words "Sung Wong Toi Reservation, Quarrying Absolutely Forbidden" and two lines of Chinese characters beneath. In 1915 Prof. Lai Chi-hsi (賴際熙), head of the Chinese Department of the University of Hong Kong, upon hearing that this area was to be sold by auction, appealed to the Government to be sure to reserve this area permanently. Mr. Li Sui-kam (李瑞琴), a leading citizen of Hong Kong, lent his support and paid for the erection of an encircling stone balustrade.

When the Japanese occupied the territory 1941-45, they levelled the Sacred Hill for the purpose of extending the Kai-tak Airport. They blasted the engraved rock which broke into three pieces. Fortunately one part retained the original inscription intact. After the Liberation in 1945 the Government held to its former desire to preserve this ancient monument. A small garden was created to the southwest of the airfield, about five hundred feet west of the original Sacred Hill across the Tam-kung Road. The section of engraved rock was trimmed into a rectangular shape and placed within the garden which was to be its permanent and suitable resting place. This, too, fulfilled the public wish. Work on the

* *On the initiative of Dr Ho Kai, later Sir Kai Ho Kai (1859-1914).*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)

ISSN 1991-7295

Sung Wong Toi Garden was finally completed in the winter of 1957. Acting upon the suggestion of the Chiu Clansmen's Association, most of whose members are the descendants of the early emperors and princes of the Sung Dynasty, whose family name was Chiu, the Government, with the valuable assistance of the Association, provided two stone tablets commemorating the Sung Wong Toi, one in Chinese and the other in English, on each side of the entrance to the garden. On the 28th December, 1959, a simple and dignified unveiling ceremony was held in the garden. The design and craftsmanship of the tablets are of the first quality. In particular the two dragons, symbolizing two emperors, were beautifully done. It was said that only a very few craftsmen in Hong Kong could have done them and that they should be ranked as one of the Colony's works of art. I had the honour of being asked to compose the Chinese text and to assist in translating it into English. I was also asked to compile and edit a book entitled *Sung Wong Toi, A Commemorative Volume* which was published in Chinese in 1960 by the Chiu Clansmen's Association.

V. A FEW LEGENDS

In the text on the tablets above mentioned I stated that there existed a few historical sites connected with Tuan Tsung's stay in Kowloon. They may be of interest to you, in spite of their legendary character, if you are keen to know more of local history.

North of the Sung Wong Toi rock it is said that there was a *Chin-fu-jen mu* (Lady Chin's Tomb 金夫人墓). It is recorded in the Hsin-an Gazetteer that the Princess of Tsin Kuo, younger sister of Tuan Tsung, had been drowned nearby, or en route to Kowloon, and that a golden image of her was buried in that tomb. That was why it was called Lady Chin (Gold)'s Tomb. A large stone tablet was erected there with the name *Chin-fu-jen* engraved on it. I consider this as sheer legend, unsupported as it is by any substantial proof.

To the northwest of the hill is the popular Temple of Hou-wang (Hou-wang miao 侯王廟). Ch'en Pê-t'ao, a famous scholar of Tung-Kuan District in late Ch'ing, put out the theory that Young (Yang) Liang-chieh, uncle of Tuan Tsung, had died at sea on the way here; was subsequently buried at this spot; that he was posthumously given the title of *wang* (king); and that the local people built the temple in memory of his loyalty. I have found

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)

ISSN 1991-7295

that this legend is also ill-founded, because it has been ascertained that there are at least six other Temples of Hou-wang in Kowloon and the nearby island of Lantau. Moreover, there are other Hou-wang Temples in different districts of Kwangtung, and the images worshipped in them are different deified persons. But the decisive counter-proof of Ch'en's theory is found in a book written by Chou Mi, *Kuei-hsin tsa-chi hsü-chi* (周密, 癸辛雜識續集) in early Yuan which records that in the last battle between the Sungs and Mongols at Ya-men in 1279, Young Liang-chieh perished at sea with the Emperor Ping (successor of Tuan Tsung) and other generals and ministers.[14]

Another story tells how Emperor Tuan Tsung occasionally established his court at Yu-hsien-yen on Pê-ho-shan (白鶴山遊仙巖), northwest of Kowloon Tsai. There was a stone that looked like an armchair. Tuan Tsung used to sit on it as his temporary throne. From that time, the stone got the name "The Royal Armchair Stone" (*Yu-tso chiao-i shih* 御座交椅石). This is a more reasonable tradition for a historic event although there is also no proof for it.

VI. THE ERH-HUANG-TIEN VILLAGE

There was yet another historical site called Erh-huang-tien Village (in Cantonese Yi-wong-tin 二皇殿 Two Emperors' Palace Village) which was closely related to the royal visit. Amongst the many old villages listed in the Hsin-an Gazetteer was the name Erh-huang-tien but written in the form 二黃店, meaning Two Huangs' *Store*. Ch'en Pê-tao was the first scholar to point out that this was a mistake and should be Two Emperors' *Palace*. (The Cantonese pronunciations of *huang* for emperor and *huang* for yellow are the same, and in Mandarin *tien* for palace and *tien* for store are the same. The error in the Gazetteer may be ascribed to intentional alteration of the two characters to avoid political trouble in the Yuan dynasty which exterminated the last two emperors of Southern Sung.) This interpretation is acceptable.

A few other writers in modern times in describing the historical sites in Kowloon have likewise confirmed the existence of such a village. It has been generally taken for granted that it was so named because the last two Sung emperors stayed there for some time, or constructed a palace there. Furthermore, the

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)

ISSN 1991-7295

original site of the village is believed to have been somewhere southwest of Sung Wong Toi Hill. According to the report of Mr. Wu Pa-ling (吳潞陵) who had carried out research in that area, the village situated at the foot of the northern tip of the Er-huang-tien Hill was formerly occupied by some two hundred people, mostly by the surname of Lee and living in about twenty or thirty houses. In 1927 or 1928, they were evacuated by the Government and the whole village, together with a Temple of the Northern God (Pei-ti) at the front of the village, was levelled to permit the construction of modern roads and buildings. Henceforth, there was no trace left by which to locate the original site of the village. The temple was removed to a nearby place by the side of the present Tam-kung Road where there is a street by the name of Pei-ti (Northern God).[15]

My own study on the subject has led me to the conclusion that it is highly probable that the royal party did visit that place or stay there in some house or houses which, in accordance with Chinese tradition, were subsequently called by the honorific name of palace (*kung* or *tien*). After their departure from Kowloon people came in later times to settle down at the same place. More houses were built from time to time forming a village called Two Emperors' Palace Village and the hill by its side was also called Two Emperors' Palace Hill, which was really the hill on the northern tip of the eastern pincer of the Kuan-fu Mountain.

The most difficult problem in this study, however, is to know where exactly the original site of the village was, as every written record has omitted the location and no one who has visited it could tell precisely. After many years of painstaking and unsuccessful research, I finally found the right solution as late as 1962 when I was able to obtain some old maps of Kowloon Peninsula through the kind co-operation and assistance of officers of the Crown Lands and Survey division of the Public Works Department, Hong Kong Government. On one of them prepared in 1903 — Sheet 6 in Number 2 Survey District — the exact location of the village is indicated and the name is given below. It is, however, mispelt *Un Wan Tun* probably due to linguistic difficulty on the part of the foreign surveyor. It is on the eastern side of the northern part of the Kuan-fu Mountain to which the colloquial name of Two Emperors' Palace Hill is also not given.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)

ISSN 1991-7295

Comparing this map with two others (Military Survey Map 1902-03, GS 3749, and Map of Kowloon, 1960, Sheet 2) and checking it with my personal observation in the old and new roads around that area, I found that the original site of the village was directly west of the southern foot of the former Sacred Hill, about 1,200 ft. distant from it (see map). The northern tip of the Two Emperors' Palace Hill has been levelled leaving a high cliff there.[16] As to the precise boundaries, population and number of houses in the former village, there is no way to ascertain this, although the military map of 1902-03 shows only a very small number of houses in comparison with other villages in Kowloon.

VII. THE MA-TAU-WEI TEMPLE

We should note one more, the last, historical site in this area. It is the Ancient Temple of Shang-ti (Shang-ti Ku-miao 上帝古廟) situated on the western side of the present Lomond Road, behind the St. Theresa Hospital (see map). The original temple was near the former Ma-tau-wei Village directly east of the present site. When the villagers were evacuated by the government and the whole village was levelled to construct new roads and buildings in 1927-28, the temple was destroyed and a new temple was constructed at the present site.[17] Later on, the new temple was also demolished but the stone gate was preserved, the name of the temple remaining.

The idol worshipped there represents the God of the Black (Northern) Heaven (*Hsuan-t'ien Shang-ti* 玄天上帝) which is identical with the Northern God (Pei-ti 北帝). According to Chinese ancient mythology, North has been considered as the centre of water, symbolized by the colour black. Hence, it became the patron deity of the people living along the seacoast, and almost every coastal village had such a temple wherever there were fishermen or seafarers. There are still some temples of the Northern God in Kowloon and elsewhere. Some years ago the Hong Kong Government accepted my suggestion and preserved this stone gate. Moreover, the piece of ground was converted into a small garden. Mr. Jao Tsung-i of the Chinese Department of the University of Hong Kong was asked to prepare the Chinese text which is engraved on a tablet erected by the side of the gate. Work was completed in 1962.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)

ISSN 1991-7295

What in fact is the significance of this stone gate? First, according to Sung Hsueh-p'eng, in the original temple in the former Ma-tau-wei Village, which used to be populated by Chiu clansmen, descendants of Sung emperors and princes, there were two idols, one male and the other female, dressed as an emperor and an empress respectively. During the reign of Kuang Hsü in late-Ch'ing the male idol was clad in a gorgeous yellow robe embroidered with dragons. Later, the Chiu clansmen removed to another place and people of other clans came to live there until the evacuation of the population and the demolition of the whole village. It is, therefore, apparent that at least some members of the royal party did stay in the village during their visit to Kowloon. Secondly, apart from being the only historical relic besides the Sung Wong Toi stone commemorating the visit of the two emperors of Southern Sung in Kowloon, it marks the boundary line of the Kuan-fu Travelling Palace in the west. As a result of the valuable work done at the present site by the Government, we now have an additional attractive and distinctive symbol of the cultural history of Hong Kong and Kowloon.

VIII. THE TRAVELLING PALACE

One must do away with the conception, rather the misconception, that by the word "palace" is meant a single, magnificent building for the residence or office of a king or emperor constructed to a beautiful design, of valuable materials and of gorgeous colours. The term "travelling palace" (literally translated from the Chinese *hsing-kung*) implies the place where an emperor stayed on his travels. Such was the Travelling Palace of Southern Sung in Kowloon (Kuan-fu).

Perhaps a translation of the more detailed account of the Travelling Palace in Ya-shan written by one of the officials in the court at that time gives a clear view of what a travelling palace was like. In 1278 after arriving at Ya-shan, the mountain behind the Ya-men Bay where the Sungs met their last defeat from the Mongols, the royal party

> constructed the travelling palace. In the sixth month, they entered the mountain and chopped down trees wherewith to construct one thousand military houses and a travelling palace of thirty houses. In the compound, the central (or

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)

ISSN 1991-7295

regular) palace, *tien*, was for the Queen Mother Young and was called by the name of Ts'u-yuan Tien (慈元殿)[18].

It is reasonable to imagine that when they arrived in Kowloon their manner of life was practically the same as later in Ya-shan. The royal party with their attendants and the generals and ministers with their families went ashore followed by a number of royal guards, while the rest of the one hundred thousand soldiers had to stay on the boats. I believe that the royal party, including the mother Queen, Tuan Tsung, his younger brother and their closest attendants, were welcomed by the Salt-field Administrator, who was the chief official of the area, and accommodated in the better and more permanent houses in Kuan-fu Tsai. It is said that at the foot of the Kuan-fu Tsai Hill there was a large, flat stone which the Queen Mother used as her dressing table and hence it was called the Queen Mother's Dressing Stone, *wang-mu shu-chuang shih* (王母梳妝石). The others had to live in the several villages and houses and huts which were hurriedly built with whatever materials were available in the area, such as bamboo, wood, mud, straw, stones, etc. No magnificent and beautiful palaces or mansions could have been built, owing to lack of time — they stayed for only two months — and want of the better class of building material. Such temporary houses must have spread all over the area.

A close scrutiny of the earlier government maps show that the terrain in this area was very suitable for habitation. There was a brook which ran south from the northern mountainous area. There was another one running east from the valley between the two pincers on the northern end of the Kuan-fu Mountain. The two brooks converged on the western side of the Sacred Hill to form the Ma-tau-ch'ung, (i.e. stream), which then flows into Kowloon Bay. Thus there was enough fresh water for drinking, cooking and other purposes for thousands of people. It was in this large plain that the Kuan-fu Travelling Palace of Southern Sung was located (see map).

IX. THE REST OF THE ITINERARY

Having encamped at Kuan-fu for two months from the 4th to the 6th, being the summer of 1277, the royal party, now threatened by the advent of the Mongols, moved on by boat with all

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)

ISSN 1991-7295

its followers to a nearby islet, Ku-ta (古塔) or Ancient Pagoda, Tung-lung Island.[19] In the autumn they proceeded to Ch'ien-wan (淺灣) which is now definitely identified as Tsun-wan (now written 荃灣) along the western coast of Kowloon. Two months later, the Mongol army, which had been pursuing them along the shore, began to attack. The boy Emperor sailed to Hsiu-shan (秀山), now known as Hu-men or the Bogue. Continuously under pressure from the Mongols, Tuan Tsung passed by Hsiang-shan District (at present Chung-shan) and reached Tseng-o (井澳), south of Macao, where his ship was badly damaged by a typhoon. He himself fell into the sea but was rescued. The terrible shock led him to contract a fatal disease. He was sick on board ship until the spring of 1278, when the whole fleet sailed northward back to the harbour at the mouth of the Pearl River. By that time Canton had been recaptured by some royalists and so they felt safe enough to anchor and encamp at Kang-chou which is identified as Ta-yu-shan or Lantau Island[20].

Two months later he died there. His younger brother Ping succeeded him on the throne and became the last emperor of Sung. He named the new reign Hsiang Hsing (祥興) and the 1st year began in the next month, still 1278. In the 6th month the new emperor had to sail away with the whole fleet south-westward until they arrived at Ya-Shan of the Hsin-hui District. Finally, in the 2nd month of the next year (spring 1279), they fought the last battle against the Mongol forces commanded by the arch-traitor Chang Hung-fan (張宏範). As a result of the defeat the whole army perished. The boy Emperor with his royal seal was tied to the body of his prime minister, Lu Hsiu-fu, who plunged into the sea, to be followed by thousands of court officials in a mass suicide. When the Queen Mother Young heard of the tragic and heroic death of the Emperor she also drowned herself, thus ending the long reign of 315 years of the Northern and Southern Sung Dynasty.

Before concluding this talk let me point out that besides the above story there is a deep and important meaning to be derived from our study of the Travelling Palace of Southern Sung in Kowloon. Throughout the Sung Dynasty, China was frequently invaded by neighbouring foreign tribes. Almost every year there was war, not only against the Hsi Hsia (the Tangut), but also, in turn, the Liao (Khitan), the Chin (Nuchen) and the Mongols.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)

ISSN 1991-7295

At the close of Southern Sung, the last two emperors had to flee and seek refuge by the shores of the sea, from where they led a hundred thousand odd officials and soldiers in the noble endeavour to restore the empire. The Kuan-fu area, with the three big characters Sung Wong Toi still remaining, commemorates one of the last portions of Sung territory on which the two emperors stood. Shortly afterwards they met their ultimate defeat and the whole country was lost to a foreign tribe for the first time in China's history. But what we commemorate is not this unfortunate event in our national history; it is the spirit of nationalism and patriotism displayed in the last struggle of the Sung patriots for the recovery of the mother country.

The independence and freedom of China had a higher claim to their lives. This unconquerable spirit, expressed in the unceasing revolutionary efforts of the Chinese people to fight against the Mongols ever since the last days of Kuan-fu and Ya-shan, was finally crowned with success in the overthrow of the Yuan Dynasty less than 90 years afterwards. Today, when we pass through the ancient site of the Travelling Palace and look at the Sung Wong Toi monument, we see the symbol of this same spirit, which is the essential quality necessary for the survival of any nation on earth.

NOTES

[1] This lecture is a condensation of my Chinese article *Sung Kuan-fu Hsing-kung K'ou* (宋官富行宮考) published in the *Continent Magazine* (大陸雜志), Taiwan, September, 1966.

[2] Such as Ch'en Chung-wei, *Erh-Wang Pen-mo* (陳仲微, 二王本末), Shu Mou-kuan, *Hsin-an Hsien-chih* (Chia-ch'ing), *Gazetteer of Hsin-an District* (舒懋官, 嘉慶 新安縣志), K'o Wei-ch'i, *Sung-shih Hsin-pien* (柯維麒, 宋史新編), Chang Hsu, *Ya-shan Chih* (張詡, 厓山志), *Nan Sung Shu* (南宋書).

[3] Mother Yu was never again mentioned in historical records; probably she had died.

[4] For references, details and discussions on the royal itinerary from beginning to end, see my treatise *Sung-mo erh-ti nan-ch'ien nien-lu k'ou* (宋末二帝南遷蓽路考) in *Sung Wong Toi, a Commemorative Volume* (edited and compiled by myself), Hong Kong, 1960, pp. 122-174 (宋皇臺紀念集).

[5] It is alleged that there were eight mountain ranges spreading over the peninsula which look like running dragons (*lung*), and that when the boy Emperor stayed at the place, people pointed out that he himself represented the ninth, as an emperor was commonly believed to be symbolized by a dragon. But the more rational and reasonable interpretation for the origin of the name would be that there are altogether nine mountain ranges spreading over the peninsula. According to *Hsi-nan I Chuan* (西南夷傳) in Hou-han-shu (後漢書), the Ai-lao-i (哀牢夷 aboriginal tribe Lao) in Yunnan Province called *back* "k'ou" and *seat* "lung". Hence to them, Kowloon meant

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)

ISSN 1991-7295

"the back seat". But before accepting this interpretation, one must verify the identity of the Yunnan Lao with the aboriginal tribe dwelling in Kowloon speaking the same language.

[6] See my article "The Southern Sung Stone-engraving at North Fu-t'ang" in *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 5, 1965. At line 17 of the article "before this date" should read "after this date". The Chinese text on the engraven rock was given in my article, but was not accompanied by a literal translation, which now follows:

[I] Yen I-chang of Ku-pien (K'ai-feng, Honan Province), being the administrator of this Field (namely, Kuan-fu Ch'ang), accompanied by Ho T'ien-chueh of San-shan (Foochow, Fukien Province), come to visit these two mountains (North and South Fu-t'ang). In the course of investigation, [I found, first, that] the stone pagoda (*shih-ta*, or colloquially called *Ku-shih-ta* and abbreviated to *Ku-ta*) at South T'ang was constructed in the 5th year of the reign of Ta Chung Hsiang Fu (i.e. of Emperor Tsen Tsung of Northern Sung, A.D. 1012). Next, Cheng Kuang-ch'ing of San-shan, piling up stones and chopping down trees, renovated the two T'angs. Again, T'eng Liao-chueh of Yung-chia (Wen-chou of Chekiang Province) continued the work. The ancient stone-tablet at North T'ang was established by Hsin P'o-ting of Ch'uan-chou (Fukien province) in the year *wu shen* but the reign [of what Emperor] cannot be ascertained. Now, Nien Fa-ming of San-shan and Lin Tao-i of this native place (i.e. Kowloon) continue the work. Furthermore, Tao-i can expand the former plan requesting [me] to establish another stone-engraving for commemoration [of the renovation]. Inscribed on the 15th day of the 6th lunar month in the year *chia shu* [i.e. 10th year] during the Hsien Shun reign (Emperor Tu Tsung of Southern Sung, A.D. 1274).

[7] Yuan Yuan, *Kwangtung T'ung-chih, Hai-fang lueh*, chuan 2, 阮元, 廣東通志, 海防畧. Shu Mou-kuan, *Hsin-an Hsien-chi, chuan 7, Chien-shu lueh* 建署畧.

[8] *Ta-ch'ing Hui-'tien, Kuan-chih* 大清會典, 官制 .

[9] Research notes by the late Sung Hsueh-p'eng (宋學鵬) who had done much research work on the local history and geography of Hong Kong and Kowloon. .A portion of the notes was generously recopied and given to me.

[10] *Ibid*.

[11] *T'u-shu Chi-cheng, Chih-fang-tien* (圖書集成, 職方典) records that "This was the old engraving of Yuan times".

[12] Chuan 18, *Sheng-chi-lueh* 勝跡畧 .

[13] Before 1941 there were three streets at this place, called "Sung Street", "Ti (Emperor) Street" and "Ping Street". (Apparently Emperor Ping was mistaken for Tuan Tsung (Shih). As the history of Southern Sung in Kowloon had been rather obscure, the mixing up of the two names was not very unlikely; even the Hsin-an Gazetteer made the same mistake. This whole area including the three streets was levelled during the Japanese occupation to facilitate the extension of Kai-tak airfield.

[14] See Jao Tsung-i, *Kowloon yü Sung-chi shih-liao* 饒宗頤, 九龍與宋季史料, Hong Kong, Universal Book Co., 1959, p. 105.

[15] Wu Pa-ling, *Sung-t'ai kan-chiu-lu* 吳拔陵, 宋臺感舊錄 in *Sung Wong Toi, a Commemorative Volume*, p. 108.

[16] By the side of the cliff a low cost housing estate has been recently constructed south of the new Fu-ning Street (富寧街), east of the now Fuk-

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch Vol. 7 (1967)

ISSN 1991-7295

cheung Street (福禪街) and west of the new Shing-tak Street (盛德街). The main entrance to the estate is directly west of the junction of Shing-tak Street and Ma-tau-kok Road. These buildings are constructed on the very site of the Two Emperors' Palace Village (No. 8 in the map).

[17] Ibid., p. 108.

[18] Ch'en Chung-wei, *Erh-Wang pen-mo.*

[19] See my article, "The Southern Sung Stone-engraving at North Fu-t'ang" in *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,* Vol. 5 (1965).

[20] There has been a different theory, from the Ming Dynasty down to the present, that Kan-chou (綱州) is a small island commonly called Nau-chou (碗州) south of Hua-chou (化州) near Kuang-chou-wan, but I do not agree with this. See *Sung Wong Toi, a Commemorative Volume,* pp. 175-206, 313f., 323-301 for my lengthy discussion and argument with Jao Tsung-i, the present exponent of this theory. See also Jao, *op. cit.,* chuan 5, pp. 51-83 and Lo Hsiang-lin, 香港前代史 *Hsiang-kang Ch'ien-tai-shih,* Hong Kong, Institute of Chinese Culture, 1959, pp. 92-94. [This book has been translated into English and its title is *Hong Kong and Its External Communications Before 1842*]. Professor Lo's conclusion agrees with mine.