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The Ancient Tangluo Road and Huayang Township

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1. [The Tangluo Road Network]¹

In ancient times in China, communication between the Guanzhong (Wei Valley), the Han River Basin and the Shu and Ba regions (present day Sichuan and Chongqing) was by ancient roads. From west to east there were altogether four of them: Chencang Road, Baoye Road, Tangluo Road and the Ziwu Road. Of these four roads, the Tangluo Road was the quickest but also the most precipitous. The complete journey was 480 Li (about 200km) and it could be covered in 4 days. The southern entrance to the Tangluo Road was called “Tang”, as it was through the entrance to the valley of the Tang River to the west of Yangxian town, abbreviated to “Tang Valley”. The northern entrance was called “Luo” and was through the West Luo Ravine to the southwest of Zhouzhi. Because the road had a north-south orientation across the Qinling these north and south valleys provided its name -- the Tangluo Road. The Tangluo Road has also been called the Luo Ravine Road in its earliest written reference in the “Records of the Three Kingdoms”. In fact, as far back as the Qin and Han periods, this ancient road had already come into being. So why did a road that came into being so early only appear in writing so late?

Since humans emerged, over a long period of time, ancient peoples developed civilisation, never ceasing to discover new things. Seeking to live and develop, they expanded their horizons, exploring and trying different environments and moving incessantly. Being limited by the current level of their ability, in order to migrate, they often followed the lines of river valleys and in time made the paths smooth so that valleys became roads. Progressing to a class society, especially after iron making had appeared, rulers wanted to progress the economy or make wars, so they called up large groups of people and labour and built roads, or renovated long forgotten routes. Because few of the book writers had repaired roads and few of the people who repaired roads could write, so the old roads were often established early but recorded in history books later.

In the same way as other ancient roads, the Tangluo Road has the appearance of a distributed network. However, it had a distinct main trunk route. From Yangxian town

¹ The Chinese paper had sections but no titles to the sections. The titles in[square brackets] have been added by the translator as suggested summaries of the section.

heading north you pass through: Lijia Village, Tumen Village, Guhun Temple and Shishan (Stone Mountain) Ridge to enter Silang (Four Bridegrooms) Village. From Silang Village you go through: Hujia Bend (Hu Family Bend), Chafang Temple and Tianjia Village to the top of Gulu Mountain going north along Dashan Ridge to reach Pianyanzi. You then go north passing: Fancai Ya and Zhiguo Shi to cross Madao Ridge. The road goes along Tianchi Ridge to Taibai Temple then descends to Shuitian Di. It finally goes along the Heisha River Valley that starts at Bali (Eight Li) Pass to reach Dadianzi. Going upstream from Dadianzi along the Heixia River you pass Luoja Tan, Ban Bridge, Heixia Village, Wujian Fang and Zhoujia Village to reach Bai Temple. From here you climb and cross the Da Niu (Great Ox) Range, descending via Niuling Gulley, again going north past Little Huayang to reach Huayang Township. From Huayang you go north passing Xianba, Ban Bridge and Duangong Waters to reach Cang'er Yan. Then going north again you pass Lianghe Entrance and Shanshu Flat and after a steep climb you pass over the ridge at Landianzi Pass. Descending the mountain you cross the border with Taibai County. Then passing Huangcao Flat, you descend for 40 Li through the gulley to reach Dudu River where you cross the border into Zhouzhi County. Then heading northeast you pass through Jiugou (Nine gulleys) Entrance, Damang River and Yinjia Flat, then climb over the Laojun Range. Descending the mountain you pass Anzi Gulley, Maocao Flat and Qili (Seven Li) Pass and exit by the Xiluo (West Luo) Ravine. After crossing flat country for 30 Li to the northeast you arrive at Zhouzhi City.

Between Yangxian and Huayang Zhen, as well as the previously described main trunk road, there are also some alternative roads. From Yangxian you can leave by the north gate, then climb Niushou (Oxhead) Mountain going north and passing Dahu Range, Ta Temple, Hanjia Bend and Pingjia Range to arrive at Baicao Village (seat of present day Baishi village administration). Then heading north past Wang Village over Huangniu Slope to pass by Guanling Ridge and descend via Liushu Ya Gulley to arrive at Bali Pass. You then go upstream along the Heixia River to Dadianzi where you join the previously described route. Another available route is: From Yangxian leaving by the west gate, heading north at Zhifang Village along the Tangshui River to Guimin Pass, then going north through Wazha Bridge, Nianfo Ya, Tongche Waters and Upper Heba to reach Macai Flat. Then head north past Miaoya Zi to Xiakou where you climb the mountain, pass Mujia River and head north to reach Lijia Village and still heading north you come to Tieye River. From Tieye River you go north to Upper East Gulley (Shang Donggou) crossing over Xiaoni Range to Zhoujia Village, where you join the previous route.

Between Huayang Township and Zhouzhi, you also have some alternative routes: The first goes from Huayang to head North West passing Hong Shiyao (Red Grottoes), Nanjing (North Well) Village and Shibao Ya to arrive at Er'lang Waters in Taibai County. Heading northeast you pass through Huangbo Yuan to arrive at Dudu River in Zhouzhi County, where you join the previous main route. Another route is: From Huayang township you head north-east passing through Shita River and Yaowo Gulley to Jiuchi Waters, you then head east passing Dagu Flat and Zuojia Flat in Foping County, before heading north over the Muzhu Dang Ridge to reach Houzhenzi in Zhouzhi County, then a little further north you reach Damang He, where you join the previous main route.

During the Three Kingdoms, Wei-Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties periods, the Tangluo Road gradually prospered, with travellers and merchants increasingly using it. After the middle period of the Tang, it became an important Official Post Road. Along the way, guest houses, courier stops, relay and postal stations became numerous. Finally, in the Southern Song period, because of the confrontations between Song and Jin, the Qinling turned into the frontline and the Tangluo Road was increasingly avoided and desolate. In the Ming and Qing periods, the ordinary people of the Guanzhong and Hanzhong continued to interact and provide each other's needs, so that even up to recent times travellers continued to use the Tangluo Road. This was because, despite the hardships of the journey, the route was nevertheless fast and convenient.

2. [The historical records of the Tangluo Road]

Since the beginning of the Qin-Han times, the route has always been one of great hardship and dangers, but compared with the other three routes it has also been the quickest. Therefore, from the start of the Three Kingdoms period, the Tangluo Road was the site of significant military activity. In March of the 5th Zhengshi year of the Three Kingdoms kingdom of Wei (the 7th Yanxi year of the kingdom of Shu Han), or 224 CE, the Wei Kingdom General Cao Shuang, thinking he could promote his own influence and fame, personally led 100,000 soldiers to cross the Tangluo Road, in an attempt to invade the kingdom of Shu. At the time, the main force of Shu soldiers was stationed in Fu County in Sichuan, while the Hanzhong area defence numbered less than 30,000 soldiers. They were distributed in the northern part of Yangxian near Xingshi Mountain (present day Hanwang Mountain near Madao Ridge in Silang Township area) and in the eastern part of Yangxian in the Huangjin Valley (between present day Jinshui Township and the mouth of the Jin River).

Because the Shu army was guarding the key fortified strategic passes of the southern area of the Tangluo and Ziwu Roads, the Wei army was unable to gain entrance to the Hanzhong Basin. Moreover, it had rained heavily for many days and the roads were very muddy. The Wei army was having trouble bringing provisions to the front, so Cao Shuang was forced to retreat half way into the expedition. At the same time, reinforcements from Fu County arrived and General Fei Yi led his army quickly to occupy the Three Ranges (present day Laojun Range) pass in north east Yangxian and cut off the Wei armies retreat. Cao Shuang led his forces in a desperate battle, with many casualties until at last they were able to return to Wei.

In the 20th Yanxi year of the Shu Han kingdom, ie 257 CE, the General of Wei's main eastern army, Zhuge Dan, led a revolt in the Huainan area and the kingdom of Wei moved troops from the Guanzhong to the east to suppress the revolt. Shu's General Jiang Wei took advantage of Wei's weaker position in the Guanzhong, leading his Hanzhong troops from Yangxian through the Tang River valley north to attack Wei. His vanguard reached Mang Shui (present day southern entrance to the Black River in Zhouzhi county) and the Wei forces in the Guanzhong hurried to resist, with Deng Ai also sending relief from Longyou in Gansu. Although Jiang Wei was an isolated force, he was eager to join battle. But the Wei troops hid and did not join battle. Jiang Wei was forced to withdraw and return to Hanzhong.

In winter of the 3rd Jingyuan year (262 CE), Sima Yi's clique dominated Wei and planning to finish off Shu, the army was divided between three routes for the major assault. As part of this, Zhong Hui led more than 100,000 cavalry divided among two of the routes, being the Tangluo and Ziwu Roads along which they went south. Throughout the journey, they met little resistance and troops from the two routes soon met in the Hanzhong Valley. Originally, when Zhuge Liang was alive, he realised the strategic importance of the southern mouths of the Tangluo and Ziwu roads and set up "collective villages" which included garrisons. After Zhuge Liang died, the Shu generals revoked the collective villages. Thus, when Zhong Hui invaded the south, he could go right through, seemingly with no resistance.

During the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, in the 5th Yonghe year of the Mu Emperor of the Eastern Jin (349 CE), the Hanzhong prefect Sima Xun took advantage of the revolt of Guanzhong people against the Later Zhao regime (founded by the Jie people) and led troops from Yangxian into the Tang River Valley to go north. He occupied the Changcheng Garrison (on the east bank of the Luoshui, south west of Zhouzhi) and sent troops to attack Chang'an. But because the military force was insufficient he retreated only half way into the attack.

After the Tang Dynasty was established, in the 7th Wude year of the Gaozu Emperor (624 CE), the imperial government requisitioned people's labour to repair and dredge the paths of the Tangluo Road and at the north entrance set up the Luo River Valley Barrier Pass. During the Tang period, the Tangluo Road became an official post road, along which people could easily pass. All along the route there were Relay Stations, Official Residences, Postal Lodges, handover points etc, to serve the officials who came through as well as merchants and travellers. As well, armed troops were stationed at the Luo Valley Pass, Dudu River, Huayang etc to provide protection and maintain security. In the 13th Yuanhe year of the Tang Xianzong Emperor (818 CE), the Governor of Shannan, Quan Deyu sent a missive to the court, requesting his return to Chang'an to have an illness treated. While he was en route on the Tangluo Road to Chang'an, he "Died on the road at Baicao (White Grass) in Yangxian". In fact, he died at present day Baicao Village of Baishi Xiang Township. In the first Guangming year of the Tang Xizong Emperor (880 CE), the peasant uprising of Huang Chao surrounded Chang'an. With the eunuch Tian Lingzi as escort, Tang Xizong fled along the Tangluo Road to Xingyuan (Hanzhong) and after a short time fled further to Chengdu.

Through the Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing periods to the present day, the Tangluo Road has always been free to use. An exception was in the Southern Song, when Song confronted Jin and when the Tangluo Road was blocked. But the ordinary people of the northern and southern Qinling have always come and gone as they pleased and up to the present time it is still this way. For example, even in the First Tongzhi year during the Qing Period (1862 CE), after the Landashun peasant uprising had captured and established a government at Yangxian, they used the Black River route of the Tangluo Road to go north and capture Zhouzhi. But because the Qing army in the Guanzhong was very strong, the rebel peasant army was not able to enlarge the area they occupied and they were forced to retreat back to the south along the Tangluo road.

3. [Tangluo Road Poetry]

Because the Tangluo Road was an official Post Road in the Tang Period, over that time it was used by Emperors, high officials and scholars; and all the way down to common people, all walking the same road. Among them there were some famous poets, who left works inspired by the Tangluo Road.

“Passing through the Luo Valley”

Du Fu

Twenty one families entered the Luo Valley for Shu;

Only one has returned.

I thought of the pledges of two sad Ladies;

As I turned towards Qin I wept.

Du Fu was a major poet of the Realism school in the Tang Period; he was born in 712 CE and died in 770 CE. Coming from a humble background he lived through the dynasty from its height to its decline and during the corresponding turmoil. After that he wandered far, enduring many hardships, experiencing the effects of turmoil on the population and met with many bad experiences. “Passing through the Luo Valley” records how 21 family members travelled together through the Luo Valley to Shu while fleeing from calamity and how now only one (Du Fu) was returning to the Wei Valley. He mentions how his two daughters on entry to the valley pledged that they would definitely both return. But in the end, their hopes had come to nothing. Saddened by this, he began to weep.

“Once more on business at the Luokou (mouth of the Luo) Post Station”

Bai Juyi

This year travelling among the white clouds of summer;

Last year it was among the red leaves of autumn.

Seeing the mountains again also brings regret;

Because the courtly life brings me to the hills.

Bai Juyi, courtesy name Letian, was a famous Tang Poet. He was born in 772 CE and died in 846 CE. He lived at a time when politics was very confused during the late Tang Period and acted as a functionary with various roles. During the first Zhenyuan year of the Tang Emperor Dezong, he passed the examination to Jinshi level and was appointed as Xianwei in Zhouzhi. While he was on holidays at the Xianyou Temple, he was moved by the love of the Tang Xuanzong Emperor Li Longji for Yang Yuhuan, which led to the rebellions of An Lushan and Shi Siming. The outcome was his poem called the “Song of Everlasting Sorrow”. He was an advocate of “writing from real life”. Luokou station is near the (present day) Luo Valley Village in Zhouzhi’s West Luo Ravine. This was the place referred to in “Once more on business at the mouth of the Luo Post Road”. It refers to his passing this place in autumn of the previous year and then again a year later in summer whilst on official business on each occasion. Experiencing on both occasions the commerce and activity on the Luoyu Road, as well as the hard nature of the travel and labour by the porters, he thought about his official salary and lack of needs for food and clothes, so felt ashamed.

“Wangyun Station”

Yuan Zhen

Under Luotuo Mountain are piles of wood;
Beneath Qinling are piles of stones.
It is 560 Li to Fuxian;
To reach Qingshan Station takes 48 turns.

Yuan Zhen was a poet of the Tang period, being born in 779 CE and passing away in 831 CE. His courtesy name was Wei Zhi and he was a contemporary of Bai Juyi. In the 9th Zhenyuan year (793 CE) he passed the Mingjing examination. In the first Yuanhe year (806 CE) he attended a special examination and topped the class. He then had experience as a junior official supervising and examining the performance of minor officials etc. “Wangyun Station” was written when, appointed to official duties, he was travelling on the Tangluo Road towards Sichuan on official business. In the middle of a long journey, he thought about the dangers of the road; from Chang’an he had set out to reach Zhenfu Zhou (present day Huayang Zhen in Yangxian county), a distance of 506 Li. As he returned to the Guanzhong from southern Shaanxi, from Cang’er Yan under the Xinglong Range he climbed a mountain to reach Qingshan Station (present day Wowo Dian on Landianzi Ridge), the road became very tortuous, so that by the end they had turned through 48 bends.

“Walking in Luo Valley”

Zhang Xiaobiao

Touching clouds on slender trestles to enter the sky;
Horse bells at dusk like evening stars.
Above are knife-like ridges and endless mountains;
Below are cold caves and dim depths.
The brocade of mountain flowers is easy to miss;
Mountain streams play music (but) the traveller is too busy to hear.
Compared with struggling for fame and wealth,
This is a more peaceful road.

Zhang Xiaobiao, a Tang period poet, was from Tonglu in Zhejiang Province. He reached the grade of Jinshi during the Yuanhe years of the Tang Xianzong Emperor and was appointed to the secretariat for documents (Central Library). During the Dahe years of the Tang Wenzong Emperor, he was a junior officer in the Supreme Court. He had previously travelled on the Tangluo Road on official business. In the poem “Walking in Luo Valley”, the writer first describes the steepness of the Tangluo road passing through Laojun Range, Xinglong Range and the Ox Range. The trestle road seems to enter the sky and the travellers can only tighten the horses’ reins and climb carefully. The bells of the horses and mules were like stars at dusk, as they sometimes crossed high mountains and sometimes climbed down into deep valleys. Taking this route, you could only sometimes take an occasional glance at the mountain flowers or listen briefly to the sounds of mountain streams, as the travellers were too focused to attend to such things. This route was always dangerous, but in comparison with places where people all distrust and deceive each other to struggle for wealth and fame, he felt it was a much safer place.

“Qin Ling”

Ouyang Zhan

Fleeing south from this place Chang’an is quickly blocked from view;
Returning to the north the south is soon concealed.
In the two directions the mountain scenery is different;
The guest from Shu and the resident from Qin are both heartbroken.

Ouyang Zhan was a Tang period poet, his courtesy name was Xingzhou and he came from Jinjiang in Fujian Province. In the Yongzhen years of the Tang Shunzong Emperor and the Yuanhe Years of Tang Xianzong, together with Han Yu and Li Guan, they all passed the Imperial Examinations. He was accorded the honour of the “Longhu” Awards and with Han Yu worked at the Imperial College as Boshi and teaching assistant. At first in the poem “Qin Ling”, he describes his impressions and thoughts about what he experiences at the highest place of the Qin Ling. If he goes south, the capital Chang’an soon disappears behind him and if he goes north the southern provinces are quickly blocked from view. Looking to the north and then to the far south, the two directions have nothing in common. The view to the north makes people from Qin reluctant to leave, the view to the south is unforgettable to people coming from Shu.

“The Tang Valley”

Cui Jin

High mountains tower into clouds;
Steep cliffs and deep precipices open into long canyons.
This is a place to cut stone among tigers and leopards;
Treading decaying stone trestles covered by moss.

Cui Jin lived during the Tang dynasty and came from Chenggu. His many studies have been passed down over generations. When he was old and still without children, he donated his property and farmlands to his slaves and lived in the southern mountains with his wife in seclusion. The governor of the southern mountains and western roads invited him to take office as his advisor, giving him the title of “Venerable Elder” (Zhangzhe). In this poem, “The Tang Valley” he describes a section of the Tangshui River Valley from the Xiakou Stone Stele at Guandi Township to Lijiadian at Tieye River. The two sides of the route had endless steep cliffs with rough river beds below; and the scenery was complex and spectacular, seemingly full of tigers and leopards, dragons and snakes. On the sides of the cliff the trestle roads were decaying and in places covered in moss.

4. [Tang Dezong flees to Hanzhong via the Tangluo Road]

The “An Lushan rebellion” lasted for 8 years, from the 40th Tianbao year of Tang Xuanzong to the first Guangde year of Tang Daizong, or 755 CE to 763 CE and was then suppressed. However, in the course of its being suppressed, the provincial governors in various places acquired soldiers, territory and people. They appointed officials and refused to pay taxes to the court. Their position and power was generally seized, or (sometimes) inherited but was not appointed by the court; so they

maintained armies, ruled territory and resisted the central power of the court, to become the “Warlords”.

In the 5th month of the 14th Dashi year (779 CE), Tang Daizong, Li Yu, passed away and his son Li Shi took the throne with the title Dezong. He enjoyed punishing the Warlords, brought the period of Warlord rule to an end and strengthened the authority of the central government. However, because his methods were improper, the result was an increase in disorder. In the second Jianzhong year (781 CE), the Governor of Chengde (present day Zhengding in Hebei) Li Bao died and his son Li Weiyue moved to inherit his position, which was immediately forbidden by Tang Dezong. His domineering approach only provoked and enraged the Warlords! So, the governor of Weibo (present day Daming in Hebei) Tian Chengci’s son Tian Yue, the governor of Ziqing (present day Zibo in Shandong) Li Zhengji’s son Li Na and Li Weiyue joined armies to revolt against the central government.

When Tang Dezong heard of this he flew into a rage and decided to send forces to punish them. He first ordered Liang Chongyi to head the troops, but Liang refused to listen. At this moment, the Huainan Warlord Li Xilie pro-actively offered to send forces. Dezong, believing it was because he was loyal to the court, delightedly agreed. (But) as soon as the villainous Li Xilie had captured Xiangyang and engaged in large scale plunder and looting, he happily swaggered off without so much as a “goodbye”. On the Hebei battlefield, for a short time the government forces seemed to have the advantage. Li Weiyue was killed by the subordinate officer Wang Wujun. Wang Wujun and two other subordinate officers of Li Weiyue, Zhang Xiaozhong and Kang Rizhi then surrendered to the government forces while the governor of Lulong (present day Beijing City) Zhu Tao took the opportunity to despatch troops to support the government forces. As Tian Yue and Li Na were continually losing battles, Tang Dezong was very satisfied, believing that the country would soon be pacified. But good times do not last! Soon after, vying for rank and territory, Wang Wujun and Zhu Tao also started a rebellion. The pair let it be widely known that they supported Tian Yue and together they attacked the government forces.

At last, in the 3rd Jianzhong year (782 CE), armed rebellion spread and became strong, with rebels publicly declaring themselves Kings or Generals: Zhu Tao declared himself King of Ji, Tian Yue declared himself King of Wei, Wang Wujun declared himself King of Zhao, Li Na declared himself King of Qi and Li Xilie declared himself Supreme Commander of all the forces. They united to send forces, taking many towns in Henan. When Tang Dezong saw these events, he immediately panicked and gave orders for Jing Yuan to bring reinforcements for the government from Jingyuan in Gansu. When the Gansu troops entered Chang’an, they expected the court to reward them. However, they found they were not even offered a solid meal! The troops that had arrived in Chang’an then became restless and mutinied, supporting their original commander Zhu Fa to become Emperor, to be called Emperor of Qin.

In this situation, Tang Dezong was not prepared to stay in Chang’an. One afternoon in October of the 4th Jianzhong year (783 CE), Tang Dezong gathered the Empress and concubines and quietly left by the back door of the palace and fled to Fengtian (the present day Qian County in Shaanxi). Fortunately, the great General Hun Zhenlu fought hard and secured the city of Fengtian and only because of this did Dezong

avoid being captured by the rebels. Soon, the Palace Guards under Li Huaiguang came quickly from the Hebei front line, but then joined forces with Zhu Fa's rebels. In this situation, Tang Dezong was not prepared to stay at Fengtian and rapidly fled. Tang Dezong hastened from Fengtian to Wugong and from Wugong to Zhouzhi, but still did not feel safe, so decided to go into the mountains -- and fled along the Luo Valley road to Hanzhong.

One day, in March of the first Xingyuan year (784 CE) of his rein, Tang Dezong arrived at Qingliang Chuan in the northern part of Yangxian County. He was amazed to be met by many men and horses coming towards him flying banners and shouting out. He initially thought Zhu Fa's pursuing troops had arrived and sobbed aloud. Moving closer, in fact it was the governor of Shannan, Yan Zhen coming to receive him, so sorrow changed to joy and he relaxed. Dezong in his happiness waived all formalities and asked Yan Zhen to ride on his horse in front to show the way. However, the Imperial Censor Qi Ying thought this was demeaning to the Emperor and loudly called for Yan Zhen to dismount and for the Emperor to lead and show the way. That evening, Yang Zhou was the headquarters of the Emperor; Dezong reproached Qi Ying for being too rigid and dogmatic and not flexible or diplomatic. Qi Ying responded saying, "I did this because I wished the Shannan soldiers and people to understand the dignity of the Emperor". Dezong listened and was flattered and so gave Qi Ying some appreciation. At Gengyin, Dezong took a walk to Machang Zhen in the west part of Yangxian. His favourite and still unmarried eldest daughter, Princess Tang An had died of illness. From childhood this girl had been very clever and intelligent and De Zhong regarded her as his most beloved daughter. For this death to happen while they fled calamity led Dezong to suffer greatly and weep bitterly. Because of the turmoil of war, they had been forced to hurriedly bury the Princess where she died and then immediately move on.

On the first Renchen day, Dezong travelled to Liang Zhou (present day Hanzhong). After he was settled, he gave orders for a solemn ceremony to be held with all funeral rites to give the Princess a proper burial. The official Jiang Gongfu did not approve of this and he petitioned the Emperor saying: "We will soon recapture the capital at Chang'an, so the Princess' remains should only be moved to return them to Chang'an. At present the Emperor is unable to go to Chang'an and it is a time of emergency, therefore the funeral rites should be simple and the money should right now be saved to help pay for military supplies". Although Dezong was very angry when he read the petition, he felt it was not appropriate to express it face to face. He quietly approached the Hanlin scholar Lu Zhi and said: "Tang An has died so young, so I originally planned to provide her with a tomb in this place. I just meant to build a brick tower, in which to temporarily place her coffin. This could not have cost a lot of money! The official Jiang Gongfu has made a lot out of nothing; I think he must have some other reason in mind". Without hesitation, Lu Zhi attempted to defend Jiang Gong, but Dezong would not listen. Before long, Dezong found a reason to remove Jiang Gongfu's official position.

Dezong only stayed at Hanzhong for a little more than 3 months. Before long, General Li Sheng had re-taken Chang'an and Dezong returned to Chang'an by the Baoye Road. Before he left, he asked Lu Zhi to draw up an Imperial Edict concerning the Shannan soldiers and civilians etc, giving them great praise and from that time Liang Zhou would become Xingyuan Fu, Nanzheng would be upgraded to Chi Xian, Yang

Zhou would become Wang Zhou, the Hanzhong people would be relieved of tax or corvee for one year and all of the Hanzhong officials of high and low grades would be raised by one step. From a visit by the Emperor, compared with the common people, the officials of course got many more benefits.

5. [Tang Xizong on the Tangluo Road]

In the 14th Xiantong year of the Emperor Tang Yizong (873 CE), the 11 year old Li Xuan was selected by the court eunuchs to become Emperor with reign title Xizong. It was at an age that any young person would be looking simply to play and have fun, so all the affairs of state were handled by the eunuch official Tian Lingzi. Li Xuan was unable to act like an Emperor but as he grew older, he acquired quite a number of “skills”: (such as) cockfighting, gambling (dou'er), polo, leaping, shooting from horseback, martial arts and all kinds of other skills. At the same time, the situation with the warlords had become more and more of a problem, the area controlled by the court had continued to reduce and court expenditure was exceeding income. In order to meet the expenses of the palace, Tian Lingzi personally gave orders for the appropriation of the property from some wealthy Chang'an merchants and sold titles to the public. All of this was completely unknown to Li Xuan.

In the winter of the first Qianfu year (874 CE), Wang Xianzhi from Pu Zhou (present day Fan Xian in Henan) raised a rabble numbering of about 1000, going first to Changyuan (Henan county) and there starting a revolution. Meanwhile Huang Chao from Yuanzhu (present day Heze in Shandong) also gathered a mob and joined in. The two groups of rebels quickly united and became widely known and famous. In autumn of the third Qianfu year (876 CE), the rebel army approached Luoyang and the court went into full panic. In the second year, Wang Xianzhi was defeated and killed, but the rebel army re-formed under the command of Huang Chao. He called himself the “Generalissimo” and took on a new reign year called “Wangba”, with the specific objective of overthrowing the Tang Dynasty. For the next few years, Huang Chao led his rebel army and fought battles in the Huang Huai, Jiang Huai and Jiang Nan areas. Then in the first Guangming year (880 CE) he once more went north to attack his target in Chang'an.

While the court argued endlessly whether to fight or escape, the rebel army captured Luoyang. The Luoyang garrison commander Qi Kerang called a retreat to take up a defensive position at the Tong Pass. Qi Kerang sent messages to the court for reinforcements, but the court had none to send. They decided to send the Emperor's personal guard, the Shence Guard, to the forward front. The Shence Guard had very good conditions and salary, however, as they rarely went on dangerous campaigns, the sons of the wealthy in Chang'an, by various means, strove to obtain positions in the Shence Guard. They then bullied people using the power of their position and mistreated the common people. But now when they heard they were to go to the frontline, they became scared out of their minds. Many of those requisitioned to the Shence Guard did not hesitate then to spend a great deal of money to employ sick or destitute people as their replacements. So, how combat effective could such an “army” be?

On the second day of the 12th month of the first Guangyuan year (880 CE), the rebel army arrived at Tong Pass. Almost before any real fighting had started, the Emperor's officers and men all fled in disorder. On the 5th day of the 12th month, the retreating troops from Tong Pass entered Chang'an and started looting and pillaging, so that the city was in turmoil. Seeing that the situation was out of control, Tian Lingzi hand selected 100 of the (remaining) Shence Guard to escort and protect the Emperor and taking the royal empress and concubines, in the confusion they left by the west gate and secretly fled. Li Xuan's party fled to Fengxiang, where the governor Zheng Bai hoped the Emperor would take up residence, in order to gather forces and re-capture the capital. But Li Xuan was afraid of every shadow and dare not stay in Fengxiang. He rather decided to go with Tian Lingzi by the Luo Valley road south towards "Fortunate Shu".

On the Tangluo Road, Li Xuan's party went through a long and arduous march, (but) at last they came to Xingyuan (present day Hanzhong City). Luckily, the Hanyin Governor Li Kang had organised 100 mules that came with food stuff and only then did the seemingly impossible situation of Li Xuan improve. At this time, civil and military officials who had also fled Chang'an started to arrive in successive groups. The presence of the court among the fleeing refugees led to some unrest. In the face of this, (the Emperor) finally thought to promulgate an edict to the Country, calling for troops to rush to protect the Emperor and retake the capital. Because the space at Xingyuan was quite small, Li Xuan was unwilling to stay. Earlier while on the escape route south, when they came to Dudu River, Li Xuan had sent messengers to call on the governor of Sichuan Chen Jingxuan and ask him to prepare to receive the Emperor. In the first month of the first Zhonghe year (881 CE), Li Xuan's party went through (another) long and arduous march for more than a month at last arriving at Chengdu.

There passed four years of life in exile, until the first month of the first Guangqi year (885 CE) arrived. Li Xuan, at the head of his remaining court, then left Chengdu, going via the Baoye Road and three months later returned to Chang'an. This was the only time that Tang Xizong used the Tangluo Road to flee south. When they returned to Chang'an, Tian Lingzi, in order to provide for the court and support supplies for the troops, considered all and every means to increase the income of the administration. At that time, Anyi (present day Anyi to the northeast of Yuncheng in Shanxi Province) and Jie Xian (present day Jiezhou to the southwest of Yuncheng) manufactured salt from salt lakes. Originally the state had jurisdiction over the administration of the iron and salt trades which provided an important source of income for the court. However, at this time the governor of Hezhong, Wang Zhongrong, had taken control of it. The court gave orders that it wished to take back the control of the salt tax from Wang Zhongrong, but Wang Zhongrong firmly refused to comply. Since the instruction of the Emperor had been refused, their differences had to be decided by force.

Tian Lingzi, taking advantage of the mutual competition and different interests of the warlords, approached the governor of Binning, Zhu Mei and the governor of Fengxiang, Li Changfu. Promising to give them significant benefits afterwards, he asked them to work together to deal with Wang Zhongrong. Wang Zhongrong felt his position was weak and immediately approached the warlord of the Shatuo people, Li Keyong and begged his help. The two sides went to war. Zhu Mei and Li Changfu were badly defeated and Li Keyong's forces approached Chang'an. On the 25th day of the 12th month of the first Guangqi year (885 CE), Tian Lingzi once more

protected Li Xuan by fleeing and running to Fengxiang. He suggested Li Xuan go to Xingyuan for a second time and go on to visit Shu. At this time, Li Xuan was already 23 years old and had been dissatisfied with the more than 10 years of life as a “puppet Emperor”. For the first time he publicly refused to accept Tian Lingzi’s suggestion. Naturally, Tian Lingzi did not wish to give up his control. At night on the 8th day of the first month of the second Guangqi year (886 CE), Tian Lingzi led a troop of soldiers to kidnap Li Xuan and left for Baoji, then on to Dasan Pass to flee south along the Old Road. On the 17th day of the 3rd month they again reached Xingyuan. Tang Xizong (Li Xuan) once again stayed in Xingyuan for a whole year. With the arrival of the 3rd month of the 3rd Guangqi year (887 CE), he led his retinue to leave Xingyuan and returned by the Baoye Road to Fengxiang. They stayed at Fengxiang until the 3rd month of the first Wende year (888 CE), when Li Xuan fell sick. He worried that he would die in exile, so he gave orders for the imperial carriage to rush back to the capital. The Emperor Li Xuan died on the 6th day of the 3rd month; his age being only 26 years.

6. [Administration of the Tangluo Road]

Since ancient times, the development of traffic flows and a booming economy have been closely related; as one drives the other. When the Tangluo Road opened in the Qin-Han times, not only did it stimulate north-south economic interchange, but also, as in the Three Kingdoms period, military activities became an important part of its function. During the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, the north and south turned the Hanzhong region into a seesawing battle front and the Tangluo Road became an important route along which the north could invade the south. The Tang rulers developed the country for more than 100 years and over that time the role of the Tangluo Road in increasing economic interchange between north and south became increasingly clear. In order to develop it as an Imperial Post Road, there were many relay stations, official residences, lodges for couriers and hand-over places established along the way.

Huayang was a key strategic point along the Tangluo Road where people congregated and the economy thrived. This led the Tang court to attach great importance to it. In order to make official supervision more convenient, in the 18th Kaiyuan year of Tang Xuanzong (ie 730 CE), the court gave orders that the previous area of Xingdao Xian be divided to create a Huayang area, called Huayang Xian and the County Seat was set up at Liyuan (the particular place still needs to be verified). In the 3rd Tianbao year of the Emperor Tang Xuanzong (ie 744 CE), the court gave orders rescinding Huayang Xian. At that time, in order to control this strategic location of the old road, the Huayang Barrier Pass had been established near Huayang Zhai at the southern extremity of Huayang Zhen. A garrison was despatched to man the post, to check for and seize bandits, preserve public order in this area and ensure a safe route for the traffic. At the same time, the government and military were to act as a single unit, merging the duties of management and having the military commander take care of civil cases, so they could abolish Huayang Xian as an organisational unit. After a few years in operation, they found that this led to many bad practices, so in the 7th Tianbao year (748 CE), they re-established the Huayang Xian organisational system.

In the 8th Tianbao year (749 CE), the court requisitioned labourers to develop the Qingshui Valley Road (detailed location still needs verification). Whilst digging, they discovered a jade writing tablet used in sacrifices made by a previous Emperor at Taibai Mountain. To the local officials this was an “auspicious” omen provided by heaven, so they immediately sent a memorial to the Emperor. When the court received it they were overjoyed and gave orders for Huayang Xian to be renamed as “Zhenfu Xian”, in response to the “auspicious” sign sent by heaven. They also proclaimed that Zhenfu Xian would be directly administered by the mayor of the national capital. It can be seen that at that time, in the eyes of the Emperor, the status of the Tangluo Road and of Zhenfu Xian was very high indeed.

Because the road was very distant, too far for authority to reach and inconvenient to administer, in the 11th Tianbao year (ie 752 CE) the court downgraded Zhenfu Xian and handed its jurisdiction over to Yang Chuan Jun. In the 15th Tianbao year (756 CE), the “An-Shi” rebellion broke out and high officials from Chang’an and wealthy citizens fled south along the Tangluo Road, coming to the Hanzhong area to seek refuge. At that time, the number of outsiders in Xingdao Xian increased greatly, so administration and the provision of supplies became a big problem. In order to strengthen the management, the central Imperial Court decided that the Junzhi from Yang Chuan Jun would move from Xixiang to Xingdao Xian (present day Yangxian jurisdiction), with separate deputy officials of the Jun and Xian organising local business. At that time, Yang Chuan Jun administered 5 Xian with Xingdao, Huangjin, Zhenfu, Xixiang and the Yangyuan making up the 5. Finally, in the first Qianyuan year (ie 758 CE) of the Emperor Tang Suzong, the court ordered that the Jun be changed to a Zhou, so that Yang Chuan Jun became known as Yang Zhou. From that time, the Yangxian area became officially called “Yang Zhou”.

7. [The Huayang Garrison]

In the time of the Qing Daoguang Emperor (1796-1850), a wandering scholar, who had been engaged in occasional work and writing poetry, came to Huayang Zhen. While at Huayang Zhen he wrote a description of the surrounding area as it was at the time. In this work were the following four sentences: “A barracks on the mountain top and the market in a boat, smoke and light from 10,000 houses on the ship, above a pagoda at the ferry crossing, below the stone records of the Golden Ox”. The first sentence describes the officers and men of the Huayang barracks living at a “Barracks City” on a mountain top with an imposing earth wall, as well as the open market where two rivers meet came together in a ship-like way, so that it was like a city on a boat. He also recorded: In the first lunar month of the third year (1798 CE), Gao Junde and others went East to Wulang (ie Wulang Pass in Ningshaan county). In the second month, Qi Wangshi² and his rabble came through from Xixiang. In the 4th year (1799 CE) bandits continually entered into the County from the north. In the middle of the third month, the Circuit Inspector Yong Bao was defeated near Huayang. In the fourth month of the fifth year (1800 CE), Magistrate E Leideng Bao chased Yang Kaijia and others from Gansu, as they passed by the county boundaries and went through Huayang. In the first month of the 6th year (1801 CE), the Magistrate

²齊王氏, early White Lotus rebellion leader.

from Ningshan pursued thieves who entered the borders via Shaba under Wei Ziba down to Xixiang.

From an entry that reads: “It was the year that Huayang Barracks and Maoping Xun were established” we can see that the Huayang Barracks were founded in the 6th Jiaqing Year, or 1801 CE. In regard to the organisation of the Huayang Barracks, the Qing period Prefect (Zhifu) of Hanzhong, Yan Ruyi composed the “Outline of three provinces frontier defences”³ (Military Organisation) where he wrote: “..... the Huayang Battalion is quartered at Huayang in Yangxian County, 270 Li from the Prefecture. There is one Dusi⁴, two Qianzong, two Bazong, two Jingzhi Waiwei, plus two E Wai Waiwei. Altogether, there are 80 cavalry, 258 foot soldiers and 62 garrison guards.....”. After the Huayang Garrison was established, for the convenience of the troops stationed there, an earth fort was specially constructed -- which was called the “Garrison Fort”. From Yan Ruyi’s “Outline of three provinces frontier defences” (Tactics) we find: “..... recently (6th Jiaqing year, ie 1801 CE) the Huayang Earth Wall was constructed where Military and civilian officers were stationed. But in the dense forests it was hard to keep order....”.

It can be seen that the Huayang “Garrison Fort” was built in the Qing 6th Jiaqing year (ie 1801 CE). The main purpose was to station the whole Huayang garrison there. Based on the recollections of older Huayang people, they remember a military drill ground being on the level area of the southern side of the Garrison Fort. According to Volume 3 (Gazetteer of Garrisons and Flood Control) of the “Yangxian Gazetteer” of the 24th Guangxu year (1898 CE) of the Qing period: “The number of personnel in the Huayang garrison is: One Dusi, 1 Qianzong, 2 Bazong, 2 Jingzhi Waiwei, 2 Waiwei, 80 cavalry, 258 foot soldiers, 62 garrison guards, all paid annual salaries” also, the “Government Offices Gazetteer” says: “Huayang garrison Dusi has his office in the Garrison Fort and the Qianzong office, the Bazong office and all of the officers were also in the Garrison Fort.”

It is clear that following the suppression of the White Lotus Rebellion [1796-1805], during the 6th Jiaqing year (1801 CE) the Qing government despatched a garrison commander to Huayang in order to strengthen the administration of the Huayang area. He founded the Huayang Garrison and later built the Garrison Fort. In the 7th Jiaqing year (1802 CE) a civilian administration was set up at Huayang, following the appointment of a Xianshu (Deputy Magistrate) with grade of the 7th (Cong) Pin. The “Yangxian Gazetteer” (Notices of Government Offices) for the 24th Guangxu year (1898 CE) says: When the Xianshu (Deputy Magistrate) was appointed to Huayang, his office was on the Huayang High Street and the government complex had 20 rooms.” After the Xinhai rebellion, Huayang’s administrative position was revoked. In the 11th Minguo year (1922 CE), the Guomindang briefly established Huayang as a separate Xian, sending a Xianzhang to carry out the administration. In the 20th Minguo year (1931 CE), because Huayang was threatened by bandits, the last Xianzhang (a person from Zhouzhi) was scared away. Huayang’s status as a separate

³三省边防备览，严如煜，张鹏勳编者，1822，十四卷

Sansheng bianfang beilan, Yan Ruyi, Zhang Pengfeng (Ed), 1822 14 Juan

Yan Ruyi (1822). Complete overview of defence conditions in three provinces, 14 Chapters

⁴ In order from highest to lowest, Dusi (都司), Qianzong (千总), Bazong (把总) and Waiwei (外委) were Qing period military ranks among the Chinese (Green Banner) garrisons. In overall rank a Dusi was a middle ranking commander. Waiwei had lowest salary and E Wai Waiwei even lower.

administration was (again) revoked and it was changed to Huayang Area. On the eve of the Liberation, the designation “Area” was changed to “Zhen”.

8. [Huayang Township and its past Relics]

The appearance of Huayang Township is that of a small boat. The waters of two rivers, one to the east and one to the west enclose it and at the southern end of the old city they merge into the Youshui River at Huangniu Zui. Huayang people have a saying that: “it takes two rivers to wash the plough”, which comes from Huayang Old Town being like the tip of a plough. You can therefore say, either the Old Town of Huayang is like a small boat, or it is like a plough share. The Huayang market stretched along a street running north to south. In previous times there were dense rows of shops all along the street with the river as background. In the north of the street was the San Guan (Three Officials) Temple. Opposite the temple entrance was an opera house and in between the temple and the opera house was a public square. This was a place for plays and performances where the people could meet. On the street were inns catering for busy people who were always on the move and also a warehouse for goods brought by porters and ponies. There was also a tavern and restaurant, as well as a casino and opium house. In the shops, little things were available to meet people’s daily needs as well as larger items of general merchandise, so that nothing was lacking.

At the southern end of the Old Town where the two rivers meet, on the southern bank at the foot of a mountain, a large mountain rock extends into the river. On the top surface of the rock are eight varying shapes, of different sizes and different depths of holes, which had apparently been cut by labourers. For what purpose are these here? Through studying classical records and making inspections, it was discovered that these form the original relic rock base for the Tang period “Pavilion of Pride”. Explanatory notes for the “Huayang Zhai Cliff Carvings” section of “Territorial Records” were made by Wang Xiangzhi in volume 190 of “Records of Yang Zhou Stone Monuments”. The Records were written during the time of the southern Song Emperor Song Ningzong (Zhao Kuo, reign years 1195-1224). He wrote: “on the Luo Valley road below Huayang Zhai there is a large stream; in winter the water ceases to flow in it and you can see large characters by the road side which say: ‘In the 3rd Jianzhong year, built the Pavilion of Pride and returned to the river town. Recorded by Zhang Daxia, the Tong Jie Du Fu Shi.’” In June 1977, a member of the Hanzhong Area Board of management for Cultural Relics, Chen Xianyuan, went to Huayang to survey relics of Red Army slogans. When in the street getting directions from an old man, he discovered the stone inscriptions. In his “Initial examination of the Tangluo Road” he wrote: “..... Tang period stone cliff engravings, 75cm tall and 45cm wide, 4 columns, from top to bottom, right to left; first 3 columns each has 6 characters, the last column has 9 characters, altogether 27 characters. It says: ‘the 3rd Jianzhong year (782 CE), built the Pavilion of Pride and returned to the river town. Recorded by Zhang Daxia, the Tong Jie Du Fu Shi.’ On the left side are written two more columns with the 5 characters that say: ‘Stone cut by Qiang Quan’.”

Huayang Zhen has been a vital fortress on the Tangluo Road since the Tang Period as well as a strategic military base. From what was recorded by Wang Xiangzhi 800 years ago, it can be seen that at that time the “Pavilion of Praise” was close to the

Huayang Fort and the “mountain fortress” was where the garrison was stationed. At that time the rank of the officers in charge was high and the characters “Tong Jie Du Fu Shi” etc firstly reflect the importance of the Huayang geographic position and secondly the level of importance attached to Huayang by the court. Next to the Huayang Fortress was the “Huayang Barrier Pass”. The pass controlled vital communications lines, was used to seize bandits and to ensure public order and safety of the traffic on the road. The title “Pavilion of Pride” seems to have taken from Li Bai’s “In human life praise should be enjoyed, rather than offering an empty cup to the moon”. The “Pavilion of Praise” was perhaps a pastime for a local senior officer of the garrison, or a place to receive occasional guests or hold a feast. Because it is cold and lonely in the mountains and they endured a monotonous garrison life, high ranking officers felt it was important to have regular banquets to improve (the quality of) their life.

9. [Huayang and Tangluo Road commerce and trade]

Huayang Zhen is 150 Chinese Li north of Yangxian and situated on the southern slopes of the Qinling in an intermontane basin. In remote antiquity, when railways, highways and aviation had not yet come to be, it was located in the middle of the Tangluo Road, at the location of a vital strategic pass. It had abundant natural resources and convenient communications, leading to a booming economy. From historical times to the present day, it has been a very prosperous intermontane business centre. In regard to the geography, Yangxian people going to the Guanzhong, whether they went northwards via Maoping, via Heixia or via Tiede must all pass through Huayang. Guanzhong people coming south to Yangxian, whether they went via Xinkouzi in Zhouzhi County, via the West Luo Valley, or via Guozhen in Baoji County, or even if they went via the Xie Valley Pass in Qishan County, must all pass through. We can therefore say: Huayang was the vital strategic guardian of the Tangluo Road.

From the viewpoint of its economy and natural resources, Huayang mountain area has abundant forest reserves and mineral resources. It abounds in *Garcinia*, medicinal herbs, honey, “wood ear” edible tree fungus, paper products and rare animals and birds. Between 1840 and 1949, Huayang also had a ceramics factory and manufactured porcelain. Therefore, in all the years along the Huayang High Street, commerce has flourished and prospered. Among the organised Traders Societies that operated in Huayang, one was the Shanxi Traders Society, specialising in the management and production of mountain products. Another was the Henan Traders Society, specialising in management and production of medicinal herbs, purchasing musk, bear gall, tiger bone etc precious medicinal herbs in Chinese Medicine. Another was the Sichuan Traders Society specialising in paper and groceries. There was also the Lianghu (“two lakes” ie Hubei and Hunan) Traders Society, specialising in cloth, silks and satin. The Guild Halls for the Traders Societies were on the main street and included the Shanxi Guild Hall, the Henan Guild Hall, the Lianghu Guild Hall, the Sichuan Guild Hall etc. The rich merchants of Huayang’s main street gradually invested in local commercial activities in Huayang and the nearby mountain areas. At one time, there were Medicine farms growing a variety of medicinal herbs; paper factories using *Garcinia* and making paper from Mulberry bark, as well as processing the raw materials into various paper products and stationary; and Timber Mills

specialising in end processing of various kinds of milled wood for sale. There was also specialised production of Black Mu'er (edible tree fungus), honey, a steel works to manufacture iron and steel, factories for casting iron cooking ware etc etc.

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

Because the climate of Huayang is mild, the earth productive and the water good, sufficient water in the fields for the whole season and paddy rice having a long growing season, the local "Huayang Rice" is especially good to eat. Before Liberation, among the 19 townships in Yangxian, the richest men of 17 of the townships had Mountain Villas in the Huayang mountain region and used them to show off their wealth. Among the boasting and swaggering people on the street, there were also troublesome gentry and tyrants who monopolised the local politics. These people were powerful and influential, as well as brutal and unreasonable to local people. They pursued law suits for profit, lived without working and showed little respect for others. For example, it was said: "Ma, Niu, Yang means three kings, in the Zhao family there are two wolves" and so on. There were also local ruffians who provoked trouble when, as the saying goes [whilst gambling], they practised "deny loss and take winnings". There were also labourers from all over the country and tramps making a living from casual work.

But at that time it did not matter whether people were intelligent or ignorant, nor matter what accents they had or where they came from, just as long as they were willing to work hard. In the Huayang mountain area there was a mixed society, but life could also be comparatively easy.

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悦骆古道与华阳古镇

周忠庆

(汉中市洋县文博馆)

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在我国古代，沟通关中平原与汉中盆地及巴蜀地区的古道路，从西往东数一共有四条：陈仓道，褒斜道，悦骆道和子午道。这四条古道中，唯有悦骆道最近捷，但也最险峻。全程 480 里，步行 4 日可到。

悦骆道南口曰悦，即洋县城西的悦水河谷，简称悦谷。北口曰骆，即周至县西南的西骆峪。因该道呈南北走向跨越秦岭，故以南北谷口命名，称悦骆道。悦骆道又名骆谷道，见于历史记载最早是《三国志》。实际上，早在秦汉时期，这条古道就形成了。为什么道路形成很早而历史记载却很晚呢？

自从人类诞生以后，在漫长的岁月中，原始先民们在生产生活实践中，总是在不断深化对客观世界的认识。为求得生存与发展，他们总是希望不断扩大视野；为寻求和选择更有利的生存环境，他们总是不断迁徙。限于当时的生产力水平，在迁徙过程中，他们总是循河谷而行，舍陟从夷，因谷成路。进入阶级社会，尤其是铁器出现之后，封建统治者为了经济流通或战争需要，大规模征调民力，修筑道路，或者对早已存在的古道路进行整修。因为写书的人并不修路，而修路的人又不写书。所以，凡属古道路，往往形成的很早，而见于历史记载却很迟。

和别的古道路一样，悦骆道也呈现网状分布。但是，它的主干道却是一定的。从洋县城出发往北，经李家村、土门、孤魂庙、石山梁进入四郎乡。经四郎庙、胡家湾、茶坊庙、田家店上古路山，沿大山梁北行到偏岩子。往北经饭菜垭、支锅石上马道梁。经天池梁、太白庙下山，经水甜地、大店子到八里关乡的黑峡河谷。溯黑峡河北行经罗家滩、板桥、黑峡街、五间房、周家庄到白庙子，由此爬山翻越大牛岭下到牛岭沟，再北行经小华阳到华阳镇。从华阳镇北行经县坝、板桥、端公坝到擦耳崖。再往北行，经两河口、杉树坪上山翻越烂店子梁，下山进入太白县境。经荒草坪、四十里吊沟到都督河，进入周至县境。再东北行经九沟口、大蟒河、殷家坪上山翻老君岭。下山经案子沟、茅草坪、七里关出西骆峪。平川东北行 30 里，到达周至县城。

在洋县与华阳镇之间，除了前述的主干道外，还有几条间道：从洋县城出北门，上牛首山往北经大户岭、塔庙、韩家湾、冯家岭到白草村（今白石乡政府所在地）。再往北经王庄上黄牛坡到贯岭梁，下柳树垭沟到八里关。溯黑峡河北行到大店子，与前述路线重合。另一条路线是：从洋县城出西门，往北经纸坊街过悦水河到贵民关，再往北经瓦渣梁、念佛崖、桐车坝，上河坝到马踩坪。再往北经庙垭子，峡口上山，经穆家河往北到李家店，再往北到铁冶河。从铁冶河往北经上东沟翻小牛岭到周家庄，与前述路线重合。

在华阳镇与周至县之间，也有几条间道：从华阳镇往西北经红石窑、南井街、石板埡进入太白县二郎坝。往东北经黄柏塬到周至县都督河，与前述路线重合。另一条路线是：从华阳镇往东北经石塔河，窑窝沟到九池坝，再往东经佛坪县的大古坪、左家坪，往北翻母猪档梁到周至县厚畛子，再往北到大蟒河，与前述路线重合。

傥骆道在三国、魏晋南北朝时期，逐渐兴盛起来，商旅行人越来越多。唐代中期以后，成了官驿大道。沿途客舍、邮亭、递铺、驿站很多。到了南宋时期，由于宋金对峙，秦岭一线成为抗金前线，傥骆道逐渐冷落萧条。明、清时期，两地的老百姓们仍在沿傥骆道互相往来，互通有无。直至近现代，傥骆道上的行人仍然不绝如缕。因为尽管路途艰险，但它毕竟近捷得多，方便得多。

二

傥骆道自秦汉时期开通以后，尽管路途艰险，但它比其他三条古道要近捷得多。所以从三国时期开始，傥骆道上就发生了许多重大政治军事活动。

三国魏正始五年（蜀汉延熙七年）即公元224年三月，魏国大将军曹爽想在天下树立自己的威信和名望，亲自率领十万大军从傥骆道长驱直入，企图侵犯蜀国。当时，蜀国军队的主力驻扎在四川涪县，汉中地区的守军不到三万人，分布在洋县北部的兴势山（今四郎乡马道梁汉王山）和洋县东部的黄金谷（今金水镇至金河口）。由于蜀军扼守着傥骆道南段的重要据点和子午道南段的要隘，所以魏军始终无法进入汉中盆地。加之霖雨多日，道路泥泞，魏军的粮草转运困难，曹爽只好中途撤军。这时，蜀军的援兵从涪县赶到，大将军费祎率军抢先占据洋县东北部的三岭（老君岭），截断了魏军的退路。曹爽率军拼死苦战，伤亡惨重，最后大败而归。

蜀汉延熙二十年，即公元257年，魏国的征东大将军诸葛诞在淮南反叛，魏国调关中的军队东下镇压。蜀国大将姜维趁魏国关中兵力空虚之际，从汉中率军由洋县傥谷北进伐魏，前锋到达芒水（今周至县南的黑河口），关中的魏军赶来抵挡，邓艾也从陇右派兵增援。姜维孤军深入，急于求战，但魏军却坚壁不出，姜维只好班师回汉中。

（魏元帝曹奂）景元三年（262）冬，司马懿集团控制魏国政权，做好灭蜀的充分准备后，兵分三路，大举进攻蜀国。其中，大将钟会统率的十余万人马兵分两路，分别从傥骆道和子午道南进。一路上没有遭到任何抵挡，很快会师于汉中盆地。原来诸葛亮在世时，曾在傥骆道和子午道南口的要害部位设置了许多“屯围”，分别驻兵把守。诸葛亮去世后，蜀将这些“屯围”撤销，将驻军都撤走了。因此，钟会南侵时，得以长驱直入，如入无人之境。

南北朝时期，东晋穆帝永和五年，即公元349年，汉中太守司马勋趁关中人民反抗羯族后赵政权的机会，领兵从洋县傥谷北进，占据了长城戍（周至县西南骆水东岸），派兵向长安进攻。由于兵力不足，只好中途退回。

唐王朝建立后，高祖武德七年，即公元624年，朝廷征调民力整治疏通了傥骆道，在北口设置了骆谷关。整个唐代，傥骆道作为官驿大道，畅通无阻。在沿途设置了许多驿站，邸店，邮亭，铺递等，为来往的官吏、商贾和行人服务。还在骆谷关、都督河、华阳镇等处驻扎军队，负责维护道路安全。

唐宪宗元和十三年，即公元 818 年，山南节度使权德舆向朝廷请假，要求回长安治病。他沿傥骆道回长安的途中，“道薨于洋之白草”，病死在今洋县白石乡的白草村。

唐僖宗广明元年，即公元 880 年，黄巢农民起义军进围长安，唐僖宗在宦官田令孜护送下，经傥骆道逃到兴元（汉中），不久又逃到成都。

宋、元、明、清以至近现代，傥骆道一直是畅通的。只是在南宋时期，由于宋金对峙，傥骆道曾一度废塞。但秦岭南北两地的老百姓，一直沿着傥骆道相互往来，直至今天仍然如此。例如清朝同治元年，即公元 1862 年，蓝大顺农民起义军占领洋县建立政权之后，沿傥骆道引军北出黑水峪占领周至县城。由于关中地区清军势力过分强大，义军无法扩大占领区，只好沿傥骆道退回陕南。

三

因为傥骆道是唐代的官驿大道，所以上自皇帝，下至达官显宦、骚人墨客、贩夫走卒，都在这条路上行走。其中不少著名诗人，留下许多题咏傥骆道的诗篇

《过骆谷》（杜甫）

二十一家同入蜀，唯余一人出骆谷。
自说二女啮(噬)臂时，回头却向秦云哭。

杜甫是唐代伟大的现实主义诗人，生于公元 712 年，卒于公元 770 年。他出身寒微，生当唐王朝由鼎盛到衰败的动乱时代，颠沛流离，饱受苦难，亲眼目睹了人民群众在社会动乱中的悲惨遭遇。这首《过骆谷》写的是二十一家人一同入骆谷到蜀地逃难，现在只剩下一个人回到秦川。说起他的两个女儿当初入骆谷时，曾相互咬臂膀，共同发誓愿：一定要双双回到秦川。但是现在这一切，都已经化作泡影！说着说着，他伤心地号啕大哭起来。

《再因公事到骆口驿》（白居易）

今年到时夏白云，去年来时秋树红。
两度见山心有愧，皆因王事到山中。

白居易字乐天，唐代著名诗人。生于公元 772 年，卒于公元 846 年。生当唐朝晚期，宦官擅政，朋党倾轧，政治十分混乱。唐德宗贞元年间考中进士，任周至尉。在仙游寺消夏避暑时，有感于唐玄宗李隆基宠爱杨玉环，导致安史之乱的历史教训，写成了托古讽今的《长恨歌》。他主张“文章合为时而著，诗歌合为时而作”。骆口驿在今周至县骆峪乡骆峪村。这首《再因公事到骆口驿》，说的就是去年秋天因公务来过骆口驿，今年夏天因公务又来了。由两次看到在骆谷道上为生计奔波，艰苦跋涉的行人，联想到自己安享俸禄，衣食无忧，感到心中惭愧。

《望云驿》（元稹）

骆驼山下斧两堆，望秦岭下堆头石。

五百六里真符县，四十八盘青山驿。

元稹，唐代诗人，生于公元 779 年，卒于公元 831 年，字微之，与白居易是同时代人。贞元九年（793）明经及第，元和元年（806）举制科，对策第一。历左拾遗、监察御史等职。这首《望云驿》，是元稹任监察御史时，曾经僦骆道到四川公干。在漫漫旅途中，他联想到道路的艰险；从长安出发走到真符县（即今洋县华阳镇），行程 506 里。由陕南回关中，从兴隆岭下的擦耳崖上山到青山驿（即今烂店子梁上的窝窝店），道路迂回曲折，竟达到四十八盘之多。

《骆谷行》（章孝标）

扞云袞栈入青冥，鞿马铃骡傍日星。
仰踏剑棱梯万仞，下缘冰岫杳千寻。
山花织锦时聊看，涧水弹琴不暇听。
若比争名求利处，寻思此路都安宁。

章孝标，唐代诗人，浙江桐庐人。唐宪宗元和年间中进士，任秘书省正字。唐文宗大和年间试大理评事。他曾因公务走过僦骆道。在这首《骆谷行》诗中，作者首先描述僦骆道沿途所经过的老君岭、兴隆岭和牛岭的高峻。栈道高入青冥，行人只能勒紧马缰，小心攀登。骡马的铃声傍着星星，时而步上万仞高岗，时而又下到千寻深谷。走在这条路上，似锦的山花只能偶尔看上一眼，涧水叮咚似琴声，紧张得人都顾不上听。尽管走这条路比较危险，但比起那争名夺利、尔虞我诈的名利场，却是安全得多了。

《秦岭》（欧阳詹）

南下斯须隔帝乡，北行一步掩南方。
悠悠烟景两边意，蜀客秦人各断肠。

欧阳詹，唐代诗人，字行周，福建晋江人。唐顺宗永贞、唐宪宗元和年间，与韩愈、李观等联袂及第，当时被誉为“龙虎榜”。与韩愈同为国子监博士、助教。他的这首《秦岭》，是抒发自己在秦岭山顶上的所见所感：南下一步，马上就把京都长安抛到身后；北行一步，岭南的风光就被挡住了。遥望北方，再远看南方，烟景悠悠，两边各不相同。北方的景象，令秦人留恋；南方的风光，又让蜀人难忘。

《僦谷》（崔颢）

高峰偃蹇云崔嵬，层崖巨壑长峡开。
龙蛇纵横虎豹乱，石栈朽灭埋深苔。

崔颢，唐代城固人，耕读传家。老年无子，就将田地和财产分给奴婢，与妻子到南山隐居。山南西道节度使郑余庆聘请他担任参谋，称他为“长者”。这首《僦谷》诗，描写的是僦水河谷的一段，即从今天关帝乡峡口石碑桥到铁冶河李家店这一段。两岸峭壁千仞，河床上乱石杂陈，气象万千，似虎豹，如龙蛇。悬崖峭壁上栈道木构架都糟朽了，有些地方还长出了青苔。

四

唐玄宗天宝十四年至唐代宗广德元年，即公元755年至763年，长达八年的“安史之乱”虽然被平定了，但是在平叛过程中，各地的节度使们拥有军队、土地和人口；他们自行任命官吏，不向中央缴纳租税；他们的职位和权力，或互相攘夺，或父死子继，不受中央任免；他们拥兵自重，各霸一方，抗拒朝廷，形成了“藩镇割据”的局面。

大历十四年（779）五月，唐代宗李豫病死，儿子李适即位，是为德宗。他很想制裁藩镇，结束割据局面，加强中央集权，但由于处置失当，结果却惹出大乱子……

建中二年（781），成德（今河北正定）节度使李宝臣病死，其子李维岳想继承父位，被唐德宗断然拒绝。这下子可惹恼了跋扈成性的军阀们！于是，魏博（今河北大名）节度使田承嗣的儿子田悦，淄青（今山东淄博）节度使李正己的儿子李纳，与李维岳联合起兵反抗朝廷。

唐德宗闻报大怒，下令调兵讨伐。他先命令梁崇义出兵，梁拒不听令。这时，割据淮南的李希烈自告奋勇请求出兵，德宗以为他忠于朝廷，就很高高兴地同意了。岂料李希烈攻下襄阳之后，大肆搜刮掳掠一番，就不辞而别扬长而去。

在河北战场上，政府军一时似乎占据了优势：李维岳被部将王武俊杀了。王武俊与李维岳的另外两个部将张孝忠，康日知投降政府军；卢龙（今北京市）节度使朱滔主动出兵援助政府军；田悦，李纳连吃败仗，唐德宗这下子可高兴了，以为天下太平指日可待！可好景不长！不久，为争夺官爵与地盘，王武俊，朱滔也搞起叛乱来了。他俩公开援助田悦，一齐把矛头指向政府军。

到了建中三年（782），叛乱愈演愈烈，叛贼们公开称王称帅：朱滔自称冀王，田悦自称魏王，王武俊自称赵王，李纳自称齐王，李希烈自称天下兵马都元帅。他们联合出兵，攻占了河南不少地方。

唐德宗一看形势不妙，顿时慌了手脚，又下令从甘肃泾原调兵增援政府军。调来的甘肃兵一进长安，满以为朝廷会重赏他们，不料却连一顿饱饭都没混上！他们在长安城中骚动哗变起来，拥戴他们原来的统帅朱泚当皇帝，称为秦帝。

这下子，唐德宗在长安呆不成了。建中四年（783）十月的一天下午，德宗带着诸王后妃们从皇宫后门偷偷溜了出来，一口气跑到奉天（今陕西乾县）。幸亏大将浑瑊率军拼死苦战守住奉天城，德宗这才没被叛军抓了俘虏。不久，从河北前线赶来护驾的李怀光却与叛军朱泚勾搭上了。这下子，德宗在奉天也呆不成了，只好赶紧逃命。

唐德宗从乾县跑到武功，又从武功跑到周至，觉得还不保险，于是干脆下决心钻山--从骆谷道奔汉中。

兴元元年（784）三月的一天，唐德宗一行到达洋县北部的清凉川。只见漫山遍野施旗招展、人喊马叫，以为是朱泚的追兵到了，惊得德宗差点儿哭出声来！走近一看，原来是山南节度使严震前来接驾，这才转忧为喜，放下心来。

德宗高兴得连礼仪都不顾了，让严震骑上马在前面带路。御史中丞齐映认为这样做太失皇帝的尊严，就大声喝斥严震下马，给皇帝牵马步行带路。当晚住在洋州行宫，德宗责备齐映太教条不懂得权变。齐映回答说，我这样做，就是要让山南的官兵百姓们知道皇上的尊严。德宗一听心里乐了，又反过来把齐映表扬了一番。

庚寅日，德宗一行走到洋县西部的马畅镇，他最疼爱的大女儿唐安公主病死了。此女自小聪明伶俐，善解人意，德宗视为掌上明珠。这样死于逃难途中，德宗怎能不痛哭流涕，伤心万分！因为兵荒马乱的，只好匆匆地将公主就地埋葬，又启程赶路了。

壬辰日，德宗一行到了梁州（今汉中市）。住下来之后，德宗就下令给公主举行隆重的葬礼进行厚葬。大臣姜公辅不同意这样做，他上奏说：咱们不久就会收复京都长安，公主的遗体也得搬回长安。现在皇上巡狩在外，又值非常时期，所以葬礼应当尽量简单些，把省下来的钱用来补充军需才对。德宗看到奏章虽然心里很生气，但当面也不便说什么。背后却对翰林学士陆贽说：唐安这孩子夭亡，我本来就没打算在此地给她修坟墓。只是想就地造一座砖塔，暂厝她的灵柩。这又能花几个钱！姜公辅小题大做，我看他是别有用心！尽管陆贽一再替姜公辅辩解，但德宗一句也听不进去。过了不久，德宗就借故将姜公辅的官职撤了。

德宗在汉中只住了三个多月。不久大将李晟收复长安，德宗又经褒斜道回长安去了。临行前，让陆贽起草了一道诏书，将山南的军民人等着实表扬一番，然后宣布改梁州为兴元府，将南郑升为赤县，洋州升为望州，免除汉中地区老百姓一年的赋税和徭役，给汉中地区的大小官员人人晋升一级。皇上来了一趟，当官的与老百姓相比，当然实惠得多了。

五

唐懿宗咸通十四年（873），十一岁的李儂被宦官立为皇帝，是为僖宗。这正是贪图玩耍的年龄，一切朝政大事都操纵在宦官田令孜手中。李儂虽不会做皇帝，但随着年龄的增长，他却学会了不少的“本事”：斗鸡，斗鹅，骑驴击球，蹴鞠，骑马射箭，舞枪弄棒，样样在行。当时“藩镇割据”的局面越来越严重，朝廷控制的地盘日渐减少，财政收支入不敷出。为满足皇宫开支，田令孜一方面命人借故没收一批长安富商大贾的财产，另一方面公开卖官鬻爵。对于这一切，李儂浑然无知。到了乾符元年（874）冬，濮州（今河南范县）人王仙芝聚众数千，首先在长垣发动起义。同时冤句（今山东菏泽）人黄巢也起兵响应。两支义军很快联合起来，声威大震。乾符三年（876）秋天，起义军逼近洛阳，朝廷中一片惊慌。第二年，王仙芝战败被杀，起义军归黄巢统一指挥。他自称“冲天太保均平大将军”，改元“王霸”，确立了推翻唐王朝的明确目标。黄巢率义军转战黄淮、江淮和江南数年，于广明元年（880）再次北上，把进攻目标指向长安。

当朝廷还在为逃还是守争论不休的时候，起义军已攻克洛阳。镇守洛阳的齐克让退守潼关。齐克让向朝廷请求援兵，朝廷无兵可派，就决定派皇帝警卫部队神策军前去赴援。神策军待遇优厚，却极少征战的危险，故长安城中的富家子弟，都千方百计通过各种途径，买通宦官，在神策军中挂名。他们平时狐假

虎威，欺凌百姓，现在听说真的要上前线，早已吓得屁滚尿流。许多被征发的神策军，不惜花高价雇佣穷苦人甚至病人做自己的替身。这样的“军人”何谈战斗力！

广明元年（880）十二月二日，起义军到达漳关。几乎没有发生激战，官兵便全部溃逃。十二月五日，撞关溃兵首先进入长安，四处抢劫，城中一片混乱。看到大势已去，田令孜只挑选了数百名神策军护驾，带着诸王和后妃，保护李僮出长安四门，在混乱中秘密逃走。李僮一行逃到凤翔，节度使郑畋希望皇上住下来，以便组织兵力收复京师。但李僮已成惊弓之鸟，不敢在凤翔久停，怕起义军追来，决定跟着田令孜经骆谷道南下“幸蜀”。

李僮一行在悦骆道上经过一番艰苦的长途跋涉，终于到达兴元（今汉中市），多亏汉阴令李康组织骡子运来数百驮粮食，才解决了李僮一行的无米之炊。这时，从长安逃出的文武百官也陆续赶到这里。逃亡中的朝廷，这才逐渐恢复了一些生气。这时，才想到向全国颁布诏书，号召勤王之师努力收复京师。因为兴元地方毕竟太小，李僮不愿在此久住。早在南逃路上走到都督河时，李僮就派人给四川节度使陈敬瑄打过招呼，让他做好接驾的准备。中和元年（881）正月，李僮一行经过一个多月的艰苦跋涉，终于抵达成都。

经过四年多的流亡生活，到了光启元年（885）正月，李僮才率领流亡的小朝廷离开成都，经褒斜道于三月间回到长安。这是唐僖宗经悦骆道的第一次南逃。

回到长安，田令孜为了支撑朝廷，养活军队，千方百计想办法扩大财政收入。当时，安邑（今山西运城东北安邑），解县（今运城西南解州）出产池盐，原属国家盐铁专卖机构管辖，历来是朝廷重要的财税来源，这时却被河中节度使王重荣控制。朝廷下令要收回王重荣的盐税征收权，王重荣坚决抗命不交。既然皇上的诏书不起作用，那就只好诉诸武力解决。

田令孜利用藩镇间互相争夺地盘和利益的矛盾，笼络邠宁节度使朱玫和凤翔节度使李昌符，让他们共同对付王重荣，并允诺以后给以好处。王重荣感到势单力薄，就向沙陀族军阀李克用求救。双方开战，朱玫、李昌符大败，李克用兵临长安城下。光启元年（885）十二月二十五日，田令孜再次保护李僮出逃，跑到凤翔，并建议李僮再去兴元，第二次“幸蜀”。这时，李僮已经二十三岁，早就不满意这十多年的傀儡皇帝生活，第一次公开拒绝了田令孜的建议。田令孜当然不愿意放弃对李僮的控制。到了光启二年（886）正月初八日夜，田令孜率兵强行劫持李僮前往宝鸡，越大散关经故道南逃，三月十七日，再次到达兴元。

庸僖宗李僮又在兴元住了整整一年。到了光启三年（887）三月，才带领随从人员离开兴元，经褒斜道回到凤翔。在凤翔住到文德元年（888）三月，李僮病了。他担心自己死在外面，就命令车驾急速赶回京师。李僮三月初六日驾崩，年仅二十六岁。

六

自古以来，交通的发展与经济的繁荣，是密切相关、互为因果的。秦汉时期开通的悦骆道，不仅促进了秦岭南北的经济交流，而且三国时期，在军事上也

发挥了重要的作用。南北朝时期，南北双方在汉中地区展开拉锯战，傥骆道是北人南侵的重要孔道。唐王朝开国一百多年，由于傥骆道对促进南北经济文化交流的作用日益显现，所以被辟为官驿大道，在沿途设置了许多驿站、邸店、邮亭和递铺。华阳作为傥骆道中途的重镇，人烟辐凑，经济繁荣，引起了唐王朝中央的高度重视。为了便于就近管理，唐玄宗开元十八年，即公元730年，朝廷下令将原属兴道县管辖的华阳地区划分出来，专设了华阳县，县治设在黎园（具体地点待考）。

到了唐玄宗天宝三年，即公元744年，朝廷下令撤销了华阳县，原来为了控扼这条古道的咽喉，当时在华阳镇南端的华阳寨旁，设置了华阳关，派驻军队戍守，专司稽查缉拿盗匪，维持地方治安和道路交通安全。出于军政合一、统一管理需要，决定由军事长官管理民事，所以废除了华阳县的建制。经过几年时间的实践，发现这样做有许多不尽合理的弊端，就于天宝七年，即公元748年，又恢复了华阳县的建制。

到了天宝八年，即公元749年，朝廷调发民力，开辟清水谷（具体地点待考）道路，挖山时发现了前代皇帝祭祀太白山的玉册（玉简）。地方官认为这是天赐“祥瑞”的征兆，立即奏报朝廷。朝廷接报后很高兴，就下令将华阳县改名为“真符县”，以回应这个天赐“祥瑞”，并宣布真符县直属京兆尹管辖。可见当时在唐王朝最高统治者眼中，傥骆道的地位是多么重要，真符县的地位是多么重要。

到了天宝十一年，即公元752年，由于路途遥远，鞭长莫及，不便管理，朝廷又将对真符县的管辖权下放给洋川郡。天宝十五年（756）“安史之乱”爆发后，长安的达官贵人、富商大贾纷纷沿傥骆道南逃，来汉中地区避难。当时兴道县的外来人口剧增，行政管理与物资供应成了大问题。为了加强管理，唐王朝中央决定，将洋川郡的郡治由今西乡县移到兴道县（今洋县县治），郡、县合署办公。当时，洋川郡下辖五个县：兴道、黄金、真符、西乡、洋源等五县。

到了唐肃宗乾元元年，即公元758年，朝廷下令改郡为州，即将洋川郡改名为洋州。从此，洋县这个地方就有了“洋州”的正式名称。

七

清代道光年间，华阳镇来了一位游学先生，曾写诗一首，描写当时华阳镇的形势。其中有这么四句：“城在山头市在舟，万家烟火一船收。上有宝塔系古渡，下有将军锁石牛。”所谓“城在山头市在舟”，指的就是华阳营的官兵们住在“营城”——雄伟如山的土堡内；集市贸易在两河夹流的船形地带进行，即所谓市在舟中。……三年（1798年）正月，高均德等东往五郎（即宁陕五郎关）。二月，齐王氏大股由西乡至……自率李全等趋北栈……四年（1799年）贼由县北往来不断。三月中，巡抚永保败于华阳……五年（1800年）四月，经略额勒登保自甘肃追杨开甲等过县境，历华阳……六年（1801年）正月，经略由宁陕追贼入境……历沙坝、桅子坝下县城往西乡。（是年设华阳营、茅坪汛）可见华阳营设立于嘉庆六年，即公元1801年。

关于华阳营的建制，清代汉中知府严如煜所撰《三省边防备览》（军制）篇写道：“……华阳营驻扎洋县华阳，距郡城二百七十里。都司一员，千总二员，把总二员，经制外委二员，额外外委二员。马战兵八十名，步战兵二百五十八名，守兵六十二名……”。

华阳营设立后，为便于驻扎部队，特地筑起土堡 -- 即所谓“营城”一座。《三省边防备览》（策略）篇中亦有记载：“……近（嘉庆六年，即1801年）于华阳地建土堡一座，添设文武官弁。而地大林深，弹压非易……”可见华阳的“营城”建于嘉庆六年，即公元1801年。主要用于驻扎华阳营的全体官兵。据华阳的老人回忆，在营城南面的平地上，当年还有操练部队的校场。

据清光绪二十四年（1898）《洋县志》卷三（营汛志）载：“华阳营今额：都司一员，千总一员，把总二员，经制二员，外委二员，马战兵八十名，步战兵二百五十八名，守兵六十二名，岁支薪俸银……”又据《衙署志》载：“华阳营都司署在营城，千总署在营城，把总署在营城，经制署俱在营城。”

华阳的集市全在南北走向的一条街上，当年店铺鳞次栉比，清一色前店后宅，背靠河流。街北头有一座三官庙，庙门对着戏楼，庙与戏楼之间有一个广场，是当年逢庙会演戏娱乐，群众聚会的地方。街道上既有接纳南来北往行人的客栈，也有接待驮队马帮的货栈；既有酒楼饭店，也有赌场烟馆。店铺里，小到针头线脑，大到日用百货，应有尽有。

在平定白莲教起义的过程中，为了加强对华阳地区的统治，清政府继嘉庆六年（1801）向华阳派驻军队，设立华阳营，修筑营城之后，又于嘉庆七年（1802年）设置华阳分县，任命县丞一名进行统治，级别为从七品。据光绪二十四年（1898）《洋县志》（衙署志）记载：“华阳分县署，设立华阳上街，堂廨宇舍共二十间。”辛亥革命以后，华阳分县被撤销。到了民国十一年（1922），国民党又设立华阳分县，派县长进行统治。民国二十年（1931），由于华阳闹土匪，最后一任县长（周至县人）被吓跑了。华阳分县也被撤销，改为华阳区。解放前夕，又改区为镇。

八

华阳古镇形似一叶扁舟。东河、西河二水夹流，到古镇南端黄牛咀汇合，往下即为西水。俗话说“二水洗铧”，将华阳古镇比喻成犁地的“铧尖”。所以说，古镇华阳既象一叶扁舟，又像一只铧尖。

在古镇南端二水交汇处的南岸山脚下，一个巨大的连山石伸入河中。石面上有八个形状各异、大小不同、深浅不一的石孔，显系人工开凿，这是作何用途的呢？据典籍考证与现场勘察，发现原来这是唐代“得意阁”的遗址。

据南宋宁宗赵扩（1195-1224年在位）时代的王象之所编《輿地纪胜》卷一九〇（洋州·碑记）中“华阳寨摩崖刻”下注释：“骆谷路华阳寨下有大溪，俟冬水落，则见大字刻之道旁，云：‘建中三年，造此得意阁并回河镇。同节度副使张大侠记’”。1977年6月，汉中地区文物事业管理委员会的陈显远先生赴华阳调查红军标语，在华阳街老人的指点下，发现了这块摩崖题刻。他在《悦骆道初考》中写道：“……唐代摩崖石刻，高七十五，宽四十五厘米，右行直书四行，前三行，每行六字，后一行九字，共二十七字。其文曰：‘建中三年

(782)，造此得意阁并回河镇，同节度副使张大侠，石工沈光俊记。’其左侧约一米处，又有直书二行：‘打碑本强诤’五字。”

华阳镇既是唐代傥骆古道上的咽喉要塞，又是军事重镇。从800年前王象之的记载看，当时得意阁紧挨华阳寨，山寨即为驻军之所。当时驻军首长级别之高，为“同节度副使”，一则反映华阳地理位置的重要，二则反映朝廷对华阳的重视程度。当时在华阳寨旁，设有“华阳关”，控扼交通要道，负责缉拿盗匪，维持社会治安及道路交通安全。

从“得意阁”的题名看似为李白“人生得意须尽欢，莫使金樽空对月”之意。“得意阁”应是当地驻军首长或自我消遣，或招待客人，隔三岔五，摆酒设宴的处所。因为在寂寞的深山之中，过着单调的军营生活，高级军官们觉得，很有必要不时吃喝一番，改善一下生活的。

九

华阳镇南距洋县城150华里，它是位于秦岭南坡的山间盆地。在铁路、公路、航空尚未兴起的古代，它位于傥骆道的中途，地处咽喉要塞。丰富的资源，方便的交通，成就了它繁荣的经济。直至现代，它一直是一个十分繁华的山间商埠。

从地理位置看，洋县人去关中，无论走茅坪，走黑峡或是走铁河北上，都要经过华阳。从关中平原来洋县，无论走周至县的辛口子、走西骆峪，或是走宝鸡的虢镇，还是走岐山县的斜峪关南下，也都要经过华阳。所以说：华阳是控扼傥骆古道的咽喉要塞。

从经济资源说，华阳山区有丰富的森林资源和矿产资源，盛产木竹、药材、蜂蜜、木耳、纸张和珍禽异兽，近代华阳还有陶瓷厂，生产瓷器。所以，当年的华阳街上，商业十分繁荣。仅商人的帮会组织，就有山西帮，专门经营土产山货。河南帮，专门经营药材，收购麝香、熊胆、虎骨等珍贵中药材。四川帮，专门经营各种纸张和杂货。两湖帮，专门经营各种布匹和绫罗绸缎。街上还建有各帮商人的会馆：山西会馆、河南会馆、两湖会馆、四川会馆等。华阳街上的富商，还纷纷在华阳周围的山区投资办厂。当时有药场，种植各种药材。纸厂，以木竹、构树皮为原材料生产各种纸张。木厂，专门加工各种规格的板材出售。还有专门生产黑木耳的耳坊，生产蜂蜜的蜂坊，冶炼生铁的铁厂，浇铸铁锅的锅厂等等。

由于华阳气候温润，地肥水美，水田为一季田，水稻生长周期长，所以“华阳米”特别好吃。解放前洋县19个乡镇，其中17个乡镇的财主们都在华阳山区置有山庄，并以此作为炫耀的资本。

在华阳街上，从下街到上街，店铺鳞次栉比，品类五花八门。无论土产山货、川广杂货、布匹京货还是日用百货，应有尽有。从经营行业说，无论剃头、洗澡、赌博、抽大烟，还是喝茶、吃酒、请客、摆宴席，华阳街上都有去处。解放前全国24省，华阳街上就有21个省的人在活动。从接待来往行人的客栈到接待驮队马帮的货栈；从缝制衣服的成衣铺到打制农具、钉马掌的铁匠铺；从酿造酱油、陈醋的酱园到酿制苞谷酒的烧房等等，百工百业，一应俱全。在街上招摇过市的，既有把持地方政权，呼风唤雨，武断乡曲，包揽词

讼，“吃轻巧饭”的土豪劣绅，例如“马、牛、羊，段三王，赵家户里两只狼”之流，也有无事生非、输赖赢要的地痞土棍，还有来自全国各地靠打短工、帮长工为生的流浪汉。无论智愚良莠，无论操何口音，无论来自何方，只要肯出力气，在华阳山中混碗饭吃，还是比较容易的。