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## 洛阳伽蓝记

A RECORD OF BUDDHIST  
MONASTERIES IN LUO-YANG



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## A RECORD OF BUDDHIST MONASTERIES IN LUO-YANG



王伊同 英译

曹虹 今译

*Translated into English by Wang Yitong*

*Translated into Modern Chinese by Cao Hong*

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## 总 序

杨牧之

《大中华文库》终于出版了。我们为之高兴，为之鼓舞，但也倍感压力。

当此之际，我们愿将郁积在我们心底的话，向读者倾诉。

—

中华民族有着悠久的历史 and 灿烂的文化，系统、准确地将中华民族的文化经典翻译成外文，编辑出版，介绍给全世界，是几代中国人的愿望。早在几十年前，西方一位学者翻译《红楼梦》，将书名译成《一个红楼上的梦》，将林黛玉译为“黑色的玉”。我们一方面对外国学者将中国的名著介绍到世界上去表示由衷的感谢，一方面为祖国的名著还不被完全认识，甚至受到曲解，而感到深深的遗憾。还有西方学者翻译《金瓶梅》，专门摘选其中自然主义描述最为突出的篇章加以译介。一时间，西方学者好像发现了奇迹，掀起了《金瓶梅》热，说中国是“性开放的源头”，公开地在报刊上鼓吹中国要“发扬开放之传统”。还有许多资深、友善的汉学家译介中国古代的哲学著作，在把中华民族文化介绍给全世界的工作方面作出了重大贡献，但或囿于理解有误，或缘于对中国文字认识的局限，质量上乘的并不多，常常是隔靴搔痒，说不到点子上。大哲学家黑格尔曾经说过：中国有





最完备的国史。但他认为中国古代没有真正意义上的哲学，还处在哲学史前状态。这么了不起的哲学家竟然作出这样大失水准的评论，何其不幸。正如任何哲学家都要受时间、地点、条件的制约一样，黑格尔也离不开这一规律。当时他也只能从上述水平的汉学家译过去的文字去分析、理解，所以，黑格尔先生对中国古代社会的认识水平是什么状态，也就不难想象了。

中国离不开世界，世界也缺少不了中国。中国文化摄取外域的新成分，丰富了自己，又以自己的新成就输送给别人，贡献于世界。从公元5世纪开始到公元15世纪，大约有一千年，中国走在世界的前列。在这一千多年的时间里，她的光辉照耀全世界。人类要前进，怎么能不全面认识中国，怎么能不认真研究中国的历史呢？

## 二

中华民族是伟大的，曾经辉煌过，蓝天、白云、阳光灿烂，和平而兴旺；也有过黑暗的、想起来就让人战栗的日子，但中华民族从来是充满理想，不断追求，不断学习，渴望和平与友谊的。

中国古代伟大的思想家孔子曾经说过：“三人行，必有我师焉。择其善者而从之，其不善者而改之。”孔子的话就是要人们向别人学习。这段话正是概括了整个中华民族与人交往的原则。人与人之间交往如此，在与周边的国家交往中也是如此。

秦始皇第一个统一了中国，可惜在位只有十几年，来不及做更多的事情。汉朝继秦而继续强大，便开始走出去，了



解自己周边的世界。公元前138年，汉武帝派张骞出使西域。他带着一万头牛羊，总值一万万钱的金帛货物，作为礼物，开始西行，最远到过“安息”（即波斯）。公元前36年，班超又率36人出使西域。36个人按今天的话说，也只有一个排，显然是为了拜访未曾见过面的邻居，是去交朋友。到了西域，班超派遣甘英作为使者继续西行，往更远处的大秦国（即罗马）去访问，“乃抵条支而历安息，临西海以望大秦”（《后汉书·西域传》）。“条支”在“安息”以西，即今天的伊拉克、叙利亚一带，“西海”应是今天的地中海。也就是说甘英已经到达地中海边上，与罗马帝国隔海相望，“临大海欲渡”，却被人劝阻而未成行，这在历史上留下了遗恨。可以想见班超、甘英沟通友谊的无比勇气和强烈愿望。接下来是唐代的玄奘，历经千难万险，到“西天”印度取经，带回了南亚国家的古老文化。归国后，他把带回的佛教经典组织人翻译，到后来很多经典印度失传了，但中国却保存完好，以至于今天，没有玄奘的《大唐西域记》，印度人很难编写印度古代史。明代郑和“七下西洋”，把中华文化传到东南亚一带。鸦片战争以后，一代又一代先进的中国人，为了振兴中华，又前赴后继，向西方国家学习先进的科学思想和文明成果。这中间有我们的领导人朱德、周恩来、邓小平；有许许多多大科学家、文学家、艺术家，如郭沫若、李四光、钱学森、冼星海、徐悲鸿等。他们的追求、奋斗，他们的博大胸怀，兼收并蓄的精神，为人类社会增添了光彩。

中国文化的形成和发展过程，就是一个以众为师、以各国人民为师，不断学习和创造的过程。中华民族曾经向周边国家和民族学习过许多东西，假如没有这些学习，中华民族绝不可能创造出昔日的辉煌。回顾历史，我们怎么能够不对

伟大的古埃及文明、古希腊文明、古印度文明满怀深深的感激？怎么能够不对伟大的欧洲文明、非洲文明、美洲文明、澳洲文明，以及中国周围的亚洲文明充满温情与敬意？

中华民族为人类社会曾作出过独特的贡献。在15世纪以前，中国的科学技术一直处于世界遥遥领先的地位。英国科学家李约瑟说：“中国在公元3世纪到13世纪之间，保持着一个西方所望尘莫及的科学知识水平。”美国耶鲁大学教授、《大国的兴衰》的作者保罗·肯尼迪坦言：“在近代以前时期的所有文明中，没有一个国家的文明比中国更发达，更先进。”

世界各国的有识之士千里迢迢来中国观光、学习。在这个过程中，中国唐朝的长安城渐渐发展成为国际大都市。西方的波斯、东罗马，东亚的高丽、新罗、百济、南天竺、北天竺，频繁前来。外国的王侯、留学生，在长安供职的外国官员，商贾、乐工和舞士，总有几十个国家，几万人之多。日本派出的“遣唐使”更是一批接一批。传为美谈的日本人阿部仲麻吕（晁衡）在长安留学的故事，很能说明外国人与中国的交往。晁衡学成仕于唐朝，前后历时五十余年。晁衡与中国的知识分子结下了深厚的友情。他归国时，传说在海中遇难身亡。大诗人李白作诗哭悼：“日本晁卿辞帝都，征帆一片绕蓬壶。明月不归沉碧海，白云愁色满苍梧。”晁衡遇险是误传，但由此可见中外学者之间在中国长安交往的情谊。

后来，不断有外国人到中国来探寻秘密，所见所闻，常常让他们目瞪口呆。《希腊纪事》（希腊人波桑尼阿著）记载公元2世纪时，希腊人在中国的见闻。书中写道：“赛里斯人用小米和青芦喂一种类似蜘蛛的昆虫，喂到第五年，虫肚子胀裂开，便从里面取出丝来。”从这段对中国古代养蚕技术的



描述，可见当时欧洲人与中国人的差距。公元9世纪中叶，阿拉伯人来到中国。一位阿拉伯作家在他所著的《中国印度见闻录》中记载了曾旅居中国的阿拉伯商人的见闻：

——一天，一个外商去拜见驻守广州的中国官吏。会见时，外商总盯着官吏的胸部，官吏很奇怪，便问：“你好像总盯着我的胸，这是怎么回事？”那位外商回答说：“透过你穿的丝绸衣服，我隐约看到你胸口上长着一个黑痣，这是什么丝绸，我感到十分惊奇。”官吏听后，失声大笑，伸出胳膊，说：“请你数数吧，看我穿了几件衣服。”那商人数过，竟然穿了五件之多，黑痣正是透过这五层丝绸衣服显现出来的。外商惊得目瞪口呆，官吏说：“我穿的丝绸还不算是最好的，总督穿的要更精美。”

——书中关于茶(他们叫干草叶子)的记载，可见阿拉伯国家当时还没有喝茶的习惯。书中记述：“中国国王本人的收入主要靠盐税和泡开水喝的一种干草税。在各个城市里，这种干草叶售价都很高，中国人称这种草叶叫‘茶’，这种干草叶比苜蓿的叶子还多，也略比它香，稍有苦味，用开水冲喝，治百病。”

——他们对中国的医疗条件十分羡慕，书中记载道：“中国人医疗条件很好，穷人可以从国库中得到药费。”还说：“城市里，很多地方立一石碑，高10肘，上面刻有各种疾病和药物，写明某种病用某种药医治。”

——关于当时中国的京城，书中作了生动的描述：中国的京城很大，人口众多，一条宽阔的长街把全城分为两半，大街右边的东区，住着皇帝、宰相、禁军及皇家的总管、奴婢。在这个区域，沿街开凿了小河，流水潺潺；路旁，葱茏的树木整然有序，一幢幢宅邸鳞次栉比。大街左边的西区，



住着庶民和商人。这里有货栈和商店，每当清晨，人们可以看到，皇室的总管、宫廷的仆役，或骑马或步行，到这里来采购。

此后的史籍对西人来华的记载，渐渐多了起来。13世纪意大利旅行家马可·波罗，尽管有人对他是否真的到过中国持怀疑态度，但他留下一部记述元代事件的《马可·波罗游记》却是确凿无疑的。这部游记中的一些关于当时中国的描述使得西方人认为是“天方夜谭”。总之，从中西文化交流史来说，这以前的时期还是一个想象和臆测的时代，相互之间充满了好奇与幻想。

从16世纪末开始，由于航海技术的发展，东西方航路的开通，随着一批批传教士来华，中国与西方开始了直接的交流。沟通中西的使命在意大利传教士利玛窦那里有了充分的体现。利玛窦于1582年来华，1610年病逝于北京，在华二十余年。除了传教以外，做了两件具有历史象征意义的事，一是1594年前后在韶州用拉丁文翻译《四书》，并作了注释；二是与明代学者徐光启合作，用中文翻译了《几何原本》。

西方传教士对《四书》等中国经典的粗略翻译，以及杜赫德的《中华帝国志》等书对中国的介绍，在西方读者的眼前展现了一个异域文明，在当时及稍后一段时期引起了一场“中国热”，许多西方大思想家都曾注目于中国文化。有的推崇中华文明，如莱布尼兹、伏尔泰、魁奈等，有的对中华文明持批评态度，如孟德斯鸠、黑格尔等。莱布尼兹认识到中国文化的某些思想与他的观念相近，如周易的卦象与他发明的二进制相契合，对中国文化给予了热情的礼赞；黑格尔则从他整个哲学体系的推演出发，认为中国没有真正意义上的哲学，还处在哲学史前的状态。但是，不论是推崇还是批



评，是吸纳还是排斥，中西文化的交流产生了巨大的影响。随着先进的中国科学技术的西传，特别是中国的造纸、火药、印刷术和指南针四大发明的问世，大大改变了世界的面貌。马克思说：“中国的火药把骑士阶层炸得粉碎，指南针打开了世界市场并建立了殖民地，而印刷术则变成了新教的工具，变成对精神发展创造必要前提的最强大的杠杆。”英国的哲学家培根说：中国的四大发明“改变了全世界的面貌和一切事物的状态”。

### 三

大千世界，潮起潮落。云散云聚，万象更新。中国古代产生了无数伟大的科学家：祖冲之、李时珍、孙思邈、张衡、沈括、毕昇……产生了无数科技成果：《齐民要术》、《九章算术》、《伤寒杂病论》、《本草纲目》……以及保存至今的世界奇迹：浑天仪、地动仪、都江堰、敦煌石窟、大运河、万里长城……但从15世纪下半叶起，风水似乎从东方转到了西方，落后的欧洲只经过400年便成为世界瞩目的文明中心。英国的牛顿、波兰的哥白尼、德国的伦琴、法国的居里、德国的爱因斯坦、意大利的伽利略、俄国的门捷列夫、美国的费米和爱迪生……光芒四射，令人敬仰。

中华民族开始思考了。潮起潮落究竟是什么原因？中国人发明的火药，传到欧洲，转眼之间反成为欧洲列强轰击中国大门的炮弹，又是因为什么？

鸦片战争终于催醒了中国人沉睡的迷梦，最先“睁眼看世界”的一代精英林则徐、魏源迈出了威武雄壮的一步。曾国藩、李鸿章搞起了洋务运动。中国的知识分子喊出“民主



与科学”的口号。中国是落后了，中国的志士仁人在苦苦探索。但落后中饱含着变革的动力，探索中孕育着崛起的希望。“向科学进军”，中华民族终于又迎来了科学的春天。

今天，世界毕竟来到了 21 世纪的门槛。分散隔绝的世界，逐渐变成联系为一体的世界。现在，全球一体化趋势日益明显，人类历史也就在愈来愈大的程度上成为全世界的历史。当今，任何一种文化的发展都离不开对其它优秀文化的汲取，都以其它优秀文化的发展为前提。在近现代，西方文化汲取中国文化，不仅是中国文化的传播，更是西方文化自身的创新和发展；正如中国文化对西方文化的汲取一样，既是西方文化在中国的传播，同时也是中国文化在近代的转型和发展。地球上所有的人类文化，都是我们共同的宝贵遗产。既然我们生活的各个大陆，在地球史上曾经是连成一气的“泛大陆”，或者说是一个完整的“地球村”，那么，我们同样可以在这个以知识和学习为特征的网络时代，走上相互学习、共同发展的大路，建设和开拓我们人类崭新的“地球村”。

西学仍在东渐，中学也将西传。各国人民的优秀文化正日益迅速地为中国文化所汲取，而无论西方和东方，也都需要从中国文化中汲取养分。正是基于这一认识，我们组织出版汉英对照版《大中华文库》，全面系统地翻译介绍中国传统文化典籍。我们试图通过《大中华文库》，向全世界展示，中华民族五千年的追求，五千年的梦想，正在新的历史时期重放光芒。中国人民就像火后的凤凰，万众一心，迎接新世纪文明的太阳。

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## PREFACE TO THE *LIBRARY OF CHINESE CLASSICS*

Yang Muzhi

The publication of the *Library of Chinese Classics* is a matter of great satisfaction to all of us who have been involved in the production of this monumental work. At the same time, we feel a weighty sense of responsibility, and take this opportunity to explain to our readers the motivation for undertaking this cross-century task.

### 1

The Chinese nation has a long history and a glorious culture, and it has been the aspiration of several generations of Chinese scholars to translate, edit and publish the whole corpus of the Chinese literary classics so that the nation's greatest cultural achievements can be introduced to people all over the world. There have been many translations of the Chinese classics done by foreign scholars. A few dozen years ago, a Western scholar translated the title of *A Dream of Red Mansions* into "A Dream of Red Chambers" and Lin Daiyu, the heroine in the novel, into "Black Jade." But while their endeavours have been laudable, the results of their labours have been less than satisfactory. Lack of knowledge of Chinese culture and an inadequate grasp of the Chinese written language have led the translators into many errors. As a consequence, not only are Chinese classical writings widely misunderstood in the rest of the world, in some cases their content has actually been distorted. At one time, there was a "*Jin Ping Mei* craze" among Western scholars, who thought that they had uncovered a miraculous phenomenon, and published theories claiming that China was the "fountainhead of eroticism," and that a Chinese "tradition of permissiveness" was about to be laid bare. This distorted view came about due to the translators of the *Jin Ping Mei* (*Plum in the Golden Vase*) putting one-sided stress on the





raw elements in that novel, to the neglect of its overall literary value. Meanwhile, there have been many distinguished and well-intentioned Sinologists who have attempted to make the culture of the Chinese nation more widely known by translating works of ancient Chinese philosophy. However, the quality of such work, in many cases, is unsatisfactory, often missing the point entirely. The great philosopher Hegel considered that ancient China had no philosophy in the real sense of the word, being stuck in philosophical "prehistory." For such an eminent authority to make such a colossal error of judgment is truly regrettable. But, of course, Hegel was just as subject to the constraints of time, space and other objective conditions as anyone else, and since he had to rely for his knowledge of Chinese philosophy on inadequate translations it is not difficult to imagine why he went so far off the mark.

China cannot be separated from the rest of the world; and the rest of the world cannot ignore China. Throughout its history, Chinese civilization has enriched itself by absorbing new elements from the outside world, and in turn has contributed to the progress of world civilization as a whole by transmitting to other peoples its own cultural achievements. From the 5th to the 15th centuries, China marched in the front ranks of world civilization. If mankind wishes to advance, how can it afford to ignore China? How can it afford not to make a thoroughgoing study of its history?

## 2

Despite the ups and downs in their fortunes, the Chinese people have always been idealistic, and have never ceased to forge ahead and learn from others, eager to strengthen ties of peace and friendship.

The great ancient Chinese philosopher Confucius once said, "Wherever three persons come together, one of them will surely be able to teach me something. I will pick out his good points and emulate them; his bad points I will reform." Confucius meant by this that we should always be ready to learn from others. This maxim encapsulates the principle the Chinese people have always followed in their dealings with other peoples, not only on an individual basis but also at the level of state-to-state relations.

After generations of internecine strife, China was unified by Emperor



Qin Shi Huang (the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty) in 221 B.C. The Han Dynasty, which succeeded that of the short-lived Qin, waxed powerful, and for the first time brought China into contact with the outside world. In 138 B.C., Emperor Wu dispatched Zhang Qian to the western regions, i.e. Central Asia. Zhang, who traveled as far as what is now Iran, took with him as presents for the rulers he visited on the way 10,000 head of sheep and cattle, as well as gold and silks worth a fabulous amount. In 36 B.C., Ban Chao headed a 36-man legation to the western regions. These were missions of friendship to visit neighbours the Chinese people had never met before and to learn from them. Ban Chao sent Gan Ying to explore further toward the west. According to the "Western Regions Section" in the *Book of Later Han*, Gan Ying traveled across the territories of present-day Iraq and Syria, and reached the Mediterranean Sea, an expedition which brought him within the confines of the Roman Empire. Later, during the Tang Dynasty, the monk Xuan Zang made a journey fraught with danger to reach India and seek the knowledge of that land. Upon his return, he organized a team of scholars to translate the Buddhist scriptures, which he had brought back with him. As a result, many of these scriptural classics which were later lost in India have been preserved in China. In fact, it would have been difficult for the people of India to reconstruct their own ancient history if it had not been for Xuan Zang's *A Record of a Journey to the West in the Time of the Great Tang Dynasty*. In the Ming Dynasty, Zheng He transmitted Chinese culture to Southeast Asia during his seven voyages. Following the Opium Wars in the mid-19th century, progressive Chinese, generation after generation, went to study the advanced scientific thought and cultural achievements of the Western countries. Their aim was to revive the fortunes of their own country. Among them were people who were later to become leaders of China, including Zhu De, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. In addition, there were people who were to become leading scientists, literary figures and artists, such as Guo Moruo, Li Siguang, Qian Xuesen, Xian Xinghai and Xu Beihong. Their spirit of ambition, their struggles and their breadth of vision were an inspiration not only to the Chinese people but to people all over the world.

Indeed, it is true that if the Chinese people had not learned many

things from the surrounding countries they would never have been able to produce the splendid achievements of former days. When we look back upon history, how can we not feel profoundly grateful for the legacies of the civilizations of ancient Egypt, Greece and India? How can we not feel fondness and respect for the cultures of Europe, Africa, America and Oceania?

The Chinese nation, in turn, has made unique contributions to the community of mankind. Prior to the 15th century, China led the world in science and technology. The British scientist Joseph Needham once said, "From the third century A.D. to the 13th century A.D. China was far ahead of the West in the level of its scientific knowledge." Paul Kennedy, of Yale University in the U.S., author of *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, said, "Of all the civilizations of the pre-modern period, none was as well-developed or as progressive as that of China."

Foreigners who came to China were often astonished at what they saw and heard. The Greek geographer Pausanias in the second century A.D. gave the first account in the West of the technique of silk production in China: "The Chinese feed a spider-like insect with millet and reeds. After five years the insect's stomach splits open, and silk is extracted therefrom." From this extract, we can see that the Europeans at that time did not know the art of silk manufacture. In the middle of the 9th century A.D., an Arabian writer includes the following anecdote in his *Account of China and India*:

"One day, an Arabian merchant called upon the military governor of Guangzhou. Throughout the meeting, the visitor could not keep his eyes off the governor's chest. Noticing this, the latter asked the Arab merchant what he was staring at. The merchant replied, 'Through the silk robe you are wearing, I can faintly see a black mole on your chest. Your robe must be made out of very fine silk indeed!' The governor burst out laughing, and holding out his sleeve invited the merchant to count how many garments he was wearing. The merchant did so, and discovered that the governor was actually wearing five silk robes, one on top of the other, and they were made of such fine material that a tiny mole could be seen through them all! Moreover, the governor explained that the robes he was wearing were not made of the finest silk at all; silk of the highest



grade was reserved for the garments worn by the provincial governor.”

The references to tea in this book (the author calls it “dried grass”) reveal that the custom of drinking tea was unknown in the Arab countries at that time: “The king of China’s revenue comes mainly from taxes on salt and the dry leaves of a kind of grass which is drunk after boiled water is poured on it. This dried grass is sold at a high price in every city in the country. The Chinese call it ‘cha.’ The bush is like alfalfa, except that it bears more leaves, which are also more fragrant than alfalfa. It has a slightly bitter taste, and when it is infused in boiling water it is said to have medicinal properties.”

Foreign visitors showed especial admiration for Chinese medicine. One wrote, “China has very good medical conditions. Poor people are given money to buy medicines by the government.”

In this period, when Chinese culture was in full bloom, scholars flocked from all over the world to China for sightseeing and for study. Chang’an, the capital of the Tang Dynasty was host to visitors from as far away as the Byzantine Empire, not to mention the neighboring countries of Asia. Chang’an, at that time the world’s greatest metropolis, was packed with thousands of foreign dignitaries, students, diplomats, merchants, artisans and entertainers. Japan especially sent contingent after contingent of envoys to the Tang court. Worthy of note are the accounts of life in Chang’an written by Abeno Nakamaro, a Japanese scholar who studied in China and had close friendships with ministers of the Tang court and many Chinese scholars in a period of over 50 years. The description throws light on the exchanges between Chinese and foreigners in this period. When Abeno was supposedly lost at sea on his way back home, the leading poet of the time, Li Bai, wrote a eulogy for him.

The following centuries saw a steady increase in the accounts of China written by Western visitors. The Italian Marco Polo described conditions in China during the Yuan Dynasty in his *Travels*. However, until advances in the science of navigation led to the opening of east-west shipping routes at the beginning of the 16th century Sino-Western cultural exchanges were coloured by fantasy and conjecture. Concrete progress was made when a contingent of religious missionaries, men well versed in Western science and technology, made their way to China, ushering in an era of



direct contacts between China and the West. The experience of this era was embodied in the career of the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci. Arriving in China in 1582, Ricci died in Beijing in 1610. Apart from his missionary work, Ricci accomplished two historically symbolic tasks — one was the translation into Latin of the “Four Books,” together with annotations, in 1594; the other was the translation into Chinese of Euclid’s *Elements*.

The rough translations of the “Four Books” and other Chinese classical works by Western missionaries, and the publication of Père du Halde’s *Description Geographique, Historique, Chronologique, Politique, et Physique de l’Empire de la Chine* revealed an exotic culture to Western readers, and sparked a “China fever,” during which the eyes of many Western intellectuals were fixed on China. Some of these intellectuals, including Leibniz, held China in high esteem; others, such as Hegel, nursed a critical attitude toward Chinese culture. Leibniz considered that some aspects of Chinese thought were close to his own views, such as the philosophy of the *Book of Changes* and his own binary system. Hegel, on the other hand, as mentioned above, considered that China had developed no proper philosophy of its own. Nevertheless, no matter whether the reaction was one of admiration, criticism, acceptance or rejection, Sino-Western exchanges were of great significance. The transmission of advanced Chinese science and technology to the West, especially the Chinese inventions of paper-making, gunpowder, printing and the compass, greatly changed the face of the whole world. Karl Marx said, “Chinese gunpowder blew the feudal class of knights to smithereens; the compass opened up world markets and built colonies; and printing became an implement of Protestantism and the most powerful lever and necessary precondition for intellectual development and creation.” The English philosopher Roger Bacon said that China’s four great inventions had “changed the face of the whole world and the state of affairs of everything.”

## 3

Ancient China gave birth to a large number of eminent scientists, such as Zu Chongzhi, Li Shizhen, Sun Simiao, Zhang Heng, Shen Kuo and Bi



Sheng. They produced numerous treatises on scientific subjects, including *The Manual of Important Arts for the People's Welfare*, *Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Art*, *A Treatise on Febrile Diseases* and *Compendium of Materia Medica*. Their accomplishments included ones whose influence has been felt right down to modern times, such as the armillary sphere, seismograph, Dujiangyan water conservancy project, Dunhuang Grottoes, Grand Canal and Great Wall. But from the latter part of the 15th century, and for the next 400 years, Europe gradually became the cultural centre upon which the world's eyes were fixed. The world's most outstanding scientists then were England's Isaac Newton, Poland's Copernicus, France's Marie Curie, Germany's Rontgen and Einstein, Italy's Galileo, Russia's Mendeleev and America's Edison.

The Chinese people then began to think: What is the cause of the rise and fall of nations? Moreover, how did it happen that gunpowder, invented in China and transmitted to the West, in no time at all made Europe powerful enough to batter down the gates of China herself?

It took the Opium War to wake China from its reverie. The first generation to make the bold step of "turning our eyes once again to the rest of the world" was represented by Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang started the Westernization Movement, and later intellectuals raised the slogan of "Democracy and Science." Noble-minded patriots, realizing that China had fallen behind in the race for modernization, set out on a painful quest. But in backwardness lay the motivation for change, and the quest produced the embryo of a towering hope, and the Chinese people finally gathered under a banner proclaiming a "March Toward Science."

On the threshold of the 21st century, the world is moving in the direction of becoming an integrated entity. This trend is becoming clearer by the day. In fact, the history of the various peoples of the world is also becoming the history of mankind as a whole. Today, it is impossible for any nation's culture to develop without absorbing the excellent aspects of the cultures of other peoples. When Western culture absorbs aspects of Chinese culture, this is not just because it has come into contact with Chinese culture, but also because of the active creativity and development of Western culture itself; and vice versa. The various cultures of



the world's peoples are a precious heritage which we all share. Mankind no longer lives on different continents, but on one big continent, or in a "global village." And so, in this era characterized by an all-encompassing network of knowledge and information we should learn from each other and march in step along the highway of development to construct a brand-new "global village."

Western learning is still being transmitted to the East, and vice versa. China is accelerating its pace of absorption of the best parts of the cultures of other countries, and there is no doubt that both the West and the East need the nourishment of Chinese culture. Based on this recognition, we have edited and published the *Library of Chinese Classics* in a Chinese-English format as an introduction to the corpus of traditional Chinese culture in a comprehensive and systematic translation. Through this collection, our aim is to reveal to the world the aspirations and dreams of the Chinese people over the past 5,000 years and the splendour of the new historical era in China. Like a phoenix rising from the ashes, the Chinese people in unison are welcoming the cultural sunrise of the new century.



## 前 言

《洛阳伽蓝记》一书，顾名思义，是以杨衒之所见证的北魏帝京洛阳寺宇胜迹为其记载对象的。而具有特殊意味的是，作者笔下的洛阳佛教胜迹，既是一种宗教景观，又是一种更为深广的人文景观。对于本书内容的丰富性，明代毛晋作出了很好的概括：“铺扬佛宇，而因及人文。著撰园林、歌舞、鬼神、奇怪、兴亡之异，以寓其褒讥，又非徒以记伽蓝已也。”<sup>1</sup>兹从两个方面来看本书在内容上的特点：

首先，以“记伽蓝”而言，作者以史家的征实态度，对北魏洛阳全城寺宇的地理分布、各城区主要寺宇的由来、建制及相关佛教活动等方面，有条不紊地加以记录。这对保存北魏建都洛阳时期的佛教盛况，无疑具有难能可贵的史料价值，因而成为一部重要的佛教史籍。早在隋代费长房的《历代三宝记》、唐代道宣的《大唐内典录》等佛教书目中，就著录过本书。可见，本书颇以佛教典籍的属性而受人瞩目。

其次，从“因及人文”而言，作者的笔触上及宫廷政变、下至里巷俗谚，对城郊形势、古迹遗存、政府设施、经济景观、社会心理、公众娱乐等作了合景式的反映，不仅体现出“博物洽闻”的史才<sup>2</sup>，而且在记事中时寓褒贬之意、悲悯之怀，增强了历史鉴戒之用。前人对此每多赞评，例如，清代永瑛、纪昀等奉敕撰《钦定历代职官表》认为，关于北魏对外藩入朝者的馆舍安置，此书“所载最详”<sup>3</sup>。书中像这样具有制度史、都邑史、民俗史等多方面史料价值的内容，可谓俯拾即是。

这里需要稍加辨析的是，作者杨衒之其人与佛教的关系如何？《洛阳伽蓝记》其书的佛教倾向如何评价？关于作者的传记资料甚少，仅约略知其为北平人，曾任北魏抚军府司马、期城郡太守，永安年间（528—529）有“奉朝请”之职在身，北魏末年任秘书监。在举世无双的永宁寺九级浮图建成之际，他自述曾获准登临



此塔：“装饰毕功，明帝与太后共登之。视宫内如掌中，临京师若家庭。以其目见宫中，禁人不听升之。衞之尝与河南尹胡孝世共登之，下临云雨，信哉不虚。”<sup>4</sup>此事应发生在北魏孝明帝熙平元年至孝昌二年（516—526）之间。也应当是在这十年间，菩提达摩来游中土，赞美永宁寺塔，杨衞之特加载录：“时有西域沙门菩提达摩者，波斯国胡人也。起自荒裔，来游中土，见金盘炫日，光照云表，宝铎含风，响出天外，歌咏赞叹，实是神功。自云年一百五十岁，历涉诸国，靡不周遍，而此寺精丽，闾浮所无也；极佛境界，亦未有此。口唱南无，合掌连日。”<sup>5</sup>从叙述语态看，他借这位资深的外国高僧之口，对北魏佛教兴盛局面予以赞扬，并且在他心中，是与“极佛境界”不相抵触的。这里蕴含着他对佛教的一定的亲善之感，则是无疑的。明代心泰《佛法金汤编》专收“历代护教诸王臣之言行”，其中就列有杨衞之，载其与禅宗初祖达摩会面的逸事，并节录其《洛阳伽蓝记》自序<sup>6</sup>。平心而论，尽管杨衞之书中对达摩禅师的行踪与言谈有如上记载，但后世禅宗文献中附会出杨衞之向达摩问法的记事，则有失夸张；不过，《洛阳伽蓝记》自序并非没有流露出对佛教的护惜之情<sup>7</sup>。

客观地看，杨衞之对于佛教的姿态可从以下三点加以说明：

第一，对于首都寺塔林立所象征的北魏佛教盛况，作者虽在局部上不乏对权贵费财佞佛等弊端的暗讽，但全书在整体上是出之以保存的笔调。有资料显示，杨衞之出仕北魏期间，曾经上书朝廷，对于现实中佛门伪滥等现象加以批评，但最终并没有弃绝佛教，他希望以朝廷之力严加管理，“知其真伪，然后佛法可遵，师徒无滥”<sup>8</sup>。他撰写《洛阳伽蓝记》时，北魏洛阳已“城郭崩毁，宫室倾覆，寺观灰烬，庙塔丘墟”，作为故国旧臣的身份意识也增强了追叙之际的感怀之情，因而他提到写作意图在于：“京城表里，凡有一千馀寺，今日寥廓，钟声罕闻。恐后世无传，故撰斯记。”<sup>9</sup>对他而言，故都伽蓝既是佛教隆盛的象征，又是北魏国运的象征。这种双重的象征性，也使他对待记叙对象的处理，保存之心胜过了批评之念。

第二、萦绕在全书中的谈神说怪的气息，反映出作者受到因佛教传来而大为强化的神灵信仰的影响。全书的素材选择，如作者自序所称：“今之所录，止大伽蓝，其中小者，取其祥异，世谛俗事，因而出之。”其中对“祥异”的留心，是贯穿在全书记事中



的一大特色。无论是记“京师迁邠”的重大历史变故，还是记佛像、阎罗王、洛神、草木等的神异见闻，不难发现，作者的笔端常常流露出对佛教神通力的肯定。如以代表北魏政权结束的迁都事件而言，卷一永宁寺、卷二平等寺及卷四永明寺都有叙及，竟一再伴随着海上浮图幻现、石佛无故自动、须弥座上佛像忽然消失等灵征。再如卷五记城北凝玄寺时，大段抄录了宋云与惠生西行印度求法的记录，此二人的原书曾有著录<sup>10</sup>，早已失传，却因《洛阳伽蓝记》而得以存其大要，后人习惯上又以“宋云行纪”题称它。这个内容的安排，似乎打破了前四卷的体例上的均衡感，不过，若从作者对佛教灵征奇迹的态度上着眼，也就不会感到突兀。杨衒之抄录的内容，除了行程、沿途各国风土人情等简况之外，相当的笔墨是用于“寻如来教迹”，即寻访代表佛陀人格与教化力量的奇迹，如佛履石之处，足迹如新，量之不定，或长或短；佛折骨为笔之处，髓流于石，脂色新鲜。他在合抄两家行记之际，还比勘了北魏另一位西行僧人道荣的纪行报告，即《道荣传》，为的是补足西域第一佛塔雀离浮图的建塔神功以及其他的一系列佛迹。如果杨衒之对“如来教迹”所象征的佛教神通力没有发生任何的吸引与领会，很难想象他会有如此殷殷采录比勘的热心。

第三，全书的行文体制，采取了正文与夹注如母子相依的方式，具有归类简便、经纬清楚的长处。这种结撰方式，唐代刘知几已作揭示，其《史通·补注》称《洛阳伽蓝记》等书克服了史家面对史料时“除烦则意有所吝，毕载则言有所妨”的两难，“遂乃定彼榛楛，列为子注”<sup>11</sup>。更据陈寅恪先生揭示，是出于六朝初期佛书“合本子注之体”。这种编书体例，乃是僧徒因佛经传译过程中，出现同本异译等新问题，“若其偏执一经，则失兼通之巧；广披其三，则文繁难究”，于是出现了巧而不繁的合抄之书，即以某一译文为大字母本，以别种译文为夹注小字，类似于母子相附<sup>12</sup>。《洛阳伽蓝记》一书以取材广博为特点，记一代名都佛寺，同时还要使“世谛俗事，因而出之”，不可谓不烦杂，那么，组织之功、结构之巧就必不可少。佛书合本子注的体例能够被他有效地模拟，也说明他对当时的佛学译述是有所习染的。顺带一提的是，本书在历代传刻过程中，正文与子注往往被混淆，清代中期考据家



顾广圻根据《史通·补注》提供的线索，“知此书原用大小字分别书之，今一概连写，是混注入正文也”，他将厘清之事寄望于后学：“世之通才，倘依此例求之，于读是书，思过半矣。”<sup>13</sup>近代以来学者们致力于阐明原书体例，尽管少数细节划分上见解有异，但总体上已相当成功地恢复了原书以简驭繁的结构形态<sup>14</sup>。

佛教传入中土以后，对社会文化的影响日渐深远。从四世纪以来，都会州郡尤其是人文荟萃的京城的佛寺建筑及相关活动，已有文字记载。《洛阳伽蓝记》一书尽管不乏前导<sup>15</sup>，实际上却因其富于创意和个人才情，而成为现存文史典籍中寺塔记的典范之作。它所达到的高度、享有的声誉，后继的若干同类撰述都难企及。除了博洽翔实的内容、有条不紊的体例足以见其史识以外，本书的典范性还体现在文才卓著上，在中古文学史上也称得上是一部旷世杰作。

无论是现实人事或怪异的内容，作者都能栩栩如生地加以刻画，融史笔与文采于一炉。如卷四开善寺条叙及王子坊时，对北魏皇族间的奢侈与贪欲揭露无遗。河间王元琛以富豪自骄骄人，甚至说“不恨我不见石崇，恨石崇不见我”。而贪敛无厌的章武王元融，因妒羡元琛之富而“还家卧三日不起”。当胡太后赐百官任意取绢时，“朝臣莫不称力而去，唯融与陈留侯李崇负绢过任，蹶倒伤踝。侍中崔光止取两匹。太后问曰：‘侍中何少？’对曰：‘臣有两手，唯堪两匹。所获多矣。’朝贵服其清廉”。再如卷二龙华寺条提到逃归北魏的南人萧综与寿阳公主之事：两人初婚时，“公主容色美丽，综甚敬之，与公主语，常自称下官……及京师倾覆，综弃州北走。时尔朱世隆专权，遣取公主至洛阳，世隆逼之，公主骂曰：‘胡狗，敢辱天王女乎！’世隆怒，遂缢杀之”。在不动声色之中，讥刺萧综为贪生之辈，而对公主的刚烈寄予褒意。

作者在语言表达上善于使用整齐的句法，主要为四言，有时也适度利用四六骈句，同时又能发挥散句的长处，节奏感与自由韵律得以有机结合，从而形成了典丽而清拔的风格。值得一提的是，他善于吸取辞赋作品尤其是京都大赋状物写景的经验，如卷三高阳王寺条描写高阳王元雍的府宅：“白壁丹楹，窈窕连亘，飞檐反宇，辚轳周通。”这里的“飞檐反宇”一语将静止的建筑作动态的形容，为直接采纳张衡《西京赋》“反宇业业，飞檐轳轳”之语而来。可见作者对前



代京都大赋，由于其所描写主要是帝室皇居的空间之美，与本书有某种一致性，必多有钻味。《四库全书总目·洛阳伽蓝记提要》以“秾丽秀逸”四字品评此书的行文之美<sup>16</sup>，从全书看，作者擅长整饬的四言句法，应是其中最为“秾丽”之处。

就《洛阳伽蓝记》一书的流传史而言，海外学者早有关注，投入学术力量，相继出现了颇有价值的海外版本。从中也可以看出本书的国际影响。首先要提到的是日本《大正新修大藏经》，其中史传部收入本书，据我国明代如隐堂本排印，并参校他本，列其异文于页下。日译本不止一种，二十世纪三十年代高桥太华译成训读式的文体，收在《国译一切经》和汉撰述部·史传部18；日文译注本出版于1974年，出于汉学家入矢义高之手，除了译笔雅畅，从其注释中还可藉以了解日本汉学的相关成果<sup>17</sup>。英译本也不止一种，出版于1981年的詹纳尔（W.J.F.Jenner）的专著《Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsüan-chih and the Lost Capital (493—534)》[《洛阳记忆：杨衒之与沦陷的京城(493—534)》]，上半部分是关于杨衒之与《洛阳伽蓝记》的专题研究，下半部分是对全书的英译，并施以简注<sup>18</sup>；美籍华裔学者王伊同于1984年在美国出版了另一个英译本<sup>19</sup>，对书中地名、官署名等专有名词，除了音译、意译，并附加中文以便对照，行文格式上保存原书正文与子注相配合的体例，注释也详于詹纳尔的译本。入矢义高、王伊同等汉学家都声称颇得益于我国五十年代后期面世的两位学者的整理与注释成果，即周祖谟的《洛阳伽蓝记校释》与范祥雍的《洛阳伽蓝记校注》。其中后出的王伊同的译释中，还尽可能地吸取了包括日译本在内的诸多新近研究成果，在传递原书结构与意蕴上也更趋精细，书中配有重要词汇与人名索引。

附带说明的是，《洛阳伽蓝记》卷五所录宋云、惠生的西行记，作为中外交通史料与西域史地资料，既被抽出单独成书，如《大正藏》内以《北魏僧惠生使西域记》为题收录；又被单独加以译介或考释，早在1833年德国汉学家诺曼（K.F. Neumann）已将之译为德文<sup>20</sup>，1869年英国佛教学者比尔（S. Beal）也将之用英文译出<sup>21</sup>，1903年法国汉学家沙畹（E. Chavannes）的笺注本作为“河内法国远东学校校刊”问世<sup>22</sup>，日本方面既有长沢和俊的日文译注本问世<sup>23</sup>，又有桑山正进、高田时雄编成专题性的索引<sup>24</sup>。可见国际汉

学界对这部分内容所给予的特别关注。

曹虹

2006年9月6日

- 1 绿君亭本《洛阳伽蓝记》跋。
- 2 借班固《汉书·司马迁传》赞司马迁语。
- 3 卷十七，《四库全书》本。
- 4 《洛阳伽蓝记》卷一。
- 5 同上。
- 6 见卷五，《大正藏》本。
- 7 案：明代梅鼎祚《释文纪》卷三十二亦收录杨衒之《洛阳伽蓝记序》。《四库全书》本。
- 8 唐代道宣《广弘明集·辨惑编》，《大正藏》本。
- 9 《洛阳伽蓝记序》。
- 10 《隋书·经籍志》著录《慧生行传》一卷，《旧唐书·经籍志》、《新唐书·艺文志》均著录宋云《魏国以西十一国事》一卷。
- 11 《四部丛刊初编》本。
- 12 参《支愍度学说考》、《读洛阳伽蓝记书后》，分别载《金明馆丛稿初编》、《金明馆丛稿二编》，上海古籍出版社1980年版。
- 13 《洛阳伽蓝记跋》，《思适斋集》卷十四，清刻本。
- 14 编者注：此次将《洛阳伽蓝记》收入大中华文库，中文今译与英译部分特采用了南京大学教授曹虹女士的中文译本及旅居海外的著名华裔学者王伊同先生的英文译本。需要指出的是，二位学者学识渊博，他们在对《洛阳伽蓝记》的研究上有个人的学术观点，对于正文中夹注的区别划分以及对一些细节之处的理解不尽相同，考虑到这是他们各自的研究成果，同时使读者据同一原文看到不同的学术观点未尝不是一件好事，因此在本书的编辑过程中保留了这些差异。
- 15 案：在中国典籍中，以“寺记”或“寺塔记”为题的著作，并不始于本书。早于或并世的，有约撰于东晋末年的佚名《南京寺志》、刘宋灵味寺昙宗《京师寺记》、南齐彭城人刘俊《益都寺记》、梁代朝臣刘瓛奉敕所撰《京师寺塔记》，但此书早已严重散佚，甚至到了销声匿迹的地步。所以，现存的寺塔记便以本书为奠基之作。
- 16 见卷七十。
- 17 平凡社《中国古典文学大系》本。1990年该社《东洋文库》丛书收入其修订本。
- 18 Oxford University Press, 1981.
- 19 据译者前言，他的初译完成于1980年。A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-Yang, Princeton University Press, 1984.
- 20 Pilgerfahrten Buddhistischer Priester von China nach Indien, Leipzig, 1833.
- 21 Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun: Buddhist Pilgrims, from China to India (400 A. D. and 518 A. D.), Londres Trubner, 1869.
- 22 Voyage de Song Yun dans l'dyana et le Gandhara (518-522), Bulletin de l'École Française

*d'extrême Orient 3(1903)*, 冯承钧译《西域南海史地考证译丛六编》以《宋云行纪笺注》为题收录, 中华书局1962年重印版。

23 平凡社《东洋文库》本, 1971年版。1975年该社出版修订后的第二版。

24 《西域行记索引丛刊》3《法显传 洛阳伽蓝记 释迦方志》, 松香堂, 2001年版。





## INTRODUCTION

*A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luo-yang* by Yang Xuan-zhi, as the name suggests, is a description of Buddhist temples in Luo-yang, capital of the Northern Wei Dynasty (386-534). Actually, Luo-yang was not only a Buddhist resort, but also a place of cultural interest. As said by Mao Jin of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), in the book Yang also depicted the city's garden architecture and performing arts, and gave an account of ghost stories spread among the people to convey his comments on the rise and fall of previous dynasties<sup>1</sup>.

The main content of the book is divided into two parts.

First of all, adopting the attitude of a historian, the author provided complete, detailed and accurate records of Buddhist temples' distribution in Luo-yang, as well as major monasteries' history, architecture and relevant Buddhist activities. The book is of great historical significance to researchers of later ages who tried to restore the Northern Wei capital in which Buddhism was prevalent to its original state. Therefore, it became an important Buddhist classic in history, and was widely cited as early as in the Sui (581-618) and Tang (618-907) dynasties.

Secondly, from palace coups to the life of ordinary people, the book presents a panorama of the city of Luo-yang including its cultural remains from ancient times, government setup and social economy. What's more, the author used the past to criticize the present, with narration interspersed with bits of comments, highlighting the book's role as "a mirror for government." Full of records of folk customs and the history of the capital city, the book won praise from later generations. For instance, Yong Rong and Ji Yun of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) said that it offered the most detailed accounts of accommodation arrangement by the Northern Wei government for envoys from vassal states<sup>2</sup>.



Very little is known about the author Yang Xuan-zhi's life. Available historical records show that he was born in Bei-ping, and acted as *Sima* (in charge of military affairs) of Fu-jun Prefecture and chief of Qi-cheng Prefecture. During the reign of Emperor Xiao-zhuang (528-529, titled Yong-an) he held the post of *Fengchaoqing*, and was appointed *Mishujian* (secretary of the imperial office) in the last years of the Northern Wei. After the completion of the nine-story pagoda at the Yong-ning Monastery in Luoyang, he was allowed to climb it along with Hu Xiao-shi, prefect of He-nan<sup>3</sup>. This occurred somewhere between the first year of Xi-ping and the second year of Xiao-chang in the reign of Emperor Xiao-ming (516-526). Also in this decade, Bodhi Dharma, founder of the *Chan* sect, came to the "Central Plains" (middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River) and was deeply impressed by the grandeur of Yong-ning Monastery and the exquisiteness of the pagoda<sup>4</sup>. Xin Tai of the Ming Dynasty gave an account of the meeting between Yang Xuan-zhi and Bodhi Dharma during the latter's visit, which evolved into a story of Yang seeking Dharma's advice on Buddhist doctrine, as seen in the *Chan* literature of later ages. In any case, in the preface to *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luo-yang* the author indeed revealed a somewhat favorable opinion of Buddhism.

Objectively speaking, the author's attitude toward Buddhism is reflected in the following three aspects.

First, historical materials show that when serving as an official, Yang submitted a written statement to the imperial government, condemning those who posed as Buddhists to confuse the public. In the book he also satirized the bigwigs' extravagance in worshipping Buddha. However, abandoning Buddhism was by no means his original intention; instead, he hoped the royal government to tighten up the management and right the wrong. When Yang wrote *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luo-yang*, the once prosperous capital city was already on the decline, with many temples in ruins. "There used to be over 1,000 monasteries scattered all over the city. But very few survive to this day, and temple bells rarely toll. The writing of this book aims to ensure that the 'golden age' will not fade from the memory of later generations."<sup>5</sup> Obviously, in the writer's eyes a forest of temples in the capital symbolized both the popularity of Buddhism and the prosperity of the



Northern Wei Dynasty.

Second, the book maintains a surreal air, reflecting the influence of the exotic religion on the writer. "Only major monasteries are included in this book, which also records some small ones noted for auspicious or miraculous stories."<sup>6</sup> Actually, either the account of "moving the capital to Ye City" or the storytelling of what he heard about the King of Hell and the Goddess of the Luo River reveals the author's recognition of Buddha's power. For instance, the event of capital relocation, a symbol of the end of the Northern Wei regime, was mentioned in volumes one (Yong-ning Monastery), two (Ping-deng Monastery) and four (Yong-ming Monastery), spiced with episodes of a pagoda emerging from the sea, a Buddha's statue moving by itself, and another stone bust of Buddha mysteriously disappearing from the pedestal. In addition, in volume five (Ning-xuan Monastery) Yang quoted paragraphs of the travel notes by Song-yun and Hui-sheng who went on a pilgrimage to India. Their accounts, known as *The Travels of Song-yun* in later ages, have been lost; but thanks to Yang's quotation, the précis was preserved in *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luo-yang*. While describing the conditions and customs of the countries on the way, the two monks gave a lot of ink to the "traces" of Buddha such as his footprints on rocks, which looked fresh and when measured, now long, now short. In another place they wrote that Buddha broke his bone to make a pen. Dripping with his bone marrow, the rock beneath his feet became as smooth as jade. Yang also consulted the travel notes of Dao-rong, another Northern Wei monk who went on a journey to India, to supplement *The Travels of Song-yun* with the erection of the legendary Que-li Stupa – the so-called "No.1 Buddhist dagoba" in the Western Regions<sup>7</sup> – as well as many other miracles of Buddha.

Third, in the early years of the Six Dynasties (222–589), a same Buddhist scripture usually had several translated editions in circulation. To avoid confusion and the loss of any useful information, thus came a combined compilation based on one version, with other translations printed in small characters. According to well-known historian Chen Yin-ke (1890–1969), Yang borrowed this method to organize extensive material in his book, and its advantages had been summarized by Liu Zhi-ji, historian of the Tang Dynasty. Yang's writing style also indicates that he at least made a cursory study of



the translated Buddhist literature. By the way, after repeated reprint, by the middle period of the Qing Dynasty the text of the book had been mixed up with interlinear notes. Fortunately, after making painstaking efforts, scholars of modern times have successfully restored the book to its roughly original form<sup>8</sup>.

Imported from India, Buddhism had far-reaching effects upon Chinese society and culture. Since the fourth century there were a number of accounts of monasteries and religious activities in major cities, especially the capital city<sup>9</sup>. As all of them have been either severely damaged or completely lost, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luo-yang* becomes the earliest well-preserved book recording Buddhist temples and pagodas. Owing to the writer's literary talent and profound knowledge, it can be rated as a masterpiece of the "middle ancient times" (referring to a period from the third to the ninth century in Chinese history). Providing detailed and precise materials, it outshines many other works of the same kind in later ages.

Yang was both a historian and a man of letters. The narration in his book is accurate and the characterization superb. In volume four (Kai-shan Monastery) he brought to light in a cynical tone the extravagance and greed of the Northern Wei imperial kinsmen. Yuan Chen, King of He-jian who was arrogant because of his wealth, was quoted as saying: "I do not regret missing the chance of knowing Shi Chong<sup>10</sup>, but it is really a pity that Shi Chong was not able to see what an extravagant life I am living." Witnessing how rich Yuan Chen really was, Zhang-wu King Yuan Rong, bitten by unbearable jealousy, fell ill for three days after returning home. When Queen Hu once bestowed silk on courtiers, only Cui Guang took just two bolts while all the others grabbed as much as possible, with some even spraining their ankles under their heavy load. When asked by Queen Hu, Cui Guang replied: "I have only two hands, so two bolts of silk are enough. I cannot take more than that." He thus won a reputation of being clear and honest.

The couple of Xiao Zong and Princess Shou-yang was mentioned in volume two (Long-hua Monastery). Originally, Xiao Zong of the Southern Liang (502-557) came to Luo-yang for shelter. When they first got married, Princess Shou-yang looked very charming, and Xiao treated her with much respect. Even at home Xiao always called himself a subordinate to the



princess. After Er-zhu Shi-long led the rebel army to seize the capital, Xiao escaped alone. Impressed by Princess Shou-yang's beauty, Er-zhu Shi-long tried to force her to become his concubine. But the princess would rather die than submit. In the end, Er-zhu Shi-long had no alternative but to hang her. While giving a calm, clear narrative of the incident, Yang Xuan-zhi presented a striking contrast between the coward husband and the indomitable wife without betraying any emotion.

Using the technique of rhyme prose by poets of the previous dynasties to depict the capital cities<sup>11</sup>, Yang's writing is characterized by rhythmical arrangement and parallel constructions consisting of pairs of six and especially four characters. Paying much attention to metre and rhyme scheme, he developed a literary style of his own that was elegant and refined. *Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature* commented that the book was written "both with rare grace and ease and through rich and colorful portrayal."

*A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luo-yang* has been translated into many languages. It was first translated into Japanese in the 1920s and 30s. An annotated Japanese version by Iriya Yoshitaka was published in 1974. There are also several English versions. W. J. F. Jenner published in 1981 *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsüan-chih and the Lost Capital (493-534)*, which falls into two parts<sup>12</sup>. The first part contains a study of the author and his work; the second part is an unabridged translation with brief annotations. Yi-tong Wang published another English version in 1984, providing copious notes<sup>13</sup>. Both Iriya Yoshitaka and Yi-tong Wang claimed that their translation had benefited from the fruits of two Chinese scholars' labor, i.e., Zhou Zu-mo and Fan Xiang-yong's annotated editions of *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luo-yang*, which came off the press in the late 1950s.

In addition, *The Travels of Song-yun* carried in volume five has been included in *Da Zheng Zang*. In a separate edition, it was translated into German by K. F. Neumann in 1833<sup>14</sup>, into English by S. Beal in 1869<sup>15</sup>, and into French by E. Chavannes in 1903<sup>16</sup>. Its first Japanese version came out in 1971, and the second in 1975.

Cao Hong

September 6, 2006



- 1 Postscript to *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang* annotated by Lu Jun-ting.
- 2 C.f. *Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature*, vol. 17. The monumental work was compiled in 1772-1782 at the order of Emperor Qian-long of the Qing Dynasty.
- 3 *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang*, vol. 1.
- 4 *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang*, Vol. 1.
- 5 Preface to *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luo-yang*.
- 6 Preface to *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luo-yang*.
- 7 A historical term referring to a vast area including the present Xin-jiang Uygur Autonomous Region and parts of Central Asia.
- 8 Editor's note: This book contains Cao Hong's contemporary Chinese version and Yi-tong Wang's English version of *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luo-yang*. Both Cao and Wang are erudite scholars. Despite their somewhat different views, for instance, on the distinction between the text of Yang's book and interlinear notes, we decide to collect them in one volume for the benefit of the reader.
- 9 Those prior to or roughly contemporary with Yang's book include *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Nan-jing*, author unknown, written in the last years of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317-420); *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in the Capital* by Tan-zong of the Ling-wei Temple during the Song Kingdom (420-479); *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Yi-du* by Liu Jun of Peng-cheng during the Southern Qi Dynasty (479-502); and *A Record of Buddhist Temples and Pagodas in the Capital*, written by Liu Qiu of the Southern Liang Dynasty (502-557) in accordance with imperial edict.
- 10 Translator's note: Shi Chong (249-300) was the richest person in the Western Jin Dynasty (265-316). He was finally killed by those who envied his wealth.
- 11 Translator's note: Rhyme prose is a literary form very much in vogue from the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) to the period of Northern (386-581) and Southern Dynasties (420-589).
- 12 Oxford University Press, 1981.
- 13 *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-Yang*, Princeton University Press, 1984. According to the preface, Wang finished the first draft of the translation in 1980.
- 14 *Pilgerfahrten Buddhistischer Priester von China nach Indien*, Leipzig, 1833.
- 15 *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun: Buddhist Pilgrims, from China to India (400 A.D. and 518 A.D.)*, Londres Trubner, 1869.
- 16 *Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyana et le Gandhara (518-522)*, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 3 (1903).

## 目 录

洛阳伽蓝记原序·····	2
卷一 城内·····	14
卷二 城东·····	84
卷三 城南·····	156
卷四 城西·····	200
卷五 城北·····	256
附录:	
注释·····	304
缩写词·····	404
参考书目·····	406

## Contents

Preface to the Luo-yang qie-lan ji ·····	3
Chapter 1 The Inner City (Cheng-nei) ·····	15
Chapter 2 Eastern Suburbs (Cheng-dong) ···	85
Chapter 3 Southern Suburbs (Cheng-nan) ···	157
Chapter 4 Western Suburbs (Cheng-xi) ·····	201
Chapter 5 Northern Suburbs (Cheng-bei) ···	257
Addendum	
Notes ·····	304
Abbreviations ·····	404
Bibliography ·····	406





## 洛阳伽蓝记原序

魏抚军府司马杨衒之撰

### 【原文】

《三坟》《五典》之说，九流百氏之言，并理在人区，而义兼天外。至于一乘二谛之原，三明六通之旨，西域备详，东土靡记。

自项日感梦，满月流光，阳门饰豪眉之像，夜台图绀发之形。途来奔竞，其风遂广。至晋永嘉，唯有寺四十二所。逮皇魏受图，光宅嵩洛，笃信弥繁，法教愈盛。王侯贵臣，弃象马如脱屣；

### 【今译】

古书《三坟》、《五典》的意见，以及诸子百家的议论，所阐述的道理都包容于人世之内，兼及离尘超世的思想。但是，要说到一乘、二谛的原理，以及三明六通的旨趣，则西方诸国论说详备，位于东方的中国却不见记载。

自从颈项生辉的佛出现于汉明帝的梦中，那满月一般的容颜流光溢彩，于是开阳门上造起面有寿眉的佛像，帝陵中绘出青发满头的佛画。此后，人们争相皈依，信佛的风气就扩大开来。下及晋朝永嘉年间（307—313），洛阳只有佛寺四十二所。到了大魏受天命，定都于洛阳，佛教信仰更加普遍，佛法之教更加兴盛。王侯贵臣像脱鞋那样轻易地施舍象马，

## Preface to the *Luo-yang qie-lan ji*

by *Yang Xuan-zhi*

Sergeant-at-Arms in the Office of the Commanding

General of the Army of the Wei

The Sayings [embodied in] the works of Three Emperors and Five Monarchs<sup>1</sup>, along with teachings [imparted by] the nine classes of literature and one hundred schools of philosophy<sup>2</sup>, have all prevailed in China and included ideas introduced from abroad. But such teachings as the law of the One Vehicle<sup>3</sup> and the Two Truths<sup>4</sup>, or the essence of the Three Insights<sup>5</sup> and Six Powers<sup>6</sup> acquired by the Buddha or an arhat—these were recorded in great detail in countries of the Western Regions, but scarcely touched upon in the Eastern Land.

When [Emperor Ming of the Han] saw in a dream the Buddha with a neck<sup>7</sup> shining as the sun and with a face as clear and as radiant as a full moon<sup>8</sup>, the emperor was so moved that an imperial order was given to have one statue of the Buddha<sup>9</sup> erected near the [Kai-]yang Gate (Opening to the Morning Sun Gate) of the Southern Palace and one near the [Chang-]ye Terrace (The Eternal Night Terrace)<sup>10</sup>. Special attention was given to depicting Buddha's eyebrows<sup>11</sup> and hair<sup>12</sup>. From this time<sup>13</sup> onward, Buddhism made rapid inroads in China and gained popularity throughout the nation. During the Yong-jia period (A.D. 307–313) of the Jin dynasty, there were only forty-two Buddhist temples [in Luo-yang], but later when our imperial Wei accepted the heavenly mandate and chose the [same] Song-Luo area as the site of our national capital, there was an increase in the number of Buddhist converts and those who lectured on Dharma<sup>14</sup>. Princes, dukes, and ranking officials donated such valuable things as elephants





## 【原文】

庶士豪家，舍资财若遗迹。于是昭提栉比，宝塔骈罗，争写天上之姿，竞摹山中之影。金刹与灵台比高，广殿共阿房等壮，岂直木衣锦绣，土被朱紫而已哉！

暨永熙多难，皇舆迁邺，诸寺僧尼，亦与时徙。至武定五年，岁在丁卯，余因行役，重览洛阳。城郭崩毁，宫室倾覆，寺观灰烬，庙塔丘墟。墙被蒿艾，巷罗荆棘。野兽穴于荒阶，山鸟巢于庭树。游儿牧豎，踳躅于九逵；农夫耕老，艺黍于双阙。《麦秀》之感，非独殷墟；《黍离》之悲，信哉周室。

京城表里，凡有一千馀寺，今日寥廓，钟声罕闻。恐后世无传，

## 【今译】

士民富豪抛弃钱财就好比遗忘了自己的足迹。因此寺院鳞次栉比，宝塔星罗棋布，竞相描摹佛的天上的身姿，刻画他在山中的形象。金刹好像要与灵台一比高低，殿宇与阿房宫的规模不相上下，何止是木材雕画似锦，地面着色如画！

至永熙（532—534）之世频遭动乱，朝廷迁都于邺，各寺僧尼也同时移居。到了武定五年（547）丁卯之岁，我因公事路过，再次观赏洛阳。城墙毁坏，官室倒塌，寺院归于灰烬，庙塔变成废墟。墙上布满野草，巷中荆棘丛生，荒废的台阶栖息着野兽，庭中的树木任山鸟筑巢。玩耍的孩子和牧童在大道上踏步不前，种田的老汉和农夫在皇宫门前种植禾黍。像《诗经·麦秀》中描写的感怀，不只是目睹殷都废墟的人才会有；像《诗经·黍离》中抒发的悲情，实在是痛心于周代朝政的灭亡。

京城内外共有一千多所佛寺，现在废毁了，钟声也听不到。恐怕





and horses<sup>15</sup>, as generously as if they were slipping shoes from off their feet. The people and wealthy families parted with their treasures as easily as with forgotten rubbish<sup>16</sup>. As a result, Buddhist temples<sup>17</sup> were built side by side, and stūpas rose up in row after row. People competed among themselves in making or copying the Buddha's portraits<sup>18</sup>. Golden stūpas matched the imperial observatory in height, and Buddhist lecture halls were as magnificent as the [ostentatiously wasteful] A-pang [Palaces of the Qin dynasty (221–207 B.C.)]. Indeed, [Buddhist activity was so intense] that it was not merely a matter of clothing wooden [figures] in silk or painting earthen [idols] in rich colors<sup>19</sup>.

During the troubled years of Yong-xi period (Always Joyful) (A.D. 532–534)<sup>20</sup>, the emperor moved to Ye, accompanied by monks of various temples. It was not until the fifth year of the Wu-ding period (Conclusion of Military Operations) (A.D. 547)—also known as the Ding-mao year—that I revisited Luo-yang while on official duty. The outer and inner city walls lay in ruins, palaces were toppled, temples and monasteries were in ashes, and stūpas were no more than deserted graves. Walls were covered with wild vines, and streets were dotted with thorny bushes. Wild beasts lived under deserted stairways, and mountain birds bode in trees of abandoned courtyards. Wandering youngsters and cowherds walked back and forth through the nine intersections<sup>21</sup> of the city, while farmers and ploughers<sup>22</sup> grew crops on the grounds where palace towers once stood. Then I began to realize that it was not [Wei-zi (12th cent. B.C.)] alone who lamented over the ruins of the Yin (trad. 1765–1123 B.C.)<sup>23</sup>, and indeed any loyal Zhou (trad. 1122–256 B.C.) official would have been saddened at the sight of millet grown in deserted palace grounds<sup>24</sup>!

Within and without the capital city there had been more than one thousand temples<sup>25</sup>. Today they are mostly demolished; one can not hear the tolling of bells at all. Out of fear that they might not be known to later



## 【原文】

故撰斯记。然寺数最多，不可遍写，今之所录，止大伽蓝，其中小者，取其祥异，世谛俗事，因而出之。先以城内为始，次及城外。表列门名，以记远近。凡为五篇。余才非著述，多有遗漏，后之君子，详其阙焉。

太和十七年，高祖迁都洛阳，诏司空公穆亮营造宫室。洛阳城门，依魏晋旧名。

东面有三门：北头第一门曰建春门。

汉曰上东门，阮籍诗曰“步出上东门”是也。魏晋曰建春门，高祖因而不改。

次南曰东阳门。

汉曰中东门。魏晋曰东阳门，高祖因而不改。

## 【今译】

后世无法了解，所以撰写此记。但寺数甚多，不能全作描写，这里所记录的，限于大伽蓝，那些中、小伽蓝则选取有怪异传闻的，因而引出世俗之事。先从城内写起，顺次及于城外。列出城门的名称，以便记叙远近方位。全书由五篇组成。我缺乏著书立说的才能，难免多有遗漏，将来的博雅学士，请一一指出我的不足之处。

太和十七年（493），高祖决定将国都迁往洛阳，下令司空大臣穆亮建造宫殿。洛阳的城门则沿用魏晋时的旧名。

东面有三座城门：最北端的门叫建春门。

在汉代叫上东门，阮籍的诗句有“步出上东门”，就是指此。魏晋时叫建春门，高祖沿用不改。

顺次靠南的叫东阳门。

在汉代叫中东门。魏晋时叫东阳门，高祖沿用不改。



generations, I have compiled this record. Nevertheless, it is rather difficult to give an account of every single temple, since there were simply too many<sup>26</sup> of them. I now keep a record of only the large temples, but I also select some small ones if there are auspicious or unusual stories pertaining to them. I have taken this opportunity to record actual events, including nonreligious affairs<sup>27</sup>. I started off with [temples] within the city, followed by those outside. I list the names of city gates in order to record the distance between the various temples. Altogether<sup>28</sup> there are five chapters. Not a gifted narrator, I am afraid that I have overlooked [important points]. I only hope that gentlemen of later years will make additions to what I have missed.

In the seventeenth year of Tai-he (Grand Peace) (A.D. 493), [when] Emperor Gao-zu [decided to] move the capital of the nation to Luo-yang, he ordered the Grand Minister of Public Works (*Si-tu-gong*), Mu Liang [to supervise] the construction of palaces which were completed two years later<sup>29</sup>. Names of city gates of Luo-yang followed those in use during the Wei and Jin periods.

There were three gates on the east side of the city wall. Starting from the north end, the first was known as Jian-chun Gate (Gate of Establishing Spring)<sup>30</sup>.

During the Han it was called Shang-dong Gate (Upper East Gate), which was referred to in Ruan-Ji (A.D. 210-263) poem "Walking out of the Upper East Gate"<sup>31</sup>. During the Wei-Jin Period the name was changed to Jian-chun—a name kept in use by Emperor Gao-zu.

Next to the south was the Dong-yang Gate (Gate of Eastern Sunlight).

During the Han it was known as Zhong-dong Gate (Central Gate on the East Side)<sup>32</sup> but it was changed to Dong-yang during the Wei-Jin period. Emperor Gao-zu also kept this Wei-Jin name.

## 【原文】

次南曰青阳门。

汉曰望京门，魏晋曰清明门，高祖改为青阳门。

南面有四门：东头第一门曰开阳门。

初，汉光武迁都洛阳，作此门始成，而未有名，忽夜中有柱自来在楼上。后琅琊郡开阳县言南门一柱飞去，使来视之，则是也。遂以“开阳”为名。自魏及晋因而不改，高祖亦然。

次西曰平昌门。

汉曰平门。魏晋曰平昌门，高祖因而不改。

次西曰宣阳门。

汉曰小苑门。魏晋曰宣阳门，高祖因而不改。

次西曰津阳门。

汉曰津门。魏晋曰津阳门，高祖因而不改。

## 【今译】

再靠南的叫青阳门。

在汉代叫望京门，魏晋时叫清明门，高祖改为青阳门。

南面有四座城门：最东端的门叫开阳门。

当初，汉光武帝把国都迁往洛阳，这座城门才建成时，还没有名称，忽然有一夜楼上自动出现一根柱子，后来琅琊郡开阳县向朝廷报告，南门的一根柱子不翼而飞，朝廷来人视察，正是那根柱子，因此就以“开阳”为城门之名。从魏到晋沿用而不改，高祖也是如此。

顺次靠西的叫平昌门。

在汉代叫平门。魏晋时叫平昌门，高祖沿用不改。

顺次靠西的叫宣阳门。

在汉代叫小苑门。魏晋时叫宣阳门，高祖沿用不改。

再靠西的叫津阳门。

在汉代叫津门。魏晋时叫津阳门，高祖沿用不改。



Still further to the south was the Qing-yang Gate (Blue and Sunlit Gate).

Although during the Han it was known as the Wang-ying Gate (Gate of Gazing at the Capital)<sup>33</sup>, the name was changed to Qing-ming Gate (Gate of the Clear and Bright) during the Wei-Jin period. Emperor Gao-zu later changed the name again to Qing-yang<sup>34</sup>.

There were four gates<sup>35</sup> on the south side of the city wall. The first gate<sup>36</sup> from the east end was known as the Kai-yang Gate.

Long ago, after Emperor Guang-wu of the Han (regnant A.D. 25-57) moved the capital to Luo-yang, and upon the completion of the gate, there had been no name for it. Suddenly one night a pillar appeared in the gate tower. Later, the Kai-yang prefecture of the Lang-ya commandery (modern Yan-zhou, Shandong) reported that a pillar attached to the south gate had flown away. A messenger was sent to inspect the lost pillar, and certified that this was the missing one. Consequently, the gate was named Kai-yang. The name remained unchanged from Wei through Jin, and also under Emperor Gao-zu.

Next to the west was the Ping-chang Gate (Gate of Peace and Prosperity).

During the Han it was called the Ping Gate (Peace Gate)<sup>37</sup>, but was renamed Ping-chang Gate during the Wei-Jin period. Emperor Gao-zu kept the name unchanged.

Next to the west was the Xuan-yang Gate (Gate of Brilliant Sunlight).

During the Han it was called the Xiao-yuan Gate (Gate of the Small Park), but was changed to Xuan-yang during the Wei-Jin period. Emperor Gao-zu kept the name in use<sup>38</sup>.

Still next to the west was the Jin-yang Gate (Gate of the Sunlit Ford)<sup>39</sup>.

Known as the Jin-yang Gate in the Wei-Jin period, it was originally known as the Jin Gate (Ford Gate)<sup>40</sup> during the Han. Emperor Gao-zu also retained the usage of the Wei-Jin name.



## 【原文】

西面有四门：南头第一门曰西明门。

汉曰广阳门，魏晋因而不改，高祖改为西明门。

次北曰西阳门。

汉曰雍门，魏晋曰西明门，高祖改为西阳门。

次北曰阊阖门。

汉曰上西门。上有铜璇玑玉衡，以齐七政。魏晋曰阊阖门，高祖因而不改。

次北曰承明门。

承明者，高祖所立，当金墉城前东西大道。迁京之始，宫阙未就，高祖住在金墉城。城西有王南寺，高祖数诣寺（与）沙门论义，故通此门，而未有名，世人谓之“新门”。时王公

## 【今译】

西面有四座城门：最南端的门叫西明门。

在汉代叫广阳门，魏晋时沿用而不改，高祖改为西明门。

顺次靠北的叫西阳门。

在汉代叫雍门，魏晋时叫西明门，高祖改为西阳门。

顺次靠北的叫阊阖门。

在汉代叫上西门。上面放置铜制的天文仪器，观测日月星辰的运行，从而忖度时政方面有否失误。魏晋时叫阊阖门，高祖沿用不改。

再靠北的叫承明门。

承明门为高祖所建，正当金墉城前的东西大道。迁都初期，宫殿尚未造好，高祖住在金墉城。城西有王南寺，高祖多次前往此寺与沙门谈论教义，因而开设了此门，可是没有起名，世人以“新门”相称。当时公卿臣僚常常在新门迎候皇帝的大驾，



These were four gates on the west side of the city wall. The first gate in the south was the Xi-ming Gate (Gate of Western Brilliance).

During the Han it was known as the Guang-yang Gate (Gate of Broad Sunlight), a name followed in the Wei-Jin period without change. Emperor Gao-zu, however, changed it to Xi-ming.

Next to the north was the Xi-yang Gate (Gate of Western Sunlight).

During the Han it was called the Yong Gate (Gate of Harmony)<sup>41</sup> but was changed to Xi-ming<sup>42</sup> in the Wei-Jin period. Emperor Gao-zu changed it again to Xi-yang.

Next to the north was the Chang-he Gate (The Heavenly Gate or the Gate of the Purple Palace in Heaven)<sup>43</sup>.

During the Han it was known as the Shang-xi Gate (Upper West Gate). Above the gate were placed *ji* and *heng* astronomical instruments made, respectively, of bronze and jade. They were used to measure the movements of the sun, the moon, and the five constellations<sup>44</sup>. It was renamed Chang-he in the Wei-sin period—a name kept in use by Emperor Gao-zu.

Still farther to the north was the Cheng-ming Gate (Receipt of Brilliance Gate).

The gate known as Cheng-ming was built on the orders of Emperor Gao-zu. It faced the east-west main street and lay in front of the Jin-yong City (Golden-walled City)<sup>45</sup>.

When the capital was moved to Luo-yang and the palaces were being built, Emperor Gao-zu stayed in Jin-yong City. To the west of the city was the Wang-nan Temple (Temple to the South of His Majesty), frequented by the emperor when he discussed Buddhist doctrine with the monks. The gate was opened [to facilitate imperial visits]. Since the gate had no name, people referred to it as the New Gate, where princes



## 【原文】

卿士常迎驾于新门，高祖谓御史中尉李彪曰：“曹植诗云‘谒帝承明庐’，此门宜以‘承明’为称。”遂名之。

北面有二门：西头曰大夏门。

汉曰夏门。魏晋曰大夏门，（高祖因而不改。）宣武帝造三层楼，去地二十丈。洛阳城门楼皆两重，去地百尺，惟大夏门甍栋干云。

东头曰广莫门。

汉曰穀门。魏晋曰广莫门，高祖因而不改。  
自广莫门以西，至于大夏门，宫观相连，被诸城上也。  
门有三道，所谓九轨。

## 【今译】

高祖对御史中尉李彪说：“曹植的诗中说‘谒帝承明庐’，这个门用‘承明’来称呼很适宜。”所以就这样取名了。

北面有两座城门：西端的叫大夏门。

在汉代叫夏门，魏晋时叫大夏门，高祖沿用不改。宣武帝建造了三层楼，离地二十丈。洛阳城门的门楼都是两层，离地百尺，只有大夏门的屋栋高入云霄。

东端的叫广莫门。

在汉代叫穀门，魏晋时叫广莫门，高祖沿用不改。  
从广莫门以西到大夏门之间，宫廷建筑连成一片，笼罩了城墙。  
每座城门连通的道路有三条，就是所谓可容九辆车并行的大道。





and ranking officials gathered to greet the visiting emperor. The emperor spoke to Li Biao, the Chief Censor (*Yu-shi zhong-wei*)<sup>46</sup>, saying: "Cao Zhi's poem reads: 'I called on the emperor at the Cheng-ming Residence'<sup>47</sup>. So it is proper that the gate be named Cheng-ming." It was therefore so named.

There were two gates on the north side of the city wall. On the west end was the Da-xia Gate (Gate of Great China).

During the Han it was called the Xia Gate (Gate of China)<sup>48</sup>, but was changed to Da-xia during the Wei-Jin period. Emperor Gao-Zu kept the name in use<sup>49</sup>. Emperor Xuan-wu (regnant A.D. 499-515)<sup>50</sup> had a three-storied tower built above it, reaching two hundred Chinese feet above the ground. All towers on the city gates of Luo-yang had only two stories, which were one hundred Chinese feet above the ground, except the one on the Da-xia Gate [which doubled the normal height]. Its beams thus appeared to pierce the clouds.

On the west side was the Guang-mo Gate (Gate of the Broad and Boundless)<sup>51</sup>.

During the Han it was known as the Gu Gate (Grain Gate)<sup>52</sup>, but was changed to Guang-mo in the Wei-Jin period. Emperor Gao-zu retained the name. Westward from the Guang-mo Gate, and stretching out as far as the Da-xia Gate, palaces and other buildings were linked to one another, obscuring the city walls.

Each gate was connected with [a thoroughfare] of three [lanes], wide enough to allow nine carriages to pass side by side<sup>53</sup>.

## 卷一 城内

### 【原文】

永宁寺，熙平元年灵太后胡氏所立也，在宫前阊阖门南一里御道西。

其寺东有太尉府，西对永康里，南界昭玄曹，北邻御史台。阊阖门前御道东有左卫府，府南有司徒府。司徒府南有国子学，堂内有孔丘像，颜渊问仁、子路问政在侧。国子学南有宗正寺，寺南有太庙，庙南有护军府，府南有衣冠里。御道西有右卫

### 【今译】

永宁寺，熙平元年（516）由灵太后胡氏所建。位于宫城正南面的阊阖门南一里，御道的西侧。

此寺的东侧有太尉府，西与永康里相对，南与昭玄曹交界，北与御史台相邻。阊阖门前，御道东侧有左卫府，府南有司徒府。司徒府南有国子学堂，学堂内有孔子像，两侧是向孔子问仁的颜渊和问政的子路。国子学南有宗正寺，寺南有太庙，庙南有护军府，府南有衣冠里。御道西侧有右卫府，



## Chapter 1

### The Inner City

#### (*Cheng-nei*)

The Yong-ning Monastery<sup>1</sup> was constructed in the first year of the Xi-ping period (Prosperous and Peaceful) (A.D. 516), by decree of Empress Dowager Ling, whose surname was Hu. It was located one *li*<sup>2</sup> south of the Chang-he Gate on the west side of the Imperial Drive (*Yu-dao*)<sup>3</sup>, facing the palace grounds. To the east of the monastery was the Office of the Grand Commandant (*Tai-wei fu*); to the west, the Ward of Eternal Health (Yong-kang *li*); to the south, the Office of Revealed Mysteries (*Zhao-xuan cao*, that is, the Office of Religious Affairs)<sup>4</sup>. On the north side, it bordered on the Tribunal of Censors (*Yu-shi tai*).

East of the Imperial Drive, and in front of the Chang-he Gate, was the Office of the Imperial Guards of the Left (*Zuo-wei fu*), and south of that was the Office of the Minister of Public Instruction (*Si-tu fu*). South of the *Si-tu fu* was the Academy for the Sons of the Noblemen (*Guo-zi xue-tang*), which contained [three] statues—Confucius in the center, flanked on one side by Yan-Yuan [514–483 B.C., a favorite disciple of Confucius, 551–479 B.C.], inquiring about the meaning of good-heartedness, and on the other side by Zi-lu [543–480 B.C., another favorite disciple of Confucius], asking about government. South of the academy was the Office of the Imperial Clan (*Zong-zheng si*), and beyond that the Shrine of Imperial Ancestors (*Tai-miao*). Further to the south was the Office of the Protector of the Army (*Hu-jun fu*), and finally the Gentry's Ward (*Yi-guan li*).



## 【原文】

府，府南有太尉府，府南有将作曹，曹南有九级府，府南有太社，社南有凌阴里，即四朝时藏冰处也。

中有九层浮图一所，架木为之，举高九十丈。上有金刹，复高十丈，合去地一千尺。去京师百里，已遥见之。初，掘基至黄泉下，得金像三十躯，太后以为信法之征，是以营建过度也。刹上有金宝瓶，容二十五斛。宝瓶下有承露金盘一十一重，周匝皆垂金铎。复有铁锁四道，引刹向浮图四角，锁上亦有金铎。铎大小如一石瓮子。浮图有九级，角角皆悬金铎，合上下有一百三十铎。浮图有四面，面有三户六窗，并皆朱漆。扉上各有五行金钉，合有五千四百枚。复有金环铺首。殫土木之

## 【今译】

府南有太尉府，府南有将作曹，曹南有九级府，府南有太社，社南有凌阴里，也就是西晋四代皇帝的藏冰之处。

寺院内有一座九层佛塔，用木材构筑而成，高达九十丈。顶上还有十丈高的金色刹竿，合计离地一千尺。在距京城百里之外，已能遥遥望见。当初，地基挖掘到地下深处时，获得三十尊金佛像，太后认为这是信仰佛法的先兆，所以建筑规模过分出格。刹竿上有金宝瓶，容量达二十五斛。宝瓶下有一个十一层的承露金盘，四周都垂着金铃。另外还有四根铁索，从刹竿伸向佛塔四角，铁索上也有金铃。金铃的大小就像一个小口大腹的陶瓮。佛塔有九层，每一转角都悬着金铃，上下合起来有一百三十个。佛塔有四面，每面有三扇门、六扇窗，门都涂了红漆。每扇门面上各有五行金钉，全部加起来有五千四百枚。另外还有金环铺首。



On the west of the Imperial Drive was the Office of the Imperial Guards on the Right (*You-wei fu*), and south of that was the Office of the Grand Commandant.

Extending southward, in order, were the Office of the Court Architect (*Jiang-zuo cao*), the Office of *Jiu ji fu*, "Nine-story" Office<sup>5</sup>, and the Temple of the Earth (*Tai-she*). At the southernmost edge was the Ward of Ice Storehouse (*Ling-yin li*)<sup>6</sup> where ice had been stored for the use of the previous four reigns<sup>7</sup>.

Within the precincts [of the monastery] was a nine-storied wooden stūpa. Rising nine hundred Chinese feet above the ground, it formed the base for a mast that extended for another one hundred Chinese feet; thus together they soared one thousand Chinese feet above the ground, and could be seen as far away from the capital as one hundred *li*. In the course of excavating for the construction of the monastery, thirty golden statues were found deep underground; this was interpreted as an auspicious reward for the empress dowager's conversion to Buddhism. As a result, she spent all the more lavishly on its construction.

On the top of the mast was a golden jar inlaid with precious stones. It had the capacity of twenty-five piculs<sup>8</sup>. Underneath the bejeweled jar were thirty tiers of golden plates to receive the dew. Golden bells hung from each of the plates. In addition, chains linked the mast with each of the four corners of the stūpa. Golden bells, each about the size of a stone jar were also suspended from the linkworks.

There were nine roofs, one for each story, with golden bells suspended from the corner of each one, totaling 120 in all. The stūpa had four sides, each having three doors and six windows. Painted in vermilion, each door had five rows of gold nails. Altogether there were 5,400 nails on twenty-four panels of twelve double doors. In addition, the doors were adorned



## 【原文】

功，穷造形之巧，佛事精妙，不可思议，绣柱金铺，骇人心目。至于高风永夜，宝铎和鸣，铿锵之声，闻及十馀里。

浮图北有佛殿一所，形如太极殿。中有丈八金像一躯，中长金像十躯，绣珠像三躯，金织成像五躯，玉像二躯。作工奇巧，冠于当世。僧房楼观，一千馀间，雕梁粉壁，青琐绮疏，难得而言。栝柏椿松，扶疏檐霱；丛竹香草，布护阶墀。是以常景碑云：“须弥宝殿，兜率净宫，莫尚于斯也。”外国所献经像，皆在此寺。

寺院墙皆施短椽，以瓦覆之，若今宫墙也。四面各开一门。南门楼三重，通三阁道，去地二十丈，形制似今端门。图以云气，画彩仙灵，列钱青琐，赫奕华丽。拱门有四力士、四狮子，饰以金银，

## 【今译】

竭尽了建筑的艰难和造形的精巧，这种佛教设施的精妙，令人感到不可思议，如锦似绣的柱子和金光灿灿的铺首，使人目眩心惊。每当秋夜深深、长风冷冷，金铃也应和鸣响，铿锵有力的声音，能传到十几里以外。

佛塔北面有一座佛殿，构架与太极殿相似。殿内有一丈八尺高的金佛像一尊，和真人的身材相同的金佛像十尊，用真珠镶嵌的佛像三尊，用金线编织的佛像五尊，玉佛像两尊，制作的精巧，达到当时的最高水平。僧房与楼阁，共有一千多间，雕梁白壁，彩门绮窗，难以用语言表述。栝、柏、椿、松，枝叶繁茂，遮蔽着屋檐；竹丛、香草，生意盎然，散布于台阶。所以常景的碑文中说：“须弥山的宝殿，兜率天的神官，也不能与此寺媲美。”外国进献的经卷和佛像，也都收藏于此寺。

佛寺的院墙都安上短椽子，再盖上瓦，如同现在的宫墙。四面各开一门。南面的门楼是三层，可通三条阁道，高达二十丈，它的构架就像现在的端门。门楼上绘有缭绕的云雾，画出仙人神灵的身姿；有图案的门板上，像排列钱币似的，连缀着金饰品，光彩而华丽。拱门下有四个大力士



with knockers made of golden rings. The construction embodied the best of masonry and carpentry. The elegance of its design and its excellence as an example of Buddhist architecture was almost unimaginable. Its carved beams and gold door-knockers fascinated the eye. On long nights when there was a strong wind, the harmonious jingling of the bejeweled bells could be heard more than ten *li* away.

North of the stūpa was a Buddhist hall, which was shaped like the Palace of the Great Ultimate (*Tai-ji dian*). In the hall was a golden statue of the Buddha eighteen Chinese feet high, along with ten medium-sized images—three of sewn pearls, five of woven golden threads, and two of jade. The superb artistry was matchless, unparalleled in its day.

The monastery had over one thousand cloisters for the monks, both single cloisters and multilevel ones, decorated with carved beams and painted walls. The doors, painted in blue designs, had carved windows<sup>9</sup>. The beauty of the cloisters was beyond description. Luxuriant cypress, juniper, and pine trees brushed the eaves of the building, while bamboo groves and aromatic plants lined the courtyards and stairways. [For this monastery] Chang Jing wrote a stone inscription that reads [in part]: “Even the Grand Hall on Mt. Sumeru<sup>10</sup> and the Palace of Purity in Tusita Heaven<sup>11</sup> are no match for this.”

Here were kept all the sūtras and Buddhist images presented by foreign countries. The walls of the monastery were all covered with short rafters beneath the tiles in the same style as our contemporary palace walls. There were gates in each of the four directions. The tower on the South Gate rose two hundred Chinese feet above the ground, had three stories, each with an archway, and was shaped like the present-day Duan-men (meaning South Gate) of the palace grounds. On the gate and latticed windows were paintings of patterned clouds and colored fairies—all magnificent and beautiful.



## 【原文】

加之珠玉，庄严焕炳，世所未闻。东西两门，亦皆如之，所可异者，唯楼两重。北门一道，上不施屋，似乌头门。

其四门外，皆树以青槐，亘以绿水，京邑行人，多庇其下。路断飞尘，不由滄云之润；清风送凉，岂藉合欢之发？

诏中书舍人常景为寺碑文。

景字永昌，河内人也。敏学博通，知名海内。太和十九年，为高祖所器，拔为律博士，刑法疑狱，多访于景。正始初，诏刊律令，永作通式，敕景共治书侍御史高僧裕、羽林监王元龟、尚书郎祖莹、员外散骑侍郎李琰之等撰集其事。又诏太师彭城王勰、青州刺史刘芳入预其议。景讨正科条，商榷古今，

## 【今译】

和四头狮子，以金银作装饰，再镶上珠玉，庄严而灿烂，是世人从未听说过的。东、西两门也都如此，所不同的，只是门楼为两层而已。唯独北面这一道门上没有设置楼阁，就像乌头门的样子。

这四道门之外，种上了绿荫浓重的槐树，环绕着清碧澄澈的流水，来往于京城行人，大多在树荫下得到荫护。路上没有飞扬的尘埃，这不靠湿云润泽；清风送来凉爽，也无需手摇团扇。

中书舍人常景被皇帝指令撰写此寺的碑文。

常景字永昌，是河内人。以博学聪颖，闻名于天下。太和十九年（495），得到高祖的器重，提拔为律博士，刑法上的疑难案子，大多征求他的意见。正始初年，皇帝下令制定律令，以作魏朝永远的法典，指定常景与治书侍御史高僧裕、羽林监王元龟、尚书郎祖莹、员外散骑侍郎李琰之等人，共同从事编写。还指派太师彭城王元勰、青州刺史刘芳参预计议。常景审定核正条令，





Under the archway were images of four guardians and four lions, adorned with gold, silver, pearls, and rare stones. Such an imposing and splendid scene could not be found elsewhere.

The East and West Gates resembled the South Gate, except that the towers had only two stories. The North Gate had no tower; in this it resembled the Wu-tou Gate (Black-head Gate)<sup>12</sup>.

Outside the four gates were planted green locust trees on the bank of clean streams<sup>13</sup>. Travelers in the capital city often took shelter there. On the street, the freedom from dust in the air was not the result of moisture from the rain clouds; the cooling effect accompanying the pleasing breeze did not originate from round-shaped fans<sup>14</sup>. [Instead, they were blessings of this physical environment.]<sup>15</sup>

Chang Jing, Drafter of the Central Secretariat (*Zhong-shu she-ren*), was ordered by the court to prepare a stone inscription for the monastery<sup>16</sup>.

[Chang] Jing, styled Yong-chang, was a native of He-nei<sup>17</sup>. He was known nationally for his sagacity and learning. In the nineteenth year of the Tai-he period (A.D.495), Emperor Xiao-wen, impressed by his talents, promoted him to the post of Erudite of the Law (*Lu-xue bo shi*). Thus he was often consulted on difficult legal cases. In the early Zheng-shi period (The Beginning of Justice) (*ca.* A.D. 504)<sup>18</sup>, he was ordered to codify a permanent legal system with Gao Seng-you, Associate Censor in charge of Drafting (*Zhi-shu shi-yu-shi*); Wang Yuan-gui Commander of the Plumed Forest Guards [so named because the many feathers around the arrows and the butts gave the appearance of a forest] (*Yu-lin chi jian*); Zu Ying<sup>19</sup>, Secretary in the Department of State Affairs (*Shang-shu lang*); and Li Yan-zhi<sup>20</sup>, Cavalier Attendant (*Yuan-wai san-ji shi-lang*). The Prince of Peng-cheng [Yuan] Xie<sup>21</sup>, the Grand Preceptor (*Tai-shi*), and Liu Fang<sup>22</sup>, Governor (Ci-shi) of Qing-zhou, were also ordered to take part in these



## 【原文】

甚有伦序，见行于世，今律二十篇是也。又共芳造洛阳宫殿门阁之名，经途里邑之号。出除长安令，时人比之潘岳。其后历位中书舍人、黄门侍郎、秘书监、幽州刺史、仪同三司。学徒以为荣焉。景入参近侍，出为侯牧，居室贫俭，事等农家，唯有经史，盈车满架。所著文集数百余篇，给事中封讳伯作序行于世。

装饰毕功，明帝与太后共登之。视宫中如掌内，临京师若家庭。以其目见宫中，禁人不听升之。衡之尝与河南尹胡孝世共登之，下临云雨，信哉不虚！

时有西域沙门菩提达摩者，波斯国胡人也。起自荒裔，来游中

## 【今译】

斟酌以往的旧律和当前的实情，制定的律令很有体系，通行于世。这就是现在的律令二十篇。另外，还与刘芳一起制定洛阳官殿、门楼的名称，以及道路、里巷的称号。出任长安令，当时人把他比作潘岳。此后历任中书舍人、黄门侍郎、秘书监、幽州刺史、仪同三司。向他问学的后辈以出于他的门下为荣。常景虽然在朝中担任皇帝身边亲近的大臣，出朝任州郡刺史，可是个人的生活却十分俭朴，与农家没有什么差别，只有经史书籍，装起来满车，摆出来满架。所著文集收文数百篇，由给事中封讳伯作序刊行于世。

营建装饰完成后，明帝与太后一起登上此塔。从塔上俯视宫内如同掌中之物，眺望京城就好像居民的庭院。因为可以清楚地看见宫内，所以禁止任何人登塔。我杨衡之以前曾与河南尹胡孝世一起登上此塔，所谓俯视云雨，确实一点不假。

当时有一位西域僧人，名叫菩提达摩，是波斯国（今伊朗）胡人，



deliberations. In examining the existing regulations and checking ancient clauses against the current ones, [Chang] Jing exhibited his organizational ability. The law, in twenty chapters, was adopted and at this writing is still in use. In cooperation with [Liu] Fang, he suggested names for the palaces, halls, roads, wards, and suburbs of Luo-yang. Later, he was transferred from the capital post to be the Prefect (*Ling*) of Chang-an. His contemporaries compared him to Pan Yue<sup>23</sup>. After this he served as the Drafter of the Central Secretariat, Attending Secretary within the Imperial Yellow Gate (*Huang-men shi-lang*), Supervisor of Archives, Governor of You-zhou, and Palatine Ceremonially Equal to the Three Authorities (*You-zhou ci-shi yi-tong san-si*)<sup>24</sup>. Because of [his successful official career], his disciples felt much honored.

Even though Chang Jing had at times served as a close attendant to the emperor in the capital and at other times served as governor outside of it, he led an ascetic and simple life, working the same as an ordinary farmer. His only possessions consisted of classical and historical books, which filled his carriages when traveling and his shelves when at home. Several hundred essays written by him and prefaced by Feng Wei-bo<sup>25</sup>, the Supervising Secretary (*Ji-shi*), are still available today.

After the ornamentation was finished, Emperor Ming (regnant A.D.515-528) and Empress Dowager [Hu] both ascended [the tower]. They viewed the palaces [as if] in their own palms, and gazed down upon the national capital [as if] in their own courtyard. To keep the interior of the palaces from public view, people were denied access to the tower.

Hu Xiao-shi, Metropolitan Prefect of He-nan (*He-nan yin*) and I once ascended the tower. In truth, it seemed as if the clouds and rain were below us!

The monk Bodhidharma of the Western Regions (*Xi-yu*) was a native of



## 【原文】

土。见金盘炫日，光照云表，宝铎含风，响出天外，歌咏赞叹，实是神功。自云年一百五十岁，历涉诸国，靡不周遍，而此寺精丽，阎浮所无也；极佛境界，亦未有此。口唱南无，合掌连日。

至孝昌二年中，大风发屋拔树，刹上宝瓶，随风而落，入地丈馀。复命工匠更铸新瓶。

建义元年，太原王尔朱荣总士马于此寺。

荣字天宝，北地秀容人也。世为第一领民酋长，博陵郡公。部落八千馀，家有马数万匹，富等天府。武泰元年二月中，

## 【今译】

从边远之国，到中国来游历。见塔上的金盘与太阳争辉，光芒照射于云层；听金铃迎风鸣，声音远传于天外，他歌咏赞叹，赞叹不已，认为一定是鬼斧神工。自称年纪已一百五十岁，遍游各国，足迹所历，没有遗漏，而此寺的精致美丽，在人间是看不到的；在佛国境界里，也没有比得上它的。于是口唱南无，连续数日合掌示敬。

到了孝昌二年（526），有一场大风掀开屋顶，拔起树木，刹竿上的宝瓶被吹落，扎进地里一丈多深。于是命令工匠铸造新的宝瓶。

建义元年（528），太原王尔朱荣在此寺结集军队。

尔朱荣，字天宝，是北方秀容郡人。世代做第一领民酋长，封博陵郡公。所统领的部落有八千多个，拥有数万匹马，富裕得如同天府之国。武泰元年（528）二月，孝明帝驾崩，



Persia<sup>26</sup>. He came from the desolate frontier to visit China. Having seen the golden plates making dazzling reflections of the sunlight and shining into the clouds, and having heard the ringing of bejeweled bells lofted into the sky by the wind, he sang praises of this extraordinary artistic achievement.

Bodhidharma claimed at that time to be one hundred fifty years old. But during his extensive travels, which had taken him to every corner of many countries, nowhere in the sullied world<sup>27</sup> had he seen a monastery as elegant and beautiful as this one. Not even in Buddha's realm of ultimate things<sup>28</sup> was there anything like this. He chanted *namah*—an expression of complete submission to the Buddha—and held his palms together for several days after having seen it.

In the second year of the Xiao-chang period (A.D. 526), a hurricane upturned many houses and uprooted many trees [in Luo-yang]. The golden vase on top of the mast was also blown off by the wind and fell more than ten Chinese feet into the ground. [The court] once again ordered workers to recast a new vase.

In the first year of the Jian-yi period (To Establish Justice) (A.D. 528), Er-zhu Rung, Prince of Tai-yuan, stationed his army and cavalry in this monastery<sup>29</sup>.

[Er-zhu] Rong, styled Tian-bao, was a native of Northern Xiu-rong commandery<sup>30</sup>. For [two] generations his father and he had held the title Chieftain of the First Rank in Charge of the People (*Di-yi ling-min qiu-zhang*)<sup>31</sup>, Duke of Bo-ling Commandery<sup>32</sup>, exercising jurisdiction over more than eight thousand groups<sup>33</sup> of tribesmen. He was in possession of scores of thousands of horses<sup>34</sup>, and his wealth equaled that of [the vassal of] a rich kingdom<sup>35</sup>.

In the second month of the first year of the Wu-tai period (Mighty and Peaceful) (March 31, A.D. 528)<sup>36</sup>, Emperor [Su-zong] died without



## 【原文】

帝崩无子，立临洮王世子钊以绍大业，年三岁，太后贪秉朝政，故以立之。荣谓并州刺史元天穆曰：“皇帝晏驾，春秋十九，海内士庶，犹曰幼君。况今奉未言之儿，以临天下，而望升平，其可得乎？吾世荷国恩，不能坐看成败，今欲以铁马五千，赴哀山陵，兼问侍臣帝崩之由，君竟谓何如？”穆曰：“明公世跨并肆，雄才杰出，部落之民，控弦一万。若能行废立之事，伊霍复见于今日。”

荣即共穆结异姓兄弟。穆年大，荣兄事之。荣为盟主，穆亦拜荣。于是密议长君诸王之中不知谁应当璧。遂于晋阳，

## 【今译】

没有儿子，于是就立临洮王元宝晖的嫡长子元钊为帝以继承大业，这时元钊才三岁，因为胡太后企图执掌朝政，所以才立元钊为帝。尔朱荣对并州刺史元天穆说：“皇帝驾崩时，年龄十九，天下官吏百姓都认为皇帝年纪太小。何况现在把一个不会开口说话的孩子扶上帝位，要想天下昌盛太平，这怎么可能？我家世世代代领受魏国的恩德，不能坐看国家的败落，我现在准备率领铁甲骑兵五千，前往帝陵致哀，并向侍臣追问皇帝驾崩的原因，你以为如何？”元天穆答道：“足下世袭并州和肆州的长官，雄才杰出，加上部落的民众引弓习射的，有一万人。如果能支配天子废立的大事，那么就是伊尹、霍光转世再生于今天。”

尔朱荣随即与元天穆结为异姓兄弟。元天穆年长，尔朱荣以兄长的礼貌对待他。尔朱荣是盟主，元天穆也拜敬尔朱荣。于是密议，在年长的诸王之中，有谁可出任社稷之主。于是在



an heir. [Yuan] Zhao, heir to the Prince of Lin-tao, was chosen as successor. At the time of his ascension, the [young] emperor was only three years old. The Empress Dowager [Hu], obsessed by her greedy desire for control of the government, [chose] and enthroned [this infant emperor]<sup>37</sup>.

[Er-zhu] Rung spoke to Yuan Tian-mu, Governor of Bing-zhou<sup>38</sup>, "When the [late] emperor died<sup>39</sup> at nineteen years of age, people still considered him an immature ruler. How much less likely that an infant, as yet unable to speak, can rule the nation so that we may expect peace and prosperity? For generations we [of my family] have received court favor. I can not sit idly by, watching success turn to failure. Now I would like to lead a five thousand iron-armored<sup>40</sup> cavalry to hurry to express their grief at the imperial grave and at the same time inquire from attending ministers the causes leading to the imperial death<sup>41</sup>. How would you respond, in all honesty, [to my proposal]?"<sup>42</sup>

[Yuan Tian-]mu replied: "For generations your Lordship has ruled the Provinces Bing-zhou and Si-zhou with outstanding courage and ability<sup>43</sup>. Among your tribesmen, you have ten thousand archers. Yi[-yin] (18th cent. B.C.) or Huo [Guang] (d. 68 B.C.)<sup>44</sup> would be seen again if you could carry out the deposal of [the unworthy] and enthronement [of the worthy]."<sup>45</sup>

That day [Er-zhu] Rong and [Yuan Tian-]mu exchanged vows to become sworn brothers. [Yuan Tian-]mu was senior in age, so [by convention] he was treated as the elder brother [with the accompanying respect]. [Er-zhu] Rong, however, was recognized as the sworn leader, so that [Yuan Tian-]mu bowed to the other for courtesy's sake.

They then secretly discussed the senior members of the royal household, unsure as to who deserved the imperial mandate<sup>46</sup>.



## 【原文】

人各铸像不成，唯长乐王子攸像光相具足，端严特妙。是以荣意在长乐。遣苍头王丰入洛，询以为主。长乐即许之，共克期契。荣三军皓素，扬旌南出。

太后闻荣举兵，召王公议之。时胡氏专宠，皇宗怨望，入议者莫肯致言。惟黄门侍郎徐纥曰：“尔朱荣马邑小胡，人才凡鄙，不度德量力，长戟指阙，所谓穷辙拒轮，积薪候燎！今宿卫文武，足得一战，但守河桥，观其意趣。荣悬军千里，兵老师弊，以逸待劳，破之必矣。”后然纥言，即遣都督李神轨、郑季明等，领众五千，镇河桥。

四月十一日，荣过河内，至高头驿。长乐王从雷陂北渡，

## 【今译】

晋阳（太原）为诸王各铸一像，结果都不成样子，只有长乐王元子攸的像，神态圆满，端庄持重。因此尔朱荣意图立长乐王为帝。于是派奴仆王丰进入洛阳，约请长乐王做盟主，长乐王立即答应，互相约定了行动的时间。尔朱荣手下的三军都穿着白色的丧服，举旗南下。

胡太后听说尔朱荣发兵，召集王公商议对策。当时胡氏后戚独占宠爱，皇族一系的人心怀怨恨，因此召来商议的人都不肯提出意见。只有黄门侍郎徐纥发言说：“尔朱荣不过是马邑地方的无名胡人，平庸粗鄙，竟不度德量力，带领军队进攻朝廷，这正是所谓螳臂挡车、引火烧身。现在守卫官廷的文武官员人数，足够与他交战一回，只需守住河桥，观察对方的动向。尔朱荣的军队千里远道而来，兵士疲惫不堪，我们以逸待劳，必定能击败他。”太后认为徐纥的话有道理，立即派遣都督李神轨、郑季明等，率兵五千，驻守河桥。

四月十一日，尔朱荣通过河内，抵达高头驿。长乐王从雷





Subsequently, Jin-yang men cast gold figures for the prospective rulers<sup>47</sup>; none but [the statue of] the Prince of Chang-le, [Yuan] zi-you, was dignified or an especially good likeness. As a result, [Er-zhu] Rong was in favor of the Prince of Chang-le. An old and skilled slave, Wang Feng<sup>48</sup>, was sent to enter Luo-yang, requesting that he be the next ruler. [The Prince of] Chang-le immediately accepted the offer and set a date for concerted action. [Er-zhu] Rong dressed his three armies in white<sup>49</sup>, and marched southward under unfurled flags.

When she heard of [Er-zhu] Rong's uprising, the empress dowager called the various dignitaries for a meeting. None of the royal clan was willing to offer advice, as each had ill feelings against her, for she had alienated them by garnering all [imperial] favors. Only Xu He<sup>50</sup>, Attending Secretary within the Imperial Yellow Gate, said: "Er-zhu Rong is a petty barbarian of Ma-yi<sup>51</sup>, of mediocre abilities. Notwithstanding his own [limited] virtue and strength, he is now thrusting his sword against the court. This we may compare to the praying mantis's attempt to halt the wheels of a chariot with its front legs<sup>52</sup>, or to one who lies atop piled firewood until he is burnt to death<sup>53</sup>. We have enough guardsmen and civilian officers for a fight. We have only to defend He-qiao (the Yellow River Bridge)<sup>54</sup> and watch [the enemy's] possible intentions. Since Er-zhu Rong's army has come from over one thousand *li* away, it will be tired. We will certainly break them, since our army is rested while his has been overworked."

The empress dowager accepted [Xu] He's advice. She then ordered Inspectors General Li Shen-gui<sup>55</sup>, Zheng Ji-ming<sup>56</sup> and others to guard He-qiao with five thousand soldiers under their command.

On the eleventh of the fourth month (May 15, A.D. 528), Er-zhu Rong passed through He-nei<sup>57</sup> and arrived at Gao-tou Post<sup>58</sup>, where the



## 【原文】

赴荣军所。神轨、季明等见长乐王往，遂开门降。十二日，荣军于芒山之北，河阴之野。十三日召百官赴驾，至者尽诛之，王公卿士及诸朝臣死者二千余人。十四日车驾入城，大赦天下，改号为建义元年，是谓庄帝。

于时新经大兵，人物歼尽，流迸之徒，惊骇未出。庄帝肇升太极，解网垂仁，唯散骑常侍山伟一人拜恩南阙。加荣使持节中外诸军事大将军、开府北道大行台、都督十州诸军事大将军、领左右、太原王。其天穆为侍中、太尉公、世袭并州刺史、上党王。起

## 【今译】

陂北渡河，前往尔朱荣的军营。李神轨、郑季明等看到长乐王前往尔朱荣的军营，就打开阵门投降了。十二日，尔朱荣在芒山的北面、河阴的原野布下军阵。十三日，下令所有的官员拜谒新帝，前来的人都被杀害，死难的王公、卿士以及朝臣达两千多人。十四日，新皇帝进入洛阳城，赦免所有的罪犯，改年号为建义元年，这就是庄帝。

那时，刚刚经历大战乱，有才德名望的人几乎被杀绝，流亡者仍惊恐不已，不出头露面。庄帝刚登上帝位，虽做出宽大仁爱的样子，但只有散骑常侍山伟一人在朝廷领官谢恩。庄帝加封尔朱荣为使持节中外诸军事大将军、开府北道大行台、都督十州诸军事大将军、领左右、太原王。加封元天穆为侍中、太尉公、世袭并州刺史、



Prince of Chang-le had gone north to the Yellow River from Lei-pi. Seeing that Chang-le had fled, [Li] Shen-gui and [Zheng] Ji-ming opened the gates [at He-qiao] and surrendered. On the twelfth (May 16), [Er-zhu] Rong's army was north of the Mang Mountains, and in the open fields of He-yin. On the thirteenth (May 27), an edict was issued that all officials were to have an imperial audience immediately; all those who complied were massacred. Altogether three thousand<sup>59</sup> princes and highranking government officials were killed. On the fourteenth (May 18), the emperor entered the capital city, granted an amnesty, and changed the regnal period to the first year of Jian-yi. This was, then, Emperor Zhuang.

This was a period when the nation had just undergone severe military disturbances, resulting in the liquidation of many dignitaries. Those who had fled were too frightened to appear. Emperor Zhuang ascended the Tai-ji [Palace]<sup>60</sup> and granted a general amnesty<sup>61</sup>, but Shan Wei, the Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary (*San-ji chang-shi*), was the only official who came out to the southern watchtower to express thanks for the imperial blessing<sup>62</sup>. More honorific titles were given to [Er-zhu] Rong and [Yuan Tian]-mu: for [Er-zhu] Rong, Commissioner Holding Imperial Credentials (*Shi-chi-jie*), Generalissimo in Charge of Internal and External Military Affairs (*Zhong-wai zhu jun-shi da-jiang-jun*). Palatine [Ceremonially Equal to the Three Authorities] (*Kai-fu*), Great General in the North (Bei-dao da-xing-tai), Generalissimo, Inspector General of Military Operations in Ten Provinces (*du-du shi-zhou zhu jun-shi da-jiang-jun*), Commander of Left and Right [Palace Guards] (*Ling zuo-you*)<sup>63</sup>, and Prince of Tai-yuan; for [Yuan-Tian]-mu, Chief Palace Attendant (*Shi-zhong*), Grand Commandant (*Tai-wei gong*), Hereditary Governorship of Ping-chou (*Shi-xi Bing-zhou ci-shi*), and Prince of Shang-dang. Members of his family having never



## 【原文】

家为公卿牧守者，不可胜数。

二十日，洛中草草，犹自不安。死生相怨，人怀异虑。贵室豪家，弃宅竞窜；贫夫贱士，襁负争逃。于是出诏：“滥死者，普加褒赠。三品以上，赠三公。五品以上，赠令仆。七品以上，赠州牧。白民赠郡镇。”于是稍安。帝纳荣女为皇后。进荣为柱国大将军、录尚书事，餘官如故。进天穆为大将军，餘官皆如故。

永安二年五月，北海王元颢复入洛，在此寺聚兵。

颢，庄帝从兄也。孝昌末镇汲郡。闻尔朱荣入洛阳，遂南奔萧衍。是年入洛，庄帝北巡。颢登皇帝位，改年曰建武元年。

## 【今译】

上党王。另外，一跃而升任公卿或刺史的人，数不胜数。

二十日，洛中的人们依然忧心忡忡，心怀不安。怨死怨生，各自为谋。豪门贵族，弃家而出，争相逃窜；贫民百姓，扶老携幼，唯恐停留。于是颁发诏令：“无辜被滥杀的人，都追赠官衔。三品以上的死者，追赠三公；五品以上的死者，追赠令仆；七品以上的死者，追赠州刺史；身无官爵的死者，追赠郡守镇将。”这样才稍微稳定了局面。庄帝把尔朱荣的女儿纳为皇后。提升尔朱荣任柱国大将军、录尚书事，其餘的官衔照旧。还提升元天穆任大将军，其餘的官衔不变。

永安二年（529）五月，北海王元颢再次进入洛阳，在此寺驻扎兵马。

元颢是庄帝的堂兄。孝昌末年镇守汲郡。听说尔朱荣进入洛阳，于是就往南方投奔梁武帝（萧衍）。这一年他进入洛阳，于是庄帝北巡。元颢登上皇帝之位，改年号为建武元年。



before held government posts were appointed as ranking ministers, governors, and prefects. They were too numerous to be counted.

By the twentieth [May 24], [people] in Luo-yang were still fearful of their fate<sup>64</sup> and ill at ease. Both the living and the dead [had cause to] resent the current state of affairs; everyone entertained conflicting ideas [as to how to cope with the situation]. The wealthy houses and powerful families gave up their residences and competed in fleeing [so as not to be caught], while the poor man and lowly fellow raced away with their children strapped on their backs. Thereupon an edict was issued [saying that] all those who were unjustly killed would be awarded posthumous honors. Those of Rank III and above were to receive the title of Three Lords; Rank V and above, President or Vice President of the Imperial Secretariat, and<sup>65</sup> Rank VII and above, Governor. Commoners were appointed as grand wardens and governors in charge of military zones. As a result, people seemed somewhat pacified.

The emperor took [Er-zhu] Rong's daughter as the empress<sup>66</sup>, and advanced [Er-zhu] Rong to the post of Pillar of the State (Zhu-guo), Generalissimo (*Da-jiang-jun*), Chief of Ministers (*Lu Shang-shu shi*), with other posts unchanged. [Yuan Tian-]mu was promoted to Generalissimo, with other posts all unchanged.

In the fifth month (May-June A.D. 529), Yuan Hao, Prince of Bei-hai, again entered Luo-yang and assembled his army in this monastery.

[Yuan] Hao was Emperor Zhuang's cousin<sup>67</sup>. Toward the end of the Xiao-chang period (A.D. 525-527), he stationed his army in Ji commandery. He fled to the south and surrendered to Xiao Yan [Emperor of Liang, regnant A.D. 502-549], after hearing of Er-zhu Rong's capture of Luo-yang. In A.D. 529, [Yuan] Hao took Luo-yang; Emperor Zhuang withdrew to the north<sup>68</sup>. Consequently, [Yuan] Hao ascended the throne, changing the name of the year to that of Jian-wu (To Establish Military Strength) (A.D. 529).



## 【原文】

颢与庄帝书曰：“大道既隐，天下匪公。祸福不追，与能义绝。朕犹庶几五帝，无取六军。正以糠粃万乘，锱铢大宝，非贪皇帝之尊，岂图六合之富？直以尔朱荣往岁入洛，顺而勤王，终为魏贼。逆刃加于君亲，锋镝肆于卿宰。元氏少长，殆欲无遗。已有陈恒盗齐之心，非无六卿分晋之计。但以四海横流，欲篡未可；暂树君臣，假相拜置。害卿兄弟，独夫介立。遵养待时，臣节几何？朕睹此心寒，远投江表，泣请梁朝，誓在复耻。风行建业，电赴三川，正欲问罪于尔朱，出卿于桎梏；

## 【今译】

元颢给庄帝的信函写道：“如今大道已经隐匿，天下失去公正。祸福颠倒，根本不讲选举贤能的道理。朕差不多比得上远古的五帝，不想动用六军。恰恰把天子的贵重地位，看得如同糠麸、秋毫般轻贱，不贪图皇帝的尊贵和天下的财富。只是尔朱荣去年进入洛阳，开始时还不失为救援皇帝，最终成为魏国的窃贼。尖刀对准皇帝太后，利箭射向公卿宰臣。皇家的老老少少，几乎被杀绝。他怀有像陈恒篡夺齐国那样的野心，并非没有六卿分割晋国之类的计谋。只因天下大乱，想篡夺而未能实现罢了；暂时确立君臣关系，权且居于宰相之位。害死你的兄弟，是傲慢的独裁者。窥视昏君下台的时机，所谓臣下的节操，怎能持久？朕看到这些感到心寒，于是远远地投奔江南，沉痛地求助于梁朝，发誓要复仇雪耻。像风一般迅疾地来到梁都建业，又像闪电一般快速地奔赴三川流域洛阳。现在正要向尔朱荣问罪，把你从桎梏中



[Yuan] Hao wrote a letter to Emperor Zhuang, which reads: "Since the Great Way is hidden, the government<sup>69</sup> has not striven for the common good<sup>70</sup>. Misfortunes and good fortune do not come in the right order<sup>71</sup>, and the idea that only worthies should hold office is no longer observed. We hope to realize [the exemplary virtues] of the Five Emperors<sup>72</sup>, without relying on [imperial] armies<sup>73</sup>. As a result<sup>74</sup>, We consider [the honor] of a monarch as nothing more than dregs, and the throne as a mere trifle<sup>75</sup>. It is not that We desire the honor of being emperor. How little appetite We would have for the riches of a nation<sup>76</sup>! However, [We were forced to act] after Er-zhu Rong's entry into Luo [-yang] last year; though he desired at first to raise troops in the king's service he ended by usurping the Wei. He applied his treasonous sword to the ruler [who should be held in respect as one's own] parents, and struck the ranking officials with knife blades and arrowheads. He intended to kill all members of the [imperial] Yuan household, young and old alike. He was as ambitious as Chen Heng, who [eventually] usurped the Qi<sup>77</sup>, and he was not without a scheme identical to those of the Six Ministers who dismembered the Jin Kingdom<sup>78</sup>. Only because of the turmoil prevailing in the nation does Er-zhu Rong hesitate to commit an outright usurpation. For the time being he observes the [existing] relations between ruler and subject, and makes a pretense of abiding by ceremonial etiquette. He murdered two [of my ministers'] brothers<sup>79</sup>, and stood by as a dictator<sup>80</sup> to wait for the right moment for action. How much longer will he remain a loyal subject? We, downcast at seeing this, traveled a long distance to the south of the Yangtze. With tears [We] besought the Liang to swear revenge of the insult. Like wind We flew to Jian-ye (that is, Nan-jing, the capital of the Liang); like lightning [We] rushed to the Three Rivers<sup>81</sup>, hoping to hold [Er-



## 【原文】

恤深怨于骨肉，解苍生于倒悬。谓卿明眸击节，躬来见我，共叙哀辛，同讨凶羯。不意驾入成皋，便尔北渡。虽迫于凶手，势不自由；或贰生素怀，弃剑猜我。闻之永叹，抚衿而失。何者？朕之于卿，兄弟非远。连枝分叶，兴灭相依。假有内阍，外犹御侮，况我与卿，睦厚偏笃，其于急难，凡今莫如。弃亲即仇，义将焉据也？且尔朱荣不臣之迹，暴于旁午，谋魏社稷，愚智同见。卿乃明白，疑于必然，托命豺狼，委身虎口，弃亲助贼，兄弟寻戈。假获民地，本是荣物；

## 【今译】

解脱出来；抚慰怨天恨地的骨肉同胞，救助处于水深火热中的黎民百姓。满心以为你会情投意合，亲自来相聚，共叙这一段艰辛，携手讨伐凶恶的胡人。不料朕的人马刚入成皋，你就渡河北去。虽然是迫于凶手，身不由己，也许还对朕有猜忌，不惜骨肉相残。总之朕知道后，长叹不已，若有所失。为何如此？朕与你是同祖兄弟，如同连枝分叶，存亡相依。即使兄弟之间发生磨擦，还是要一致对付外来的侵犯。何况我与你格外亲睦，一旦危难临头，当今谁也比不上自己的兄弟。那么，抛弃亲人而靠拢仇敌，这成何道理？而且尔朱荣大逆不道的行径，已暴露于光天化日之下，篡夺魏国政权的阴谋，无论愚者还是智者都看得很清楚。你也不是不明白，只是怀疑必然之理，于是把性命托付给豺狼，投身于虎口，不顾亲情，帮助贼寇，兄弟之间互相残杀。假如获得些许属民和土地，那都属尔朱荣所有，





zhu] account able for his crimes, to release you [my minister] from shackles and handcuffs<sup>82</sup>, to show sympathy for my close relatives who are also deeply offended, and to undo the noose from which the masses are hung upside down<sup>83</sup>. We thought that you, with clear vision, would act in unison with Us, come to see Us in person, recount the sorrowful experience [We both have undergone,] and take concerted action against the vicious Jie[barbarian]<sup>84</sup>. I had no idea that the moment We marched through the Cheng-gao Pass, you would cross the river for the north. Although [We realize] that the villain's pressure on you and your subsequent loss of freedom [might have caused you to flee], it is also possible that you suspect Our intentions and may even consider Us greedy<sup>85</sup>. We heaved long sighs when We heard of your movement, and felt distressed as We [thoughtfully] fingered Our lapel. Why? The relationship between you and us is not one of remote kin<sup>86</sup>; we are separate leaves on forked branches. Our fates are intertwined. Even at a time of domestic squabbles, [quarreling brothers] should unite with each other to resist foreign incursions<sup>87</sup>. How much more true is it between the two of us, who have been extremely intimate. Nothing is more urgent than rendering a helping hand to one's own brothers in the current crisis<sup>88</sup>. What cause is there to abandon close relatives while approaching their enemies? Furthermore, signs of Er-zhu Rong's insubordination are visible in all parts of the nation<sup>89</sup>. [Men], whether wise or foolish, are aware of his conspiracy against the state of Wei. However clearminded, you are questioning the unquestionable<sup>90</sup>, entrusting your fate to wolves, handing over your body to a tiger's mouth, abandoning your close relatives, assisting the outlaw, and fighting your own brothers. If you capture even an inch of land, the land belongs to [Er-zhu] Rong in the first place; if you seize cities, you can under no circumstances pos-



## 【原文】

若克城邑，绝非卿有。徒危宗国，以广寇仇。快贼莽之心，假卞庄之利。有识之士，咸为惭之。今家国隆替，在卿与我，若天道助顺，誓兹义举，则皇魏宗社，与运无穷。倘天不厌乱，胡羯未殄，鸱鸣狼噬，荐食河北，在荣为福，于卿为祸。岂伊异人？尺书通意，卿宜三复，义利是图，富贵可保，徇人非虑，终不食言，自相鱼肉。善择元吉，勿贻后悔。”此黄门郎祖莹之词也。

时帝在长子城，太原王、上党王来赴急难。六月，帝围河内，太守元桃汤、车骑将军宗正珍孙等为颍守，攻之弗克。时暑

## 【今译】

若是占领城邑，则绝对不是你的财产。白白地危害魏国，增大仇敌的势力。满足像王莽那样的人的贪心，让像卞庄那样的人乘机得利。有识之士，都为你感到羞愧。现在，魏国的兴亡就系在朕与你的身上。如果天道助善，立誓除恶，那么，伟大的魏国国运，将天长地久；如果天道不嫌世间的战乱，胡贼不绝，恶鸟鸣叫，恶狼当道，吞食河北，这对于尔朱荣是福，可对于你则是灾祸。我们是兄弟而不是外人，所以写封信表达我的意思，请你三思而行，从道义和利益两方面考虑，这样既可保住富贵荣华，又不必担忧曲从于他人。朕绝不食言，一定不会自相残害。请好好选择大吉大利之路，不要给自己留下后悔。”这封信出自黄门侍郎祖莹的手笔。

那时，庄帝在长子城，太原王与上党王赶来解救危急。六月，庄帝包围河内，因太守元桃汤和车骑将军宗正珍孙等人为元颍守卫此城，未能攻克。当时正是烈日炎炎的酷暑，将士疲



sess them. You are only endangering your own country while widening the interests of the enemy invaders. All literati are ashamed of it: you are gladdening the heart of the usurper [Wang] Mang<sup>91</sup>, and giving strength to assist [the tiger-killer] Bian Zhuang<sup>92</sup>! Now, the rise or fall of our nation depends on the two of us. If Heaven helps the lawful and supports our righteous venture, the imperial Wei will then enjoy boundless prosperity. If, on the other hand, Heaven is not yet satiated with disturbances, the Jie barbarians will then survive, hooting like owls and snapping like wolves, and devouring provisions north of the river. This will be good fortune for [Er-zhu] Rong and a calamity for you. You are no stranger to me; indeed, you are my own brother<sup>93</sup>. For this reason We are sending you this foot[-long] letter to express Our feelings; you should think it over carefully. Considering [this matter] only in terms of justice and righteousness<sup>94</sup>, your riches and high position will then be guaranteed. It is unwise to be a follower [of Er-zhu Rong]. We shall never eat our words lest we treat each other as 'fish and meat' (that is, kill each other). Be careful to make the most auspicious choice. Do nothing which you would regret later."

This is the writing of Zu Ying, the Attending Secretary within the Imperial Yellow Gate<sup>95</sup>.

At this time the emperor was in the city of Zhang-zi<sup>96</sup>, to which place the Prince of Tai-yuan and the Prince of Shang-dang rushed to cope with the emergency. In the sixth month (July), the imperial army besieged He-wei, which was being defended for [Yuan] Hao by Yuan Tao-tang<sup>97</sup>, the Grand Warden (*Tai-shou*), and [Yuan] Zhen-sun<sup>98</sup>, the Superintendent of the Imperial Clan (*Zong-zheng*) and concurrently the General of Chariots and Horsemen, and others. They managed to withstand the attacks. At that time, the generals, as well as soldiers, were worn out from the sum-



## 【原文】

炎赫，将士疲劳，太原王欲使帝幸晋阳，至秋更举大义，未决。召刘助筮之，助曰：“必克。”于是至明尽力攻之，如其言。桃汤、珍孙并斩首，以殉三军。颢闻河内不守，亲率百僚出镇河桥，特迁侍中安丰王延明往守硖石。

七月，帝至河阳，与颢隔河相望。太原王命车骑将军尔朱兆潜师渡河，破延明于硖石。颢闻延明败，亦散走。所将江淮子弟五千人，莫不解甲相泣，握手成别。颢与数十骑欲奔萧衍，至长社，为社民斩其首，传送京师。二十日，帝还洛阳，进太原王天柱大将军，余官亦如故；进上党王太宰，余官亦如故。

永安三年，逆贼尔朱兆囚庄帝于寺。

## 【今译】

劳，太原王打算让庄帝驾幸晋阳，到秋天再来攻战，但没有决定，召刘助前来占卜，刘助说：“必定能够攻克。”于是次日早晨，全力发起攻势，结果与所占卜的一样。桃汤与珍孙被斩首，以宣示三军。元颢听说河内失守，亲自率领百官出镇河桥，特派侍中安丰王元延明去守硖石。

七月，庄帝到达河阳，与元颢隔河相望。太原王命令车骑将军尔朱兆带兵偷渡黄河，打败了守在硖石的元延明。元颢听说延明战败，也慌乱逃走。他所统率的江淮子弟五千人，无不挥泪脱下铠甲，握手而别。元颢与数十名骑手想投奔梁武帝萧衍，来到长社时，被长社百姓砍下头颅，送往京城。二十日，庄帝回到洛阳，晋升太原王为天柱大将军，其余的官职不变；晋升上党王为太宰，其余的官职也不变。

永安三年，叛贼尔朱兆把庄帝囚禁于此寺。



mer heat. The Prince of Tai-yuan wanted to have the emperor visit Jin-yang, waiting until the following autumn before launching a major campaign. Before a decision was reached, he summoned Liu Zhu for divination<sup>99</sup>. [Liu] Zhu replied, "We will certainly win." Thereupon, when it was daylight, they made a concentrated assault which, as [Liu Zhu] predicted, was successful. Both Yuan Tao-tang and Yuan zhen-sun were beheaded, in order to overawe the three armies.

After learning that He-wei had fallen, [Yuan] Hao personally led his court officials to encamp at He-qiao, and specially assigned [Yuan] Yan-ming<sup>100</sup>, Prince of An-feng and the Chief Palace Attendant to guard Xia-shi<sup>101</sup>. In the seventh month (August), the emperor arrived at He-yang, keeping [Yuan] Hao across the river in sight. The Prince of Tai-yuan ordered Er-zhu Zhao (nephew of Er-zhu Rong), the General of Chariots and Horsemen, secretly to lead his army across the river. He defeated [Yuan] Yan-ming at Xia-shi. Learning of [Yuan] Yan-ming's ill fate, [Yuan] Hao also fled. All Jiang (the Yangtze River) and Huai (the Huai River) soldiers under his command, some five thousand strong, were disarmed<sup>102</sup>, sobbing to each other while shaking hands and bidding farewell<sup>103</sup>. Accompanied by several scores<sup>104</sup> of cavalry, [Yuan] Hao sought to flee to Xiao Yan. Upon arrival at Chang-she, however, he was beheaded by the local people<sup>105</sup>, who subsequently sent his head to the capital of the nation. On the 20th (September 8), the emperor returned to Luo-yang. The Prince of Tai-yuan, while keeping his old titles, was given the additional title Pillar of Heaven and Generalissimo (*Tian-zhu da-jiang-jun*). The Prince of Shang-dang was promoted to the post of Grand Steward (*Tai-zai*), while keeping his other titles.

In the third year of the Yong-an period (Permanent Peace) (A.D. 530),



## 【原文】

时太原王位极心骄，功高意侈，与夺任情，臧否肆意。帝怒谓左右曰：“朕宁作高贵乡公死，不作汉献帝生。”九月二十五日，诈言产太子，荣、穆并入朝，庄帝手刃荣于明光殿，穆为伏兵鲁邈所杀，荣世子部落大人亦死焉。荣部下车骑将军尔朱阳都等二十人随入东华门，亦为伏兵所杀。唯右仆射尔朱世隆素在家，闻荣死，总荣部曲，烧西阳门，奔河桥。至十月一日，隆与荣妻北乡郡长公主至芒山冯王寺为荣追福荐斋。即遣尔朱侯讨伐、尔朱那律归等

## 【今译】

那时太原王位极人臣，心骄气傲，自恃功高，野心膨胀，任意赏罚褒贬。庄帝气愤地对侍臣说：“朕宁愿像高贵乡公曹髦那样而死，不愿像汉献帝那样苟活！”九月二十五日，假称皇后要生太子，尔朱荣与元天穆一起入朝，庄帝在明光殿亲手杀死尔朱荣，元天穆被伏兵鲁邈杀死，尔朱荣的嫡长子部落大人也被杀死。尔朱荣的部下车骑将军尔朱阳都等二十人于是进入东华门，也被伏兵所杀。只有右仆射尔朱世隆像平常一样在家中，听说尔朱荣已死，召集尔朱荣的私兵，火烧西阳门后，直奔河桥而去。到了十月一日，尔朱世隆与尔朱荣的妻子北乡郡长公主前往芒山冯王寺，为尔朱荣祈求冥福。随即派尔朱侯讨伐、尔



the rebel Er-zhu Zhao imprisoned Emperor Zhuang in the monastery.

Presently, the Prince of Tai-yuan, because of his high position and unusual achievements, had become arrogant and overbearing. He arbitrarily passed out favors to the undeserving, and denied recognition to the worthy. Angrily<sup>106</sup>, the emperor said to his attendants, "We would rather die [with honor] like the Duke of Gao-gui-xiang<sup>107</sup> than live [in disgrace] like Emperor Xian of the Han [the last Han emperor, who abdicated in A.D.220]!" On the 25th of the ninth month (November 1, A. D. 530), pretending that a crown prince had been born<sup>108</sup>, the emperor invited [Er-zhu] Rong and [Yuan Tian-]mu to the court, where he personally killed [Er-zhu] Rong in the Ming-guang Palace (Sacred Light Palace)<sup>109</sup>. Lu Xian<sup>110</sup>, a soldier in hiding, killed [Yuan Tian-]mu. [Er-zhu] Rong's heir apparent and the chieftain of his tribesmen (*bu-luo da-ren*), [Pu-ti], were also slain. [Er-zhu] Rong's subordinate, Er-zhu Yang-du, General of Chariots and Horsemen, and others, twenty in all<sup>111</sup>, who had entered the Zhu-hua Gate (Vermillion-Radiant Gate)<sup>112</sup> in the company of their leaders, were cut down by an ambush. Only Er-zhu Shi-long [cousin of Er-zhu Rong], the Vice President on the Right, Department of State Affairs (*You pu-ye*) had been at home all the time. After hearing of [Er-zhu] Rong's death, he assembled [Er-zhu] Rong's troops, setting the Xi-yang Gate<sup>113</sup> afire and rushing to He-qiao. On the first of the tenth month (November 6), [Er-zhu] Shi-long and the Princess of Bei<sup>114</sup>-Xiang commandery [Er-zhu Rong's wife], offered sacrifices to the deceased at Prince Feng's Monastery<sup>115</sup> on the Mang Mountains, and donated bolts of silk to the abbot in return for the happiness of the departed. Er-zhu Hou Tao-fa [member of the Hou clan who had surrendered to Er-zhu Rong] and Er-zhu Na-lü<sup>116</sup> [member of the Na-lü Gui clan who had surrendered to Er-zhu



## 【原文】

领胡骑一千，皆白服来至郭下，索太原王尸丧。帝升大夏门望之，遣主书牛法尚谓归等曰：“太原王立功不终，阴图衅逆，王法无亲，已依正刑，罪止荣身，余皆不问。卿等何为不降？官爵如故。”归曰：“臣从太原王来朝陛下，何忽今日枉致无理？臣欲还晋阳，不忍空去，愿得太原王尸丧，生死无恨。”发言雨泪，哀不自胜。群胡恸哭，声振京师。帝闻之，亦为伤怀。遣侍中朱元龙赉铁券与世隆，待之不死，官位如故。

世隆谓元龙曰：“太原王功格天地，道济生民，赤心奉国，

## 【今译】

朱那律归等率胡人骑兵一千人，全都身穿白色丧服，来到城外，索要太原王的尸体。庄帝登上大夏门观望，派主书牛法尚对尔朱那律归等说：“太原王立功不能善终，阴谋犯上作乱，王法无情，已依法处决。惩罚只限于尔朱荣一人，其他人概不追究。你们为什么还不投诚？投降后各位的官职都照旧。”尔朱那律归说：“臣下跟随太原王来朝见陛下，为什么忽然今天妄加伤害？臣下要回晋阳，不忍空手而去，请求得到太原王的尸体，那么生死无恨。”边说边泪如雨下，悲痛欲绝。众胡人也痛哭，以至哭声惊动了京城。庄帝听到后，也为之感伤，于是派侍中朱元龙将铁券授予尔朱世隆，并免其死罪，官位照旧。

尔朱世隆却对朱元龙说：“太原王的功勋充盈天地间，以救济百姓为使命，忠心报效国家，神明可作见证。长乐王不顾





Rong], were then ordered to lead one thousand cavalry all clad in white [as an expression of sadness] to come to the outer city walls to ask for the body of the Prince of Tai-yuan and mourn. Ascending the Da-xia Gate and looking at them, the emperor dispatched the clerk (*zhu-shu*)<sup>117</sup> Niu Fa-shang to announce to [Er-zhu Na-lü] Gui and others: "The Prince of Tai-yuan, unable to crown his achievements with a successful conclusion, secretly plotted usurpation. The imperial law [treats everyone equally], does not [favor or recognize] special relatives, and therefore punishes [the prince] in the spirit of justice. Only [Er-zhu] Rong himself was guilty; no others will be implicated. Why do you not surrender? All your posts and titles will remain just as before."

[Er-zhu Na-lü] Gui replied: "Your subject accompanied the Prince of Tai-yuan to come to court to pay tribute to Your Majesty. But now he has been abruptly killed. Your subject wants to return to Jin-yang, but he cannot return empty-handed. I beg to have the Prince of Tai-yuan's body to bury; then neither the living nor the dead will have cause for complaint."

As he uttered these words, his tears fell as rain, for he could not control his grief. The assembled barbarians cried out bitterly, their voices shaking the capital. The emperor upon hearing them was also saddened. Zhu Yuan-long<sup>118</sup>, the Chief Palace Attendant, was ordered to bestow on [Er-zhu] Shi-long an iron tablet<sup>119</sup>, promising permanently to exempt him from the death penalty, and letting him keep all his government posts as before.

In reply [Er-zhu] Shi-long spoke to [Zhu] Yuan-long: "The accomplishments of the Prince of Tai-yuan fill [the space between] heaven [above] and earth [below], and he exerted his best efforts to save the masses from hardship. With utmost sincerity he served his nation, a



## 【原文】

神明所知。长乐不顾信誓，枉害忠良，今日两行铁字，何足可信？吾为太原王报仇，终不归降！”元龙见世隆呼帝为长乐，知其不款，且以言帝。帝即出库物置城西门外，募敢死之士，以讨世隆，一日即得万人。与归等战于郭外，凶势不摧。归等屡涉戎场，便利击刺；京师士众未习军旅，虽皆义勇，力不从心。三日频战，而游魂不息。帝更募人断河桥。有汉中人李苗为水军，从上流放火烧桥。世隆见桥被焚，遂大剽生民，北上太行。帝遣侍中源子恭、黄门郎杨宽，领步骑三万，镇河内。世隆至高都，立太原太守长广王暉为

## 【今译】

信义，坑害忠良之人，今天铁券上的两行铁字，又何足以令人相信？我要为太原王报仇，死也不归顺！”朱元龙见尔朱世隆直呼庄帝为长乐王，明白他没有归顺之心，于是就告知了庄帝。庄帝立即拿出内库宝藏，放在城西门外，用来召募敢死队，讨伐尔朱世隆，一天就募得一万人。与尔朱那律归等人在城门外交战，但不能打掉叛军的气焰。尔朱那律归等人久经沙场，拼杀起来很敏捷，而从京城招募来的士兵则没有交战的经验，尽管都很勇敢，可是力不从心。三天之内频频交战，但胡兵的余勇不受挫败。庄帝又召募志愿者搞断河桥，有一位汉中人李苗，采用水上战法，从上游放火烧河桥。世隆见河桥被焚烧，于是就大肆掠夺百姓的财物，然后北上太行山。庄帝派侍中源子恭、黄门郎杨宽率领步兵和骑兵三万人镇守河内。尔朱世隆到达高都后，拥立太原太守长广王元暉为君主，改



fact to which the gods bear witness. As the Prince of Chang-le broke his promise, he slew the loyal and virtuous. Now how can I have confidence in the two lines inscribed on this iron [tablet] ? I shall avenge the Prince of Tai-yuan, and shall never surrender and return to him."

Noting that [Er-zhu] Shi-long referred to the emperor as Prince of Chang-le, [Zhu] Yuan-long sensed his disloyalty, and reported his words to the emperor. The emperor then took some valuable holdings from the treasury, and had them placed outside the western gate. He solicited volunteers who were willing to die for the nation, and within a day he had enlisted ten thousand men, who fought [Er-zhu Na-lü] Gui and others in the suburbs. The fighting spirit of the rebels was undiminished, however. [Er-zhu Na-lü] Gui and his associates had often fought on the field of battle, and were skillful at sword fighting<sup>120</sup>. The capital recruits, on the other hand, had no combat experience. Although they were principled and brave, their strength was no match for their hearts. After three days of continuous fighting, the bandits [the ones who should not have had long to live] did not tire. The emperor then posted a reward for those who could destroy the bridge. Li Miao<sup>121</sup>, a diver from Han-zhong, set the bridge afire from upstream. [Er-zhu] Shi-long, seeing that the bridge had caught fire, plundered the populace and marched northward to the Tai-hang Range. The emperor ordered Yuan Zi-gong, the Chief Palace Attendant, and Yang Kuan, Attending Secretary within the Imperial Yellow Gate, to take command of thirty thousand foot and mounted soldiers, and encamp at He-nei<sup>122</sup>. Upon arrival at Gao-du (in Jian-zhou), [Er-zhu] Shi-long installed [Yuan] Ye, Prince of Chang-guang<sup>123</sup> and Grand Warden of Tai-yuan as ruler, who changed the regnal name to Jian-ming<sup>124</sup> (To



## 【原文】

主，改号曰建明元年。尔朱氏自封王者八人。

长广王都晋阳，遣颍川王尔朱兆举兵向京师。子恭军失利，兆自雷陂涉渡，擒庄帝于式乾殿。帝初以黄河奔急，谓兆未得猝济，不意兆不由舟楫，凭流而渡。是日水浅，不及马腹，故及此难。书契所记，未之有也。

銜之曰：昔光武受命，冰桥凝于滹水；昭烈中起，的卢踊于泥沟。皆理合于天，神祇所福，故能功济宇宙，大庇生民。若兆者，蜂目豺声，行穷枭獍，阻兵安忍，贼害君亲，皇灵有知，

## 【今译】

年号为建明元年。尔朱氏一族中自封为王的有八人。

长广王以晋阳为都城，派颍川王尔朱兆带兵进攻洛阳，迎战的源子恭部队失守，尔朱兆从雷陂渡过来，在式乾殿捉住庄帝。庄帝原以为黄河流急，尔朱兆不能一下子渡过，没想到他不用船就过了河。这一天河水浅，水位还不到马的腹部，所以庄帝才遇此灾难。文字记载以来从未有河水这么浅的记录。

銜之曰：过去汉光武帝将要受命于天，滹沱河为之凝结冰桥；蜀汉昭烈帝要中兴汉室，所乘的名叫的卢的马从泥沟中一跃而起。都因合乎天理，有神灵庇护，所以他们才能够造福天下，保护国民。而像尔朱兆其人，目如蜂眼，声似豺狼，所作所为如吃母的枭鸟，如吃父的獍兽，拥兵自重，残忍无道，残害皇帝与太后，天神若有知觉，应该明察其凶恶本性！反而使孟津之水浅得可以齐膝



Establish Enlightenment). Eight members of the Er-zhu family were themselves honored as princes<sup>125</sup>.

The Prince of Chang-guang [chose] Jin-yang as his capital, and dispatched Erh-chu Chao, the Prince of Ying-chuan, to lead an army toward the capital, [Luo-yang]<sup>126</sup>. After a victory over [Yuan] Zi-gong, [Er-zhu Zhao] crossed the Yellow River at Lei-pi, and subsequently captured the emperor at the Shi-qian Palace (Respecting the Heavenly Way). At first the emperor thought it impossible that Er-zhu [Zhao] would soon sail across the turbulent Yellow River rapids, but, unexpectedly, on the day of crossing, the water was so shallow that it did not even come up to the belly of a horse. [Er-zhu] Zhao's army therefore did not use boats, but waded across the current. The emperor thus met with disaster. Since the beginning of written history, nothing like this had ever happened.

[Yang] Xuan-zhi commented: In olden times, when Emperor Guang-wu (regnant A.D.25-57) received the heavenly mandate, the frozen Hu [-tu] River served as a bridge for him to cross<sup>127</sup>. When [Emperor] Zhao-lie's (regnant A.D.221-223) career changed for the better, the horse Di-lu (White Forehead) jumped up out of a muddy creek<sup>128</sup> to carry him through his trouble. All these were in agreement with heaven and blessed by the gods in heaven. As a result, [both men] were able to save the world and give great protection to the masses. Now, with regard to such a man as [Er-zhu] Zhao: his eyes are like hornets'; his voice, like that of a jackal; and his behavior, like the worst kind of an owl or *jing*<sup>129</sup> [animal]. Relying on military power and accustomed to committing atrocities<sup>130</sup>, he murdered his own monarch. If only the holy spirits (*huang-ling*) had a conscience, they should bear witness to this evil character [and do every thing possible to punish him]! Quite to the contrary, they caused the Meng



### 【原文】

鉴其凶德！反使孟津由滕，赞其逆心。《易》称：“天道祸淫，鬼神福谦。”以此验之，信为虚说。

时兆营军尚书省，建天子金鼓，庭设漏刻，嫔御妃主，皆拥之于幕。锁帝于寺门楼上。时十二月，帝患寒，随兆乞头巾，兆不与。遂囚帝送晋阳，缢于三级寺。帝临崩礼佛，愿不为国王。又作五言曰：“权去生道促，忧来死路长。怀恨出国门，含悲入鬼乡。隧门一时闭，幽庭岂复光？思鸟吟青松，哀风吹白杨。昔来闻死苦，何言

### 【今译】

而渡，助成其叛逆之心。《易》中说：“天道降祸给淫逸的人，鬼神降福给谦虚的人。”以这个实例来检验，实在是一句空话。

当时尔朱兆率领军队驻扎在尚书省，他就在尚书省内设置了天子用来号令军队的金钲和鼓吹，庭中设立了天子用来计时的漏刻，帝妃皇后都被他占有。庄帝被关在此寺的门楼上。当时正是十二月，庄帝苦于寒冷，向尔朱兆乞求头巾，他却不给，然后就把庄帝押往晋阳，勒死在三级寺。庄帝临终拜佛，祈求转世不当国王。又作五言体的诗如下：“权威失去后，活路多么短；忧愁来临时，死路漫漫长。怀恨出国门，含悲进鬼乡。墓道门一闭，暗室哪能亮？鸟亦似有感，青松枝头鸣；风声如哀乐，吹乱白杨树。往昔听说死，谁料落我身。”



Ford: to have water only up to the [horses'] knees, and thus encouraged [Er-zhu Zhao] to carry out his wicked designs. The *Book of Changes* says, "The Way of Heaven is to bring calamity [to those who act] beyond reasonable limitations, and ghosts and spirits benefit [those who act with] restraint<sup>131</sup>." This is proof that the saying is groundless.

At that time [Er-zhu] Zhao encamped his army in the office of the Department of State Affairs (*Shang-shu-sheng*), where he set up bells and drums as would the Son of Heaven, and put up a timepiece known as *lou-ke* (clepsydra)<sup>132</sup> in the courtyard. Imperial consorts and princesses were all detained in his tent. He locked the emperor in the tower of the monastery. At that time, in the twelfth month (January-February), the emperor, troubled by the cold, asked [Er-zhu] Zhao for a headscarf, but [Er-zhu] Zhao declined<sup>133</sup>. Subsequently, he sent<sup>134</sup> the imprisoned emperor to Jin-yang, where the latter was hanged at the San-Ji Temple (Three-storied Temple)<sup>135</sup>. On the point of death, the emperor prayed to Buddha, asking that he never be reborn as an emperor. Further, he composed a poem, with five characters per line, which reads:

Power has left me, and the path of life is hastening [to the end].  
 Haunted by worries, my road of death is long.  
 Regretfully, I have left my palace gate<sup>136</sup>,  
 Sorrowfully, I now enter the nether world.  
 Once the underground tunnel is closed,  
 How could there be further light in the dark hall?  
 Meditative birds cry in the green pines,  
 The mournful wind blows through the white willows.  
 I have ever heard that death is suffering,  
 But never thought I myself would meet it!



## 【原文】

身自当。”至太昌元年冬，始迎梓宫赴京师，葬帝靖陵。所作五言诗即为挽歌词。朝野闻之，莫不悲恸，百姓观者，悉皆掩涕而已。

永熙三年二月，浮图为火所烧。帝登凌云台望火，遣南阳王宝炬、录尚书事长孙稚将羽林一千救赴火所，莫不悲惜，垂泪而去。火初从第八级中平旦大发，当时雷雨晦冥，杂下霰雪，百姓道俗，咸来观火，悲哀之声，振动京邑。时有三比丘，赴火而死。火经三月不灭。有火入地寻柱，周年犹有烟气。

其年五月中，有人从东莱郡来云：“见浮图于海中，光明照耀，俨然如新，海上之民，咸皆见之。俄然雾起，浮图遂隐。”至七月中，平阳王为侍中斛斯椿所挟，奔于长安。十月而京师迁邨。

## 【今译】

直至太昌元年（522）冬，才将庄帝尸棺接往京城，葬在靖陵。他所作的那首五言诗，就成为葬礼上的挽歌，国中人听着，无不悲痛，观看的百姓，个个掩面而哭。

永熙三年（534）二月，此寺佛塔被大火烧毁。当时孝武帝登上凌云台，察看火势，派南阳王元宝炬和录尚书事长孙稚率领羽林军一千人赶去救火，他们无不感到痛惜，流泪离去。大火最初是黎明时从第八层暴发，当时雷雨大作，天色昏暗，还夹杂着落下雪珠，百姓无论僧俗，都来观看。悲叹哀哭的声音，振动京城。当时有三位比丘，投身火中自尽。火经过三个月也不熄灭。甚至有馀火进入地下基柱，整整一年之中还有烧灼的烟气。

在那年五月里，有人从东莱郡来说：“在海中看见了这座佛塔，光辉四射，俨然如同新建造的，海边的人都亲眼看见了。一会儿有雾升起，佛塔就隐没不见了。”到了七月，平阳王元脩为侍中斛斯椿所胁迫，逃往长安。十月就发生了都城迁往邨城之事。





It was not until the winter of the first year of Tai-chang (Great Prosperity) (A.D. 532) that the imperial coffin was escorted back to Luo-yang, and interred in [the imperial tomb known as] Jing-ling<sup>137</sup>. The emperor's five-character poem was then used as the pallbearers' song [to which rhythms the men pulled in unison]. Men, both in and out of the court, were all deeply saddened when they heard it. The witnesses among the populace all covered their faces with their hands and cried.

In the second month of the third year of Yong-xi (March A.D. 534), the stūpa caught fire. The emperor ascended the Ling-yun Tower (The Cloud-breaching Tower)<sup>138</sup> to watch the fire, dispatching [Yuan] Bao-ju<sup>139</sup>, the Prince of Nan-yang, and Zhang-sun Zhi, Chief of Ministers<sup>140</sup> to lead a contingent of one thousand *yu-lin* ("plumed forest")<sup>141</sup> palace guards to fight the fire. Not one but left with sorrow and pity, tears streaming down. The fire, which had started on the eighth floor, was worse by the early morning. At that time there was thunder, rain, and darkness, and hail mixed with snow. The common people and Buddhist devotees all came to watch the fire. The sound of wailing shook the capital. Three<sup>142</sup> fully ordained monks<sup>143</sup> hurled themselves into the fire and died. The blaze lasted for three months before it was extinguished. There were flames that went underground around pillars, leaving a smoky smell even one year<sup>144</sup> later.

In the fifth month of that year (May-June A.D. 534), someone came from Dong-lai commandery<sup>145</sup>, saying: "We saw a stūpa in the seas, which was bright and luminous and looked like new. People on the seas all saw it. But suddenly a mist came up and obscured the stūpa." In the seventh month (August 21, A.D. 534), the Prince of Ping-yang<sup>146</sup>, seized upon<sup>147</sup> by Hu-si Chun<sup>148</sup>, fled to Chang-an<sup>149</sup>. In the tenth month (November-December, A.D. 534), the capital was moved to Ye<sup>150</sup>.



## 【原文】

建中寺，普泰元年尚书令乐平王尔朱世隆所立也。本是阉官司空刘腾宅。屋宇奢侈，梁栋逾制。一里之间，廊庑充溢。堂比宣光殿，门匹乾明门，博敞弘丽，诸王莫及也。在西门内御道北所谓延年里。

刘腾宅东有太仆寺，寺东有乘黄署，署东有武库署，即魏相国司马文王府库，东至阊阖宫门是也。西门内御道南，有永康里。里内复有领军将军元义宅。掘故井得石铭，云是汉太尉荀彧宅。

正光年中，元义专权，太后幽隔永巷，腾为谋主。

## 【今译】

建中寺，普泰元年（531）由尚书令、乐平王尔朱世隆所建。这里原来是宦官刘腾的住宅。这所建筑十分豪华，规模超过应有规格。一里方圆之内，廊屋一间接着一间。正堂可与宣光殿媲美，大门敌得过乾明门，宽敞富丽的程度，诸王的住宅没有能比得上的。此寺位于西门内御道之北叫做延年里的地段。

刘腾住宅的东侧有太仆寺，寺东有乘黄署，署东有武库署，这里就是从前魏相国司马文王的府库，向东直至阊阖宫门之间都是。在西门内御道之南，有永康里。里内还有领军将军元义的宅邸。在这里挖掘古井时，发现石头上刻有铭文，说是汉太尉荀彧之宅。

正光年间（520-524），元义专权，皇太后被禁闭于永巷，刘腾是这起事件的主谋。



The Jian-zhong Temple (Temple of Establishing the Mean)<sup>151</sup> was built [on the order of] Er-zhu Shi-long, Prince of Le-ping, in the first year of Putai (Universal Prosperity) (A.D. 531) when he was President of the Department of State Affairs (*Shang-shu ling*). Originally, it was the residence of the eunuch Liu Teng, Minister of Public Works<sup>152</sup>. The rooms were extremely luxurious, using [larger] beams and pillars than were permitted by law. Verandas and corridors of the house were a full *li* long. The hall was comparable to the Xuan-guang Palace (Light-radiating Palace), and the gate was a match for the Qian-ming Gate (Gate of Heavenly Brightness). In size and magnificence, no prince's house could match this one. It was located in the so-called Yan-nian Ward (Longevity Ward), north of the Imperial Drive and inside the Xi-yang Gate.

To the east of Liu Teng's residence was the Court of the Imperial Stud (*Tai-pu si*), to the east of the court was the Bureau of Imperial Carriages (*Cheng-huang shu*)<sup>153</sup>. To the east of the stable was the Office of the Prefect in Charge of Military Provisions (*Wu-ku shu*)<sup>154</sup>, which was also the arsenal of Prince Wen of the Si-ma family (A.D. 211-265) when he was the prime minister (*Xiang-guo*)<sup>155</sup> of the Wei<sup>156</sup>. On the east it reached the Palace Gate of Chang-he.

To the south<sup>157</sup> and inside the Xi-yang Gate was Yong-kang Ward. (Ward of Eternal Health), in which was located the residence of Yuan Yi<sup>158</sup>, the General Directing the Army (*Ling-jun jiang-jun*). A stone tablet unearthed from a deserted well indicated that this had been the site of the former residence of Xun Yu (A.D. 163-212), Grand Commandant of the Han<sup>159</sup>.

During the Zheng-guang period (Impartial Light) (A.D. 520-524), Yuan Yi assumed dictatorial powers, and, with [Liu] Teng as his chief [fellow] conspirator, placed the empress dowager under house arrest at Yong-xiang (Eternity Lane)<sup>160</sup>.



## 【原文】

又是江阳王继之子，太后妹婿。熙平初，明帝幼冲，诸王权上。太后拜义为侍中、领军左右，令总禁兵，委以腹心，反得幽隔永巷六年。太后哭曰：“养虎自噬，长虺成蛇。”

至孝昌二年，太后反政，遂诛义等，没腾田宅。元义诛日，腾已物故，太后追思腾罪，发墓残尸，使其神灵无所归趣。以宅赐高阳王雍。建义元年，尚书令乐平王尔朱世隆为荣追福，题以为寺。朱门黄阁，所谓仙居也。以前厅为佛殿，后堂为讲堂。金花宝盖，遍满其中。有一凉风堂，本腾避暑之处，凄凉常冷，经夏无蝇。有万年

## 【今译】

元义是江阳王元继的儿子，又是太后的妹婿。熙平初年，明帝年幼，诸王权力提升。太后以元义为侍中、领军左右，让他统率禁军，当作心腹之臣来信任，结果得到的反而是禁闭永巷达六年。太后痛哭地说：“这是养虎咬自己，把小蛇育成大蛇！”

到了孝昌二年（526），太后复位摄政，于是诛杀元义等人，没收刘腾的田宅。诛杀元义之时，刘腾已死，而太后追究刘腾生前罪过，掘墓毁尸，使他的灵魂失去归宿安息的依托；把他的宅邸赏赐给高阳王元雍。建明元年（530，“明”原误作“义”），尚书令、乐平王尔朱世隆为了替尔朱荣祈求冥福，将这所宅邸题名作了寺院。朱漆的楼门与黄色的阁楼，称得上是仙官。将前厅作了佛殿，后堂作了讲堂。厅堂内到处装饰着金色的莲花宝盖。另有一座凉风堂，原本是刘腾避暑之处，常年清凉无比，整个夏天都



[Yuan] Yi was the son of [Yuan] Ji, Prince of Jiang-yang, and brother-in-law to the empress dowager. In the early Xi-ping period (A.D. 516-518), Emperor Ming (that is, Su-zong), then still very young<sup>161</sup>, was at the mercy of powerful members of the royal household<sup>162</sup>. The empress dowager appointed Yuan Yi as Chief Palace Attendant, Commander of Left and Right [Palace Guards], over whom he had absolute authority. She treated him as a confidant, but, unexpectedly, she was imprisoned at Yong-xiang [by the same person she had trusted] for six years. The empress dowager cried and said: "I brought up the tiger which bites me; I nurtured the small serpent which has now grown into a large snake."<sup>163</sup>

After returning to power in the second year of the Xiao-chang period (A.D. 526), the empress dowager executed Yuan Yi and others, and confiscated [Liu] Teng's land holdings and his residence. By the time of Yuan Yi's execution, [Liu] Teng had already died<sup>164</sup>. Mulling over Liu Teng's crime, the empress dowager ordered that his tomb be opened up and his remains be dismembered, so that his soul would have no place to return to. The residence was given to [Yuan] Yong, the Prince of Gao-yang [After the prince's death] in the first year of the Jian-yi ["yi" is an error for "ming"] period (A.D. 530), Er-zhu Shi-long, the Prince of Le-ping and the President of State Affairs, converted this residence into a temple where rites were performed to insure [Er-zhu] Rong's posthumous happiness. The temple was the so-called abode of immortals, with its red gates and yellow pavilions. The front hall was converted into a shrine called the Buddha Hall and the rear section was made into a lecture hall. Gold and silver lotus flowers and silk canopies covered every inch of space. There was a Liang-feng Hall (Hall of Cooling Breezes) where [Liu] Teng used to avoid the heat. It was always chilly and cold, free from flies all the summer. There were trees one thou-



## 【原文】

千岁之树也。

长秋寺，刘腾所立也。腾初为长秋令卿，因以为名。在西门内御道北一里。亦在延年里。

即是晋中朝时金市处。

寺北有濛汜池，夏则有水，冬则竭矣。

中有三层浮图一所，金盘灵刹，曜诸城内。作六牙白象负释迦在虚空中。庄严佛事，悉用金玉，做工之异，难可具陈。四月四日，此像常出，辟邪师子导引其前。吞刀吐火，腾骧一面；彩幢上索，诡譎不常。奇伎异服，冠于都市。像停之处，观者如堵，迭相践跃，常有死人。

瑶光寺，世宗宣武皇帝所立。在阊阖城门御道北，东去千秋门

## 【今译】

没有苍蝇。还有已生长了万年千岁的树木。

长秋寺是刘腾所建。因刘腾曾任长秋令卿，所以用它做了寺名。位于西门内御道之北一里，也在延年里。

就是西晋时期的金市旧址。

寺的北侧有濛汜池，夏季有水，冬季则干涸见底。

寺院内有一座三层佛塔，金盘与闪光的刹竿，辉耀于城内。造有长着六只牙的白象驮释迦飞行于空中的雕像。凡用于庄严的佛事的，都以金玉制成，做工的奇妙，难以用言语一一描述。四月四日按惯例这尊雕像要搬出来游行，它的前面由辟邪狮子开路导引。有表演吞刀吐火的，热闹之至；有表演爬竿走绳的，怪巧之极。种种奇特的杂技和怪异的服饰，在都市里压过其他任何集会。佛像游行途中所停之处，围观的人群密集如山，人与人相互踩踏跨越，以至常常死人。

瑶光寺，由世宗宣武皇帝所建。位于阊阖城门御道之北，东距千



sand or ten thousand years old<sup>165</sup>.

The Chang-*qiu* Temple (Temple of the Prolonger of Autumn) was established by Liu Teng, and so named because [Liu] Teng had once been the Grand Prolonger of Autumn (*Chang-*qiu* [ling] *qing**)<sup>166</sup>. It was located one *li* to the north of the Imperial Drive, inside the Xi-*yang* Gate, also within the Yan-*nian* Ward.

The site was the same as the Gold Market of the Western Jin<sup>167</sup>.

To the north of the temple was the Meng-*si* Pond (Sunset Pond)<sup>168</sup> which contained water during the summer but dried up in the winter.

The temple has a three-storied *stūpa*, [topped with] a golden plate (*jin-pan*) [to collect dew] and an auspicious flagstaff that could be seen in the city. There was a statue of a six-tusked white elephant carrying on its back Śākyamuni in the void<sup>169</sup>. The sumptuous Buddhist decorations were all made of gold or jade, with a distinctive workmanship difficult to describe. As a rule, this statue would be carried out [of the temple] and put on parade on the fourth day of the fourth month<sup>170</sup>, behind such [man-made] animals as *bi-xie*<sup>171</sup> and lions. [Variety shows would be held, featuring] sword-eaters, fire-spitters<sup>172</sup>, galloping horses, flagstaff climbers<sup>173</sup>, and rope-walkers—all being [demonstrations] of unusual skills. Their spectacular techniques and bizarre costumes were unmatched in the capital. Wherever the statue stopped, spectators would encircle it like a wall. Stumbling and trampling on each other, people in the crowd often suffered casualties.

The Yao-*guang* Nunnery (Jade-sparkle Nunnery) was constructed [on the order of Emperor] Xuan-*wu*, (regnant A.D. 499–515) whose posthumous title was Shi-*zong*<sup>174</sup>. It was located on the north side of

【原文】

二里。

千秋门内道北有西游园，园中有凌云台，即是魏文帝所筑者。台上有八角井。高祖于井北造凉风观，登之远望，目极洛川。台下有碧海曲池。台东有宣慈观，去地十丈。观东有灵芝钓台，累木为之，出于海中，去地二十丈。风生户牖，云起梁栋；丹楹刻桷，图写列仙。刻石为鲸鱼，背负钓台，既如从地踊出，又似空中飞下。钓台南有宣光殿，北有嘉福殿，西有九龙殿。殿前九龙吐水成一海。凡四殿，皆有飞阁向灵芝往来。三伏之月，皇帝在灵芝台以避暑。

【今译】

秋门二里。

千秋门内道北有西游园，园中有凌云台，这就是魏文帝所筑的。台上有八角井，高祖于井北建造了凉风观，登观远望，洛水恰在视线的边缘。台下有碧海曲池。台东有宣慈观，离地十丈高。观东有灵芝钓台，用木材搭成，伸出水面，离地二十丈高。风流动于门窗内外，云缭绕于栋梁之间；朱漆的楹柱和雕饰的屋椽上，画着形形色色的仙人。用石头刻凿成鲸鱼，作背负钓台的姿势，既好像是从地下跃起，又恰似从空中飞来。钓台的南侧有宣光殿，北侧有嘉福殿，西侧有九龙殿。九龙殿前有九龙吐水而汇成水池。这四座殿都有飞阁，翩翩然照临于灵芝池上。三伏盛夏，灵芝台则成了皇帝避暑的场所。







the Imperial Drive, inside the Chang-he city gate<sup>175</sup>, and two *li* east of the Qian-qiū Gate (Gate of Long Life)<sup>176</sup>.

Inside the Qian-qiū Gate and to the north of the drive was the Xi-you Park (Western Journey Park) in which was the Ling<sup>177</sup>-yun Tower, built [on order of] Emperor Wen of the Wei (regnant A.D. 220-226). On the tower was an Octagonal Well (*Ba-jiao Jing*), to the north of which Emperor Gao-zu (that is, Xiao-wen, regnant A.D. 471-499) had Liang-feng Hall (Hall of Cooling Breezes) constructed. Having ascended the tower, one could gaze into the distance and see the whole valley of the Luo River. Underneath the tower were a blue lake and a curved pond. To the east of the tower was the Xuan-ci Hall (Hall in Praise of Maternal Love) which rose one hundred Chinese feet from the ground. To the east of the Hall was an Angler's Terrace (*Diao-tai*)<sup>178</sup>, shaped like a magic fungus, made up by placing one piece of wood on top of another. It stood above the lake and rose two hundred Chinese feet from the ground. [So tall was it that] breezes were generated near the windows, and clouds gathered around the beams. [In the hall] with red pillars and carved rafters, one can see pictures of the various immortals. A whale, cut from stone, was placed against the Angler's Terrace so that it appeared at one and the same time to be jumping up from the ground and descending from the air. To the south of the Angler's Terrace was the Xuan-guang Palace; to the north, the Jia-fu Palace (Palace of Exalted Happiness); to the west, the Jiu-long Palace (Palace of Nine Dragons). In front of [the latter] palace a lake was created by the water spewed forth by the nine dragons<sup>179</sup>. Altogether there were four palaces, all connected by corridors leading to the magic fungus [terrace]. During the thirty hottest days<sup>180</sup> of summer, the emperor stayed in the fungus-shaped terrace to avoid the heat.



## 【原文】

有五层浮图一所，去地五十丈。仙掌凌虚，铎垂云表，做工之妙，埒美永宁。讲殿尼房，五百馀间。绮疏连亘，户牖相通，珍木香草，不可胜言。牛筋狗骨之木，鸡头鸭脚之草，亦悉备焉。椒房嫔御，学道之所，掖庭美人，并在其中。亦有名族处女，性爱道场，落发辞亲，来仪此寺。屏珍丽之饰，服修道之衣，投心八正，归诚一乘。永安三年中，尔朱兆入洛阳，纵兵大掠，时有秀容胡骑数十人，入寺淫秽，自此后颇获讥讪。京师语曰：“洛阳男儿急作髻，瑶光寺尼夺女婿。”

瑶光寺北有承明门，有金墉城，即魏氏所筑。晋永康中，惠帝幽于金墉城。东有洛阳小城，永嘉中所筑。

## 【今译】

寺院内有一座五层佛塔，离地五十丈。塔上的金盘像仙人的手掌一般凌空托起，四周的铃铎垂吊在云层之上，其做工的精妙，可与永宁寺媲美。讲堂和尼房，就有五百多间。雕饰的窗棂连成一片，门户之间彼此相通。珍奇的树木和芳香的花草，难以用语言来形容。就连叫牛筋、狗骨的树以及鸡头、鸭脚的草，也都不缺。椒房里的帝妃们把这里当作修行佛道的场所，后宫里的女官们也参加于其中。另外还有出身名门望族的姑娘们，因诚心诚意地向往佛门，便削落秀发、辞别亲人，前来寄身于此寺。舍弃了珠玉和红装，穿上了修道的衣服；归心于八正道，忠诚于一乘教。永安三年，尔朱兆进入洛阳，放任其士兵大肆掠夺，当时有数十个北方秀容的胡人骑兵，进入此寺奸淫。自此以后，此寺颇受到世人的嘲讽，以至京城有顺口溜说：“洛阳的男儿急急地束起头发，瑶光寺的尼姑忙忙地抢作夫婿。”

瑶光寺的北侧有承明门，又有金墉城，是魏明帝所筑。晋永康年间，惠帝被幽禁于金墉城。东侧有洛阳小城，是永嘉年间所筑。



[In the nunnery] there was a five-storied stūpa that rose five hundred Chinese feet from the ground. Its “immortals’ palms”<sup>181</sup> soared into the sky; its bells hung from the clouds. The dexterity of workmanship matched that of the Yong-ning Monastery. The five hundred or more rooms in the nuns’ quarters and lecture halls presented a spectacular view of an unbroken line of carved window panes. One could go straight from the door of one room to any one of the others. There were rare trees and aromatic plants too numerous to be listed. Such trees and plants as *niu-jin* (that is, *chou-* or *yi-*) evergreens<sup>182</sup>, hollies (*gou-gu* or *guo*)<sup>183</sup>, water lilies (*ji-tou*)<sup>184</sup>, and mallows (*ya-jiao*)<sup>185</sup> were all here. Imperial consorts<sup>186</sup>, as well as ladies of the harem<sup>187</sup>, studied Buddhism here. Women of nobility interested in Buddhist studies also shaved their head and bade farewell to their parents, to come to lodge at this nunnery. Putting aside their precious and beautiful ornaments, they dressed instead in Buddhist robes and devoted themselves to the Eight Correct Ways<sup>188</sup>, and adhered to the one Buddha-vehicle<sup>189</sup>. In the third year of the Yong-an period (A.D. 530), when Er-zhu Zhao entered Luo-yang, he let his soldiers loose to plunder. Several scores of barbarian horsemen went into the Yao-guang Nunnery where they ravished the nuns. As a result, the nunnery became the subject of ridicule. People of the capital would say: “Hurry up, you males of Luo-yang! Plait your hair in the barbarian fashion, so the nuns of the Yao-guang Nunnery will take you as their husbands.”<sup>190</sup>

To the north of the Yao-guang Nunnery was the Cheng-ming Gate<sup>191</sup>, which was close to the Jin-yong City [in the southeast corner of Luo-yang]. It was constructed under [Emperor Ming regnant A.D. 227–239] of the Wei<sup>192</sup>.

During the Yong-Kang period (Eternal Health) (A.D. 300–301) of the Jin, Emperor Hui was imprisoned in Jin-yong City<sup>193</sup>, to the east of which was the Lesser Luo-yang<sup>194</sup>. It was constructed during the Yong-jia period<sup>195</sup>.



## 【原文】

城东北角有魏文帝百尺楼，年虽久远，形制如初。高祖在城内作光极殿，因名金墉城门为光极门。又作重楼飞阁，遍城上下，从地望之，有如云也。

景乐寺，太傅清河文献王怿所立也。

怿是孝文皇帝之子，宣武皇帝之弟。

在阊阖南，御道东。西望永宁寺正相当。

寺西有司徒府，东有大将军高肇宅。北连义井里。义井里北门外有丛树数株，枝条繁茂。下有甘井一所，石槽铁罐，供给行人，饮水庇荫，多有憩者。

有佛殿一所，像辇在焉。雕刻巧妙，冠绝一时。堂庑周环，曲

## 【今译】

城的东北角有魏文帝的百尺楼，年代虽久远，却完好地保存了当初的样子。高祖在金墉城内建光极殿，因而将金墉城门取名为光极门。又造层楼与飞阁，高低错落地遍布于城中，从地面仰望，就像浮云一样。

景乐寺，由太傅清河文献王元怿所建。

元怿是孝文帝之子、宣武帝之弟。

位于阊阖门之南、御道之东，向西望去与永宁寺正相对。

寺的西侧有司徒府，东侧有大将军高肇的宅邸，北侧则连接义井里。义井里的北门外有好几棵桑树，枝条繁茂。树下有一口清甜的水井，备有石槽和铁罐，方便往来行人，在这里饮水歇脚的人还真不少。

有一座佛殿，像车就收存于此。其雕刻的巧妙，是当时第一流水准。宽敞的堂屋四处环绕，幽深的内室相互倚连；摇曳的枝条轻拂



In the northwestern corner of the city was the Bai-Chi Tower (Hundred-foot Tower), which was built under Emperor Wen of the Wei<sup>196</sup>. Despite its age, the structure looked like new. Inside the city was the Guang-ji Palace (Palace of Ultimate Brilliance) built under Emperor Gao-zsu, who renamed the Jin-yong city gate as Guang-ji Gate<sup>197</sup>. In addition, [he decreed that more] storied towers and covered walkways be built throughout the highlands or low-lying areas in the city. When viewed from the ground, these buildings looked [to be as high as] the clouds.

The Jing-le Nunnery (Nunnery of the Happy View) was founded by [Yuan] Yi, Prince of Qing-he and Grand Tutor (*Tai-fu*), whose posthumous title was Wen-xian (The Cultured and Dedicated)<sup>198</sup>.

[Yuan] Yi was the son of Emperor Xiao-wen and younger brother of Emperor Xuan-wu.

The nunnery was located to the south of the Chang-he [Gate] and on the east<sup>199</sup> side of the Imperial Drive, symmetrically facing the Yong-ning Monastery on the opposite side of the Imperial Drive. West of the nunnery was the Office of the Director of Public Instruction, and east of it was Generalissimo Gao Zhao's residence<sup>200</sup>.

It bordered on the Yi-jing Ward (Ward of the Charitable Well) to the north.

Outside the northern gate of the Yi-jing Ward were a number<sup>201</sup> of shrubs<sup>202</sup>. Beneath their luxuriant foliage was a well of sweet water. Stone troughs and metal cans were provided nearby for travelers to drink the water and enjoy the shelter. Many took a rest there.

There was a Hall of Buddha that housed a carriage for the sacred image. The deftness shown in carving it had no parallel at the time. Halls and corridors encircled each other, while inner rooms followed one after





## 【原文】

房连接，轻条拂户，花蕊被庭。至于六斋，常设女乐，歌声绕梁，舞袖徐转，丝管寥亮，谐妙入神。以是尼寺，丈夫不得入。得往观者，以为至天堂。及文献王薨，寺禁稍宽，百姓出入，无复阻碍。后，汝南王悦复修之。

悦是文献之弟。

召诸音乐，逞伎寺内。奇禽怪兽，舞扑殿庭。飞空幻惑，世所未睹。异端奇术，总萃其中，剥驴投井，植枣种瓜，须臾之间，皆得食之。士女观者，目乱精迷。自建义已后，京师频有大兵，此戏遂隐也。

昭仪尼寺，阉官等所立也。在东阳门内一里御道南。

## 【今译】

门户，含苞的花朵遍布庭院。到了六斋的日子，经常安排女伶人音乐表演，歌声回荡，余音绕梁；舞袖翩翩，翻转有情；管弦清亮，美妙入神。因为这是尼寺，男子不得入内。准许进来参观的人，都以为是到了天堂。一直到文献王死了以后，寺规稍放宽，不再限制庶民百姓的出入。后来，汝南王元悦对此寺重加修筑。

元悦是文献王之弟。

伶人被元悦召来寺中，发挥音乐伎能；珍奇的飞禽走兽，跳舞于佛殿前。腾空变幻之事，为世人所未见；离奇怪异之术，都荟萃于此，如肢解驴马、指地为井，又如种枣种瓜，顷刻之间，能结出果实食用。男女观众，都看得眼花缭乱。自建义之年（528）以后，京城频频有战乱，因而这类娱乐也就销声匿迹了。

昭仪尼寺，由一些宦官所建。位于东阳门之内一里、御道之南。



another. Soft branches brushed the windows; blooming flowers covered [every inch] of the courtyard. At the time of the "great fast" (six monthly fast days, *posadha*)<sup>203</sup>, music performed by women artists was often provided: the sound of singing enveloped the beams, while dancers' sleeves slowly whirled in enchanting harmony with the reverberating notes of stringed and pipe instruments. It was rhythmical and breathtaking.

As this was a nunnery, no male visitors were [ordinarily] admitted, but those who were permitted to come in for a look considered themselves as having paid a visit to paradise. After the death of Prince Wen-xian, restrictions on visitors were less strict, so that people had no trouble in visiting the nunnery.

Later, [Yuan] Yue, Prince of Ru-nan<sup>204</sup> had it repaired.

[Yuan] Yue was the younger brother of Prince Wen-xian.

[Yuan] Yue summoned a number of musicians to demonstrate their skills inside the nunnery. Strange birds and outlandish animals danced in the courtyards and flew into the sky, and changed into bewildering shapes<sup>205</sup>. They presented a show never seen before in the world. Unusual games and spectacular skills were all performed here. Some magicians would dismember an ass and throw the cut-up parts into a well, only to have the mutilated animal quickly regenerate its maimed parts. Others would plant date trees and melon seeds that would in no time bear edible fruits<sup>206</sup>. Women and men who watched the performance were dumbfounded.

After the Jian-yi period (ca. A.D. 528) the capital city repeatedly underwent major military disturbances. [As a consequence], such games disappeared altogether.

The Zhao-yi<sup>207</sup> Nunnery (Nunnery of the Exemplar) built by eunuchs, was located to the south of the Imperial Drive and one *li* inside the Dong-yang Gate.



## 【原文】

东阳门内道北有太仓、导官二署。东南治粟里，仓司官属住其内。

太后临朝，阉寺专宠，宦者之家，积金满堂。是以萧忻云：“高轩斗升者，尽是阉官之嫠妇；胡马鸣珂者，莫非黄门之养息也。”

忻，阳平人也。爱尚文籍，少有名誉，见阉寺宠盛，遂发此言，因即知名，为治书侍御史。

寺有一佛二菩萨，塑工精绝，京师所无也。四月七日常出诣景明，景明三像恒出迎之。伎乐之盛，与刘腾相比。堂前有酒树面木。昭仪寺有池，京师学徒谓之翟泉也。

銜之按：杜预注《春秋》云：“翟泉在晋太仓西南。”

按晋太仓在建春门内，今太仓在东阳门内，此地今在太仓西

## 【今译】

东阳门之内的道路北边，有太仓署与导官署。东南方位的治粟里内，是那些粮仓管理官员的住处。

灵太后亲临朝政期间，宦官受宠放任，宦官之家都是金银财宝聚积如山。难怪萧忻说：“帐篷高悬的大车内，尽是宦官的妻妾；玉珂鸣响的胡马上，全是宦官的养子！”

萧忻是阳平人，爱好学问，年少时就有好名声。看到宦官骄纵之极，就发出了以上的言论，并因此事而闻名，当了治书侍御史。

寺内有一尊佛像、两尊菩萨像，雕塑之精妙，京城里独一无二。每年四月七日这一天，按惯例三尊像要出行至景明寺，而景明寺的三尊像一定出来相迎。伴随的杂技音乐表演的盛况，与刘腾的长秋寺不相上下。佛堂前有酒树和面树。昭仪寺有池，京城的学徒们称之为翟泉。

銜之曰：杜预注《春秋》说：“翟泉在晋时太仓的西南。”

然而晋时的太仓位于建春门内，现在的太仓在东阳门内，翟泉应当位于现在的太仓的西南，因而可以明确翟泉不在这里。





To the north of the drive and inside the Dong-yang Gate were the [two] offices of Imperial Granary (Tai-cang)<sup>208</sup> and Grain Sorters (Dao-guan)<sup>209</sup>. To the southeast of the offices was the Zhi-su Ward (Ward of Grain Management), where officials [of the two government agencies] and their families lived.

When the empress dowager was regent, she showed special favors to the eunuchs, who therefore became extremely wealthy<sup>210</sup>. Consequently, as Xiao Xin described, "All those in draperied high carriages were ladies from the eunuchs'<sup>211</sup> residences, and all those on barbarian horses bejeweled with tinkling jade were none other than eunuchs'<sup>212</sup> adopted sons."

[Xiao] Xin, a native of Yang-ping<sup>213</sup>, was fond of literary works and gained fame when young. Seeing that the eunuchs were privileged and prosperous, he wrote these lines, which immediately made him famous. He served the court as Associate Censor in Charge of Drafting.

The nunnery housed statues of one Buddha and two bodhisattvas<sup>214</sup>, splendid sculpture not matched elsewhere in the capital. On the seventh day of the fourth month, [the three statues] were always carried to the Jing-ming Monastery (Bright Prospect Monastery) where they were habitually met by three others housed there. [On that occasion] the display of rich music and shows was comparable to that of Liu Teng's [Chang-qui Temple]. In front of the [main] hall were wine-<sup>215</sup> and noodle-<sup>216</sup> trees. In the Zhao-yi Nunnery was a pond, referred to as the Di-quan (Fountain of Di) by literati in the capital<sup>217</sup>.

[Yang] Xuan-zhi's note: According to Du Yu's (A.D. 222-284) notes on the *Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals*<sup>218</sup>, the Di-quan was located southeast of the Imperial Granary of the Jin, inside the Jian-chun Gate. Now, the present Imperial Granary was inside the Dong-yang Gate, yet the fountain referred to as the Di-quan was to the southwest of the



## 【原文】

南，明非翟泉也。后隐士赵逸云：“此地是晋侍中石崇家池，池南有绿珠楼。”于是学徒始寤，经过者，想见绿珠之容也。池西南有愿会寺，中书侍郎王翊舍宅所立也。佛堂前生桑树一株，直上五尺，枝条横绕，柯叶傍布，形如羽盖。复高五尺，又然。凡为五重，每重叶榘各异。京师道俗谓之神桑，观者成市，布施者甚众。帝闻而恶之，以为惑众。命给事黄门侍郎元纪伐杀之。其日云雾晦冥，下斧之处，血流至地，见者莫不悲泣。

寺南有宜寿里。内有苞信县令段晖宅。地下常闻有钟声，时见五色光明，照于堂宇。晖甚异之，遂掘光所，得金像一躯，可高三尺，并有二菩萨，跌坐上铭云：“晋泰始二年五月十五日侍中中书

## 【今译】

后来隐士赵逸说：“这地方是晋侍中石崇家的水池，池南有绿珠楼。”于是学徒们才恍然大悟，路过这里的人，都不由得想象绿珠的容颜。

池的西南有愿会寺，为中书侍郎王翊献出自己的住宅所建成。佛堂前长着一棵桑树，从地面向上五尺高处，枝条横伸曲绕，树叶左铺右覆，形状像宝盖一样；再向上五尺高处，又是同样的形状；如此这般共有五重，每一重的桑叶和桑果长得都不同。京城的僧俗都说这是神桑，前来观看的人如同集市，施钱供物的人特别多。皇帝听说后很不快，认为这是惑众之物，下令给事黄门侍郎元纪去砍伐。这一天，大起云雾，天色晦暗，刀斧砍下之处，血流至地，看到的人无不悲痛哭泣。

寺南有宜寿里，苞信县令段晖的宅邸在其内。此宅的地下常常听得出有钟声，有时能看见五色光芒照耀堂屋。段晖很是奇怪，于是从发出光芒的地方挖掘下去，挖得一尊金佛像，高三尺，并有两尊菩萨侍其左右。佛结跏趺坐之处有铭文写道：“晋泰始二年（266）



present Imperial Granary. Therefore the fountain could not have been the same Di-quan of the Jin<sup>219</sup>. As the hermit Zhao Yi said later, "This is the private fountain of Shi Chong Chief Palace Attendant of the Jin<sup>220</sup>. To the south of the fountain was the Lü-zhu Tower (Green Pearl Tower)."<sup>221</sup> Thereafter, the literati began to realize that [they were mistaken]. Those who passed this place were able to visualize the beautiful appearance of Lü-zhu.

To the southwest of the spring was the Yuan-hui Temple (Temple of the Fulfilled Vow), formerly the residence of Wang Yi<sup>222</sup>, Spuire-attendant of the Central Secretariat (*Zhong-shu shi-lang*)<sup>223</sup>. In front of the Buddha's Hall was a mulberry tree. At a level five Chinese feet above the ground, the tree had branches and leaves stretching out sideways, taking the shape of an umbrella. This also happened at another level five Chinese feet higher. Altogether there were five such levels, each level having different leaves and berries. In the capital, this was called a sacred mulberry tree by monks and Laymen alike. Spectators were as crowded here as in a market Place; a great many made donations. But Emperor [Xiao-wu], hearing of this, was much offended, because he believed that the tree served to delude the people. Consequently, he ordered Yuan Ji<sup>224</sup>, the Court Secretary (*Ji-shi zhong*) and the Attending Secretary within the Imperial Yellow Gate, to have the tree chopped down. The very day became cloudy and dark. From the point where the axe was applied, blood flowed out and down to the ground. Those who saw it all sobbed bitterly.

To the south of the temple was the Yi-shou Ward (Desermg Long Life Ward), where the residence of Duan Hui, Prefect of Bao-xin<sup>225</sup>, was located. Bells were often heard ringing underground, and from time to time five-colored lights shone on the hall. Much amazed, [Duan] Hui dug a hole at the point where the lights emerged, and there he discovered a golden statue about three Chinese feet high. In addition<sup>226</sup>, [he discovered] two bodhisattva statues sitting on a stand<sup>227</sup>, bearing the inscription: Made for Xun Xu (A.D.



## 【原文】

监荀勖造。”暉遂舍宅为光明寺。时人咸云此是荀勖故宅。其后盗者欲窃此像，像与菩萨合声喝贼，盗者惊怖，应即殒倒。众僧闻像叫声，遂来捉得贼。

胡统寺，太后从姑所立也。入道为尼，遂居此寺。在永宁南一里许。宝塔五重，金刹高耸。洞房周匝，对户交疏。朱柱素壁，甚为佳丽。其寺诸尼，帝城名德，善于开导，工谈义理，常入宫与太后说法。其资养缙流，从无比也。

修梵寺，在青阳门内御道北。嵩明寺，复在修梵寺西。并雕墙峻宇，比屋连甍，亦是名寺也。修梵寺有金刚，鸬鹚不入，鸟雀

## 【今译】

五月十五日侍中、中书监荀勖造。”于是段暉就贡献出此宅做了光明寺，当时人都说此宅原先是荀勖的。后来，盗贼要偷走此像时，佛像与菩萨对贼齐声大喝，盗贼惊恐，应声瘫倒在地。众僧听到佛像的叫声，就赶来捉住了盗贼。

胡统寺，由灵太后的一个堂姑所建。堂姑入佛门为尼，就住在此寺。位于永宁寺南一里多远处。宝塔有五层，金色的刹竿高高耸立。相连接的房屋布满四周，门窗交错对应。朱漆的柱子与白色的墙壁，特别好看。这座寺内的诸尼，都是京城里的佛门名流，善于说法，巧于辨析义理。经常进入宫廷为太后说法。作为出家人的素养之高，其他僧尼无法与之相比。

修梵寺，位于青阳门内御道之北。嵩明寺，更在修梵寺的西侧。都是彩雕般的墙壁，高峻的建筑，屋脊连着屋脊，算得上是名寺。修梵寺有



?-289), Chief Palace Attendant and Director of the Central Secretariat (*Zhong-shu sheng*) on the fifteenth day of the fifth month in the second year of the Tai-shi period (Grand Beginning)<sup>228</sup> (June 24 A.D. 266).” Thereupon [Duan] Hui donated his residence to be converted into the Guang-ming Monastery (Monastery of Brightness) which, according to all his contemporaries, was the former residence of Xun Xu. Later, when some robbers attempted to steal the golden statue, the statue, joined by the bodhisattva statues, shouted at them in chorus. Alarmed and frightened, the robbers fell to the ground instantly. Having heard the calls of the statues, the monks came out and caught the robbers.

The Hu-tong Nunnery (Nunnery of the Chief of Tuo-ba Monks)<sup>229</sup> was founded by an aunt of the empress dowager, who lived here after she had accepted Buddhist teachings and become a nun. It was located slightly more than one *li* to the south of the Yong-ning Monastery. It had a five-storied stūpa, [topped with] a lofty golden steeple. With its many suites of spacious rooms<sup>230</sup>, fitted with symmetrical windows and doors, red pillars and white walls, it was the height of elegance and beauty. The nuns here were among the most renowned and accomplished in the imperial city, skillful at preaching and discussing Buddhist principles. They often came to the palace to lecture on Dharma for the empress dowager, whose patronage of Buddhists and laymen<sup>231</sup> was without equal.

The Xiu-fan Temple (Temple for the Cultivation of Goodness) was located to the north of the Imperial Drive and inside the Qing-yang<sup>232</sup> Gate. To the west of the Xiu-fan Temple was the Song-ming Temple (Temple of the Sublime and Bright). Both were famous temples, each with sculptured walls, lofty buildings, connected rooms and joined ridges. The Xiu-fan Temple



## 【原文】

不栖。菩提达摩云得其真相也。

寺北有永和里，汉太师董卓之宅也。里南北皆有池，卓之所造，今犹有水，冬夏不竭。里中有太傅录尚书事长孙稚、尚书右仆射郭祚、吏部尚书邢峦、廷尉卿元洪超、卫尉卿许伯桃、凉州刺史尉成兴等六宅。

皆高门华屋，斋馆敞丽。楸槐荫途，桐杨夹植。当世名为贵里。掘此地者，辄得金玉宝玩之物。时邢峦家常掘得丹砂，及钱数十万，铭云“董太师之物”。后卓夜中随峦索此物，峦不与之。经年，峦遂卒矣。

## 【今译】

金刚像，因而鸬鹚不飞进去，燕雀也不筑巢栖息于此。菩提达摩说这尊像雕出了金刚的真相。

寺北有永和里，汉代的太师董卓的宅邸在此。永和里的南北都有池塘，为董卓所开挖，至今仍蓄着水，冬夏两季都不枯竭。里内有太傅录尚书事长孙稚、尚书右仆射郭祚、吏部尚书邢峦、廷尉卿元洪超、卫尉卿许伯桃、凉州刺史尉成兴等六人的宅邸。

这些宅邸无一不是高门华堂，书房别院也宽敞漂亮。楸树槐树给道路带来荫护，还交错地种植着桐树杨树。当代称之为贵里。在这一带向地下挖掘，总能获得金玉珍品。当时邢峦家就前后挖到丹砂以及铜钱数十万，有铭文说是“董太师之物”。后来董卓半夜里找邢峦索回这些东西，邢峦拒不交出。次年邢峦就死了。



had a statue of Vajrapāṇi [guarding its gate], where pigeons and doves were not allowed to enter, nor were sparrows or other birds permitted to come to perch. Bodhidharma<sup>233</sup> thought the statue bore a striking likeness [to Vajrapāṇi].

To the north of the temple was the Yong-he Ward (Ward of Eternal Harmony), previously the private residence of Dong Zhuo (A.D. ?-192)<sup>234</sup>, Grand Preceptor [of the Han]. In both the south and north end of the ward was a pond constructed on orders of [Dong] Zhuo. Even today there is still water in the ponds, which do not become dry in winter or summer.

In the ward were the six residences of the following: Zhang-sun Zhi<sup>235</sup>, Grand Tutor and Chief of Ministers (*Tai-fu Lu Shang-shu shi*); Guo Zuo<sup>236</sup>, Vice President on the Right, Department of State Affairs (*Shang-shu you pu-ye*); Xing Luan<sup>237</sup>, Secretary General of the Ministry of Civil Office (*Li-bu shang-shu*); Yuan Hong-chao<sup>238</sup>, Commandant of Justice (*Ting-wei qing*); Xu Bo-tao<sup>239</sup>, Commandant of the Palace Guards (*Wei-wei qing*); and Wei Cheng-xing<sup>240</sup>, Governor of Liang-zhou<sup>241</sup>.

These were all elegant mansions with high gates and spacious halls. The study rooms were imposing and beautiful. Catalpa and locust trees sheltered the street, amidst *wu-tong*<sup>242</sup> and willow trees, which were planted in alternation. Contemporaries considered this ward an exclusive area. Here diggers often found such valuables as gold, jade, and other equally precious articles. Once<sup>243</sup> Xing Luan unearthed at his home some cinnamon and several tens of thousands of coins, along with an inscription that read: "The belongings of Grand Preceptor Dong." One night, later, [Dong] Zhuo [appeared to Xing Luan in a dream] and reclaimed these things. [Xing] Luan<sup>244</sup>, however, refused to yield. A year later, [Xing] Luan died as a result.



## 【原文】

景林寺，在开阳门内御道东。讲殿叠起，房庑连属。丹楹炫日，绣栊迎风，实为胜地。寺西有园，多饶奇果。春鸟秋蝉，鸣声相续。中有禅房一所，内置祇洹精舍，形制虽小，巧构难比。加以禅阁虚静，隐室凝邃，嘉树夹牖，芳杜匝阶，虽云朝市，想同岩谷。净行之僧，绳坐其内，飡风服道，结跏数息。

有石铭一所，国子博士卢白头为其文。

白头，一字景裕，范阳人也。性爱恬静，丘园放敖。学极六经，说通百氏。普泰初，起家为国子博士。虽在朱门，以注述为事，注《周易》行之于世也。

建春门内御道南有句盾、典农、籍田三署。籍田南有司农寺。

## 【今译】

景林寺位于开阳门内御道之东。讲经的殿堂层层高耸，四周的房屋间间相连。红色的堂柱辉映阳光，五彩的画椽迎送流风，这里确实是一个名胜之地。寺的西侧有园林，生长着很多奇异的果树。春鸟秋蝉，鸣啭之声此歇彼起，随时光而连续。园内有一所禅房，禅房内安置着祇洹精舍的模型，制作得虽不大，但精巧无比。加上禅房寂静，隐室深邃，嘉树重掩门窗，杜若绕阶送香，虽说是在都城之内，却仿佛处于深山之中。修炼清净行的僧人们，坐在室内的绳床上，舍弃口腹的欲望，感受佛道的崇高，结跏趺坐，默数气息，以达到心静神定。

有一块石碑，铭文由国子博士卢白头所撰写。

白头，一字景裕，是范阳人。天性爱好恬静，自由自在地过田园生活。他的学识遍极六经，谈论通达诸子百家。普泰初年（531），被起用为国子博士。虽然身居官衙，仍热心于注解经典，他注的《周易》流行于当时。

建春门内御道之南有句盾、典农、籍田三署。籍田署的南边有





The Jing-lin Monastery (Forest Prospect Monastery) was located to the east of the Imperial Drive and inside the Kai-yang Gate. Its lecture halls rose one after another; rooms and corridors were closely connected. Red columns gleamed in the sunlight, and painted rafters welcomed the breeze—it was indeed scenic. To the west of the monastery was an orchard, which abounded in rare fruits. Birds sang in the spring and cicadas chirped in autumn—the pleasant sound seemed to be continuous. Inside was a meditation hall<sup>245</sup>, within which was an abode of the pure celibate<sup>246</sup>. Small in size, the hall was a matchless design<sup>247</sup>. Furthermore, the meditation pavilions were quiet, and the secluded rooms were hidden from view—fine trees lined the windows, and aromatic *du[-ruo]* (*pollia japonica*) encircled the stairways. Even though the monastery was located in a noisy area, it was as quiet as though it were in a valley or on a cliff. Inside, the monks sat erect, observing ascetic rituals<sup>248</sup>. Feeding on the wind, they were absorbed in Buddhist teachings. Sitting cross-legged, they counted the breaths they took, in order to calm their minds and bodies for meditation<sup>249</sup>.

Inside was a stone monument, the inscription of which was composed by Lu Bai-tou, Erudite of the Imperial Academy (*Guo-zi bo-shi*)<sup>250</sup>.

[Lu] Bai-tou, whose style was Jing-yu, was a native of Fan-yang. By nature he was fond of tranquillity<sup>251</sup>, enjoying an untrammelled life in the countryside. He had mastered the six classics, and was well-versed in one hundred schools of philosophy. In the early Pu-tai years (A.D.531–532), he started his government career as an Erudite of the Imperial Academy. Even though he was in public service<sup>252</sup>, he engaged himself in writing and in preparing commentaries [for the classics], [including] the commentaries for the *Zhou Yi* still in circulation<sup>253</sup>.

To the south of the Imperial Drive and inside the Jian-chun Gate were



## 【原文】

御道北有空地，拟作东宫，晋中朝时太仓处也。太仓西南有翟泉，周回三里，即《春秋》所谓王子虎、晋狐偃盟于翟泉也。水犹澄清，洞底明净。鳞甲潜藏，辨其鱼鳖。

高祖于泉北置河南尹。

中朝时步广里也。

泉西有华林园。高祖以泉在园东，因名曰苍龙海。华林园中有大海，即汉天渊池。

池中犹有魏文帝九华台。高祖于台上造清凉殿，世宗在海内作蓬莱山，山上有仙人馆。台上有钓台殿，并作虹霓阁，乘虚来往。至于三月禊

## 【今译】

司农寺。御道之北有一块空地，准备建东宫，此处是西晋太仓的旧址。太仓西南翟泉，池周长达三里，也说是《春秋》中王子虎与晋国的狐偃会盟的“翟泉”。池水还很清澈，透底明净，能辨别潜隐于深水之中的鱼鳖。

高祖在翟泉之北设置河南尹公署。

西晋时此处是步广里。

翟泉之西有华林园。因为翟泉在华林园的东边，所以高祖将它命名为苍龙海。华林园中有大湖泊，就是汉代的天渊池。

天渊池中还有魏文帝时建筑的九华台。高祖在这个台上修造了清凉殿，世宗在华林园的大湖泊里作起了蓬莱山。山上有仙人馆。九华台上有钓台殿。在殿台楼阁之间，建起了如彩虹一般的阁道，来来往往，就像是乘空而行。每当三月三修禊之日，或是暮秋巳辰之



[three] offices: the office of the Imperial Palace Parks (*Gou-dun*)<sup>254</sup>, the Office of Agriculture (*Dian-nong*), and that of the Sacred Field (*Ji-tian*). To the south of the Office of the Sacred Field was the Office of Agriculture. To the north of the Imperial Drive was a tract of vacant land originally designated as the site for the palace of the crown prince. It was at the place where the Imperial Granary of the Western Jin had stood. Southwest<sup>256</sup> of the Imperial Granary was the Di-quan, which was three *li* in circumference. According to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, Wang Zi-hu made a covenant at this place with Hu-yan of the Jin [and others]<sup>257</sup>. At the present time the water is [still] pure<sup>258</sup> and the bottom clear and calm so that one can distinguish a turtle from a fish hiding under the water.

Emperor Gao-zu set up [an office] for the Metropolitan Prefect of He-nan (*He-nan yin*) to the north of the Di-quan. It was known as the Bu-guang Ward (Ward of Long Strides) during the Western Jin<sup>259</sup>.

To the west of the Di-quan was the Hua-lin Park (Flowering Forest Park)<sup>260</sup>. Because the Di-quan was situated to the east of the [Hua-lin] Park, Emperor Gao-zu named it the Cang-long Lake (Lake of Blue Dragon)<sup>261</sup>. Inside the Hua-lin Park was a large pond, known as the Tian-yuan Pond (Heavenly Abyss) during the Han.

In the pond, there was still the Jiu-hua Terrace (Nine Flowers Terrace)<sup>262</sup> [built at the command of] Emperor Wen [of the Wei]<sup>263</sup>. Emperor Gao-zu had a Qing-liang Palace (Cool, Refreshing Palace) built on the terrace, and Emperor Shi-zong had a Peng-lai Hill<sup>264</sup> built in the pond. On the hill was a Xian-ren Abode (Immortals' Abode), and on the terrace, the Diao-tai Palace<sup>265</sup> (Anglers' Tower Palace). The Hong-ni Corridor (Rainbow Corridor) connected the abode and the palace. [One felt himself walking in the void when] visiting these places. At the third day of the third month<sup>266</sup> and again on nice days<sup>267</sup> in the late autumn,



## 【原文】

日，季秋巳辰，皇帝驾龙舟鹢首，游于其上。

海西有藏冰室，六月出冰，以给百官。海西南有景山殿。山东有羲和岭，岭上有温风室。山西有姮娥峰，峰上有露寒馆。并飞阁相通，凌山跨谷。山北有玄武池。山南有清暑殿。殿东有临涧亭，殿西有临危台。

景阳山南，有百果园，果别作林，林各有堂。有仙人枣，长五寸，把之两头俱出，核细如针，霜降乃熟，食之甚美。俗传云出昆仑山，一曰西王母枣。又有仙人桃，其色赤，表里照彻，得霜乃熟。亦出昆仑山，一曰王母桃也。

柰林南有石碑一所，魏明帝所立也。题云“苗茨之碑”。高祖于碑北作苗茨堂。

## 【今译】

时，皇帝乘坐着船头画有鹢鸟的龙舟游览于池中。

大湖泊的西边是藏冰室。一到六月就将冰取出，赐给百官。大湖泊的西南有景阳山，山的东侧有羲和岭，岭上有温风室。山的西侧有姮娥峰，峰上有露寒馆。空中阁道跨越山谷之间，彼此勾通连接。山的北侧有玄武池，山的南侧有清暑殿。殿东有临涧亭，殿西有临危台。

景阳山的南边有百果园。果物以类分别，各自为林，林内各有一堂。有仙人枣，长达五寸，用手一抓，枣肉就向两边溢出，枣核细小如针，霜降时才成熟，食用起来味道很美。民间传说这种枣出于昆仑山，也有人称作西王母枣。又有仙人桃，颜色赤红，内外透明，经霜打之后才成熟。它也出于昆仑山，又称王母桃。

柰树林的南边有一座石碑，是魏明帝所立，题写为“苗茨之碑”。高祖在石碑的北面修建了苗茨堂。



the Emperor would come here to ride in a dragon boat, its bow painted with the picture of the fabulous Yi bird<sup>268</sup>.

To the west of the pond was the Ice Storehouse, from which ice was taken out in the sixth month to give to officials. Southwest of the Pond was the Jing-yang<sup>169</sup> Hill (Hill of Bright Sunlight). To the east of the Hill was the Xi-he Ridge<sup>270</sup>, on which was the Wen-feng Chamber (Warm Breeze Chamber). To the west was the Heng-e Peak<sup>271</sup>, on which was the Lu-han Hall (Hall of Chilly Dew). They were connected by elevated corridors over the hill and valley. To the north of the hill was the Xuan-wu Pond (Dark Warrior Pond)<sup>272</sup>; to the south, the Qing-shu Palace (Palace to Cool the Summer Heat). To the east of the palace was the Lin-jian Pavilion (Pavilion Facing the Brook), to the west, the Lin-wei Tower (Tower Facing the Danger)<sup>273</sup>.

To the south of the Jing-yang Hill was the Bai-guo Orchard (Orchard of the Hundred Fruits) in which each species of fruit was planted in a separate area. Each area had a separate [storage] room. In the orchard were Immortal's Date Trees, which bore fruit five inches long. When squeezed, the stone, as fine as a needle, would come out from either end. The dates ripened only after frost, and were delicious. The popular belief was that the trees had originated in the Kun-lun Mountains<sup>274</sup>, so they were also known as the Dates of the Queen Mother of the West<sup>275</sup>. In addition, there were Immortals' Peaches of a reddish outside and transparent flesh revealing the meat [tantalizingly] below the surface. The peaches ripened only after frost<sup>276</sup> and they too were known as the Peach [Tree] of the Queen Mother of the West, since they also had their origin in the Kun-lun Mountains.

To the south of the Nai-lin (Crab Apple Orchard) was a stone monument erected under Emperor Ming of the Wei, entitled "The Monument of the Thatched<sup>277</sup> [Hall]". [Accordingly,] Emperor Gao-zu had a Thatched Hall built in the rear of the monument<sup>278</sup>.



## 【原文】

永安中，庄帝马射于华林园，百官皆来读碑，疑“苗”字误。国子博士李同轨曰：“魏明英才，世称三祖。公幹、仲宣，为其羽翼。但未知本意如何，不得言误也。”銜之时为奉朝请，因即释曰：“以蒿覆之，故言‘苗茨’。何误之有？”众咸称善，以为得其旨归。

柰林西有都堂，有流觞池。堂东有扶桑海。凡此诸海，皆有石窦流于地下，西通穀水，东连阳渠，亦与翟泉相连。若旱魃为害，穀水注之不竭；离毕滂润，阳穀泄之不盈。至于鳞甲异品，羽毛殊类，濯波浮浪，如似自然也。

## 【今译】

永安年间（528-530），庄帝于华林园中骑射的时候，随从百官都来读此石碑，怀疑“苗”字有误。国子博士李同轨说：“魏明帝是英明之主，世人将他与武帝、文帝合称三祖。刘公幹、王仲宣都是他的辅翼之臣。只是不知此碑文的本意如何，不能轻易说它有误。”我当时为奉朝请，给予解释说：“以蒿草覆盖房屋，因此称为‘苗茨’。又有什么错误呢？”众人异口同声说好，认为抓住了碑文的旨趣。

柰树林的西边有都堂，有流觞池。都堂之东有扶桑海。以上这些沼池湖泊，都有石渠导流于地下，西与穀水相通，东与阳渠相接，也与翟泉相连。如遇旱魃作怪为害，穀水能够不断地涌入而不枯竭；如遇大雨滂沱而下，阳渠又能不断地排出而不泛滥。至于水里的各种鱼鳖，空中的各类飞鸟，在水面上戏波浮浪，这不是有自然的神趣吗！



In the Yong-an period, Emperor Zhuang [practiced] a shooting game on horseback (*ma-she*) in the Hua-lin Park. When the attending officials read the monument, they suspected that the character *miao* (of the hall's name) was in error. Li Tong-gui<sup>279</sup>, Erudite of the Imperial Academy, said: "[Emperor] Ming<sup>280</sup> of the Wei was a talented man. [Along with Emperors Wu and Wen], he was known as one of the three [enlightened] founding ancestors [of the Wei]. Liu Zhen and Wang Can<sup>281</sup>, furthermore, served as his assistants. They might have misunderstood the original meaning, but would certainly not be in error." At the time, in the capacity of a court guest<sup>282</sup>, I<sup>283</sup> then explained: "A hall covered under dried hay<sup>284</sup> is known as 'a thatched hall'. Where is there any error?" All those present approved [this interpretation], considering that I was able to grasp the real meaning.

To the east of the Crab Apple Orchard were the Du-tang (Lodging House)<sup>285</sup> and the Liu-shang Pond (Floating-cup Pond)<sup>286</sup>. To the east of the House was the Fu-sang Lake<sup>287</sup>.

All the lakes and ponds had underground stone drainage, connected with the Gu River (Grain River) to the west and the Yang Canal (Sunlight Canal) to the east. They were also linked with the Di-quan. At the time of drought<sup>288</sup>, [water] from the Gu River would flow in to keep them from becoming dry. At times of excessive rain<sup>289</sup>, the Gu and Yang would take in water to keep them from overflowing. Rare species of fish and shellfish, along with various kinds of waterfowl, appeared to enjoy nature here, swimming about and [now and then] ducking beneath the surface.

## 卷二 城东

### 【原文】

明悬尼寺，彭城武宣王颺所立也。在建春门外石桥南。

穀水围绕城，至建春门外，东入阳渠石桥。桥有四石柱，在道南，铭云“汉阳嘉四年将作大匠马宪造”。逮我孝昌三年大雨颓桥，南柱始埋没，道北二柱至今犹存。銜之按：刘澄之《山川古今记》、戴延之《西征记》并云晋太康元年造，此则失之远矣。按澄之等并生在江表，未游中土，假因征役，暂来经过，至于旧事，多非亲览，闻诸道路，便为



### 【今译】

明悬尼寺，由彭城武宣王元颺所建。在建春门外石桥之南。

穀水环绕城墙，一直到建春门外，向东流入阳渠石桥之下。石桥有四根石柱。在路南侧的石柱上刻有“汉阳嘉四年(135)将作大匠马宪造”的铭文。到我朝孝昌三年(527)大雨冲垮了石桥，路南的石柱才埋没于地下，路北的两根石柱到现在还留存。銜之按：刘澄之《山川古今记》、戴延之《西征记》都说此石桥是晋太康元年(280)建造，这种说法相差太远了。澄之等人都生在江南，没有游历中原，借着远征服役的机会，偶而经过此地，对于过去的事情，大多不是亲眼所见，只是道听途说，就随





## Chapter 2

### Eastern Suburbs

#### (*Cheng-dong*)

The Ming-xuan<sup>1</sup> Nunnery (Nunnery of Clear Mani-festations) was founded by Yuan xie, Prince of Peng-cheng, whose posthumous title was Wu-xuan (Demonstrator of Valor)<sup>2</sup>. It was located outside the Jian-chun Gate and to the south of the Stone Bridge<sup>3</sup>.

The River Gu circled the walled city, and, after reaching a point outside the Jian-chun Gate, flowed eastward into the Yang Canal under the Stone Bridge. The bridge had four stone<sup>4</sup> pillars, on the southern side of the road<sup>5</sup>. On one of the pillars was an inscription that reads: "Built in the fourth year of Yang-jia (Bright and Auspicious) (A.D. 135) of the Han [under the supervision]<sup>6</sup> of Ma Xian, the Palace Internuncio (*Zhong-ye-zhe*)<sup>7</sup> and currently the Court Architect (*Jiang-zuo da-jiang*).” It was not until<sup>8</sup> the third year of Xiao-chang (A.D. 527) that a heavy rain damaged the bridge and caused the southern pillars to sink into the water. The [other] two pillars on the northern side of the road, [however], survive even to this day.

[Yang] Xuan-zhi's note: *An Account of Mountains and Rivers, Ancient and Contemporary*<sup>9</sup> by Liu Cheng-zhi and *An Account of the Western Expedition* by Dai Yan-zhi<sup>10</sup> both claimed that the bridge was built in the first year of Tai-kang (Great Peace) (A.D. 280). This is a serious mistake. [Liu] Cheng-zhi and [Dai] Yan-zhi were both<sup>11</sup> born in the Yangtze region and had not traveled in this area<sup>12</sup>. While in military service, they happened to pass through this place. As for the historical events, they were not eyewitnesses. Based on hearsay, [their remarks] were



## 【原文】

穿凿，误我后学，日月已甚。

有三层塔一所，未加庄严。寺东有中朝时常满仓，高祖令为租场，天下贡赋所聚蓄也。

龙华寺，宿卫羽林虎贲等所立也。在建春门外阳渠南。

寺南有租场。

阳渠北有建阳里，里内有土台，高三丈，上作二精舍。

赵逸云：“此台是中朝时旗亭也。上有二层楼，悬鼓击之以罢市。”

有钟一口，撞之，闻五十里。太后以钟声远闻，遂移在宫内，置凝闲堂前，与内讲沙门打为时节。孝昌初，萧衍子豫章王综来降，闻此钟声，以为奇异，遂造《听钟歌》三首，行传于世。

综字世谦，伪齐昏主宝卷遗腹子也。宝卷临政淫乱，吴

## 【今译】

便加以穿凿附会，贻误后学，为时已久。

寺内有一座三层宝塔，没有加以修饰。寺的东边有西晋时的常满仓，高祖下令将它改为收租场，天下的贡品、赋税都聚集在这个地方。

龙华寺，是宿卫、羽林、虎贲等将士所建造。在建春门外的阳渠之南。

寺的南面有租场。

阳渠的北边有建阳里，里内有一座土台，高达三丈，上面建造了两个精舍。

赵逸说：“这座土台是西晋时的旗亭。亭上有两层楼的建筑，上面悬挂着一面鼓，敲击此鼓以代表集市的结束。”

有一口钟，撞击此钟，五十里内都能听到钟声。太后因为此钟的声音远传，于是就将它搬移到宫内，安置在凝闲堂之前，给在宫内讲经的和尚打更计时。孝昌初年，萧衍的儿子豫章王萧综来归降，听到这里的钟声，感到很惊奇，于是创作了《听钟歌》三首，传诵于世。

萧综字世谦，是伪齐东昏侯萧宝卷的遗腹子。萧宝卷

therefore unreliable<sup>13</sup>. For a long time they have misled men of later generations.

In the nunnery was a three-storied stūpa that was not particularly magnificent. To the south of the nunnery was [the site of the] Ever-full Granary (*Chang-man Cang*) built during the Western Jin. On order of Emperor Gao-zu, it was converted into a Tax-Grain Yard<sup>14</sup> where taxes in kind and tributes [collected from every corner] of the nation were stored.

The Long-hua Temple (Dragon-flower Temple) founded by *yu-lin* (plumed forest) and *hu-ben* (tiger-rushing) and other palace guards, was situated to the north of the Yang Canal and outside the Jian-chun Gate. To the south of the temple was the Tax-Grain Yard. To the south of the Yang Canal was the Jian-yang Ward (Welcoming the Sunlight Ward) within which was a mound of [earth]. It rose thirty Chinese feet above the ground, on the top of which were two Buddhist retreats for meditation or study.

According to Zhao Yi, the mound was the site where the Flag Pavilion (*Qi-ting*)<sup>16</sup> of the Western Jin stood. The pavilion supported a two-storied structure from which a drum was suspended. Someone would strike the drum to mark the end of market [hours].

There was also a bell, which, when struck, could be heard even fifty *li* away. Because it was audible at such a distance, the empress dowager had it moved into the palace and installed in front of the Ning-xian Hall (Hall of Vigilant Leisure)<sup>17</sup>. The bell was struck to keep time for those monks lecturing on Buddhist teachings<sup>18</sup> inside [the palace]. In the early years of the Xiao-chang period<sup>19</sup>, [Xiao] Zong, Prince of Yu-zhang and son of Xiao Yan, came over and surrendered (A.D. 525). Impressed by the unusual sound of this bell, he composed three songs entitled "Listening to the Bell"<sup>20</sup> that are presently in circulation<sup>21</sup>.

[Xiao] Zong, styled Shi-qian<sup>22</sup>, was the son born to [Xiao] Bao-juan, the despot of the Qi [dynasty] after his death. [Xiao] Bao-juan's rule was licentious and catastrophic, which the people in the Wu<sup>23</sup> region found most oppressive Xiao Yan, Governor of Yong-zhou<sup>24</sup>, who had





## 【原文】

人苦之。雍州刺史萧衍立南康王宝融为主，举兵向秣陵，事既克捷，遂杀宝融而自立。宝卷有美人吴景晖，时孕综经月，衍因幸景晖，及综生，认为己子，小名缘觉，封豫章王。综形貌举止甚似昏主，其母告之，令自方便。综遂归我圣阙，更改名曰缵，字德文，始为宝卷追服三年丧。明帝拜综为太尉公，封丹阳王。永安年中，尚庄帝姊寿阳公主字莒犁。公主容色美丽，综甚敬之。与公主语，常自称下官。授齐州刺史，加开府。及京师倾覆，综弃州北走。时尔朱世隆专权，遣取公主至洛阳，世隆逼之，公主骂曰：“胡狗，敢辱天王女乎！”世隆怒，遂缢杀之。

## 【今译】

临朝执政的时候，荒淫昏乱，吴地的人民深感痛苦。雍州刺史萧衍于是拥立南康王萧宝融为一国之主，率领兵马杀向秣陵（南齐都城），在即将全胜之际，萧衍就杀死萧宝融，自立为王。萧宝卷有一个宫女名叫吴景晖，当时怀着萧综已有一个月，萧衍因为曾经将景晖占为己有，所以等到萧综出生时，萧衍就认他为自己的儿子，小名缘觉，封他为豫章王。萧综的相貌举止很像东昏侯，他的母亲将实情告诉他，由他自己作出选择。萧综于是归顺我们的圣朝，并改名为缵，字德文，从那时开始为萧宝卷追服三年丧。孝明帝任用他为太尉公，封为丹阳王。永安年间，娶庄帝的姐姐寿阳公主莒犁。公主容貌美丽，萧综很敬重她，与公主谈话时，常常自称下官。他被授予齐州刺史，加官开府。京城大乱时，萧综丢下所管辖的齐州，往北逃走。那时尔朱世隆专权，派人捉拿公主到洛阳，世隆对她强暴，公主骂道：“胡狗，竟敢污辱天王的女儿吗？”世隆发怒，于是将公主绞死。



enthroned Xiao Bao-rong , Prince of Nan-kang , raised an army to march toward Mo-ling [the capital of the Southern Qi dynasty]. After the successful campaign, [Xiao Yan] then murdered [Xiao] Bao-rong and proclaimed himself the new emperor<sup>25</sup>. Wu Jing-hui, a consort<sup>26</sup> of [Xiao] Bao-juan, who had been pregnant with Xiao Zong for several months, had an affair with [Xiao] Yan. After [Xiao] Zong's birth<sup>27</sup>, [Xiao Yan] then took [the baby] as his own son, renamed him Yuan-jue (Enlightened through Reasoning), and ennobled him as the Prince of Yu-zhang. [Xiao] Zong's manner and appearance bore close resemblance to those of the despot [Xiao Bao-juan]. His mother told him the truth [about his origin] and asked him to take any action he saw fit. As a result, [Xiao] Zong came to our holy dynasty. He was renamed [Xiao] Zuan<sup>29</sup>, styled De-wen<sup>30</sup>, [and only until after his surrender to the north was he able to] observe the three-year mourning period for [Xiao] Bao-juan. Emperor Ming appointed him Grand Commandant and ennobled him as Prince of Dan-yang. During the Yong-an period (Permanent Peace) (A.D. 528-530), he was married to Princess Shou-yang, styled Jü-li, who was Emperor Zhuang's elder sister. She was a pretty girl, for whom [Xiao] Zong had great respect. In conversation, [Xiao Zong] often referred to himself as "your humble servant"<sup>31</sup>. He was later promoted<sup>32</sup> to the post of Governor of Qi-zhou<sup>33</sup>, with the additional title Palatine Ceremonially Equal to the Three Authorities. When the capital fell into the hands of the rebels (A.D. 530), [Xiao] Zong abandoned his provincial post to flee northward<sup>34</sup>. At that time Er-zhu Shi-long<sup>35</sup>, a man of power at the court, ordered that the princess be escorted to Luo-yang, where he made advances to her. The princess, however, cried out at him, saying, "You barbarian dog! Dare you insult the Heavenly Emperor's daughter?"<sup>36</sup> [Er-zhu] Shi-long, infuriated, [ordered] her hanged.



## 【原文】

瓔珞寺，在建春门外御道北，所谓建阳里也。

即中朝时白社地，董威辇所居处。

里有瓔珞、慈善、晖和、通觉、晖玄、宗圣、魏昌、熙平、崇真、因果等十寺。里内士庶二千馀户，信崇三宝。众僧利养，百姓所供也。

宗圣寺，有像一躯，举高三丈八尺，端严殊特，相好毕备，士庶瞻仰，目不暂瞬。此像一出，市井皆空，炎光辉赫，独绝世表。妙伎杂乐，亚于刘腾。城东士女，多来此寺观看也。

崇真寺，比丘慧焱死经七日还活，经阎罗王检阅，以错召放免。

## 【今译】

瓔珞寺，位于建春门外御道之北，就是所谓建阳里。

也就是西晋时白社的所在地，董威辇的住处也在这一带。

里有瓔珞、慈善、晖和、通觉、晖玄、宗圣、魏昌、熙平、崇真、因果等十座寺院。里内的两千多户居民都信仰佛教。众僧的生活也由百姓供养。

宗圣寺内，有一尊佛像，高达三丈八尺，庄严端正，具备佛的所有吉相。前来拜观的人们，顿时目不转睛。每当这尊佛像搬出来参加佛教庆典，平常熙熙攘攘的街巷就为之一空。佛像的光辉灿烂，真是无与伦比。伴随表演的杂技、音乐，其精彩程度仅次于刘腾的长秋寺。城东的男男女女，大多聚集在此寺观看。

崇真寺的比丘慧焱死后，经过了七天便复活。通过阎罗王的审查，判定他是被错召进来的，因而免除了这次的死亡。



The Ying-luo Temple (Necklace Temple) was located inside the Jian-chun Gate and to the north of the Imperial Drive. It was in the so-called Jian-yang Ward.

During the Western Jin, the ward was known as the Bai-she area, where Dong Wei-nian<sup>38</sup> lived.

In the ward were ten temples in all: the Ying-luo, Ci-shan (Temple of the Merciful and Kind), Hui-he (Temple of the Illuminating and Harmonious), Tong-jue (Temple of Penetrating Enlightenment), Hui-xuan (Temple of Illuminating the Obscure), Zong-sheng (Temple of Respect for the Sage), Wei-chang (Temple of Prosperous Wei), Xi-ping (Temple of the Prosperous and Peaceful), and Yin-guo (Temple of Retribution). A congregation of more than two thousand households (*hu*) lived in the ward, all devoted to Buddhism<sup>39</sup> and serving as provisioners for the temples and monks<sup>40</sup>.

In the Zong-sheng Temple was an image<sup>41</sup> that was thirty-eight Chinese feet high. Its countenance was unusually grave, and it had all [the thirty-two marks and eighty signs on the body]<sup>42</sup>. People held the statue in high esteem and could not take their eyes off it<sup>43</sup>. When ever the statue was on parade, [they would leave their homes or the marketplace to see it, so that] all the homes and marketplaces were virtually empty. The aureole<sup>44</sup> of this statue had no parallel in its time. The skillful games and miscellaneous music performed here were second in excellence only to those in Liu Teng's [Chang-qi Temple]. Men and women living in the eastern section of the city often came to this temple to watch the shows.

Hui-yi<sup>45</sup>, a monk of the Chong-zhen Monastery, regained life after having been dead for seven days. He was released from [the nether world] by Yama [the God of the Dead] who reviewed his case and found that he had been summoned by mistake in the first place.

## 【原文】

慧疑具说过去之时，有五比丘同阅。一比丘云是宝明寺智圣，以坐禅苦行得升天堂。有一比丘是般若寺道品，以诵经四十卷《涅槃》，亦升天堂。有一比丘云是融觉寺昙谟最，讲《涅槃》《华严》，领众千人。阎罗王曰：“讲经者心怀彼我，以骄凌物，比丘中第一粗行。今唯试坐禅、诵经，不问讲经。”其昙谟最曰：“贫道立身以来，唯好讲经，实不暗诵。”阎罗王敕付司，即有青衣十人送昙谟最向西北门。屋舍皆黑，似非好处。有一比丘云是禅林寺道弘，自云教化四辈檀越，造一切经，人中金像十躯。阎罗王曰：“沙门之体，必须摄心守道，志在禅诵。不干世事，不作有为。虽造作经像，正欲得他人财物；既得财

## 【今译】

慧疑陈述死后经历时，说有五位比丘一同受审。一位比丘据说是宝明寺的智圣，因其坐禅、做苦行僧，获准升入天堂。另有一位比丘是般若寺的道品，因诵读四十卷《涅槃经》，也升入天堂。还有一位比丘据说是融觉寺的昙谟最，生前讲解《涅槃经》与《华严经》，手下有弟子千余人。阎罗王说：“讲经的人心里有彼我之分，傲慢欺人，是比丘中品行最粗鄙的。现在只请你试着坐禅、诵经，不要管什么讲解佛经！”这个昙谟最说：“愚僧从长大以来，只爱好讲经，根本不默诵。”阎罗王下令把他交给下属，立即来了十个青衣人，把昙谟最送往西北门。房屋漆黑一团，似乎不是什么好地方。有一位比丘据说是禅林寺的道弘，自称教化过四代施主，并刻写一切经，塑造等身金佛像十尊。阎罗王说：“作为沙门，必须持心守道，专念于坐禅诵经，不干预世俗之事，无心于表现自我。你虽然写经造像，却正是为了谋取他



Hui-yi told [others] what had happened [during the seven-day period]. Five other monks were examined along with him, one among them being Zhi-sheng, a monk of the Bao-ming Temple (Temple of the Precious and Bright), who was able to ascend to the paradise by practices of meditation<sup>46</sup> and asceticism<sup>47</sup>. Another monk, Dao-pin of the Bo-re Temple (Prajñā Temple) also was able to ascend to the paradise because he had recited the forty-volume Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra<sup>48</sup>. Another monk, Tan-mo-zui<sup>49</sup> of the Rong-jue Monastery (Monastery of the Harmonious Awakening), had lectured on the Mahāparinirvāṇa and the Avataṃsaka<sup>50</sup>. He was the leader of a group of one thousand persons. Yama said, "Lecturers on Buddhism are inclined to be discriminatory<sup>51</sup> and arrogantly intimidating<sup>52</sup>. This is the most detestable behavior a monk may pursue. Now you should try only to meditate and chant sūtras, paying no attention to lecturing." In reply, Tan-mo-zui said, "Ever since I became a monk, I have liked lecturing, and indeed I know little about sūtra reciting." Yama then ordered that he be handed over to the proper authority. Immediately ten persons dressed in blue took Tan-mo-zui toward a gate in the northwest [the direction of death in Taoism], where the rooms were all dark and appeared unpleasant. It did not seem to be a good place. Another monk who identified himself as Dao-hong of the Chan-lin Monastery (Meditation Monastery) said that he, as a fundraiser, gave lectures to all four groups<sup>53</sup> (that is, monks, nuns, male and female disciples) and almsgivers<sup>54</sup>, made [copies] of sūtras, and also duplicated<sup>55</sup> ten life-size images [of Buddha] in gold<sup>56</sup>. Yama said: "To be a monk, one must control his mind and abide by Buddhist teaching, and exert his best in meditating and chanting. He should not be involved in mundane affairs, nor undertake anything that deals with world activities. You made copies of sūtras and duplications of Buddhist images, but your real purpose was to acquire money and things from others. Once you have acquired what





## 【原文】

物，贪心即起；既怀贪心，便是三毒不除，具足烦恼。”亦付司，仍与昙谟最同入黑门。有一比丘云是灵觉寺宝真，自云出家之前，尝作陇西太守，造灵觉寺。寺成，即弃官入道。虽不禅诵，礼拜不阙。阎罗王曰：“卿作太守之日，曲理枉法，劫夺民财，假作此寺，非卿之力，何劳说此！”亦付司，青衣送入黑门。

时太后闻之，遣黄门侍郎徐紇依慧窳所说即访宝明等寺。城东有宝明寺，城内有般若寺，城西有融觉、禅林、灵觉等三寺，问智圣、道品、昙谟最、道弘、宝真等，皆实有之。议曰：人死有罪福。即请坐禅僧一百人常在内殿供养之。诏不听持经像沿

## 【今译】

人的财物；而一旦获得财物，即起贪心；有了贪心，就是所谓三毒不除、具足烦恼。”也把他交给下属，与昙谟最一同进入黑门。还有一位比丘据说是灵觉寺的宝真，自述出家之前曾任陇西太守，建造了灵觉寺。寺一落成，随即舍弃官位，加入佛门。虽没有坐禅诵经，但向佛礼拜从未缺过。阎罗王说：“你做太守期间，背理违法，抢夺民财，虽名义上建成此寺，实非你之力，何必费口舌说这些！”也把他交给下属，由青衣人送进黑门。

那时，灵太后听说了这段经历，就派黄门侍郎徐紇依慧窳所说，察访宝明等寺。城东有宝明寺，城内有般若寺，城西有融觉、禅林、灵觉三寺，打听智圣、道品、昙谟最、道弘、宝真诸人，都是实有其人的。朝廷中出现了这样的说法：人死了也有惩罚或福佑。于是请来一百位坐禅僧，把他们供养在内殿。下诏不许手持佛经佛像



you want you will grow greedier, and when you are greedier you will not be free from the three poisons<sup>57</sup> that are sufficient to cause distress." He too was then entrusted to the authority who took him into the black gate in the company of Tan-mo-zui. Still another monk, who called himself Bao-zhen of the Ling-jue Monastery (Monastery of Spiritual Awakening) said of himself that he had been the Grand Warden of Long-xi before leaving home to become a monk. As the Grand Warden, he financed the construction of the Ling-jue Monastery, and, upon its completion, he abandoned his official post and became a monk. Although he did not meditate or chant sūtras, he had never been negligent in religious worship. Yama said: "As Grand Warden, you impaired justice, twisted the law, and robbed people's properties. Even if you claim to have built the temple, it is not due to your efforts [because the expenses are from others]. So it is senseless for you to talk about it!" Entrusted to the official in charge, he too was led into the black gate by a person dressed in blue.

Upon hearing of this, the empress dowager sent Xu He, Attending Secretary within the Imperial Yellow Gate, to proceed immediately to the Bao-ming and [other] <sup>58</sup>monasteries as Hui-yi had said. In the Bo-re Temple within the city limits, and in the three monasteries [known respectively as] the Rong-jue, Chan-lin, and Ling-jue in the western part of the city, there were indeed such monks as Zhi-sheng, Dao-pin, Tan-mo-zui, Dao-hong, and Bao-zhen [who regained life seven days after their death and whose career during their lifetime verified what Hui-yi had said]<sup>59</sup>. The court then resolved: "After death someone may be found guilty, while others may enjoy blessings." Thereupon, one hundred meditating monks were invited to stay inside the palace where they were cared for at public expense. An imperial rescript was issued to prohibit monks from begging [for food and money] on the street while holding Buddhist images and sūtras in hand. Those who used their own money to reproduce sūtras or duplicate images,



## 【原文】

路乞索。若私有财物，造经像者任意。慧寔亦入白鹿山，隐居修道。自此以后，京邑比丘皆事禅诵，不复以讲经为意。出建春门外一里余，至东石桥。

南北而行，晋太康元年造。桥南有魏朝时马市，刑嵇康之所也。

桥北大道西有建阳里，大道东有绥民里。里内有河间刘宣明宅。

神龟年中，以直谏忤旨，斩于都市。讫目不瞑，尸行百步，时人谈以枉死。宣明少有名誉，精通经史，危行及于诛死也。

魏昌尼寺，阉官瀛州刺史李次寿所立也。在里东南角。

即中朝牛马市处也，刑嵇康之所。

## 【今译】

沿路乞求财物。如果个人有财力，可以随意刻经造像。慧寔则进入白鹿山，隐居其中，修习道法。从那时候以来，京城的比丘都倾心于坐禅诵经，再也不注重讲解佛经了。

走出建春门外约一里多地，就到了东石桥。

石桥南北走向，晋太康元年（280）建造。桥的南边有魏朝时的马市，也就是处决嵇康的场所。

桥北大路的西边有建阳里，大路的东边有绥民里。里内有河间刘宣明的住宅。

神龟年间（518-520）刘宣明因为率直进谏，违逆圣旨，被斩杀于街市。眼睛至死不闭，尸体行走百步，当时人都认为他死得冤枉。宣明从小就有很好的名声，精通经学和史学，行为正直以至于被杀而死。

魏昌尼寺，是宦官瀛州刺史李次寿所建立。地处建阳里的东南角。

这也就是西晋的牛马市场，处决嵇康的地方。



however, were free to do so. Hui-yi, for his part, entered the Bai-lu Mountain (White Deer Mountain)<sup>60</sup>, where he lived in seclusion to practice Buddhism. Thereupon, monks in the capital were [more] devoted to meditating and chanting sūtras than lecturing on them.

More than one *li* beyond<sup>61</sup> the Jian-chun Gate is the Dong-shi Bridge (East Stone Bridge). Running from the south to the north, the bridge was built in the first year of Tai-kang of the Jin (A.D. 280). To the south of the bridge was the Horse Market of the Wei<sup>62</sup>, where Ji Kang (A.D. 223-262) was executed<sup>63</sup>.

To the north of the bridge was a main street, on the west side of which was the Jian-yang Ward.

On the east side of the main street was the Sui-min Ward (Ward for Comfort of People), which housed the [former] residence of Liu Xuan-ming, a native of He-jian. [Liu] Xuan-ming was executed in the capital during the Shen-gui period (Sacred Tortoise) (A.D. 518-520) following his submission of a memorial critical of the court. The empress was infuriated and ordered that he be beheaded in the marketplace of the capital. After this was done, his eyes remained open, and his corpse walked one hundred paces. [In private] conversations, his contemporaries deemed him a victim of false accusations<sup>65</sup>. As a youth, [Liu] Xuan-ming was [already] renowned for his mastery of the classics, but his imprudent conduct led him to his execution.

The Wei-chang Nunnery<sup>66</sup> (Nunnery of the Prosperous Wei) was established by the eunuch Li Ci-shou, Governor of Ying-zhou<sup>67</sup>. It was in the southeastern corner of the ward, occupying the same site as the Cattle-Horse Market of the Western Jin.

The place where Ji Kang was executed was located east of the Stone Bridge<sup>68</sup>. Running from the south to the north, the bridge was built in the



## 【原文】

东临石桥。

此桥南北行。晋太康元年中朝时市南桥也。澄之等盖见此桥铭，因而以桥为太康初造也。

石桥南道有景兴尼寺，亦阉官等所共立也。有金像辇，去地三丈，上施宝盖，四面垂金铃、七宝珠，飞天伎乐，望之云表。做工甚精，难可扬榷。像出之日，常诏羽林一百人举此像，丝竹杂伎，皆由旨给。

建阳里东有绥民里，里有洛阳县，临渠水。县门外有洛阳令杨机清德碑。绥民里东，有崇义里。里有京兆人杜子休宅，地形显敞，门临御道。

时有隐士赵逸，云是晋武时人，晋朝旧事，多所记录。正

## 【今译】

东边面临一座石桥。

这座桥南北相通，是晋太康元年（280）洛阳为首都时的市南桥。刘澄之等人大概见到过这座桥的铭文，所以认为此桥是太康初年所建造的。

石桥南路有景兴尼寺，也是宦官们所共同建立。有用黄金做成的像车，离地三丈，上面遮覆着宝盖，四面垂挂着金铃和七种宝玉，还有天女歌舞演奏的塑像，远看好似在云端之上。做工非常精巧，几乎无法用语言来形容。像车出寺的时候，经常是一百个羽林士兵受皇帝之命抬举此像，丝竹乐器以及杂耍歌舞的人，也都是皇上直接下令派来的。

建阳里的东边有绥民里，里有洛阳县府，前临阳渠水流。县府门外有洛阳县令杨机的清德碑。绥民里的东边有崇义里，里有京兆人杜子休的住宅，地形开阔，宅门面临御道。

当时有一位隐士赵逸，据说是晋武帝时的人，对晋朝的许



first year of the Tai-kang period (A.D. 280). It was located to the south of the market under the four reigns of the Western Jin. On the strength of an inscription, which Liu Cheng-zhi and others might have seen, they thought that the bridge was built in the early Tai-kang years<sup>69</sup>.

On the road to the south of the Stone Bridge was the Jing-xing Nunnery (Flourishing Prospect Nunnery)<sup>70</sup>, which was also built by a group of eunuchs as a joint enterprise. There was a gold carriage with an image, which was thirty<sup>71</sup> Chinese feet off the ground. A jeweled canopy was hung above the carriage, from which were suspended gold bells, beads made out of seven varieties of precious materials<sup>72</sup>, and images of Buddhist musicians and entertainers who appeared high up in the clouds<sup>73</sup>. The craftsmanship was so superb it was hard to describe<sup>74</sup>. When the [carriage-held] image was on parade, the emperor as a rule would order one hundred *yu-lin* guards to carry it, with the accompanying music and variety shows all provided for by the court.

To the east of the Jian-yang Ward was the Sui-min Ward, within which, on the bank of the Yang Canal, was Luo-yang City. Outside the city gate was a stone monument dedicated to Yang Ji<sup>75</sup>, Metropolitan Prefect of Luo-yang (Luo-yang *ling*), in recognition of his exemplary virtues<sup>76</sup>. To the east of the Sui-min Ward was the Chong-yi Ward (Ward of Reverence for Righteousness), where the residence of Du zi-xiu, a native of Jing-zhao, was located<sup>77</sup>. [His residence] faced the Imperial Drive and was spacious and enjoyed an inspiring location.

Zhao Yi, a hermit of this time, claimed to be a man [born under the reign of] Emperor Wu (regnant A.D. 265–290) of the Jin. He kept a record of past events that had occurred during the Jin. After his arrival in the capital in early Zheng-guang period, and after he had seen [Du] Zi-xiu's residence, he



## 【原文】

光初来至京师，见子休宅，叹息曰：“此宅中朝时太康寺也。”时人未之信，遂问寺之由绪。逸云：“龙骧将军王濬平吴之后，始立此寺。本有三层浮图，用砖为之。”指子休园中曰：“此是故处。”子休掘而验之，果得砖数万，并有石铭云：“晋太康六年岁次乙巳九月甲戌朔八日辛巳，仪同三司襄阳侯王濬敬造。”时园中果菜丰蔚，林木扶疏。乃服逸言，号为圣人。子休遂舍宅为灵应寺。所得之砖，还为三层浮图。好事者遂寻问晋朝京师何如今日。逸曰：“晋时民少于今日，王侯第宅与今日相似。”又云：“自永嘉已来二百馀年，建国称王者十有六君，吾皆游其都邑，目见

## 【今译】

多旧事，记忆犹新。正光初年（520）来到京城，目睹杜子休的住宅后叹息着说：“这所宅邸是晋朝立都洛阳时的太康寺。”当时的人不相信，于是寻问寺的来历，赵逸说：“龙骧将军王濬平定吴国之后，才开始建造此寺。本来有三层佛塔，用砖砌成。”手指着杜子休庭园中说：“这就是佛塔的遗址。”杜子休往地下挖掘以求验证，果然挖到好几万块砖，同时挖到石铭，铭文说：“晋太康六年（285）岁次乙巳九月甲戌八日辛巳，仪同三司襄阳侯王濬敬造。”当时庭园中种植的水果与蔬菜相当茂盛，成排的树木枝叶扶疏。赵逸的话令人心悦诚服，博得“圣人”之称。杜子休就将住宅贡献出来建成灵应寺。所挖的砖块按原样盖成三层佛塔。有一些好事者进而寻问晋朝京城与现在相比怎样，赵逸说：“晋时人口比今天少，而王侯贵族的宅邸与今天一样多。”又说：“自从永嘉（307-313）以来二百多年，建国称王的共有十六国君，这些国家的都城我都游历过，





said with a sigh: "This residence was the [former] Tai-kang Temple of the Western Jin." Not convinced, his contemporaries then asked him about the history of the temple. [Zhao] Yi said: "Wang Jun, the Dragon-soaring General (*Long-xiang jiang-jun*) had this temple built after his conquest of the Wu<sup>78</sup>. Originally it had a three-storied stūpa, which was made of bricks." [Zhao Yi] pointed to [Du] Zi-xiu's garden and said: "This is the site where the stūpa stood." [Du] Zi-xiu dug up the earth in order to verify [his statement], and indeed he found several tens of thousands (*wan*)<sup>79</sup> of bricks. On the eighth day (*xin-si*) of the ninth month which began with the *jia-xu*<sup>80</sup> day, [he discovered] at the same place a stone inscription that reads: "In the sixth year of the Tai-kang period of the Jin, which falls in the year-cycle *Yi-si*, respectfully built by Wang Jun, Marquis of Xiang-yang, Palatine Ceremonially Equal to the Three Authorities." [At first people could not believe Zhao Yi's statement,] for at the same time, in the garden, fruit [trees] and vegetables were abundant and luxuriant, and the woods were dense. [But with the discovery of bricks underground,] people were convinced by what Zhao Yi had said and therefore referred to him as a sage. [Du] Zi-xiu, for his part, donated his residence and converted it into the Ling-ying Temple (Temple of Miraculous Response). The bricks that he acquired were used in the restoration of the three-storied stūpa.

Out of curiosity, someone then pressed him<sup>81</sup>, asking how he would measure the Jin capital<sup>82</sup> against the present one<sup>83</sup>. [Zhao Yi] said: "The Jin [capital] was less populous than the capital is today, but residences of princes and dukes were much like those of today." Again he remarked: "From the Yong-jia period to the present, during a span of more than two hundred years, there have been sixteen<sup>84</sup> sovereigns who called themselves kings and who [each] founded [their own] dynasties. I visited their capitals and witnessed the things that occurred there. After the downfall



## 【原文】

其事。国灭之后，观其史书，皆非实录，莫不推过于人，引善自向。苻生虽好勇嗜酒，亦仁而不杀。观其治典，未为凶暴。及详其史，天下之恶皆归焉。苻坚自是贤主，贼君取位，妄书君恶，凡诸史官，皆是类也。人皆贵远贱近，以为信然。当今之人，亦生愚死智，惑已甚矣。”人问其故，逸曰：“生时中庸之人耳，及其死也，碑文墓志，莫不穷天地之大德，尽生民之能事，为君共尧舜连衡，为臣与伊臯等迹。牧民之官，浮虎慕其清尘；执法之吏，埋轮谢其梗直。所谓生为盗跖，死为夷齐，佞言伤正，华辞损实。”

## 【今译】

亲眼看见种种事情。国家灭亡以后，如果去看记录国事的史书，可以说都不是实录，无一不是把过错推给别人，把美德拉向自己。苻生虽然好尚勇武，嗜酒成性，不过也还是有仁心，不杀人。查看他当政的决策，不能说是凶恶残暴。可是等到你去阅读史书时，就变成天下所有的坏事都归罪于他。苻坚原本是贤明的君主，却写成害死国君，篡夺帝位，对君王恶行的记录颠倒事实，所有的史官都不出这种类型。人们都贵远贱近，真是不假。当今之人，也都是活着的时候又愚又蠢，死了以后大智大慧，受迷惑已太厉害了。”别人问他为什么这样说，赵逸回答道：“活着的时候不过是平平庸庸的人，等到死了，碑文或墓志铭中，无不将墓主写得囊括天地的大德，穷尽人间的本领。如果是君王的话，就与尧舜比肩；如果是臣僚的话，就与伊尹、皋陶匹敌。如果当的是地方官，为政的清廉连恶虎也感化得渡河而去；如果当的是司法官，为人的耿直胜过前人将车轮埋葬的举动。真是所谓生的时候是盗跖，死了以后就变成伯夷、叔齐，阿谀的言辞戕害正义，华美的文句损伤真实！”



of each dynasty, none of the historical works that I read was truthful: they all laid blame on others while claiming credit for themselves. Although Fu Sheng was<sup>85</sup> bellicose and fond of drink, he was nonetheless humane and not murderous. When one looked at his administration, he was by no means cruel and violent. Yet when one carefully examined the [official] records, [one found that] all evils from every corner of the nation were attributed to him. Fu Jian<sup>86</sup> was on account of this [presented as] as enlightened ruler, but he murdered and replaced his own ruler, and falsely wrote down slander about the latter. In general, all court historians behaved like that. Men are inclined to hold the past in high esteem, but view the present with contempt. Among contemporaries<sup>87</sup>, the living are deemed stupid but the deceased wise. It is indeed very puzzling." Asked why, [Zhao] Yi said: "In a stele inscription or an epitaph on a grave for a man who was merely mediocre when alive, he is described as one who had in himself all the great virtues in heaven and on earth, and accomplished the best that any person might have hoped. If a ruler, he is a match for [such legendary ancient] emperors as Yao (trad. d. 2258 B.C.) and Shun (trad. 2317-2208 B.C.); as a minister, he is an equal of Yi [-yin] (18th cent. B.C.) of the Shang (trad. 1765-1123 B.C.) dynasty and Gao [-yao] (trad. d. 2204 B.C.) [who served as supreme judge under Emperor Yu (trad. d. 2197 B.C.)]. As a civic official, [even] tigers, out of respect for his benevolent rule, would cross the river and run away<sup>88</sup>; as a law-enforcement officer, [even] the one who buried his carriage wheels could not compare with his uprightness<sup>89</sup>. This is what we call being equated with the robber Zhi<sup>90</sup> when living, but [Bo-]yi or Shu[-qi]<sup>91</sup> when dead. Dishonest language is harmful to justice, while florid praise beclouds the truth."

Prose writers who heard [Zhao] Yi's remarks were ashamed of



## 【原文】

当时构文之士，惭逸此言。步兵校尉李澄问曰：“太尉府前砖浮图，形制甚古，犹未崩毁，未知早晚造？”逸云：“晋义熙十二年刘裕伐姚泓，军人所作。”

汝南王闻而异之，拜为义父。因而问何所服饵，以致长年。逸云：“吾不闲养生，自然长寿。郭璞尝为吾筮云，寿年五百岁。今始逾半。”帝给步挽车一乘，游于市里。所经之处，多记旧迹。三年以后遁去，莫知所在。

崇义里东有七里桥，以石为之。

中朝时，杜预之荆州，出顿之所也。

七里桥东一里，郭门开三道，时人号为三门。

离别者多云：“相送三门外。”京师士子，送去迎归，常在此处。

庄严寺，在东阳门外一里御道北，所谓东安里也。北为租场。

## 【今译】

当时舞文弄墨的文士，惭愧于赵逸的这番话。步兵校尉李澄提问说：“太尉府前的砖塔，式样很古老，还没有倒塌，不知何时建造的？”赵逸说：“晋义熙十二年（416）刘裕讨伐姚泓时，军队的人所建。”

汝南王听说后特别惊叹，拜赵逸为义父。并问他服食了什么才长寿，赵逸说：“我并不讲究养生，自然长寿罢了。郭璞曾经为我占卜说，寿命有五百岁。现在才刚刚过半。”皇帝赐给他一辆步挽车，在街市内游览。他对所经之处的旧址遗迹，大多知悉。三年以后隐遁而去，世人不知他的行踪。

崇义里的东边有七里桥，用石材建造。

西晋的时候，杜预赴荆州之际，曾在此停留。

七里桥东一里远处，外城门开通三条道路，因而当时的人称之为三门。

与亲友分手告别的人都习惯说：“相送三门外。”京城的人文学士也常在此为外出者送行，为归来者接驾。

庄严寺地处东阳门外一里，御道之北，就是所谓东安里。北边是



themselves. Li Cheng<sup>92</sup>, Commandant of Infantry (*Bu-bing xiao-wei*), asked: "The shape and structure of the brick stūpa in front of the Office of the Grand Commandant looks very old but remains intact. May I know when was it built?" [Zhao] Yi replied, "It was built in the twelfth year of the Yi-xi period (Righteous and Joyful) (A.D. 416) of the Jin by soldiers [who followed] Liu Yu's expedition against Yao Hong."<sup>93</sup>

Marveling at his remarks, [Yuan Yue], Prince of Ru-nan, took<sup>94</sup> him as an adopted father. Subsequently [the prince] asked him what kind of food or drug he took to secure longevity. [Zhao] Yi said: "I am not familiar with the ways of 'sustaining life', but I am naturally long-lived. According to a prophecy Guo Pu (A.D. 276-324)<sup>95</sup> cast for me, I have a life span of five hundred years. Now I have only passed the half-way mark." The emperor gave him a vehicle drawn manually<sup>96</sup>. He rode in it across the city, and whatever he passed, he remembered most of its history. Three years later he secretly left [the city], leaving everyone in the dark as to his whereabouts.

To the east of the Chong-yi<sup>97</sup> Ward was the Seven-*li* Bridge made of stone. During the Western Jin, Du Yu stayed here overnight before setting out for Jing-zhou (A.D. 280)<sup>98</sup>.

At a point one *li* from the Seven-*li* Bridge, the city wall had three openings, known as the Three Gates to contemporaries.

Those who were to participate in farewell gatherings would often say: "I'll send you off outside the Three Gates." As a rule, men of letters in the capital often came here [to attend] farewell or welcome [gatherings].

The Zhuang-yang Temple (Temple of the Adornments) was located on the north side of the Imperial Drive, one *li* outside the Dong-yang Gate, in the so-called Dong-an Ward (Ward of Eastern Peace). To the north [of the



## 【原文】

里有驸马都尉司马悦、济州刺史刁宣、幽州刺史李真奴、豫州刺史公孙骧等四宅。

秦太上君寺，胡太后所立也。当时太后正号崇训，母仪天下，号父为秦太上公，母为秦太上君。为母追福，因以名焉。

在东阳门外二里御道北，所谓晖文里。里有太保崔光；太傅李延寔、冀州刺史李韶、秘书监郑道昭等四宅。并丰堂崛起，高门洞开。

赵逸云：晖文里是晋马道里，延寔宅是蜀主刘禅宅，延寔宅东有修和宅，是吴主孙皓宅。李韶宅是晋司空张华宅。

## 【今译】

租场，里有驸马都尉司马悦、济州刺史刁宣、幽州刺史李真奴、豫州刺史公孙骧等人的四所住宅。

秦太上君寺，由胡太后所建。当时的太后已有正号为崇训，登上了天下之母的位置，追尊其父叫秦太上公，追尊其母叫秦太上君。为其母祈求冥福，才取这个寺名的。

地处东阳门外二里、御道之北，就是所谓晖文里。里有太保崔光、太傅李延寔、冀州刺史李韶、秘书监郑道昭等人的四所住宅，全是大堂耸立，高门洞开。

赵逸说：晖文里是晋朝的马道里，延寔的住宅曾是蜀主刘禅的宅邸。延寔宅的东边有修和的宅邸，曾是吴主孙皓的宅邸。李韶的住宅曾是晋司空张华的宅邸。



temple] was the Tax-Grain Yard. In the ward were the four residences each of Si-ma Yue<sup>99</sup>, the Commandant of Attending Cavalry (*Fu-ma du-wei*); Diao Xuan<sup>100</sup>, Governor of Ji-zhou; Li Zhen-nu<sup>101</sup>, Governor of You-zhou; and Gong-sun Xiang, Governor of Yu-zhou<sup>102</sup>.

The Qin<sup>103</sup> Tai-shang-jun Monastery (Monastery of the Grand Duchess of Qin) was established by order of Dowager Empress Hu<sup>104</sup>. At the time, Empress Dowager [Hu] was given the official title Chong-xun(-mu)<sup>105</sup>, [meaning that she was] setting a motherly model<sup>106</sup> for the whole nation to follow. Her father was honored as the Grand Duke of the Qin (Qin Tai-shang-gong)<sup>107</sup>, and her mother, as the Grand Duchess of the Qin (Qin Tai-shang-jun). The monastery was built as a means by which posthumous blessings could be offered to the empress dowager's mother<sup>108</sup>; hence the name.

[This monastery] was located on the north side of the Imperial Drive, two *li* outside<sup>109</sup> the Dong-yang Gate, within the so-called Hui-wen Ward (Ward of Resplendent Culture). Inside the ward were the four residences of Cui Guang<sup>110</sup>, the Grand Guardian (*Tai-bao*); Li Yan-shi<sup>111</sup>, the Grand Tutor; Li Shao<sup>112</sup>; Governor of the Ji-zhou; and Zheng Dao-zhao<sup>113</sup>, the Supervisor of Archives (*Mi-shu Jian*). All [residences had] numerous elevated halls rising abruptly [with] lofty, cavernous openings of high gates.

According to Zhao Yi, the Hui-wen Ward was formerly the Ma-dao Ward (Horse-path Ward) of the Jin, and [Li] Yan-shi's residence was formerly that of Liu Shan (regnant A.D. 223-263), ruler of the Kingdom of the Shu. To the east of [Li] Yan-shi's residence was that of Xiu-he<sup>114</sup>, which formerly belonged to the ruler<sup>115</sup> of the Kingdom of the Wu, Sun Hao (regnant A.D. 264-280). Li Shao's residence was formerly that of Zhang Hua (A.D. 232-300), the Grand Minister of Public Works of the Jin<sup>116</sup>.

In the monastery was a five-storied stūpa, with a tall steeple piercing



## 【原文】

中有五层浮图一所，修刹入云，高门向街，佛事庄饰，等于永宁。诵室礼堂，周流重叠。花林芳草，遍满阶墀。常有大德名僧讲一切经，受业沙门亦有千数。

太傅李延寔者，庄帝舅也。永安年中除青州刺史，临去奉辞。帝谓寔曰：“怀砖之俗，世号难治，舅宜好用心，副朝廷所委。”寔答曰：“臣年迫桑榆，气同朝露，人间稍远，日近松丘。臣已久乞闲退，陛下渭阳兴念，宠及老臣，使夜行罪人，裁锦万里，谨奉明敕，不敢失坠。”时黄门侍郎杨宽在帝侧，不晓怀砖之义，私问舍人温子

## 【今译】

境内有一座五层佛塔，刹竿高入云霄，大门面向街道。佛教装饰庄严而华丽，不亚于永宁寺。诵室禅堂，层层围于四周；花林芳草，满满布于台阶。经常有大德名僧讲解一切经，而门徒僧人也有上千人。

太傅李延寔是庄帝的舅舅。永安年间（528-530）任命为青州刺史，临出发前向庄帝告辞。庄帝对延寔说：“怀砖成风的地方，都说很难治理，舅舅应好好用心，不负朝廷的委任。”延寔回答说：“我已迫近桑榆之年，生命无异于朝露，逐渐远离人世，日日亲近松丘。我早已乞求退休，而陛下起了渭阳之心，惠顾到我这个老臣，使得像夜行罪人的我，越过万里去学习当地方官，谨遵奉明敕，不敢失误。”当时黄门侍郎杨宽在庄帝身边，不清楚怀砖的意





the clouds and a high gate facing the street. [The excellence of] the sumptuous Buddhist decorations matched that of the Yong-ning Monastery. Chanting rooms and meditation halls were laid out one after another. Flowers, shrubs, and aromatic plants were luxuriant everywhere, filling in the stairways. Always [there were] monks of great virtue and fame lecturing here on the canon. Those śramaṇa disciples who came to study [also] numbered more than one thousand.

Li Yan-shi, the Grand Tutor, was Emperor Zhuang's maternal uncle<sup>117</sup>. During the Yong-an period (A.D. 528-530)<sup>118</sup>, he was appointed Governor of Jing-zhou. Shortly before setting out for his new post, he came to court to bid farewell. The emperor said to [Li Yan-]shi: "It is commonly known that [the people of Qing-zhou] are difficult to handle because of their habits of carrying bricks with them. "You should exert your best efforts in order to reciprocate the trust of the court." In reply, [Li Yan-]shi said: "Your subject is approaching old age<sup>119</sup> and my vitality [diminishes as fast as the evaporating] morning dew. Gradually I am retreating from the world of activities, and with every passing day I am approaching closer to the pine mound [the grave]. For many years your subject has requested retirement, but Your Majesty, [aroused by the affection that] exists between a nephew and his maternal uncle<sup>120</sup>, has extended your imperial favor to this old subject, making it possible for one who should have retired<sup>121</sup> to learn how to run a local government<sup>122</sup>. Respectfully I accept your order and dare not fail you." At the time, Yang Kuan, Attending Secretary within the Imperial Yellow Gate, was at the side of the emperor<sup>123</sup>, and privately asked Wen Zi-sheng, Drafter of the Central Secretariat<sup>124</sup>, about the meaning of "carrying bricks", which [Yang Kuan] did not understand. [Wen] Zi-sheng said: "I have heard that when the



## 【原文】

昇。子昇曰：“吾闻至尊兄彭城王作青州刺史，问其宾客从至青州者云：齐土之民，风俗浅薄，虚论高谈，专在荣利。太守初欲入境，皆怀砖叩首，以美其意；及其代下还家，以砖击之。言其向背速于反掌。是以京师谣语曰：‘狱中无系囚，舍内无青州。假令家道恶，肠中不怀愁。’怀砖之义起在于此也。”

颍川荀济，风流名士，高鉴妙识，独出当世。清河崔叔仁称齐士大夫，曰：“齐人外矫仁义，内怀鄙吝。轻同羽毛，利等锥刀。好驰虚誉，阿附成名。威势所在，侧肩竞入；求其荣利，

## 【今译】

思，私下寻问舍人温子昇。子昇说：“我听说皇帝的兄长彭城王任青州刺史的时候，听一位随行到青州的宾客说：‘齐地的民众，浅薄成风，听起来都是高谈玄虚，其实一心在于名利。太守入境赴任之初，大家都怀揣砖块拜迎，以示盛情；到了期满离任、踏上归途之时，却用砖块来投掷攻击。’说的是态度的一百八十度变化比反转手掌还要快。所以京城的歌谣说：‘狱中没有囚禁者，家中没有青州人。即使家庭交恶运，心里也不添忧愁。’怀砖的意思就从这里得来。”

颍川荀济是一位风流名士，他的高妙的见识在当时特别出类拔萃。清河崔叔仁称扬齐地的士大夫。荀济则说：“齐人外表用仁义装扮，内心充满鄙吝之情。为人轻薄如同羽毛，尖刻无情如同锥刀。爱好虚名远传，迎合依附名流。攀附权势，争先恐后；追逐名

emperor's elder brother, [Yuan Shao], Prince of Peng-cheng, was the Governor of the Qing-zhou, he learned from the advisors<sup>125</sup> who had accompanied him to Qing-zhou: 'The customs of the people of Qi are quite frivolous. They talk big but superficially, and care only for their own glory and benefit. When a governor is about to enter [the Qi] territory, all come out to flatter him by lying prostrate and touching [their foreheads] to bricks that they had carried with them. When a governor returns home at the end of his tenure, they throw the same bricks at him.' The change from loyalty to betrayal is said to be faster than turning one's own palm. As a result, there is a song in the capital as follows:

With no inmates in the jail,  
With no man of Jing-zhou in your house,  
Even if your family fortune declines,  
You will have no worries in your mind<sup>126</sup>.

This is where the term 'carrying bricks' originated."

Xun Ji of Ying-chuan<sup>127</sup>, a famous gentleman with a cultivated lifestyle, enjoyed a commanding position among his contemporaries for his acute discernment and profound insight. When Cui Shu-ren of Qing-he spoke<sup>128</sup> highly of gentlemen from Qi, [Xun] Ji<sup>129</sup> retorted: "The people of Qi outwardly pretend benevolence and righteousness, but inwardly they entertain mean and covetous desires. They are as weightless as feathers, yet as sharp as awls. They like to promote empty fame [of others], and, by association and by the exercise of flattery, make a name for themselves. Wherever power lies, there they are, shoulder to shoulder, struggling to get in<sup>130</sup>. Dedicated to the search for glory and gain, they enjoy their sweet and affluent life<sup>131</sup>. By comparison<sup>132</sup> [with people] of all other regions<sup>133</sup>, they are by far the most opportunistic."





## 【原文】

甜然浓泗。譬于四方，慕势最甚。”号齐氏子为慕势诸郎。临淄官徒布在京邑，闻怀砖慕势，咸共耻之，唯崔孝忠一人不以为意。问其故，孝忠曰：“营丘风俗，太公馀化，稷下儒林，礼义所出。今虽凌迟，足为天下楷模。苟济人非许郭，不识东家，虽复莠言自口，未宜荣辱也。”

正始寺，百官等所立也。正始中立，因以为名。在东阳门外御道南，所谓敬义里也。

里有典虞曹。

檐宇清净，美于景林。众僧房前，高林对牖，青松绿桧，连枝交映。多有枳树，而不中食。有石碑一枚，背上有侍中崔光施

## 【今译】

利，如蝇似蚊。与四面八方的人相比较，齐人爱慕权势最厉害。”就把齐的士大夫取外号叫慕势诸郎。临淄出身而在京城任官当差的人，听到“怀砖”、“慕势”的说法，都感到羞耻，只有崔孝忠一个人不在意。问其原因，孝忠说：“营丘的民情源于太公望的遗风，稷下的儒林开创出礼义。现在虽然败落，仍足以成为天下的楷模。苟济不是许劭、郭泰那样的人才，不识东邻住着圣人，虽然口出恶言丑语，却不必因此感到羞耻。”

正始寺由百官群僚所建。因建于正始年间（504-508），所以如此取名。位于东阳门外御道之南，也就是叫敬义里的所在。

里有典虞曹。

屋舍清爽精洁，风景之美胜过景林寺。众僧的居室之前，有高大的树林与窗户相对，青松与绿杨的枝叶相连交映。有很多枳树，但果实不能食用。有一块石碑，背面写有侍中崔光献钱四十万，



He then labeled the Qi literati as opportunistic gentlemen. Knowing that they were labeled as “brick carriers” and opportunists, officials of Lin-zi<sup>134</sup> residing in different<sup>135</sup> parts of the capital all felt ashamed, except for Cui Xiao-Zhong<sup>136</sup>, the only person who did not mind. When asked why, [Cui] Xiao-Zhong replied: “Customs of Ying-qiu<sup>137</sup> are the remnant heritage of Tai-gong<sup>138</sup>. Confucian scholars at Ji-xia [Academy]<sup>139</sup> were creators of such practices and ideas as rituals and righteousness. Even though they have deteriorated somewhat at present, they are still good enough to be taken as national models. Xun Ji [as a man] is no Xu Shao<sup>140</sup> or Guo Tai<sup>141</sup>, and he fails to recognize [the presence of Confucius to the] east of his house<sup>142</sup>. It would be improper [for us] to feel either honored or disgraced by listening to the ugly remarks<sup>143</sup> he uttered.”

The Zheng-shi Monastery (Monastery of the Beginning of Justice) was founded [through the contributions of] various government officials. It was built during the Zheng-shi period; hence the name. [The monastery] was located on the south<sup>144</sup> side of the Imperial Drive and outside the Dong-yang Gate, in the so-called Jing-yi Ward (Ward of Respect for Righteousness).

In the ward was the Office of Imperial Parks<sup>145</sup> and Ponds.

Its splendid and spotless rooms and eaves were even more beautiful than those of the Jing<sup>146</sup>-lin Monastery. In front of the monks' compartments, tall trees faced the windows. Branches of blue pines and green willows were in close contact, gleaming in alternation. [The monastery] had quite a few *zhi* trees<sup>147</sup>, the fruits of which tasted bad. There was also a stone monument, on the back of which was an inscription [listing donations by various officials]: Cui Guang<sup>148</sup>,



## 【原文】

钱四十万，陈留侯李崇施钱二十万，自馀百官各有差，少者不减五千已下。后人刊之。

敬义里南有昭德里。里内有尚书仆射游肇、御史中尉李彪、七兵尚书崔休、幽州刺史常景、司农张伦等五宅。

彪、景出自儒生，居室俭素。惟伦最为豪侈。斋宇光丽，服玩精奇，车马出入，逾于邦君。园林山池之美，诸王莫及。伦造景阳山，有若自然。其中重岩复岭，嵌崿相属；深溪洞壑，迢迢连接。高林巨树，足使日月蔽亏；悬葛垂萝，能令风烟出入。崎岖石路，似壅而通；峥嵘涧道，盘纤复直。是以

## 【今译】

陈留侯李崇献钱二十万，其余百官所献金额不等，至少不低于五千。这是后人刻下的。

敬义里的南边有昭德里，里内有尚书仆射游肇、御史中尉李彪、七兵尚书崔休、幽州刺史常景、司农张伦五人的住宅。

李彪、常景为儒者出身，居室俭朴。只有张伦最为豪侈。书房居室华丽炫人，趣味收藏品精致珍奇，供进出使用的车马超过国君，园林山池的秀美为诸王所不及。张伦造起景阳山，却看不出人工痕迹。其中重重叠叠的岩岭高高耸立，彼此连属；深深杳杳的溪谷曲折连绵，互相接续。高大的树林足以遮蔽日月，悬垂的葛萝能够通导风雾。崎岖的石路看似阻断，其实连通；深隐的涧道虽然曲折，却又直达。所以爱好山野情趣的人士，在



the Chief Palace Attendant, contributed four hundred thousand coins; Li Chong, Marquis of Chen-liu, two hundred thousand coins<sup>149</sup>, and contributions by other officials in amounts appropriate to their rank. Still, the smallest amount came to no less than five thousand coins. The inscription was engraved by someone of a later period.

To the south of the Jing-yi Ward was the Zhao-de Ward (Ward of the Manifestation of Virtue), in which were located the residences of You Zhao (A.D. 452-520), Vice President, Department of State Affairs<sup>150</sup>; Li Biao (A.D. 444-501), the Chief Censor<sup>151</sup>; Cui Xiu (d. A.D. 523), Minister of the Seven Forces<sup>152</sup>; Chang Jing, Governor of You-Zhou<sup>153</sup>; and Zhang Lun, Minister of Agriculture (*Si-nong*)<sup>154</sup>.

[Li] Biao and [Chang] Jing, who came from a family of Confucian scholars, led a simple and frugal life. But [Zang] Lun, unlike them, was extremely extravagant and given to luxury. His study and house were bright and beautiful, and his costumes and curios were the choicest and rarest. The carriages and horses that he used for travel were superior to those of the state rulers. The excellence of his park, shrubbery, mountain and pond could not be matched by those of the princes.

He had a Jing-yang Hill built<sup>155</sup>, which took on a natural appearance. On the hill were cliff after cliff, summit after summit, [all seemingly] connected at a high altitude<sup>156</sup>. Deep valleys and open ravines were linked with one another. High forests and huge trees were sufficient to shut out the light of the sun and the moon, and the hanging creepers and drooping vines let the wind and mist in and out. The rugged stone path, seemingly blocked off, was actually passable, and the deep creeks, winding at first, were straight later on. Therefore those with a feeling for mountain or wilderness life would enjoy themselves here and forget [the time] to return. Jiang



## 【原文】

山情野兴之士，游以忘归。天水人姜质，志性疏诞，麻衣葛巾，有逸民之操。见伦山爱之，如不能已，遂造《庭山赋》，行传于世。其辞曰：

“夫偏重者，爱昔先民之由朴由纯，然则纯朴之体，与造化而梁津。濠上之客，柱下之史，悟无为以明心，托自然以图志。辄以山水为富，不以章甫为贵，任性浮沉，若淡兮无味。今司农张氏，实踵其人。巨量焕于物表，夭矫洞达其真。青松未胜其洁，白玉不比其珍。心托空而栖有，情入古以如新。既不专流宕，又不偏华尚。卜居动静之间，不以山水为忘。庭起半丘半壑，听以目达心想。进不入声荣，退不为隐放。

## 【今译】

此游览而忘归。天水人姜质，性格疏狂，身穿麻衣，头围葛巾，有隐者的风格。见张伦此山，不胜赏爱，于是作《庭山赋》，流传世间。赋文如下：

“说到有所偏重，爱好先民的一任纯朴。然而纯朴的本质，是与造化相通。濠上游客与柱下史官，都领悟到无为而澄清心灵，寄托于自然而落实志向。把山水当作富有，不以官服为贵，一任性情如随波浮沉，体味人生似淡而无味。如今司农张氏，确实继承老庄。深厚的人格力量辉耀于外表，奔放的自由精神贯通着真理。青松赛不过此人的纯洁，白玉比不上此人的高贵。心寄托于无而不离于有，情专注于古而更显其新。既不一味放诞，又不偏爱华靡。在动与静之间择地定居，从不忘怀山水。庭中筑起半丘半壑，任意观望想像。进取不追逐名誉，隐退不堕入孤高。





Zhi<sup>157</sup>, a native of Tian-shui (southwest of modern Xi-he xian, Gansu), was a nonconformist by conviction and in temperament. Clad in a hemp garment and wearing a turban of coarse cloth, he had the principles of a hermit. He could not help but fall in love with [Zhang] Lun's [garden] when he saw it. Consequently he wrote a piece of rhymed prose entitled Ting-shan ("Rhymed prose on Courtyard and Mountain")<sup>158</sup>, which has been in circulation. It reads:

"Now<sup>159</sup> those who are biased<sup>160</sup> are especially<sup>161</sup> fond of ancient people for their simplicity and purity. It is therefore obvious that such elements as simplicity and purity serve as a bridge<sup>162</sup> [between men] and the Creator. Both the visitor to the Hao River<sup>163</sup> and the historian under the pillar<sup>164</sup> filtered their minds through nonactivity, which they comprehended<sup>165</sup>, and upheld the principle of spontaneity to fulfill their will. As a rule, they attached great value to mountains and rivers, but held official posts<sup>166</sup> in low esteem. Trusting to nature to float or sink, [their life] appears to be without taste or flavor<sup>167</sup>. Now Master Zhang, Minister of Agriculture, really follows in their footsteps. His great capacity for tolerance stands out above all others, and [a sense of] self-satisfaction helps him to enjoy life to the fullest. No dark green pine is cleaner; no white jade more precious. He rests his mind on nothing but leads an actual life of something; his feelings enter the past as if they were the present. Obsessed neither with secluded life<sup>168</sup> nor excessive formality, settled between activity and tranquility, he never loses interest in mountains and rivers. He built a courtyard between hills and valleys, where he lets his eyes and mind wander about. Stepping forward, he seeks neither fame nor glory; stepping back, he wants no seclusion where one may speak with greater freedom.

"Then stones were broken to make way for the creek water to



## 【原文】

“尔乃决石通泉，拔岭岩前。斜与危云等并，旁与曲栋相连。下天津之高雾，纳沧海之远烟。纤列之状一如古，崩剥之势似千年。若乃绝岭悬坡，蹭蹬蹉跎。泉水纤徐如浪峭，山石高下复危多。五寻百拔，十步千过。则知巫山弗及，未审蓬莱如何。

“其中烟花露草，或倾或倒；霜干风枝，半耸半垂。玉叶金茎，散满阶坪。然目之绮，烈鼻之馨，既共阳春等茂，复与白雪齐清。或言神明之骨，阴阳之精，天地未觉生此，异人焉识其名？

“羽徒纷泊，色杂苍黄，绿头紫颊，好翠连芳。白鹤生于异县，丹足出自他乡，皆远来以臻此，藉水木以翱翔。不忆春于

## 【今译】

“这样穿石通泉，山岭拔地而起于岩前。倾斜上去高触云彩，横看过来连接飞檐。引下银河的雾气，容纳沧海的烟霭。草石分布的样子好像早已如此，山岭崩摧的气势似乎历经千年。至于绝岭与悬坡，险峻难以攀登。泉水纤徐如浪峭，山石高低多险境。五寻之内攀登百尺，十步之间跨越千尺。则知巫山不及此，未审蓬莱胜多少？

“其中染霞的花与带露的草，或倾或倒；霜打的树干与风侵的枝条，半耸半垂；玉叶金茎，散满坪野。炫目的色彩，既与阳春争相烂漫；袭人的芳香，又如白雪一般清冽。有人说，这些植物是神明之骨、阴阳之精，天地不知不觉将之生长，常人哪能辨识其种类名称？

“鸟类纷纷栖息于此，毛色青黄相杂，有绿头有紫颊，使翠枝芳草更为生意盎然。白鹤、丹足生自他乡，都远道而来，依赖水木而翱翔，不追忆沙漠之春，也忘怀高阳之秋。如不是



flow, and mountain tops were made to appear just in front of the eaves. Slanting against the treacherous clouds, ledges meet with the ridge of a curved beam<sup>169</sup>. Here the mist rising high in the Constellation of the Heavenly Ford<sup>170</sup> is tempted to descend, and the distant smoke of the Eastern Sea<sup>171</sup> is harbored. Its delicate tracery appears to be ancient, and the hazardous conditions indicate that it is one thousand years old. As for the cut-off ridge and hanging slope, [hikers find it easy to] go amiss or to lose balance. The rapids, winding and sometimes slow-flowing, sometimes rise sharply in waves; mountain rocks, high and low, present further hazards. For forty Chinese feet, one hundred ascents<sup>172</sup>; [within] ten paces, a thousand hops. We know Wu Mountain<sup>173</sup> does not measure up, but what about Peng-lai<sup>174</sup>?

"Here in the valley are flowers in mist and grasses under dew, some slanting, some falling; trunks [covered] with frost and branches [sweeping] in the wind, half erect and half drooping. Jade leaves and gold stems are scattered around the stairways. The color [of flowers] dazzles one's eyes, and the pleasant aroma penetrates one's nose. [Blooming all year long], not only do they flourish like the sunny spring; they are also as pure as the white snow. Some say they are the bones of the gods, or the essence of *yin* and *yang*<sup>175</sup>. But, since even Heaven and Earth are unaware of having produced these, how can human beings recognize their names?

"Fowls of all kinds alight here<sup>176</sup>. Their colors vary from blue green to yellow. Green heads [ducks], purple necks [storks], in the company of bright green [kingfishers], present a picture of mingled beauty<sup>177</sup>. White storks<sup>178</sup> are born in other districts, and red-legs [birds] from alien lands. All come to gather here from afar, or to fly [high above] the water and [near] the trees. They forget to return to the [northern] desert in spring, or to fly southward in autumn. Unless attracted by this man, how could



## 【原文】

沙漠，遂忘秋于高阳。非斯人之感至，何候鸟之迷方？岂下俗之所务，实神怪之异趣。

“能造者其必诗，敢往者无不赋。或就饶风之地，或入多云之处。□菊岭与梅岑，随春秋之所悟。远为神仙所赏，近为朝士所知。求解脱于服佩，预参次于山陲。子英游鱼于玉质，王乔系鹤于松枝。方丈不足以妙□，咏歌此处态多奇。嗣宗闻之动魄，叔夜听此惊魂，恨不能钻地一出，醉此山门。别有王孙公子，逊遁容仪。思山念水，命驾相随。逢岑爱曲，值石陵歆。庭为仁智之田，故能种此石山。森罗兮草木，长育兮风烟。孤松既能却老，半石亦可留年。若不坐卧兮于其侧，春夏兮共

## 【今译】

此人的感化所至，为何候鸟迷失了往返的方向？这岂是俗人的琐事，实为神灵的安排。

“能来的人必定作诗，敢上的人无不写赋。或者占据多风的地段，或者进入多云的处所。登临菊岭与梅岗，随春秋变化而各有体悟。此地远为神仙所赞赏，近为朝士所知悉。穿戴官服的人求得解脱，加入到爱山者的行列。子英让鱼游于池中，王乔将鹤系于松枝。方丈仙境相比之下也不太奇妙，而歌咏此山的诗句怎能不多彩多姿？料想阮籍听后为之惊心，嵇康听后为之动魄，恨不能钻地而出，在这座山门下沉醉消魂！别有王孙公子，逃避富贵，思山念水，乘车前来。每逢山岭，爱其盘曲；每逢岩石，凭依玩赏。正因庭园是仁智之田，才能种植此石山。繁茂的草木啊，长育于风烟。与孤松为伴可以抗老，与半石为友可以延年。如不坐卧于其侧，



these migrating birds lose [their sense of] direction? How could it be the work of a man of little intelligence; indeed<sup>179</sup>, it is the marvel of the gods.

“He who can create needs to write poems; anyone who dares to go, will compose *fu*. Some choose a windy place, others go to a cloudy point. Sitting on<sup>180</sup> a chrysanthemum-ridge or a peak with plum trees, one writes in spring or autumn according to whatever inspiration he may have received. Afar, appreciated by immortals; nearby, be known to court officials. Seeking to leave aside my official duties, I participate in this mountain gathering. Zi-ying flew to heaven on the back of a fish in jade<sup>181</sup>; Wang Qiao tied his crane to the branches of a pine tree<sup>182</sup>. The Fang-zhang [Immortal Isle]<sup>183</sup> is no more spectacular than this, on which subject [people] will chant and sing. Upon hearing [such chanting voices], [Ruan] Si-zong’s<sup>184</sup> spirit will be agitated and [Ji] Shu-ye’s<sup>185</sup> soul will be stunned. They regret their inability to break out of their earthen [graves], and to become intoxicated in this mountain [resort]. Other noblemen and dignitaries who prefer seclusion now set out together in carriages, thinking of the mountains and remembering the water. Meeting with a ridge, they delight in its curve; seeing a boulder, they admire its slanting [edge]. This courtyard<sup>186</sup> is fertile ground<sup>187</sup> for benevolence and wisdom; and so there can be planted<sup>188</sup> here this rock mountain.

“Luxuriant, the grass and trees,  
Ever-generating, the wind and mist,  
A lonely pine may keep off age,  
Half a rock will also prolong your life.  
If you do not sit or sleep by its side,  
[Neither] walk in, nor ascend to the mountains in spring and summer—



## 【原文】

游陟，白骨兮徒自朽，方寸兮何所忆？”

平等寺，广平武穆王怀舍宅所立也。在青阳门外二里御道北，所谓孝敬里也。堂宇宏美，林木萧森，平台复道，独显当世。寺门外有金像一躯，高二丈八尺，相好端严，常有神验，国之吉凶，先炳祥异。

孝昌三年十二月中，此像面有悲容，两目垂泪，遍体皆湿，时人号曰佛汗。京师士女空市里往而观之。有一比丘，以净绵拭其泪，须臾之间，绵湿都尽。更换以它绵，俄然复湿。如此三日乃止。明年四月，尔朱荣入洛阳，诛戮百官，死亡涂地。永安二年三月，

## 【今译】

春去夏来相游赏，真是白骨空自朽，此心何所忆？”

平等寺由广平武穆王元怀献宅所建。在青阳门外二里御道之北，就是所谓孝敬里。堂舍宽大华美，林木繁茂荫蔽，有平台阁道，在当时特别有名。寺门外有金佛像一尊，高二丈八尺，形态肃然端正，常有灵验，国家的吉凶往往在此预先呈现征兆。

孝昌三年（527）十二月，这尊佛像的面部出现悲哀的表情，两眼垂泪，满身全湿，当时人称之为佛汗。京城的士女前往观看，集市里巷为之一空。有一位比丘用洁净的绵巾擦拭佛泪，只一会儿绵巾就湿透了。更换另外的绵巾，顷刻之间又湿。如此持续了三天才停止。次年四月果然有尔朱荣攻入洛阳，诛杀百官，尸体遍地。永安二年（529）三月，此像再次出现佛汗，



Bleached bones will only rot by themselves,  
 What would even be left in your heart<sup>189</sup> to remember?"

The Ping-deng Monastery (Monastery of Equanimity)<sup>190</sup> was established at the former residence of [Yuan] Huai, the Wu-mu<sup>191</sup> (Martial and Solemn) Prince of Guang-ping. It was on the north side of the Imperial Drive, two *li* outside the Jing-yang Gate, and within the so-called Xiaojing Ward (Ward of the Filial and Reverent). The halls and rooms were vast and beautiful, [sheltered by] stately trees that presented a solemn atmosphere. Its [raised] foundation and covered passageway were outstanding structures of the time<sup>192</sup>. Outside the gate of the monastery was a [gilt] bronze image<sup>193</sup> that was twenty-eight Chinese feet high, whose physiognomy and marks [conveyed] dignity. Often there was mysterious proof of its spiritual efficacy. When the nation was due to receive good or bad fortune, the image would first manifest [appropriate] signs.

In the twelfth month of the third year of the Xiao-chang period (January–February A.D. 528), the face of the image had a sorrowful expression. Both eyes shed tears, and the entire body was wet. Called by contemporaries the Buddha's sweat, [these tears] attracted all<sup>194</sup> men and women from every marketplace and every ward of the capital to come and view it. A monk took a piece of clean silk floss to wipe away the tears, but in an instant the floss was drenched. Another piece of floss was used, but in no time it was wet also. The sweating persisted for three days before it came to an end. In the fourth month of the next year (May–June A.D. 528), Er-zhu Rong entered Luo-yang, and many officials were executed. The dead covered the ground [in the capital]. In the third month of the second year of the Yong-an period (March–April A.D. 529), the image again



## 【原文】

此像复汗，京邑士庶复往观之。五月，北海王入洛，庄帝北巡。七月，北海王大败，所将江淮子弟五千，尽被俘虏，无一得还。永安三年七月，此像悲泣如初。每经神验，朝野惶惧，禁人不听观之。至十二月，尔朱兆入洛阳，擒庄帝。帝崩于晋阳。在京宫殿空虚，百日无主，唯尚书令司州牧乐平王尔朱世隆镇京师。商旅四通，盗贼不作。

建明二年，长广王从晋阳赴京师，至郭外，世隆以长广本枝疏远，政行无闻，逼禅与广陵王恭。恭是庄帝从父兄也。正光中为黄门侍郎，见元义秉权，政归近习，遂佯哑不语，不预世事。永

## 【今译】

京城的士民又前往观看。五月，北海王攻入洛阳，庄帝北巡。七月，北海王大败，他所率领的江淮子弟五千人，都被俘虏，没有一个人能生还。永安三年（530）七月，此像悲泣如前。因每次都有灵验，朝野上下十分惶恐，所以禁止人们前来观看。到了十二月，尔朱兆攻入洛阳，生擒庄帝。庄帝在晋阳驾崩。京城宫殿空虚，百日无主，唯有尚书令司州牧乐平王尔朱世隆镇守京城。其时商旅往来畅通，盗贼销声匿迹。

建明二年（531），长广王从晋阳赴京城，到达城外时，尔朱世隆因长广王的血缘疏远，政绩不佳，就逼迫他将王位禅让给广陵王元恭。元恭是庄帝的堂兄，正光年间（520—525）任黄门侍郎，目睹元义大权在握，政治都归谄媚小人来推行，于是就装哑不语，不参预任





sweated; literati and commoners of the capital again came to look. In the fifth month (May-June), the Prince of Bei-hai entered Luo-yang, forcing Emperor Zhuang to retreat to the north. In the seventh month (August-September A.D. 529), the prince of Bei-hai suffered a smashing defeat. All of the five thousand soldiers from the Yangtze and Huai regions under his command were captured. Not a single one could return home [alive]. In the seventh month of the third year of the Yong-an period (August-September A.D. 530), this image wept bitterly as before. With the [previous] prognostications proven true, [people] were frightened day and night. [An imperial order then] prohibited viewing [the image]. In the twelfth month (January-February A.D. 531), Er-zhu Zhao entered Luo-yang and captured Emperor Zhuang, who was subsequently murdered in Jin-yang. Palaces in the capital (that is, Luo-yang) were deserted; for one hundred days there was no ruler<sup>195</sup>. Only Er-zhu Shi-long, President of State Affairs, Governor of Si-chou, and Prince of Luo-ping, stationed [his troops] in the capital [to insure] the unimpeded commercial transactions and prevent [city] robbery and thievery<sup>196</sup>.

In the second year of the Jian-ming period (A.D. 531)<sup>197</sup>, the Prince of Chang-guang left Jin-yang for the capital. Upon arrival in the suburbs<sup>198</sup>, [Er-zhu] Shi-long forced him to abdicate in favor of [Yuan] Gong, Prince of Guang-ling, giving as his reason that Chang-guang was distantly related to the imperial household<sup>199</sup> and his administration unremarkable.

[Yuan] Gong<sup>200</sup> was Emperor Zhuang's cousin. An Attending Secretary within the Imperial Yellow Gate during the Zheng-guang period (A.D. 520-525), Yuan Gong witnessed Yuan Yi's exercise of power, [as] the government fell into the hands of deceitful and insinuating officials. [For the sake of security, therefore, Yuan Gong] pretended to be dumb and he did not participate in contemporary affairs. During



## 【原文】

安中遁于上洛山中，州刺史泉企执而送之。庄帝疑恭奸诈，夜遣人盗掠衣物，复拔刀剑欲杀之，恭张口以手指舌，竟乃不言。庄帝信其真患，放令归第。恭常住龙华寺。至是，世隆等废长广而立焉。

禅文曰：“皇帝咨广陵王恭，自我皇魏之有天下也，累圣开辅，重基衍业，奄有万邦，光宅四海，故道溢百王，德渐无外。而孝明晏驾，人神乏主。故柱国大将军大丞相太原王荣，地实封陕，任惟外相，乃心王室，大惧崩沦，故推立长乐王子攸以续绝业。庶九鼎之

## 【今译】

何世事。永安年间（528-530）逃遁于上洛山中。州刺史泉企将他押送回京城。庄帝怀疑元恭诈伪，夜间派人抢夺其衣物，又拔出刀剑要将他杀死。元恭张口用手指舌，终于一言未发。庄帝信以为真哑，才放他回府。元恭常住在龙华寺。到这时世隆等废长广王而拥立元恭登上帝位。

禅位文如下：“皇帝向广陵王元恭申告，自从我大魏统治天下以来，历代贤圣开拓辅翼，基石重重，皇业无边，拥有万邦，君临四海，所以道术胜百王，恩德遍八方。然而孝明皇帝驾崩，缺了人神之主。已故柱国大将军大丞相太原王尔朱荣，封地其实在陕，所任只是外相，尽忠于王室，深恐皇业沦落，所以拥立长乐王元子攸以使皇业持续不断，但愿九鼎之命日益



the Yong-an years (A.D. 528-530), he fled into the mountains of Shang-  
 luo<sup>201</sup>. Governor Quan Qi<sup>202</sup> arrested him and had him sent [to the  
 capital]. Suspecting that [Yuan] Gong might be deceiving him, Em-  
 peror Zhuang ordered someone to rob his clothing during the night.  
 The man drew a sword [as if] to kill him, but Yuan Gong merely  
 opened up his mouth and pointed to his tongue, never saying a word  
 at all. Convinced that [Yuan Gong's] dumbness was genuine, Emperor  
 Zhuang permitted him to return to his residence. [Yuan] Gong stayed  
 most of the time in the Long-hua Monastery<sup>203</sup> until Er-zhu [Shi-long]  
 forced the [Prince of] Chang-guang to abdicate in his favor.

The abdication decree read: "Greetings from the Emperor to [Yuan]  
 Gong, the prince of Guang-ling: Ever since the conquest of the nation  
 by our Great Wei, one sage emperor after another rules the nation with  
 enlightenment, doubling the basis and expanding the rulership, until we  
 have become master of a myriad countries<sup>204</sup> and gloriously taken pos-  
 session of all the land within the four seas. As a result, the way [we  
 adhere to] is superior to that of all preceding kings<sup>205</sup>, and our virtue  
 extends to all corners of the empire<sup>206</sup>. Nevertheless, with Emperor Xiao-  
 ming's demise, both the gods and men [were deprived of] a ruler. The  
 late Pillar of the State, Generalissimo, Prime Minister, Prince of Tai-  
 yuan [Er-zhu] Rong, who [was responsible for the security of an area]  
 on both the east and west side of Shan [as were the Duke of Zhou (d.  
 1105 B.C.) and the Duke of Shao (d. 1053 B.C.) in the past]<sup>207</sup>, acted  
 as a prime minister outside the capital<sup>208</sup>. Sincerely loyal to the impe-  
 rial household and greatly fearful of national collapse, he supported the  
 ascension of [Yuan] Zi-you, Prince of Chang-le, to reestablish the  
 broken imperial sovereignty. [He had high hopes] that the mandate  
 [symbolized by] the nine tripods<sup>209</sup> with each passing day would



## 【原文】

命日隆，七百之祚唯永。然群飞未宁，横流且及，皆狼顾鸱张，岳立棋峙。丞相一麾，大定海内。而子攸不顾宗社，仇忌勋德，招聚轻侠，左右壬人，遂虐甚剖心，痛齐钳齿。岂直金版造怨，大鸟感德而已。于是天下之望，俄然已移。窃以宸极不可久旷，神器岂容无主？故权从众议，暂馭兆民。今六军南迈，已次河浦，瞻望帝京，赧然兴愧。自惟寡薄，本枝疏远，岂宜仰异天情，俯乖民望？惟王德表生民，声高万古，往以运属殷忧，时遭多难，卷怀积载，括囊有年。

## 【今译】

隆盛，七百之祚天长地久。然而天下不安，世道混乱，人们互相猜疑如狼似鸱，彼此对峙丝毫不让。丞相一作决策，大为镇定海内。可是元子攸不顾宗社，忌恨功臣，招集轻薄游侠，亲近谄媚小人。于是暴虐的程度超过剖心，惨痛的程度不亚于折齿。岂止是金版出地告怨，大鸟悲鸣感德！于是天下的期望，顷刻之间已经转移。窃以为帝位不可长久虚设，神器岂能没有主人？因此权且听从众议，暂时统率万民。现在六军向南迈进，已经止宿于河岸。瞻望帝都，脸红心愧。自思德行浅薄，血统疏远，岂宜仰背天情，俯乖民望？只是君王之德在于代表生民，声誉千古以来甚高。过去因天运不佳，时时碰到艰难困苦，因之多年以来郁郁寡言。现在天公眷顾有德者，



prosper, and that the seven hundred year's reign would last forever. Yet the numerous flying [birds] were restless<sup>210</sup>, and inundations were about to reach [everywhere]<sup>211</sup>. Like wolves with heads turned, like owls wide-eyed [at their prey]<sup>212</sup>, [the wicked were] unmoving as mountains, and stalemated as in chess<sup>213</sup>. But with one stroke of the prime minister, peace was restored to all parts of the nation. [Yuan] Zi-you<sup>214</sup>, unmindful of the national welfare and envious of [those who were] meritorious and virtuous, gathered the unprincipled and murderous men around him and picked flatterers as attendants<sup>215</sup>. As a result, the emperor was a greater tyrant than he who cut out the heart [of Bi-gan]<sup>216</sup>. The [resultant] pain was like applying pincers to one's teeth<sup>217</sup>. Indeed, [the emperor's crime] deserved more protest than the one inscribed on the golden tablet<sup>218</sup>, and [the deed of the late prime minister was more noble than] what the great bird should be grateful for<sup>219</sup>. Thereupon the hopes of the nation were shattered in an instant. I am of the humble opinion that the palaces should not be deserted for long<sup>220</sup> and the throne<sup>221</sup> should by no means be without an occupant. As a matter of expediency, I therefore have followed the suggestions of the many [officials] to reign temporarily over the masses. Now the six armies, in marching toward the south, have reached the bank of the Yellow River. With the capital in sight, I have a sense of regret and shame. After self-examination, I found myself deficient<sup>222</sup> in virtue, [and only] remotely related to the imperial household. Thus how could I look for<sup>223</sup> heavenly favor above, and defy people's wishes below? The virtue of Your Highness is well known to the masses, and your fame is far greater than that of rulers of the past myriad years<sup>224</sup>. In your past, [beset with] great worries and confronted with<sup>225</sup> the manifold hardships of the time, you have for many years kept silent and lived in seclusion aloof from national affairs. Now heaven blesses the



## 【原文】

今天眷明德，民怀奥主，历数允集，歌讼同臻。乃徐发枢机，副诸伧属。便敬奉玺绶，归于别邸。王其寅践成业，允执其中，虽休勿休，日慎一日，敬之哉！”恭让曰：“天命至重，历数匪轻，自非德协三才，功济四海，无以入选帝图，允当师锡。臣既寡昧，识无先远，景命虽降，不敢仰承。乞收成旨，以允愚衷。”

又曰：“王既德应图篆，金属攸归，便可允执其中，入光大麓。不劳挥逊，致爽人神。”

恭凡让者三，于是即皇帝位，改号曰普泰。黄门侍郎邢子

## 【今译】

人民期待主心骨。气数已有显示，民心一致爱戴。于是徐徐启动关键，以符天下的期望。这里就敬献出玺绶，归居于别邸。请王敬继皇业，不偏不倚，即使在开怀之际也不忘乎所以，一天比一天谨慎，一定请敬业。”元恭辞让说：“天命至为重大，气数并非轻忽。自己并非德合三才，功济四海，没有资格选入帝王谱录，堪受众人推戴。臣下少德无知，没有先见远虑之明，大命虽临头，不敢仰承。乞求收回旨令，以宽容臣下的愚衷。”

帝又说：“王既然德合天意，众望所归，便可以推行中正，荣登皇位。而不必谦逊，使人神不安。”

元恭一共辞让了三次。于是即皇帝位，改年号为普泰。黄门



one with bright virtue, and people adhere to an august leader<sup>226</sup> destined for the mandate, and your praises are sung in unison. [I beg that Your Highness], by words and deeds<sup>227</sup>, with dignity and favorable consideration, respond to our wishes, which are being offered with anxious expectations<sup>228</sup>. With reverence I am now sending you the Great Seal, and at the same time I am retiring to my private lodging<sup>229</sup>. Let you, O king, pursue the established task [of our ancestors] with respect, and be impartial<sup>230</sup>. When praised, do not think you are praiseworthy<sup>231</sup>. Be cautious, and be increasingly cautious with each passing day. Have respect for this!" [Yuan] Gong declined, saying: "The heavenly mandate is of the utmost seriousness and the destiny should not be accepted lightly. Unless someone is familiar with the Three Ways<sup>232</sup> [those of heaven, earth, and mankind], and has accomplishments [beneficial to all] within the four seas, he should not be selected as one fit for the imperial line of succession<sup>233</sup>. Nor is he justifiably acceptable as the leader of the masses<sup>234</sup>. Your subject is without aid, dull, and wanting pre-science and farsightedness. Even now that a great order has been handed down to me, I dare not accept it. I beg that you rescind your order so as to satisfy my inner feelings."

Again said the Prince [of Chang-guang]: "Since the virtue of Your Highness agrees with what has been recorded in the sacred maps and charts<sup>235</sup>, and since you have won the hearts of all the people, you should hold on to the middle (that is, exercise supreme power) and ascend the throne. You should not overly trouble yourself by being humble, lest you offend both the people and spirits."

Altogether [Yuan] Gong declined three<sup>236</sup> times before finally ascending the throne and changing the name of the regnal period to Pu-tai. Xing Zi-cai<sup>237</sup>, Attending Secretary within the Imperial Yellow Gate,



## 【原文】

才为赦文，叙述庄帝枉杀太原王之状。广陵王曰：“永安手翦强臣，非为失德；直以天未厌乱，故逢成济之祸。”谓左右：“将笔来，朕自作之。”直言门下：“朕以寡德，运属乐推，思与亿兆同兹大庆。肆眚之科，一依恒式。”广陵杜口八载，至是始言，海内士庶，咸称圣君。于是封长广为东海王。世隆加仪同三司、尚书令、乐平王，馀官如故。赠太原王相国晋王，加九锡，立庙于芒岭首阳。上旧有周公庙，世隆欲以太原王功比周公，故立此庙。庙成，为火所灾。有一柱焚之不尽，后三

## 【今译】

侍郎邢子才起草大赦的诏诰，文中叙述了庄帝枉杀太原王的情状。广陵王却说：“永安（庄帝年号，这里指庄帝）亲手灭掉强臣，这不是失德。只因天意还未达到厌弃暴乱的程度，所以遇到成济之祸。”并对身边的人说：“拿笔来，朕自己来作文。”直截了当地写道：“敕门下省：朕是寡德之人，遭逢众人推戴的时运，想与万民共同分享这份大喜大庆。大赦的实行方案，全按常例。”广陵王闭口八年，到这时才开始发言，海内士庶都称他是圣君。于是封长广王为东海王，尔朱世隆则被加官仪同三司、尚书令、乐平王，其余的官职都照旧。追赠太原王为相国、晋王，加九锡，立庙于芒岭首阳山。山上以往有周公庙，尔朱世隆想要将太原王的功劳匹配周公，所以才建立此庙。庙建成后，遭到火灾，有一根柱子焚烧未尽，三天之后在





was ordered to prepare a document granting a [general] amnesty<sup>238</sup>, which included a description of how Emperor Zhuang unjustifiably killed the Prince of Tai-yuan. The Prince of Guang-ling said: "Yong-an (that is, Emperor Zhuang, Yong-an being the name of his regnal period) cut down a powerful minister with his own hand. This was not due to a loss of virtue [on the emperor's part or on the Prince of Tai-yuan's part]. It was simply that heaven was not yet satiated with disorders that [the emperor] met with the same misfortune as was caused by Cheng Ji."<sup>239</sup> Calling his attendants, the prince said: "Give me a piece of paper for a script. I am going to prepare an essay myself." He then dictated as follows: "A directive to the Men-xia<sup>240</sup>: Of little virtue, We nonetheless meet an auspicious moment in winning your voluntary support. We would like to share this joyous occasion with the masses. Let the established practice be followed and an amnesty be granted to all who are found guilty."<sup>241</sup> The Prince of Guang-ling, silent for eight years, did not talk until this moment. Without exception, literati and commoners<sup>242</sup> called him a sage ruler. Thereupon he named the Prince of Chang-guang as Prince of Dong-hai; conferred on [Er-zhu] Shi-long the additional titles of Palatine Ceremonially Equal to the Three Authorities, President of State Affairs, and Prince of Le-ping. [Er-zhu] Shi-long was to keep all other titles without change. [The Prince of Chang-guang] gave the Prince of Tai-yuan such posthumous titles as Prime Minister and Prince of Jin, and also the Nine [Privileged] Bestowals<sup>243</sup>. A shrine was built in his honor in the Shou-yang, section of the Mang Mountains. There had been in the mountains a shrine for the Duke of Zhou, and next to it [Er-zhu] Shi-long established this [new] shrine in order to imply a comparison between the Prince of Tai-yuan's achievements and those of the Duke of Zhou. After its completion, the shrine was destroyed by a fire, leaving a



## 【原文】

日雷雨震电，霹雳击为数段，柱下石及庙瓦皆碎于山下。复命百官议太原王配飨。司直刘季明议云不合。世隆问其故，季明曰：“若配世宗，于宣武无功；若配孝明，亲害其母；若配庄帝，为臣不终，为庄帝所戮。以此论之，无所配也。”世隆怒曰：“卿亦合死！”季明曰：“下官既为议臣，依礼而言，不合圣心，俘剪惟命。”议者咸叹季明不避强御，莫不叹伏焉。世隆既有忿言，季明终得无患。

初，世隆北叛，庄帝遣安东将军史件龙、平北将军杨文义各领兵三千守太行岭，侍中源子恭镇河内。及尔朱兆马首南向，

## 【今译】

雷雨交加中，被霹雳击成数段。柱下基石以及庙瓦都碎落山下。又有旨令让百官拟议太原王的配飨。司直刘季明提出配谁都不合适。世隆问原因何在？季明说：“如果配世宗，对宣武没有功劳可言；如果配孝明帝，亲手害死过帝母；如果配庄帝，不是一个忠臣，为庄帝所诛。由此而论，无所可配。”尔朱世隆愤怒地说：“你也该死！”季明说：“卑职既为议臣，自然依据礼法而发表意见。如果不合圣心，要抓要杀，悉听尊便！”议者都赞叹季明不畏强权，无不叹服。尔朱世隆尽管怒言出口，而季明最终没有遇难。

尔朱世隆在北方反叛之初，庄帝派安东将军史件龙、平北将军杨文义各领兵三千守卫太行山，侍中源子恭固守河内。及至尔朱兆马



damaged pillar, which, in a thunderstorm three days later, was struck and broken into several segments. The foundation stones and shrine tiles of the pillar were all scattered at the foot of the mountain. Officials were further ordered to discuss [with which emperor] the Prince of Tai-yuan should be a coadjutor in the sharing of sacrificial honors. Liu Ji-ming<sup>244</sup>, Director of Uprightness (*Si-zhi*), asserted that there was none for the Prince [to share sacrificial honors with]. Asked why, [Liu] Ji-ming replied: "If he is a coadjutor of [Emperor] Shi-zong, he really did not accomplish anything in the cause of the emperor in question. If he is a coadjutor of [Emperor] Xiao-ming, however, he was personally responsible for the death of the emperor's mother<sup>245</sup>. If he is a coadjutor of Emperor Zhuang, as a minister he was not [entirely faithful] toward the end. [On the contrary], he was killed by Emperor Zhuang for his questionable loyalty. To draw a conclusion on this basis, he should not share sacrificial honors with any emperor."

In an outburst of anger, [Er-zhu] Shi-long replied: "You indeed deserve death!" In reply [Liu] Ji-ming said: "Your [humble] subordinate is a minister whose responsibility it is to deliberate. I speak in terms of the rites. If it does not accord with your sage mind<sup>246</sup>, imprison or execute me as you please!" All critics admired [Liu] Ji-ming for speaking against the powerful, and, without exception, all sighed and bowed [to his courage]. Despite [Er-zhu] Shi-long's harsh words, [Liu] Ji-ming managed to be free from trouble in the end.

Previously, when [Er-zhu] Shi-long led his rebels northward, Emperor Zhuang dispatched Shi Wu-long, General Pacifying the East (*An-dong jiang-jun*) and Yang Wen-Yi, General Quelling the North (*Ping-bei jiang-jun*), each in command of three thousand soldiers, to guard the Tai-hang Range<sup>247</sup>, and Yuan Zi-gong, the Chief Palace Attendant, to safeguard He-nei. When later Er-zhu Zhao headed



## 【原文】

侂龙、文义等率众先降，子恭见侂龙、文义等降，亦望风溃散。兆遂乘胜逐北，直入京师，兵入阙下，矢流王室。至是论功，侂龙、文义各封一千户。广陵王曰：“侂龙、文义于王有助，于国无功。”竟不许。时人称帝刚直。彭城王尔朱仲远，世隆之兄也，镇滑台，表用其下都督乙瑗为西兖州刺史，先用后表。广陵答曰：“已能近补，何劳远闻！”世隆侍宴，帝每言：“太原王贪天之功以为己力，罪亦合死。”世隆等愕然。自是已后，不敢复入朝。辄专擅国权，凶恶

## 【今译】

首向南，侂龙、文义等率众先降，子恭见侂龙、文义等降，也望风溃散。于是尔朱兆乘胜追击，直入京城，兵临宫阙，血洗皇室。到这时论功行赏，史侂龙、杨文义各封一千户。对此，广陵王说：“史侂龙、杨文义对于王事有助，对于国家则无功。”终未许可。当时人称赞帝的刚直。彭城王尔朱仲远是世隆之兄，镇守滑台，起用其部下都督乙瑗为西兖州刺史时，是先起用后奏请。广陵王答道：“已能就近任命，何必劳神远告！”世隆侍宴时，帝常常说：“太原王把天之功也认作是自己的力量，如此贪心，罪也该死。”世隆等人很吃惊。自此以后，不敢再朝见皇帝。然而动辄国权独揽，为非作歹更加厉



for the south, [Shi] Wu-long and [Yang] Wen-Yi and others led their troops to surrender prior [to battle]. [Yuan] Zi-gong, seeing that [Shi] Wu-long and [Yang] Wen-Yi and the others had surrendered, for his part, saw which way the wind was blowing and dispersed [without a fight]<sup>248</sup>. Consequently, [Er-zhu] Zhao was able to utilize a favorable position, chase after the defeated, and march straight into the capital. His soldiers reached the [palace] watchtower, their arrows flooding the imperial apartments. Now, when their contributions were reviewed, Shi Wu-long and Yang Wen-Yi were each to receive a fief of one thousand households. To this the Prince of Guang-ling objected, saying: "[Shi] Wu-long and [Yang] Wen-Yi served the interest of the Prince [of Le-ping], but not that of the nation." [The emperor] to the end refused [to listen]. His contemporaries commended the emperor for his uprightness and steadfastness. Er-zhu Zhong-yuan, Prince of Peng-cheng and the elder brother of [Er-zhu] Shi-long, stayed with his army in Hua-tai<sup>249</sup>. He memorialized the emperor, requesting that his Subordinate Inspector (Bu-xia-du-du), Yi<sup>250</sup> Yuan, be appointed Governor of Western Yan-zhou. Yi Yuan already served in that capacity before [Er-zhu Zhong-yuan submitted his request] in the memorial. In reply, the Prince of Guang-ling said: "Since you are able to fill [the post] with someone close, why bother notifying me from a distance?" When [Er-zhu] Shi-long waited on the emperor at banquets, the emperor often said: "The Prince of Tai-yuan was greedy enough to take credit for Heaven's accomplishments as his own. For this crime alone<sup>251</sup> he deserved death." [A remark that shocked [Er-zhu] Shi-long and others<sup>252</sup>. From that point onward, [Er-zhu] Shi-long dared not attend court audiences. He often exercised dictatorial power, becoming all the more arrogant and abusive. He



## 【原文】

滋甚。坐持台省，家总万机。事无大小，先至隆第，然后施行。天子拱己南面，无所干预。

永熙元年，平阳王入纂大业，始造五层塔一所。

平阳王，武穆王少子。

诏中书侍郎魏收等为寺碑文。至二年二月五日土木毕功，帝率百僚作万僧会。其日寺门外有石像，无故自动，低头复举，竟日乃止。帝躬来礼拜，怪其诡异。中书舍人卢景宣曰：“石立社移，上古有此，陛下何怪也？”帝乃还宫。七月中，帝为侍中斛斯椿所使，奔于长安。至十月终，而京师迁邺焉。

景宁寺，太保司徒公杨椿所立也。在青阳门外三里御道南，所谓

## 【今译】

害。把守着台省的要职，私邸成了国政千头万绪的汇总之处。事情不论大小，首先到尔朱世隆的私邸，然后才发令施行。天子大权旁落，唯拱手其位，不能有所干预。

永熙元年（532）平阳王继承帝业时，开始建起一座五层佛塔。

平阳王是武穆王最小的儿子。

诏中书侍郎魏收等人撰写寺的碑文。到了永熙二年（533）二月五日土木工程完毕，帝率领百官，举行万僧会。这一天，寺门外有一尊石佛像，无故自动，头低下去又向上抬，白天将结束时才停止。帝亲自来礼拜，对这一神怪现象感到不可解。中书舍人卢景宣说：“石站立而社转移，这样的事上古就有，陛下何必奇怪呢？”帝于是才回宫。（次年）七月中，帝为侍中斛斯椿所迫，逃亡到长安。到十月底，发生了迁都于邺的事变。

景宁寺，由太保、司徒公杨椿所建。位于青阳门外三里御道之南，



gave directives from his seat<sup>253</sup> for the operation of various government departments<sup>254</sup>, and managed all national matters<sup>255</sup> at home. Every item of business-important or trifling—was referred to [Er-zhu] Shilong's residence prior to implementation. The emperor merely folded his hands<sup>256</sup> without interfering.

Only in the first year of the Yong-xi (A.D. 532) period, upon the ascension of the Prince of Ping-yang [as the successor to the Prince of An-ding], was a five-storied stūpa built.

The Prince of Ping-yang<sup>257</sup> was the youngest son [the third son] of the Prince of Guang-ping.

Wei Shou<sup>258</sup>, Squire-attendant of the Central Secretariat, and others were ordered to compose an inscription for the monastery. On the fifth day of the second month of the second year [of the Yong-xi period] (March 15 A.D. 533), the construction was completed, on which occasion the emperor led various officials [to preside over] a meeting of the myriad monks (*pañca pariṣad*)<sup>259</sup>. On that day the stone statue outside the monastery gate moved by itself, for no reason, lowering and lifting its head for a whole day before it [finally] stopped. The emperor, coming in person to pay his respects, found it strange. Lu Jing-xuan<sup>260</sup>, Drafter of the Central Secretariat, explained: "There were cases in high antiquity where stones stood upright and the shrine to the god of the soil moved<sup>261</sup>. Why should Your Majesty find this strange?" The emperor then returned to the palace. In the seventh month of the following year, the emperor was forced by Chief Palace Attendant Hu-si Chun to flee to Chang-an. By the end of the tenth month<sup>262</sup>, the capital had been moved to Ye<sup>263</sup>.

The Jing-ning Temple (Temple of Peaceful Prospect) was established by Yang Chun<sup>264</sup> (A.D. 453-531), Grand Guardian and Grand Minister of Public Works (*Si-tu-Gong*). It was located on the south side of the Impe-



## 【原文】

景宁里也。

高祖迁都洛邑，椿创居此里，遂分宅为寺，因以名之。制饰甚美，绮柱珠帘。椿弟慎，冀州刺史，慎弟津，司空，并立性宽雅，贵义轻财，四世同居，一门三从。朝贵义居，未之有也。普泰中，为尔朱世隆所诛，后舍宅为建中寺。出青阳门外三里，御道北有孝义里。里西北角有苏秦冢，冢旁有宝明寺。众僧常见秦出入此冢，车马羽仪，若今宰相也。

孝义里东，即是洛阳小市。北有车骑将军张景仁宅。

景仁，会稽山阴人也。正光年初从萧宝夤归化，拜羽林

## 【今译】

即叫做景宁里的处所。

高祖将首都迁到洛邑时，杨椿首先在这个里建宅居住，于是就分出一部分宅邸作寺院，因而用景宁命名它。建筑装饰非常华美，尽是彩柱珠帘。杨椿的弟弟杨慎任冀州刺史，杨慎的弟弟杨津，任司空，都秉性宽厚文雅，以道义为贵，而以财富为轻，四世同堂，同祖相亲。家族以礼义同堂共处，这在朝廷的达官贵臣中再也没有。普泰年间，全家被尔朱世隆所杀害，后来宅邸献出，作了建中寺。出青阳门外三里，御道之北有孝义里。西北角有苏秦冢，冢旁有宝明寺。众僧常常看到苏秦从此冢进进出出，车马扈从之盛，就如同当今的宰相。

孝义里的东边，就是洛阳小市。北边有车骑将军张景仁的宅邸。

张景仁是会稽山阴人。正光年初跟随萧宝夤归来投诚，被任





rial Drive three *li* outside the Jing-yang Gate, in the so-called Jing-ning Ward (Peaceful Prospect Ward).

After Emperor Gao-zu moved the capital to Luo-yang, [Yang] Chun sponsored the construction of this ward, in which he lived. He also donated part of his residence as the [temple], which was named after the ward. The design and ornamentation of the temple were very beautiful, [with] carved pillars and draperies strung with pearls. Yang Chun's younger brother, [Yang] Shen<sup>265</sup> (A.D. 465-531), Governor of Ji-zhou, and [Yang] Shen's<sup>266</sup> younger brother [Yang] Jin<sup>267</sup> (A.D. 467-531), Minister of Public Works were both by nature tolerant, refined, and attached great value to principles, taking riches lightly. A household of four generations living together, the family included great granduncles, granduncles, and uncles<sup>268</sup>. There had never been any at court as principled and as willing to live together as they were<sup>269</sup>. During the Pu-tai period (A.D. 531-532)<sup>270</sup>, [Yang Chun] was executed by Er-zhu Shi-long. Later, his house was set aside for the Jian-zhong Temple.

Three *li* outside the Jing-yang Gate and on the north side of the Imperial Drive was the Xiao-yi Ward (Ward of the Filial and Righteous). In the northwestern section of the ward was the tomb of Su Qin<sup>271</sup>, which bordered on the Bao-ming Monastery (Monastery of the Precious and Bright). Monks often saw [Su] Qin coming into and going out from the tomb. His horses, carriages, and other plumed insignia<sup>272</sup> were very much like those used by the current prime ministers.

To the east of the Xiao-yi Ward was the Little Market of Luo-yang (*Luo-yang xiao-shi*)<sup>273</sup>, to the north of which was the residence of Zhang Jing-ren, the General of Chariots and Cavalry<sup>274</sup>.

[Zhang] Jing-ren was a native of Shan-yin in Kuai-ji [commandery]. In the early years of the Zheng-guang period (A.D. 520-524)<sup>275</sup>, he accompanied Xiao Bao-yin; to surrender to the Wei, whereupon he was



## 【原文】

监，赐宅城南归正里。民间号为吴人坊，南来投化者多居其内。近伊、洛二水，任其习御。里三千馀家，自立巷市。所卖口味，多是水族，时人谓为鱼鳖市也。景仁住此以为耻，遂徙居孝义里焉。

时朝廷方欲招怀荒服，待吴儿甚厚，褰裳渡于江者，皆居不次之位。景仁无汗马之劳，高官通显。永安二年，萧衍遣主书陈庆之送北海入洛阳僭帝位。庆之为侍中。景仁在南之日，与庆之有旧，遂设酒引邀庆之过宅。司农卿萧彪、尚书右丞张嵩并在其座，彪亦是南人。唯有中大夫杨元慎、给事中大夫王暄是中原士族。庆

## 【今译】

命为羽林监，在城南归正里赐给住宅。民间称为吴人坊，从江南来投诚的人大多居住于其中。靠近伊水、洛水，任由南方来的人操练水性。里内住着三千多家，自设街巷市场，所卖的食物，大多是水产品，当时人称此里的市场为鱼鳖市。张景仁住在这里感到羞耻，于是就迁居到孝义里。

当时朝廷正要招抚偏远地方的人民，因而对江南小民给予很优厚的待遇。凡是渡江而来的人，都安置在不差的官位上。张景仁没有立下什么汗马功劳，却官运亨通。永安二年（529），萧衍派主书陈庆之护送北海王元颢入洛阳，篡夺了帝位。陈庆之做了侍中。张景仁在江南时，与陈庆之有交情，于是就在家中设酒席相款待。司农卿萧彪、尚书右丞张嵩同时在座，也是江南人。只有中大夫杨元慎、给事中大夫王暄是中原士族。庆之借着醉意对



appointed Commander of the Plumed Forest Guards and given a residence in the Gui-zheng Ward (Ward of the Return to Legitimacy), known as part of the "Southerners' District" (*Wu-ren fang*). The majority of the southern people who surrendered to the Wei lived here. Located close to the two rivers, the Yi and the Luo, the inhabitants were allowed [to maintain] their own customs. Within this block were more than three thousand families<sup>276</sup> who created their own lanes and maintained their own marketplace<sup>277</sup>. The things on sale were for the most part seafood; hence contemporaries called this area the Fish and Turtle Market<sup>278</sup>. Ashamed of living here, [Zhang] Jing-ren moved to the Xiao-yi Ward instead.

At this time the court, desirous of encouraging people in distant areas<sup>279</sup> to immigrate, treated the southerners with generosity. Anyone who pulled up his skirt and crossed the [Yangtze] River<sup>280</sup> would be given a [high] post [without the usual process of grading]. Without any military merits<sup>281</sup>, [Zhang] Jing-ren occupied a high and very distinguished post. In the second year of the Yong-an period (A.D. 529), Xiao Yan dispatched [the Prince of] Bei-hai, escorted by the clerk Chen Qing-zhi<sup>282</sup>, to Luo-yang to usurp the throne. As a reward for this mission, [Chen] Qing-zhi was promoted to the post of Chief Palace Attendant. When [Zhang] Jing-ren was in the south, [Chen] Qing-zhi had been his old acquaintance. Consequently, [Chen] Qing-zhi [was invited] to come to [Zhang] Jing-ren's home for a drinking feast. Xiao Biao<sup>283</sup>, Minister of Agriculture, and Zhang Song<sup>284</sup>, Secretary on the Right, Department of State Affairs (*Shang-shu you-cheng*) both<sup>285</sup> southerners, also attended the banquet. [Among those present], Yang Yuan-shen<sup>286</sup>, the Palace Grandee (*Zhong da-fu*) and Wang Xun<sup>287</sup>, the Ministrant and Palace Grandee (*Ji-shi zhong da-fu*), were the only two from prominent clans in the North China plain. Because he was



## 【原文】

之因醉谓萧、张等曰：“魏朝甚盛，犹曰五胡。正朔相承，当在江左。秦朝玉玺，今在梁朝。”元慎正色曰：“江左假息，僻居一隅，地多湿垫，攒育虫蚁，疆土瘴疠，蛙黾共穴，人鸟同群。短发之君，无杼首之貌；文身之民，稟蕞陋之质。浮于三江，棹于五湖，礼乐所不沾，宪章弗能革。虽复秦馀汉罪，杂以华音，复闻楚难言，不可改变。虽立君臣，上慢下暴。是以刘劭杀父于前，休龙淫母于后，见逆人伦，禽兽不异。加以山阴请婚卖夫，朋淫于家，不顾讥笑。卿沐其遗风，未沾礼化，所谓阳翟之民不知瘦之为丑。我魏膺

## 【今译】

萧、张等人说：“魏朝很强盛，不过毕竟还属于五胡。而正统的王朝，应当在江左。秦朝传下来的玉玺，现在正由梁朝掌管。”杨元慎一脸严肃地说：“江左朝廷苟且偷安，偏处一个角落，地势低湿，虫蚁聚生，境内瘴疠之气弥漫，人与蛙类共同穴居，与鸟类为伍同群。短发的国君，没有丰满端正的面相；文身的百姓，生来就带着卑下的本性。过着浮游三江、舟行五湖的生活，一点也受不到礼乐教化的熏陶，宪章法规也无法加以变革。虽然是秦汉时代流放到南方的罪人，还夹杂着中原的语音，但已染上闽、楚的土音蛮调，不可能有所改变。虽然建立了君臣制度，但在上的傲慢，在下的强暴。所以前有刘劭杀父，后有刘骏与母奸淫，违反人伦，行同禽兽。还有山阴公主要求设置面首，在家群居乱淫，而毫不顾忌世人的讥讽嘲笑。你沐浴在这种遗风之下，而没有受到礼教的熏陶，就像阳翟人不知道长瘤为丑。我魏顺应天意，建国于嵩



intoxicated, [Chen] Qing-zhi spoke to Xiao, Zhang, and the others: "The Wei, though flourishing, are still referred to as [one of] the five barbarians<sup>288</sup>. Legitimacy<sup>289</sup> of course rests in the Southern Court<sup>290</sup>. The Grand Jade Seal of the Qin dynasty is now in the possession of the Liang dynasty." With a stern countenance, [Yang] Yuan-shen retorted: "The Southern Court, breathing a stolen breath, lives in seclusion in an out-of-the-way corner [of China]. Its land for the most part is low-lying and damp, where insects and ants swarm and breed. Its domain is infected with a malarial epidemic, where frogs and turtles share the same cave and where men and birds are of the same flock. The ruler, with his hair cut short, does not appear to have that elongated head [we associate with good breeding]<sup>292</sup>; the people, with tattooed bodies, are by nature small and vile. Floating in the three rivers<sup>293</sup> and boating in the five lakes<sup>294</sup>, they are neither accustomed to rituals<sup>295</sup> and music, nor are they governed by statutes and laws. As fugitives from the Qin and Han, although their spoken language has an admixture of standard Chinese, [in the main] it is the difficult dialect of Min (Fujian) and Chu (Hu-bei), which can never be changed. Even when they set up rulers and subjects, the superiors are insolent and the subordinates violent. That is why first Liu Shao killed his own father<sup>296</sup> and second [Liu] Xiu-long committed incest with his mother<sup>297</sup>. They violated the principles governing human relationships, and acted no differently from birds and beasts. In addition, [the princess] of Shan-yin<sup>298</sup>, in disregard of her husband's dignity, asked for more consorts. As a group, they behaved licentiously at home and ignored the scorn and ridicule directed against them. Reared in this tradition and unexposed to our cultural refinement, [southerners are like] the so called man of Yang-di, who fails to realize that goiters are ugly<sup>299</sup>. Having received an appointment from heaven through the holy maps<sup>300</sup>, our Wei selected [an

## 【原文】

策受图，定鼎嵩洛，五山为镇，四海为家。移风易俗之典，与五帝而并迹；礼乐宪章之盛，凌百王而独高。岂卿鱼鳖之徒，慕义来朝，饮我池水，啄我稻粱，何为不逊，以至于此？”庆之等见元慎清词雅句，纵横奔发，杜口流汗，含声不言。

于后数日，庆之遇病，心上急痛，访人解治。元慎自云能解，庆之遂凭元慎。元慎即口含水喂庆之曰：“吴人之鬼，住居建康。小作冠帽，短制衣裳。自呼阿侬，语则阿傍。菰稗为饭，茗饮作浆。呷啜菹羹，啜嚼蟹黄。手把豆蔻，口嚼槟榔。乍至中土，思忆本乡。急手速去，还尔丹阳。若其寒门之鬼，口头犹修。网鱼漉鳖，在河之洲。咀嚼菱藕，拮拾鸡头。蛙羹蚌臠，以为膳羞。布袍芒履，倒

## 【今译】

山洛水之地，以五山作镇守，以四海为家园。移风易俗的典范，可与五帝匹敌；礼乐宪章的隆盛，超越历代君王。不料你这个水乡之辈，慕义而来，喝我们的池水，啄我们的米粮，为什么竟会无礼到这个地步？”陈庆之等人见杨元慎言词清雅，气势浩壮，都闭口流汗，吞声不语。

几天以后，陈庆之得病，心口剧痛，找人医治。杨元慎自称能消解病痛，陈庆之于是听从他的处置。杨元慎就口中含水喷向陈庆之说：“吴人的鬼魂，住在建康，戴着小小的帽子，穿着短短的衣裳。称自己为‘阿侬’，说话总带着‘阿’字。以菰稗作饭，以茶水解渴，有滋有味地喝菹汤，啧啧作响地吃蟹黄。手里拿着豆蔻，嘴里嚼着槟榔。初来中原，思念故乡。请快快离开，回你那个丹阳！若是贫贱人家的死鬼，鬼头还长。在河中间的小洲上，捕鱼捉鳖，嚼着菱藕，拾起鸡头，把青蛙和河蚌作的羹汤当成美味。穿着布袍和草鞋，反骑着水牛。在沅湘江



area between] the Song Mountain and the Luo [River] as the site of our capital. Safeguarded by the [Sacred] Five Mountains<sup>301</sup>, we treat all within the four seas as one family. The statutes regulating reforms in customs and tradition are comparable to those of the Five Emperors<sup>302</sup>, and the richness of rituals, music, and institutions dwarfs that of the hundred kings preceding us. Now how can you, one of a band of fish and turtles, desire righteousness and come to [our] court [to pay homage], drinking water from our pond and pecking rice grains [provided by] us, and be so insolent?" [Overpowered by Yang] Yuan-shen's torrential and rapid-flowing phrases and sentences, which were both beautiful and elegant, [Chen] Qing-zhi and all the others closed their mouths, their sweat flowing, and swallowed their words<sup>303</sup>.

Several days thereafter, [Chen] Qing-zhi fell ill with acute heart pains. He sought someone to cure him by exorcism. [Yang] Yuan-shen claimed to be one capable of expiating [the evil] spells. [Chen] Qing-zhi then relied on [Yang] Yuan-shen for treatment. [Yang] Yuan-shen immediately took and held a mouthful of water, which he then spat at [Chen] Qing-zhi, saying: "You ghost of the Wu region who lived in Jian-kang<sup>304</sup>! Wearing a small cap and short garment, you call yourself 'A-nong'<sup>305</sup> and call others 'A so and so.'<sup>306</sup> You eat *gu*<sup>307</sup> seeds and darnel<sup>308</sup> for meal, drink slops as your beverage<sup>309</sup>, sip *chun*<sup>310</sup>-plant stew and suck<sup>311</sup> crab spawn<sup>312</sup>. You roll nutmeg<sup>313</sup> in your hand and chew betel nuts<sup>314</sup>. Having just arrived in Central China<sup>315</sup>, you are homesick. Hurry, hurry to leave here, leave here for your [native] Dan-yang<sup>316</sup>! Now perhaps you are a ghost from a family of humble origin, ...<sup>317</sup> Like a fish in a net or a turtle in a trap you are fond of munching waterchestnuts and lotusroots, collecting chicken-heads<sup>318</sup>, and savoring frog and oystersoup. Wearing cloth garments and straw sandals, you may enjoy riding a buffalo backward. Or you may like to



## 【原文】

骑水牛。沅湘江汉，鼓棹遨游。随波溯浪，噉喙沉浮。白伧起舞，扬波发讴。急手速去，还尔扬州。”庆之伏枕曰：“杨君见辱深矣。”自此后，吴儿更不敢解语。北海寻伏诛，其庆之还奔萧衍，衍用其为司州刺史，钦重北人，特异于常。朱异怪复问之。曰：“自晋宋以来，号洛阳为荒土，此中谓长江以北尽是夷狄。昨至洛阳，始知衣冠士族并在中原，礼仪富盛，人物殷阜，目所不识，口不能传。所谓‘帝京翼翼，四方之则’，如登泰山者卑培塿，涉江海者小湘沅，北人安可不重？”庆之因此羽仪服式悉如魏法，江表士庶竞相模楷，褻衣博带，被及秣陵。

元慎，弘农人，晋冀州刺史峤六世孙。曾祖泰，从宋武

## 【今译】

汉，荡起船桨遨游。时而顺水，时而逆流，时而浮上浪峰，时而沉下波谷。披着白葛巾翩翩起舞，和着波涛声唱出歌谣。请快快离开，回你那个扬州！”陈庆之伏在枕头上说：“杨先生嘲辱得太重了。”从此以后，江南人再也不敢请人消除病痛了。不久，北海王元颢被处决，陈庆之逃归萧衍手下，萧衍任命他为司州刺史，他敬重北方人，表现得非同寻常。朱异感到疑惑不解，庆之答道：“自晋宋以来，把洛阳说成是一片荒土，我们这里还说长江以北尽是夷狄野人。可是前不久到达洛阳后，才知道衣冠堂堂的士族都在中原，礼仪发达，人材繁盛，是从来没有看到过的，无法用语言加以描述。那真是所谓‘帝王的都城庄严方正，是四方的准则’！就好比登上泰山的人看不起小土丘，渡越江海的人要小瞧湘水沅水，怎么可以不看重北方人？”陈庆之从此使用的仪仗、服装全部依照魏朝的法式，江南的士族庶民竞相模仿，宽衣大带的服饰风行于秣陵。

杨元慎，弘农人，晋冀州刺史杨峤的六世孙。曾祖杨泰，跟





be driven aimlessly in a boat through the Yuan, Xiang, Yangtze, and Han Rivers<sup>319</sup>, following the waves or running against the current, surfacing<sup>320</sup>, sinking or floating, as do the fish. Wearing garments of coarse white fabric<sup>321</sup>, you may like to stand up and dance, or beat the waves and burst into song. Hurry, hurry to leave here, leave here for your [native] Yang-zhou!<sup>322</sup> Lying against a pillow, [Chen] Qing-zhi said: "Master Yang, you have deeply humiliated me!" From this time on, southerners never again dared to speak of spells<sup>323</sup>. Soon afterwards, [the Prince of] Bei-hai was executed. As for [Chen] Qing-zhi, he rushed back to Xiao Yan, who appointed<sup>324</sup> him Governor of Si-zhou<sup>325</sup>, [in which capacity Chen Qing-zhi] showed unusual respect for north-erners. Zhu Yi<sup>326</sup> found this strange and asked him why. [In reply, Chen Qing-zhi] said: "Since the time of the Jin and the Song, Luo-yang has been labeled a piece of deserted land, and we in our area categorically refer to those [living] to the north of the Yangtze as barbarians. After my recent visit to Luo-yang, I began to realize that cultured clansmen are [all] in the Central China plain where rituals and etiquette flourish and people are rich and prosperous. There were things that I did not know when I saw them, neither can I give a verbal account of what I have seen. That is what we call: 'Splendid, splendid is the capital city, A model for the whole nation to follow.'<sup>327</sup> Insofar as one who has ascended the [sacred] Mountain Tai would despise a small mound, and one who has traveled on the Yangtze River and seas would look down upon the Xiang and Yuan [Rivers], how can we afford not to hold northerners in great respect?" Thereupon [Chen] Qing-zhi imitated the Wei patterns for his insignia and costumes, which were quickly followed by literati and common people of the south<sup>328</sup>. Loose garments and wide girdles caught the fancy of Mo-ling<sup>329</sup>.

[Yang] Yuan-shen, a native of Hong-nong, was the sixth-generation

## 【原文】

入关，为上洛太守。七年，背伪来朝，明元帝赐爵临晋侯，广武郡、陈郡太守，赠凉州刺史，谥烈侯。祖抚，明经，为中博士。父辞，自得丘壑，不事王侯。叔父许，河南令，蜀郡太守。世以学行著闻，名高州里。元慎清尚卓逸，少有高操，任心自放，不为时羁。乐山爱水，好游林泽。博识文渊，清言入神，造次应对，莫有称者。读《老》《庄》，善言玄理。性嗜酒，饮至一石，神不乱常，慷慨叹不得与阮籍同时生。不愿仕宦，为中散，常辞疾退闲，未尝修敬诸

## 【今译】

从宋武帝进入关内，任上洛太守。（秦常）七年（422），背弃南方伪政权来投诚，明元帝赐给他临晋侯的爵位和广武郡、陈郡太守的官职，追赠凉州刺史，谥烈侯。祖父杨抚，明经科出身，任中博士。父亲杨辞，在山林中自得其乐，而不为王侯出仕。叔父杨许，任河南令、蜀郡太守。这个家族代代以学问品行著称，在地方上声誉很高。元慎品格清峻高迈，少年时期就具有高远的情操，追求精神自由，不为时事所拘束。乐山爱水，喜欢在林间泽畔游赏。学识渊博，谈吐清妙入神，随机答问的本领，无人可比。读《老子》、《庄子》，善于发挥玄奥的哲理。天性嗜酒，喝下一石以后，神智也不失常，慨叹没能与阮籍生于同时。不愿出仕做官，虽任中散，常常托病闲居，从未向达官贵人献殷勤，也不参加亲朋好友的庆吊活动以显





direct descendant of [Yang] Qiao, Governor of Ji-zhou during the Jin. His great-grandfather, [Yang] Tai, accompanied Emperor Wu of the Song to march through [Tong-]Pass [in the latter's successful campaign against the Later Qin in A.D. 417,] and for seven years he had been Grand Warden of Shang-luo before he deserted the illegitimate [Lin-Song] to surrender<sup>330</sup> to the Wei. [Because of this], Emperor Ming-yuan<sup>331</sup> enfeoffed him as the arquis of Lin-jin. He had been Grand Warden of Guang-wu commandery and Chen commandery, and was honored posthumously as Governor of Liang-zhou and Marquis of Eminence. [Yang] Yuan-shen's grandfather, [Yang] Fu, holder of a Ming-jing (Clearly Understanding the Classics) degree, was an Erudite<sup>332</sup>. [Yang] Yuan-shen's father, [Yang] Ci, was content with nature and uninterested in serving kings and marquises. [Yang Yuan-shen's uncle, Yang] Xu<sup>333</sup>, was a metropolitan prefect of He-nan and Grand Warden of Shu commandery. For generations, [the Yangs] were renowned for scholarship and [good] conduct; their fame was great within their own locality. [Yang] Yuan-shen had aesthetic tastes. [Even] as a youth, he had high principles, goodheartedness, and no regard for contemporary restraints. Fond of mountains and rivers, he took pleasure in wandering among forests and marshes. Widely learned in the field of literature and nearly godlike in the art of "pure conversation", he was matchless for quick and impromptu responses in colloquy. He studied *Lao* [-zi] and *Zhuang* [-zi], and was skilled at discussing the primal principles. Fond of wine, he could drink up to one *shi*<sup>334</sup> without it affecting his composure. He often bemoaned [his cruel fate], with a sigh, that he had not been born at the same time as Ruan Ji. He was unwilling to be involved with politics, so during his tenure as a Palace Attending [Grandee] (*Zhong-san* [*da-fu*]) he often claimed to be ill and lived in seclusion, neither paying courtesy visits

## 【原文】

贵，亦不庆吊亲知，贵为交友，故时人弗识也。或有人慕其高义，投刺在门，元慎称疾高卧。加以意思深长，善于解梦。孝昌年，广阳王元渊初除仪同三司，总众十万北讨葛荣，夜梦著衮衣，倚槐树而立，以为吉征。问于元慎。元慎曰：“三公之祥。”渊甚悦之。元慎退还，告人曰：“广阳死矣。槐字是木旁鬼，死后当得三公。”广阳果为葛荣所杀，追赠司徒公。终如其言。建义初，阳城太守薛令伯闻太原王诛百官，立庄帝，弃郡东走，忽梦射得雁，以问元慎。元慎曰：“卿执羔，大夫执雁。君当得大夫之职。”俄然令伯除为谏议大夫。京兆许超梦盗羊入狱，问于

## 【今译】

示郑重地交友，所以，当时人几乎不知道他。纵使有人仰慕他的高义，名刺已经投到家门口，杨元慎称病高卧，不予会见。他另外还能思虑幽远不测之事，善于解梦。孝昌年间（525—527），广阳王元渊刚当上仪同三司，总领十万兵力，北伐葛荣，夜里梦见自己穿着衮衣，倚槐树而站立。他认为这是吉兆。他请元慎解释，元慎说：“是三公的好兆头。”元渊特别开心。元慎退出后，告诉人说：“广阳王将死。‘槐’字是木旁的鬼，死后当获三公的名誉。”广阳王果然是被葛荣所杀，死后追赠司徒公。结局正如他的预言。建义初年，阳城太守薛令伯听说太原王诛杀百官，拥立庄帝，他离开职守向东逃走，忽然梦见射落雁，就请教元慎。元慎说：“卿执羔，大夫执雁。你自会获取大夫之职。”没过多久，薛令伯被任命为谏议大夫。京兆许超梦见盗羊





to dignitaries nor being sociable with his relatives and acquaintances<sup>335</sup>. He was strict in choosing friends, so his contemporaries did not know him well. Sometimes there would be men who, out of admiration for his noble principles, came to his gate and left visiting cards, but [Yang] Yuan-shen pretended to be sick, reposing on a raised bed. In addition, he was pensive, imaginative, and skillful at interpreting dreams. In the early Xiao-chang years<sup>336</sup>, when Yuan Yuan<sup>337</sup>, Prince of Guang-yang<sup>338</sup>, had just been installed as Palatine Ceremonially Equal to the Three Authorities with command of an army of ten thousand to fight [the rebel] Ge Rong<sup>339</sup>, he dreamed that he wore a ceremonial garment and stood leaning one night against a locust tree—a dream he thought auspicious. He requested [Yang] Yuan-shen's interpretation. [Yang] Yuan-shen<sup>340</sup> said: "This is an omen indicating that you will be [one of the] Three Lords." [Yuan] Yuan was very pleased [with this remark]. After [Yang] Yuan-shen went home, he confided in someone, saying: "The prince of Guang-yang<sup>341</sup> will soon die—the character *huai* (locust tree) [consists of] a ghost (*gui*) to the side of a tree (*mu*). He will become [one of the] Three Lords [only] after death." Indeed, the Prince was killed by Ge Rong and awarded the post-humous title of Grand Minister of Public Instruction<sup>342</sup>. In the end, the prediction turned out to be true. In the early<sup>343</sup> Jian-yi period, when Xue Ling-bo, Grand Warden of Yang-cheng<sup>344</sup> learned that the Prince of Tai-yuan had killed many officials<sup>345</sup> and enthroned Emperor Zhuang, he left his post and fled eastward. Suddenly he dreamed of having shot down a wild goose, so he asked [Yang] Yuan-shen [for an interpretation]. [Yang] Yuan-shen said: "[For gift-giving], ministers present lambs; grandees present wild geese<sup>346</sup>. You will be appointed to the post of grandee." Soon afterward [Xue] Ling-bo was installed as Grandee Remonstrant (*Jian-yi da-fu*). Xu Chao of Jing-zhao (the capital district), dreamt that he was jailed for the theft of



## 【原文】

元慎。曰：“君当得城阳令。”其后有功，封城阳侯。元慎解梦，义出万途，随意会情，皆有神验。虽令与侯小乖，按令今百里，即是古诸侯，以此论之，亦为妙著。时人譬之周宣。及尔朱兆入洛阳，即弃官与华阴隐士王腾周游上洛山。

孝义里东市北殖货里。里有太常民刘胡兄弟四人，以屠为业。永安年中，胡杀猪，猪忽唱乞命，声及四邻。邻人谓胡兄弟相殴斗而来观之，乃猪也。胡即舍宅为归觉寺，合家人入道焉。普泰元年，此寺金像生毛，眉发悉皆具足。尚书左丞魏季景谓人曰：“张天锡有此事，其国遂灭。此亦不祥之征。”至明年而广陵被废死。

## 【今译】

入狱，寻问元慎。解答是：“你定会当城阳令。”此后，许超立了功绩，被封为城阳侯。元慎对梦的解释，思路千变万化，各随意思巧合情理，都有灵验。虽然令与侯不符，可是令在当今是方圆百里之官，也就相当于古代的诸侯，这样看来，也真是妙解。他被当时人比作周宣。尔朱兆攻入洛阳时，他就弃官与华阴隐士王腾周一起游上洛山。

孝义里东洛阳小市的北边，是殖货里。里内有太常寺的官奴刘胡兄弟四人，以屠宰为业。永安年间（528-530），刘胡杀猪，猪突然喊饶命，声音惊动四邻。邻人以为是刘胡兄弟相殴斗而来围观，却见是猪。刘胡随即让出住宅做了归觉寺，全家人都皈依佛教当了信徒。普泰元年（531），此寺的金佛像长出毛发，眉毛头发兼备。尚书左丞魏季景对人说：“张天锡曾遭遇过这样的事，他的国家就归于灭亡。这也是不祥的征兆。”到了次年，广陵王就被废杀。



a sheep. So he asked [Yang] Yuan-shen, who explained: "You will be appointed Prefect of Cheng-yang."<sup>347</sup> Later, for his merit he was enfeoffed as the Marquis of Cheng-yang. [Yang] Yuan-shen had myriad<sup>348</sup> ways of interpreting dreams, adjusting his ideas in each case to a given situation as he saw fit. Without exception, he was miraculously accurate. Although there was a slight discrepancy between "prefect" and "marquis", now "prefect" means "a lord who rules one hundred *li*". The term *bai-li* is equivalent to the feudal lord in olden days. Judging from this, this was also a superb interpretation. Contemporaries likened him to Zhou Xuan<sup>349</sup>. After Er-zhu Zhao entered Luo-yang, he gave up his post and, with Wang Teng-zhou, a hermit of Hua-yin<sup>350</sup>, went to the Shang-luo Mountain.

To the north of the market and east of the Xiao-yi Ward was the Zhi-huo Ward (Ward of Market Transactions), where Liu Hu and his three brothers, all bound servants to [the Ministry of] Grand Ceremonies (*Tai-chang [si]*)<sup>351</sup>, were butchers by profession. During the Yong-an period (A.D. 528-530), while [Liu] Hu was killing a pig, the animal suddenly shouted "Spare my life"! Its cries reached to neighbors in all directions, who, suspecting that the [Liu] Hu brothers might be fighting against each other, came to see. [They found that] it was the pig [that had cried]. [Liu] Hu<sup>352</sup> then gave up his house, which was converted to the Gui-jue Temple (Temple of the Return to Enlightenment), and with the members of his family became a Buddhist devotee. In the first year of Pu-tai (A.D. 531), hair grew on the golden image in the temple; the eyebrows and the hair on the head were complete. Wei Ji-jing<sup>353</sup>, Secretary on the Left, Department of State Affairs (*Shang-shu zuo-cheng*) confided to his friends, saying: "Previously, the same thing happened [under the reign] of Zhang Tian-xi<sup>354</sup>. As a consequence, his kingdom was overthrown. This too is inauspicious." The next year the Prince of Guang-ling<sup>355</sup> was deposed, and subsequently murdered.



## 卷三 城南

### 【原文】

景明寺，宣武皇帝所立也。景明年中立，因以为名。在宣阳门外一里御道东。其寺东西南北方五百步，前望嵩山少室，却负帝城，青林垂影，绿水为文，形胜之地，爽垲独美。山悬堂观，光盛一千馀间。复殿重房，交疏对霤。青台紫阁，浮道相通。虽外有四时，而内无寒暑。房檐之外，皆是山池。松竹兰芷，垂列阶墀，含风团露，流香吐馥。

至正光年中，太后始造七层浮图一所，去地百仞。是以邢子才碑文云“俯闻激电，旁属奔星”是也。妆饰华丽，侔于永宁。

### 【今译】

景明寺，由宣武皇帝所建。因为是建于景明年间（500-503），所以如此取名。位于宣阳门外一里，御道之东。这座寺院东西南北五百步见方，正面对望嵩山、少室山，背负帝国的都城，青葱的树林垂下倒影，碧绿的流水荡起涟漪，实为形胜之地，干燥宜人无比。倚山借势构筑的堂观十分壮丽，共达一千多间。佛殿重重，僧房套叠，绮窗交错，承檐相对。青台紫阁之间，由空中回廊相连通。外面虽有四季的迁转，而此中却不知寒暑的变化。房檐之外，都是山林池沼。松竹兰芷，垂列于阶墀，含风聚露，清香四溢。

到了正光年间（520-524），灵太后才开始建造了一座七层佛塔，高地百仞。因此，邢子才撰写的碑文中有“俯听激电，侧览奔星”之语，





### Chapter 3

## Southern Suburbs

(*Cheng-nan*)

The Jing-ming Monastery was established by Emperor Xuan-wu<sup>1</sup> during the Jing-ming period (A.D. 500–503); hence, the name. Located on the eastern side of the Imperial Drive and one *li* outside the Xuan-yang Gate, the monastery [compound], in length and breadth<sup>2</sup>, was five hundred *bu*<sup>3</sup> square. [The monastery] faced the western range of the Song Mountains<sup>4</sup> and had the capital at its back. It was shaded by green woods, and girdled by azure streams. It commanded an area unmatched in scenic beauty, altitude, and dry<sup>5</sup> atmosphere. With Song Mountain in the foreground<sup>6</sup>, the monastery consisted of more than one thousand rooms, [subdivided into] groups of halls and suites of compartments, with carved windows on opposite sides<sup>7</sup> and [ornamental] gutters facing one another<sup>8</sup>. Elevated passageways connected the blue platforms and purple pavilions. Although outside [the monastery building] there were [changes in] the four seasons, within there was no winter or summer. Beyond the eaves<sup>9</sup> there was nothing but hills and ponds. Bamboo and pines, orchids and *zhi*-iris trailed along the stairways, their pervasive fragrance wafted by the wind or through the evaporated dewdrops deposited therein.

Not until the Zheng-guang period (A.D. 520–524) did the Empress Dowager [Hu] order the construction of a seven-storied stūpa, which reached eight hundred Chinese feet<sup>10</sup> above the ground. This is why Xing Zi-cai's stone inscription reads: "[One can] hear the flashing thunder below, [and see] the shooting stars on either side." It was indeed so. The splendor of the



## 【原文】

金盘宝铎，灿烂霞表。

寺有三池，萑蒲菱藕，水物生焉。或黄甲紫鳞，出没于繁藻；或青凫白雁，沉浮于绿水。磬础春簸，皆用水功，伽蓝之妙，最为称首。

时世好崇福，四月七日京师诸像皆来此寺，尚书祠部曹录像凡有一千馀躯。至八日，以次入宣阳门，向阊阖宫前受皇帝散花。于时金花映日，宝盖浮云，幡幢若林，香烟似雾，梵乐法音，聒动天地。百戏腾骧，所在骈比。名僧德众，负锡为群；信徒法侣，持花成藪。车骑填咽，繁衍相倾。时有西域胡沙门见此，唱言佛国。

至永熙年中始诏国子祭酒邢子才为寺碑文。

## 【今译】

所写就是此塔。其装饰的华丽，与永宁寺不相上下。塔上金盘和宝铎的光芒，在云霞之上闪耀。

寺内有四处水池，长着苇、蒲、菱、藕等水生植物。时而有黄壳鳖、紫鳞鱼出没于水草之间，时而有青色的野鸭、白色的大雁沉浮于碧水上下。磨面舂米，都用水力推动。佛寺建筑的精巧，要数景明寺为第一。

当时社会上盛行敬佛求福，四月七日这一天，京城所有的佛像都会合于此寺，据尚书祠部曹的记录，共有一千多尊。到了八日，这些佛像依次进入宣阳门，往阊阖宫前接受皇帝散花。一时之间，金色的花雨辉映阳光，玉饰的伞盖浮于云端，旗帜如林，香烟似雾，赞佛的乐声，惊动天地。各种杂技表演，欢腾之极，观众连成一片。大德高僧们手持锡仗而结队，善男信女和一般僧尼捧着花束而成群。车马拥塞，互相倾轧。当时有西城来的僧人，看到这种情形，赞叹说不异于佛国。

到了永熙年间（532-534），才下令国子祭酒邢子才撰写寺的碑文。



ornaments was comparable to that of the Yong-ning Monastery<sup>11</sup>, with the golden plates and precious bells glittering in the low rosy clouds.

In the monastery [compound] were three ponds, where reeds, rushes, water chestnuts, lotus roots, and water creatures grew. At times, [fish with] yellow shells or purple scales surfaced through or submerged themselves under duck-weed and aquatic grasses; at other times blue-green ducks and white wild geese floated on or dived into the green water. [In all grain processing such as] rolling<sup>12</sup>, grinding, pounding, and winnowing that was powered by water<sup>13</sup>, the wealth<sup>14</sup> of the monastery was unequaled.

At the time, the nation liked to pray for happiness, [so] on the seventh day of the fourth month all images in the capital were assembled in this monastery, numbering more than one thousand, according to the records of the Office of Sacrifices<sup>15</sup>, Department of State Affairs. On the eighth day<sup>16</sup>, the images [were carried] one by one into the Xuan-yang Gate, where the emperor would scatter flowers in front of the Chang-he Palace<sup>17</sup>. At this moment, gold-colored flowers reflected the dazzling sun-light, and the bejeweled canopies [over the carriages] for the images floated in the clouds. Banners were [as numerous as trees] in a forest, and incense smoke was [as thick as] a fog. Indian music and the din of chanted Buddhist scriptures moved heaven and earth alike. Wherever variety shows [were performed], there was congestion. Renowned monks and virtuous masters, each carrying a staff, formed a throng. The Buddhist devotees and their "companions in the law" holding flowers resembled a garden in bloom. Carriages and horses choked [traffic]<sup>18</sup> and jostled each other<sup>19</sup>. A foreign monk from the Western Regions saw it, and he chanted and said it was [the same as the Buddha's land as he had witnessed it].

Not until the Yong-xi period did Xing Zi-cai<sup>20</sup>, Libationer of the Imperial Academy (*Guo-zi ji-jiu*), receive a court order to prepare a stone inscription for the monastery.



## 【原文】

子才，河间人也。志性通敏，风情雅润，下帷覃思，温故知新。文宗学府，腾班马而孤上；英规胜范，凌许郭而独高。是以衣冠之士，辐辏其门；怀道之宾，去来满室。升其堂者，若登孔氏之门；沾其赏者，犹听东吴之句。藉甚当时，声驰遐迹。正光末，解褐为世宗挽郎，奉朝请。寻进中书侍郎、黄门侍郎。子才洽闻博见，无所不通，军国制度，罔不访及。自王室不靖，虎门业废。后迁国子祭酒，谟训上庠。子才罚惰赏勤，专心劝诱，青领之生，竞怀雅术。洙泗之风，兹焉复盛。永熙年末，以母老辞，帝不许之。

## 【今译】

邢子才，是河间人。心性通达敏锐，情怀温文而雅。闭门深思，温故知新。他的文章学问的宏富，胜过司马迁、班固；他的人格风范的高迈，超过许邵、郭泰。所以，士大夫们聚集于他的门下，有志向的宾客来来往往，常是高朋满座。进入他家堂屋的人，感到就好像做了孔子的得意弟子；承蒙他赞赏的人，感到就如同听到东吴的名句。他在当时名气非常大，远近闻名。正光末年，出任世宗挽郎，奉朝请。后升任中书侍郎、黄门侍郎。子才见闻广博，无所不通，对国家的军事、政治制度，备受顾问。自从朝廷动荡不安，国子学就荒废了。后来子才出任国子祭酒，从事优等教育。他对学生罚惰赏勤，一心劝导他们向学。这样，国子学生争相吸收正确的本领。孔门礼乐教化的遗风，在这里得到复兴。永熙末年，因其母高龄，请求辞职，皇帝不同意。子才不



[Xing] Zi-cai was a native [of Mo, a subdivision of ] He-jian commandery. Intelligent<sup>21</sup> and refined<sup>22</sup>, he concentrated on his studies by living in seclusion<sup>23</sup>, and acquired new knowledge by reviewing the old<sup>24</sup>. A man of letters and a savant, he distinguished himself by matching Ban [Gu] and [Si] ma [Qian]<sup>25</sup>. A distinguished model [for his contemporaries]<sup>26</sup>, he attained a unique position superseding that of Xu [Shao] and Guo [Tai]<sup>27</sup>. As a result, well-educated men<sup>28</sup> congregated at his door, and visitors versed in [Confucian] teachings, now coming, now going, filled his room. For those who ascended his inner hall, it was like ascending to Confucius' door<sup>29</sup>, and for those who received his praise, it was like listening to the remarks of Dong-wu<sup>30</sup>. Renowned among his contemporaries, his fame reached far and near. When entering government service<sup>31</sup> for the first time toward the end of the Zheng-guang period, [Xing Zi-cai] was appointed *wan-lang* (pallbearer)<sup>32</sup> for Emperor Shi-zong, and Court Guest. Later, he was promoted to Squire-attendant of the Central Secretariat and [Attending Secretary within]<sup>33</sup> the Imperial Yellow Gate. A man of great learning and profound insight, there was no subject that [Xing] Zi-cai did not master, so he was always consulted on matters relating to military [affairs] and political institutions. In the face of the turmoil that swept the nation, academic pursuits<sup>34</sup> were almost completely abandoned. When [Xing] Zi-cai was later promoted to Libationer of the Imperial Academy, he [was determined] to provide the best possible education for the students. He fined those who were lazy and rewarded the industrious, directing all his efforts to encouraging and guiding them. As a consequence, those wearing blue collars<sup>35</sup> competed with each other in embracing "the fine arts"<sup>36</sup>, and Confucian teachings<sup>37</sup> once again flourished there. Toward the end of the Yong-xi period, he submitted his resignation [because he wished to wait on] his aged mother, but the emperor rejected his request. [Xing] Zi-cai begged with great



## 【原文】

子才恪请，辞情恳至，涕泪俱下，帝乃许之。诏以光禄大夫归养私庭，所在之处，给事力五人，岁一入朝，以备顾问。王侯祖道，若汉朝之送二疏。暨皇居徙邺，民讼殷繁，前革后沿，自相与夺，法吏疑狱，簿领成山，乃敕子才与散骑常侍温子昇撰《麟趾新制》十五篇。省府以之决疑，州郡用为治本。武定中，除骠骑大将军、西兖州刺史。为政清静，吏民安之。后征为中书令。时戎马在郊，朝廷多事，国礼朝仪，咸自子才出。所制诗赋诏策章表碑颂赞记五百篇，皆传于世。邻国钦其楷模，朝野为之美谈也。

## 【今译】

放弃请求，话语恳切，声泪俱下，皇帝这才批准，下诏让其带着光禄大夫的职衔回家养亲，配备五位帮手在他家效力，每年只需入朝一次，以备皇帝的咨询。王侯贵族为他饯行，盛大的场面与汉代送别疏广父子相似。首都迁邺以后，民事诉讼频繁，而法律条令先变革后复原，自相抵触，因而法官无法断案，案卷堆积如山。于是请邢子才与温子昇制定《麟趾新制》十五篇。朝廷各部门以它为准则解决疑难，地方政府将它用作行政的指导。武定年间他被任命为骠骑大将军、西兖州刺史，为政清静少烦扰，官民都感到安乐。后来他又被起用为中书令，当时国家面临战乱，朝政多遭变故，国家的礼仪都出自其手。他所创作的诗赋诏策章表碑颂赞记各体文五百篇，全部流传于世，被邻国人尊为楷模，被本国人视作荣耀。



sincerity and earnestness, with an outburst of words and tears at the same time. Only then did the emperor accept his request. An edict authorized him to wait on his mother with the official title Imperial Household Grandee (*Guang-lu da-fu*). At his residence, he was to have five servants provided [by the government], and he was to come to court once every year to fulfill his duty as consultant. At the time of his departure<sup>38</sup>, dukes and marquises bade him farewell, in the same manner as the Han court sending the two Shus<sup>39</sup>. After the imperial seat was moved to Ye, litigation among the people became all the more frequent. Early ordinances and later edicts contradicted one another. Records<sup>40</sup> of unsolved cases before judicial officials piled up like mountains. The emperor therefore ordered [Xing] Zi-cai and Wen Zi-sheng, the Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary (*San-ji chang-shi*) to compile a "New Code of the Lin-zhi" (Unicorn's Hoofprint) in fifteen chapters<sup>41</sup>. Government departments in the capital used this new code to settle disputed cases, while local governments looked upon it as a guiding manual. In the Wuding period, he was appointed Generalissimo of the Whirling Cavalry (*Piao-ji da-jiang-jun*) and concurrently Governor of Western Yan-zhou. Free from corruption<sup>42</sup>, his administration pleased both officials and the people. Later, he was summoned [to the court] and installed as President of the Imperial Secretariat. At the time, fighting was everywhere<sup>43</sup> and the court was confronted with all sorts of trouble. Such matters as state ceremonies and court rituals were all determined by [Xing] Zi-cai. His writings—poetry, rhymed prose, rescripts, memorials, stone inscriptions, epitaphs, comments, and accounts—which numbered five hundred "chapters", are in circulation today<sup>44</sup>. Neighboring states<sup>45</sup> respected him as an excellent model, whereas people<sup>46</sup>, whether in or out of court, took him as an inspiring topic of conversation.

## 【原文】

大统寺，在景明寺西，即所谓利民里。寺南有三公令史高显略宅。每于夜见赤光行于堂前，如此者非一。向光明所掘地丈馀，得黄金百斤，铭云：“苏秦家金，得者为吾造功德。”显略遂造招福寺。人谓此地是苏秦旧宅。当时元乂秉政，闻其得金，就略索之，以二十斤与之。

銜之按：苏秦时未有佛法，功德者不必是寺，应是碑铭之类，颂其声绩也。

东有秦太上公二寺，在景明寺南一里。西寺，太后所立；东寺，皇姨所建。并为父追福，因以名之，时人号为双女寺。并门邻洛水，林木

## 【今译】

大统寺，位置在景明寺西，就是所谓的利民里。寺的南边有三公令史高显略的宅邸。夜间常可见堂前有红光出现，不止一次。从闪光的场所朝地下挖掘一丈多深，得到黄金上百斤。刻的铭文说：“苏秦家的黄金。得到它的人请为我作功德。”显略于是建造了招福寺。人们纷纷说苏秦的原宅就是在这里。当时元乂掌权，听说挖到黄金，便对显略索取，结果给了二十斤。

銜之按：苏秦的时代佛法还没有传来，所谓“功德”，不必指寺，应当是指碑、铭之类的东西，歌颂自己的功绩。

东边有秦太上公（东西）两座寺院，位于景明寺南一里处。西寺由灵太后所建，东寺由灵太后的妹妹所建。都是为了替父亲祈求冥福，所以用他的封号作寺名。当时人叫它为双女寺。两寺大门并列，靠近洛水。林木





The Da-tong Temple (Temple of the Great Unification) was located to the west of the Jing-ming Monastery in the so-called Li-min Ward (Ward of Benefit to the People). To the south of the temple was the residence of Gao-Xian-lüe<sup>47</sup>, Foreman Clerk [Assigned to] the Three Lords (*San-gong ling-shi*)<sup>48</sup>. [At the mansion], always at night, there would appear a red light moving before the hall—a scene that appeared more than once. When the earth was dug to a depth of more than ten Chinese feet in the spot illumined, one hundred<sup>49</sup> catties of gold was found. An inscription read: “The gold belongs to Su Qin’s family. The finder must perform meritorious deeds on my behalf [in the cause of Buddhism].”<sup>50</sup>

[Gao] Xian-lüe subsequently had the Zhao-fu Temple (Summoning Good Fortune Temple) built. People claimed it was the old residence of Su Qin. At the time Yuan Yi was in power, and, when he heard about the discovery of gold, he went to [Gao Xian-] lüe<sup>51</sup> for the gold. [Gao-Xian-lüe] gave him twenty catties.

[Yang] Xuan-zhi’s note: At Su Qin’s time there was no Buddhist teaching [in China]. The statement about “meritorious deeds” did not necessarily mean [the construction of] a temple, but rather [the preparation of] a stone inscription in praise of [Su Qin’s] achievements.

To the east of the Da-tong Temple and one *li* south of the Jing-ming Monastery two monasteries [were constructed] in honor of the Father of the Supreme Empress<sup>52</sup>. The one on the west was established by the empress dowager, whereas the one on the east was founded by her younger sister<sup>53</sup>. Both were dedicated to the posthumous happiness of their father; hence, the name. Contemporaries, however, called them the Shuang-nü Monasteries (Monasteries of Two Sisters). The gates of both monasteries approached the Luo River, where the branches of luxuriant trees spread out

## 【原文】

扶疏，布叶垂阴。各有五层浮图一所，高五十丈，素彩画工，比于景明。至于六斋，常有中黄门一人监护，僧舍衬施供具，诸寺莫及焉。

寺东有灵台一所，基址虽颓，犹高五丈馀，即是汉光武所立者。灵台东有辟雍，是魏武帝所立者。至我正光中造明堂于辟雍之西南，上圆下方，八窗四闕。汝南王复造砖浮图于灵台之上。

孝昌初，妖贼四侵，州郡失据，朝廷设募征格于堂之北，从戎者拜旷野将军、偏将军、裨将军。当时甲冑之士，号明堂队。时有虎贲骆子渊者，自云洛阳人。昔孝昌年戍在彭城，其同营人樊元

## 【今译】

枝叶扶疏，如伞遮阳。各有一座五层佛塔，高达五十丈，雕饰的精美可与景明寺相比。而六斋的时候，常派中黄门一人护送皇家的供品，其优厚待遇是其他各寺所比不上的。

寺东有灵台，底部虽已塌坏，还有五丈多高，这是汉光武帝所建筑的。灵台的东侧有辟雍，是魏武帝所建。到了我朝正光年间（520—524），在辟雍的西南侧建明堂，上圆下方，四门八窗。汝南王元悦又在灵台之上建造了砖塔。

孝昌初年，四处受到奸贼的侵害，州郡纷纷失陷，朝廷在明堂的北面设立募征机构，对从军的人，授予旷野将军、偏将军、裨将军等官职。当时从军的士兵号称明堂队。当时有一位虎贲卫士名叫骆子渊的，自称是洛阳人。孝昌年间，曾经守卫在彭城，他同军营的战友樊元宝休假返回京城的时候





in all directions<sup>54</sup>, with the foliage casting shadows beneath. Each monastery had a five-storied stūpa that rose five hundred Chinese feet above the ground, decorated with undyed colored paintings comparable to those in the Jing-ming Monastery. When the [six monthly] great fasts<sup>55</sup> were due, a [eunuch] attendant within the Yellow Gate (*Zhong huang-men*) would always be sent to supervise the monks' quarters, and take care of provisions and donations<sup>56</sup>. No other monasteries enjoyed this privilege.

To the east of the monasteries was the Imperial Observatory<sup>57</sup>, the foundation of which, although in ruins, was still more than fifty Chinese feet in height. This was indeed the one constructed under Emperor Guang-wu (regnant A.D. 25–57)<sup>58</sup> of the Han. To its east was the Hall of the Circular Moat<sup>59</sup> (Bi-yong Hall), which was constructed under [Emperor] Wu of the Wei (A.D. 155–220). During the Zheng-guang period of our dynasty, a Hall of Illumination (Ming-tang) was built to the southwest of the Bi-yong Hall. It had a round top on a square base, with eight windows and four gates<sup>60</sup>. [Yuan Yue,] the Prince of Ru-nan<sup>61</sup>, added a brick stūpa atop the Imperial Observatory.

In the early Xiao-chang period (A.D. 525), heretical rebels raided from all directions, overthrowing local governments in provinces and commanderies<sup>62</sup>. The court set up a recruiting office to the north of the Hall [of Illumination], conferring such ranks as the General of the Wilderness (*Kuang-ye jiang-jun*)<sup>63</sup>, Generals on the Flanks (*Pian jiang-jun*), and Adjunct Generals (*Pi jiang-jun*)<sup>64</sup> on those who enlisted. At the time, [the unit of] soldiers in armor were named the Regiment of the Hall of Illumination (*Ming-tang dui*). There was then a *hu-ben* (tiger-rushing) guards-man, Luo Zi-yuan<sup>65</sup>, who claimed to be a native of Luo-yang. While he was stationed in Peng-cheng during the Xiao-chang years, his comrade-at-arms Fan Yuan-bao returned to the capital on leave. [Luo]



## 【原文】

宝得假还京师，子渊附书一封，令达其家。云：“宅在灵台南，近洛河，卿但至彼，家人自出相看。”元宝如其言，至灵台南，了无人家可问。徙倚欲去，忽见一老翁来，问从何而来，彷徨于此。元宝具向道之。老翁云：“是吾儿也。”取书引元宝入，遂见馆阁崇宽，屋宇佳丽。既坐，命婢取酒。须臾见婢抱一死小儿而过，元宝初甚怪之，俄而酒至，色甚红，香美异常。兼设珍羞，海陆备具。饮讫，辞还。老翁送元宝出云：“后会难期，以为凄恨。”别甚殷勤。老翁还入，元宝不复见其门巷，但见高岸对水，绿波东倾；唯见一童子可年十五，新溺死，鼻中出血，方知所饮酒是其血也。及还彭城，子渊已失矣。元宝与子渊同戍三年，不知是洛水之神也。

## 【今译】

侯，子渊写了封信，托他带到家中。并且说：“我家在灵台之南，靠近洛水。你只要到了那里，我家人就会出来相见。”元宝根据他的说法来到灵台的南面，完全看不到什么人家。他站在那儿正准备离开，忽然看到一个白发老翁走来，问他来自何方，为何在此徘徊？元宝便一一相告。老翁说：“这是我的儿子阿！”于是拿了信带元宝到家，就看到宏伟宽敞的馆室楼阁，房屋建筑华丽美观。落座以后，老翁指使婢女拿酒。不久就看到婢女抱了一个死小儿走过，元宝感到非常奇怪。一会儿酒送了上来，颜色很红，其味醇美无比。又有丰盛佳肴，包括山珍海味。饭后告辞而归，老翁送元宝到门外说：“恐怕难以再会，令人感到伤心遗憾。”别情很是依依不舍。老翁走进家门，元宝回头，再也不见先前的楼馆，唯有高高的河岸对着河水，绿色的波浪滚滚东流，只看到一个十五岁上下的小男孩，刚刚淹死，鼻子还流着血。他这才恍然大悟，先前喝的酒正是这孩子的血。等他回到彭城，子渊已经无影无踪了。元宝与子渊一同服役三年，却不知道他是洛水之神。



Zi-yuan, entrusting him with a sealed letter for home, said: "My home is located to the south of the Imperial Observatory and close to the Luo River. You, sir, have only to go there—my folks will undoubtedly come out to meet you." As instructed, [Fan] Yuan-bao went to the south of the Imperial Observatory, where there was not a single household at which to make inquiries. Pacing back and forth<sup>67</sup> and preparing to leave, [Fan] Yuan-bao suddenly saw an old man coming in his direction, inquiring where he came from and [why he was] wandering here. [Fan] Yuan-bao told him all [that had happened]. The old man said, "This is my son." So he took the letter and led him into [the house]. There appeared spacious buildings and beautiful rooms. After they were seated, [the old man] asked a maid to serve wine. Shortly afterward [Fan Yuan-bao] saw the maid holding a dead boy [in her arms] and passing in front of him. At first he felt quite puzzled. Soon afterward, wine was brought, deep red in color and with an unusual aroma and flavor. In addition, fine dishes were provided, including all delicacies from sea and land. After the dinner was over, [Fan] Yuan-bao bade him goodbye. The old man escorted [Fan] Yuan-bao out, saying, "It is difficult to calculate when we shall meet again, so I [find our parting] sorrowful and regrettable." He was very attentive [at the time of] farewell. When the old man returned to his house, [Fan] Yuan-bao could no longer see the gate and lane; he could see only an embankment high above the water, and the green waves [of the Luo River] spilling<sup>68</sup> toward the east. There he saw a boy about fifteen years old, drowned shortly before, whose nose was bleeding. Only then did he realize that the wine he had drunk was the boy's blood. When he returned to Peng-cheng, [Luo] Zi-yuan had already disappeared. For three years [Fan] Yuan-bao and [Luo] Zi-yuan had been stationed together as recruits, but [Fan Yuan-bao] had never known that [Luo Zi-yuan] was the god of the Luo River.

## 【原文】

报德寺，高祖孝文皇帝所立也。为冯太后追福。在开阳门外三里。

开阳门御道东有汉国子学堂，堂前有三种字石经二十五碑，表里刻之，写《春秋》、《尚书》二部，作篆、科斗、隶三种字，汉右中郎将蔡邕笔之遗迹也。犹有十八碑，余皆残毁。

复有石碑四十八枚，亦表里隶书，写《周易》、《尚书》、《公羊》、《礼记》四部。又赞学碑一所，并在堂前。魏文帝作《典论》六碑，至太和十七年犹存四碑。高祖题为劝学里。

武定四年，大将军迁石经于邺。

里有大觉、三宝、宁远三寺。周回有园，珍果出焉，有大谷梨承光之柰。承光寺亦多果木，柰味甚美，冠于京师。

## 【今译】

报德寺，由高祖孝文皇帝所建。这是为了替祖母冯太后祈求冥福。位于开阳门外三里。

开阳门御道之东有汉代的国子学堂。堂前有三种字体的石经二十五块碑，表面和背面都刻了字，刻的是《春秋》、《尚书》两部书，用了篆书、科斗、隶书三种字体。是汉代右中郎将蔡邕的笔迹。尚存十八块碑，其余的都已毁坏。

另外还有石碑四十八块，表背均用隶书，刻写《周易》、《尚书》、《公羊传》、《礼记》四部书。又有一座赞学碑，全在堂前。魏文帝所作《典论》的六块石碑，至太和十七年（493）尚存四块。高祖将此处题名劝学里。

武定四年（546），大将军高澄将石经搬迁到邺。

里有大觉、三宝、宁远三寺。周边有果园，出产珍奇水果，有大谷梨、承光柰。承光寺内也多有果树，柰的口味特别好，在京城位居第一。





The Bao-de Temple (Temple of Repayment of Virtue) was established by Emperor Xiao-wen, [otherwise known as] Gao-zu, and dedicated to his grandmother Empress Feng<sup>69</sup> for her posthumous happiness. It was located three *li* outside the Kai-yang Gate and to the east of the Imperial Drive.

[At the Kai-yang Gate] was the Academy for the Sons of the Noblemen of the Han, in front of which were the “stone classics” on twenty-five slabs in three different scripts. Engraved on both sides were the two classics, the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and the *Book of Documents*. The three scripts were: seal, *ke-dou* and *li*<sup>71</sup>, which were the calligraphic relics of Cai Yong, the Right Commandant of Palace Squires (*You zhong-lang jiang*) of the Han<sup>72</sup>. Eighteen slabs [of his] still survived, but all the others were either damaged or destroyed.

In addition, there were forty-eight [other] slabs engraved in *li*-script on both sides, on which were written the four classical works [known respectively as] the *Zhou Yi*, the *Book of Documents*, the *Gong-yang Commentary*, and the *Book of Rites*. Along with an additional monument, “Zan Xue”, “In Praise of Studies”<sup>73</sup>, they were all erected in front of the hall. Of the six<sup>74</sup> slabs mentioned in the *Dian-lun* (*Treatise on Writing*) composed by Emperor Wen of the Wei<sup>75</sup>, four still survived in A.D. 493.

In the fourth year of the Wu-ding period (A.D. 546), [Gao Cheng] had all the “stone classics” moved to Ye<sup>76</sup>.

Emperor Gao-zu labeled [this area] Quan-xue (Exhortation to Study) Ward. [In]<sup>77</sup> the ward were three temples: the Da-jue (Great Awakening)<sup>78</sup>, the San-Bao (the Three Precious Ones)<sup>79</sup>, and Ning-yuan (To Quell the Distant Regions), surrounded by an orchard that produced such valued fruits as Da-gu (Great Valley)<sup>80</sup> and Cheng-guang (To Accept Light) apricots.

The Cheng-guang Temple also produced many other fruits, but the apricots were the most delicious and without equal in the capital.



## 【原文】

劝学里东有延贤里，里内有正觉寺，尚书令王肃所立也。

肃字恭懿，琅琊人也，伪齐雍州刺史奂之子也。

瞻学多通，才辞美茂，为齐秘书丞，太和十八年背逆归顺。时高祖新营洛邑，多所造制，肃博识旧事，大有裨益，高祖甚重之，常呼王生。延贤之名，因肃立之。

肃在江南之日，聘谢氏女为妻，及至京师，复尚公主。谢作五言诗以赠之，其诗曰：“本为箔上蚕，今作机上丝。得络逐胜去，颇忆缠绵时。”公主代肃答谢云：“针是贯线物，目中恒任丝。得帛缝新

## 【今译】

劝学里的东边有延贤里，里内有正觉寺，是尚书令王肃建造的。

王肃字恭懿，是琅琊人，是伪齐雍州刺史王奂的儿子。

他博学多识，富于文才，曾任伪齐的秘书丞，在太和十八年（494）背弃伪齐归顺我朝。那时高祖正营造新都洛阳，各方面有很多创设，王肃对古代典章制度相当了解，提供了很大的帮助。因此深得高祖的器重，常常以“王生”来称呼他。延贤的名称，就是因王肃而起的。

王肃在江南的时候，曾娶谢家女为妻。等他到了洛阳以后，又与陈留长公主成婚。谢氏为此作五言诗一首相赠。那首诗的意思是：“本是竹箔上的蚕，今作织机上的丝。你虽有路求荣华，我仍难忘缠绵时。”公主代王肃答复道：“针是用来穿线的，针眼总要带着线。得到布帛缝新衣，





To the east of the Quan-xue Ward was the Yan-xian Ward (Ward of Invitation to the Worthy), in which was the Zheng-jue Nunnery (Perfect Enlightenment Nunnery). It was established by Wang Su (A.D. 463–501), President of the Department of State Affairs.

[Wang] Su, styled Gong-yi<sup>81</sup>, a native of Lang-ya, was the son of [Wang] Huan, Governor of Yong-zhou of the Qi<sup>82</sup>.

Learned and versatile, [Wang] Su was a man with superb skill at letters. In the eighteenth year of the Tai-he period (A.D. 494)<sup>83</sup>, while serving the Ji as Assistant Archivist (*Mi-shu cheng*), he deserted the illegitimate and surrendered to the legitimate. At the time, Emperor Gao-zu was building a new capital in Luo-yang, where many reforms<sup>84</sup> were carried out. [Wang] Su, vastly knowledgeable of past events, was tremendously helpful. Emperor Gao-zu held him in high esteem and always called him Master Wang. The name of Yan-xian was adopted because of [Wang] Su.

When [Wang] Su was in the south of the Yangtze, he was married to a daughter of a Xie family<sup>85</sup>. After his arrival in the [Wei] capital, he was married again to a princess<sup>86</sup>. Later, Lady Xie became a nun. She too came to join [Wang] Su. [Knowing that Wang Su had a wife who was a princess<sup>87</sup>, his first wife Xie] wrote a five-character poem for [Wang] Su as a gift, which reads:

Hitherto a silkworm on a bamboo stand,  
 Now silk in the loom.  
 Attached to the spinning wheel<sup>88</sup> and following the spindle<sup>89</sup>,  
 Don't you recall the days of intimate relationship [between the  
 silk and worm]?

The Princess wrote a poem in reply for [Wang] Su, saying:

The needle lets the thread pass through.  
 In its eye it always takes in the silk.  
 Now sewing a new piece of fabric,



## 【原文】

去，何能纳故时。”肃甚有愧谢之色，遂造正觉寺以憩之。

肃忆父非理受祸，常有子胥报楚之意，卑身素服，不听音乐，时人以此称之。

肃初入国，不食羊肉及酪浆等物，常饭鲫鱼羹，渴饮茗汁。京师士子道肃一饮一斗，号为漏卮。经数年已后，肃与高祖殿会，食羊肉酪粥甚多。高祖怪之，谓肃曰：“卿中国之味也，羊肉何如鱼羹？茗饮何如酪浆？”肃对曰：“羊者是陆产之最，鱼者乃水族之长。所好不同，并各称珍。以味言之，甚有优劣。羊比齐鲁大邦，鱼比邾莒小国，唯茗不中，与酪作奴。”高祖大笑。因举酒曰：“三三横，两两纵，谁能辨之赐金钟。”御史中尉李彪曰：“沽酒老妪瓮注瓠，屠儿割肉与秤同。”尚书左丞甄琛曰：“吴

## 【今译】

怎能仍去补旧装。”这件事，王肃感到非常羞愧，因此建造正觉寺以使心绪平静。

王肃牢记父亲横遭杀害之仇，常有伍子胥借助吴国以报复楚国那样的意念，神态恭敬，不脱丧服，不听音乐，为此当时的人都称赞他。

王肃初来魏国时，不吃羊肉和乳酪等食物，常吃鲫鱼汤，渴了就喝茶。洛阳城里的士人都传说王肃一次能喝一斗，为他起了个绰号叫“漏卮”。过了好几年以后，王肃与高祖在官中会餐时，吃了很多羊肉、乳酪。高祖感到奇怪，问王肃：“你是品尝过各地风味的。羊肉比鱼汤如何？茶水比乳酪如何？”王肃回答说：“羊是陆产食物中的首选，鱼是水产食品中的上乘。尽管各人的爱好不一样，二者都该称为珍品。如果以滋味而言，优劣显然是有的。羊肉可以比作齐鲁大邦，鱼可以比作邾莒小国，只是茶差得太远了，才够作乳酪的奴仆。”高祖听后大笑，于是就举起酒杯说：“三三横，两两纵。谁能解开这谜语，赏赐给他金酒杯。”御史中尉李彪说：“卖酒的老妇把酒从大口瓮准确地注入小口瓠，屠夫的子弟割下一刀肉就与秤称出来的一样准。”尚书左丞甄琛说：



How can it accept<sup>90</sup> [the thread] of the past<sup>91</sup>?

Greatly embarrassed by this, [Wang] Su built the Zheng-jue Nunnery for her to live a secluded life<sup>92</sup>.

Remembering that his father had been killed without due cause, [Wang] Su always entertained the idea of taking revenge as Wu Zi-xu had done in the case of Chu<sup>93</sup>. He wore undyed cloth for life<sup>94</sup> and refrained from music. For this he won praise among his contemporaries.

When [Wang] Su first came to the state of [Wei], he did not take such food as lamb and goat's milk. He often ate carp soup; when thirsty he drank tea. Literati in the capital said that he drank one *dou*<sup>95</sup> at a gulp; for this he was nicknamed "Leaky Goblet". Several years later, at a palace banquet [hosted by] Emperor Gao-zu, [Wang] Su partook of a large amount of lamb and milk curd. Emperor Gao-zu found it strange and asked: "Among Chinese dishes<sup>96</sup>, how does lamb compare with fish soup and tea with milk?" In reply, [Wang] Su said: "Lamb is the best of land produce, while fish leads among seafood. Depending on one's preference, both are considered delicacies. In terms of taste, there is a difference between the superior and inferior. Lamb is comparable to such large states as Qi and Lu; fish, such small kingdoms as Zhu and Ju<sup>97</sup>. Only tea is no match; it is a slave of milk." Emperor Gao-zu laughed heartily, and, lifting his wine cup, said:

Three horizontal strokes, thrice;

Two vertical strokes, twice.

He who is able to solve this riddle

Will be given this golden wine cup!

Li Biao<sup>98</sup>, the Chief Censor (*Yu-shi zhong-wei*), said: "An old barmaid pours wine from a jar into a long-necked pitcher (*hong*), a butcher, cutting meat [to fill an order] is as exact (*tong*) as a scale. Zhen Chen, Assistant President on the Left<sup>99</sup>, Department of State Affairs, said:

## 【原文】

人浮水自云工，妓儿掷绳在虚空。”彭城王勰曰：“臣始解此字是‘習’字。”高祖即以金钟赐彪。朝廷服彪聪明有智，甄琛和之亦速。彭城王谓肃曰：“卿不重齐鲁大邦，而爱邾莒小国。”肃对曰：“乡曲所美，不得不好。”彭城王重谓曰：“卿明日顾我，为卿设邾莒之食，亦有酪奴。”因此复号茗饮为酪奴。

时给事中刘缙慕肃之风，专习茗饮。彭城王谓缙曰：“卿不慕王侯八珍，好苍头水厄。海上有逐臭之夫，里内有学嚙之妇，以卿言之，即是也。”其彭城王家有吴奴，以此言戏之。自是朝贵讌会，虽设茗饮，皆耻不复食，唯江表残民远来降者好之。后萧衍子西丰侯萧正德归降，时元义欲为之设茗，先问：“卿于水厄多少？”正德不晓义意，答曰：“下官虽生于水乡，而

## 【今译】

“江南人游泳自说巧，杂技女抛绳在空中。”彭城王元勰说：“臣现在猜到个字就是‘習’字。”高祖就把金酒杯赐给了李彪。朝廷的官员都佩服李彪的聪明机智，以及甄琛应和的迅速。彭城王对王肃说：“你不看重齐鲁大邦，却偏爱邾莒小国。”王肃回答说：“因为是自己故乡的美味，所以不能不爱好。”彭城王又对他说：“请明天光临我家，我为你准备邾莒小国的食品，还有乳酪的奴仆。”从此人们又把茶称为“酪奴”。

当时给事中刘缙羡慕王肃的生活习惯，专门学习喝茶。彭城王对刘缙说：“你不羡慕王侯贵族的各种珍馐佳肴，却爱好下等人所喝的水灾般的茶。海上有专门追赶臭味的人，里内有效西施皱眉的人。以你来说，就是这样的人。”彭城王的家里有江南来的奴仆，所以就用这番话嘲讽刘缙。从此以后，王侯贵族的宴会虽然备有茶水，大家都以喝茶为耻，只有江南流亡来投诚的人才喜欢饮用。后来，萧衍的儿子西丰侯萧正德来投诚的时候，元义想为他提供茶水，就先问他：“你能对付多少水灾？”萧正德不明白元义的意思，回答说：“在下虽然生长在水乡，但从长大成人以来，没有遭受过任何水患。”





"Swimmers of the Wu region call themselves experts (*gong*), the throws of female entertainers end in the void (*kong*). "The Prince of Peng-cheng, [Yuan] xie, said: "Your subject now understands that this is the character (to be accustomed to)."<sup>100</sup> Thereupon Emperor Gao-zu gave [Li] Biao the golden wine cup. Court officials admired [Li] Biao for his intelligence and knowledge, and Zhen Chen for his quick response. To [Wang] Su the Prince of Peng-cheng said: "You have no regard for such large states as Qi and Lu, yet are fond of such small kingdoms as Zhu and Ju?" In reply, [Wang] Su said: "What is admired in my native land, I have to like." The Prince of Peng-cheng then spoke again, "Come to see me tomorrow; I will prepare the food of Zhu and Ju for you. I shall provide a 'milk slave.'" From then on, tea was known as milk slave.

At the time, Liu Gao, Court Secretary and an admirer of [Wang] Su, concentrated on learning to drink tea. The Prince of Peng-cheng spoke to him, saying, "You do not admire the eight delicacies<sup>101</sup> of dukes and marquises, but are fond of 'the water peril'<sup>102</sup>, of those servants<sup>103</sup>. On the high seas are men who seek offensive odors<sup>104</sup>; within the ward are women who 'imitate the frowns' [of other ladies]<sup>105</sup>. You indeed belong to such a category." The Prince of Peng-cheng had in his household a slave from the south, so he made fun of [Liu Gao] with this remark. From then on, at the banquets, court dignitaries all were ashamed of taking tea, although it was provided. Only those destitute refugees from the south, who came to surrender from a distance, liked it.

Following the surrender of Xiao Zheng-de<sup>106</sup>, the Marquis of Xifeng and [adopted] son of Xiao Yan, Yuan Yi wanted to set out tea for him, [but] first inquired how much "water peril"<sup>107</sup> [Xiao Zheng-de would like]. Not understanding what [Yuan] Yi meant, [Xiao] Zheng-de replied: "Although your humble servant<sup>108</sup> was born in a land of water, he never has had any trouble with the God of Water<sup>109</sup> as an adult." Yuan Yi and his

## 【原文】

立身以来，未遭阳侯之难。”元叉与举坐之客皆笑焉。

龙华寺，广陵王所立也。追圣寺，北海王所立也。并在报德寺之东。法事僧房，比秦太上公。京师寺皆种杂果，而此三寺园林茂盛，莫之与争。

宣阳门外四里，至洛水上，作浮桥，所谓永桥也。

神龟中，常景为《洛汭颂》，其辞曰：“浩浩大川，泱泱清洛。导源熊耳，控流巨壑。纳穀吐伊，贯周淹亳。近达河宗，远朝海若。兆唯洛食，实曰土中。上应张柳，下据河嵩。寒暑攸叶，日月载融。帝世光宅，函夏同风。前临少室，却负太行。制岩东邑，峭岨西疆。四险之地，六达之庄。恃德则固，

## 【今译】

元叉以及在座所有宾客听后都笑了。

龙华寺，是广陵王所建；追圣寺，是北海王所建。都在报德寺的东边。供佛的设施和僧房的规模，与秦太上公寺不相上下。京城的寺院都种植各种果树，但没有能比得上这三座寺内果树园的繁茂的。

从宣阳门外四里处，直到洛水边，作成浮桥，就是所谓永桥。

神龟年间（518-519）常景撰写《洛汭颂》，全文如下：“浩浩大川，泱泱清洛。发源于熊耳山，流注于巨壑中。纳入穀水吐出伊水，贯穿成周流经偃师。近达河宗，远朝海若。唯洛为吉兆所在，其实是土地的中心。上与张、柳之星相对应，下据黄河与嵩山。寒暑协调，日月融洽。帝王世代御居，华夏同沐风化。前临少室山，背负太行山。东有制邑的险峻，西有崤山作屏障。四围地形险要，道路四通八



visitors in attendance all laughed.

The Long-hua Monastery was established by the Prince of Guangling<sup>110</sup>; the Zhui-sheng Monastery (Monastery in Memory of the Sage [Buddha]) by the Prince of Bei-hai<sup>111</sup>—both were located to the east of the Bao-de Temple<sup>112</sup>. Here religious activities and monks' rooms were [as flourishing and beautiful as those of] the Qin Tai-shang-gong Monastery. Fruit trees were planted in all the temples of the capital, but none could compare with the orchards of these three monasteries.

Four *li* outside the Xuan-yang Gate was built a Floating Bridge<sup>113</sup> (*Fu-qiao*) above the Luo River<sup>114</sup>. It was the so-called Yong Bridge (Eternal Bridge)<sup>115</sup>.

In the Shen-gui period (A.D. 518–519), Chang Jing wrote an epitaph in praise of the [Luo]<sup>116</sup> Bend, which reads: “Turbulent, the great river; impetuous, the clear Luo. Its origin is in the Xiong-er [Mountain]<sup>117</sup>, and it controls the tributaries rushing from the gullies. It takes in the Gu [River] and discharges into the Yi [River], threading through the Zhou and draining the Bo<sup>119</sup>. Unimpeded to the nearby Yellow River Progenitor<sup>120</sup>, then paying court to the distant God of the Sea<sup>121</sup>. It responds to the good omens of the Luo<sup>122</sup>, and is indeed located in the central lands<sup>123</sup>. It corresponds to the constellations Zhang and Liu above<sup>124</sup>, and is based in the [Yellow] River and the Song [Mountain] below, pleasant in summer and winter, bright under either sun- or moonlight. The glorious home of generations of emperors<sup>125</sup>, its influence, like wind, sweeps the whole empire<sup>126</sup>. In the front it approaches the Shao-shi [Range]<sup>127</sup>, and backs on the Tai-hang [Range]<sup>128</sup>. It enjoys the strategic Zhi<sup>129</sup>, its eastern city; and the precipitous Yao [Mountain]<sup>130</sup>, its western stronghold. The key point for all four directions, the grand [hub]<sup>131</sup> of six thoroughfares. [The dynasty] is

## 【原文】

失道则亡。详观古列，考见丘坟。乃禅乃革，或质或文。周馀九列，汉季三分。魏风衰晚，晋景雕曛。天地发辉，《图》《书》受命。皇建有极，神功无竟。魏策仰天，玄符握镜。玺运会昌，龙《图》受命。乃瞻书轨，永怀保定。敷兹景迹，流美洪模。袭我冠冕，正我神枢。水陆兼会，周郑交衢。爰勒洛汭，敢告中区。”

南北两岸有华表，举高二十丈，华表上作凤凰似欲冲天势。永桥以南，园丘以北，伊洛之间，夹御道。东有四夷馆，一曰金陵，二曰燕然，三曰扶桑，四曰崦嵫。道西有四夷里，一曰

## 【今译】

达。依赖道德就坚固，失去道德就灭亡。详观古昔，考察典籍。朝代有禅让有革命，制度或质实或文饰。周末九州分裂，汉末天下三分。魏代风俗衰颓，晋代气象凋弊。如今天地发出光辉，我朝受命于《河图》《洛书》。为帝业树立起至高准则，所建神功空前绝后。魏国的灵符仰伏天命，神灵庇佑清鉴天下。于是留意文字车辆的统一，永保江山稳固。敷陈这一盛况，赞颂宏规。穿戴我们的冠冕，握正神圣的政权。水域陆地会聚，周郑道路交接。故刻石于洛汭，以明告于在中区。”

南北两岸有华表，高达二十丈。华表上雕有凤凰，其姿势为欲腾空冲天而去。

永桥以南，园丘以北，在伊水和洛水之间，夹着御道。御道之东有四夷馆，一叫金陵，二叫燕然，三叫扶桑，四叫崦嵫。御道之





safe if it relies on virtue<sup>132</sup>, but perishes if it loses the Way. A careful examination of past events and consultation with ancient texts<sup>133</sup> [shows] now abdications, now “changes of mandate”. Sometimes [emphasizing] simplicity, sometimes cultivation. In the remnant Zhou, the nine splits<sup>134</sup>; by the end of the Han, three parts<sup>135</sup>. The fortunes of the Wei declined, then came the twilight of the Jin. Heaven and earth emitted bright rays; [with the delivery of] the Map and Books by dragons and turtles from the Yellow River and the Luo River as [an obvious sign]<sup>136</sup>, the mandate was conferred. Thus was founded the august [Wei], whose godlike achievements are without peer. Wei has receipt of the heavenly Appointment; magic charms in its possession shine [everywhere]<sup>137</sup>. Fit into the heavenly cycle, it prospers; [Heaven’s] mandate has been conferred through the Dragon Map<sup>138</sup>. The standardization of [the width] of carriage axles and the styles of script<sup>139</sup> is an assurance of eternal stability<sup>140</sup>. Let our accomplishments be further expanded and let our excellent pattern<sup>141</sup> pass down to posterity. Let our ceremonial caps be adopted [by other states]. Let our godlike rule be recognized as [the only] legitimate one. [Luo-yang] is a hub of water and land transportation, the intersection of main roads leading to Zhou and Zheng<sup>142</sup>. An epitaph on the Bend of Luo is therefore inscribed herewith in order to inform those living in Central China”

On each of the northern and southern banks was a [stone] pillar that rose to a height of two hundred Chinese feet. On top of the pillar was a figure of a [golden]<sup>143</sup> phoenix seemingly poised to fly high into the sky.

To the south of the Yong Bridge and north of the Yuan-qiu (Circular Mound), between the Yi and Luo Rivers, was the Imperial Drive with buildings<sup>144</sup> on both sides. On the eastern side were the Four Barbarians’ Lodging Houses: (1) Jin-ling [south], (2) Yan-ran<sup>145</sup> [north], (3) Fu-sang [east],

## 【原文】

归正，二曰归德，三曰慕化，四曰慕义。吴人投国者，处金陵馆，三年已后，赐宅归正里。

景明初，伪齐建安王萧宝寅来降，封会稽公，为筑宅于归正里。后进爵为齐王，尚南阳长公主。宝寅耻与夷人同列，令公主启世宗，求入城内，世宗从之，赐宅于永安里。正光四年，萧衍子西丰侯萧正德来降，处金陵馆，为筑宅归正里。后正德舍宅为归正寺。

北夷来附者处燕然馆，三年已后，赐宅归德里。

正光元年，蠕蠕主郁久闾阿那肱来朝，执事者莫知所处，中书舍人常景议云：“咸宁中单于来朝，晋世处之王公特进之下。

## 【今译】

西有四夷里，一叫归正，二叫归德，三叫慕化，四叫慕义。从江南来投诚的人，最初安置在金陵馆，三年以后，在归正里赐给住宅。

景明初年，伪齐建安王萧宝寅归降我国时，封为会稽令，替他在归正里建筑住宅。后来他进爵为齐王，娶南阳长公主为妻。宝寅以与夷人同列为耻，让长公主向世宗请求住进城内。世宗同意，赐宅于永安里。正光四年（523），萧衍的儿子西丰侯萧正德来投诚，安置于金陵馆，为他建宅于归正里。后来萧正德贡献其宅做了归正寺。

从北夷来依附的人，安置在燕然馆，三年以后，在归德里赐给住宅。

正光元年（520），蠕蠕主郁久阿那肱来朝见，接待的人不知如何处理。中书舍人常景建议道：“咸宁年间（275-280）单于来朝见的时候，晋朝把他置于王公特进之下接待。可将那肱



and (4) Yan-zi [west]<sup>146</sup>. On the western side were the Four Barbarians' Wards: (1) Gui-zheng, (2) Gui-de (Return to the Virtuous), (3) Mu-hua (Admire the Refined), and (4) Mu-yi (Admire the Righteous). Deserters from the Wu region were housed in the Jin-ling Lodge<sup>147</sup> [at first], but given residences in Gui-zheng Ward three years later.

In the early Jing-ming period (A.D. 500-503), Xiao Bao-yin<sup>148</sup>, Prince of Jian-an of the illegitimate Qi [dynasty], surrendered. He was then ennobled as Duke of Kuai-ji and given a residence in Gui-zheng Ward. The residence was specially built for him. Later, he was promoted to be Prince of Qi, and married to the Senior Princess of Nan-yang<sup>149</sup>. Ashamed of living among<sup>150</sup> the barbarians, he entrusted the princess with a request to Emperor Shi-zong that he be permitted to live in the city. Emperor Shi-zong granted his request and gave him a residence in the yong-an Ward (ward of Permanent Peace).

In the fourth year of the Zheng-guang period (A.D. 523), Xiao Zheng-de, Marquis of Xi-feng and son of Xiao Yan, came [to Luo-yang] to surrender. He was housed in the Jin-ling Lodge. In addition, a residence was built for him in the Gui-zheng Ward, which was later<sup>151</sup> donated by [Xiao] Zheng-de as the Gui-zheng Temple<sup>152</sup>.

Northern barbarians who had surrendered were assigned to the Yan-ran Lodge, and given houses three years later in the Gui-de Ward.

In the first year of Zheng-guang (A.D. 520), when the chieftain of Ru-ru, Yu-jiu-lü A-na-gong<sup>153</sup> came to pay tribute, officials in charge of [his visit] did not know [according to protocol] which place [among ranking officials] he should be assigned to. Chang Jing, Drafter of the Central Secretariat, advised: "During the Xian-ning period (All at Peace) (A.D. 275-280) when the Chan-yu<sup>154</sup> came to the court,<sup>155</sup> the Jin government assigned him to a place below that of princes, dukes, and the Specially Advanced (*Te-jin*)<sup>156</sup>. It is therefore proper to place [A-na-

## 【原文】

可班那肱蕃王仪同之间。”朝廷从其议。又处之燕然馆，赐宅归德里。北夷酋长遣子入侍者，常秋来春去，避中国之热，时人谓之雁臣。

东夷来附者，处扶桑馆，赐宅慕化里。西夷来附者，处崦嵫馆，赐宅慕义里。自葱岭已西，至于大秦，百国千城，莫不款附。商胡贩客，日奔塞下，所谓尽天地之区已。乐中国土风因而宅者，不可胜数。是以附化之民，万有馀家。门巷修整，闾阖填列。青槐荫陌，绿柳垂庭。天下难得之货，咸悉在焉。

别立市于洛水南，号曰四通市。民间谓为永桥市。伊洛之鱼，多于此卖，土庶须脍，皆诣取之。鱼味甚美。京师语

## 【今译】

放在番王与仪同三司之间对待。”朝廷听从了他的建议。且安置于燕然馆，在归德里赐给住宅。北夷酋长派儿子入朝，经常是秋来春回，以避开中国的暑热，当时人称之为“雁臣”。

东夷来朝的人，安置于扶桑馆，在慕化里赐给住宅。西夷来朝的人，安置于崦嵫馆，在慕义里赐给住宅。从葱岭以西到大秦，其间百国千城，无不诚心归附。每天都有胡商涌向边关。正是所谓以天地之大作为区域的国度。乐于接受中国的风俗而居于境内的人，不可胜数。因而归化的外国人达一万多户。门巷整齐，官门紧连。青槐荫蔽着巷陌，绿柳垂枝于庭院。天下珍奇难得的货物，全都聚集在此。

另外，在洛水之南设有市场，叫做四通市。民间则称之为永桥市。伊水与洛水的鱼，大多在此贩卖。士庶百姓要吃鲜鱼片时，都去采购。鱼味很鲜美，所以京城有这样的俚语：“洛鲤



gong<sup>157</sup> between vassal kings and Palatines Ceremonially Equal to the Three Authorities."The court followed [Chang Jing's] advice<sup>158</sup>.

The chieftain was assigned to the Yan-ran Lodge and given a residence in the Gui-de Ward.

In order to avoid the hot weather in China, the sons of northern barbarian chieftains who were sent to wait [on Chinese emperors]<sup>159</sup> always came in autumn and returned to their own land in spring. They were thus called "wild goose subjects"<sup>160</sup> by their contemporaries.

Eastern barbarians who came to surrender were assigned to the Fu-sang Lodge<sup>161</sup> and [later] given residences in the Mu-hua Ward. Western barbarians who had surrendered were assigned to the Yan-zi Lodge<sup>162</sup> and [later] given residences in the Mu-yi Ward. Of the hundred kingdoms and thousand cities [in the area extending] from west of Cong-ling Range (the Green Onion Range)<sup>163</sup> to Da-Qin (the Byzantine Empire), none did not accept China's suzerainty with gratitude<sup>164</sup>. Tradesmen doing business with barbarians and peddlers rushed to China's border every day<sup>165</sup>—indeed, China was the axis mundi of the whole universe. Those who took delight in China's customs and who had consequently taken residence [in China] were too numerous to count. At any rate, more than ten thousand households surrendered, and adapted to Chinese culture. Wards and lanes were orderly and well kept, [subdivided into] rows after rows of [houses] and countless gates. Green locust trees cast shadows over the streets; green willows drooped in the courtyards. Rare commodities from every corner of the world were all available here.

A separate marketplace established to the south of the Luo<sup>166</sup> River, known as the Si-tong Market, was popularly referred to as the Market of the Yong Bridge<sup>167</sup>. Fish from the Yi and Luo Rivers were sold here. Literati and commoners [in the city] desirous of fish fillets all came here to get them. They were delicious. In the capital there was a saying: "Carp of the Luo,

## 【原文】

曰：“洛鲤伊鲂，贵于牛羊。”

永桥南道东有白象、狮子二坊。

白象者，永平二年乾陀罗国胡王所献。背设五彩屏风、七宝坐床，容数人，真是异物。常养象于乘黄曹，象常坏屋毁墙，走出于外。逢树即拔，遇墙亦倒。百姓惊怖，奔走交驰。太后遂徙象于此坊。

狮子者，波斯国胡王所献也。为逆贼万俟丑奴所获，留于寇中。永安末，丑奴破灭，始达京师。庄帝谓侍中李彧曰：“朕闻虎见狮子必伏，可觅试之。”于是诏近山郡县捕虎以送。巩县、山阳并送二虎一豹。帝在华林园观之。于是虎豹见狮子，悉皆瞑目，不敢仰视。园中素有一盲熊，性甚驯，帝令取试之。

## 【今译】

伊鲂，贵于牛羊。”

永桥南道的东边有白象坊和狮子坊。

白象是永平二年（509）乾陀罗国胡王所进贡的。象背上设有五彩屏风和七宝坐床，能容纳好几个人，真是稀奇的东西。将象饲养于乘黄曹，象常常毁坏墙屋，夺路而出，逢树就拔起，遇墙就推倒。百姓见状，惊恐不已，纷纷奔走逃窜。因此，灵太后就把象移来此坊饲养。

狮子是波斯国胡王所进贡的。中途被逆贼万俟丑奴所劫获，留在贼营中。永安末年（530），丑奴被击溃，狮子才抵达京城。庄帝对待中李彧说：“朕听说老虎看见狮子必定伏下，可找只老虎来试一试。”于是下令靠山的郡县捕虎送来。巩县和山阳县共送来两虎一豹。庄帝在华林园观看以下的场面。虎豹一见到狮子，都闭目不敢仰视。华林园中原有一头盲熊，非常驯服。庄帝下令将它





bream of the Yi, costlier than beef and lamb!"

East of the road and to the south of the Yong Bridge were two wards known respectively as White Elephant (*Bai-xiang*) and Lion (*Shi-zi*)<sup>168</sup>.

A white elephant was presented by the barbarian king of Qian-tuo-luo (Gandhāra, in the north of modern Punjab)<sup>169</sup> in the second year of Yong-ping (A.D. 509). A five-colored screen<sup>170</sup> and a "seven precious"<sup>171</sup> sedan chair were [carried on] its back. The chair would accommodate several persons. Truly it was an unusual animal. Kept ordinarily in the Bureau of Imperial Carriages<sup>172</sup>, it frequently destroyed houses and walls [in the bureau]. When running out [of the bureau compounds], it uprooted whatever trees it encountered and felled whatever walls it came across. Out of terror, people ran about in great confusion. Empress Dowager [Hu] therefore had the elephant moved and confined in this ward.

A lion to be presented by the barbarian king of Bo-si<sup>173</sup> was captured and retained by the rebel Mo-qi Chou-nu while on its way to the capital<sup>174</sup>. Toward the end of Yong-an (A.D. 530), with the downfall of [Mo-qi] Chou-nu, [the lion] finally reached the capital. Emperor Chuang said to Li Yu<sup>175</sup>, the Chief Palace Attendant: "We have heard that when a tiger sees a lion, it will always lay prostrate<sup>176</sup>. Let's get a tiger and try to find out whether this is true." Accordingly, commanderies and prefectures in districts close to the mountains<sup>177</sup> were ordered to capture tigers and then send them on to the capital. Gong-xian<sup>178</sup> and Shan-yang<sup>179</sup> both shipped two tigers and one leopard, which the emperor watched in the Hua-lin Park<sup>180</sup>. Then, as soon as the tigers and leopard saw the lion, all of them closed their eyes and dared not to look upward. In the park there had been a blind bear which was very tame. The emperor ordered them to fetch it to test [its reaction]. When the keeper led the blind bear in, as

## 【原文】

虞人牵盲熊至，闻狮子气，惊怖跳踉，曳锁而走。帝大笑。

普泰元年，广陵王即位，诏曰：“禽兽囚之，则违其性，宜放还山陵。”狮子亦令送归本国。送狮子者以波斯道远，不可送达，遂在路杀狮子而返。有司纠劾，罪以违旨论。广陵王曰：“岂以狮子而罪人也？”遂赦之。

菩提寺，西域胡人所立也，在慕义里。

沙门达多发冢取砖，得一人以进。时太后与明帝在华林都堂，以为妖异。谓黄门侍郎徐纥曰：“上古以来，颇有此事否？”纥曰：“昔魏时发冢，得霍光女婿范明友家奴，说汉朝废立，与史书相符，此不足为异也。”后令纥问其姓名，死来几年，何所饮食。死者

## 【今译】

带来一。被虞人牵来的盲熊，一嗅到狮子的气味，就惊恐跳踉，曳着锁链向外逃。庄帝见状大笑。

普泰元年（531），广陵王即位，下达诏书说：“把禽兽囚于笼内，是违背其本性，宜放归山林。”狮子也被下令送还本国。送还狮子的人认为波斯路途遥远，不可能送到，于是就在途中杀死狮子，掉头返回。主管部门对此加以追究，定作违背圣旨罪。广陵王说：“怎么能因狮子而罚人呢？”于是就予以赦免了。

菩提寺，这是西域的胡人所建立的，地点在慕义里。

有个名叫达多的沙门挖墓取砖的时候，发现了一个活人，于是将他送交朝廷。当时太后与明帝在华林园的都堂中，都认为是妖怪。于是问黄门侍郎徐纥：“从远古以来曾经有过这样的事情吗？”徐纥回答说：“从前魏朝挖墓的时候，发现过汉代霍光的女婿范明友家的奴仆，叙说汉朝各个皇帝的废立，与史书记载都相符合。所以这样的事情是不足为怪的。”于是太后指令徐纥询问此人的姓名，死后至今经历了多少年，吃什么喝什







soon as it smelled the odor, it became terrified and agitated, and ran away dragging its chain. The emperor burst into laughter.

In the first year of the Pu-tai period (A.D. 531), upon the ascension of the Prince of Guang-ling<sup>181</sup>, an edict was issued which reads: "It is against the nature of birds and animals to be caged. It is therefore appropriate to release them back into mountains and forests." The lion, too, was ordered to be taken back to its country of origin. The barbarian who had received the order to take the lion home, thinking that Bo-si was too far away and inaccessible, killed it en route and returned. The authority in charge suggested in a reprimand that the man be punished for the crime of violating an imperial order. The Prince of Guang-ling said: "How can a human creature be punished because of a lion?" Thereupon the man was pardoned.

The Pu-ti Temple (Bodhi Temple) was established by barbarians of the Western Regions. It was in the Mu-yi Ward.

The śramaṇa Da-duo, in digging out a tomb to seek bricks, found a man [alive underground] and sent him to the court. At the time the empress dowager [neé Hu] and the emperor were in the Du-tang of the Hua-lin Park and thought this a weird omen. They asked Xu He<sup>183</sup>, Attending Secretary within the Imperial Yellow Gate: "Has there been anything like this since antiquity?" He replied: "Formerly during the Wei [of the Three Kingdoms] when a tomb was opened up, there was found a slave of Fan Ming-you<sup>184</sup>, the son-in-law of Huo Guang<sup>185</sup>. The slave talked about the events [leading to the forced] abdication [of the King of Chang-yi] and the ascension [of Emperor Xuan]. [His verbal account] agreed with the historical records. [The present case] is not [unusual] enough to be counted as [a heaven-sent] portent." The empress dowager ordered [Xu] He<sup>183</sup> to ask [this man] his name, how long he had been dead, and what he took for drink and food. The dead man said:



## 【原文】

曰：“臣姓崔，名涵，字子洪，博陵安平人也。父名畅，母姓魏，家在城西阜财里。死时年十五，今满二十七，在地十有二年，常似醉卧，无所食也。时复游行，或遇饮食，如似梦中，不甚辨了。”后即遣门下录事张隽诣阜财里，访涵父母，果得崔畅，其妻魏氏。隽问畅曰：“卿有儿死否？”畅曰：“有息子洪，年十五而死。”隽曰：“为人所发，今日苏活，在华林园中，主人故遣我来相问。”畅闻惊怖曰：“实无此儿，向者谬言。”隽还，具以实际闻。后遣隽送涵回家。畅闻涵至，门前起火，手持刀，魏氏把桃枝，谓曰：“汝不须来，吾非汝父，汝非我子，急手速去，可得无殃。”涵遂舍去，游于京师。常宿寺门下。汝南王赐黄衣一具。涵性畏日，不敢仰视，又畏水火及兵刃之属，常走于途路，遇疲则止，不徐行也。时人犹谓是鬼。

## 【今译】

么。死者说：“我姓崔，名涵，字子洪，是博陵安平人。父亲名畅，母亲姓魏，家住城西的阜财里。死的时候是十五岁，现在已满二十七岁，在地下过了十二年，常常好像是喝醉了酒睡觉，什么东西也不吃。有时也漫游，多少也碰上些吃的或喝的，但好像是在做梦一样，记不太清楚。”太后随即派遣门下录事张隽到阜财里，寻访崔涵的父母，果然见到了崔畅以及他的妻子魏氏。张隽问崔畅：“你是否有个死去的儿子？”崔畅说：“我的儿子子洪，十五岁时就死了。”张隽说：“他被人从墓中挖出，现在已经复活，正在华林园中，所以主上特地派我前来相问。”崔畅听说后，又惊又怕地说：“我实际上并无此儿，刚才是胡乱说的。”张隽回去后，把情况向太后如实作了汇报，太后就派遣张隽送崔涵回家。崔畅听说崔涵到了，就在门前点起了火，手里拿着刀，魏氏则手执桃树枝，对着崔涵说：“你不可以来，我不是你的父亲，你也不是我的儿子，快快离开，可以免遭祸殃。”崔涵于是就离开这里，漫游京城。经常宿于寺门下。汝南王赐给他一套僧衣。崔涵天性怕阳光，不敢仰视，又怕水火以及兵器刀刃之类的东西。常在大路上奔跑，疲惫了就停下来，从不慢步行走。当时人还是称他为鬼。



“Your subject’s surname is Cui, given name is Han, and style, Zi-hong. I am a native of An-ping of Bo-ling<sup>186</sup>. My father’s name is [Cui] Chang; my mother’s maiden name, Wei. My residence was in the Fu-cai Ward. (Ward of the Wealthy) in the western suburb. Dead at the age of fifteen, I am now exactly twenty-seven. While underground for the past twelve years, I have slept as if in a stupor, and had no need of food. At times I roamed around and perhaps came upon food or drink [I happened to find]. But all this was like a dream and I am hazy about the details.” The empress dowager then dispatched Zhang Jun<sup>187</sup>, Clerk of the Palace Gate (*Men-xia lu-shi*), to proceed to the Fu-cai Ward for an interview with [Cui] Han’s parents. There he [indeed] found Cui Chang [and Cui Chang’s] wife whose maiden name was Wei. [Zhang] Jun asked: “Did you have a son who died?” [Cui] Chang replied: “I have a son [Cui] zi-hong<sup>188</sup> who died at fifteen.” [Zhang] Jun said: “[His tomb] was excavated. He is presently alive and in the Hua-lin Park. [Because of this], Her Majesty<sup>189</sup> sent me over to make inquiries.” After hearing this, [Cui] Chang was terrified, saying: “I really do not have this son. What I have said was false.” Upon [Zhang] Jun’s return, he related the truth to the Empress Dowager, who ordered him to take [Cui] Han home. Learning about [Cui] Han’s arrival, [Cui] Chang, before the front door, lit a fire outside, grasped a knife, and, while his wife held peach branches<sup>190</sup>, said to [Cui] Han: “You need not come. I am not your father and you are not my son. Hurry, hurry<sup>191</sup> to leave here so you may get away unhurt!” Consequently, [Cui] Han left and wandered about in the capital, often sleeping under the gates of temples. The Prince of Runan<sup>192</sup> gave him a set of saffron garments. By nature [Cui] Han was afraid of sunlight, so he dared not look up [at it]. Furthermore, he was afraid of such things as water, fire, knives, weapons, and the like. He often ran in the main streets, stopping only when tired; never did he walk at a slow pace. His contemporaries still called him a ghost.



## 【原文】

洛阳大市北有奉终里，里内之人，多卖送死之具及诸棺槨。涵谓曰：“作柏木棺，勿以桑木为槨。”人问其故，涵曰：“吾在地下见发鬼兵，有一鬼诉称：‘是柏棺，应免。’主兵吏曰：‘尔虽柏棺，桑木为槨，遂不免。’”京师闻此，柏木踊贵，人疑卖棺者货涵发此言也。

高阳王寺，高阳王雍之宅也。在津阳门外三里御路西。雍为尔朱荣所害也，舍宅以为寺。

正光中，雍为丞相，给羽葆鼓吹、虎贲班剑百人，贵极人臣，富兼山海。居止第宅，匹于帝宫。白壁丹楹，窈窕连亘，飞檐反宇。辚辚周通。僮仆六千，妓女五百，隋珠照日，罗衣从风。自汉晋以来，诸王奢侈，未之有也。出则鸣驺御道，文物成行，饶吹

## 【今译】

洛阳大市北有奉终里，居民大多经销葬仪用品以及各种棺材。崔涵对大家说：“制作柏木棺材时，不要用桑木作里衬。”人们打听是何原因，崔涵回答说：“我在地下的时候，遇见过征集鬼兵。有一个鬼诉说自己 是柏棺，应当免于征集。主管征兵的官吏对他说：“你虽是柏棺，可是 衬里为桑木，因此就不能免征。”京城的人听说了这番话以后，柏木的 价格暴涨。有人怀疑是经销棺材的人买通崔涵说这番话的。

高阳王寺，原是高阳王元雍的宅邸，在津阳门外三里御道之西。元雍是被尔朱荣杀害的，他的宅邸舍作此寺。

正光年间（520—524）元雍任丞相，配给他羽葆车和乐队、仪仗兵上百人，地位高贵到臣民的极限，拥有山海般无边的财富。起居宅邸，与帝官相匹敌。白壁丹楹的房屋，深邃连绵；飞檐峭顶的建筑，纵横串通。僮仆六千人，家妓五百人，隋珠辉映日光，罗衣随风轻舞。自从汉晋以来，宗室诸王的奢侈，还没有达到这样的地步。出门则是鸣骑开道，



To the north of the main market of Luo-yang was the Feng-zhong Ward, most of the residents of which sold funeral articles and coffins. To them, [Cui] Han said: "In making cypress-wood coffins<sup>193</sup>, do not use mulberry wood for liners." When asked why, [Cui] Han replied: "When underground, I noticed one<sup>194</sup> [of the ghosts] levying ghost soldiers. One ghost protested, 'Mine is a cypress-wood coffin so I should be exempted.' The officer then said: 'Although yours is a cypress-wood coffin, the liner is made of mulberry wood.' So he was not exempted in the end." When people in the capital heard about this, the price of cypress wood soared. It was suspected that coffin sellers bribed [Cui] Han to invent this kind of story.

The Temple of the Prince of Gao-yang was originally the private residence of [Yuan] Yong, Prince of Gao-yang. It was located on the west side of the Imperial Drive and three *li* outside the Jin-yang Gate. Following [Yoan] Yung's violent death caused by Er-zhu Rong<sup>195</sup>, his residence was given away as a temple.

In the Zheng-guang period (A.D. 520-524), [Yuan] Yong, as Prime Minister, was awarded [the right to have] feathered curtains for his carriages, a band, and one hundred *hu-ben* (tiger-rushing) guards, each carrying painted swords<sup>196</sup>. His position was the highest that any subject could possibly attain; his wealth encompassed [everything] on land and sea. His retreat and residence were a match for imperial palaces. White walls and red pillars stretched elegantly for a considerable length; overhanging eaves<sup>197</sup> and upsweeping roof-edges were intricately interconnected<sup>198</sup>. Male servants numbered six thousand, and female entertainers<sup>199</sup>; five hundred. Fabulous pearls<sup>200</sup> lustered in the sun; robes of gauze fluttered in the wind. Since the time of the Han and Jin, no other princes had [led a life] so extravagant and luxurious. When going out, he had the street cleared by mounted guards in his company,



## 【原文】

响发，笳声哀转；入则歌姬舞女，击筑吹笙，丝管迭奏，连宵尽日。其竹林鱼池，侔于禁苑，芳草如积，珍木连阴。

雍嗜口味，厚自奉养，一食必以数万钱为限。海陆珍羞，方丈于前。陈留侯李崇谓人曰：“高阳一食，敌我千日。”崇为尚书令，仪同三司，亦富倾天下，僮仆千人。而性多俭吝，恶衣粗食，食常无肉，止有韭茹、韭菹。崇客李元祐语人云：“李令公一食十八种。”人问其故，元祐曰：“二韭一十八。”闻者大笑。世人即以此为讥骂。

及雍薨后，诸妓悉令入道，或有嫁者。美人徐月华，善弹箜篌，能为《明妃出塞》之歌，闻者莫不动容。永安中，与卫将军原士康为侧室，宅近青阳门。徐鼓箜篌而歌，哀声入云，

## 【今译】

仪仗成行，铙歌嘹亮，笳声动听；回府则是歌姬舞女，击筑吹笙，管弦迭奏，日以继夜。园中的竹林鱼池，可以和皇家官苑相比，芬芳花草茂密如织，珍贵树木连成绿荫。

元雍嗜好美味，生活考究，一餐必定花费数万钱。山珍海味，容纳于一丈见方的桌前。陈留侯李崇对人说：“高阳王的一餐，胜过我一千天的饮食。”李崇任尚书令、仪同三司，也是倾动天下的巨富，拥有僮仆千人。但是生性吝啬，粗衣粗食，食常无肉，只有韭菜和腌韭菜。李崇家的门客李元祐对人说：“李令公一餐吃十八种菜。”有人问其中的原委，元祐回答说：“二韭（‘九’的谐音）一十八。”听者大笑。当时的舆论以这句话来讥刺李崇。

等到元雍死后，他的家妓都被下令出家，其中也有出嫁的。美人徐月华善弹箜篌，能演奏《明妃出塞》之歌，听者无不为之动容。永安年间（528-530）卫将军原士康纳为侧室，其宅邸靠近青阳门。



while his honor guards formed a column. Hand-bells jangled sharply, and reed whistles sounded mournfully. When one entered his house, singing girls and dancers played flutes and blew pan-pipes. String and pipe instruments were played in succession, day in and day out. His bamboo forest and fish ponds matched those in the forbidden quarters [of the emperor]. Fragrant grasses looked like a pile [carpet]<sup>201</sup>, while rare trees formed an unbroken shadow.

A gourmet, [Yuan] Yong spared himself nothing. For each meal<sup>202</sup> he regularly spent as much as several ten-thousand coins, with the result that he had delicacies from land and sea, [covering] a space ten square Chinese feet<sup>203</sup> before him. Li Chong<sup>204</sup>, Marquis of Chen-liu<sup>205</sup>, told someone: "Each meal<sup>206</sup> of Gao-yang is the equivalent of my meals for one thousand days."

[Li] Chong, President, Department of State Affairs and Palatine Ceremonially Equal to the Three Authorities, was also one of the wealthiest in the nation. [The master of] one thousand servants, but by nature a miser, [he allowed for himself only] shabby clothing and poor food. At meals, he was usually a vegetarian, eating only [fresh] leeks, vegetables, salted and preserved leeks<sup>207</sup>. Li Yuan-you<sup>208</sup>, one of his retainers, told others: "Lord Li<sup>209</sup> had eighteen varieties for each meal." When asked what he meant, [Li] Yuan-you said: "Two *jiu* (nine)<sup>210</sup> makes eighteen." Those who had heard about it burst into laughter. Because of this, [Li Chong] was ridiculed by his contemporaries.

After [Yuan] Yong's demise, all his female entertainers were ordered to enter nunneries, except those few who married. Xu Yue-hua<sup>211</sup>, a beauty, was skillful at playing the harp (*kong-hou*)<sup>212</sup> and able to sing the song of "Lady Ming Leaving the Border [for the Xiong-nu Land]"<sup>213</sup>. Everyone who heard it was moved. In the Yong-an years (A.D. 528-530), she became concubine to Yuan Shi-kang, General of the Guards (*Wei Jiang-jun*), whose residence was close to the Qing-yang Gate. While playing the



## 【原文】

行路听者，俄而成市。徐常语士康曰：“王有二美姬，一名修容，一名艳姿，并娥眉皓齿，洁貌倾城。修容亦能为《绿水歌》，艳姿善为《火凤舞》，并爱倾后室，宠冠诸姬。”士康闻此，遂常令徐鼓绿水、火凤之曲焉。

高阳宅北有中甘里。

里内颖川荀子文，年十三，幼而聪辨，神情卓异，虽黄琬、文举无以加之。正光初，广宗潘崇和讲服氏《春秋》于城东昭义里，子文摄齐北面，就和受道。时赵郡李才问子文曰：“荀生住在何处？”子文对曰：“仆住在中甘里。”才曰：“何为住城南？”城南有四夷馆，才以此讥之。子文对曰：“国阳胜地，卿何怪也？若言川涧，伊洛峥嵘。语其旧事，灵台石经。招提之美，

## 【今译】

徐月华边弹箜篌边吟唱，哀婉之声入云，路上行人人为之驻足倾听，不一会儿就汇成了黑压压的一片。徐月华常对原士康说：“高阳王有美姬两人，一叫修容，一叫艳姿，都是娥眉皓齿，端丽绝美。修容还能唱《绿水歌》，艳姿善于跳《火凤舞》。两人得到高阳王的宠爱，压倒了所有的妻妾。”听说这些以后，原士康就常常让徐月华弹奏绿水、火凤之曲。

高阳王的宅邸之北，有中甘里。

居于里内的颖川荀子文，才十三岁，年幼而聪明，神态高奇不凡，毫不逊色于黄琬和孔融。正光初年，广宗人潘崇和在城东昭义里讲授服虔注的《春秋》时，荀子文正式向他拜师受业。当时赵郡李才问荀子文：“荀生住在哪里？”子文回答说：“鄙人住在中甘里。”李才又问：“为什么住在城南？”城南有四夷馆，李才这样问有讥讽之意。荀子文的回答是：“那里是国都之南的名胜之地，你何必大惊小怪呢？若论河川，则有河岸高峻的伊水和洛水。若论古迹，则有灵台和石经。至于寺院之美，则有报德、景明二





harp, she sang with a mournful voice that pierced the clouds. Passersby who listened [to her singing] suddenly formed a throng. Xu [Yue-hua] often told [Yuan] Shi-kang, "The prince had two beautiful ladies, one named Xiu-rong and the other Yan-zi. Both had moth-eyebrows and white teeth. Their fresh, pure appearance conquered the whole city. Xiu-ong, for her part, could sing [well] 'Green-water Song' (*Lü-shui ge*)<sup>214</sup>, and Yan-zi had mastered the 'Flaming Phoenix Dance' (*Huo-feng wu*)<sup>215</sup>. Most beloved in the harem, their favor surpassed that of the other ladies." After having learned about this, [Yuan] Shi-kang often asked Xu [Yue-hua] to play the "Green-water" and "Flaming Phoenix" songs for him.

To the north of Gao-yang's residence was the Zhong-gan Ward (Ward of Inner Sweetness), where Xun Zi-wen of Ying-chuan lived<sup>216</sup>. At the age of thirteen, he was precociously intelligent, of godlike discernment—even Huang Wan<sup>219</sup> and [Kong] Wen-ju<sup>218</sup> could not surpass him. In the early Zheng-guang period, Pan Chong-he<sup>219</sup> of Guang-zong<sup>220</sup> lectured on Fu [Qian's]<sup>220</sup> version of the *Chun-qiū* in the Zhao-yi Ward (Ward of Manifest Righteousness) of the eastern suburb of Luo-yang<sup>220</sup>. [Xun] Zi-wen held up his robe<sup>223</sup>, acknowledged himself a student<sup>224</sup>, and received [Pan Chong-] he's instruction. At the time Li Cai of the Zhao commandery asked [Xun] Zi-wen: "Master Xu, where do you live?" In reply, [Xun] Zi-wen said: "Your servant lives in Zhong-gan Ward." Li Cai pursued [the matter], "Why should you live in the southern suburb of the city?" [Li] Cai jeered at him since the Four Barbarians' Lodges were in the same location<sup>225</sup>. [Xun] Zi-wen retorted: "The southern suburb of the capital is a splendid location—why should you, sir, find it strange? Speaking of waterways, there are the prestigious Yi and Luo; of historic sites, there are the Imperial Observatory and the Stone Classics. Of beautiful temples<sup>226</sup>, there are the Bao-de and Jing-ming. Among contemporary men of high position, [there we have the



## 【原文】

报德、景明。当世富贵，高阳、广平。四方风俗，万国千城。若论人物，有我无卿。”才无以对之。崇和曰：“汝颖之士利如锥，燕赵之士钝如锤。信非虚言也。”举学皆笑焉。

崇虚寺，在城西，即汉之濯龙园也。

延熹九年，桓帝祠老子于濯龙园，设华盖之坐，用郊天之乐，此其地也。高祖迁京之始，以地给民，憩者多见妖怪，是以人皆去之，遂立寺焉。

## 【今译】

寺。当代富贵之家，则有高阳、广平二王。四方的风俗汇聚，真有万国千城的气象。若论人物，有我无你！”说得李才哑口无言。潘崇和说：“俗称‘汝颖之士利如锥，燕赵之士钝如锤’，这话真不假。”在座学员都笑了。

崇虚寺，位于城西，就是汉代濯龙园的遗址。

延熹九年（166），桓帝在濯龙园祭祀老子时，设置华盖的坐席，使用祭天的音乐，地点就在这里。高祖迁都洛阳的初期，把这里的土地给予人民。可是在这里停留栖息的人大多看见妖怪，所以人们都逃离此地，于是就建立了此寺。

Prince of] Gao-yang and [the Prince of] Guang-ping<sup>227</sup>. There is represented there regional customs from every corner [of the empire], of myriad nations and one thousand cities. As for a man of talents, there is myself, not you!"<sup>228</sup> [Li] Cai could not find any answer. [Pan] Chong-he said: "[The tongues of] literati in Ru[-nan]<sup>229</sup> and Ying[-chuan]<sup>230</sup> are as sharp as awls; the ones of people in Yan<sup>231</sup> and Zhao<sup>232</sup> as dull as hammers<sup>233</sup>. This is indeed a truthful statement." All the students in the academy laughed.

The Chong-xu Temple (Temple of Respect for the Void)<sup>234</sup> was located in the western<sup>235</sup> suburb of the city, occupying the Han site of the Zhuo-long Yuan (Dragon-washing Park)<sup>236</sup>.

In the ninth year of Yan-xi (A.D. 166), Emperor Huan [of the Han] offered sacrifices to Lao-zi in the Zhuo-long Park<sup>237</sup>, [including such rites as] setting up<sup>238</sup> a floral canopy<sup>239</sup> and performing a special type of music [normally] reserved for the suburban sacrifices<sup>240</sup>. This was the site. Immediately after Emperor Gao-zu [of the Northern Wei] moved the capital to Luo-yang, he gave away parcels [of adjoining] land to the people. Those who took rest here often saw weird and unusual [apparitions]. As a result, all the people deserted [this area] and built a temple there<sup>241</sup>.



## 卷四 城西

### 【原文】

冲觉寺，太傅清河王怱舍宅所立也。在西明门外一里御道北。怱，亲王之中，最有名行，世宗爱之，特隆诸弟。延昌四年，世宗崩，怱与高阳王雍、广平王怀并受遗诏，辅翼孝明。时帝始年六岁，太后代总万机，以怱名德茂亲，体道居正，事无大小，多咨询之。是以熙平、神龟之际，势倾人主，第宅丰大，逾于高阳。西北有楼，出凌云台，俯临朝市，目极京师，古诗所谓“西北有高楼，上与浮云齐”者也。



### 【今译】

冲觉寺，是太傅、清河王元怱贡献其宅邸而建立的。在西明门外一里，御道之北。

元怱在亲王之中最有品行，世宗喜爱他，大大超过他的几位弟弟。延昌四年（515），世宗驾崩，元怱与高阳王元雍、广平王元怀一起接受遗诏，辅佐孝明帝执政。当时孝明帝才六岁，太后代为总揽政务，因为元怱品德高尚，又为皇室宗亲，而且履行正道，处事公正，所以政事不论大小，多向他咨询。因而熙平、神龟之际，他的权位大有压过天子之势，而宅邸的宏大则超过高阳王。西北有楼，高出凌云台，俯临街市，远眺全城。这正如古诗所咏的：“西北有高楼，上与浮云



## Chapter 4

### Western Suburbs

#### (*Cheng-xi*)

The Chong-jue Temple (Temple of Full Enlightenment), established by [Yuan] Yi, the Prince of Qing-he and Grand Tutor, was located on the north side of the Imperial Drive one *li* outside the Xi-ming Gate. It had been [Yuan Yi's private] residence [prior to his death].

[Yuan] Yi was the best-known and best-mannered of all the princes. Consequently, of all his younger brothers, Emperor Shi-zong loved [Yuan] Yi most. In the fourth year of the Yan-chang period (A.D. 515), at Emperor Shi-zong's death, [Yuan] Yi, along with the Prince of Gao-yang [Yuan] Yong and the Prince of Guang-ping [Yuan] Huai, received the testamentary edict to assist and protect Emperor Xiao-ming, who was at the time only six years old, and in his name the empress dowager [née Hu] took care of myriad affairs of state<sup>1</sup>. Because of [Yuan] Yi's reputed virtues and close relationship [with the emperor], and also because he embodied the Way and was just, there was no matter big or small on which he was not repeatedly consulted. As a result, during the Xi-ping (A.D. 516-517) and Shen-gui (A.D. 518-519) periods, his authority overshadowed that of the monarch, and his residence was even grander and more splendid than that of [the Prince of] Gao-yang<sup>2</sup>. In the northwest corner of his home site was a tower, which was higher than the Ling-yun Tower<sup>3</sup>, from which one could see the market below, and gaze into all corners within the capital city. Indeed, it was like the two lines of the [anonymous] Ancient Poems<sup>4</sup> which read:

In the northwest was a lofty tower

Equal [in height] with the floating clouds<sup>5</sup>.



## 【原文】

楼下有儒林馆、延宾堂，形制并如清暑殿。土山钓池，冠于当世。斜峰入牖，曲沼环堂，树响飞嘤，阶丛花药。恠爱宾客，重文藻，海内才子，莫不辐辏，府僚臣佐，并选隽民。至于清晨明景，骋望南台，珍羞具设，琴笙并奏，芳醴盈罍，嘉宾满席。使梁王愧兔园之游，陈思惭雀台之宴。

正光初，元乂秉权，闭太后于后宫，薨恠于下省。孝昌元年，太后还总万机，追赠恠太子太师、大将军、都督中外诸军事、假黄钺。给九旒、鸾辂、黄屋、左纛、辇辂车，前后部羽葆鼓吹，虎贲班剑百

## 【今译】

齐。”楼下有儒林馆、延宾堂，建筑式样都与清暑殿相似。园中的土山和钓池，冠绝当世。斜耸的山峰伸向窗前，弯曲的池沼环绕堂屋。树林中传出嘤嘤鸟鸣，台阶上布满丛丛芍药。元恠喜爱宾客，看重文采，因而海内的才子无不集中于他的门下，并且他的臣僚也都选的是才隽之士。而到了清晨，在明丽的阳光中，于南台上极目远望，佳肴齐设，琴笙同奏，醇酒盈樽，嘉宾满座。所有这些，足以使梁王对兔园之游感到惭愧，使陈思王对铜雀台之宴感到逊色。

正光初年，元乂专权，把太后幽禁于后宫，在门下省杀害元恠。孝昌元年（525），太后重握大权，追赠元恠太子太师、大将军、都督中外诸军事的官衔，给予黄钺。对其葬仪，赐给九旒、鸾辂、黄屋、左纛、辇辂车，前后部羽葆鼓吹（乐队）、百人虎贲班剑（仪仗兵）



Under the tower were the *Ru-lin guan* (Scholar's Mansion) and *Yan-bin tang* (Hall of Welcome)<sup>6</sup>, which resembled the *Qing-shu Palace*<sup>7</sup> in style. The [man-made] hills and fishing ponds [there] were the most outstanding of the time. [Views of] slanting cliffs projected into the windows; curved ponds encircled the hall. From the trees<sup>8</sup> sounded the flying birds' calls; at the stairs<sup>9</sup>, clustered the flowering herbs. [Yuan] Yi was fond of visitors and had great respect for literature. As a result, all the talented men within the empire made their way [to his place]. From among those who were outstanding he selected his subordinates and assistants. In the early morning, against the background of attractive scenery, he would gaze at his ease from the high terrace<sup>10</sup>. The rare delicacies were all set out, the lute and pan-pipes played together. Aromatic wine filled the pitchers. Distinguished guests crowded every mat. [By comparison], the Prince of Liang would have been ashamed of his retinue at the Rabbit Park (*Tu-yuan*)<sup>11</sup> and Prince Si of Chen, of his feasts at the [Bronze] Sparrow Tower (*[Tong]-que tai*)<sup>12</sup>.

In the early years of the *Zheng-guang* period, Yuan Yi (元乂) was in power. He imprisoned the empress dowager in the rear of the palace, and slew [Yuan] Yi (元怿) in the Bureau in Waiting (*Xia-sheng*)<sup>13</sup>. In the first year of the *Xiao-chang* period (A.D. 525), the empress dowager<sup>14</sup> returned to power to take charge of myriad affairs of state, giving [Yuan] Yi (元怿) the posthumous title of Grand Preceptor of the Grand Heir, Marshal, Inspector-General of Internal and External Military Affairs (*Du-du zhong-wai zhu jun-shi*). [For his funeral service], he was given an axe of gold (*huang-yue*)<sup>15</sup>, nine fringes for his banner (*jiu-liu*)<sup>16</sup>, a carriage equipped with bells (*luan-lu*)<sup>17</sup>, a carriage lined with yellow silk (*huang-wu*), a feathered pennant hoist on the left carriage rail (*zuo-du*)<sup>18</sup>, with windows to control temperature (*wen-liang-ju*)<sup>19</sup>, two marching bands, one in the front and the other in the rear, to play *yu-bao* songs<sup>20</sup> in praise of him, one hundred *hu-ben* (tiger-rushing) guards, each with painted swords, and



## 【原文】

人，挽歌二部，葬礼依晋安平王孚故事。谥曰文献。图怵像于建始殿。拔清河国郎中令韩子熙为黄门侍郎，徙王国三卿为执戟者，近代所无也。

为文献追福，建五层浮图一所，工作与瑶光寺相似也。

宣忠寺，侍中、司州牧、城阳王徽所立也。在西门外一里御道南。

永安中，北海王入洛，庄帝北巡，自馀诸王，各怀二望，唯徽独从庄帝至长子城。大兵阻河，雄雌未决，徽愿入洛阳，舍宅为寺。及北海败散，国道重晖，遂舍宅焉。

永安末，庄帝谋杀尔朱荣，恐事不果，请计于徽。徽曰：

## 【今译】

以及挽歌二部。葬礼依照晋安平王司马孚的先例行事。谥文献。在建始殿画上元怵的像。选拔清河国的郎中令韩子熙任黄门侍郎，把诸侯国的重臣转用为皇宫的侍臣，这是近代所没有过的。

为了替文献祈求冥福，建造了一座五层的佛塔，其建筑与瑶光寺相似。

宣忠寺，是侍中、司州牧、城阳王元徽所建立的。在西门外一里，御道之南。

永安年间，北海王攻入洛阳，庄帝向北撤退。其他诸侯王都对何去何从犹豫不决，只有元徽跟随庄帝到长子城。大兵在黄河阻击，胜败难分之际，元徽就发愿，若进入洛阳，即舍其宅为寺院。等到北海王失败，国家重获光明，于是就将其宅邸贡献出来。

永安末年，庄帝谋划诛杀尔朱荣，怕事情不成，请元徽献计。元徽说：“借口说太子诞生，尔朱荣必定会入朝。趁此机会





two troupes playing funeral songs<sup>21</sup>. The funeral rituals were to be conducted according to the precedent set for [Si-ma] Fu, Prince of An-ping under the Jin<sup>22</sup>. [Yuan] Yi (元怿) was honored with the posthumous name of Wen-xian (The Cultured and Dedicated), and his portrait was prepared for display in the Jian-shi Palace. Han Zi-xi, formerly Prefect [of the Palace Squires] (*[Lang-zhong] ling*)<sup>24</sup> in the Kingdom of Qing-he, was promoted to the post of Attending Secretary within the Imperial Yellow Gate. Three other officials in his former principality were called in<sup>25</sup> to serve as halberdbearers. [Treatment such as this] was unprecedented in recent times.

A five-storied stūpa was erected to offer posthumous blessings to Wen-xian. The workmanship was comparable to the one in the Yao-guang Nunnery<sup>26</sup>.

The Xuan-zhong Temple (Temple of Manifest Loyalty) established by [Yuan] Hui<sup>27</sup> Prince of Cheng-yang, Chief Palace Attendant and Governor of Shi-zhong<sup>28</sup>, was located on the south side of the Imperial Drive, one *li* outside the Xi-yang Gate.

In the Yong-an<sup>29</sup> years, the prince<sup>30</sup> of Bei-hai entered Luo-yang<sup>31</sup>, [forcing] Emperor Zhuang to flee northward. The remaining princes assumed a position of neutrality, except [Yuan] Hui, the only [prince] who accompanied Emperor Zhuang to the city of Zhang-zi<sup>32</sup>. At the time, the rival military forces faced each other across the [Yellow] River, with the eventual victor as yet undecided. [Yuan] Hui vowed that if he should ever return to Luo-yang, he would have his residence converted to a temple. After the defeat of Bei-hai and the rout [of his army] the fortunes of the dynasty brightened again<sup>33</sup>. [Yuan Hui] then donated his residence as promised.

Toward the end of the Yong-an period, Emperor Zhuang planned to kill Er-zhu Rong. Worried about possible failure, he asked [Yuan] Hui for advice. [Yuan] Hui said: "Use the birth of the crown prince as a



## 【原文】

“以生太子为辞，荣必入朝，因以毙之。”庄帝曰：“后怀孕未十月，今始九月，可尔以不？”徽曰：“妇人生产，有延月者，有少月者，不足为怪。”帝纳其谋，遂唱生太子。遣徽特至太原王第，告云皇储诞育。值荣与上党王天穆博戏。徽脱荣帽，欢舞盘旋。徽素大度量，喜怒不形于色，绕殿内外欢叫，荣遂信之，与穆并入朝。庄帝闻荣来，不觉失色。中书舍人温子昇曰：“陛下色变。”帝连索酒饮之，然后行事。荣、穆既诛，拜徽太师司马，馀官如故，典统禁兵，偏被委任。

及尔朱兆擒庄帝，徽投前洛阳令寇祖仁。祖仁一门刺史，

## 【今译】

击毙他。”庄帝说：“皇后怀孕还不满十个月，现在才九个月，这样托辞行吗？”元徽说：“妇人生育，有拖延月份的，也有不足月份的，这不足为怪。”庄帝采纳了他的计谋。于是宣布太子诞生，特派元徽到太原王府上，报告皇太子降生。正值尔朱荣与上党王元天穆对弈，元徽取下尔朱荣头上的帽子，拿在手里欢舞旋转。元徽平素以大度量见称，喜怒不形于色，他这时绕着殿堂跑跳欢呼，尔朱荣就信以为真，与元天穆一起入朝参贺。庄帝听说尔朱荣已来，不觉惊慌失色。中书舍人温子昇说：“陛下脸色变了。”庄帝连连取酒喝下，然后才行动。尔朱荣与元天穆被诛杀后，元徽升任太师司马，其余的官位如前，由他统领禁军，特别受到重用。

到尔朱兆将庄帝囚禁后，元徽便投奔前洛阳令寇祖仁。寇氏



pretense. Your Majesty could invite [Er-zhu] Rong to come to court. He certainly will come, and can then be done away with." Emperor Zhuang said: "The empress has not yet been<sup>34</sup> pregnant [for her term of] ten months—she has been pregnant now for nine months only—can this be done?" [Yuan] Hui said: "When a woman delivers a child, sometimes it is overdue, while at other times it is premature. He won't give it a second thought." The emperor accepted his advice and made it widely known that a crown prince had been born. He dispatched [Yuan] Hui to make a special visit<sup>35</sup> to the residence of the Prince of Tai-yuan, informing the latter about the birth of an heir-designate<sup>36</sup>. At that time [Er-zhu] Rong was gambling with [Yuan] Tian-mu, the Prince of Shang-dang<sup>37</sup>. [Yuan] Hui took off [Er-zhu] Rong's hat, whirling about and dancing joyfully. [Yuan] Hui had been known for his unusual forbearance; heretofore neither delight or anger showed in his countenance. [But this time] he shouted merrily, while circling both in and out of Er-zhu [Rong's] palace. So [Er-zhu] Rong, believing him, set out to the court in the company of [Yuan] Tian-mu.

Learning of [Er-zhu] Rong's arrival, Emperor Zhuang unwittingly turned pale. Wen Zi-sheng, Drafter of the Central Secretariat, said: "Your Majesty has changed color!" The emperor repeatedly asked for [more] wine to drink. Subsequently, he carried out his plot. After [Er-zhu] Rong and [Yuan] Tian-mu were duly executed, [Yuan] Hui was appointed Grand Preceptor<sup>38</sup> and Marshal, along with his previous posts. He was put in charge of imperial guards, and enjoyed full confidence [of the emperor].

After Er-zhu Zhao's capture of Emperor Zhuang, [Yuan] Hui fled [to the house] of Kou Zu-ren<sup>39</sup>, the former metropolitan prefect of Luoyang<sup>40</sup>. In the household of [Kou] Zu-ren there were [three]<sup>41</sup> governors, all of whom had been [Yuan] Hui's [former subordinate] generals or



## 【原文】

皆是徽之将校，以有旧恩，故往投之。祖仁谓子弟等曰：“时闻尔朱兆募城阳王甚重，擒获者千户侯。今日富贵至矣！”遂斩送之。徽初投祖仁家，资金一百斤、马五十匹。祖仁利其财货，故行此事。所得金马，总亲之内均分之。所谓“匹夫无罪，怀璧其罪”，信矣。兆得徽首，亦不勋赏祖仁。兆忽梦徽云：“我有黄金二百斤，马一百匹，在祖仁家，卿可取之。”兆悟觉，即自思量，城阳禄位隆重，未闻清贫，常自入其家采掠，本无金银，此梦或真。至晓掩祖仁，征其金马。祖仁谓人密告，望风款服，云实得金一百斤、马五十匹。兆疑其藏隐，依梦征之。祖仁诸房素有金三十斤、马三十匹，尽送致兆，犹不充数。

## 【今译】

一族的刺史，都是元徽手下的将校，因有这层旧恩，所以他才前去躲避。寇祖仁对子弟们说：“听说尔朱兆悬重赏捉城阳王，捉到的话就封千户侯。今天富贵来了！”于是将城阳王斩首交出。元徽一开始来投奔寇祖仁家的时候，带着黄金一百斤，马五十匹。祖仁贪图这些财物，才如此下手的。所得的金、马，族亲之中平均分摊。所谓“匹夫无罪，怀璧其罪”，真是不假。尔朱兆得到元徽的首级，也不嘉奖祖仁。某夜，尔朱兆梦见元徽对他讲：“我有黄金二百斤、马一百匹，放在祖仁家，你可去取。”尔朱兆从梦中醒来，即暗自思量：城阳王的俸禄很高，没听说过清贫，可是我曾亲自到他家搜罗，根本没有金银财宝，这个梦或许是真的。天刚拂晓，就逮捕寇祖仁，追问那些金、马。祖仁以为是有人告密，于是老实交待说：“实得黄金一百斤、马五十匹。”尔朱兆怀疑他有隐瞒，依据梦中的数字索取。祖仁各房本有黄金三十斤、马三十匹，全部送交尔朱兆，但数目还是不满。尔朱兆



colonels<sup>42</sup>. Because of these past ties, Yuan [Hui] went there for sanctuary. Kou Zu-ren spoke to the younger members of his family, saying: "Now I have heard that Er-zhu Zhao has set a high price [on the head of] the Prince of Cheng-yang: the captor will be enfeoffed as a marquis of one thousand households. Now riches and honor have arrived!" As a result, he beheaded [Yuan] Hui<sup>43</sup> and sent his head to [Er-zhu] Zhao. When [Yuan] Hui went into hiding at [Kou] Zu-ren's house, he had had in his possession fifty horses and one hundred catties of gold. To benefit from Yuan [Hui's] wealth and property, [Kou] Zu-ren acted as he did. He [then] divided the horses and gold evenly among all his paternal cousins of the past five generations<sup>44</sup>. This is indeed an instance of "One is not guilty, but to possess a piece of jade [as does Yuan Hui] makes him guilty."<sup>45</sup> Upon the receipt of [Yuan] Hui's head, [Er-zhu] Zhao gave no reward to [Kou] Zu-ren. [On the other hand], [Er-zhu] Zhao saw [Yuan] Hui in a dream saying: "I have two hundred catties of yellow<sup>46</sup> gold and one hundred horses at [Kou] Zu-ren's place. You may have them." When [Er-zhu] Zhao awoke, he thought to himself: "The Prince of Cheng-yang, with a high position and salary<sup>47</sup>, was not known to be destitute. I have often searched his house in person<sup>48</sup>, but have found no gold or silver at all. This dream may come true." Early next morning he had [Kou] Zu-ren seized, and demanded the gold and horses. [Kou] Zu-ren thought that someone had secretly reported [the matter to Er-zhu Zhao]; seeing which way the wind was, he immediately confessed that he had actually acquired one hundred catties of gold and fifty horses. Suspecting that Kou [Zu-ren] had hidden something from him, [Er-zhu] Zhao demanded of him as much as he had dreamed. In other rooms of [Kou] Zu-ren's household, there were thirty catties of gold and thirty horses<sup>49</sup>, all of which he presented to [Er-zhu] Zhao. This, however, was still less than the figure [shown in the dream]. As a result, [Er-zhu] Zhao, in a fit



## 【原文】

兆乃发怒捉祖仁，悬首高树，大石坠足，鞭捶之以及于死。时人以为交报。

杨衒之曰：崇善之家，必有馀庆；积祸之门，殃所毕集。祖仁负恩反噬，贪货杀徽，徽即托梦增金马，假手于兆，还以毙之。使祖仁备经楚挞，穷其涂炭，虽魏其侯之笞田蚡，秦主之刺姚萇，以此论之，不能加也。

宣忠寺东王典御寺，阉官王桃汤所立也。时阉官伽蓝皆为尼寺，唯桃汤独造僧寺，世人称之英雄。门有三层浮图一所，工逾昭仪。宦者招提，最为入室。至于六斋，常击鼓歌舞也。

白马寺，汉明帝所立也。佛教入中国之始。寺在西阳门外三里

## 【今译】

便发怒捉来祖仁，把头吊上高树，把大石块悬坠于脚，鞭打至死。当时人认为这是报应。

杨衒之曰：积善之家，必有馀庆；积恶之家，祸害全来。祖仁忘恩负义，掉头中伤，贪图财物，杀害元徽。元徽就托梦增加金马数量，借尔朱兆之手，反过来将他致于死地。祖仁受尽毒打和磨难，尽管有魏侯鞭笞田蚡、秦主刺杀姚萇的事情，可是与此相比，也不见得更厉害。

宣忠寺的东边是王典御寺，由宦官王桃汤所建。当时宦官的伽蓝都是尼寺，只有桃汤例外地建造了僧寺。因而世人称他为英雄。当门有一座三层佛塔，建筑工艺超过昭仪尼寺。在宦官建造的寺院中，这里最为精致。每到六斋的日子，常常有击鼓和歌舞表演。

白马寺，是汉明帝所建。这时佛教开始进入中国。寺的位



of anger, had [Kou] Zu-ren arrested, and hung by the head from a high tree, [torturing him still further by] suspending a large stone from his foot, and whip ping him until he died<sup>50</sup>. Contemporaries called this a reciprocal punishment.

Yang Xuan-zhi would say: “ ‘A family that upholds decency will have happiness to spare; in a household that has accumulated evil deeds, troubles will collect.’<sup>51</sup> Turning against his benefactor and biting the hand that fed him<sup>52</sup>, [Kou] Zu-ren killed [Yuan] Hui because of his greed. [Yuan] Hui then in a dream increased the amount of gold and horses, prompting [Er-zhu] Zhao to kill [Kou] Zu-ren in return. In the process, Yuan [Hui] subjected [Kou] Zu-ren to whipping and beating, and condemned him to unutterable misery<sup>53</sup>. [By comparison,] even the whipping of Tian Fen by Wei Hou<sup>54</sup> and the stabbing of Yao Chang<sup>55</sup> by the ruler of Qin were no harsher!”

The Wang Dian-yu Monastery (Monastery of Wang the Imperial Chef)<sup>56</sup> located to the east of the Xuan-zhong Temple, was founded by the eunuch<sup>57</sup> Wang Tao-tang<sup>58</sup>. At the time, all temples founded by eunuchs were nunneries; only this one established by [Wang] Tao-tang was for monks. It was [therefore] called<sup>59</sup> “a hero” [rather than “a heroine”] by contemporaries. Near the gate was a three-storied stūpa, the workmanship of which was more superb than that of the Zhao-yi [Nunnery]<sup>60</sup>. Of all religious shrines<sup>61</sup> established by eunuchs, this was by far the most splendid. At the time of the six [monthly Great]<sup>62</sup> Fasts there were always dancing and drum-beating [ceremonies].

The establishment of the Bai-ma Temple (Temple of the White Horse) by Emperor Ming (A.D. 58–75) of the Han marked the introduction of Buddhism<sup>63</sup> into China. The temple was located on the south side of the Imperial



## 【原文】

御道南。帝梦金神，长丈六，项背日月光明。胡神号曰佛，遣使向西域求之，乃得经像焉。时以白马负经而来，因以为名。

明帝崩，起祇洹于陵上。自此以后，百姓冢上或作浮图焉。

寺上经函，至今犹在。常烧香供养之。经函时放光明，耀于堂宇。是以道俗礼敬之，如仰真容。

浮图前茶林、蒲萄异于馀处，枝叶繁衍，子实甚大。

茶林实重七斤，蒲萄实伟于枣，味并殊美，冠于中京。帝至熟时，常诣取之，或复赐宫人。宫人得之，转饷亲戚，以为奇味。得者不敢辄食，乃历数家。京师语曰：“白马甜榴，一实直牛。”

有沙门宝公者，不知何处人也，形貌丑陋，心识通达，过去

## 【今译】

置在西阳门外三里，御道之南。明帝梦见金神，身高一丈六尺，项背辉耀着日月之光。胡神叫做佛，帝派遣使者前往西域求佛，于是获得佛经与佛像。因为当时是用白马驮经而归，所以就取名为白马寺。

明帝驾崩后，在陵墓上建起佛塔。从此以后，老百姓的坟墓上也有建塔的。

寺内的经函，至今还保存着。常常烧香供奉它。经函有时放射光芒，照耀堂宇。所以，僧俗都致以敬礼，如同瞻仰真佛一样。

塔前的石榴和葡萄与别处的不同，枝叶繁衍，果实很大。

石榴重达七斤一个，葡萄比枣还大，味道都特别好，冠于京城。每到成熟时，明帝经常来取，有时也赐给官人。官人获得赏赐后，因为这些是珍奇水果，所以转而馈赠亲戚。获得馈赠的人不忍心马上吃掉，于是巡历于好几户人家之间。京城里的谚语说：“白马甜石榴，一颗值头牛。”

有一位叫宝公的和尚，不知家乡是何处，容貌丑陋，而识力通达，能预见过去、现在、未来三世。他说出的话就像预报





Drive, three *li* outside the Xi-yang Gate. The emperor dreamt of the golden man sixteen Chinese feet tall, with the aureole of sun and moon radiating from his head and his neck<sup>64</sup>. A “golden god”, he was known as Buddha. The emperor dispatched envoys to the Western Regions in search of the god, and, as a result, acquired [Buddhist] scriptures<sup>65</sup> and images. At the time, because<sup>66</sup> the scriptures<sup>67</sup> were carried into China on the backs of white horses, [White Horse] was adopted as the name of the temple.

After the emperor’s death, a hall for meditation<sup>68</sup> was built on his tomb. Thereafter stūpas were sometimes constructed [even] on the graves of the common people.

The scripture cases housed in the temple have survived until this day; to them incense was often burned and good care was given. At times, the scripture cases gave off light that illuminated the room and hall. As a result, both laymen and Buddhist devotees reverently worshiped as if they were facing the real Buddha.

In front of the stūpa were pomegranate trees<sup>69</sup> and grapevines that were different from those grown elsewhere: they had luxuriant foliage and huge fruits. The pomegranates [each] weighed seven catties, and the grapes were bigger than dates. The taste of both was especially delicious, superior [to all others] in the capital<sup>70</sup>. At harvest time<sup>71</sup> the emperor often came in person to pick them. Sometimes he would give [some] to ladies in the harem, who in turn would present them as gifts to their relatives. They were considered rare delicacies. The recipients often hesitated to eat them; instead, the fruits would be passed on and on to several households. In the capital there was a saying: “Sweet pomegranates of the White Horse, each fruit is as valuable as an ox<sup>72</sup>.”

Bao-gong, a śramana<sup>73</sup> whose native place nobody knew, was ugly in appearance but brilliant in intelligence. He had an insight into the “three periods”<sup>74</sup>: past, [present], and future. Whatever he said saw just like

## 【原文】

未来，预睹三世。发言似讖，不可得解，事过之后，始验其实。胡太后闻之，问以世事，宝公曰：“把粟与鸡呼朱朱。”时人莫之能解。建义元年，后为尔朱荣所害，始验其言。时亦有洛阳人赵法和请占早晚当有爵否。宝公曰：“大竹箭，不须羽，东厢屋，急手作。”时人不晓其意。经十馀日，法和父丧。大竹箭者，苴杖。东厢屋者，倚庐。造十二辰歌，终其言也。

宝光寺，在西门外御道北。有三层浮图一所，以石为基，形制甚古，画工雕刻。

隐士赵逸见而叹曰：“晋朝石塔寺，今为宝光寺也。”人问其故。逸曰：“晋朝四十二寺尽皆湮灭，唯此寺独存。”指园中一处，曰：“此是浴堂。前五步，应有一井。”众僧掘之，果得屋及井焉。井虽填塞，砖

## 【今译】

凶吉的隐语，当下无法理解，而事过之后，才验证出原来实有所指。胡太后听说后，向他寻问时事，宝公回答说：“给鸡吃粟呼朱朱。”当时没人能明白这句话的意思。建义元年（528），太后被尔朱荣杀害，这句话才得到印证。当时还有洛阳人赵法和，请他预占何时会得爵位，宝公回答说：“大竹箭，不须箭翎；东厢屋，赶快建造。”当时不明白是什么意思。经过十多天，法和的父亲去世。原来大竹箭是指丧礼所用的竹杖；东厢屋是指服丧者的住处。所作的十二辰歌，是他一生最后的文辞。

宝光寺，位置在西门外，御道之北。有一座三层的佛塔，以石块作塔基，造形很古老，有雕刻的图案。

隐士赵逸观览此寺后感叹说：“晋朝的石塔寺，现在成了宝光寺。”人们寻问其中的原委，赵逸回答说：“晋朝四十二座寺院全部消亡，只有此寺独存。”他指着园中某处说：“这是浴室。五步之前，应有一口井。”众僧向下挖掘，果然挖到房屋和水井。井虽已填塞，但砖砌的井口还是原样。浴堂下还残存数十块石砖。当时园中地势平





aprophecy, incomprehensible [at the time] but verifiable later when the event he had foretold really took place. Hearing of this, Empress Dowager Hu asked him about current affairs. Bao-gong said: "Handful of husked rice to give to the chickens, And call 'zhu, zhu!'"<sup>75</sup> Contemporaries could not understand what he meant. Only in the first year of the Jian-yi period (A.D. 528), after the murder of the empress by Er-zhu Rong, was his prophecy fulfilled. At that time there was a Zhao Fa-he<sup>76</sup>, a native of Luo-yang who asked for his prognostication as to whether in the course of time [Zhao Fa-he] could expect some position in the government. Bao-gong said: "A large bamboo arrow does not await feathers, Hurry, hurry to build the eastern chamber!" Contemporaries [again] failed to understand his meaning. A little more than ten days later [Zhao] Fa-he lost his father. By "a large bamboo arrow" [Bao-gong] meant a bamboo staff [held by the chief mourner], and "an eastern chamber" denoted the lean-to [where the mourners stayed]. He also composed songs for the twelve-*chen*<sup>77</sup>—the songs were to the end his words<sup>78</sup>.

The Bao-guang Temple<sup>79</sup> (Temple of Precious Radiance) was located on the north side of the Imperial Drive outside the Xi-yang Gate. There was a three-storied stūpa built on a stone foundation. It followed an ancient style, adorned with artistic carvings<sup>80</sup>.

When the hermit Zhao Yi saw this temple, he sighed: "The [site of] the Shi-ta Temple (Temple of the Stone Stupa) of the Jin is where the Bao-guang Temple now stands." People asked him why. [Zhao] Yi said: "The forty-two<sup>81</sup> temples of the Jin were all ruined, excepting this sole survivor." Pointing to a place in the garden, he said: "This used to be the site of a bathing room. There should be a well five paces in front of it." Some monks dug into it, and just as he said they found a room and a well. Although the well had been blocked up, the brick opening was as before. Underneath the bathing room, several scores of stone still remained. In former years the ground of

## 【原文】

口如初。浴堂下犹有石数十枚。当时园地平衍，果菜葱青，莫不叹息焉。

园中有一海，号咸池。葭菼被岸，菱荷覆水，青松翠竹，罗生其旁。京邑士子，至于良辰美日，休沐告归，征友命朋，来游此寺。雷车接轸，羽盖成阴。或置酒林泉，题诗花圃，折藕浮瓜，以为兴适。

普泰末，雍州刺史、陇西王尔朱天光总士马于此寺。寺门无何都崩，天光见而恶之。其年天光战败，斩于东市也。

法云寺，西域乌场国胡沙门县摩罗所立也。在宝光寺西，隔墙并门。

摩罗聪慧利根，学穷释氏。至中国，即晓魏言及隶书，凡所闻见，无不通解，是以道俗贵贱，同归仰之。作祇洹寺一所，工制甚

## 【今译】

展，果树蔬菜一片青葱，今昔的不同使在场的人无不叹息。

园中有一个水池，叫咸池。苇荻遮岸，菱荷覆水，旁边青松翠竹环绕。京城的士人们，到了良辰美日，休假无事，就邀朋请友，一起来游览此寺。车声隆隆如雷，一辆接一辆，羽饰的顶篷遮天蔽日。有的摆酒于林泉，有的作诗于花圃；在水中折取菱藕，漂浮瓜果，享受闲情逸趣。

普泰末年（531），雍州刺史、陇西王尔朱天光在此寺聚集军队，寺门突然倒塌。尔朱天光见状，感到厌恶。就是那年他战败，在东市被斩。

法云寺，是西域乌场国的沙门县摩罗所建的。位于宝光寺的西边，仅一墙之隔，两寺的大门相并列。

摩罗生性聪慧，精通佛教。来到中国后，就通晓魏的语言和隶书，所见所闻之事，没有令他感到困惑的。所以无论出家与否，地位高低，人们都一致崇拜他。他建起这所佛寺，工艺非常精致。佛殿





the garden<sup>82</sup> was level, and vegetables and fruit trees were abundant. [Spectators at the site] all sighed and lamented.

In the garden there was a lake known as Xian-chi (Pool of Heaven.)<sup>83</sup> Young bulrushes and reeds blanketed its banks, while water chestnuts and lotus covered [the surface of] the water. Row after row of dark green pines and green bamboo grew on its shore. On pleasant days and festivals, or when off duty<sup>84</sup>, literati of the capital would invite their friends and associates to visit this temple with them. As a result, the thundering<sup>85</sup> chariots followed one after another<sup>86</sup> and the feathered canopies [of their carriages] formed [man-made] shade. [Some visitors] would set out wine in the woods or near the springs, write poems in the flower gardens, pick lotus roots or float melons [in the pool]—thus each of them enjoyed the festivity and moments of relaxation.

By the end of the Pu-tai period (A.D. 531–532), Er-zhu Tian-guang<sup>87</sup>, Prince of Long-Xi and the Governor of Yong-zhou, gathered his army and horses in this temple. Soon afterward, all the gates in the temple collapsed<sup>88</sup>. [Er-zhu] Tian-guang, seeing this, hated it [as a bad omen]. That year he was defeated in a battle and subsequently executed in the eastern marketplace [of Luo-yang].

The Fa-yun Monastery (Monastery of the Dharma-cloud) Was established by Tan-mo-luo<sup>89</sup>, a śramaṇa from the Kingdom of Wu-chang (Udyāna)<sup>90</sup> in the Western Regions of Central Asia. It was located to the west of the Bao-guang Temple<sup>91</sup>. Separated by a wall, their [main] gates stood side by side.

[Tan-]mo-luo was intelligent, possessed of keen senses, and had exhausted the limits of Buddhist learning. Upon his arrival in China, he soon understood the Chinese language and the *li* script. He comprehended thoroughly whatever he heard or saw. As a result, both laymen and Buddhist devotees recognized [his abilities] and looked up to him. He had a shrine<sup>92</sup> built, which

## 【原文】

精。佛殿僧房，皆为胡饰，丹素炫彩，金玉垂辉。摹写真容，似丈六之见鹿苑；神光壮丽，若金刚之在双林。伽蓝之内，花果蔚茂，芳草蔓合，佳木被庭。京师沙门好胡法者，皆就摩罗受持之。戒行真苦，难可揄扬。秘咒神验，阎浮所无。咒枯树能生枝叶，咒人变为驴马，见之莫不忻怖。西域所赍舍利骨及佛牙经像皆在此寺。

寺北有侍中、尚书令、临淮王彧宅。

彧博通典籍，辨慧清悟，风仪详审，容止可观。至三元肇庆，万国齐臻，金蝉曜首，宝玉鸣腰，负荷执笏，逶迤复道，观者忘疲，莫不叹服。彧性爱林泉，又重宾客。至于春风扇扬，

## 【今译】

僧房，都是西域风格的装饰，配色鲜丽，金玉闪光。所摹绘的佛像，就好像丈六身高的释迦在鹿野苑说法；所展现的壮丽的神光，就如同金刚法身在沙罗树前进入涅槃境界。伽蓝之内，花草果树繁茂，芳草滋蔓，嘉树满庭。京城里爱好西域佛法的沙门，都来依摩罗受教持戒。守戒的苦状，难以表述。神秘咒语的灵验，从来未在世间看到过。把咒语加在枯树上，枯树就生出枝叶；把咒语加在人身上，人就变成驴马。看到的人无不惊恐。西域所送佛舍利、佛牙、佛经、佛像都安置在此寺。

寺北有侍中、尚书令、临淮王元彧的宅邸。

元彧博通典籍，明辨敏悟，仪表堂堂，举止可观。当元旦新禧，各国使者都前来欢聚时，元彧戴的金蝉冠饰在头上闪光，身上佩戴的宝玉在腰间鸣响，手中执笏，从官中复道通过。观看的人忘记疲劳，无不叹服。元彧天性喜好林泉，又爱重宾客。当春风吹拂、花



was splendid in design and workmanship. All the ornamentation in the Buddhist halls and monks' cloisters were in the barbarian style, [painted in] dazzling colors of red and blue<sup>93</sup>, [adorned with] glittering [articles of] gold and jade. A reproduction of "the Sixteen-Footer"<sup>94</sup> portrait looks like the god [Buddha] as he appeared at the Lu-yuan (the Deer Park)<sup>95</sup>, and the imposing beauty of its countenance was just like [the scene] when the Buddha<sup>96</sup> presented himself in the grove of sāla trees<sup>97</sup>. Within the monastery, flowers and fruits proliferated, aromatic grasses interlaced, and pleasant trees covered the courtyard. Those śramaṇas of the capital who preferred the ways of Central Asia came to receive his teachings. It is hard to elaborate on how strictly the Buddhist rules were enforced here. The effectiveness of their charms, well proven here, could not be found elsewhere on earth<sup>98</sup>. By charms, they were able to grow branches and leaves on withered trees; by curses, to change human beings into donkeys and horses, the sight of which was sufficient to frighten all viewers. The *śarīra*<sup>99</sup>, the Buddha's teeth, scriptures, and portraits, given by countries in the Western Regions, were all housed here.

To the north of the monastery was the residence of Yuan Yu, the Chief Palace Attendant, President of State Affairs, and Prince of Lin-huai<sup>100</sup>.

[Yuan] Yu was well-versed in classics, discerning and refined. He was punctilious in his carriage, and admirable in his manner. On the auspicious New Year's<sup>101</sup> day, when [envoys of]<sup>102</sup> a multitude of states or kingdoms attended<sup>103</sup> [the court], he would put on a cap brightly decorated with a carving of a cicada in gold, and a sash with pieces of tinkling jade, and holding a *hu*<sup>104</sup> tablet before his breast, would proceed elegantly along the covered passageway. All those who watched him would forget their fatigue, and not a one but sighed in admiration. [Yuan] Yu by nature was fond of woods and fountains. Further, he loved the company of visitors. At the time when spring breezes gently blow and flower-



## 【原文】

花树如锦，晨食南馆，夜游后园，僚案成群，俊民满席。丝桐发响，羽觞流行，诗赋并陈，清言乍起，莫不领其玄奥，忘其褊悛焉。是以入彘室者，谓登仙也。荆州秀才张斐常为五言，有清拔之句云：“异林花共色，别树鸟同声。”彘以蛟龙锦赐之。亦有得緋绌紫绫者。唯河东裴子明为诗不工，罚酒一石。子明饮八斗而醉眠，时人譬之山涛。及尔朱兆入京师，彘为乱兵所害，朝野痛惜焉。

出西阳门外四里御道南，有洛阳大市，周回八里。市南有皇女台，汉大将军梁冀所造，犹高五丈馀。景明中，比丘道恒立灵仙寺

## 【今译】

树如锦的季节到来，在南馆早餐，在后园夜游，僚属成群，高朋满座。琴声悠扬，酒觞流转，咏诗作赋，清谈时起，人们无不领会其中的玄旨奥义，忘却一己的偏狭鄙吝。所以，能进入元彘门庭的人，以为是登上仙界。荆州秀才张斐曾作五言诗，其中一联清拔的句子如下：“异林花共色，别树鸟同声。”元彘赐给他蛟龙锦。也有人获得过红绌、紫绫。只有河东裴子明作诗拙劣，被罚酒十斗。子明喝下八斗便醉倒，当时人把他比作山涛。等到尔朱兆攻入京城时，元彘遭乱兵杀害，朝野上下为之痛惜。

在西阳门外四里，御道之南，有洛阳大市，周边达八里。市南有皇女台，是汉代大将军梁冀所建造，尚有五丈多高。景明年间（500-503），比丘道恒在这个台上建造了灵仙寺。台西有河阳县府，





ing trees are like brocade, he would take his morning meal in the southern hall and roam at night in the rear garden. With his subordinates in a throng and gifted men<sup>105</sup> filling the mats, [he would listen to] the sounding lute as the winged<sup>106</sup> wine cups were passed around. When he presented poems and rhymed prose, or suddenly took up "pure conversation", everyone [in attendance] would drink in its profundity and overlook its [possible] shortcomings. As a result, those who were accepted into [Yuan] Yu's inner circle said they had ascended as immortals.

Zhang Fei<sup>107</sup>, a talented man of Jing-zhou, once wrote a poem in the style of five characters per line; the two best lines read: "From different woods<sup>108</sup>, flowers are uniform in color; On separate trees, birds share the same melody."

[In return for] Zhang [Fei's] poem, [Yuan] Yu gave him a brocade with dragon designs. He also gave others red or purple silk. Only Pei Zi-ming of He-dong was unskilled at writing poems, so he was forced to drink one *shi*<sup>109</sup> of wine as punishment. [Pei] Zi-ming drank eight *dou*<sup>110</sup> and fell asleep intoxicated. For this his contemporaries likened him to Shan Tao<sup>111</sup>. When Er-zhu Zhao entered the capital, [Yuan] Yu was slain by unruly soldiers. Both those in and out of power were grieved [at his death].

On the south side of the Imperial Drive and four *li* outside the Xi-yang Gate was the main marketplace of Luo-yang, which was eight *li* in circumference. To the south of the marketplace<sup>112</sup> was the Princess' Tower (Huang-nü *tai*) founded by Liang Ji, Generalissimo of the Han<sup>113</sup>. Even today the tower still rises more than fifty Chinese feet tall. [On a site] above the tower the monk Dao-heng<sup>114</sup> had the Ling-xian Temple (Temple of Efficacious Immortals) built during the Jing-ming period (A.D. 500-503). To the west of the tower was the prefecture of He-yang; to its east, the



## 【原文】

于其上。台西有河阳县，台东有侍中侯刚宅。

市西北有土山鱼池，亦冀之所造。即《汉书》所谓“采土筑山，十里九坂，以象二崑”者。

市东有通商、达货二里。里内之人尽皆工巧屠贩为生，资财巨万。

有刘宝者，最为富室。州郡都会之处皆立一宅，各养马十匹。至于盐粟贵贱，市价高下，所在一例。舟车所通，足迹所履，莫不商贩焉。是以海内之货，咸萃其庭，产匹铜山，家藏金穴。宅宇逾制，楼观出云，车马服饰拟于王者。

市南有调音、乐律二里。里内之人，丝竹讴歌，天下妙伎出焉。

有田僧超者，善吹笛，能为《壮士歌》、《项羽吟》，征

## 【今译】

台东有侍中侯刚的住宅。

市的西北有土山和鱼池，也是梁冀所挖筑。这就是《汉书》中所记载的“挖土筑山，十里之内有九个斜坡，用来摹拟双峰的崑山”。

市东有通商里和达货里。里内的居民都很精明，以屠宰和贩货为生，拥有巨万财产。

有一个叫刘宝的人，是最为富有的。他在各州、郡的闹市地带都建一座宅院，各养十匹马。至于盐米的贵贱、买卖价格的上下，在他所控制的地方都是统一的。凡是车船可以通行的地方，凡是有人迹的地方，都有刘宝商贩的势力。所以，海内的各种货物都汇聚于他的庭院，他的财产赛过铜山，家中藏着金穴；宅邸规模超出规定，楼阁台观高耸入云，马车、服饰比得上王侯贵族。

市南有调音里和乐律里。里内的居民善于吹拉弹唱，天下最好的乐师都出于其中。

有一个叫田僧超的人，善于吹笛，能够吹奏《壮士歌》、《项羽



residence of Hou Gang<sup>115</sup>, the Chief Palace Attendant.

To the northwest of the marketplace were a mound and a fish pond, also constructed by [Liang] Ji. This is referred to in a *Han-shu*<sup>116</sup> account as follows: "Earth was collected to make a mound, which had nine slopes within ten *li*, resembling the twin cliffs of the Yao Mountain."<sup>117</sup>

To the east of the market place were the two wards, Tong-shang (Ward of Conducting Trade) and Da-huo (Ward of Shipping Merchandise). All residents were shrewd, making a living as butchers or tradesmen. They were wealthy, owning thousands [of coins].

There was one Liu Bao who was the wealthiest. He maintained ten<sup>118</sup> horses at each of his residences located in the major cities of various provinces and commanderies. He set up a uniform price for salt and rice [that he handled] in all these places. He would buy and sell merchandise in any place if it was within the reach of boats and carriages or human beings<sup>119</sup>. As a result, commodities within the [four] seas were all stored in his courtyards. His wealth was comparable to the Copper Mountain [of Deng Tong]<sup>120</sup>, and he [seemed to] store a gold mine<sup>121</sup>. [The structure and size] of his house exceeded the sumptuary regulations, and his terrace and towers rose loftily into the clouds. His chariots, horses, dresses, and ornaments were comparable to those of princes<sup>122</sup>.

To the south of the marketplace were the two wards Tiao-yin (Ward of Musical Tones) and Yue-lü (Ward of Musical Notes), the residents of which were [mostly] musicians and singers. The most skillful [performing] artists of the empire came from here.

One of them was Tian Seng-chao (d. A.D. 525)<sup>123</sup>, who was skillful at playing the reed whistle and singing such songs as the "Zhuang-shi" ("Song of the Warriors")<sup>124</sup> and "Xiang Yu" ("Song of Xiang Yu")<sup>125</sup>. He was much liked by Cui Yan-bo, General of the Western Expedition (*Zheng-xi Jiang-Jun*)<sup>126</sup>. Near the end of the *Zheng-guang*



## 【原文】

西将军崔延伯甚爱之。正光末，高平失据，虎吏充斥，贼帅万俟丑奴寇暴泾岐之间，朝廷为之旰食。诏延伯总步骑五万讨之。延伯出师于洛阳城西张方桥，即汉之夕阳亭也。时公卿祖道，车骑成列，延伯危冠长剑耀武于前，僧超吹壮士笛曲于后，闻之者懦夫成勇，剑客思奋。延伯胆略不群，威名早著，为国展力，二十余年，功无全城，战无横阵，是以朝廷倾心送之。延伯每临阵，常令僧超为壮士声，甲冑之士莫不踊跃。延伯单马入阵，旁若无人，勇冠三军，威镇戎竖。二年之间，献捷相继。丑奴募善射者射僧超亡，延

## 【今译】

吟》，博得征西将军崔延伯特别的爱赏。正光末年，高平县陷落于贼军之手，到处可见凶狠的官吏，贼军的部将万俟丑奴在泾州、岐州一带抢劫作恶，朝廷为此忧虑不安。于是皇帝诏令崔延伯统领步兵和骑兵万人发起征讨。崔延伯的部队从洛阳城西的张方桥出发，张方桥也就是汉代夕阳亭。当时公卿大臣在这里为崔延伯饯行，车马排列成行，崔延伯头戴高冠，手持长剑，威武雄壮地走在前面，田僧超在后面吹奏着壮士笛曲，听到此曲，怯懦的人有了勇气，剑侠更想奋臂出击。崔延伯的胆略出众，威名早已为世人所知，他为国效力达二十多年，攻城则没有一个城池能够保全，交战则没有一个敌阵不被击溃。因此，朝廷尽心尽意送他出征。每当临阵对敌，崔延伯常常让田僧超吹奏壮士之曲，身穿甲冑的士兵无不受到鼓舞，踊跃作战。崔延伯单人匹马闯入敌阵，旁若无人，他的武勇冠绝三军，赫赫威名使边塞胡人震慑。在两年内，传来的捷报一个接着一个。万俟丑奴招募了一位射击能手，把田僧超射死。这使崔



period (A.D. 520-525), [the district] Gao-ping<sup>127</sup> fell into the hands of rebels, and avaricious officials<sup>128</sup> were every where. In the face of plunder and raids staged by the rebel leader Mo-qi Chou-nu<sup>129</sup> between the Jing and Qi areas, the court postponed meals<sup>130</sup>, [hard-pressed as it was to cope with the worsening situation]. [Accordingly], [Cui] Yan-bo was ordered to lead an armed force of fifty thousand infantry and cavalry soldiers to launch a punitive expedition against him. [Cui] Yan-bo mobilized his army at the Zhang Fang Bridge<sup>131</sup> in the western suburb of Luoyang, which was also the site of the Xi-yang Pavilion (the Sunset Pavilion) of the Han<sup>132</sup>. At the time, dukes and ministers of all ranks congregated to offer sacrifices to the god of the road<sup>133</sup> with their carriages and cavalry [attendants] lined up [according to rank]. With his jaunty hat and long sword<sup>134</sup>, [Cui] Yan-bo himself dazzled with martial appearance in the front, while [Tian] Seng-chao performed the "Zhuang-shi" flute-song<sup>135</sup> in the rear. Hearing this, cowards became brave men and swordsmen longed for combat. [Cui] Yan-bo, a man of unusual courage, had long enjoyed awesome fame. For more than twenty years he had exerted his best efforts for the country: no cities could withstand his attacks, and in no battles had he ever been defeated. Because of this, the court sent him off with great zeal. Each time that [Cui] Yan-bo approached the battlefield, he would always<sup>136</sup> order [Tian] Seng-chao to perform the "Zhuang-shi" songs, which made the armored soldiers eager to fight. Unaccompanied, [Cui] Yan-bo would ride on horseback to enter the battle lines, [creating the impression that] there was no one else [on the battleground who dared stand in his way]. His personal bravery exceeded that of everyone in the Three Armies<sup>137</sup>, and his prestige awed all barbarians into subjugation. Within a period of two years, word of his victories came one after another in quick succession. [Mo-qi] Chou-nu recruited skillful archers to shoot [Tian] Seng-chao. At his death,



## 【原文】

伯悲惜哀恻，左右谓伯牙之失钟子期不能过也。后延伯为流矢所中，卒于军中。于是五万之师，一时溃散。

市西有延酤、治觞二里，里内之人多酿酒为业。

河东人刘白堕善能酿酒。季夏六月，时暑赫晞，以罌贮酒，暴于日中，经一旬，其酒味不动，饮之香美，醉而经月不醒。京师朝贵多出郡登藩，远相饷馈，逾于千里。以其远至，号曰“鹤觞”，亦名“骑驴酒”。永熙年中，南青州刺史毛鸿宾资酒之藩，路逢贼盗，饮之即醉，皆被擒获，因此复名“擒奸酒”。游侠语曰：“不畏张弓拔刀，唯畏白堕春醪。”

市北有慈孝、奉终二里，里内之人以卖棺槨为业，赁輶车为事。

有挽歌孙岩，娶妻三年，妻不脱衣而卧。岩因怪之，伺

## 【今译】

延伯悲伤痛惜。崔延伯身边的人都说，古代伯牙失去钟子期的悲痛，也不能超过他失去田僧超的悲痛。后来崔延伯被流矢所射中而阵亡。于是五万人的部队顿时溃不成军。

市西有延酤里和治觞里。里内的居民大多以酿酒为业。

河东人刘白堕擅长酿酒。当盛夏六月，暑气灼人，他用口小腹大的瓦罐装酒，放在烈日下暴晒，经过十天以后，罐中的酒味不变，喝起来非常醇美，若喝醉了则经月不醒。京城里的达官贵人到地方上任职，这种酒被当作馈赠礼品而远行千里。因为它远道而来，所以叫“鹤觞”，也叫“骑驴酒”。永熙年间（532-534），南青州刺史毛鸿宾携带这种酒赴任，路上遇到盗贼，盗贼喝了这种酒，随即醉倒，都被擒拿归案，因此这种酒又叫“擒奸酒”。当时在游侠中间流传着一句谚语：“不畏张弓拔刀，唯畏白堕春醪。”市北有慈孝里和奉终里。里内的居民以出售棺材、租赁丧车为业。

有一位唱挽歌的叫孙岩，与妻子结婚已经三年，而妻子从



[Cui] Yan-bo was so grieved and saddened that, according to his attendants, Bo-ya's lamentation over the loss of Zhong Zi-qi<sup>138</sup> could not exceed [Cui Yan-bo's]. Later, [Cui] Yan-bo was hit and killed in battle<sup>139</sup> by a stray arrow. In consequence, his army of fifty thousand men at once collapsed and dispersed.

To the west of the marketplace were the two wards Yan-gu (Wine-buyers' Ward) and Zhi-shang (Wine-servers' Ward), the residents of which were mostly in the business of making wine.

Liu Bai-duo<sup>140</sup>, a native of He-dong<sup>141</sup>, was a master winemaker. In the sixth month of midsummer, under the burning heat, he preserved his wine in [open-mouthed] jars that were exposed to the sunlight for ten days. The taste of the wine would remain unchanged, [but], when one drank it, it was aromatic and full-flavored. The drinker would be intoxicated for a full month without waking up. When dignitaries in the capital left for the commandery or for frontier posts, they would take some [jars] along as gifts to remote [areas, sometimes] more than one thousand *li* away. Since the wine came from a great distance, it was known as "Stork-goblet wine" (*He-shang jiu*), or "Donkey-riding wine" (*Qi-lü jiu*). In the Yong-xi years (A.D. 532-534) Mao Hong-bin<sup>142</sup>, Governor of South Qingzhou<sup>143</sup>, took the wine to his post. He encountered some bandits en route<sup>144</sup>, who drank the wine and became intoxicated. Every one of them was arrested. The wine was therefore also called "Criminal-capturing wine" (*Qin-jian jiu*). Among the wandering knights<sup>145</sup> there was a saying: "Fear not a drawn bow or sword, Fear only Bai-duo's spring wine!"<sup>146</sup>

To the north of the marketplace were the two wards Ci-xiao (Ward of Motherly Love and Filial Devotion) and Feng-zhong<sup>147</sup>, the residents of which were sellers of inner and outercoffins and handlers of hearse<sup>148</sup> rentals.

Sun Yan, a professional singer of funeral songs, had taken a wife for



## 【原文】

其睡，阴解其衣，有毛长三尺，似野狐尾，岩惧而出之。妻临去，将刀截岩发而走，邻人逐之，变成一狐，追之不得。其后京邑被截发者，一百三十余人。初变为妇人，衣服靓妆，行于道路，人见而悦近之，皆被截发。当时有妇人着彩衣者，人皆指为狐魅。熙平二年四月有此，至秋乃止。

别有阜财、金肆二里，富人在焉。凡此十里，多诸工商货殖之民。千金比屋，层楼对出，重门启扇，阁道交通，迭相临望。金银锦绣，奴婢缣衣；五味八珍，仆隶毕口。神龟年中，以工商上僭，议不听衣金银锦绣。虽立此制，竟不施行。

阜财里内有开善寺，京兆人韦英宅也。英早卒，其妻梁氏不治

## 【今译】

来不脱衣服睡觉。孙岩感到奇怪，他等妻子睡着的时候，偷偷地解开她的衣服，发现全身长着三尺长的毛，像野狐狸的尾巴。孙岩感到恐惧，就把妻子休弃了。妻子临行前，用刀割下孙岩的头发而跑走。邻居们追赶时，她就变成一只狐狸，无法追上。从此以后，洛阳城中被割下头发的，共有一百三十多人。开始的时候，狐狸变成一位妇人，衣着华美，在路上行走，看见她而凑近取悦的人，都被割下头发。当时有身穿漂亮衣服的妇女，人们都指着说是狐狸精。这是熙平二年（517）四月的事，到了秋天才算平息下来。

另有阜财里和金肆里，有钱的人家都住在其中。以上一共是十个里，多数是工商买卖人。千金的房屋栉比，高高的楼阁林立，大门重重开启，阁道相通往来，彼此可以登临眺望。金银锦绣，也穿戴于奴婢的身上；山珍海味，也吃喝进仆人的口中。神龟年间（518-519），因为这些工商人家的享用超过了规制，朝廷下令禁止穿戴金银锦绣服饰。虽然立下了这项禁令，可是最终没有得到实施。

阜财里内有开善寺，原是京兆人韦英的住宅。韦英早死，他的妻





three years, during which time she [always] slept with her clothes on. Puzzled, [Sun] Yan waited until she was asleep, and then secretly unloosed her clothing. He discovered that his wife had a tail<sup>149</sup> three Chinese feet long, which resembled that of a wild fox. [Sun] Yan was frightened and put her out. On the point of leaving, the wife took a knife, cut off [Sun] Yan's hair, and then ran away. Chased by her neighbors, she changed into a fox and eluded her pursuers. Later, there were more than one hundred thirty persons in the capital city whose hair was cut off by her. At first [the fox] would change into a woman, who would walk along the street, attractively dressed and wearing elegant makeup<sup>150</sup>. Pleased with her appearance, people would draw near to her, at which point she would cut off their hair<sup>151</sup>. At that time any woman clad in bright colors would be pointed to as the fox-spirit. It happened in the fourth month of the second year of the Xi-ping period (May to June A.D. 517), and lasted until the autumn of the same year<sup>152</sup>.

In addition, there were the other two wards: Fu<sup>153</sup>-cai<sup>154</sup> and Jin-si, (Ward of Gold Stores), where rich men lived. Within a stretch of ten *li*, residents for the most part were artisans, merchants, and tradesmen. Wealthy families<sup>155</sup> lived in a nearby neighborhood. Storied buildings, set with double doors and open screens<sup>156</sup>, faced each other<sup>157</sup>. Covered passageways, connecting one building to another, were within sight of one another. Slaves and maid-servants wore brocades and embroidered articles of gold and silver, and were fed with the five flavors and eight rarities<sup>158</sup>. In the Shen-gui years (A.D. 518-519), as artisans and merchants heedlessly usurped sumptuary privileges, it was ruled that they be prohibited from wearing brocade and embroidery or articles of gold and silver<sup>159</sup>. But the law, although enacted, was by no means enforced.

Inside the Fu-cai Ward was the Kai-shan Temple (Temple of Guidance to



## 【原文】

丧而嫁，更纳河内人向子集为夫，虽云改嫁，仍居英宅。英闻梁氏嫁，白日来归，乘马将数人至于庭前，呼曰：“阿梁，卿忘我耶？”子集惊怖，张弓射之，应箭而倒，即变为桃人。所骑之马亦变为茅马，从者数人尽化为蒲人。梁氏惶惧，舍宅为寺。

南阳人侯庆有铜像一躯，可高尺馀。庆有牛一头，拟货为金色，遇急事，遂以牛他用之。经二年，庆妻马氏忽梦此像谓之曰：“卿夫妇负我金色久而不偿，今取卿儿丑多以偿金色焉。”马氏悟觉，心不遑安。至晓，丑多得病而亡。庆年五十，唯有一子，悲哀之声，感于行路。丑多亡日，像自有金色，光照四邻，一里之内，咸闻香气。僧俗长幼，皆来观睹。尚书、

## 【今译】

子没有为他办理丧事，就又嫁人，招河内人向子集为夫婿。虽说是改嫁，可仍然住在韦英的宅内。韦英听说梁氏嫁人，白天回来，骑马带着好几个人抵达庭前，喊道：“阿梁，你忘了我吗？”向子集感到惊恐，开弓射箭，韦英被箭射中而倒下，变为桃木的偶人，所骑的马也变为茅扎的马，几位随从人员都化作蒲扎的人。梁氏惶恐不安，于是贡献此宅做了寺院。

南阳人侯庆有一尊铜佛像，高一尺有馀。他有一头牛，打算卖牛来为佛像装饰成金色。因遇急事，就把牛作了别的用途。经过两年之后，侯庆的妻子马氏突然梦见这尊佛像对她说：“你夫妇二人背弃了给我涂金色的承诺，久久没有兑现。现在拿你的儿子丑多偿还欠我的金色。”马氏醒后，心情不胜焦虑。到了早晨，丑多得病身亡。侯庆已有五十岁，膝下唯有一子，因此哭声悲哀，打动了过往的行人。丑多死的那一天，佛像自具金色，光芒照耀四邻，整个阜财里都能闻到香气。僧俗长幼全都前来观看。尚书、左仆射元顺听说阜财里内频



Goodness), formerly the residence of Wei Ying, who was a native of Jing-zhao<sup>160</sup>. [Wei] Ying died prematurely, but his wife, from the Liang clan, remarried without first observing the entire mourning period. She took<sup>161</sup> Xiang Zi-ji of He-nei as her new husband, but, after her remarriage, she lived in [Wei] Ying's house as she had before. Learning of his wife's remarriage, [Wei] Ying returned in broad daylight; riding on a horse in the company of several men, he appeared up in the foreground of the courtyard, calling, "A-Liang, have you forgotten me?" Out of fear, [Xiang] Zi-ji drew an arrow and shot him, causing him to fall to the ground<sup>162</sup>. Immediately [Wei Ying] changed into a man of peachwood, and the horse he rode changed into one made of thatch. The several followers in his company also changed into men made of reeds<sup>163</sup>. The woman of the Liang clan, terrified, donated the residence for use as a temple<sup>164</sup>.

Hou Qing, a native of Nan-yang<sup>165</sup>, had a bronze image of Buddha that was more than one Chinese foot<sup>166</sup> high. He was the owner of an ox that he wanted to sell, in order to use the [acquired] money for gold-leafing or parcel-gilding. Because of an emergency, he used the cash for other purposes. Two years later, [Hou] Qing's wife, a woman of the Ma clan, suddenly dreamed of the image, which told her: "You and your husband have owed me a gilding for so long without [my demanding] recompense. Now I am taking your son, [Hou] Chou-duo, as compensation for [your failure to] gild [me]." When the woman of the Ma clan woke up, she was ill at ease. At dawn, [Hou] Chou-duo fell ill and died. [Hou] Qing was [then] fifty years old, and he had only this son. The mourning voices moved even the passersby. On the day of [Hou] Chou-duo's death, the image itself<sup>167</sup> turned gold; its light shone on neighboring [houses] in all four directions, and those who lived in the same ward all smelled something fragrant. Young and old, Buddhist devotees and laymen alike, all came to take a look. Yuan Shun<sup>168</sup>, Vice-President on the Left, Department of State Affairs (*Shang-shü zuo pu-*



## 【原文】

左仆射元顺闻里内颇有怪异，遂改阜财里为齐谐里也。

自延酤以西，张方沟以东，南临洛水，北达芒山，其间东西二里，南北十五里，并名为寿丘里，皇宗所居也。民间号为“王子坊”。

当时四海晏清，八荒率职，缥囊纪庆，玉烛调辰。百姓殷阜，年登俗乐。鳏寡不闻犬豕之食，犛独不见牛马之衣。于是帝族王侯，外戚公主，擅山海之富，居川林之饶。争修园宅，互相夸竞。崇门丰室，洞户连房，飞馆生风，重楼起雾。高台芳榭，家家而筑；花林曲池，园园而有。莫不桃李夏绿，竹柏冬青。而河间王琛最为豪首。

## 【今译】

频发生怪异之事，于是就将阜财里改名为齐谐里。

从延酤里以西，张方沟以东，南边面临洛水，北边到达芒山，这期间东西长二里，南北长十五里，都称之为寿丘里，是皇族子弟居住的地方，民间把它叫作“王子坊”。

那时天下太平，各地臣民都安分守职，有许多吉庆祥瑞的记录，一年四季风调雨顺。百姓富裕，五谷丰收，社会祥和。没听说鳏夫寡妇吃猪狗之食，没看见无依无靠的人穿牛马之衣。于是皇亲国戚占据山林河海富庶丰饶的自然条件，争相修建园林和宅邸，互相夸耀攀比。门高室广，相互连通，高耸的馆阁好像有风从那里生成，重重的楼房就隐没于云雾之中。家家都筑有美榭，每个庭园都有花园和形状弯曲有致的水池。无处不是桃李浓绿成荫于夏季，竹柏青翠苍劲于冬天。河间王元琛是最奢侈的，他经常与高阳王元雍



ye)<sup>169</sup> changed the name of Fu-cai Ward to Qi-xie Ward (Ward of Fictitious Tales)<sup>170</sup>, since he had heard of strange things that had taken place so frequently in the ward.

The area two *li* east to west and fifteen *li* north to south—bounded in the east by the Yan<sup>171</sup>-gu [Ward], in the west by the Zhang Fang Creek<sup>172</sup>, in the south by the Luo River, and in the north by the Mang Mountain—was collectively known as the Shou-qiu Ward (Ward of Longevity Hill). Since the residents were members of the royal family<sup>173</sup>, the area was referred to by the general public as the Princes' District (*Wang-zi fang*).

This was the time when peace reigned within the four seas, and the various states in all outlying lands<sup>174</sup> paid regular tribute to China. Court archives<sup>175</sup> had nothing but jubilation to record, while the four seasons followed each other smoothly without the occurrence of natural calamities<sup>176</sup>. The masses were well-to-do, [enjoying] good harvests and pleasant customs. Widowers and widows had not heard of dog food or pig fodder [that they might have to eat at times of famine]; the lonely and single ones had not seen horse- or cattle-rugs [that they might have to wear against cold]<sup>177</sup>. As a result, [such aristocrats as] imperial clansmen, dukes and marquises, empresses' relatives and princesses, enjoying the riches [yielded by] mountains and seas<sup>178</sup>, and living on the wealth [reaped from] rivers and forests, competed among themselves in building gardens and residences, and showed off against each other. There were imposing gates and spacious rooms, cavernous houses and joined suites, lofty buildings that generated breezes, and storied structures where mist arose. High terraces and scented towers<sup>179</sup> were built in every household, [while] flowering trees and winding ponds were [found] in every garden, [all characterized by] the green of peach and plum trees in summer, and the blue-green cypress and bamboo in winter. Among all, that of [Yuan] Chen, Prince of He-jian, was the finest, and he was always in competition against [the Prince of] Gao-yang. [Yuan Chen]



## 【原文】

常与高阳争衡，造文柏堂，形如徽音殿，置玉井金罐，以五色纆为绳。妓女三百人，尽皆国色。有婢朝云，善吹箎，能为《团扇歌》、《陇上声》。琛为秦州刺史，诸羌外叛，屡讨之不降。琛令朝云假为贫妪，吹箎而乞。诸羌闻之，悉皆流涕。迭相谓曰：“何为弃坟井，在山谷为寇也？”即相率归降。秦民语曰：“快马健儿，不如老妪吹箎。”

琛在秦州，多无政绩，遣使向西域求名马，远至波斯国。得千里马，号曰追风赤骥。次有七百里者十馀匹，皆有名字。以银为槽，金为环锁，诸王服其豪富。琛常语人云：“晋室石崇，乃是庶姓，犹能雉头狐腋，画卵雕薪，况我大魏天王，不为华侈！”

## 【今译】

争胜，修建文柏堂，形制就像皇宫内的徽音殿，以玉砌井，用黄金做提水罐，用五色丝绦做井绳。家妓有三百人，都是国内绝美的女子。有一个婢女叫朝云，擅长吹箎，能演奏《团扇歌》、《陇上声》。元琛任秦州刺史时，羌族各部落纷纷向朔外叛逃，屡次讨伐都没有使他们投降。元琛让朝云装扮成贫苦妇人模样，边吹箎，边行乞。羌族人听到箎声，都为之流泪，互相说：“为什么要抛弃自己的祖坟，离乡背井，在山谷里做流寇呢？”于是纷纷归顺投降。秦州百姓中流传着这样的话：“快马健儿，不如老妇吹箎。”

元琛在秦州做刺史，没有多大的政绩。他派遣使者到西域去搜求名马，最远的地方到达波斯国。得到一匹千里马，取名为追风赤骥。其次有日行七百里的马五十多匹，各有名字。用白银做马槽，用黄金做马的环锁。诸王都佩服他的豪富。元琛常常对别人说：“晋朝的石崇，出身平民，尚且能穿雉头和狐腋的皮毛做成的华贵衣服，吃的蛋上画着图案，烧的薪柴经过雕刻，何况我是大魏神圣的王族，这样做，不算是豪奢。”他在后园中建造了



constructed a Wen-bai Hall (Hall of Grained Cypress) that resembled the Hui-yin Palace (Palace of Benevolent Voices). There he installed a jade water-well, [complete with] golden pails<sup>180</sup> and multicolored silk<sup>181</sup> hoisting rope. The three hundred female entertainers were beauties of national fame. He had a maid by the name of Zhao-yun (Morning Clouds), who was skillful at playing the flute and at singing the "Tuan-shan" ("Song of the Circular Fan")<sup>182</sup> and "Long-shang" ("Song of Long-zhou")<sup>183</sup> songs. When [Yuan] Chen was Governor of Qin-zhou, various branches of the Qiang tribesmen staged a rebellion. After repeated unsuccessful campaigns, [Yuan] Chen ordered Zhao-yun be disguised as an impoverished old woman, who begged food while playing her flute. Upon hearing [the flute], the Qiang all sobbed and repeatedly told each other: "Why should we give up ancestral graveyards and [household] wells and be plundering here in the mountain valleys?" They immediately led one another to surrender. The people of Qin<sup>184</sup> had a saying: "Fast horses and strong lads<sup>185</sup>, are inferior to an old woman playing a flute."

While in Qin-chou, [Yuan] Chen was for the most part without meritorious achievements. In search of famed horses, he sent envoys to the Western Regions, who reached as far away as the kingdom of Bo-si<sup>186</sup>. There he acquired a steed [capable of running] one thousand *li* a day. It was named the Chase the Wind Bay (*Zhui-feng chi-ji*). Next best were ten odd horses able to run seven hundred *li* a day. Each of them was given a name, [fed with such equipment as] silver for their troughs [and] gold for their ringlocks<sup>187</sup>. The other princes bowed to his superior wealth. In conversation with others, [Yuan] Chen often said: "Under the Jin, Shi Chong<sup>188</sup>, though a commoner, was even able [to have] multicolored pheasants' feathers<sup>189</sup> and the softest fox fur skins<sup>190</sup>, [eat] painted eggs<sup>191</sup> and [burn] carved firewood for fuel. How much more should a heaven [-ordained] prince of the Great Wei have? I am not ostentatious and extravagant at all!" In the rear of



## 【原文】

造迎风馆于后园，窗户之上，列钱青琐，玉凤衔铃，金龙吐佩。素柰朱李，树条入檐，伎女楼上，坐而摘食。琛常会宗室，陈诸宝器。金瓶银瓮百馀口，匱槃盘盒称是。自馀酒器，有水晶钵、玛瑙琉璃碗、赤玉卮数十枚。作工奇妙，中土所无，皆从西域而来。又陈女乐及诸名马。复引诸王按行府库，锦罽珠玑，冰罗雾縠，充积其内，绣纈、绌绌、丝彩、越葛、钱绢等，不可数计。琛忽谓章武王融曰：“不恨我不见石崇，恨石崇不见我。”融立性贪暴，志欲无限，见之叹惋，不觉生疾，还家卧三日不起。江阳王继来省疾，谓曰：“卿之财产，应得抗衡，何为叹羨，以至于此？”融曰：“常谓高阳一人，宝货多于融，谁知河间，瞻之在前。”

## 【今译】

一座迎风馆，门窗上排列着钱币形状的金饰，衬托着青色图案，玉制的凤凰口衔金铃，环佩巧妙地从金龙的口中吐出。白沙果、红李子，树枝伸进屋檐，乐工歌女在楼上坐着就可以摘取食用。元琛经常宴请皇族宗亲，陈列出各种各样的名贵器皿，金瓶银瓮达一百多口，高脚和无脚的盆盘等器皿也有这个数目。其余的酒器，有水晶钵、玛瑙琉璃碗、赤玉卮几十只。这些器皿的工艺都极奇妙，不是中国所产，都来自西域。他还把歌舞伎和名马展示出来。又引导皇亲国戚依次参观府内仓库，库内堆满了织锦、珠玑，以及像冰一样凉爽的绌罗和像雾一样轻薄的绸布，还有绣纈、绌绌、丝彩、越葛、钱绢等，更是数不胜数。元琛有一天突然对章武王元融说：“没有见到石崇，我不感到遗憾。我遗憾的是石崇没有见到我。”元融天性贪婪残暴，欲壑无底。他看到元琛的富豪，感叹自己不如他，不知不觉竟得了病，回家后卧床三天不起。江阳王元继来看望他的病，对他说：“你的财产应该是能比得上的，为什么还如此感叹羡慕？”元融说：“过去以为只有高阳王的财宝比我多，哪里知道看见河间王的一切，却突然发觉自己落在后面。”





his garden was constructed the Ying-feng Hall (Hall to Welcome the Breeze) [decorated with] latticed windows and metal bowls for hanging lamps. There were a jade phoenix holding a bell [in its mouth] and a gold dragon with a ring halfway [in its mouth]. [One would also find] white apricots and red plums, their branches entering the eaves, and female entertainers on the towers picked and ate them from their seats. [Yuan] Chen often gathered members of the royal household [at his mansion], and displayed all his treasures [for them]: more than one hundred gold vessels and silver jars, about the same amount of [gold or silver] bowls, footed containers, plates, and boxes. Among other drinking vessels were several scores of quartz bowls, agate cups<sup>192</sup>, glass bowls, ruby goblets—such marvelous craftsmanship was not to be found in China. All came from the Western Regions. He further brought out female entertainers and all his famed horses and invited all the various princes on an inspection tour of his storerooms. Embroidered woolens, pearls, jades, gauze [as transparent as] ice<sup>193</sup>, crepe [as light as] mist<sup>194</sup>, filled the interiors. Embroidered and patterned silk<sup>195</sup>, heavy or light gauze<sup>196</sup>, fine silk<sup>197</sup>, [garments of] *Ge-yue* grass<sup>198</sup>, coins, and pongee were simply too numerous to be tabulated. [Yuan] Chen suddenly turned to [Yuan] Rong, Prince of Zhang-wu<sup>199</sup>, and said: “I do not regret that I have not seen Shi Chong. Rather I regret that Shi Chong was unable to see me!” [Yuan] Rong, by nature greedy, violent, and insatiable in his desires, sighed with a sense of self-pity at the sight of [Yuan Chen’s treasures]. Unexpectedly, he fell ill and slept at home for three days without getting up. [Yuan] Ji, Prince of Jiang-yang<sup>200</sup>, came over to express sympathy for his illness, and said: “Your wealth can compete [with Yuan Chen’s]. Why should you sigh with envy to this extent?” [Yuan] Rong said: “I have always thought that [the Prince of] Gao-yang was the one man wealthier than myself. Who would have anticipated that while I looked ahead, [someone more powerful] would suddenly show up in the rear?”<sup>201</sup> [Yuan] Ji said



## 【原文】

继笑曰：“卿欲作袁术之在淮南，不知世间复有刘备也？”融乃蹶起，置酒作乐。

于时国家殷富，库藏盈溢，钱绢露积于廊者，不可校数。及太后赐百官负绢，任意自取，朝臣莫不称力而去。唯融与陈留侯李崇负绢过任，蹶倒伤踝。侍中崔光止取两匹。太后问曰：“侍中何少？”对曰：“臣有两手，唯堪两匹。所获多矣。”朝贵服其清廉。

经河阴之役，诸元歼尽，王侯第宅，多题为寺。寿丘里间，列刹相望，祇洹郁起，宝塔高凌。四月初八日，京师士女多至河间寺，观其廊庑绮丽，无不叹息，以为蓬莱仙室亦不是过。入其后园，见沟渎蹇产，石磴嵯峨，朱荷出池，绿萍浮水，飞梁跨阁，高树出

## 【今译】

元继笑着说：“你这是想做在淮南称帝的袁术，却不知世间还有一个刘备呢。”元融便立刻从床上跳起，摆酒作乐。

当时国家十分富有，国库的贮藏满得向外溢出，至于钱币、丝绸无遮无掩地堆积于廊檐下，更是多得无法清点。等到胡太后决定把绢赐给百官，各人可以任意拿走，结果朝中官员们都是量力而行，只有元融和陈留侯李崇因为背绢过多，超过了负荷极限，跌倒在地，脚踝受伤。侍中崔光仅拿了两匹绢，胡太后问他：“你为什么拿那么少？”崔光回答说：“我有两双手，仅能拿两匹。我所得到的，已是很多了。”朝中官员都钦佩他的清廉。

经过河阴事变之后，元姓的皇族被尔朱荣杀光，王侯的府第都改称为寺院。整个寿丘里内，寺院林立，宝塔高耸。当四月初八这一天，京城里的男男女女来到河间寺，看到游廊堂庑的华丽的，无不为之惊叹，以为蓬莱仙居也不会胜过它了。进入后园，看到沟渠蜿蜒曲折，坡道气势险峻，红荷挺立于池中，绿萍漂浮于水面，凌空腾起的架桥连结两端的高阁，高



with a smile: "You are just like [the self-proclaimed emperor] Yuan Shu in Huai-nan, who did not realize that there was yet [another serious contender] on earth, Liu Bei."<sup>202</sup> Suddenly [Yuan] Rong leapt up [from his sick bed], set out wine, and had music played.

At that time the country was rich; state coffers and treasuries were inundated<sup>203</sup>. As a result, countless coins and silks were stored exposed in the galleries. When the empress dowager bestowed on various officials bolts of silk, the latter bore away as many as they wanted. The court officials carried away as much as their physical strength permitted<sup>204</sup>. Yuan Rong and Li Chong, the Marquis of Chen-liu, were [the only two] who had overloaded themselves with the silk. As a result, they stumbled to the ground and injured their ankles<sup>205</sup>.

Cui Guang<sup>206</sup>, the Chief Palace Attendant, stopped at two bolts. The empress dowager asked: "Why so few?" [Cui Guang] replied: "Your subject has two hands, and so is only able to take two bolts. I have had enough." Court celebrities greatly respected his honesty.

After the He-yin incident<sup>207</sup>, the Yuans were [almost] completely exterminated. The residences of princes and marquises were for the most part converted into temples. In the lanes within the Shou-qiū Ward, Buddhist monasteries [and temples] were in view of each other. Abodes for the pure celibate clustered<sup>208</sup> here and there in the shadow of high-rising stūpas. On the eighth day of the fourth month<sup>209</sup>, many ladies and gentlemen in the capital city would go to the He-jian Temple<sup>210</sup>. After viewing the splendid galleries and verandahs, all of them would sigh with admiration, believing that even the immortals' abode in Peng-lai Island could not be any better. After entering the rear garden, they came into sight of the winding streams and ditches [underneath] the high and rugged steps. Red lotus flowers rose above the surface of the pond; green duckweed floated on the water. Suspended beams linked the pavilions, and tall trees pierced the



## 【原文】

云，咸皆唧唧，虽梁王兔苑想之不如也。

追先寺，在寿丘里，侍中、尚书令、东平王略之宅也。

略生而岐嶷，幼即老成。博洽群书，好道不倦。神龟中为黄门侍郎。元乂专政，虐加宰辅，略密与其兄相州刺史中山王熙欲起义兵，问罪君侧。雄规不就，衅起同谋。略兄弟四人并罹涂炭，唯略一身逃命江左。萧衍素闻略名，见其器度宽雅，文学优赡，甚敬重之。谓曰：“洛中如王者几人？”略对曰：“臣在本朝之日，承乏摄官，至于宗庙之美，百官之富，鸳鸯接翼，杞梓成阴，如臣之比，赵咨所云，车载斗量，不可数尽。”衍大笑。乃封略为中山王，食邑

## 【今译】

大的树木直插云霄，人们都声声赞叹，想必西汉著名的梁王兔苑也将逊色于此。

追先寺，位于寿丘里，原是侍中、尚书令、东平王元略的宅邸。

元略生来就很出色，年幼时已显得老成持重。博通群书，爱好道义。神龟年间任黄门侍郎。当元乂垄断政权、对宰相下毒手之际，元略秘密地与他的哥哥中山王元熙一起，打算仗义起兵，向元乂这个在君王左右的恶人问罪。然而这番雄图没有成功，反而在同谋者内部发生了纷争，元略的四个兄弟全部遇难，唯有元略只身逃命到江左。萧衍对元略的名声有所闻，看到他器度宽弘优雅，富于文才学识，对他非常敬重。萧衍问他：“洛中像您这样的人有几位？”元略回答说：“臣在本朝的那些日子里，不过充数当一个官。说到宗庙制度的齐备，百官人材的充足，就好比鸳鸯羽翅相接、杞梓绿荫一片。像臣这样的人，用赵咨的话来形容，是车载斗量，不能尽数。”萧衍听后大笑。于是封元略为中山王，给予食邑千户，待遇相当于王子。



clouds. They would all express their admiration, imagining that the Rabbit Park of Prince Liang must be inferior<sup>212</sup>.

The Zhui-xian Temple (The Temple in Memory of the Deceased Father)<sup>213</sup> was located in the Shou-qiū Ward<sup>214</sup>. It was [formerly] the residence of [Yuan] Lüe<sup>215</sup>, Prince of Dong-ping, Chief Palace Attendant and President, Department of State Affairs.

[Yuan] Lüe at birth was of outstanding intelligence<sup>216</sup>, and, even as a youth, was extremely mature. He immersed himself in his studies<sup>217</sup>, and was unswearing in his love of the way of basic principles. During the Shen-gui years (A.D. 518-519), he was the Attending Secretary within the Imperial Yellow Gate. When Yuan Yi acted as a dictator and murdered the prime minister<sup>218</sup>, [Yuan] Lüe secretly plotted with his elder brother, [Yuan] Xi, Prince of Zhong-shan and Governor of Xiang-zhou<sup>219</sup>, to raise a righteous army and eliminate the criminals from around the emperor. But their heroic plans bore no result [as] a rift developed among the schemers. [Yuan] Lüe's three<sup>220</sup> brothers all fell victim<sup>221</sup>. Yuan Lüe, the only survivor, [managed] to escape to the east of the [Yangtze] River. Xiao Yan had long heard of [Yuan] Lüe's fame. Once he had seen his sagacity and his outstanding literary talents, he held [Yuan Lüe] in great respect. [Xiao Yan] asked [Yuan Lüe]: "How many are there in Luo-yang as talented as Your Highness?" In reply, [Yuan] Lüe said: "While at the court, I was only appointed to fill a vacancy<sup>222</sup>. As to the vast number of excellent officials serving my nation, they were like drake-ducks and phoenixes<sup>223</sup> whose wings touch [in the flock], or medlar and camphor<sup>224</sup> [so abundant] to make shade. As to those of my caliber, Zhao Zi<sup>225</sup> [of the Wu] said it before, by cartloads and bushels—too numerous to be counted." Xiao Yan laughed heartily. He then ennobled [Yuan] Lüe as the Prince of Zhong-shan, with a fief of one thousand households, and honored him with courtesies comparable to those of



## 【原文】

千户，仪比王子。又除宣城太守，给鼓吹一部，剑卒千人。略为政清肃，甚有治声。江东朝贵，侈于矜尚，见略入朝，莫不惮其进止。寻迁信武将军，衡州刺史。

孝昌元年，明帝宥吴人江革，请略归国。江革者，萧衍之大将也。萧衍谓曰：“朕宁失江革，不得无王。”略曰：“臣遭家祸难，白骨未收，乞还本朝，叙录存没。”因即悲泣，衍哀而遣之。乃赐钱五百万，金二百斤，银五百斤，锦绣宝玩之物，不可称数。亲帅百官送于江上，作五言诗赠者百余人。凡见礼敬如此比。

略始济淮，明帝拜略侍中义阳王，食邑千户。略至阙，诏曰：“昔刘苍好善，利建东平，曹植能文，大启陈国，是用声彪盘石，

## 【今译】

又任命他为宣城太守，给予乐队一部和仪仗兵千人。元略行政清正严明，很有政治声誉。梁朝的达官大臣们过于骄矜自尊，但看见元略入朝，无不对他的举止表示敬畏。不久，元略升任信武将军、衡州刺史。

孝昌元年（525），明帝赦放吴人江革，以此作为交换，请求让元略回国。江革这个人萧衍的大将。萧衍对元略说：“朕宁愿失去江革，却不能没有中山王。”元略回答说：“臣的家里遭遇灾难，亲人的白骨还没有埋葬，乞求让我回到本朝，料理生者与死者的事宜。”不禁悲泣泪下，萧衍怜悯他，让他回国。于是赐钱五百万，金二百斤，银五百斤，锦绣珠宝等物品更是不计其数。萧衍亲自带着百官到长江边送行，有一百多人作五言诗临别相赠。元略所受到的礼遇大凡如此。

元略刚渡过淮河，明帝就任命他为侍中、义阳王，赐给食邑千户。元略来到朝廷，有诏书谓：“过去刘苍好善，有利于建成东平王



the emperor's own sons. In addition, [Yuan Lüe] was appointed Grand Warden of Xuan-cheng<sup>226</sup>, given a musical troupe, and one thousand sword-bearing soldiers. [Yuan] Lüe's administration was well known for its honesty and strictness. Dignitaries east of the Yangtze were extremely haughty, but whenever they saw [Yuan] Lüe arriving at the court, they watched his every move<sup>227</sup> with trepidation. Soon afterwards he was promoted to General of the Trustworthy and Mighty (*Xin-wu jiang-jun*), and concurrently Governor of Heng-zhou<sup>228</sup>.

In the first year of Xiao-chang (A.D. 525), Emperor Ming, with the promise that [Yuan] Lüe be returned, pardoned Jiang Ge<sup>229</sup>, a native of the Wu [region] and one of Xiao Yan's great generals, but Xiao Yan said: "We are prepared to lose Jiang Ge, but cannot be without Your Highness." [Yuan] Lüe replied: "Your subject has suffered catastrophies in his family, and, [in consequence], the bare bones [of the murdered] have not yet been collected [for decent burial]. I beg to return to my own court so as to look after both the living and dead." Then he sobbed bitterly. Xiao Yan pitied him and sent him home, with a gift of five million [coins], two hundred catties of gold, five hundred catties of silver, along with silk, embroideries, and precious baubles too numerous to mention. In addition, the emperor in person led the various officials to the bank of the [Yangtze] River to send him off. More than one hundred people presented him, as farewell gifts, poems of five characters per line which each of them had composed. In each case, he was treated with all the respectful courtesy due an intimate<sup>230</sup>.

No sooner had [Yuan] Lüe crossed the Huai River<sup>231</sup> than he was appointed by Emperor Ming [of the Northern Wei] as Chief Palace Attendant, Prince of Yi-yang<sup>232</sup> (Prince of Righteousness and Enlightenment), with a fiefdom of one thousand households. Upon his arrival at the palace, a rescript [issued in his honor] read [as follows]: "In the former days, Liu Cang's<sup>233</sup> fondness for good deeds benefitted [his fiefdom] at Dong-ping ,



## 【原文】

义郁维城。侍中、义阳王略，体自藩华，门勋夙著，内润外朗，兄弟伟如。既见义忘家，捐生殉国，永言忠烈，何日忘之？往虽驰担为梁，今便言旋阙下，有志有节，能始能终。方传美丹青，悬诸日月。略前未至之日，即心立称，故封义阳。然国既边地，寓食他邑，求之二三，未为尽善。宜比德均封，追芳曩烈，可改封东平王，户数如前。”寻进尚书令，仪同三司，领国子祭酒，侍中如故。略从容闲雅，本自天资，出南入北，转复高迈。言论动止，朝野师模。建义元年薨于河阴，赠太保，谥曰文贞。

## 【今译】

的封地；曹植能文，大大地发扬了陈思王藩国的声望。所以，他们的名声道义是磐石之宗和维城之族的荣耀。侍中、义阳王元略，其品德是诸侯的精英，一门的功勋早已著称，他内润外朗，兄弟都很英俊。既然见义忘家，为国舍命，那种不朽的忠烈何日能忘！过去虽然一度在梁朝休闲，现在又返回朝廷，这堪称有志有节，善始善终。正应流芳史册，同辉日月。元略在抵达以前，真诚求归，树立名节，因此封为义阳王。可是封地不仅边远，而且俸禄需靠其他郡邑提供。考虑过另外两三处地方，都不如意。应该依照德行选相称的封地，对昔日的功勋追加荣誉。可改封东平王，赐给食邑的户数同前。”不久，晋升为尚书令、仪同三司，兼任园子祭酒，侍中的职位不变。元略从容闲雅，出自天性，离开南方回到北方后，气度更加高迈，他的言论和行为成为朝野的楷模。建义元年（528）在河阴逝世。追赠太保，





and Cao Zhi<sup>234</sup> literary skill greatly inspired [the people of his fiefdom] Chen. Because of this, each of them distinguished himself as a force of solidarity between the feudal lords<sup>235</sup> and their master and brilliantly demonstrated the principle governing their relationships<sup>236</sup>. Chief Palace Attendant [Yuan] Lüe, Prince of Yi-yang, by birth comes from [the ranks of] those vassals and has for years rendered meritorious [achievements]. Inwardly he is accommodating and outwardly luminous. His elder and younger brothers were similarly outstanding. Seeing what was right, they forgot their family's [interests]. They sacrificed their lives and died for the nation. Always we will speak of their loyalty and martyrdom. What day could we forget them? Although he once served the state of Liang while he was released from his duties<sup>237</sup> [in his home land], he is now returning to his [native] court. Both determined and principled, [his integrity] will last for ever. His nobility will soon be transmitted in [the court] paintings<sup>238</sup> and will shine as bright as the sun and moon. Prior to [Yuan] Lüe's arrival, we have enfeoffed him as [the Prince of] Yi-yang, so as to match the title with his principles. But his fief is in the borderland, and he is now living on revenues that have come from other fiefs. We have sought for two or three [other fiefs], none of which is completely satisfactory<sup>239</sup>. Indeed, his virtues should be suitably [rewarded] by a fief, in memory of past valor. Let his fief be changed to that of Prince of Dong-ping, with the same number of households as were previously granted." Shortly later, he was promoted to President, Department of State Affairs, Palatine Ceremonially Equal to the Three Authorities, Acting Libationer of the Imperial Academy, while retaining his old post as Chief Palace Attendant. By nature [Yuan] Lüe was relaxed and had an easy grace. After his return from the south, he became more dignified. Both those in and out of court took his words and conduct as a model. In the first year of the Jian-yi period (A.D. 528), he died at He-yin<sup>240</sup>. Afterwards, the post-humous rank of Grand Guardian, [Governor of Xu-zhou]<sup>241</sup>, and the title



## 【原文】

嗣王景式舍宅为此寺。

融觉寺，清河文献王怿所立也，在阊阖门外御道南。有五层浮图一所，与冲觉寺齐等。佛殿僧房，充溢三里。比丘昙谟最善于禅学，讲《涅槃》、《华严》，僧徒千人。天竺国胡沙门菩提流支见而礼之，号为菩萨。

流支解佛义，知名西土，诸夷号为罗汉，晓魏言及隶书，翻《十地》、《楞伽》及诸经论二十三部。虽石室之写金言，草堂之传真教，不能过也。流支读昙谟最大乘义章，每弹指赞叹，唱言微妙。即为胡书写之，传之于西域，西域沙门常东向遥礼之，号昙谟最为“东方圣人”。

大觉寺，广平王怀舍宅所立也，在融觉寺西一里许。北瞻芒岭，

## 【今译】

谟文贞。继承王位的景式献出住宅作为此寺。

融觉寺，是清河文献王元怿所建的。位于阊阖门外，御道之南。有一座五层佛塔，规模与冲觉寺相同。佛殿僧房，布列于方圆三里之内。比丘昙谟最精于禅学，讲解《涅槃经》和《华严经》，僧人门徒有一千人。天竺国的沙门菩提流支与他会面时致以敬礼，称他是菩萨。

流支了解佛教大义，知名于西域，远方各国称他为罗汉。他通晓魏国话和隶书，翻译了《十地经》、《楞伽经》等经论二十三部。在石室中译写金言的竺摩腾、在草堂寺传播真教的鸠摩罗什，都是不能超过他的。流支阅读昙谟最大乘义章，连连弹指赞叹，大叫“微妙”。随即译成梵文，传向西域。西域沙门常常面向东方，对他作遥拜，称昙谟最为“东方圣人”。

大觉寺，是广平王元怀献出住宅所建的。在融觉寺西一里左右。



Wen-zhen (Cultured and Principled) were conferred upon him. [Yuan] Jing-shi<sup>242</sup>, his successor, donated his residence for use as a temple.

The Rong-jue Monastery (Monastery of Harmonious Awakening) established by [Yuan] Yi, the Wen-xian (The Cultured and Dedicated) Prince of Qing-he, was located on the south side of the Imperial Drive and outside the Chang-he Gate. There was a five-storied stūpa, which matched in height the one in the Chong-jue Temple<sup>243</sup>. Buddhist halls and monks' rooms filled to overflowing one ward. The bhikṣu Tan-mo-zui<sup>244</sup>, an expert on Buddhist studies<sup>245</sup>, lectured here on the Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra<sup>246</sup> and the Avatamsaka sūtra<sup>247</sup> before an audience of one thousand disciples. Having seen this, the Indian monk Bodhiruci<sup>248</sup> held him in great respect and referred to him as a Bodhisattva.

[Bodhi-]ruci was knowledgeable of Buddhist teachings. He was renowned in the Western Lands and called an Arhan (or Arhat) by the barbarians there. Because of his proficiency in the Chinese language and script, he translated some twenty-three<sup>249</sup> works, including the Daśabhūmika sūtra, the Laṅkāvatāra sūtra, and other śāstras. Even the translations of "golden words" in the Stone Chamber (*Shi-shi*)<sup>250</sup> and of "true transmissions" at the Thatched Hall (*Cao-tang*)<sup>251</sup> could not surpass his. Whenever [Bodhi-]ruci read Tan-mo-zui's works on Mahāyāna, he would snap his fingers<sup>252</sup>, make a sign of admiration, and exclaim "How subtle!" He then would render them into his own Indian script and have them transmitted into the Western Regions. Śramaṇa over there often faced eastward to show their respect from a distance. They honored Tan-mo-zui as the Sage of the East<sup>253</sup>.

The Da-jue Monastery (Monastery of the Great Awakening), located more than one *li* to the west of the Rong-jue Monastery, was originally



## 【原文】

南眺洛水，东望宫阙，西顾旗亭，禅泉显敞，实为胜地。是以温子昇碑云：“面水背山，左朝右市”是也。

怀所居之堂，上置七佛，林池飞阁，比之景明。至于春风动树，则兰开紫叶；秋霜降草，则菊吐黄花。名僧大德，寂以遣烦。永熙年中，平阳王即位，造砖浮屠一所。是土石之工，穷精极丽，诏中书舍人温子昇以为文也。

永明寺，宣武皇帝所立也，在大觉寺东。时佛法经像盛于洛阳，异国沙门，咸来辐辏，负锡持经，适兹乐土。世宗故立此寺以憩之。房庑连亘，一千餘间。庭列修竹，檐拂高松，奇花异草，骈阗阶砌。百国沙门，三千餘人。

## 【今译】

北望芒岭，南临洛水，东望宫阙，西临旗亭，是一处开敞的神区，真堪称为风景胜地。所以，温子昇碑文中所写的“面水背山，左朝（官城）右市（洛阳大市）”，正是这里。

元怀所居住的堂上，安放七佛之像。当春风吹动树木的时节，兰草就舒展紫叶；当秋霜降临百草的时节，菊丛就绽开黄花。名僧大德，在此静居，以避开世俗烦扰。永熙年间（532—534），平阳王即帝位，建造了一座砖佛塔。这项土木工程竭尽精巧华丽之能事，并诏中书舍人温子昇写了碑文。

永明寺，是宣武皇帝所建的。地处大觉寺的东边。当时洛阳的佛法大畅，佛经佛像盛行，外国沙门从四方来此汇聚，纷纷持锡杖、携经卷，来到这片乐土。所以，宣武皇帝就建造此寺让他们居住。僧房共有一千多间。庭院内修竹成排，高松拂檐，名花奇草罗列于台阶。这里有来自一百多个国家的沙门三千多人。



the residence of [Yuan] Huai, Prince of Guang-ping, who donated it for use as a monastery. It overlooked the Mang Mountain to the north, the junction of Rivers Luo [and Yi(?)]<sup>254</sup> to the south, the palaces to the east, and the flag pavilion<sup>255</sup> to the west. The grounds were magnificent<sup>256</sup> and truly scenic. Therefore the monument inscription written by Wen Zi-sheng<sup>257</sup> reads: "It faces the water and backs on the mountain. On its left is the court, and on its right is the marketplace." It is truly so.

Images of seven Buddhas<sup>258</sup> were placed in the hall, which was formerly [Yuan] Huai's living quarters. [The beautiful view of] woods, ponds, and elevated pavilions matched that of the Jing-ming Monastery<sup>259</sup>. When the spring breezes brushed the trees, the orchids unfolded their purple petals. When the autumn frost descended on the grasses, chrysanthemums yielded their yellow blossoms. Famous monks and distinguished masters would gather here in tranquil contemplation in order to eliminate disturbing illusions. In the Yong-xi years (A.D. 532-534), after the ascension to the imperial throne of the Prince of Ping-yang<sup>260</sup>, a five-storied<sup>261</sup> brick stūpa was built, the masonry of which was marked with incredible dexterity and unrivaled beauty. Wen Zi-sheng, Drafter of the Central Secretariat, received an imperial order to prepare an inscription<sup>262</sup>.

The Yong-ming Monastery (Monastery of Eternal Brilliance), located to the east of the Da-jue Monastery, was established by Emperor Shi-zong (regnant A.D. 499-515) during a time when studies of Buddhist scriptures and [worship of] Buddhist images acquired tremendous vogue in Luoyang. Śramaṇas of foreign countries, staff and sūtras in hand, flocked<sup>263</sup> to this happy land<sup>264</sup>. The monastery was therefore built to accommodate them. Row after row of tall bamboo were in the courtyard, while lofty pine trees brushed the eaves. Exotic flowers and rare plants grew in profusion in the area along the stairways. More than three thousand śramaṇas from one hundred [different] countries [congregated here] .



## 【原文】

西域远者，乃至大秦国。尽天地之西垂，耕耘绩纺，百姓野居，邑屋相望。衣服车马，拟仪中国。

南中有歌营国，去京师甚远，风土隔绝，世不与中国交通，虽二汉及魏，亦未曾至也。今始有沙门菩提拔陀至焉。自云：“北行一月，至句稚国；北行十一日，至典孙国；从典孙国北行三十日，至扶南国。方五千里，南夷之国，最为强大。民户殷多，出明珠金玉及水精珍异，饶槟榔。从扶南国北行一月，至林邑国。出林邑，入萧衍国。”拔陀至扬州岁馀，随扬州比丘法融来至京师。京师沙门问其南方风俗，拔陀云：“古有奴调国，乘四轮马为车。斯调国出火浣布，以树皮为之，其树入火不燃。凡南方诸国，皆因城郭而居，多饶珍丽，民俗淳善，质直好义，亦与西域、大秦、安息、身

## 【今译】

西域路远的，要数大秦国（东罗马帝国）。在天地的最西边，耕耘纺织，百姓居住于郊野，村落房屋彼此相望。他们的衣服车马仿效中国。

南方的中心有歌营国，离京城非常遥远，风俗人情隔绝，世代代不与中国交往。即使是在两汉以及曹魏，也没有来访者。如今才开始有沙门菩提拔陀的到来。据他自己说：“向北行走一个月，到达句稚国；再向北行走十一天，到达典孙国；从典孙国向北行走三十天，到达扶南国。这个国家方圆五千里，在南夷各国中最为强大。人口众多，出产明珠、金玉及水晶等珍奇物品，盛产槟榔。从扶南国向北行走一个月，到达林邑国。出林邑国，就进入萧衍的国家。”菩提拔陀到达扬州一年多以后，随扬州比丘法融来至京城。京城的沙门向他寻问南方风俗，拔陀回答说：“古时候有奴调国，乘坐四轮马车。又有斯调国，出产火浣布，是以树皮为原料做成，而这种树材投入火中却不燃烧。凡是南海各国，百姓居住在城郭之下，其地盛产宝石，矿藏丰饶，民风淳朴，乐善好义，也与西方大秦、安息、



Monks came to China from as far as Da-Qin<sup>265</sup>, the further most country in the western land. It was the western extreme of the universe. Its people lived in the countryside, tilling, weeding<sup>266</sup>, spinning, and weaving. In the city, houses were in close proximity to one another. They imitated the Chinese costumes, carts, and horses<sup>267</sup>.

To the south was the state of Ge-ying<sup>268</sup>, which was very distant from the [Wei] capital. Its customs were different from those of China, and since olden days it had never been in contact with China, not even during the Former and Later Han, nor during the Wei [of the Three Kingdoms]. Only recently did śramaṇa Buddhahadra<sup>269</sup> come from there. He said of his [journey] : "Going northward for one month, I arrived at the state of Ju-ya<sup>270</sup>. Traveling northward again for eleven days, I reached the state of Dian-sun<sup>271</sup>. Traveling northward for another thirty days, I came to the state of Fu-nan<sup>272</sup>, which, with a territory of five thousand square *li*, was the largest and most powerful among all barbarian states in the south. It was very populous, producing such valuables as pearls, gold, jade, quartz, and large quantities of betel nuts. Going north from the state of Fu-nan for one month, I arrived at the state of Lin-yi<sup>273</sup>, and after leaving the state of Lin-yi, I entered Xiao-Yan's kingdom." More than one year after his arrival in Yang-zhou, Buddhahadra followed Fa-rong, a monk of Yang-zhou<sup>274</sup>, and came to the capital. Asked by some sramanas of the capital<sup>275</sup> about customs in the south, Buddhahadra replied: "In ancient times in the state known as Nu-diao<sup>276</sup>, people rode in four-wheeled carriages drawn by horses. The state of Si-diao<sup>277</sup> produced fire-proof cloth (*huo-huan-bu*), which was made of bark. The bark would not burn even in flames. People in all these states in the south lived in walled cities where precious and beautiful things were abundant. By custom, the people were honest, decent, simple, upright, and righteous. These countries were in communication with the Western Regions<sup>278</sup>,



## 【原文】

毒诸国交通往来。或三方四方，浮浪乘风，百日便至。率奉佛教，好生恶杀。”

寺西有宜年里，里内有陈留王景皓、侍中安定公胡元吉等二宅。

景皓者，河州刺史陈留庄王祚之子。立性虚豁，少有大度，爱人好士，待物无遗。夙善玄言道家之业，遂舍半宅安置佛徒，演唱大乘数部。并进京师大德超、光、暹、荣四法师，三藏胡沙门菩提流支等咸预其席。诸方伎术之士，莫不归赴。时有奉朝请孟仲晖者，武威人也。父宾，金城太守。晖志性聪明，学兼释氏，四谛之义，穷其旨归。恒来造第，与沙门论议，时号为“玄宗先生”。晖遂造人中夹纁像一躯，相好端严，希世所有。置皓前厅，须臾弥宝坐。永安二年

## 【今译】

身毒（印度）等国互通往来，有时将三只或四只筏合并，乘风漂浮，只需百天，便可到达。全都信奉佛教，怜悯生命而厌恶杀生。”

寺西有宜年里，里内有陈留王元景皓、侍中安定公胡元吉两家住宅。

元景皓，是河州刺史、陈留庄王元祚之子。秉性豁达，年少时就表现出大度雅量。与人亲善，待人接物十分周到。早就具有对玄妙的佛学的修养，于是献出住宅的一半来安置佛徒，讲诵大乘经典。并且邀请京城大德超、光、暹、荣四位法师，以及西域的三藏沙门菩提流支参预法席。各地的方伎之士，也无不受到吸引。当时有一位奉朝请叫孟仲晖，是武威人，父亲孟宾是金城太守。孟仲晖为人聪明，学问兼修佛教，能究明四谛的义旨。他常常来访，与僧人讨论佛学，因而在当时被称为“玄宗先生”。孟仲晖于是就塑造了一尊等身大的千漆佛像，容颜端庄，为世间所罕见。安置在景皓的前厅的佛座上。永





Da-Qin, An-xi (Parthia), and Shen-du (India). They set out in three or four different directions<sup>279</sup>, and, by taking boats under favorable winds, reached [their destinations] in no more than one hundred days. As a rule they believe in Buddhism, have love for life and abhor killing.”

To the west of the monastery was the Yi-nian Ward (Deserving Longevity Ward)<sup>280</sup>, wherein the two residences of [Yuan] Jing-hao<sup>281</sup>, Prince of Chen-liu, and Hu Yuan-ji<sup>282</sup>, Chief Palace Attendant and Duke of An-ding<sup>283</sup>, were located.

[Yuan] Jing-hao was the son of [Yuan] Zuo, Prince of Chen-liu and Governor of He-zhou<sup>284</sup>, whose posthumous title was Zhuang. By temperament Jing-hao was humble and broadminded. As a youth, he was already known for his tolerance, love for others, and hospitality to the literati<sup>285</sup>. His generosity extended to everyone. He had long been skillful at delivering philosophical discourses on Buddhist teachings<sup>286</sup>. As a result, half of his residence was donated for use as a temple, where monks were housed to chant and texts of several Mahāyāna sūtras were introduced simultaneously. Furthermore, he invited four master monks in the capital—Chao, Guang, Shan, Rong<sup>287</sup>, and Bodhiruci, the Indian authority on Tripiṭaka, and others, to participate in the deliberations. Men gifted in every other field also came to the gatherings.

At the time there was a certain Meng Zhong-hui<sup>288</sup>, the Court Guest, who was a native of Wu-wei<sup>289</sup> and whose father [Meng] Bin had been the Grand Warden of Jin-cheng<sup>290</sup>. [Meng Zhong-]hui was intelligent and mastered [Confucian] as well as Buddhist teachings. He had an exhaustive knowledge of the Four Noble Truths<sup>291</sup>. He often came to the temple to discuss [Buddhist teachings] with the śramaṇas, and because of this he was called Master of the Mystery by his contemporaries. Subsequently, he had a life-size<sup>292</sup> dry-lacquered statue [of Buddha] made, whose marks and signs were so sumptuous as to be a rarity in the contemporary world. It was placed on the Sumeru Shrine<sup>293</sup> in [Yuan Jing-]hao’s anterior hall. In the second year of the



## 【原文】

中，此像每夜行绕其坐，四面脚迹，隐地成文。于是士庶异之，咸来观瞩。由是发心者，亦复无量。永熙三年秋，忽然自去，莫知所之。其年冬，而京师迁邺。武定五年，暉为洛州开府长史，重加采访，寥无影迹。

出阊阖门城外七里，有长分桥。中朝时以穀水浚急，注于城下，多坏民家，立石桥以限之，长则分流入洛，故名曰长分桥。或云：晋河间王在长安遣张方征长沙王，营军于此，因名为张方桥也。未知孰是。今民间语讹，号为张夫人桥。朝士送迎，多在此处。长分桥西，有千金堰。计其水利，日益千金，因以为名。昔都水使者陈颺所造，令备夫一千，岁恒修之。

## 【今译】

安二年（529）中，此像每夜绕着这个宝座行走，四周地面上印满了足迹。于是士庶感到奇怪，都前来观看。由此发愿皈依佛门的人，更是多得无法计算。永熙三年（534）秋，这尊佛像忽然自行离开，谁也不知其下落。这年冬天，就发生了京城迁邺的事。武定五年（547），孟仲暉任洛州开府长史，再度加以查访，但毫无踪影。

从阊阖门出城外七里处，有长分桥。西晋时，因穀水泛滥，倾注于城下，很多民房遭到毁坏，所以建造石桥以控制水流，若流量大就分流注入洛水，因此取名为长分桥。另有一种说法是：晋朝河间王在长安时，派张方讨伐长沙王，曾在此纠集军队，所以叫张方桥。不知哪种说法正确。如今民间又错叫成张夫人桥。在京官员们送行或迎客，大多在此处进行。

长分桥西有千金堰。这项水利工程的好处，等于说是每天都获益千金，所以才如此命名。这是以前都水使者陈颺所建造的，规定配备劳力一千人，常年加以维修。



Yong-an period (A.D. 529), every night the image would walk around its base, leaving sunken footprints on the ground. Thereupon the dignitaries and commoners, thinking it curious, come here for a view. As a result, countless numbers of them wanted to become Buddhist devotees. In the third year of the Yong-xi period (A.D. 534), it suddenly disappeared by itself, and nobody ever knew of its whereabouts. In the winter of the same year, the capital was moved to Ye. In the fifth year of the Wu-ding period (A.D. 547), [Meng Zhong-] hui, as the Chief Administrator under the Governor<sup>294</sup> of Luo-zhou, made another attempt to locate the image, but there was no trace of it<sup>295</sup>.

Seven *li* outside the Chang-he city gate was the Chang-fen Bridge, a stone levee built during the Western Jin<sup>296</sup> to restrain the torrential waters of the Gu River from rushing toward the city wall and damaging a great many people's dwellings. It was intended to divert the rising water into the Luo River; hence the name Chang-fen Bridge (Bridge to Divide the Water at Its Crest). Someone, however, maintained that this was the camping site of General Zhang Fang's army in his expedition against the Prince of Chang-sha, as instructed by the Prince of He-jian of Chang-an<sup>297</sup>. Thus, it was named Zhang Fang Bridge. Of the two explanations, one could not be sure which one was correct. Now because of a phonetic error among the populace, it is known as Zhang Fu-ren Bridge (Mrs. Zhang's Bridge)<sup>298</sup>. Court officials often came here to send offer to welcome back their colleagues.

To the west of the Chang-fen Bridge was the Qian-jin Dam (Dam Worthy of One Thousand Taels of Gold)<sup>299</sup>. It was so named because it yielded a daily profit of one thousand taels of gold by utilizing the water power [to produce flour]. The dam was built under the auspices of Chen Xie<sup>300</sup>, formerly Messenger Director of the Waters (*Du-shui shi-zhe*). [A labor force of] one thousand males was provided annually for its continued maintenance.



## 卷五 城北

### 【原文】

禅虚寺，在大夏门外御道西。寺前有阅武场，岁终农隙，甲士习战，千乘万骑，常在于此。

有羽林马僧相善角觝戏，掷戟与百尺树齐等。虎贲张车渠，掷刀出楼一丈。帝亦观戏在楼，恒令二人对为角戏。中朝时，宣武场在大夏门东北，今为光风园，苜蓿生焉。

凝玄寺，阉官济州刺史贾璨所立也。在广莫门外一里御道东，所谓永平里也。

注：即汉太上王庙处。

迁京之初，(璨)创居此里。值母亡，舍以为寺。

### 【今译】

禅虚寺，在大夏门之外，御道之西。寺前有练兵场，年终农闲时，士兵训练打仗，通常有千乘万骑汇集在这里。

有羽林卫兵马僧相，擅长角觝戏，投掷戟的高度与百丈树相等。还有虎贲卫兵张车渠，投掷刀高出楼一丈。孝明帝也在楼中观看表演，常常令两人同时上场用角戏比赛。西晋时，宣武场位于大夏门东北，而今变成光风园，遍地生长着苜蓿。

凝玄寺，是宦官济州刺史贾璨所建的。在广莫门外一里，御道之东，就是所谓永平里。

注：即汉太上王庙的故地。

迁都于洛阳的当初，贾璨在此建造住宅。在其母去世之



## Chapter 5 Northern Suburbs (*Cheng-bei*)

The Chan-xu Temple (Temple of Meditation on the Void) was on the western side of the Imperial Drive outside<sup>1</sup> the Da-xia Gate. In front of the temple were the Military Parade Grounds (*Yue-wu chang*), where armored soldiers trained in [mock] battles at year's end or during the slack season for farming. One thousand chariots and ten thousand horses were customarily here [during such exercises].

Ma Seng-xiang<sup>2</sup>, was a *yu-lin* (plumed forest) guard<sup>3</sup> skillful at wrestling games. He could throw a halberd as high as the top of a tree one hundred Chinese feet above the ground, whereas Zhang Ju-qu<sup>4</sup>, a *hu-ben* (tiger-rushing) guard, was able to throw a sword ten Chinese feet above the tower<sup>5</sup>. When Emperor [Xiao-ming] watched the games from the tower, he often ordered these two to engage one another in wrestling.

Under the Western Jin<sup>6</sup>, the Military Exercise Grounds (*Xuan-wu chang*) were located northwest of the Da-xia Gate, but today [this site] is the Guang-feng Park (Park of the Bright and Breezy), where alfalfa<sup>7</sup> grows.

The Ning-xuan<sup>8</sup> Temple (Temple of Harmonious Awakening) established by the eunuch Jia Can, Governor of Ji-zhou<sup>9</sup>, was located on the east side of the Imperial Drive one *li* outside the Guang-mo Gate. It was within the so-called Yong-ping Ward (Ward of Eternal Peace).

Author's note<sup>10</sup>: This was the same site where the shrine<sup>11</sup> of "the Supreme Emperor-Father of the Han"<sup>12</sup> stood.

In the early years after the capital was moved [to Luo-yang, Jia Can]<sup>13</sup>



## 【原文】

地形高显，下临城阙，房庑精丽，竹柏成林，实是净行息心之所也。王公卿士来游观，为五言者，不可胜数。

洛阳城东北有上商里，殷之顽民所居处也。高祖名闻义里。

迁京之始，朝士住其中，迭相讥刺，竟皆去之。唯有造瓦者止其内，京师瓦器出焉。世人歌曰：“洛城东北上商里，殷之顽民昔所止。今日百姓造瓮子，人皆弃去住者耻。”唯冠军将军郭文远游憩其中，堂宇园林，匹于邦君。时陇西李元谦乐双声语，常经文远宅前过，见其门阙华美，乃曰：“是谁第宅？过佳！”婢春风出曰：“郭冠军家。”元谦曰：“凡婢双声！”春风曰：“停

## 【今译】

际，献出此宅做了寺院。

所在地形高而开阔，俯临官城，寺内房屋精致华丽，竹柏成林，实在是适合坐禅修行的场所。王公卿士来此游览而作五言诗的，多得无法计算。

洛阳城东北有上商里，是殷朝的顽民所居住的地方。高祖定名为闻义里。

迁都于洛阳的当初，朝廷官员居住于其中，互相轮番讥讽，结果大家都离开了这里。剩下烧制瓦器的工匠，而京城的瓦器都出产于此。世间的人作歌谣说：“洛阳城东上商里，殷之顽民昔所居。如今百姓烧瓦工，人皆弃去住者耻。”可是也有一个例外的，就是冠军将军郭文远从容地住在里内，所建造的堂屋和园林，能与王侯之家相匹敌。当时陇西人李元谦爱好运用双声语，有一次从郭文远的宅邸前经过，看到门庭华丽，就说：“是谁第宅？过佳！”婢女春风闻声从门内走出来说：“郭冠军家。”李元谦说：“凡婢双声！”春风说：“停奴慢骂！”李元谦



sponsored the creation of this ward and built a house in it. At the time of his mother's death, he donated the house to be made into a temple.

It occupied an elevated and conspicuous site, overlooking the city walls and palaces. Rooms and corridors were both splendid and beautiful, [surrounded by] forests of bamboo and cypress. Indeed, it was a place where one could practice celibacy and set his heart at rest. Countless princes and ranking officials came to visit here and composed poetry or songs<sup>14</sup>.

In the northwestern section of Luo-yang was the Shang-shang Ward (Ward of the Upper Shang)<sup>15</sup>, where the Yin refractories<sup>16</sup>, objects of derision, were settled [on the order of the victorious Zhou]. Emperor Gao-zu renamed it Wen-yi Ward (Ward of Hearing of the Righteous).

[Against this Yin background], soon after moving the national capital to Luo-yang, court officials residing in the ward were derided one after another<sup>17</sup>, [resulting in] the eventual exodus of them all. The only ones who stayed were the tilers<sup>18</sup>, the producers of earthen ware for the capital. Contemporaries made up a song that reads: "In the northwest section of Luo-yang<sup>19</sup> is the Shang-shang Ward<sup>20</sup>, the scorned refractories of the Yin formerly here resided<sup>21</sup>. Now the dwellers are makers of earthenware jars<sup>22</sup>, All others have left, causing shame<sup>23</sup> to those who remain here." Guo Wen-yuan, General Cresting the Armies (*Guan-jun jiang-jun*) was the only [dignitary]<sup>24</sup> who enjoyed living there. His buildings, garden, and woods rivaled those of the feudal lords<sup>25</sup>.

At the time Li Yuan-qian<sup>26</sup> of Long-xi<sup>27</sup> took delight in games involving alliteration<sup>28</sup>, and often passed by [Guo] Wen-yuan's residence. Impressed by the splendor of [Guo's mansion], he said: "Whose<sup>29</sup> residence<sup>30</sup> is this? Too showy!"<sup>31</sup> The maidservant Chun-feng (Spring Breeze) stepped out and replied: "Residence of Guo, General Cresting the Armies."<sup>32</sup> [Li] Yuan-qian then said: "An ordinary maidservant<sup>33</sup>, [yet] her speech is alliterative<sup>34</sup>!" Chun-feng replied: "You rascal<sup>35</sup>. Nonsense<sup>36</sup>!" [Li] Yuan-qian was over-



## 【原文】

奴慢骂！”元谦服婢之能，于是京邑翕然传之。

闻义里有敦煌人宋云宅，云与惠生俱使西域也。神龟元年十一月冬，太后遣崇立寺比丘惠生向西域取经，凡得一百七十部，皆是大乘妙典。初发京师，西行四十日，至赤岭，即国之西疆也。皇魏关防，正在于此。赤岭者，不生草木，因以为名。其山有鸟鼠同穴。

异种共类，鸟雄鼠雌，共为阴阳，即所谓鸟鼠同穴。

发赤岭，西行二十三日，渡流沙，至吐谷浑国。路中甚寒，多饶风雪，飞沙走砾，举目皆满，唯吐谷浑城左右暖于馀处。其国有文字，衣冠同魏，风俗政治，多为夷法。

从吐谷浑西行三千五百里，至鄯善城。其城自立王，为吐谷浑所

## 【今译】

叹服这位婢女的语言才能，于是京城里盛传此事。

闻义里内有敦煌人宋云的住宅。宋云是与惠生一起出使西域的。神龟元年（518）十一月，时值冬季，胡太后派遣崇立寺比丘惠生前往西域取经，共获得一百七十部佛经，都是玄妙的大乘经典。从京城出发，西行四十天后，到达赤岭，也就是西部国境。大魏的边防关卡正设在这里。之所以叫赤岭，是因为这个地方不生草木。这个山岭有着鸟鼠同穴的现象。

异种动物结为同类的生活，雄鸟与雌鼠成为配偶，这就是所谓鸟鼠同穴。

从赤岭出发，西行二十三天，渡过流沙，就到达吐谷浑国。途中天气非常寒冷，风多雪多，迎面尽是飞沙走砾。只有吐谷浑城附近比其余地方温暖。这个国家有文字，其形态类似于魏国。而风俗与政治，则大多是夷狄的一套。

从吐谷浑西行三千五百里，就到达鄯善城。这座城曾经自立君王以示独立，后被吐谷浑所吞并。现在的城主是吐谷浑王的次子宁



whelmed by the maidservant's talent. As a consequence, the story was passed around in the capital with unanimous applause.

In the Wen-yi Ward was Song Yun's<sup>37</sup> residence. [Song] Yun, a native of Dun-huang<sup>38</sup>, went with Hui-sheng<sup>39</sup> as [Wei] envoys to the Western Regions<sup>40</sup>. In the winter<sup>41</sup>, that is, the eleventh month, of the first year of Shen-gui period (December A.D. 518 to January A.D. 519)<sup>42</sup>, the empress dowager [née Hu] dispatched Hui-sheng of the Chong-ling Temple (Temple of Respect for the Efficacious)<sup>43</sup> to go to the Western Regions in search of sūtras. Altogether they acquired one hundred seventy titles, all the best of Mahāyāna classics. After leaving the capital and traveling westward for forty days, they reached the Chi-ling (Bare Mountain Range)<sup>44</sup>, the western boundary of the state and the location of frontier passes. The Chi-ling was so named because no vegetation would grow there. On the mountain, birds and mice shared the same caves.

They belonged to different species but the same zoological family<sup>45</sup>. The male birds and female mice mated together; hence the name "the cave where birds and mice cohabited".

Leaving Chi-ling, and traveling westward for twenty-three days, they crossed the Liu-sha (Shifting sands)<sup>46</sup> area, and arrived at the kingdom of Tu-yu-hun<sup>47</sup>. While they were en route, it was very cold, windy, and snowy. Blowing sand and flying pebbles filled their eyes. The city of Tu-yu-hun and its vicinity were the only places warmer than elsewhere. The kingdom had a writing system, and costumes<sup>48</sup> similar to those of the Wei. But their customs and political system were of the barbarian type.

Traveling westward for three thousand five hundred *li* from Tu-yu-hun, they arrived at the city of Shan-shan<sup>49</sup>, which had been an independent city-state until the deposal of its king<sup>50</sup> by the Tu-yu-hun. The present king in the city was the second son of the Tu-yu-hun, known as the General Tran-





## 【原文】

吞。今城是吐谷浑第二息宁西将军，总部落三千，以御西胡。

从鄯善西行一千六百四十里，至左末城。城中居民可有百家，土地无雨，决水种麦，不知用牛，耒耜而田。城中图佛与菩萨，乃无胡貌，访古老，云是吕光伐胡时所作。

从左末城西行一千二百七十五里，至末城。城傍花果似洛阳，唯土屋平头为异也。

从末城西行二十二里，至捍婁城。城南十五里有一大寺，三百余僧众。有金像一躯，举高丈六，仪容超绝，相好炳然，面恒东立，不肯西顾。父老传云：此像本从南方腾空而来，于阗国王亲见礼拜，载像归，中路夜宿，忽然不见，遣人寻之，还来本处。王即起塔，封四百户以供洒扫。户人有患，似金箔贴像所患处，即得阴愈。后人于此像边造丈六像及诸像

## 【今译】

西将军，统领三千个部落，以防御西方的胡人。从鄯善城西行一千六百四十里，到达左末城。城中居民大约有一百户。这个地方干旱无雨，靠引水种麦，不知道使用牛，而用耒耜耕作。城中有佛与菩萨的画像，可是看不出什么胡人的仪容。访问年长的人，说是吕光征伐胡人的时候所作。

从左末城西行一千二百七十五里，到达末城。城附近所生长的花果类似于洛阳，只有土筑的平顶房屋是特异的。

从末城西行二十二里，到达捍婁城。城南十五里处，有一座大寺，容纳三百多位僧人。有一尊金佛像，高达一丈六尺，仪容超凡脱俗，神光焕发，总是面向东方站立，不愿朝西顾盼。父老们相传说：此像本是从南方腾空飞来，于阗的国王亲眼目睹，致以礼拜，并将此像用车载回，然而途中投宿的夜晚，却忽然不见了。派人寻找，则发现回到原先的地点。国王就在那里造塔，封四百户人家专供洒扫。这些人家若有人患病，以金箔贴在佛像相应的部位后，就灵验般地治愈。后来的人在这尊佛像旁边又建造了一丈六尺的佛像以及各种像和塔，以至数量多达好



quilizing the West (*Ning-xi jiang-jun*), who had at his command three thousand tribesmen to guard against the Western Barbarians (Xi-hu).

Traveling westward from Shan-shan for one thousand six hundred forty *li*, they arrived at the city of Zuo-mo<sup>51</sup>, which had a population of about one hundred families. This land was deficient in rainfall, so the people grew wheat by inundating their fields with water. They did not know how to use oxen for cultivation, but they tilled their fields with plows and plowshares<sup>52</sup>. The portraits of Buddha and Bodhisattva [exhibited here] did not have an Indian appearance, and when they asked the local elders why, they were told that the portraits had been made at the time<sup>53</sup> of Lü Guang's [Kuchean] Expedition<sup>54</sup>.

Traveling westward from the city of Zuo-mo for one thousand two hundred seventy-five *li*, they reached Mo-cheng<sup>55</sup>. The fields and flowers near the city were like those of Luo-yang. The only thing unusual here was that the earthen houses were flat-roofed<sup>56</sup>.

Traveling westward from Mo-cheng for twenty-two *li*, they arrived at the city of Han-mo<sup>57</sup>. Fifteen *li* to the south of the city was a large monastery that housed some three hundred monks and a gold statue of Buddha. The statue, sixteen Chinese feet high, with imposing appearance and aureole, always faced the east and was never willing to be turned to the west. The elders said: "Originally, this statue came through the air from the south. The king of Khotan took it home after paying personal homage." En route, [when the king was at rest], during the night, it suddenly disappeared. [The king] sent someone to search for it, and returned it to the original place. There the king built a stūpa, for which four hundred households were assigned to take care of sprinkling water and sweeping the grounds<sup>58</sup>. If a person suffered pain, and if he put a piece of metal foil on the corresponding spot of the statue, he would, before he knew it, be relieved of the pain. Men of later times built several thousand Buddhist statues<sup>59</sup> and stūpas in the neighborhood.



## 【原文】

塔，乃至数千，悬彩幡盖，亦有万计。魏国之幡过半矣。幡上隶书，多云太和十九年、景明二年、延昌二年。唯有一幡，观其年号是姚兴时幡。

从捍糜城西行八百七十八里，至于阆国。王头著金冠，似鸡幘，头后垂二尺生绢，广五寸，以为饰。威仪有鼓角金钲，弓箭一具，戟二枝，槊五张。左右带刀，不过百人。其俗妇人袴衫束带，乘马驰走，与丈夫无异。死者以火焚烧，收骨葬之，上起浮图。居丧者，剪发髡面，以为哀戚。发长四寸，即就平常。唯王死不烧，置之棺中，远葬于野，立庙祭祀，以时思之。

于阆王不信佛法。有商胡将一比丘名毗卢旃在城南杏树下，向王伏罪云：“今辄将异国沙门来在城南杏树下。”王闻忽怒，即往看毗卢旃。旃语王曰：“如来遣我来，令王造覆盆浮图一所，使王

## 【今译】

几千。垂下彩条的幡盖也有上万个，其中半数以上是魏国的。幡上有隶书体的字，大多写的是太和十九年（495）、景明二年（501）、延昌二年（513）之类。只有一幡，从幡上所写的年号看，是姚兴时的幡。

从捍糜城西行八百七十八里，到达于阆国。国王头戴金冠，形似鸡幘，脑后垂着二尺长的生绢，宽为五寸，作为一种装饰。仪仗队有鼓、角笛、金、钲，加上一副弓箭、两支戟、五张槊，左右带刀的人员不超过百人。这里的风俗是，妇女穿的衫裤上束着带子，骑马奔驰，与男子没有什么不一样。人死后以火焚烧，将残骨收葬，并在葬地建造佛塔。服丧的人则剪头发弄伤面部，以表示哀戚之情。等到头发长到四寸长，就恢复平常。只有国王死后不烧，安置在棺材中，葬于远处的原野，并在那里建庙祭祀，定时举行以表示追思。

于阆国王不信佛法。有一位胡商带着一名叫毗卢旃的比丘来到城南杏树下，向国王请罪说：“今天冒昧地带异国沙门来到城南杏树下。”国王听说后立即发怒，马上去看毗卢旃。旃对国王说：“如来派我来，传令国王造



Colored canopies and banners hung over them in the tens of thousands—of these more than half originated from the Wei. The *li* (clerical) script written on the banners was for the most part dated the nineteenth year of Tai-he (A.D. 495), the second year of Jing-ming (A.D. 501), and the second year of Yan-chang (A.D. 513)<sup>60</sup>. There was only one banner, where an examination of the reign and year showed it to date from the time of Yao-qin<sup>61</sup>.

Traveling westward from the city of Han-mo for eight hundred seventy-eight *li*, they arrived at the kingdom of Yu-tian (Khotan)<sup>62</sup>. The king wore [on his head] a gold crown shaped like a cock's comb<sup>63</sup>. In the back was suspended a piece of raw silk two Chinese feet in length and five Chinese inches in width for decoration. Among his insignia were a drum, a horn, a metal gong, a set of bow and arrows, two halberds, and five lances. On his left and right he had fewer than one hundred armed attendants<sup>64</sup>. By custom, women wore trousers and waist bands, and galloped on horseback in the same way as the men. They cremated the deceased, and they then collected the bones and where they interred them they built a stūpa. The mourners would cut short their hair and slash<sup>65</sup> their faces in order to express their sorrow. When their [shortened] hair grew back to four Chinese inches long, they stopped mourning. The king was the only one exempt from cremation after death. Instead, [his corpse] would be placed in a coffin, which was interred in the distant countryside. A shrine would be built for sacrifices and he would be commemorated<sup>66</sup> from time to time.

Previously<sup>67</sup>, the king of Yu-tian had not believed in Buddhism. A barbarian<sup>68</sup> merchant brought a monk named Pi-lu-zhan (Vairocana)<sup>69</sup> to the south of the city and had him wait beneath an apricot tree. He then went to see the king and asked for forgiveness, saying: "Now, without authorization, I have taken in an alien monk, who is now in the south of the city beneath an apricot tree." Upon hearing this, the king was enraged<sup>70</sup>. He immediately set



## 【原文】

祚永隆。”王言：“令我见佛，当即从命。”毗卢旃鸣钟告佛，即遣罗睺罗变形为佛，从空而现真容。王五体投地，即于杏树下置立寺舍，画作罗睺罗像。忽然自灭，于阗王更作精舍笼之。今覆盆之影，恒出屋外，见之者无不回向。其中有辟支佛靴，于今不烂，非皮非彩，莫能审之。

按：于阗国境，东西不过三千馀里。神龟二年七月二十九日入朱驹波国。人民山居，五谷甚丰，食则面麦，不立屠煞。食肉者以自死肉。风俗口音与于阗相似，文字与婆罗门同。其国疆界可五日行遍。

八月初入汉盘陀国界。西行六日，登葱岭山。复西行三日，至钵盂

## 【今译】

一座覆盆佛塔，使王业得以永远光隆。”国王说：“让我看见佛，我当然就遵命。”毗卢旃敲钟报告佛，佛立即派罗睺罗变形为佛，从空中现出真容。国王五体投地，马上在杏树下建置寺舍，描画罗睺罗的图像。可是图像忽然自动消失，于阗国王又作精舍加以笼罩。现在覆盆的影子总是伸出屋外，看到的人无不回心向佛。其中有辟支佛靴，至今不腐烂，材料既非皮又非彩，没人能了解其中的奥秘。

按：于阗领土，从东至西不过三千多里。神龟二年（519）七月二十九日进入朱驹波国。国民住在山上，五谷的收成非常好，主食为麦面，禁止搞屠宰。吃肉的人，吃的是自然而然死去的动物。这里的风俗，口语与于阗相似，书写文字与婆罗门相同。这个国家的疆域，五天可以游遍。

八月初进入汉盘陀国境。西行六天，登上葱岭山脉。再西行三天，



out to see Pi-lu-zhan. Pi-lu-zhan then spoke to the king: "Tathāgata<sup>71</sup> sent me to come here, and he ordered Your Highness to construct a stūpa<sup>72</sup> with a top shaped like an overturned plate as a way to assure the everlasting prosperity of your reign." The king said: "If you would show me the Buddha, I would then comply with your request." Pi-lu-zhan rang a bell and told Buddha [about this], and Buddha instantly ordered Luo-hou-luo (Rāhula)<sup>73</sup> to change into the shape of a Buddha, showing his real appearance in the sky. The king, placing his knees, elbows, and head on the ground [to express his utmost respect], immediately had a shrine built underneath the apricot tree and had a portrait of Rāhula painted. Rāhula then suddenly disappeared. The king of Yu-tian again had a hall built to house the portrait [and display it]. Now the reflection of the plate shaped [stūpa top] often appeared outside of the house, and all of those who saw it would devotedly worship it. Inside of the house was Pi-zhi-fo's (Pratyeka Buddha) shoe<sup>74</sup>, which has remained intact to this day. It was not made of leather, nor of silk, but of some unknown material.

Author's note: The domain of Yu-tian was only a little more than three thousand *li* from east to west.

On the twenty-ninth day of the seventh month, in the second year of the Shen-gui period (September 8, A.D. 519), they entered the state of Zhu-ju-bo (Cokkuka)<sup>75</sup>. Here the people were mountain dwellers who grew the five grains in vast quantities. They ate noodles and other wheat products<sup>76</sup> and refrained from butchery. The [only] meat consumed was taken from animals that had died naturally. The customs and spoken language were similar to those of Yu-tian, while the written language was like that of Brahmins [in India]. Within five days one could travel across the state.

Early in the eighth month (early September), they entered Han-pan-tuo (modern Tashkurghan)<sup>77</sup>. Traveling westward for six days, they ascended the Cong-ling Range<sup>78</sup>. Traveling west ward again for three days, they ar-



## 【原文】

城。三日至不可依山。其处甚寒，冬夏积雪。山中有池，毒龙居之。昔有三百商人，止宿池侧，值龙忿怒，泛杀商人。盘陀王闻之，舍位与子，向乌场国学婆罗门咒，四年之中，尽得其术。还复王位，就池咒龙。龙变为人，悔过向王。王即徙之葱岭山，去此池二千馀里。今日国王十三世祖也。

自此以西，山路欹侧，长坂千里，悬崖万仞，极天之阻，实在于斯。太行孟门，匹兹非险，崤关陇坂，方此则夷。自发葱岭，步步渐高，如此四月，乃得至岭。依约中下，实半天矣。汉盘陀国正在山顶。

自葱岭已西，水皆西流，世人云是天地之中。人民决水以种，闻中国田待雨而种，笑曰：“天何由可共期也？”城东有孟津河，东北流

## 【今译】

到达钵盂城。三天后到达不可依山。这个地方非常寒冷，冬夏积雪。山中有池，毒龙卧于其中。从前有三百个商人，在池边夜宿，碰上毒龙发怒，全部遇害。盘陀国王听说此事后，让位给儿子，自己则前往乌场国学习婆罗门的咒术，四年之内全部学到手。回国后，恢复王位，对着池向龙施行咒术。结果龙变为人，向王忏悔过失。王随即将它流放到葱岭山，距离这个池达两千多里。这位王是现在的国王的十三世祖。

从不可依山以西，山路险峻，长坂千里，悬崖万仞，比登天还难的险阻，正横亘在面前。太行、孟门，下足以匹此地的险峻；崤关、陇坂，相比之下会觉得像平地。从葱岭出发，地势步步渐高，这样行走四天，才能到达主峰。看上去还不到山腰，其实已经升上天高的一半。汉盘陀国都正位于山顶。

从葱岭以西，河水都向西流去。世人都说这里是天地的中心。居民引水种植。他们听说中国的农田是等待天雨而种的，笑着说：“天怎么可以让你期待下雨呢？”城东有孟津河，东北流向沙勒。





rived at the city of Bo-yu<sup>79</sup>. Traveling three more days they reached the Bu-ke-yi Mountain ("Unreliable" Mountain), where it was very cold. The mountain was snow-clad in winter and summer alike. In the mountain was a pond wherein an evil dragon lived. A group of three hundred<sup>80</sup> merchants once stopped on the bank of the pond and stayed there, when the dragon, in a fit of anger, inundated<sup>81</sup> [the land around the pond] and drowned the merchants. Upon hearing of this, the king of [Han-]pan-tuo abdicated in favor of his son, and went to the state of Wu-chang<sup>82</sup> to study the spells of Brahmins. Within four years he had learned all the arts. Upon his return, he resumed his position as king, and went to the pond to exorcise the dragon. The dragon changed itself into a man, and repented before the king. The king then moved it to the Cong-ling Range, which was more than two thousand *li* from this pond. The present king was the thirteenth-generation descendant [of the monarch under discussion].

Westward from this point, the mountain path was steep and sloping. [There were] banks one thousand *li* long, and a precipice rising eighty thousand Chinese feet above the ground. Here indeed were great obstacles [to be faced by] travelers. By comparison, the Tai-hang<sup>83</sup> and Meng-men<sup>84</sup> ranges were really not im passable, and the Yao Pass<sup>85</sup> and Long-ban<sup>86</sup> were simply flatlands. After setting out from the Cong-ling Range, [they found] the altitude increasing with every step, and it took four days before they were able to reach the summit. Once there it looked like low land<sup>87</sup>, but actually it was already halfway to heaven. Here at the top of the mountain was the country of Han-pan-tuo.

From the west of Cong-ling Range, all waterways flowed westward into the West Sea (Xi-hai)<sup>88</sup>. The local people considered themselves to be living halfway between heaven and earth. They grew crops by flooding their fields with water [from a dam], When they heard that in China [farmers] waited for rainfall for farming, they laughed: "How can Heaven's time be counted



## 【原文】

向沙勒。葱岭高峻，不生草木。是时八月，天气已冷，北风驱雁，飞雪千里。

九月中旬入钵和国。高山深谷，险道如常。国王所住，因山为城。人民服饰，惟有毡衣。地土甚寒，窟穴而居。风雪劲切，人畜相依。国之南界有大雪山，朝融夕结，望若玉峰。

十月之初，至吠哒国。土田庶衍，山泽弥望，居无城郭，游军而治。以毡为屋，随逐水草，夏则迁凉，冬则就温。乡土不识，文字礼教俱缺。阴阳运转，莫知其度，年无盈闰，月无大小，周十二月为一岁。受诸国贡献，南至牒罗，北尽勒勒，东被于阗，西极波斯，四十馀国皆来朝贡。王居大毡帐，方四十步，周回以氍毹为壁。

## 【今译】

葱岭高峻，不生草木。那时正当八月，可是已进入寒冷天气，北风驱逐着飞雁，飞雪千里。

九月中旬进入钵和国。山高谷深，险峻的道路就像家常便饭。国王的所在，利用山势作为都城；国民的服饰，只有毡衣而已。地面非常寒冷，因而掘洞穴而居住。风雪强劲严酷，因而人畜相依取暖。国境南端有大雪山，早晨融化晚上冻结，远远眺望，就像玉峰。

在十月初，到达吠哒国。田地肥沃广袤，山泽一望无际。人民不是筑城而居，是以游牧的方式治国。用毡子搭盖帐篷，追随水草而迁移。夏天则迁往凉爽的区域，冬天则投奔温和的区域。没有什么乡土的意识，也没有文字礼教。随大自然阴阳运转，可是并不了解其规律；年不分闰否，月不分大小，满十二个月就算一年。接受各国的进贡，南到牒罗，北到毡勒，东达于阗，西达波斯，四十多个国家都来朝贡。国王居住在大毡帐中，面积四十步见方，四周以毛毡为壁。国王穿锦衣，



on?" To the east of the city was the Meng-jin River<sup>89</sup>, which flowed north-west toward Sha-le<sup>90</sup>. In the high steep parts of the Cong-ling Range there was no vegetation. It was the eighth month (September) [when they were there], and it was already cold. The north wind forced the wild geese [to fly southward], and snow scudded over one thousand *li*.

In the middle of the ninth month (late October), they entered the state of Bo-he (Parvata, in modern Wakhan) which was located in a deep valley of high mountains where hazardous paths were the rule. The city where the king resided was sheltered by the mountains. For the people's clothing and ornaments, there was nothing but felt. The ground was very cold, so people lived in caves. Wind and snow were both violent and biting, so human beings and animals relied on each other [for survival]. In the borderland to the south of this state was a large snowy mountain, where the snow melted in the morning but froze again in the evening. It looked like a jade cliff<sup>91</sup>.

In the early part of the tenth month (mid-November), they reached the state of Ye-da (Russian Turkestan, Ephthal or Hephthalitai)<sup>92</sup>, a rich land where endless mountains and rivers came into view. There were no walled cities for residences; [the area] was kept in good order by a patrolling army. The people lived in felt [tents], moving from one place to another in pursuit of water and pasture lands: they moved to cooler areas in summer and warm regions in winter. The natives were simple rustic folk<sup>93</sup>, unversed in writing, the rites, or moral precepts. They did not know how *yin* and *yang*<sup>94</sup> alternate. [They did not know about] a common and a leap year, an intercalary month, or a month of thirty or twenty-nine days<sup>95</sup>. But they used twelve months to make up a year. The state received tribute from a number of countries: from Dic-luo<sup>96</sup> in the south to as far as Chi-le<sup>97</sup> in the north, from Yu-tian in the east to Bo-si<sup>98</sup> in the west. Altogether [delegates from] more than forty countries came to pay tribute and offer congratulations [on appropriate occasions]<sup>99</sup>. The king lived in a large felt tent that was forty paces (*bu*) square and lined



## 【原文】

王著锦衣，坐金床，以四金凤凰为床脚。见大魏使人，再拜跪受诏书。至于设会，一人唱，则客前，后唱，则罢会，唯有此法，不见音乐。

呶哒国王妃亦著锦衣，长八尺奇，垂地三尺，使人擎之。头带一角，长三尺，以玫瑰五色珠装饰其上。王妃出则舆之，入坐金床，以六牙白象四狮子为床。自馀大臣妻皆随。伞头亦似有角，团圆下垂，状似宝盖。

观其贵贱，亦有服章。四夷之中，最为强大。不信佛法，多事外神。杀生血食，器用七宝。诸国奉献，甚饶珍异。

按：呶哒国去京师二万馀里。

十一月初入波知国。境土甚狭，七日行过。人民山居，资业穷煎，风俗凶慢，见王无礼。国王出入，从者数人。其国有水，昔日

## 【今译】

坐金床，床脚由四只金凤凰支撑。会见大魏使者，行两次拜礼，跪着接受诏书。当设宴聚会之际，表演形式是一人歌唱，宾客陆续唱和，唱完就结束宴会。只有这种表演法，未见有音乐。

呶哒国的王妃也穿锦衣，长度超过八尺，拖垂在地有三尺，需要让人托起。头带角帽，角有三尺高，上面缀饰玫瑰（红宝石）和五色珠宝。王妃外出则乘舆，回宫则坐金床。她的金床是用长着六颗牙的白象和四头狮子装饰成的。其他大臣的妻子都随侍左右。罩在金床上伞形顶部也有角，由角向四周垂下，形状类似于宝盖。

从服饰上能反映身份的高低，这个国家在四周的少数民族中，最为强大，不信佛教，大多崇奉异教之神。杀生吃肉，使用七宝器皿。各国的贡品中，珍奇的东西非常多。

按：呶哒国距京城两万多里远。

十一月初进入波知国。领土非常狭小，七天时间就能走到尽头。国民住在山上，生活极为穷困。风俗野蛮，与国王会见也没有任何礼仪。国王



with [hanging] carpets on all sides. He wore a garment of brocade and sat in a golden chair supported by four phoenixes as legs. When he received envoys from the Great Wei, he bowed twice and knelt down to receive the rescript. At audiences, one man would call out, then step forward, in response to the shouting of an announcer. At a later call, they would withdraw when the latter shouted again. This is the only way that audiences were held. Music was never present at the scene.

The queen of Ye-da also wore a brocade garment, the train of which, three Chinese feet long, was lifted by an attendant. She also wore a cornered<sup>100</sup> [turban] eight Chinese feet in length and three Chinese feet on the diagonal<sup>101</sup>. It was adorned with pearls<sup>102</sup> in rose and five other colors on top. When the queen went out, she was seated in a golden, bejeweled sedan, carried on the back of a "six-tusked" white elephant<sup>103</sup>. Wives of ranking officials would accompany her under umbrellas. On their heads, each seemed to wear a cornered turban<sup>104</sup> that was round and trailing. [Such head pieces] presented the appearance of a gem-decorated canopy of precious materials.

There were differences, it was observed, between the noblemen and commoners. Of all the four barbarians<sup>105</sup>, they were by far the strongest and largest. They did not worship Buddha but for the most part believed in non-native gods instead<sup>106</sup>. They slaughtered animals, ate the meat, and used the "seven treasures" [to adorn] their utensils. There were many valuables and rarities among the tribute offered to them by various other states.

The state of Ye-da was more than twenty thousand *li* away from the capital city (that is, Luo-yang).

Early in the eleventh month (early to mid-December), they arrived at the state of Bo-zhi (modern Zebak)<sup>108</sup>. A very small territory, they traversed it in seven days. The people were mountain dwellers and maintained a meager livelihood. Their customs were violent and discourteous; they showed no



## 【原文】

甚浅，后山崩截流，变为二池。毒龙居之，多有灾异。夏喜暴雨，冬则积雪，行人由之，多致艰难。雪有白光，照耀人眼，令人闭目，茫然不见。祭祀龙王，然后平复。

十一月中旬入除弥国。此国渐出葱岭，土田峣峣，民多贫困。峻路危道，人马仅通。一直一道，从钵卢勒国向乌场国，铁锁为桥，悬虚而度，下不见底，旁无挽捉，倏忽之间，投躯万仞，是以行者望风谢路耳。

十二月初入乌场国。北接葱岭，南连天竺，土气和暖，地方数千里。民物殷阜，匹临淄之神州；原田膴膴，等咸阳之上土。鞞罗施儿之所，萨埵投身之地，旧俗虽远，土风犹存。国王精进，菜食长斋，晨夜礼佛，

## 【今译】

出入，随从只有几个人而已。境内有河流，以前很浅，后来因山崩截断水流，变成两个池塘，毒龙游息于其中，因而常常发生不测之灾。夏天总是暴雨连天，冬天则是积雪满地，行人通过这里，多感艰难。积雪射出刺眼的白光，令人睁不开眼，茫茫然什么也看不清。自从祭祀龙王以后，也就相安无事了。

十一月中旬进入除弥国。这个国家渐渐远离葱岭山脉，土地干硬，居民中大多是贫困的人。道路险峻，仅容人马通行；直线似的一条路从钵卢勒国通向乌场国，途中凌空悬起铁桥，下不见底，旁无扶栏，一个闪失，就将投身于万丈深渊。因此行人闻风丧胆，纷纷退却，不敢前行。

十二月初进入乌场国。北接葱岭，南连天竺，气候温和，领土有数千平方公里。人口多，物资丰富，可以与古都临淄匹敌。田野肥沃，不差于咸阳的上等土壤。这里是鞞罗将亲子用作施舍、菩提萨埵投身虎口的地方，虽然是古老的习俗，但在当地的民风中之依然得以保留。国王精进不息，素食洁斋，在早晚向佛礼拜的仪式中，击鼓吹贝，琵琶、篳篥、



respect for the king, and when the king traveled he had few escorts. This state had a river that was very shallow in former years. Later the current was cut off by a mountain slide, splitting the stream into two ponds<sup>109</sup>. Poisonous dragons occupied them. Many were the calamities and misfortunes. [The dragons] delighted in rainstorms in summer and deep piles of snow in winter. Travelers passing by often met with difficulties on account of this. The snow produced white rays that dazzled men, forcing them to close their eyes. Consequently they could not see a thing. They could have a safe passage only if they offered sacrifices to the Dragon-king<sup>110</sup>.

In the middle of the eleventh month (mid- to late December), they entered the state of She-mi (Sambhi), which was located at a short remove from the Cong-ling Range. The land was barren, and the people by and large poor and distressed. The path was steep and dangerous, barely passable for a single person or a horse. A straight road connected the state of Bo-lu-le<sup>111</sup> (Bolora) and the state of Wu-chang, where an iron-chain bridge served as a suspended passageway. Beneath was bottomless space; on the sides, there was nothing to hold on to, and in an instant, one might fall eighty thousand Chinese feet [to one's death]. As a result, travelers refused to go by this route when they heard about it<sup>112</sup>.

In the early twelfth month (January to February A.D. 520), they entered the state of Wu-chang<sup>113</sup>, which bordered on the Cong-ling Range to the north and India to the south. The climate was mild. The territory covered several thousand square *li*. Products were as abundant as in Lin-zi<sup>114</sup> of the Holy Continent (China), and the beautiful fields<sup>115</sup> were equal to the best land of Xian-yang<sup>116</sup>. [It was] the site where Pi-luo (Viśvanatara) gave up his children<sup>117</sup>, and the place where Mahāsattva offered his own blood to feed [a hungry tigress]<sup>118</sup>. Although former traditions had faded, local customs were still observed. The industrious king, a vegetarian of long standing, worshipped Buddha from morning to night, beating drums and blowing conch-



## 【原文】

击鼓吹贝，琵琶箜篌，笙箫备有。日中已后，始治国事。假有死罪，不立杀刑，唯徙空山，任其饮啄。事涉疑似，以药服之，清浊则验。随事轻重，当时即决。土地肥美，人物丰饶。五谷尽登，百果繁熟。夜闻钟声，遍满世界。土饶异花，冬夏相接，道俗采之，上佛供养。

国王见宋云云大魏使来，膜拜受诏书。闻太后崇奉佛法，即面东合掌，遥心顶礼。遣解魏语人问宋云曰：“卿是日出人也？”宋云答曰：“我国东界有大海水，日出其中，实如来旨。”王又问曰：“彼国出圣人否？”宋云具说周孔庄老之德；次序蓬莱山上银阙金堂，神仙圣人并在其上；说管辂善卜，华陀治病，左慈方术；如此之事，分别说之。

## 【今译】

笙箫等乐器也应有尽有。中午以后，开始处理国事。对于罪该偿命的人，不实行死刑的处罚，只是流放到荒山中，与鱼鸟为伍。断案如遇真伪难辨时，让当事人服药，谁是谁非就可验出。不论事务轻重，都是当下作出决断。土地肥沃，人口众多，物产富饶，五谷丰登，百果繁熟。夜间梵钟传响，在天地之间悠然回荡。这里的土质适宜许多奇花异卉的生长，一年四季花开不断，被出家人和在家人采来供佛。

见宋云自称是大魏使者前来，国王应声膜拜，接受诏书：听说太后崇信佛法，国王于是面东合掌遥致敬礼。安排通解魏语的人向宋云询问：“你是日出之地的人吗？”宋云回答说：“我国东临大海，日出其中，诚如你所设想的那样。”国王又发问：“那个国家出圣人吗？”宋云为他一一介绍周公、孔子、庄子、老子的德行；接着叙述蓬莱山上的银官金堂，神仙与圣人同在其中；关于管辂善于占卜、华陀精于治病、左慈神于方术之类的事情，也都分别加以介绍。国王说：“如果是像你所说的





trumpets. *Pi-pa*, harps, pan-pipes, and *xiao* flutes—he had them all. He attended to state affairs only after midday. If [a criminal] deserved the death penalty, he would not be subject to instant execution. Instead, he would be transferred to a deserted mountain area where he was free to drink and eat<sup>119</sup>, but nature was allowed to determine his fate. [A person] suspected of a crime would be asked to take some medicine that would prove whether he was innocent or guilty<sup>120</sup>. If found to be guilty, he would be summarily dealt with according to the seriousness [of the crime he had committed]. The land was fertile and large in population, including all types of grains and five varieties of fruits<sup>121</sup>. At night one could hear the tolling bells here and everywhere in the domain<sup>122</sup>. The land abounded in rare flowers, which bloomed in succession in all seasons<sup>123</sup>. Buddhist monks as well as laymen plucked the flowers and offered them to the Buddha.

When the king received Song Yun, the latter said, “I came here as an envoy of the Great Wei.”<sup>124</sup> The king then bowed, placing [one] hand on his own head<sup>125</sup> and receiving the rescript [brought by Song Yun] with the other. Learning that the Empress Dowager [Hu] upheld Buddhist teachings, the king instantly faced eastward, held his palms together, and paid the greatest respect from this remote [land]. He sent a man who understood the Wei language<sup>126</sup> to ask Song Yun, “Are you not the one who has come from the place where the sun rises?”<sup>127</sup> In reply Song Yun said, “In the east, my country borders on a vast expanse of sea, where the sun rises. What you have said is indeed true.” The king again asked, “Does that country produce sages?” Song Yun told him all about the virtues of the Duke of Zhou, Confucius, Zhuang[-zi], and Lao[-zi], then about the Silver Watchtower and Golden Hall of the Peng-lai Mountains<sup>128</sup> where immortals and sages lived. He also talked about the divination skill of Guan Lu<sup>129</sup>, medical technique of Hua Tuo<sup>130</sup>, and the magical power of Zuo Ci<sup>131</sup>—he told him about each such thing item by item. The king then said, “If what you said is true, then



## 【原文】

王曰：“若如卿言，即是佛国，我当命终，愿生彼国。”

宋云于是与惠生出城外，寻如来教迹。水东有佛晒衣处。初，如来在乌场国行化，龙王瞋怒，兴大风雨，佛僧迦梨表里通湿。雨止，佛在石下东面而坐，晒袈裟。年岁虽久，彪炳若新。非直条缝明见，至于细缕亦彰。乍往观之，如似未彻，假令刮削，其文转明。佛坐处及晒衣所，并有塔记。

水西有池，龙王居之。池边有一寺，五十余僧。龙王每作神变，国王祈请，以金玉珍宝投之池中，在后涌出，令僧取之。此寺衣食，待龙而济，世人名曰龙王寺。

王城北八十里，有如来履石之迹，起塔笼之。履石之处，若践水泥，量之不定，或长或短。今立寺，可七十余僧。塔南二十步，有泉石。

## 【今译】

情形，那正是佛国。当我生命完结的时候，愿转世再生于那个国度。”

于是宋云与惠生出城外，寻找如来传教的遗迹。河东有佛晒衣处。当初如来在乌场国传布佛法时，龙王发怒，风雨大作，佛穿的夹层法衣里外湿透。雨停后，佛在石下朝东而坐，袈裟晾晒于石上。年代虽然相隔甚远，可是袈裟的痕迹还焕然如新，不但直的线缝相当明显，而且细细的针脚也清晰可见。乍看上去，似乎未受过多年风雨的剥蚀；如果稍加刮削的话，表面的图纹就变得分外清晰。佛坐处及晒衣处，都有塔记。

河西有池，是龙王的住处。池旁有一所寺院，僧徒五十多人。每逢龙王作怪，国王都作祈祷，将金玉珍宝投入池中。其后，这些东西浮出水面，让僧人捞取。这所寺院就这样靠龙王而维持生计。世人称它为龙王寺。

王城向北八十里，有印着如来足迹的石头，建塔加以笼罩。石头上的足迹，好像踩过泥水。测量起来，或长或短，没有一个确定的尺码。现已建寺，约有七十多位僧人。塔南二十步，有泉石。佛本来清静，所嚼的杨



your country is a Buddha Land. After death I would like to be reincarnated in that country.”

Thereafter Song Yun and Hui-sheng went out of the city to look for the sites where Tathāgata had preached. On the east of the river was a place where Buddha dried his garments. Previously, when Tathāgata came to Wu-chang to convert [the populace]<sup>132</sup>, the dragon-king was so infuriated as to cause a violent rainstorm drenching the inside and outside of Buddha’s saṅghāti (*seng-jia-li*)<sup>133</sup>. When the rain stopped, the Buddha was at the foot of a boulder facing east and drying his kāṣāya (*jia-sha*)<sup>134</sup>. After the passage of so many years, the marks were as sharp as new. Not only were the seams clearly visible, but also all the fine details were as if new. If one should go there for a quick look, he might not be able to get a clear view, but if he should scrape the spot, the patterns would become all the more vivid<sup>135</sup>. There were stūpas at the sites where the Buddha had sat and where he dried his garments.

To the west of the river was a pond in which a dragon-king lived. On the shore of the pond was a monastery that housed more than fifty monks. Whenever the dragon-king worked his charms, the king would offer prayers and throw gold, jade, and other valuables into the pond. And, when the latter [articles] were washed ashore, he would order the monks to collect them. The monks of the monastery relied on the<sup>136</sup> dragon for a living. Contemporaries called the place the Dragon-king Monastery.

Eighty *li* to the north of the capital city were the footprints where Tathāgata had stepped on a stone, over which a stūpa was subsequently built to shelter it. The spot looked like a piece of muddy ground on which someone had stamped. It had no fixed boundaries—sometimes it was long; at other times, short. Now a monastery was built there, housing seventy or more monks. Twenty paces to the south of the stūpa were a spring and a rock. Buddha, whose nature was pure, once chewed a willow branch<sup>137</sup>.



## 【原文】

佛本清淨，嚼楊枝，植地即生，今成大树，胡名曰婆樓。

城北有陀羅寺，佛事最多。浮圖高大，僧房逼側，周匝金像六千軀。王年常大會，皆在此寺。國內沙門，咸來雲集。宋雲、惠生見彼比丘戒行精苦，觀其風範，特加恭敬。遂舍奴婢二人，以供洒掃。

去王城東南，山行八日，至如來苦行投身餵虎之處。高山巖巖，危岫入雲。嘉木靈芝，叢生其上。林泉婉麗，花彩耀目。宋雲與惠生割舍行資，於山頂造浮圖一所，刻石隸書，銘魏功德。山有收骨寺，三百餘僧。

王城南一百餘里，有如來昔在摩休國剥皮為紙、折骨為筆處。阿育王起塔籠之，舉高十丈。折骨之處，髓流著石，觀其脂色，肥膩若新。

## 【今譯】

柳枝，插入土中立即成活，現已長成大树，梵語稱之為婆樓。

城北有陀羅寺，這裡佛遺存最多。佛塔高大，僧房相接。圍滿了金佛像，共達六千尊。國王的年常大會，都在此寺舉行，國內所有的沙門雲集於此。宋雲、惠生目睹那些比丘戒行精苦，對於他們的風範尤為崇敬。於是留下兩名奴婢，以供洒掃之用。

離開王城向東南方山行八天，到達如來投身餵虎的苦行地。高山聳立，峰柱入雲，山巒上嘉樹、靈芝叢生，林泉秀麗，花色鮮亮。宋雲與惠生割舍旅資，在山頂造了一座塔，用隸書刻石，銘記魏國的功德。山中有收骨寺，寺內有三百多位僧人。

王城南一百多里處，有如來過去在摩休國剥皮為紙、斷骨為筆的場所。阿育王建起十丈高的塔，將古迹維護起來。折斷骨頭的地方，因流出的骨髓沾染在石頭上，表面的光澤看上去還是滑膩如新。



After it was stuck in the ground, it grew. By this time it has grown into a huge tree, called by the Indians *po-lou*<sup>138</sup>.

To the north of the city was the Tuo-luo Monastery, which had the largest number of Buddhist relics. The stūpa was high and large, and the monks' cells were crowded off to the side. It had six thousand<sup>139</sup> golden statues arranged in a circle. The king's annual assemblies<sup>140</sup> all were held here, and every one of the monks of the nation came, gathering like clouds. Seeing the monks' strict observance of rigorous discipline, and watching such models of morality, Song Yun and Hui-sheng held them in special respect. As a consequence, [the visiting monks] bought and emancipated two slaves—one male and one female—to provide such services as water sprinkling and ground-sweeping for the monastery.

Traveling through the mountains southeastward from the capital city for eight days, they arrived<sup>141</sup> at the place where Tathāgata, in his asceticism, gave himself up to feed<sup>142</sup> a starving tigress. The high mountains presented a majestic appearance, and perilous cliffs soared into the clouds. Auspicious trees and sacred fungi grew on top [of the cliffs] in clumps. The forest and fountains were beautiful, and colors of the flowers dazzled one's eyes. Song Yun and Hui-sheng contributed some of their traveling money to build a stūpa at the summit, including a stone monument with an inscription in the *li* (clerical) style to record the achievements of the Wei. On the mountain there was a Shou-gu Monastery (Monastery of Collected Bones), which housed more than three hundred monks.

More than one hundred *li* to the south of the capital city was the place where Tathāgata, while in the state of Mo-xiu<sup>143</sup>, cut off his skin to be used as paper<sup>144</sup>, and broke off a bone to be used as a pen. The spot was sheltered by a stūpa built by Aśoka. The structure was one hundred Chinese feet high. At the place where [Tathāgata] broke off a bone, the marrow flowed onto a stone and was visible there. Upon examination, [one found its] viscosity and



## 【原文】

王城西南五百里，有善持山，甘泉美果，见于经记。山谷和暖，草木冬青。当时太簇御辰，温炽已扇，鸟鸣春树，蝶舞花丛。宋云远在绝域，因瞩此芳景，归怀之思，独轸中肠，遂动旧疹，缠绵经月，得婆罗门咒，然后平善。

山顶东南，有太子石室，一户两房。太子室前十步，有大方石。云太子常坐其上，阿育王起塔记之。塔南一里，有太子草庵处。去塔一里，东北下山五十步，有太子男女绕树不去，婆罗门以杖鞭之，流血洒地处，其树犹存。洒血之地，今为泉水。室西三里，天帝释化为师子，当路蹲坐遮嫫媻之处。石上毛尾爪迹，今悉炳然。阿周陀窟及闪子供养盲父母处，皆有塔记。

山中有昔五百罗汉床，南北两行相向坐处，其次第相对。有大

## 【今译】

王城西南五百里处，有善持山。有关甘泉美果的记载，已见于有关经籍。山谷气候温和，草木经冬犹绿。当时虽正值正月，却已吹送暖风；鸟鸣春树，蝶舞花丛。宋云身在遥远阻绝的异域他乡，因为目睹这一片芳菲的景色，内心深处受到思乡之情的煎熬，竟至旧病复发，病魔缠体历时一个多月，后来求助于婆罗门咒术，才得以康复。

山顶东南，有太子石室，一个进口内分作两间。石室前十步，有大方石，据说太子经常坐在上面。阿育王造塔铭记此事。塔南一里处，是太子草庵。距塔一里，从东北方位下山五十步处，发生过太子的儿女将身体缠绕在树上，不肯随婆罗门离开，遭到婆罗门的鞭打，以至流血洒地的事情。那棵树至今还在，而血洒过的土地，现已变成泉水。太子石室西侧三里，是天帝释化为狮子、当路蹲坐以阻挡嫫媻返回之处，石头上残留的毛、尾、爪等痕迹，至今还很清晰。另外，阿周陀窟与闪子供奉双目失明的父母之处，都有塔记。

过去的五百罗汉的禅床也在山中，排列成南北两行，依次相对而坐。



color as rich and glossy as if it were fresh.

Five hundred *li* to the southwest of the capital city was the Mountain Shan-chi<sup>145</sup>, whose sweet springs and delicious fruits are referred to in the sūtras. It was warm and mild in the valley, where grasses and trees were green [even] in winter. This was the first month of spring<sup>146</sup>, and warm breezes had already begun to blow. Birds chirped in spring trees; butterflies danced in clusters of flowers. Far away in an isolated land, and seeing such beautiful scenes, Song Yun felt homesick from the bottom of his heart. As a result, he succumbed once again to an old illness that forced him to lie in bed for more than one month. He recovered only as the result of a Brahmin's incantation.

In the southeastern section of the summit was Prince [Sudāna's] stone chamber. It consisted of one door, which led to two rooms. Ten paces in front of the prince's chamber was a large square stone on which the prince was said to sit often. Aśoka built a stūpa on the site to commemorate this event. One *li* south of the stūpa was the thatched cottage of the prince. One *li* from the stūpa and fifty paces to the northeast of the mountain was the spot where the prince's two children ran around the tree refusing to be taken away, and were whipped by the Brahmin until their blood flowed, staining the earth. The tree was still there<sup>147</sup>. The place where they bled was now changed into a spring. Three *li* to the west of the chamber was the site where the lion, which was the incarnation of śakra (Tian-di shi-jia)<sup>148</sup>, crouched to prevent Madrī (Man-qu) [from reaching her children]<sup>149</sup>. Marks of the hair, tail, and claws [of the lion] were all distinctly visible on the rock. The cave of A-zhou-tuo (Acyuta)<sup>150</sup> and the place where Shan-zi<sup>151</sup> waited upon his blind parents were both commemorated by the erection of a stūpa.

In the mountain there were seats of the five hundred Arhans of olden days. They were arranged north to south in two rows, with the seats facing



## 【原文】

寺，僧徒二百人。太子所食泉水北有寺，恒以驴数头运粮上山，无人驱逐，自然往还。寅发午至，每及中餐。此是护塔神湿婆仙使之然。

此寺昔日有沙弥，常除灰，因入神定。维那挽之，不觉皮连骨离。湿婆仙代沙弥除灰处，国王与湿婆仙立庙，图其形像，以金傅之。

隔山岭有婆奸寺，夜叉所造。僧徒八十人。云罗汉夜叉常来供养，洒扫取薪，凡俗比丘，不得在寺。大魏沙门道荣至此礼拜而去，不敢留停。

至正光元年四月中旬，入乾陀罗国。土地亦与乌场国相似，本名业波罗国，为吠哒所灭，遂立敕憍为王。治国以来，已经二世。立性凶暴，多行杀戮，不信佛法，好祀鬼神。国中人民，悉是婆罗门种，崇奉佛教，

## 【今译】

有大寺，寺内僧徒二百人。太子饮用过的泉水之北，也有寺，通常用几匹驴马运粮上山，无需人赶驾，而是自动地往还。寅时出发，午时送到，常常不误午餐。据说这是护塔神湿婆仙的神力所致。

从前，这所寺内有沙弥，常常扫除灰尘。一次，当他进入禅定境界时，被维那推拉，没料到竟然导致皮连骨离。因而湿婆仙代替沙弥扫除灰尘。国王在此处为湿婆仙建庙，画出他的形象，并贴上金箔。

隔着山岭，有婆奸寺，为夜叉所建。寺内有僧徒八十人。据说罗汉、夜叉常常前来供养，或是洒扫，或是拾柴。那时世俗人和比丘一律不准逗留寺内。大魏沙门道药来到这里，致以礼拜后就转身离去，不敢停留。

到了正光元年（520）四月中旬，进入乾陀罗国。土地的情况与乌场国相似。本来叫业波罗国，为吠哒国所灭。于是就立敕憍为王，治理国家，至今已历经二世。国王秉性凶残，动辄杀人，不信佛法，好祀鬼神。而国民都是婆罗门种，崇拜佛教，好读经典。他们突然遇到这样的





one another [so that] the seats were opposite one another in the same numerical sequence, exactly facing the ones in the correct order. There was a large monastery that housed two hundred monks. At a point to its north where the prince drank from the spring was another monastery. Several donkeys customarily carried provisions to the mountain top. Without drivers, the donkeys would come back and forth all by themselves. They left for the monastery at 3 to 5 A.M. and returned at noontime<sup>152</sup>, often in time for the monks' lunch. This, then, [was due to] Śiva (Shi-po-xian), the stūpa-guardian.

In the monastery there had been a śramaṇa (novice) who, while smearing himself with ashes<sup>153</sup>, became so absorbed that he reached the stage of complete rest. When seized by the karmadāna (*wei-na*)<sup>154</sup> he was found, surprisingly enough, to have passed away<sup>155</sup>. As a result, Śiva smeared ashes in his place. At the site, the king built a shrine for Śiva, along with a gilt image of his likeness.

Across the summit was the Po-jian Monastery built by Ye-cha (Yakṣa)<sup>156</sup>. It had eighty monks. According to them, Arhans and Yakṣas often came here to worship, sprinkle water, sweep the grounds, and fetch fuel. They would not permit the ordinary monks to stay within the monastery. When the monk Dao-rong<sup>157</sup> of the Great Wei reached here, he came to worship and then left—he dared not stay.

In the middle of the fourth month in the first year of the Zheng-guang period (mid-May A.D. 520), they entered the state of Qian-tuo-luo (Gandhāra, in the north of modern Punjab), where the land was similar to that of Wu-chang. Originally known as the state of Ye-bo-luo (Gopāla), it was conquered by [the ruler of] Ye-da who installed Chi-qin<sup>158</sup> as the king. Now two generations of this family had reigned. The present king<sup>159</sup> was violent, cruel, and frequently carried out killings. He did not believe in Buddhism but indulged himself in worshipping ghosts and spirits. All the inhabitants were Brahmins who respected Buddhist teaching and enjoyed reading sūtras. It



## 【原文】

好读经典，忽得此王，深非情愿。自恃勇力，与鬲宾争境，连兵战斗，已历三年。王有斗象七百头，一负十人，手持刀槊，象鼻缚刀，与敌相击。王常停境上，终日不归，师老民劳，百姓嗟怨。宋云诣军，通诏书，王凶慢无礼，坐受诏书。宋云见其远夷不可制，任其倨傲，莫能责之。王遣传事谓宋云曰：“卿涉诸国，经过险路，得无劳苦也？”宋云答曰：“我皇帝深味大乘，远求经典，道路虽险，未敢言疲。大王亲总三军，远临边境，寒暑骤移，不无顿弊？”王答曰：“不能降服小国，愧卿此问。”宋云初谓王是夷人，不可以礼责，任其坐受诏书，及亲往复，乃有人情，遂责之曰：“山有高下，水有大小，人处世间，亦有尊卑，吠哒、乌场王并拜受诏书，大王何独不拜？”

## 【今译】

国王，大失所望。国王自恃武勇，与鬲宾争夺国境，战争已持续三年。国王有用于战斗的大象七百头，每头可背负十人。骑象人手执刀槊，象鼻上也绑着刀，与敌方相拼杀。国王经常滞留在国境线上，整天不回去。军队和人民都疲惫不堪，怨声载道。宋云来到军营，递送诏书，而国王野蛮无礼，竟坐着接受。宋云看出这种僻地野人不可救药，也就任他蛮横，无从责备。王指派翻译问宋云：“你涉足各国，历经险路，难道不辛苦吗？”宋云回答说：“我国皇帝深刻体味大乘教义，远求经典，不敢说疲劳。大王亲自统率三军，远临边境，历经寒暑，就不劳顿吗？”王答道：“不能降服小国，你这一问，使我惭愧。”宋云最初认为王是野蛮人，连以礼相责的资格也不具备，任他坐接诏书。等到作了亲近的交谈，觉得他还不失人情味，于是加以责备道：“山有高下，河有大小，人处世间，也是有尊有卑。吠哒、乌场王都是拜接诏书，



was deeply against their will to suddenly have [this man as] such a king. Relying on his military power, [the king] had been fighting for more territory against Ji-bin (Kāśmīra, modern Kashmir)<sup>160</sup> for three years. The king attacked his enemy [with a force of] seven hundred combat elephants, each carrying ten men armed with swords and clubs<sup>161</sup>. Swords to strike against the enemy were attached to the trunk of each elephant. The king, as a rule, stayed at the frontier all day long without returning [to his residence]. His army grew weary and his people overburdened. [As a result,] the masses sighed with resentment.

Song Yun presented the imperial rescript to the king at the latter's military camp. The king, defiant and discourteous, received the rescript while sitting. Realizing that distant barbarians were difficult to control, Song Yun yielded to his arrogance and did not reprimand him. The king then sent an interpreter to speak to Song Yun, saying: "You have come across many states and traveled on many hazardous roads. Do you feel tired and weary?" Song Yun replied: "Our Emperor is deeply interested in Mahāyāna [and ordered me] to search for sūtras from afar. Hazardous as the journey has been, I dare not make mention of weariness. You, oh great king, take personal charge of the Three Armies and come to this borderland from a great distance. Is Your Majesty not tired with the sudden changes of the climate from cold to hot?" The king replied: "As I am unable to conquer this small country, hearing your question makes me ashamed of myself." At first Song Yun thought that the king, as a barbarian, was beyond reproof by the standard of Chinese protocol. He therefore let the king receive the rescript while sitting. Now after some dialogue, he found the king to have human feelings after all. As a consequence, he reprimanded [the king], saying: "Mountains differ in height: some are high but others are low. Rivers vary in size: some are big but others are small. Among men who live in the world, there are also high or low [positions]."



## 【原文】

王答曰：“我见魏主则拜，得书坐读，有何可怪？世人得父母书，获自坐读，大魏如我父母，我亦坐读书，于理无失。”云无以屈之。遂将云至一寺，供给甚薄。时跋提国送狮子儿两头与乾陀罗王，云等见之，观其意气雄猛，中国所画，莫参其仪。

于是西行五日，至如来舍头施人处。亦有塔寺，二十馀僧。

复西行三日，至辛头大河。河西岸上，有如来作摩竭大鱼，从河而出，十二年中以肉济人处。起塔为记，石上犹有鱼鳞纹。

复西行三日，至佛沙伏城。川原沃壤，城郭端直，民户殷多，林泉茂盛。土饶珍宝，风俗淳善。其城内外，凡有古寺。名僧德众，

## 【今译】

大王为什么偏偏不拜呢？”王回答说：“我若见到魏主本人就拜，接到诏书坐着看，这有什么可奇怪的呢？世上的人接到父母的书信，尚且是坐着读信，大魏就如我的父母，我也坐着读信，不算无理。”宋云无法驳倒他。于是宋云被带到一座寺院，其中的施設简单。当时跋提国将两只幼狮赠送乾陀罗王，宋云一行人得以亲眼目睹。那种雄猛的仪态，国内所画的狮子图中，都未能如实地描绘出来。

此后西行五天，到达如来截头施舍给他人之处。也建起塔寺，有僧徒二十多人。

又西行三天，来到辛头大河的西岸，有如来变作摩竭大鱼，从河中出来，十二年内以肉救济他人之处。造塔铭记此事，石上还保留着鱼鳞纹。

再西行三天，来到佛沙伏城。平坦流域内的土壤肥沃，城郭堂堂正正，人口众多，林泉茂盛。自然资源富有珍宝，社会风俗淳厚善良。这座城内外所有的古寺，到处是德行卓越的僧人和信教者。城北



The kings of Ye-da and Wu-chang both bowed to the rescript and then received it. How can Your Majesty alone [be exempted] from bowing?" In reply the king said: "If I see the Wei ruler in person<sup>162</sup>, I will of course bow to him. But [now] I am [only] receiving his letter; I am [therefore] reading it while sitting. This is by no means surprising. When a man receives a letter from his parents, he will still read it while sitting. Since [the ruler of the] Great Wei is just like a parent of mine, I shall likewise read his rescript while sitting. I do not see any impropriety here." [Song] Yun had no way to prevail upon him. Subsequently the king sent [Song] Yun to a monastery and gave him a very meager allowance. At that time the state of Ba-ti<sup>163</sup> gave two lion cubs to the king of Qian-tuo-luo. When [Song] Yun and the others viewed them, they remarked on their fierce natures. None of the pictures in China captured their likeness.

Thence they traveled westward for five days before reaching the place where Tathāgata [agreed to] be beheaded in compliance with someone's request<sup>164</sup>. There too were a stūpa and a monastery that housed more than twenty monks.

Traveling westward again for three days<sup>165</sup>, they reached the Great Xin-tou River (the Indus). On its western bank was the site where Tathāgata transformed himself into a giant *mo-he* (makara) fish, which, leaping out of the river for twelve years, had offered its meat to help [the needy and sick]. A stūpa was built there to commemorate this episode, and marks of fish scales were still visible on the rock<sup>166</sup>.

Traveling again for three days<sup>167</sup>, they reached the city of Fo-sha-fu<sup>168</sup>, where the land was fertile. The city walls were stately and erect; the population large and flourishing; its woods and springs were lush and numerous. The land was also rich in precious articles, and the customs were refined and good. In and out of the city, there were [quite a few]<sup>169</sup> ancient temples, where famous monks and their virtuous followers were known for their



## 【原文】

道行高奇。城北一里有白象宫，寺内佛事，皆是石像，庄严极丽，头数甚多，通身金箔，眩耀人目。寺前有系白象树，此寺之兴，实由兹焉。花叶似枣，季冬始熟。父老传云：此树灭，佛法亦灭。寺内图太子夫妻以男女乞婆罗门像，胡人见之，莫不悲泣。

复西行一日，至如来挑眼施人处。亦有塔寺，寺石上有迦叶佛迹。

复西行一日，乘船渡一深水，三百馀步。复西南行六十里，至乾陀罗城。东南七里，有雀离浮图。

《道荣传》云：城东四里。

推其本缘，乃是如来在世之时，与弟子游化此土，指城东曰：“我入涅槃后二百年，有国王名迦尼色迦在此处起浮图。”佛入涅槃后二百年，果有国王字迦尼色迦出游城东，见四童子累牛粪为塔，可高三尺，俄然即失。

《道荣传》云：童子在虚空中向王说偈。

## 【今译】

一里处有白象宫，寺内的佛像都是石像，庄严华丽之至，数目很多，通体贴着金箔，金光耀眼。寺前有拴过白象的树，这座寺的兴建，其实因缘于此。树的花叶像枣树，十二月才成熟。据父老们传说，这棵树一死，佛法就消亡。寺内画着太子夫妇让婆罗门带走自己儿女的图像。胡人看到这幅图，无不为之悲泣。

再西行一天，到如来挑眼施舍给他人之处。也有塔寺，寺石上有迦叶佛的足迹。

接着西行一天，乘船渡过一条三百多步宽的深河后，向西南方向走六十里，到达乾陀罗城。城东南七里处，有雀离塔。

《道荣传》认为在城东四里。

推测建塔的缘故，是如来在世时的这样一段事情：如来偕弟子在这个地方布教时，指着城东说：“我入涅槃后二百年，将有名叫迦尼色迦的国王在这里建塔。”佛入涅槃后经过二百年，果然有国王叫迦尼色迦，出游城东，看见四个童子堆牛粪作塔，高约三尺，可是一会儿童子就消失了。

《道荣传》说：童子在空中向王说偈。



noble and rarefied conduct. One *li* to the north of the city was the Bai-xiang (White Elephant) Palace, where all Buddhist relics consisted of stone. They were imposing, beautiful, and numerous. Each statue was completely plated in gold, producing a dazzling effect on the viewers. In front of the monastery was a tree to which the white elephants were tied; hence, the name of the monastery<sup>170</sup>. Its flowers and leaves were like those of date trees, but its fruit would not ripen until late winter. The local elders said, "When this tree ceases to exist, Buddhism will also be extinguished." Inside the monastery was a picture depicting the bestowal of a son and a daughter to a Brahmin by the prince and his wife<sup>171</sup>. Every Hu-barbarian sobbed bitterly upon seeing it.

Traveling westward for another day, they reached the place where Tathāgata tore out his eyes to benefit others<sup>172</sup>. There was also a stūpa and a monastery. On the rock of the latter were the imprints of Jia-ye fo (Kāśyapa Buddha)<sup>173</sup>.

Traveling westward for another day, they rode in a boat across a deep waterway<sup>174</sup>, which was more than three hundred paces wide. Traveling southwestward for sixty *li*, they reached the city of Qian-tuo-luo<sup>175</sup>. Seven *li* to the southeast of the city was the Que-li stūpa<sup>176</sup>.

According to the *Account of Dao-rong*, [the stūpa] was located four *li* east from the city.

Now [one must] trace the origin of this stūpa. When Tathāgata was in this world, he and his disciples wandered around converting people in this land. He pointed to the east of the city, saying, "Two hundred<sup>177</sup> years after my nirvāna, a king by the name of Jia-ni-se-jia<sup>178</sup> (Kaniṣka) will build a stūpa in this place." Two hundred years after the Buddha's nirvāna, a king named Jia-ni-se-jia indeed came out to visit the eastern part of the city, where he saw four boys building a stūpa by piling up cow-dung to the height of about three Chinese feet. Instantly the boys disappeared before the king<sup>179</sup>.

According to the *Account of Dao-rong*, the boys chanted *jī* (gāthā)<sup>180</sup>

## 【原文】

王怪此童子，即作塔笼之。糞塔渐高，挺出于外，去地四百尺，然后止。王更广塔基三百餘步。

《道荣传》云：三百九十步。

从地构木，始得齐等。

《道荣传》云：其高三丈，悉用文石为阶砌、栌拱，上构众木，凡十三级。

上有铁柱，高三百尺，金盘十三重，合去地七百尺。

《道荣传》云：铁柱八十八尺，八十围，金盘十五重，去地六十三丈二尺。

施功既讫，糞塔如初，在大塔南三百步。时有婆罗门不信是糞，以手探看，遂作一孔，年岁虽久，糞犹不烂，以香泥填孔，不可充满。今有天宫笼盖之。

雀离浮图自作以来，三经天火所烧，国王修之，还复如故。

## 【今译】

国王感到奇怪，随即建塔加以笼罩。而糞塔则还在渐渐变高，向外延伸，直到离地四百尺高才止住。国王又将塔基拓宽了三百多步。

《道荣传》作：三百九十步。

由地面向上架木，才把塔建得与糞塔一样高。

《道荣传》说：它的高度是三丈，全用文石作台阶和斗拱，上面架上很多木材，总共有十三重。

顶部有铁柱，高三百尺，金盘十三重，与塔身加起来离地达七百尺。

《道荣传》说：铁柱高八十八尺，合抱八十围，金盘十五重。离地六十三丈二尺。

大功告成后，糞塔又像原先的样子，出现在大塔之南三百步处。当时有婆罗门不信是糞，用手指作探测，于是形成了一个洞眼。虽然经历了许多个年头，糞却不腐烂。用香泥填补洞眼，始终都填不满。现在造有天窗，已将这个糞塔围笼起来。

雀离塔自从建成以后，三次遭受天火焚烧。国王加以修建，重新





to the king from high in the air.

Perplexed by the boys' [actions], the king immediately built a stūpa to shelter the one built by the boys, but the latter gradually heightened itself, surpassing the king's stūpa in height and rising above it. It did not stop growing in height until it had risen four hundred Chinese feet above the ground. The king, in addition, broadened the foundation of his stūpa to more than three hundred paces.

According to the *Account of Dao-rong*, [the foundation] was more than one hundred ninety paces.

From then on, the structural wood [en pillars installed on the foundation of the king's stūpa] began to match [the one of cow-dung].

The *Account of Dao-rong* reads: "The pillars, [each] at least thirty Chinese feet high, were all built on foundation platforms of pat-terned stone<sup>181</sup> supported by joists to which corbel brackets were attached. Altogether it was thirteen stories [high]."

On the top of the stūpa was an iron post three hundred Chinese feet high, to which golden plates in thirteen tiers were attached. The total height was seven hundred Chinese feet above the ground<sup>182</sup>.

The *Account of Dao-rong* reads: "The iron post was eighty-eight Chinese feet high and eighty spans (*wei*) in girth. Golden plates pile up in fifteen tiers. Altogether it rose six hundred thirty-two Chinese feet above the ground."

After the construction was completed, the dung-stūpa remained there three hundred paces<sup>180</sup> to the south of the large one. At the time a Brahmin, suspecting that the stūpa was not made of [cow-] dung, tried to find out with his hand. Consequently, a hole was created. Even though the stūpa had survived many, many years, the dung had still not decayed. When incense paste was used to seal the hole, the hole could not be filled up. Now the [cow-dung stūpa] was sheltered under a Tian-gong (Heavenly Palace)<sup>184</sup>.

Since the Que-li Stūpa constructed itself, the stūpa had three times caught



## 【原文】

父老云：此浮图天火七烧，佛法当灭。

《道荣传》云：王修浮图，木工既讫，犹有铁柱，无有能上者。王于四角起大高楼，多置金银及诸宝物，王与夫人及诸王子悉在楼上烧香散花，至心请神，然后辘轳绞索，一举便到。故胡人皆云四天王助之，若其不尔，实非人力所能举。

塔内佛事，悉是金玉，千变万化，难得而称。旭日始开，则金盘晃朗；微风渐发，则宝铎和鸣。西域浮图，最为第一。

此塔初成，用真珠为罗网覆于其上。于后数年，王乃思量：此珠网价值万金，我崩之后，恐人侵夺。复虑大塔破坏，无人修补。即解珠网，以铜镬盛之，在塔西北一百步掘地埋之。上种树，名菩提，枝条四布，密叶蔽天。树下四面坐像，各高丈五，恒有四龙典掌此珠，若兴

## 【今译】

恢复了原样。父老们说：这座塔若经天火烧七次，佛法就会消亡。

《道荣传》说：国王建塔的过程中，当木工完毕后，还有铁柱待加，然而谁也不能把它举上去。王在四角起大高楼，放置了许多金银及各种宝物，而王与夫人及王子们都在楼上烧香散花，专心致志祈请神助，结果后来在辘轳绞索牵引下，一举成功。因此胡人都说这是得到了四天王的帮助，否则，实在不是人力所能举上去的。

塔内佛像都以金玉做成，姿态千变万化，难以用语言描述。每当旭日初升，金盘熠熠生辉；随着微风渐起，宝铎悠扬和鸣。佛塔之美，堪称西域第一。

这座塔刚刚落成时，用真珠作网加以覆盖。几年以后，国王心想：这个真珠网价值万金，我死之后，恐怕别人要来抢夺。并担心大塔破损，无人修补。因而撤下珠网，装入铜镬，埋在塔西北一百步的土里，上面种树，树名叫菩提，枝条四散，茂密的树叶遮天蔽日。树下有四佛坐像，各高达一丈五尺。常有四龙镇守那些真珠，如果有人



fire (*tian-huo*, heavenly fire), but it was completely restored each time, as the king had it repaired. [This was because] the elders said, "Buddhism would be extinguished if the stūpa should be swept by 'heavenly fire' a seventh<sup>185</sup> time."

The *Account of Dao-rong* states: In repairing the stūpa, the king found no one able to raise the iron post up after the completion of the woodwork. The king then built four high towers, one for each corner, where he placed much gold, silver, and other precious things. With his wife and princes all on top [of the tower]<sup>186</sup>, the king burned incense and scattered flowers. With utmost reverence they prayed<sup>187</sup> [for Buddha's assistance]. Thereupon, in one stroke, [the iron post] was hoisted up by winding a rope in a pulley. Therefore the Hu-barbarians all said, "The assistance came from the four heavenly kings (*devarāja*)<sup>188</sup>. Otherwise, [this post] could never have been lifted by human efforts."

All Buddhist relics<sup>189</sup> within the stūpa were made of gold and jade, and their effects changed so continually as to defy description<sup>190</sup>. At dawn when the morning sun began to rise, the golden bells radiated brilliantly; when a soft breeze gently arose, the precious bells sounded in harmony. Among all stūpas in the Western Regions, this one was by far the best.

At the time when the stūpa was just completed, it was covered with a net sewn with rare<sup>191</sup> pearls. Several years later, the king thought to himself, "This pearl net is worth ten thousand measures of gold. After my death, I fear someone may steal it. Furthermore, I am afraid that if the stūpa is in disrepair, no one will fix it." He then had the net removed and placed in a bronze cauldron, which was interred at a point one hundred paces to the northwest of the stūpa. Above was planted a tree known as *pu-ti* (bodhi), whose branches stretched out in all directions and whose thick foliage blocked out the sky. Underneath the tree in each of the four directions were statues of seated Buddha<sup>192</sup>, each fifteen Chinese feet high. Four dragons guarded



## 【原文】

心欲取，则有祸变。刻石为铭，嘱语将来：若此塔坏，劳烦后贤出珠修治。

雀离浮图南五十步，有一石塔，其形正圆，高二丈，甚有神变，能与世人表吉凶。以指触之，若吉者，金铃鸣应；若凶者，假令人摇撼，亦不肯鸣。惠生既在远国，恐不吉反，遂礼神塔，乞求一验。于是以指触之，铃即鸣应。得此验，用慰私心，后果得吉反。

惠生初发京师之日，皇太后敕付五色百尺幡千口，锦香袋五百枚，王公卿士幡二千口。惠生从于阗至乾陀罗，所有佛事处，悉皆流布，至此顿尽。惟留太后百尺幡一口，拟奉尸毗王塔。宋云以奴婢二人奉雀离浮图，永充洒扫。惠生遂减割行资，妙简良匠，以铜摹写雀离浮图仪一躯，及释迦四塔变。

于是西北行七日，渡一大水，至如来为尸毗王救鸽之处，亦起

## 【今译】

萌生贪念，就将灾祸临头。刻石为铭，铭文嘱托道：如果将来此塔毁坏，烦劳后贤取珠修复。

雀离塔南五十步，有一座石塔，正圆形，高两丈。很有灵验，能给世人显示凶吉祸福。用手指触摸塔身，如果吉祥，金铃就相应地鸣响；如果不祥，即使让人去摇动，金铃也不肯出声。惠生远在异国，担心不能安然返乡，因此向神塔礼拜，乞求显示灵验。他的手指一接触塔，金铃就作出响应。得到这个先兆，内心受到安慰，后来果然顺利归国。

惠生当初从京城出发的那天，皇太后诏令赏赐给他一千杆五色的百尺幡、五百只锦香袋。从王公卿士那里，也接受了两千杆幡。惠生从于阗到乾陀罗，凡有佛像的地方，挨处都献上幡和香袋。到这里为止，已全部用完，只留下一杆太后所赐的幡，准备奉献尸毗王塔。宋云将两个奴婢奉送给雀离塔，永远充当洒扫之务。惠生也就割舍旅资，精选能工巧匠，用铜做成一个雀离塔模型以及释迦四塔模型。

于是向西北行进七天，渡过一条大河，来到如来为尸毗王救鸽



the pearls; if someone entertained the idea of thievery, he would immediately<sup>193</sup> meet with disaster. The king engraved an epitaph on a stone, commanding that if in the future the stūpa should be in disrepair, he would trouble worthies of later periods to sell the pearls [buried underneath] and use the money to fix it.

Fifty paces to the south of the Que-li Stūpa was a perfectly round stone stūpa, which rose to a height of twenty Chinese feet. It had such magic powers as to presage good or bad luck for men<sup>194</sup>. Of those who touched it, if it was one who would have good fortune, golden bells sounded in response. If it was one who would have ill fortune, the bells failed to sound, even when shaken. Now, since Hui-sheng was in a distant country, he was afraid of an inauspicious return [trip], so he bowed to the holy stūpa and begged for some evidence. He then touched it with his finger, and heard the bells ring in response. After receiving this indication, he felt at ease. Later, he indeed had a happy return [trip].

At first, when Hui-sheng left the capital, the empress dowager [née Hu] ordered him to take one thousand multicolored banners, each one hundred Chinese feet long. [He also received] five hundred incense bags made of brocade, in addition to [another] two thousand banners given him by princes and ministers. While en route from Yu-tian to Qian-tuo-luo, he gave all the Buddhist materials away [to the monasteries he visited]. In this way he used them up, except for One hundred-foot banner that the empress dowager had given him, and that he was prepared to offer to the stūpa of King Shi-pi (Śibi)<sup>195</sup>. Song Yun, [on his part], gave two slaves—one male and one female—to serve for life the Que-li Stūpa, sweeping the ground and sprinkling water. Hui-sheng, too, by saving from his travel allowance, was able to select a skilled artisan to copy in bronze [the following pictures]: one Que-li Stūpa, and four other stūpa depicting the transformation of Śākya[muni]<sup>196</sup>.

Thereafter they traveled westward for seven days, and, after having



## 【原文】

塔寺。昔尸毗王仓库为火所烧，其中粳米焦然，至今犹在，若服一粒，永无疾患。彼国人民须禁日取之。

《道荣传》云：至那迦罗阿国，有佛顶骨，方圆四寸，黄白色，下有孔，受人手指，罔然似仰蜂窠。至耆贺滥寺，有佛袈裟十三条，以尺量之，或短或长。复有佛锡杖，长丈七，以木筒盛之，金箔贴其上。此杖轻重不定，值有重时，百人不举，值有轻时，一人胜之。那竭城中有佛牙佛发，并作宝函盛之，朝夕供养。至瞿波罗窟，见佛影。入山窟，去十五步，西面向户遥望，则众相炳然；近看，则瞑然不见。以手摩之，唯有石壁。渐渐却行，始见其相。容颜挺特，世所稀有。窟前有方石，石上有佛迹。窟西南百步，有佛浣衣处。

## 【今译】

之处。也建有塔和寺。从前，尸毗王的仓库发生火灾，其中被烧焦的粳米至今犹在，如果服下一粒，就永远不患疟疾。这个国家的人民必须在禁日才能取到这种米粒。

《道荣传》说：到那迦罗阿国，发现有佛顶骨，直径四寸，黄白色，下部有很多孔，可容纳人的手指，形似蜂巢的底部。到耆贺滥寺，发现有佛的袈裟十三件，用尺去量，长短不定。有佛的锡杖，长一丈七尺，装在木筒中，木筒上贴着金箔。这根锡杖的轻重不定，当重的时候，百人合力都举不动；当轻的时候，一人之力足够举起。那竭城中有佛牙和佛发，各放置在宝函中，朝夕供奉。到达瞿波罗窟，是这样看到佛影：进入山窟十五步，朝西向洞口遥望，就能看出多姿的佛影；可是走近细看，反而一无所见，用手摸索，却只有石壁。渐渐后退着走，才看得出佛的面相。那种超群特出的容颜，是世上所罕见的。窟前有方形石块，上面有佛的足迹。窟的西南百



crossed a large river, they reached the place where Tathāgata, as King Śibi, saved the life of a dove. A stūpa and a monastery were built [to commemorate this event]. Long ago the granary of king Śibi was burned, scorching the stored rice. The rice was still in existence at that time. Anyone who took one grain would be free of malaria forever<sup>197</sup>. The people of this land were permitted the medicine<sup>198</sup> only when they needed it.

The *Account of Dao-rong* reads: After arriving in the state of Na-jia-  
 luo-a<sup>199</sup> (Nagarahāra, in modern Jalalabad, Afghanistan) [we found] a piece  
 of Buddha's bone from the top of his skull, square [outside] and round  
 [inside,]<sup>200</sup> four inches long and beige in color. At the lower end of the  
 bone was a hole [big enough] to insert a finger; lining the inside were  
 [tiny pockets] as numerous<sup>201</sup> as the cells of an inverted hornet's nest.  
 The Qi-he-lan Monastery<sup>202</sup> we visited had in its possession a thirteen-  
 patch kaṣāya of the Buddha. Measured with a ruler, some [of the patches]  
 were long; others short. There was also a pewter staff of Buddha's.  
 Seventeen Chinese feet long and gold-plated, it was deposited in a water  
 pail that was also gold-plated. Its weight varied from time to time: when  
 it was heavy, one hundred men could not lift it, but when it was light,  
 two persons could handle it. In the city of Na-jie there were Buddha's  
 teeth and hair, which were placed in a jeweled box and worshiped [by the  
 people] day and night<sup>203</sup>. Arriving at the Qu-bo-luo-long Cave<sup>204</sup>, we  
 saw the shadow of the Buddha. The cave had an opening toward the  
 west. When we viewed the shadow at a distance of fifty paces<sup>205</sup>, the  
 many radiant marks were clearly [revealed]. But when we took a closer  
 look, they were indistinct and invisible. If one touched it by hand, he  
 could only feel the stone wall. But, as he slowly stepped back they would  
 begin to appear. Their appearance was so unique that few other places in  
 the world have anything like it. In front of the cave was a square rock on  
 which were Buddha's [foot] prints. One hundred paces to the southwest



## 【原文】

窟北一里，有目连窟。窟北有山，山下有七佛手作浮图，高十丈。云此浮图陷入地，佛法当灭。并为七塔，七塔南石铭，云如来自手书，胡字分明，于今可识焉。

惠生在乌场国二年，西胡风俗，大同小异，不能具录。至正光二年二月始还天阙。

銜之按：《惠生行纪》事多不尽录，今依《道荣传》、《宋云家记》，故并载之，以备缺文。

京师东西二十里，南北十五里，户十万九千馀。庙社宫室府曹以外，方三百步为一里，里开四门，门置里正二人，吏四人，门士八人，合有二百二十里。寺有一千三百六十七所。天平元年迁都邺城，洛阳

## 【今译】

步远处，有佛洗衣处。窟北一里，有目连窟。这个窟的北边有山，山下有七佛亲手所造之塔，高达十丈。据说此塔一旦陷进地里，佛法当灭。与造此塔同时，还造有七个塔，塔南有刻石铭文，据说是如来的亲笔，胡字笔划分明，至今仍可辨认。

惠生在乌场国滞留两年，因西胡风俗大同小异，不能一一作具体记录。到了正光二年（521）二月，终于返回天朝。

銜之按：《惠生行纪》所记事项大多不够详尽，今据《道荣传》、《宋云家记》，将漏缺的部分一并载录，以备参考。

京城东西二十里，南北十五里，居民十万九千多户。庙、社、官室、官府除外，全城以三百平方步为一个里，每个里四面开门，每个门设里正两人、吏四人、门士八人，共有二百二十个里。有一千三百六十七所寺院。天平元年（534）首都迁往邺城时，洛阳残存四百二





of the cave was the site where Buddha had washed his garment<sup>206</sup>. One *li* to the north of the cave was the Mu-lian Cave (Mandgalyāyana)<sup>207</sup>. To the North of the [Qu-bo-luo-long] Cave was a hill, at the foot of which was a large stūpa that rose to a height of one hundred Chinese feet. It was built with the great<sup>208</sup> Buddha's own hands. The elders said that if the stūpa should [one day] sink into the ground, Buddhism would perish. Altogether the Buddha built seven stūpas. To the south of the large one<sup>209</sup> was an inscription reportedly written by Tathāgata. The inscription appeared in the barbarian characters (Sanskrit) and is still clearly legible today."

Hui-sheng stayed for two years in Wu-chang. It would be difficult to record in detail the minor variations in the customs of the Western barbarians, which by and large were similar. It was not until the second month of the second year of the Zheng-guang period<sup>210</sup> that he returned to the national capital<sup>211</sup>.

[Yang] Xuan-zhi's note: *Hui-sheng's Traveling Account* did not give us details. Now I have also quoted from the *Account of Dao-rong* and the *Private Records of Song Yun*<sup>212</sup> to make up its deficiencies.

The capital city was twenty *li*<sup>213</sup> from the east to the west and fifteen *li* from the south to the north. It had a total of one hundred ninety thousand and more households. Excluding monasteries, shrines, palaces, and such government buildings as *fu* (ministries) and *cao* (bureaus), [the city was divided into] wards, [each being] the equivalent of three hundred square paces. It also had four gates. For each gate, there were two *li-zheng* (ward superintendents), under whom were four *li* (assistants) and eight *men-shi* (wardens). There were altogether two hundred twenty wards and one thousand three hundred sixty-seven temples and monasteries. After the moving of the capital to the city of Ye in the first year of the Tian-ping period (A.D.



### 【原文】

馀寺四百二十一所。北邙山上有冯王寺、齐献武王寺。京东石关有元领军寺、刘长秋寺。嵩高中有闲居寺、栖禅寺、嵩阳寺、道场寺。上有中顶寺，东有升道寺。京南关口有石窟寺、灵岩寺。京西灊涧有白马寺、照乐寺。如此之寺，既郭外，不在数限，亦详载之。

### 【今译】

十一所寺院。北邙山上有冯王寺、齐献武王寺。京城东郊的石关有元领军寺、刘长秋寺。嵩山山中有闲居寺、栖禅寺、嵩阳寺、道场寺；山顶有中顶寺；东边有升道寺。在京城南郊的关口有石窟寺、灵岩寺。在西郊的灊水与涧水一带有白马寺、照乐寺。这些佛寺，因位于城郭之外，下在上述数额之内，所以也备列于此。



534), four hundred twenty-one temples and monasteries still remained in Luo-yang. This number did not include temples and monasteries outside of the city. A detailed listing of such temples and monasteries is given herewith: On the Bei-mang Mountain, the Feng-wang<sup>214</sup> and the Qi Xian-wu Wang<sup>215</sup> monasteries; in the Shi-que (Stone Tower)<sup>216</sup> section—the eastern suburb of the capital—the Yuan Ling-jun (Temple of Yuan, General Directing the Army)<sup>217</sup> and Liu Chang-qiū<sup>218</sup> (Temple of Liu, the Prolonger of the Autumn) temples<sup>219</sup>; in the Song Mountains, the Xian-ju (Temple of Leisurely Resting)<sup>220</sup>, Xi-chan (Temple of Living in a State of Meditation)<sup>221</sup>, Song-yang (Temple on the South of the Song Mountains), and Dao-chang (Temple of Enlightenment)<sup>222</sup> temples; on top of the Song Mountains, the Zhong-ding (Temple of the Mid Summit) temple, and, on the eastern slope, the Sheng-dao (Temple of Achieving Enlightenment) temple; in the southern suburb of the city near the Guan-kou (Yi-que, a cliff overlooking the Yi River), the Shi-ku (Temple of the Stone Cave) and Ling-yan (Temple of the Auspicious Cliff)<sup>223</sup> temples; [and finally] in the western suburbs of the capital close to the Chan and Jian rivers<sup>224</sup>, the Bai-ma and Zhao-le (Temple to Shine on Happiness) temples.



NOTES

Preface

1 Literally, *san-fen wu-dian zhi shuo* 三坟五典之说 (*SPC 6/37* gives *ji* 记 for *shou* 说), that is, books reputedly authored by two groups of exemplary emperors of Chinese antiquity. Fu-xi 伏羲 (trad. 2852-2738 B.C.), Shen-nong 神农 (trad. 2737-2698 B.C.) and Huang-di 黄帝 (the Yellow Emperor, trad. 2697-2598 B.C.) make up the first group of the mythical Three Emperors, and Shao-hao 少昊 (trad. 2597-2514 B.C.), Zhuān-xu 颛顼 (trad. 2513-2636 B.C.), Gao-xin 高辛 (trad. 2435-2366 B.C.), Yao 尧 (trad. d. 2258 B.C.) and Shun 舜 (trad. 2317-2208 B.C.) are the Five Monarchs of the second group. This phrase is a direct quotation from the *Zuo-zhuan* 左传 (Yi-wen facsimile SSSCS ed.) Zhao 昭 12 45/36b-37a: 左史倚相趋过, 王曰: 是良史也, 子善视之, 是能读三坟五典八索九丘. Legge 5, p. 641: "and E-sēang, the historiographer of the Left, passed by. 'There,' said the king, 'is an excellent historiographer. He can read the three Fun, the five Tēn, the eight Sih, and the nine K'ēw.'" Du Yu's 杜预 (A.D. 222-284) comm.: 皆古书名. 孔安国尚书云: 伏羲, 神农, 黄帝之书, 谓之三坟, 言大道也. 少昊, 颛顼, 高辛, 唐, 虞之书, 谓之五典, 言常道也. "All these are titles of ancient books. Kong An-guo's (pseudonym) Preface to the *Shang-shu* reads: 'Books of Fu-xi, Shen-nong, and the Yellow Emperor are known as the San-fen. They deal with the Great Way. Books of Shao-hao, Zhuān-xu, Gao-xin, Tang, and Yu are known as the Wu-dian. They deal with the Normal Way.'"

For a discussion of Yang's Preface, see Kanda Kiichirō, "Rakuyō garanki jo sakki," in *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 9 (July 1947), 71-94.

2 Emending *jiu-liu bai-dai* 九流百代 to *jiu-liu bai-shi* 九流百氏 after *SPC 9/89* and *Xu Gao-seng zhuan* 1/429. For the origin of 九流 (nine major schools of thought in pre-Han China), see *Han-shu bu-zhu* (Yi-wen facsimile ed.) 30/51b.

The couplet reads 三坟五典之说, 九流百氏之言, 并理在人区, 而利兼天下, which is actually modeled after the *Hou-Han shu* (Yi-wen facsimile *HHS* ed.) 118/27b 西域传论: 神迹诡怪, 则理绝人区; 威验明显, 则事出天外. "The magic performances are simply too spectacular to be true in this world [of ours]; the proven efficacy of the [Buddhist] power can only occur outside of the universe." In Chapter 3 there is a couplet 商胡贩客, 日奔塞下, which is yet another paraphrase of *HHS* (118/26b 西域传论: 驰命走驿, 不绝于时月, 商胡贩客, 日款于塞下; q.v., Chapter 3, n.165). "Companies of caravans rushed incessantly between the post stages in all seasons; barbarian tradesmen and peddlers daily came to pay tribute at our frontier lookouts." Both cases suggest that the author was an admirer of, and was much inspired by, the *HHS* style.

3 That is, *yi-cheng* 一乘, Mahāyāna (more strictly, Ekayāna), which, unlike Hinayāna, purports to be the complete law of the Buddha.

4 That is, *er-di* 二谛, reality 真谛 (paramārtha) as opposed to the ordinary ideas of things 俗谛 (*sarvrti satya*). *Fa-men ming-yi ji* (*Taishō* ed.) 199: 二谛, 一者世谛, 一名世谛, 亦名俗谛. 二者第一义谛, 亦名真谛.

5 That is, *san-ming* 三明 which includes: (1) insight into the normal conditions of self and others in previous lives (过去宿命明); (2) supernatural insight into future mortal



conditions (未来天眼明); and (3) insight into the present mortal sufferings so as to overcome all passions or temptations (现在漏尽明). See *Zhao-lun* (*Taishō* ed.) 158 涅槃无名论第四厥体第二: 三明镜于内, 神光照于外. 三明 is also given as 三达. See *Fa-men-ming-yi ji* 197: 三明一作三达, and *Fo-shuo pu-sa ben-xing jing* (*Taishō* ed.) A/108: 六通三达, 成一切智.

6 That is, *liu-tong* 六通, the universal powers acquired by a Buddha or an Arhat through the degree of *dhyāna* (uninterrupted mental concentration). *Fa-men ming-yi ji* 197: 一身通, 天眼通, 三天耳通, 四他心通, 五宿命通, 六漏尽通.

7 The text (1a) gives *ding* 顶 and *SPC* (9/87) *qing* 顷. Both characters are mistaken for *xiang* 项, "neck." According to the *Han Xian-zong kai-fo-hua-fa ben nei-zhuan* 汉显宗开佛法本内传 (author unknown), as quoted in the *Guang Hong-ming ji* 1/98 归正篇, the emperor had a dream of the Buddha in A.D.70, in which the latter appeared as a golden figure sixteen Chinese feet tall, with his neck emitting a stream of light. The text reads: 明帝永平 [十] 三年, 上梦天人. 金身丈六, 项有日光.

8 That is, *man-yue* 满月, a standard description of Buddha's face. See *Xiu-xing ben-qi jing* (*Taishō* ed.) 1/461.

9 For the statue of Buddha above the Kai-yang Gate, see *Li-huo-lun* 理惑论 as quoted in the *Hong-ming ji* (*Taishō* ed.) 1/5.

10 Chang-ye Terrace is the name of Emperor Ming's tomb, built while he was still alive.

11 The Buddha is described as having dark hair and white eyebrows. See *Fo-shuo Tai-zi rui-ying ben-qi jing* (*Taishō* ed.) 1/474: 其发紺青, 眉间白毫, 项出日光.

12 The "white hair" is a standard mark in the statue of Buddha. It appears "between the eyes," hence is also known as "the third eye."

13 Emending *er* 尔 to *er* 迹 after *IS* (1a).

14 The text (1a) has a set of four sentences arranged in two comparable pairs, with two sentences for each pair. The first sentence in the first pair and the first sentence in the second pair each has four characters, whereas the second sentence of the first pair and the second sentence in the second pair each has six characters. The set of two pairs is therefore 4×6 and 4×6 裡 the first example of such parallel prose in the text.

15 The generous Prince Xu-da-na 须大拿 (*Sudāna*) was believed to have donated elephants, horses, and carriages. See Chapter 5 at note 117. The text indicates that Wei dignitaries were willing to donate whatever was needed in the cause of Buddhism.

16 That is, *Yi-ji* 遗迹. *Wen-xuan* (Yi-wen facsimile ed.) 29/3a 古诗十九首: 不念携手好, 弃我如遗迹. "Forgetting the fondness [we shared] when holding our hands together/ You are abandoning me without a single vestage [in your mind]."

17 Literally *zhao-ti* 招提 (*catur-desa*), meaning "four quarters"; that is, Buddhist temples to house monks coming from all directions.

18 The text (1b) reads 争写天上之姿, 竞摹山中之影, of which 天上之姿 and 山中之影 both refer to Buddha's likeness. "The shadow of the mountain" may refer to an image of Buddha noted by Hui-yuan 慧远 of Lu-shan 庐山. See his "Fo-ying ming" 佛影铭 as quoted in *Guang Hong-ming ji*, pp.197-198.

19 The text (1b) 木衣锦绣, 土被朱紫 is a slightly modified quotation from Zhang Heng's 张衡 "Xi-jing fu" 西京赋 (*WH* 2/8a: 木衣锦绣, 土被朱紫) which E.R.Hughes (*Two Chinese Poets*, Princeton, 1960, p.40) translates as "with the timbers adorned like the silk of robes, with the earth [walls] colored in red and purple." Originally, Zhang Heng used this phrase to

describe the luxurious residences in Chang-an, but here Yang Xuan-zhi applied the similar wording to Buddhist temples in Luo-yang. "Figures" and "idols" are my addition. "Idols" may be symbolic of the grandeur of the formless Dharmakāya as visualized by Hui-yuan. See n.18 above.

20 In the seventh month (July to August) of the third year of the Yong-xi period (A.D. 534), Emperor Xiao-wu of the Wei was forced to move to Chang-an. Three months later (October to November, A.D.534), Emperor Xiao-jing 孝靜 was enthroned in Ye.

21 *Shi-jing* (Yi-wen facsimile SSCCS ed.) 1.3/2a: (ode 7, verse 2) 免兔: 施于中途。Comm.: 途, 九达之道。Here "nine" is used rather freely to mean "many."

22 The text (1b) reads *geng-jia* 耕稼, which, in rhetorical terms, is not in agreement with *mu-shu* 牧豎 in the parallel sentence. The translation follows *SPC* (9/97) which gives *geng-lao* 耕老 instead.

23 A reference to Wei-zi, who lamented over the luxuriant wheat plants in the deserted ruins of the former Yin capital, prior to his trip to the Zhou capital. *Shang-shu da-zhuan* (*SPTK suo-ben*) 2/34 微子: 微子将往朝周, 过殷之故墟, 见麦秀之薪薪, 曰: 此故父母之国, …志动心悲, …乃为麦秀之歌。

24 An allusion to the millet grown in the former palaces and ancestral shrines of the Zhou court. *Shi-jing* 4.1/3b (preface to ode 65): 国风王城黍离序: 黍离, 闵宗周也。周大夫行役, 至于宗周, 过故宗不忍去, 而作是诗也。

25 Tang Yong-tong estimates that at the end of the Wei period, there were 1,367 Buddhist temples in Luo-yang. See *Han-Wei Liang-Jin Nan-bei-chao fo-jiao shi* (Shang-hai, 1938), 2nd vol./70.

26 Emending *zui-duo* 最多 to *zhong-duo* 众多 after *SPC* 9/97.

27 Adding the character *su* 俗 after *SPC* 9/97.

28 Adding the character *fan* 凡 after *SPC* 9/97.

29 The construction work was started in the tenth month (November-December) of the seventeenth year of Tai-he (A.D.493) and completed two years later in the ninth month (October-November) of A.D.495.

Both Li Chong 李冲, Minister of State Affairs (*Shang-shu*), and Dong jue 董爵, Court Architect (*Jiang-zuo da-jiang*), took part in the construction project. See *WS* 7B/13b; *YHNC* 3/1a.

30 The location of the Jian-chun Gate agrees with an entry in the *He-nan jun[-xian] jing-jie bu* 河南郡[县]境界簿 as quoted by Li Shan 李善 (d. A.D.658) in his comm. for Xie Zhuang's 谢庄 "Song Xiao-wu Xuan Gei-fei lei" 宋季武宣贵妃诔 (*WH* 57/15b).

For differences in translating official titles and geographical names, see Hans Bielenstein, "Luo-yang in Later Han Times," *BMFEA* 48 (1976), 1-142.

31 *WH* 23/46 阮籍咏怀诗: 步出上东门。

32 The text (2a) reads *dong-zhong* 东中, but both the *Shui-jing zhu* (Yi-wen facsimile ed.) 16/256 穀水注 and *YHNC* 2/46 后汉城阙宫殿古迹 give *zhong-dong* 中东。Hence the translation.

33 Also known as the *Xuan-ping men* 宣平门 or *Mao-men* 旄门。See *YHNC* 24/66.

34 Also known as the *Shui-men* 税门 and *Mang-men* 芒门。See *SCC* 16/25b.

35 Emending *san* 三 to *si* 四 after *IS* (2a).

36 Adding the character *men* 门 after *ji-zheng* (2a)





37 Also known as the *Ping-men* 平门. The gate was built in A.D.37 and reserved for royal processions. See *YHNC* 2/4a.

38 A total of seventeen characters is added here after *CS* (11). Hence the translation.

39 A total of six characters is added here after *He-jiao* (1a).

40 The Luo River entered the city through this gate; hence the name.

41 Also known as the *Yong-cheng Gate* 雍城門 ("a barrack-protected city"). See *YHNC* 2/2a.

42 The gate corresponded to the *Dong-yang Gate* on the other side of the city wall. See *SCC* 16/20a.

43 The Heavenly Gate is believed to be the south gate of the Purple Palace (*Zi-wei-yuan* 紫微垣) ("purple forbidden enclosure," name of the pole stars in ancient China; see Needham, *Science and Civilisation*, 3,259).

44 *Shu-jing* (Yi-wen facsimile SSSCS ed.) 3/4b 舜典: 在璇玑玉衡, 以齐七政. Legge 3, P.33, "The Canon of Shun": "He examined the gem-adorned turning sphere, and the gem transverse tube, that he might regulate the seven Directions."

45 It was built under Emperor Ming of the Wei in the northwestern section of Luo-yang. See *SCC* 16/9b. For recent archaeological discoveries of the Jin-yong City, see "Han-Wei Luo-yang cheng chu-bu kan-cha," *Kao-gu* 4 (1973), P.207.

46 Of humble origin, Li Biao had been a Court Secretary and Court Compiler under Emperors Gao-zu and Shi-zong. He died in A.D.501. For more information about him, see *WS* 62/1a-20a.

47 Here the translation follows Hans Frankel's "Fifteen Poems by Cao Zhi, An Attempt at a New Approach," *JAOS* 84 (January-March 1964), 4. For Chinese text, see *WH* 24/3a 赠白马王彪.

48 Also known as the *Xia-cheng Gate* 夏城門 ("Great China"; Hsia, name of the most ancient recorded dynasty is an analogy with China). See *YHNC* 2/5b.

49 This sentence is added after *CS* (14).

50 The text (3b) does not include these three characters *Xuan-wu-di* 宣武帝, "Emperor Xuan-wu." *CS* (14) makes this addition after *YHNC* 3/2a.

51 *Guang-mo* is the name of one of the eight strong winds. It supposedly resides in the north. *Shi-ji hui-zhu kao-zheng* (Yi-wen facsimile ed.) 25/12 律书: 广莫风居北方. 广莫者, 言阳气在下, 阴莫阳广大也: 故曰广莫.

52 Also known as the *Gu-cheng Gate* (City of Grain) 谷城門. It faced the Mang Mountain further to the north. See *YHNC* 2/5b; *SCC* 16/14a.

53 During the Jin, each thoroughfare consisted of three lanes. In the center was the imperial drive, which was flanked on either side by an earthen wall four Chinese feet high. The drive was open to ranking officials when performing ceremonial duties, and the left and right lanes were for the use of the common people (the left was intended as an inbound lane, the right was outbound). Locust and willow trees were planted on both sides of the thoroughfare. The same thoroughfare arrangement was perhaps followed during the Wei. See *YHNC* 2/22a.

Side by side: that is, *jiu-gui* 九轨. *Gui* 轨 means the width between wheels of a carriage. See *Zhou-li* (Yi-wen facsimile SSSCS ed.) 41/24b 考工记匠人: 国中九经九纬, 经涂九轨. Zheng Xuan's 郑玄 (A.D.132-200) comm.: 经纬之涂, 皆容方九轨, 轨谓轨广.



NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1 For the construction of the Yong-ning Monastery, see also *TC*(Yi-wen facsimile ed.) 148/17b. There was another Yong-ning Monastery in the old capital of Ping-cheng, which was the center of imperial activities. See *WS* 114/15b 释老志. A description of this monastery, condensed from the same source, is available in Kenneth K.S.Chen's *Buddhism in China a Historical Survey* (Princeton, 1964, pp.161-162). See also Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China* (London, 1956), p. 229; Mizuno Seiichi, "Rakuyō Eineiji kai" in *Kōkōgaku ronsō* 10 (January 1939), 111-128. For recent archaeological discoveries of the remains of this monastery, see "Han-Wei Luo-yang-cheng chu-bu kan-cha," *Kao-gu*, pp. 204-205. See also William C. White, *Tombs of old Luo-yang* (Shang-hai, 1934); *Tomb Tile Pictures of Ancient China* (Toronto, 1939).

2 A measure of distance, one li is roughly the equivalent of one-third of an English mile. It also means a ward.

3 Also known as Tong-tuo *jie* 铜驼街, "Bronze Camel Street."

4 Also known as the Office to Oversee Merits (*Jian-fu cao*) when the Northern Wei capital was still in Ping-cheng. "Xuan" here refers to Buddhist affairs instead of Taoist teachings, which is the traditional meaning of this word. For *Jian-fu cao*, see *WS* 114/17a 释老志.

5 The function of this office is not clear. The text may be in error.

6 Ling-yin, meaning "Ice Storehouse," appeared for the first time in the *Shi-jing* 8.1/21b (ode 154, verse 8, line 2) and is the same term that Arthur Waley translated as "Cold Shed" in the *Book of Songs* (New York, 1960), p.167.

7 The text reads *si-chao shi* 四朝时, in which *si* 四 is probably a corruption for *zhong* 中. *Zhong-chao* 中朝, a term frequently used in this work, referring to the four reigns of the Western Jin (A.D. 265-316), when the national capital was in Luo-yang. It is also a term used in *SCC* (15/13a under Luo-shui). The author never used this term *si-chao* elsewhere.

*PC* (111-112) suggests that *si-chao* 四朝 might be an error for *xi-chao* 西朝 (Western Dynasties), a term often used by intellectuals of the Southern Dynasties to refer to Luo-yang, or to dynasties with Luo-yang as their national capital. Since Yang Xuan-zhi was a subject of the Northern Dynasties, however, it does not seem likely that he would use the same term for Luo-yang that his southern counterparts did.

8 A picul is the equivalent of 100 catties or 10 *tau*.

9 The text (1/2b) reads *qing-suo yi-shu* 青璪绮疏. For the origin of *qing-suo* 青璪, see *WH* 2/4a 张衡西京赋. Blue was the ornamental color reserved for imperial use during the Han.

10 The text reads *Xu-mi bao-dian* 须弥宝殿, the Grand Hall of Sumeru. According to Xuan-zang (*Da-Tang Xi-yu ji*, *SPTK suo-ben* 1/3), Sumeru is the name of a holy mountain that, in Hindu mythology, holds up the heavens.

11 The text reads *Dou-shuai jing-gong* 兜率净宫, meaning the Palace of Purity in Tusita where Maitreya dwells.

12 It is also known as Ling-xing Gate 楞星门, with towers on each side. Its height varied from eight to twenty-two Chinese feet. See Li Jie's *Ying-zao fa-shi* (facsimile ed., Shanghai,





1954), 6/122-125, 32/62-63.

13 Literally, *lü-shui* 绿水, azure waters.

14 The Chinese name for this type of fan is *he-huan* 合欢. For its origin, see *WH* 27/11b 班婕妤怨歌行. *He-huan* (acacia) is also the name of a tree. Its exuberant eaves grow in thick profusion, but each one yields to the wind separately, producing a pleasant breeze for those enjoying shade underneath. See Cui bao, *Gu-jin zhu* (IS ed.) B/1b. The author uses this term as a pun.

15 The text (1/3a), which consists of two pairs of parallel sentences in alternating four- and six-character form, is an excellent example of the author's mastery of the parallel prose style. As an example of free translation, the whole paragraph, including this passage, can be rephrased and translated as follows: "Deep blue-green locust trees were planted outside the four gates along the banks of a sparkling stream, offering a welcome retreat for the travelers in the capital who often took shelter there. People on the street delighted in its freedom from both the gusts of dust-laden wind [and the suffocating heat]. The enticing beauty of this spot no more derived from the presence of billowing cumulus clouds hanging heavy with moisture, than from the gentle breeze of the round-shaped fans. [Rather, it was a fortuitous confluence of all nature's friendliest elements.]" Also see the Introduction.

16 Chang Jing was a leading essayist, jurist, and government official near the end of the Northern Wei dynasty (A.D.386-534). Two rubbings of his stele inscriptions are still available today: one for Yuan Xing 元兴 (dated A.D.542) and the other for the Chief of Buddhist Nuns Ci-qing 慈庆 (dated A.D. 524). See Zhao Wan-li, *Han-Wei Nan-bei-chao mu-zhi ji-shi* (Beijing, 1956), plates 42 and 239.

For the biography of Chang Jing, see *WS* 82/5a-13a. This is an important source of information about the legal history of the Northern Wei, because no other work provides nearly as complete a list of participants and their respective official titles.

17 During the Northern Wei, He-wei commandery belonged to Huai province 怀州. See *WS* 106A/23b 地形志. Ye-wang 野王 was the capital city of He-wei commandery.

18 According to *Ce-fu yuan-gui* and other sources quoted by Cheng Shu-de ( *Jiu-chao lü kao*, facsimile ed., Taipei, 1965, 5/409), the codification took place in A.D.504.

19 For his biography, see *WS* 82/20-4b.

20 For his biography, see *WS* 82/1a-2a.

21 For his biography, see *WS* 19B/2b-22b.

22 For his biography, see *WS* 55/7a-16a.

23 Pan Yue (A.D. ?-300) was a noted man of letters of the early Jin Dynasty. For his biography, see *Jin-shu jiao-zhu* (Yi-wen facsimile ed.) 55/11a-21b. He had been the prefect of Chang-an; hence the allusion.

24 For 黄门侍郎, my translation follows Deng Si-yu, *Family Instructions for the Yen Clan* (Leiden, 1968), xxii. Yi-tong san-si (Palatine Ceremonially Equal to the Three Authorities) is an honorific title reserved for veteran high-ranking officials. It carried little real power, and its function varied from time to time. Deng zhi 邓騭 of the Later Han Dynasty was the first official to hold this title. In A.D.106 he was given this title in addition to his post of General of Chariots and Horsemen (*Ju jiang-jun*). See *HHS* 16/11a.

25 Feng Wei-bo, the eldest son of Feng Gui 封轨, was a native of Bo-hai commandery 渤海郡 (in modern He-bei). He was chosen as Erudite of the Imperial Academy (*Tai-xue bo-shi*)



in recognition of his learning. For his biography, see WS 32/14b-16b.

26 The dates and life of Bodhidharma (ca.A.D.461-534) remain controversial. Some maintain that he was an Indian prince who came to Canton by sea in A.D. 520 or 527. Others assert that he was a native of Persia and lived more than 150 years before he suddenly disappeared. At first invited by Emperor Wu of the Liang 梁武帝 (regnant A.D.502-549) to stay in Nan-jing, he eventually went to live in Song Mountain (north of modern Deng-feng prefecture 登封, He-nan) under the Northern Wei. He was generally accepted as the first patriarch of the Chan School 禅宗 in China. See Dao-yuan, *Jing-de chuan-deng lu* (SPTK ed.) 3/1b-9b, and Chen, *Buddhism in China*, pp.352-353.

For a study of the Western Regions, see Hori Kentoku, *Kaisetsu Seiki ki* (Tokyo,1912); and for a description of Buddhism in that area, see Hatani Ryōtai, *Seiki no Bukkyō* (Kyoto, 1914). See also Funaki Katsuma, "Hokugi no Seiki kōtsū ni kansuru shomondai" I in *Fukuoka Nishi Nihon shigaku* 4 (1950) 46-69; II in *Hakusan shigaku* (Tōyō Daigaku Hakusan Shigakkai), 2 (1956), 1-10.

27 Literally, Yan-fu[-zhou] 阎浮[州], jambu-dvīpa.

28 The text (1/4a) reads *ji-wu-jing-jie* 极物境界.

29 For a comparable account of Er-zhu Rong's rise to power and his eventual downfall, see WS 74/1a-15a.

30 The text (1/46) gives Bei-di Xiu-rong 北地秀容. Bei-di (in modern Gan-su) was the name of a commandery geographically removed from Xiu-rong, thus indicating the character Bei 北 as an interpolation. On the other hand, in the "Treatise on Geography" (*Di-xing zhi* 地形志) in WS (106A/17b-18a), a Xiu-rong commandery (established in A.D. 410) in Si-zhou 肆州 (created as a *zhen* 镇 -military post-in A.D. 405 but changed to a province in A.D. 445), and a Xiu-rong prefecture (modern Xin-xian 忻县, Shan-xi) are mentioned. No mention is made of Bei (Northern) Xiu-rong. The biography of Er-zhu Rong (WS 74/1a-b), however, records that at one time Emperor Tai-zu (regnant A.D.386-409) considered transferring Er-zhu Yu-jian 尔朱羽健 (Er-zhu Rong's great-grandfather) from Bei Xiu-rong to Nan (Southern) Xiu-rong, the latter covering an area of 300 square *li*-almost three times the normal size of a prefecture. The size itself seems to indicate that both Bei Xiu-rong and Nan Xiu-rong were commanderies instead of prefectures. Furthermore, citing a prefecture instead of a commandery in a biography to identify an individual geographically would be a departure from the traditional style of historical writing.

For general background of the tribal structure Er-zhu Rong headed, see Zhou Yi-liang, "Bei-chao di min-zu wen-ti yu min-zu zheng-ce," *Wei-jin Nan-bei-chao shi lun-cong* (Bei-jing, 1963), p.159.

31 According to WS (74/1a), since the time of Er-zhu Rong's great-grandfather, Er-zhu Yu-jian, the head of the Er-zhu family had also been the chieftain with jurisdiction over all tribesmen. The chieftains ranged from the first to third rank. See also Zhou Yi-liang, "Ling-min qiu-zhang yu liu-zhou du-du," in *Wei-jin Nan-bei-chao shi lun-cong*, p.188.

32 The text implies that the family had the hereditary title Duke of Bo-ling. According to WS (74/3a), however, Er-zhu Rong was the first to receive this title.

33 Literally *bu-luo* 部落, a tribe.

34 WS 74/2a reads: "Cattle, sheep, camels, and horses are divided into herds by color and measured by the number of valleys they graze."



35 Literally *fu-deng tian-fu* 富等天府, "as rich as the heavenly treasury," For the origin of *tian-fu*, see *Zhan-guo-ce* (SPTK suo-ben) 3/30: 此所谓天府, 天下之雄国也. James I. Crump, Jr., tr., *Intrigues: Studies of the Zhan Guo Ce* (Ann Arbor, 1964), p.32: "truly an arsenal of nature, the most awesome state in the land!"

36 The exact date of the imperial demise is as given in *WS* 9/29a-b. According to *WS* 74/4b, however, it should be April.

37 That is, Yuan Yu 元愉, son of Emperor Xiao-wen and originally known as Prince of Jing-zhao 京兆王. Lin-tao was his posthumous title. See *WS* 22/4b; 9/29b.

Upon the death of Emperor Su-zong, Empress Dowager Hu proclaimed the enthronement of the child of Lady Pan (literally, Pan Chong-hua 潘充华, *Chong-hua* being one of many titles for palace women), said to be a baby boy. A few days later, when the nation recovered somewhat from the initial shock of the imperial demise, she announced that Lady Pan's baby was really a girl, but, since a male successor was urgently needed, she had selected the son of Yuan Bao-hui 元宝晖 as the new emperor. He was then only three years old. See *PS* 13/21a.

38 Yuan Tian-mu was a member of the imperial household. He and Er-zhu Rong, as noted elsewhere, were sworn brothers. See *PS* 15/8b Bing-zhou had its capital in Jin-yang 晋阳 (modern Tai-yuan prefecture 太原, Shan-xi).

39 Literally, *yan-jia* 晏驾, "late to the carriage," It was customary for the emperor to hold court audience early in the morning. *SC* 79/28 范睢传: 宫车一日晏驾, "If one day the palace carriage should come out late ...." Ying Shao's 应劭 (ca.A.D.140-ca. 206) commentary: 天子当晨起早作, 如方崩殒, 故称晏驾, "The emperor should rise up in the morning and start working early. If he has just passed away, he is known 'to be late to his carriage'."

40 *IS* (1/4a) gives *tie-ma san-qian* 铁马三千. For *tie-ma*, see *WH* 56/6b 陆倕石关铭: 铁马千群. Li Shan's commentary: 铁马, 铁甲之马, "By iron-horses, we mean those that are iron-armored."

41 It was believed that the emperor died unnaturally; hence Er-zhu Rong's provocative inquiry.

42 According to *TC* 152/6b and *WS* 74/5b, the deceased emperor had secret plans authorizing Er-zhu Rong to stage an armed coup d'état in the capital, thus ridding himself of Zheng Yan 郑俨 and Xu He 徐纡, two powerful officials faithful to the empress dowager but disloyal to the emperor. Knowing what might happen, and with the empress dowager's concurrence, Zheng Yan and Xu He allegedly poisoned the emperor.

43 Here the translation follows *CT* (1/sb), which has an additional phrase *ying-wu zhi lue* 英武志略.

44 Yi-yin, a prime minister of the Yin 殷 dynasty, dethroned Emperor Tai-jia 太甲 (regnant 1753-1721 B.C.) See *Shu-jing* 8/17a-24a. Huo Guang of the Western Han enthroned Liu He 刘贺, King of Chang-yi 昌邑王, after the death of Emperor Zhao 昭帝 (regnant 86-74 B.C.), but later elevated Emperor Xuan 宣帝 (regnant 73-49 B.C.) as a replacement for the King of Chang-yi when the latter was found to be incompetent. See *HS* 68/4b ff.

45 *Xing fei-li zhi shi* 行废立之事, "to handle such matters as dethronement and enthronement."

46 Literally, *dang-bi* 当璧, "he who worships right over the jade"; that is, the one ruler approved by the god. The expression originates from the *Zuo-zhuan* Zhao 13 46/9a: 当璧而拜者, 神所立也. Legge 5, P. 650: "He who worships right over his *bie* shall be he whom

your Spirits have appointed."

47 It was customary during the Wei to cast a statue in the likeness of candidates for the titles of Empress and Monarch. Only those whose statues came out of the mold with perfect features would be chosen. See Zhao Yi, *Nian-er-shi da-ji* (SPPY ed.) 14/14a under 后魏以铸像卜休咎.

48 WS 76/6a reads Wang Xiang 王相. He was a *cang-tou* 苍头. For more information about this term, see Martin C. Wilbur, *Slavery in China during the Former Han Dynasty, 206 B.C.-A.D.25* (revised ed., New York, 1967), p.69.

49 A symbol of mourning for the death of the emperor.

50 The text (1/5b) reads Xu Tong 徐统, *Tong* being a scribal mistake for *He* 纒.

51 The name of a Han prefecture used loosely to refer to Shuo-zhou 朔州 (modern Shuo-xian 朔县, Shan-xi) during the Northern Wei. It was first established during the Qin to guard against the Xiong-nu raids. See HS 28b/38a Yan Shi-gu's 颜师古 commentary quoting the 晋太康地记.

52 This is a reference to *Zhuang-zi* (*SPTK suo-ben*) 3/37, which points out the folly of the mantis's overconfidence.

53 This is the philosopher Jia Yi's 贾谊(201-169 B.C.) analysis of the political situation the Western Han Court then faced: to sleep atop piled firewood and consider oneself safe until the flame reaches him from below.

54 A strategic outpost of Luo-yang; south of Meng-xian 孟县 and north of Luo-yang. It was originally built at Du Yu's order in A.D.274 at Fu-ping Ford 富平津 (south of modern Meng-xian, He-nan). See *Jin-shu* 3/22b; 34/21b.

55 Son of Li Chong 李崇. For more information, see Li Chong's biography in WS 66/12a-b.

56 Grandson of Zheng De-xuan 郑德玄. For more details, see WS 56/14b-15a.

57 In modern Qin-yang 沁阳, He-nan.

58 WS 74/6a reads Gao-zhu 高渚. This meeting took place on May 13, A.D.528. Chang-lue's elder brother Yuan Shao 元劭, Prince of Peng-cheng 彭城王, and younger brother Yuan Zi-zheng 元子正, Prince of Shi-ping 始平王, also accompanied him.

59 The exact number killed is unknown. Estimates vary from more than thirteen hundred (WS 74/6b) to more than two thousand (WS 10/2a; TC 152/10b).

60 Tai-ji was the main hall in the palace complex. It was first built in A.D. 235 to hold important ceremonies. See *Wei-zhi* (in *San-guo zhi ji-jie*, Bei-jing, 1957), 3/32a.

61 Literally, *Jie-wang chui-ren* 解网垂仁, "loosen the net [of the law] and bestow benevolence," a reference to King Tang 汤, founder of the Shang dynasty (trad. 1765-1123 B.C.), who advocated that three of the four corners ora hunter's net be opened up to give captives a chance to flee. See SC 3/8-9.

62 Shan Wei, a native of Luo-yang, was on duty in the palace as the Grandee Remonstrant (*Jian-yi da-fu*) when the purge took place in He-yin (east of modern Meng-jin 孟津, He-nan) He was therefore saved from the massacre. For his biography, see PS 50/18a-19b.

63 *Ling zuo-you* 领左右 is perhaps an abbreviation for *Ling-jun zuo-you* 领军左右, who had authority over imperial guards. Yuan Yi (executed in A.D. 526) also held this title in previous years. See WS 16/18b.

64 A reference to *Shi-jing* 12.3/22a (ode 200, verse 5, line 2) 巷伯: 劳人草草, to which



the subcommentary reads: 草草者, 优将妄 得罪也. Arthur Waley translated the *Shi-jing* text as "the toiler lives in woe" (*Book of Songs*, p.315).

65 The text reads *Ling-pu* 令仆, which is an abbreviation for *Shang-shu-ling* 尚书令 and *Shang-shu pu-ye* 尚书仆射. Compare with Richard Mather's translation in his *A New Account of Tales of the World* (Minneapolis, 1976), p.188.

66 This lady was formerly a consort of Emperor Xiao-zhuang's nephew, known in history as Emperor Ming. For this reason Emperor Xiao-zhuang was reluctant to take her as his wife. Finally he acceded on the advice of Zu Ying, a man of great literary fame. See *PS* 48/4b.

67 Emperor Xiao-zhuang's father and Yuan Hao's father were brothers. In A.D. 528, Yuan Hao held the titles of Chief Palace Attendant, Generalissimo of the Whirling Cavalry, Palatine Ceremonially Equal to Those of the Three Authorities and Governor of Xiang-zhou 相州刺史. See *WS* 21A/33a.

68 Emperor Xiao-zhuang fled the capital on June 15, arriving at He-nei the following day. Yuan Hao entered Luo-yang on June 17, A.D. 529. See *WS* 10/8b.

69 Literally, *tian-xia* 天下, "the nation."

70 A reference to *Li-ji* (Yi-wen facsimile SSCCS ed.) 21/3a: 大道之行也, 天下为公, "If the Great Way is observed, the whole nation will strive for the common good." Here the meaning is used in reverse.

71 The text reads *huo-fu-bu-zhui* 祸福不追. *CS*(1/36) suggests *zhui* 追 as an error for *shu* 述; hence the translation.

72 The Five Emperors commonly include Huang-di (trad. 2697-2598 B.C.) Zhuan-xu, Di-Ku 帝嚳 (also known as Gao-xin), Di-Yao, and Di-Shun. They were supposedly more interested in national welfare than personal glory.

73 In olden days, the emperor had the right to maintain six armies, whereas feudal lords could keep only three. *Zuo-zhuan* Cheng 成 3 26/5a: 晋作六军. Legge 5, P.353: "Xin constituted six armies." Comm.: 六军, 僭王也; 万二千五百人为军, "[To have] six armies [by a feudal lord] is usurping the imperial authority. Each army consists of 12,500 men."

74 I follow *CS* (1.36) which suggests *zheng* 正 as an error for *shi* 是.

75 The text reads *kang-pi wan-cheng, zi-zhu da-bao* 糠粃万乘, 锱铢大宝. *Kang-pi* 糠粃 means husks of rice, that is, valueless; *wan-cheng* 万乘, ten thousand combat chariots (each drawn by a team of four horses) in the possession of a powerful monarch; *zi-zhu* 锱铢, small measure of weight. For the origin of *wan-cheng* 万乘, see *Meng-zi* 孟子 (Yi-wen facsimile SSCCS ed.) 1A/2a 万乘之国, "a state of 10,000 carriages." Zhao Qi's 赵岐 (d. A.D.201) commentary: 万乘, 兵车万乘, 天子也, "By 10,000 chariots it means 10,000 combat chariots, the owner of which is the Son of Heaven." For *zi-zhu* 锱铢, see *Li-ji* 59/11a-b 儒有上不臣天子, 下不事诸侯, "Some Confucians were unwilling to serve as ministers of the Son of Heaven, above; or of the feudal lords, below." Sub-comm: 虽分国以禄之, 不贵重也, "Even if they were given a fief as their salary, they would look at the fief as husks of rice: they attach no value to it." For *da-bao* 大宝, see *Yi-jing* (Yi-wen facsimile SSCCS ed.) 8/4a: 圣人之大宝曰位. Richard Wilhelm, tr., *The I-Ching or Book of Changes* (New York, 1950), 1, 352: "It is the great treasure of the holy sage to stand in the right place."

76 Literally, *liu-he zhi-fu* 六合之富, "the riches from all six directions" (that is, the four corners of the globe, plus heaven above and earth below).

77 Chen Heng, otherwise known as Tian Chang 田常, killed Duke Jian 简 in 479 B.C. and



enthroned Duke Ping 平 of the Qi. His family later became the real ruling house of the same state. See SC 46/9 ff.

78 During the period of Warring States (450–221 B.C.) Han 韓, Zhao 趙, Wei 魏, Fan 范, Zhong-hang 中行, and Zhi 智 were the six most powerful ministerial clans, which usurped and thus weakened the Jin 晉 authority. In the end, the first three clans divided the Chin into separate kingdoms. See SC 39/88–94.

79 Both the emperor's elder brother Shao, King Superior-to-all (Wu-shang-wang 无上王), and his younger brother Yuan Zi-zheng were killed in the He-yin massacre.

80 Literally, *du-fu jie-li* 独夫介立, "the solitary man nobly stands out."

81 That is, the Yellow River, the Luo, and the Yi Rivers.

82 *Zhou-li* (Yi-wen facsimile SSCCS ed.) 36/11b: *zhong-zui zhi-gu* 中罪桎梏. Zheng Xuan's 郑玄 (A.D. 132–200) commentary: 在手曰桎, 在足曰梏.

83 *Meng-zi* 3A/3b: 当今之时, 万乘之悦之, 犹解倒悬也. D.C.Lau, tr., *Mencius* (Baltimore, 1970), p. 76: "At the present time, if a state often thousand chariots were to practice benevolent government, the people would rejoice as if they have been released from hanging by the heels." Zhao Qi's commentary: 倒悬, 喻困苦也, "*Dao-xuan* means distress."

84 Literally *xiong Jie* 凶羯, "the vicious Jie." Jie is the name of a tribe that since Shi Le's 石勒 time had inhabited northern Shan-xi—a region from which Er-zhu Rong came.

85 The text reads *qi-jian cai wo* 弃剑猜我. CC 1/29 n.111 suggests that *qi* may be an error for *so* 索, which refers to a story about the brothers Yu-gong 虞公 and Yu-shu 虞叔 of the state of Yu 虞 of the Chun-qiu 春秋 (722–481 B.C.) period. On one occasion, Yu-shu gave his brother a jade upon request, but declined to give him a sword when approached the second time. See *Zuo-zhuan* Huan 桓 107/7a–b. Legge 5, p.55: The 3d brother of the duke of Yu had a *valuable* piece of jade, which the duke asked of him. He refused it, but afterwards repented, saying, "There is a proverb in Chow, 'A man may have no crime; that he keeps his *pieh* is his crime. This jade is no use to me;—shall I buy my hurt with it?' He then presented it to the duke, who went on to ask a precious sword which he had. The young brother then asked to *himself*, "This man is unsatiable; his greed will reach to my person." He therefore attacked the duke, who was obliged to flee to Gong-che.

86 Literally, *zhen zhi yu qing, xiong di fei yuan* 朕之与卿, 兄弟非远, "Our relationship is not one of the remote brothers." Actually, both were grandsons of Emperor Xian-wen 显文 (regnant A.D. 466–471) and therefore by Chinese standards were still brothers of the same household.

87 *Shi-jing* 9.2/14b (ode 164, verse 4, lines 1 and 2): 小雅常棣: 兄弟阋于墙, 外御其务. Comm.: 务, 侮也, Waley, *Book of Songs*, p.203: "Brothers may quarrel within the walls/But outside they defend one another from insult."

88 *Shi-jing* 9.2/13a–14b (ode 164, verse 1, lines 3 and 4): 凡今之人, 莫如兄弟 (verse 3, lines 1 and 2): 脊令在原, 兄弟急难. Waley, *Book of Songs*, p.203: "Of men that now are/None equals a brother;" "There were wagtails on the plain/When brothers are hard pressed,..."

89 The text (1/8a) reads *bao yu pang-wu* 暴于旁午, "exposed [to the nation] in length and width." *Pang-wu* 旁午 is a phrase used in HS 68/9a *shi-zhe pang-wu* 使者旁午, which, according to Yan Shi-gu's commentary, means *zong-heng* 纵横, "vertical and horizontal", that is, everywhere.

90 The text (1/8a) *qing nai ming-bai, yi-yu bi-ran* 卿乃明白, 疑于必然 may contain



some errors. The meaning is not at all clear.

91 A reference to Wang Mang (33 B.C.-A.D. 23), who usurped the Han and established a new dynasty for himself in 9 A.D.

92 An allusion to the parable recorded in *Zhan-guo-ce* (3/37-38) about the tiger-killer Bien Zhuang, who was advised by Guan Yu 管与 to wait for the right moment to act: "The two tigers are feeding on a bull. They will struggle for larger share if the meat tastes good, and struggle will necessarily lead to a fight. If they fight, the big tiger will be wounded and the small one killed. If you stab the wounded one, you will then enjoy the fame of killing two tigers with one stroke."

93 Literally, *qi-yi yi-ren* 岂伊异人, which is a reference to the *Shi-jing* 14.3/12 (ode 217, verse 2, lines 5 and 6) 小雅頍弁. The quotation is followed by another line, *xiong-di ju lai* 兄弟俱来. Waley, *Book of Songs*, p.206: "Why give them to other men?/Your brothers must all come."

94 The text (1/8b) reads *jian-li shi-tu* 兼利是图. I follow the *CT* (1/9b), which offers the alternate *yi* 义 for *jian* 兼.

95 The text incorrectly gives *Rong* 荣 for *Ying* 莹. *Zu Ying's* biography (*PS* 47/25a) does not include this document. The text (1/8b) gives his official title as *Huang-men lang* 黄门郎, but my translation follows the *PS* biography, which gives *Huang-men shi-lang* 黄门侍郎.

96 It was part of Shang-dang commandery (modern *Zhang-zhi* 长子, Shan-xi) during the Northern Wei.

97 *WS* 10/9a and 74/11a refer to this man as Yuan Xi 元襄. According to his stele inscription (*MCCS* 4/25a-b, plate 112), he was the son of Yuan Wu-gong 元武公, Governor of Luo-zhou 洛州刺史, and grandson of the Prince of Jing-zhao 京兆王. He died on July 12, A.D.529.

98 He was a renowned general of his time, but not much information about him is available. See *WS* 73/12a.

99 *WS* 91/1b reads Liu Ling-zhu 刘灵助.

100 Before this assignment, he was Acting Chief of Ministers (*Ling shang-shu ling*) and Grand Marshal (*Da si-ma*). After the defeat, he went to the rival south and eventually died in service under Liang dynasty. See *WS* 20/5b-6a.

101 West of Ma-zhu 马渚 in Meng-jin of He-nan, where a ford was located.

102 The text (1/9a) reads *jie-jia xiang-qi* 解甲相泣, which gives no indication whether they were disarmed or removed their armor voluntarily. Another entry in the same work (2/13b-14a under the Ping-deng Monastery 平等寺), however, states that "all the five thousand Jiang-Huai soldiers under his command were captured, without a single one able to return home". The translation follows this account.

103 Based on *IS* 1/7a, Zhou Zu-mo (*CS* 1/40) suggests *lie* 列 as an error for *bie* 别; hence the translation.

104 Emending *shu-qian* 数千 to *shu-shi* 数十 after *IS* 1/7a.

105 According to *WS* 10/9b, Jiang Feng 江丰, a soldier stationed in Lin-ying 临颖, was the real murderer. *MCCS* (plate 182) gives the twenty-first of the seventh month in the third year of Yong-an 永安 (Permanent Peace) (August 29, A.D.530) as the date of his death (at the age of thirty-six), but the "third year" is an obvious error for the second year. Hence, the correct date should be September 9, A.D.529, just a few days after his defeat. The date given by



WS 10/9b is September 11, A.D.529, a discrepancy resulting from the date of his actual death and the date when the court received the report.

106 I follow CS (1/41) to emend *kong* 恐 to *nu* 怒.

107 The text (1/4b) incorrectly reads *qing* 卿 for *xiang* 乡. The duke rose against the dictator Si-ma Zhao 司马昭 (A.D.211-265), but was killed by the latter's subordinates in A.D. 258. See *Wei-zhi* 4/55b-56b; Pei Song-zhi's 裴松之 (A.D.372-451) commentary quoting *Han-Jin chun-qiu* 汉晋春秋.

108 The prince was actually born ten days later, on November 11, A.D.530. See TC 154/16a.

109 The text reads Guang-ming Hall 光明殿, but both YHNC 3/2b and MCCS (plate 46. 2) give Ming-guang 明光. Hence, the translation.

110 WS 74/14a gives Lu An 鲁安 as the man's name. Er-zhu Rong died at the age of thirty-eight (WS 74/14b); Yuan Tian-mu, at forty-two (MCCS plate 46.2).

111 TC 154/13b gives Er-zhu Yang-du's name as 尔朱阳毗, and the number killed as thirty.

112 The text (1/gb) reads Dong-hua Gate 东华门, but the IS (1/7b) gives Zhu-hua Gate 朱华门, which agrees with the location given in the map of YHNC (not marked with chapter or page numbers).

113 Also known as Xi-ming Gate 西明门. See TC 154/14a Hu San-xing's 胡三省 (A.D. 1230-1302) commentary.

114 I follow CS (1/42) to add the character *bei* 北.

115 The monastery was donated by Feng Xi 冯熙, Emperor Gao-zu's maternal uncle. Feng Xi financed the construction of seventy-two temples, mostly in hilly areas. See WS 83A/7b-9a.

116 On the basis of the text following, this man's given name should be Gui. He may have been a member of a Na-lü clan; which adopted the Er-zhu surname after its adherence to the latter.

117 Translated as clerk by Deng Si-yu, *Family Instructions* (p.115, n.1).

118 Zhu Rui 朱瑞, styled Yuan-long, had been a confidant of Er-zhu Rong but later served the emperor as a trusted official. He was executed in A.D.531 upon Er-zhu Zhao's entry into Luo-yang. See WS 80/1a-2b.

119 The tablet was shaped like a folded tile, on which the receiver's name, official title, and merits were fully engraved. It was in two halves, to be retained respectively by the receiver and the court. It was given only to the most outstanding officials. For a historical survey and the system of bestowal of such tablets during the Ming period, see Ling Yang-zao, *Li-shuo-bian* (Ling-nan yi-shu ed.), 40/7a-b.

120 For the origin of fencing as an art, see SC 127/13: 齐张仲曲成侯以善击刺, 学用剑, 立名天下.

121 The text gives the man's name as Li Xun 李荀. I follow CS (1/44), which changes Xun 荀 to Miao 苗 in accordance with WS (10/13b and 71/32b-33a) texts.

122 For Yuan Zi-gong's and Yang Kuan's role in other military operations in later years, see WS 41/19a-b and PS 41/44b.

123 Chang-guang was the grandson of the Prince of Nan-an 南安王. At this time he was Acting Governor of Bing-zhou and Grand Warden of Tai-yuan. Later, he was dethroned by Er-zhu Shi-long. See WS 19C/17b-18a.





124 The character after *jian* 建 is missing in the text (1/11a). It should be *ming* 明.

125 According to WS (75/1a-17b), only seven members of the Er-zhu family were made princes, namely: Zhao 兆(Prince of Ying-chuan 颍川王), zhi-hu 智虎(Prince of An-ding 安定王), Yan-bo 彦伯(Prince of Bo-ling), Zhong-yuan 仲远(Prince of Peng-cheng), Shi-long (Prince of Le-ping 乐平王), Du-lu 度律(Prince of Chang-shan 常山王), and Tian-guang 天光(Prince of Guang-zong 广宗王). TC (154/18a-19a) lists all but Er-chu Zhi-hu.

126 The text (1/11a) reads *jing-shi* 京师, meaning Luo-yang.

127 At the early stage of Emperor Guang-wu's 光武 career, he was chased by the army of Wang Lang 王郎, a serious contender for the empire in He-bei. After reaching the approaches of the Hu-tuo River, with Wang Lang's troops closing in, Guang-wu and his associates were frightened at the prospect of having no boats to take them across the river. Suddenly there was a quick freeze, so they managed to escape from their pursuers. See HHS 50/3b, 王霸传 and Hans Bielenstein, "The Restoration of the Han Dynasty, with Prolegomena on the Historiography of the *Hou Han Shu*," 1-3 BMFEA 26 (1954), 1-209; 31 (1959), 1-287; 39 (1967) 1-198.

128 After the defeat of Yuan Shao 袁绍 (d. A.D. 202), with whom Liu Bei 刘备 (A.D. 162-223) was associated, Liu Bei went to attach himself to Liu Biao 刘表(d. A.D. 208), then Governor of Jing-zhou 荆州刺史. Liu Biao was afraid of being overshadowed by Liu Bei, so he treated Liu Bei with little warmth. On one occasion Cai Mao 蔡瑁, Liu Biao's subordinate, planned to seize Liu Bei during a meeting. Noticing the immediate danger, Liu Bei secretly left the meeting, but during the flight his horse became stuck in a stream outside the city of Xiang-yang 襄阳. In desperation, Liu Bei said to the horse: "Di-lu, now we are in trouble. Do your best [to get out]." As a result, the horse jumped forward for a distance of thirty Chinese feet, bringing Liu Bei to safety. See *Shu-zhi* 蜀志(in *San-guo-zhi ji-jie*) 32/11a-b; Pei Song-zhi's commentary quoting *Shi-yu* 世语.

129 In Chinese mythology, the owl is believed to be a bird of prey that feeds on its mother, whereas the *jing* (same as *po-jing* 破镜) is an animal that eats its father. See HS 25A/23b Meng Kang's 孟康 commentary. According to another source, the *jing* eats its mother, not father. See Ren Fang, *Shu-yi ji* (*Han-Wei cong-shu* ed.) A/7a.

130 For the origin of *zu-bing an-ren* 阻兵安忍, see *Zuo-zhuan* Yin 隐 43/16b:阻兵而安忍. Legge 5, P.16: "Chow-yu relies on his military force, and can do cruel things." Du Yu's commentary: 阻, 恃兵也.

131 *Yi jing* 2/31b-32a:天道亏盈而益谦, 地道变盈而流谦, 鬼神害盈而福谦. Wilhelm, *Yi Jing*, 1, 67-68, Hexagram no.15 Qian-Modesty: "It is the law of heaven to make fullness empty and to make full what is modest ..., It is the law of earth to alter the full and to contribute to the modest ..., It is the law of fate to undermine what is full and to prosper the modest."

132 A pot that contained water and that had a hole in the bottom. An arrow was placed in the pot to mark the amount of water it had leaked as a measure of the time. The pot was an emblem of imperial authority. *Shi-jing* 5.1/12b (ode 100, verse 1, line 1): 国风东方未明. Sub-comm. (5.1/14b):盖天子备官, 絮壶掌漏, 鸡人告寺.

133 TC 154/20b Hu San-xing's commentary: *tou-jin suo-wei mo-tou* 头巾所谓包头.

134 The text (1/12a) reads *huan* 还 which, as CS (1/4b) suggests, is an error for *song* 送. Hence the translation.



135 The meaning of this temple's name is unclear.

136 Literally, *guo-men* 国门, "gate of the nation."

137 WS 10/15b reads Jing-ling 静陵, *jing* 静 being a phonetic variant of 靖.

138 According to *YHNC* (2/19b), the Ling-yun Tower was built in A.D.221 on the order of Emperor Wen 文帝 (regnant A.D. 220-226). It was two hundred Chinese feet high; from the top of it one could see as far as Meng Ford.

139 For the date of the fire, see also O.Siren, "Chinese Architecture", in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1971), 5,556.

Bao-ju was the son of Yu 愉, Prince of Jing-zhao. In A.D. 535, he succeeded Emperor Chu 出帝 as the ruler of the Western Wei. See WS 12/2a-b.

140 For his biography, see WS 25/4b-7a.

141 A term for horsemen who normally guarded the palaces and the national capital. The office was first institutionalized under Emperor Wu (regnant 140-87 B.C.) of the Western Han.

142 *Kai-yuan shi-jiao lu* (6/541) gives "two" rather than "three" monks.

143 Literally *bi-qiu* 比丘, a transliteration of bhiksu, meaning a fully ordained monk as opposed to a novice ramaa.

144 The text (1/12b) has *you huo ru di xun zhu* 有火入地寻柱, which is different from the *IS* (1/10a): *you ru di zhu huo xun zhu* 有入地柱火寻柱. Neither version makes good sense, however.

145 The text reads Xiang-jun 象郡, a commandery that did not exist during the Wei. *CS* (1/48) suggests Dong-lai instead. Dong-lai belonged to Guang-zhou 光州 (modern Ye-xian 掖县, Shan-dong). The story was fabricated by followers of Gao Huan 高欢 (A.D. 496-547), founder of the Northern Qi dynasty (A.D. 550-557), who started his career in the same Dong-lai area. See *Bei-Qi shu* (Yi-wen facsimile ed.) 2/1a. It may be noted that the *PCS* wording of this event is almost identical with Yang Xuan-zhi's account.

146 Known in history as Emperor Chu or Emperor Xiao-wu 孝武. See WS 11/9b-20b.

147 The text reads *shi* 使, but *Kai-yuan shi-jiao lu* gives *xia* 挟.

148 Hu-si Chun was a shrewd general and politician, who first served the interest of the Er-zhu clan and then turned against it. He repeated the same performance to Gao Huan, who was not trusted by Emperor Xiao-wu (regnant A.D.532-534), known as the Prince of Ping-yang before his enthronement. Hu-si Chun therefore escorted the emperor to Chang-an, the stronghold of Yu-wen Tai 宇文泰 (A.D.506-557), Gao Huan's deadly rival. For his biography, see WS 80/4a-6b.

149 Gao Huan also encamped his army in this monastery following Emperor Chu's flight to Chang-an. See *PCS* 2/5b.

150 The exact date is not given in *PCS*. According to *TC* (156/28b-29a), the Emperor of Eastern Wei left Luo-yang on November 17 and arrived in Ye on December 2, A.D. 534.

151 For the origin of 建中, see the *Shu-jing* 8/9a 仲虺之诰: 王懋昭大德, 建中于民. Legge 3, P.182, "The Announcement of Chung-hwuy": "Exert yourself, Oking, to make your great virtue illustrious, and set up the *pattern of the Mean* before the people."

152 Liu Teng gained influence in palace quarters under Emperor Gao-zu, but had become extremely powerful under Empress Dowager Hu. In cooperation with Yuan Yi, he murdered the Prince of Qing-he and put the empress dowager under house arrest. See WS



94/16a-18a.

153 *Sheng-huang*, otherwise known as *fei-ma* 飞马, was the name of a legendary horse that looked like a fox with a horn on its back. It was said to have a life span of one thousand years. See *Huai-nan-zi* 淮南子 (*SPTK suo-ben*) 6/42 Gao You's 高诱 (fl. A.D. 205-212) commentary.

154 For *wu-ku* 武库, see *WH* 2/8a 张衡西京赋: 武库禁兵. (According to Xue Zong's 薛综 commentary, it refers to the official in charge of weapons for the emperor.) During the Jin, *wu-ku* was under the supervision of the Commandant of the Palace Guards (*Wei-wei* or *Wei-wei qing*).

155 That is, Si-ma Zhao. He was a usurper of the Wei and had been its prime minister (A.D. 263-265).

156 The following two paragraphs were not quoted in the *TLIT* (13822/8b-9a), and may therefore have been interpolations.

157 The character *nan* 南 is added after *CT* (1/15a) and *YHNC* (3/5a).

158 In many editions *Yi* 义 is written as *Cha* 叉. *Cha* 叉 agrees with his secondary courtesy name, *Ye-cha* 夜叉, which includes the same character *cha* 叉. On the other hand, *Yi* 义 also makes sense, for he had the courtesy name *Bo-jun* 伯偶 - *Yi* 义 and *Jun* 偶 both mean "outstanding." (*Shu-jing* 40/20b: 俊义在官. Ma Rong's 马融 (A.D. 79-166) commentary: 才德过千人为俊, 百人为义. Yuan Cha's stele (*MCCS* plate 78) also gives 义, but I follow his biography in *WS* 16/15a.

159 Grand Commandant was the posthumous title awarded in A.D. 265. In A.D. 189, Xun Yu joined the headquarters of Cao Cao 曹操 (A.D. 155-220; founder of the Wei dynasty of the Three Kingdoms) and became the latter's trusted advisor, but lost his favor when Xun Yu objected Cao Cao's ennoblement as duke in A.D. 212. Xun Yu subsequently committed suicide. See *Wei-zhi* (10/21a) comm. quoting the *Wei-shi chun-qiu* 魏氏春秋 and Ch'en Ch'i-yün (Chen Chi-yun), *Hsün Yüeh* (A.D. 148-209), *The Life and Reflections of an Early Medieval Confucian* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 165-166.

Empress Dowager Hu and the Prince of Qing-he formed a powerful clique and controlled the government between A.D. 515 and 520, but in the latter year they were overthrown by Yuan Yi and Liu Teng, who were at first protégés of the empress.

160 After the assassination of Prince of Qing-he, Yuan Yi and Liu Teng kept Empress Dowager Hu under house arrest in the Xuan-guang Palace, locked within the Yong-xiang Gate, and shut off from the outside. Liu Teng himself took possession of the key of the lock. Even Emperor Shi-zong was not permitted to visit the empress. Yuan Yi, on his part, took command of the palace guards, and made decisions about national affairs. In A.D. 525, however, the empress regained her lost power and took revenge on Yuan Yi and even the remains of Liu Teng. See *WS* 16/15a-20a; 94/16a-18a.

The Yong-xiang was traditionally used as a prison for guilty women in the palace. See Zhang Zong-xiang, ed., *Jiao-zheng San-fu huang-tu* (Shang-hai, 1958) 6/53.

161 Emperor Ming was born on April 8, A.D. 510 and enthroned on February 12, A.D. 515. See *WS* 9/1a.

162 That is, Prince of Gao-yang 高阳王 (Emperor Ming's granduncle; *WS* 21A/20a-26a), Prince of Ren-cheng 任城王 (Emperor Ming's great-granduncle; *WS* 19B/2b-22b), Prince of Guang-ping 广平王 (*WS* 22/5a-6b; *PS* 19/35a), and Prince of Qing-he (Emperor Ming's uncle;



WS 22/5a-6b) had been ranking officials at the court.

163 Hui 虺 is a small snake growing big. *Guo-yu* (SPTK suo-ben) 19/137: 如虺弗摧, 为蛇将若何, "If you do not kill a snake when it is small, what can you do when it grows big?" Wei Zhao's 韦昭 (A.D.204-274) comm. 虺, 小蛇大也, "Hui is a small snake growing big."

164 Liu Teng died in the third month (April) of A.D. 523, but Yuan Yi was killed three years later (April 17, A.D.526). See *MCCS* plate 78.

165 Liu Xin, *Xi-jing za-ji* (SPTK suo-ben) 1/4: 汉[上林苑有]千年长生树十株, 万年长生树十株, "In the [Shang-lin Park] of the Hah, there were ten ever-growing trees [each] one thousand years old, and ten ever-growing trees [each] ten thousand years old." For the authenticity of this work, see Lao Gan, "Lun *Xi-jing za-ji* zhi zuo-zhe ji qi cheng-shu shi-dai," *CYCY* 33 (1962), 19-34.

166 The text is *Chang-qiu ling-qing* 长秋令卿 (Grand Prolonger of Autumn), but WS 94/16b gives *Chang-qiu qing* 长秋卿. *Ling* 令 (minister) is an obvious interpolation.

167 One of the three markets in Luo-yang during the Jin: Gold Market, Horse Market, and the Luo-yang City Market. See *WH* 16/3a 潘岳闲居赋; Li Shan's comm. quoting Lu Ji's 陆机 (A.D.261-303) *Luo-yang ji* 洛阳记. *YHNC* 2/27b lists the Ping-le Market 平乐市, Gold Market, and Horse Market as the three markets.

168 This pond was named after Meng-si, believed to be the place where the sun sets. See *Chu-ci* (SPTK suo-ben) 3/48: 出自罔谷, 入于濛濛. "The sun rises from the Yang-gu, and sets in Meng-si." David Hawkes translates Meng-si as "the Vale of Darkness." See his *Ch'u Tz'u, the Songs of the South* (London, 1959), p.47.

169 Believed to be an actual scene when Buddha was born. See *FYCL* 14/154.

170 *CS* (1/52) suggests the character *si* 四 as an error for *qi* 七, the seventh day of the fourth month being the eve of Buddha's birthday, so all Buddhist statues from leading temples in Luo-yang would be assembled prior to next day's parade. But Iriya Yoshitaka (1/29, note 205) believes that the parade could be held any day between the first and fourteenth day of the fourth month, so the original text is not necessarily in error.

171 A fabulous animal with two horns believed to have the ability to ward off evil influences. See *HS* 96A/29a 西域传上: [乌弋山离国王] 而有桃拔, 师子, 犀牛, "[The king of the state of Wu-yi-shan-li] has *tao-ba*, lions, and *xi-niu*." 虎, 正黄有鬃, 尾端茸毛大如斗, Meng Kang's commentary: "Tao-ba is also known as *fu-ba*. It resembles a long-tailed deer. If it has one horn, it may be a 'heavenly deer,' if it has two horns, it may be a *bi-xie*. The lion looks like a tiger, with a pure yellow [skin] and whiskers as those of a tiger. The tail has hair as bulky as a bushel."

172 This entertainment may have its origin the Western Region countries. *FYCL* 76/916 quoting Cui Hong's 崔鸿 *Bei-Liang lu* 北凉录: 玄始十四年七月, 西域贡吐刀嚼火, 秘记奇伎. "In the seventh month of the fourteenth year of Xuan-shi (August-September, A.D. 425), Western Region countries presented [to the court] magicians capable of swallowing knives, biting fires, and such other mysterious and wonderous skills."

173 Emending *yuan* 缘 to *cai* 彩 after *CS* 1/53.

174 Emperor Xuan-wu (regnant A.D.499-515), son of Emperor Gao-zu (regnant A.D. 471-499), was an enthusiastic supporter of Buddhism both in and out of the court. Toward the end of his reign (A.D.515), there were 13,727 temples in the nation. He was responsible for the construction of cave statues at Long-men near Luo-yang. See *WS* 8/25a and 114/19a-20b.



175 Both the palace and the city of Luo-yang had a gate known as Chang-he. The character *cheng* 城 is added in accordance with Wu Ruo-jun's ed. (*Ji-zheng* 2b).

176 The Qian-qiu Gate was the west gate of the palace that faced the Chang-he.

177 The text (1/15b) reads *ling* 陵, but both *Wei-zhi*(2/48b) and *YHNC* 2/19b give the variant *ling* 陵.

178 "Angler's Terrace" has a special meaning in the mind of the Chinese. Lü Wang 吕望 (11th and 12th cent.B.C.), a great statesman of the Zhou, lived an angler's life before attaining political prominence, and Yan Guang 严光 (styled Zi-ling 子陵), a good friend of the founder of the Later Han, preferred to spend his days as an angler even after he was offered a high position in the government.

179 The construction of the Palace of Nine Dragons and the accompanying waterworks was completed in A.D.235, but they later fell into ruin. Some of them were restored by the Northern Wei on the same site. See *SCC* 16/16a-b; *Wei-zhi* 3/32b-34b.

180 Literally *san-fu* 三伏, *fu* 伏 meaning to hide. The term is derived from an astrologer's assertion that the element "metal" was afraid of the element "fire," so during a period of three consecutive ten-day cycles (approximately between June 21 and August 7), when the weather was the hottest, "metal" would try to hide from fire; hence the term. See *Guang-yun* (*SPPY* ed.) 5/4a and Derk Bodde, *Festivals*, "Day of Concealment." pp.317-325.

181 The immortal's palm was an ornament designed to collect dew as a gift of heaven, the consumption of which would promote longevity. See *SC* 12/12: 其后则又作栢梁, 铜柱, 承露仙人掌之属矣, "Later, such things as cypress beams, copper pillars, immortal's palms to collect dew, and others were made." According to *CC*(1/49, n. 12), which quotes a *HS* entry (25A/25a: 其后又作栢梁, 铜柱, 承露仙人掌之属矣, "Later, cypress beams, copper pillars, immortal's palms to collect dew, and other such things, were made." Su Lin's commentary: 苏林曰: 仙人手掌擎盘承甘露, "Plates held in the palm of immortal's hand are used to collect dew."). It was not a palm but rather a plate held in the hand of the immortal that was used as a dew collector.

182 Lu Ji, *Mao-shi cao-mu niao-shou chong-yu shu* (*Cong-shu ji-cheng* ed.) A/26-27: 柎, 櫨也, 叶似杏而尖, 白色, 皮正赤, 为木多曲少直, 人或谓之牛筋, "Chou is the same as *yi*. Its leaves are like those of apricot trees, but more pointed. The color is white. The bark is solid red. Trunks are mostly crooked; few of them are straight .... Others also call them *niu-jin*."

183 Lu ji, *Mao-shi cao-mu niao-shou chong-yu shu*. A/36: 枸树, 山林, 其状如栌, 一名枸骨, "Gou are mountain bushes. They look like lu and are also known as *gou-gu*."

184 *CMYS* 6/26b: [笑] 一名鸡头, 一名雁喙... 由子形上花似鸡冠, 故名曰鸡头, "[*Qian*] is also known as *ji-tou* and *yan-hui*.... Since its flowers look like a cock's comb, it is also known as *ji-tou*."

185 *CMYS* 3/1b 按今世苍天有紫茎白茎二种, 种别复有大小之殊, 又有鸭脚葵也, "It may be noted that there are two kinds of mallows: one with purple stalks and the other with white stalks. There are also two species; one small and the other large. Still, there is another kind called *ya-jiao* mallow."

186 Literally, *jiao-fang pin-yu* 椒房 嫔御, *Jiao-fang* 椒房, rooms with walls coated in ground pepper, were private apartments of the empress and other court ladies. Pepper was used to keep the rooms warm and aromatic; hence the name. For its origin, see *HS* 66/6a Yan Shi-



gu's commentary: 椒房, 殿名, 皇后所居也。己和泥塗壁取其温芳也; "Jiao-fang was a palace name. It was where empresses resided. The wall, painted with a mixture of mud and ground pepper, was intended for warmth and fragrance."

187 Literally, *ye-ting mei-ren* 掖庭美人. *Ye-ting* 掖庭 referred to the living quarters of court ladies of lower rank. See *WH* 1/6b 西都赋 quoting *Han-guan yi* 汉官仪: 好以下皆居掖庭, "All those who were below the rank of *jie-yu* resided in the *Ye-ting*."

188 The eight correct ways refer to view, thought, speech, deed, occupation, zeal, memory, and meditation.

189 That is, the One Vehicle, or Mahāyāna, which contains the final or complete law of the Buddha.

190 According to Chen Zhong-fan (*Han-Wei Liu-chao san-wen xuan*, Shang-hai, 1956, p. 290), the chignon was a standard hair style of the "barbarians" such as the Northern Wei soldiers, so ordinary males were advised, rather sarcastically, to have the same hairdo in order to win the favor of the nuns. Chen Zhong-fan's interpretation is different from *CS* (1/56), which asserts that a chignon was a common style for all males of that time.

On the basis of Chen Zhong-fan's finding, Kenneth Chen's translation of this couplet (*Buddhism in China*, p. 160) is perhaps erroneous in assuming that males in Luo-yang were advised to braid their hair into a chignon in order to discourage the nuns from seizing them as husbands.

191 The Cheng-ming Gate was so named by Emperor Gao-zu (regnant A.D. 471-499). See the Preface. It was the northwestern gate of the capital city.

192 *SCC* 16/9b: 魏明帝于洛阳城西北筑之, 谓之金墉城.

193 The imperial imprisonment took place in the first month (January-February), A.D. 301. See *Jin-shu* 4/12a.

194 Known as Luo-yang Barracks (Luo-yang *lei* 洛阳垒) during the troubled years of Yong-jia (A.D. 307-313). *SCC* 16/10a: 因阿旧城, 凭结金墉, 故向城也. 嘉之乱, 结以为垒, 号洛阳垒, "[The barracks] are attached to the old city and connected with the Jin-yong. Therefore they faced the city. During the troubled years of Yong-jia period, they were made into barracks. Hence the name Luo-yang Barracks."

195 This paragraph, which appears to have been Yang Xuan-zhi's own notes to the main text, is added at the suggestion of Zhou Zu-mo (*CS* 1/56).

196 *YHNC* 2/20a quoting *Luo-yang ji*: 洛阳城内西北隅有百尺楼, 文帝造, "In the northwestern corner within the city of Luo-yang was the Bai-chi Tower. It was built under Emperor Wen of the Wei (regnant A.D. 220-226)."

197 Prior to the completion of palace construction, Emperor Gao-zu took the Jin-yong building as his temporary residence.

198 This posthumous title is not given in his biography. Both Yuan Yi and his younger brother, Yue, Prince of Ru-nan, were zealous Buddhist devotees. In addition to the Jing-le Nunnery, Yuan Yi also sponsored the construction of the Chong-jue Temple 冲觉寺 and Rong-jue Monastery 融觉寺 (for the latter two, q.v.) in Luo-yang. For the religious activities of Yuan Yi and Yuan Yue, see Dao-xuan, *Xu Gao-seng zhuan* 6/474.

In A.D. 515, at the time of Emperor Su-zong's enthronement, Yuan Yi was the Grand Tutor in charge of the *Men-xia sheng* 门下省 (Bureau in Waiting for the Emperor's Service; Deng, *Family Instructions*, p. xxii). He fell victim in A.D. 520 to the conspiracy of Yuan Yi and



Liu Teng. See *WS* 22/5a-6b.

199 The character *dong* 东 is added at the suggestion of Tang Yan (*Gou-chen*, 1/21a).

200 Gao Zhao, the elder brother of Empress Gao-zu, whose son later became Emperor Shi-zong (regnant A.D. 499-515), held the office of Generalissimo in A.D.514. He was murdered the next year by the Prince of Gao-yang after the death of Emperor Shi-zong. See *WS* 83B/1a-3b.

201 The text (1/16b) reads "several," but *CT* (1/18b) gives "several tens."

202 Emending *sang* 桑 ("mulberry") to *cong* 丛 ("bushes") after *YHNC* (3/5b), *YLTT* (13822/9a), and *IS* (1/13a).

203 That is, the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23rd, 29th, and 30th, the days when the Four Mahārājas (guardians of the universe) take note of human conduct and when evil demons are busy; consequently great care is required to maintain perfect virtue, and nothing should be eaten after noon. See *Yu-po-yi-duo-she-jia jing* (*Taishō* ed.), p.912.

204 Yuan Yue, as noted earlier, was the son of Emperor Gao-zu and younger brother of Yuan Yi. He fled to Liang in A.D.528 and was killed in A.D.532 after his return to the Northern Wei. See *PS* 19/35a-36a.

205 According to *CC* (1/53), this is a reference to the various games performed by large animals capable of changing into the shapes of fish and dragons playing in the water. The games were introduced into China from countries in the Western Regions. See *HS* 96B/38 Yan Shi-gu's commentary.

206 These magical performances, available in China as early as the Former Han, were again introduced from countries in the Western Regions. See *HS* 61/8a Yan Shi-gu's commentary: 眩读与纪同, 即今吞刀吐火, 植瓜种树, 屠人截马之术皆是也, 本从西域来。

207 *Zhao-yi* was one of many titles for palace women close to eunuchs.

208 The character *bei* 北 between *tai* 太 and *cang* 仓 is an interpolation.

209 *Dao* 导 is a mistake for *dao* 爨 (Duan Yu-cai's annotated *shuo-wen jie-zi* [*SPPY* ed.] 7A/34B 禾部爨字). The office was subordinate to the Grand Minister of Agriculture (*Da-si-nong*) who was charged with the responsibility of selecting rice and supplying other provisions for the emperor. See Du Yu, *Tong-dian* (Yi-wen facsimile ed.) 26/5a. The office was located to the west of the Imperial Granary. See *YHNC* 3/6a.

210 Literally, *ji-jin man-tang* 积金满堂, "Halls were filled up with gold that they had amassed."

211 It was not uncommon for powerful eunuchs of the Northern Wei to have wives and concubines. *WS* 94/17b: 又颇役嫔御, 时有征求, 妇女器物, 公然受纳。Out of sarcasm, "wives" are referred to as "widows" in the text (1/17b).

The text (1/17b) has *Li* 釐, which is a variant of *li* 嫠. *Zuo-zhuan* Zhao 19 48/23a: 初, 莒有妇人, 莒子杀其夫, 已为嫠妇。Legge 5, p.675: "At an earlier period, the viscount of Keu had put to death the husband of a woman of Keu, who thence forth lived as a widow." Du Yu's commentary: 寡妇未嫠 Sub-comm.: 嫠, ...本又作釐。

Adding *jin-shi* 尽是 ("all") after *CT* 1/19b.

212 Literally, *Huang-men* 黄门 "The Yellow Gate," another name for eunuchs.

213 According to *WS* 106A/2b, this commandery was a subdivision of Xiang-zhou 相州 (changed to Si-zhou 司州 during the Northern Qi). It corresponded to modern Feng-yang 相州 凤阳县, An-hui.



214 During the Northern Wei, it was customary to have a group of three Buddhist statues in any given cave: the Buddha in the center, flanked by two attendants. The statue of Buddha in such arrangement was referred to as *Ben-zun* 本尊, "The Most Honored One."

215 Wine was made out of the flower nectar of the tree. See *Liang-shu* (Yi-wen facsimile ed.) 54/5b. *CMYS* (10/15a quoting *Jiao-zhou ji* 交州记 by Liu Xin-qi 刘欣期), however, refers to coconut juice as a raw material for wine. Luo-yang was perhaps too cold to grow coconut trees.

216 *CMYS* (10/45a quoting *Wu-lu di-li-zhi* 吴录地里志) makes mention of *xiang* trees 榲木, which were native to Jiao-zhi 交趾 (North Vietnam), and which contained ricelike grains in the bark. The grains could be powdered, rinsed with water, and made into flour and cakes.

217 Xu Gao-ran (*Chong-kan* 1/9a) classifies this sentence as a note, but I follow *CS* (1/60) in including it in the main text.

218 See *Zuo-zhuan* 17/1a Xi 僖 27 Du Yu's commentary.

219 *SCC* lists three reasons why the Di-quan was not the same one referred to by Luo-yang literati. See *SCC* 16/19b.

220 Shi Chong (A.D.249-300), son of Shi Bao 石苞, was a native of Bo-hai 渤海. He had been a Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary and a Chief Palace Attendant of the Jin, but was killed on order of Si-ma Lun 司马伦, Prince of Zhao 赵王. See *Jin-shu* 33/25b-32a.

221 Name of Shi Chong's favorite entertainer. She was beautiful, elegant, and skillful at playing the flute. See *Jin-shu* 33/30b-31a.

222 Wang Yu was the son of Wang Chen 王琰 and nephew of Wang Su 王肃(d. A.D.501), the latter being a member of the prominent Wang family that was purged by Emperor Wu 武帝 (regnant A.D.482-493) of the Southern Qi dynasty in A.D.493. Wang Su managed to escape to the Northern Wei, and became a trusted adviser of Emperor Gao-zu (regnant A.D.471-499). Wang Chen was executed by Emperor Wu in the south. Wang Yu died in A.D.528. See *WS* 63/7b-8a.

223 The text (1/18a) is *Zhong-shu she-ren*, Drafter of the Central Secretariat. Here I follow *CS* (1/61). *Shi-lang* 侍郎 was two ranks higher than *She-ren*.

224 Yuan Chi was the son of Yuan Cheng 元澄, Prince of Ren-cheng 任城王. He fled with Emperor Xiao-wu to Chang-an in A.D.534 to avoid possible detention by Gao Huan, founder of the Eastern Wei. See *WS* 19B/27b.

225 Bao-xin was a prefecture in the Xin-cai commandery 新蔡郡 (modern Xi-xian 息县, He-nan), a subdivision of Eastern Yu-zhou 东豫州. See *WS* 106B/37b. According to Zhou Yan-nian (*Luo-yang qie-lan ji zhu* 1/11b), Duan Hui, styled Chang-zuo 长祚, was a native of Gu-zang 姑臧 of Wu-wei. However, his assertion cannot be verified since no other information is available.

226 On the basis of *TPKC* 99/5b and *TPYL* 658/6b, *CS* (1/62) suggests that the character *ping* 并 be added; hence, the translation.

227 *Zuo* 坐 is added after *IS* (1/14b).

228 The text reads *tai* 太, which is an acceptable substitute for *tai* 泰. For Xun Xu's biography, see *Jin-shu* 39/13b-21b.

229 According to Zhou(Chou) Yi-liang, as quoted in *CS* (1/62), *Hu-tong* is the abbreviation for *Hu Sha-men tong* 胡沙门统, Chief of Tuo-ba Monks.

230 Literally, *dong-fang* 洞房, "deep room." *WH* 11/11a 王延寿鲁灵光殿赋: 洞房叫窅而幽邃, "Deep rooms are countless, removed from one another."





- 231 Emending *tu* 徒 to *cong* 从 after *IS* (1/15a).
- 232 According to *CT* (1/21b), *qing* 清 is an error for *qing* 青.
- 233 The last character in the transliterated name of Bodhidharma should be *mo* 摩 rather than *mo* 磨, although either character is used loosely.
- 234 For Dong Zhuo's biography, see *HHS* 102/1a-18a. He was a capable but ambitious warlord at the end of the Later Han.
- 235 His name has been mentioned before under the Yong-ning Monastery (Chapter 1). See Zhen Ji-yun, *Xun Yue*, pp.3, 41-43, 48-50, 52, 57, 74-76, 79, 113, 134. Grandson of Zhang-sun Dao-sheng 长孙道生, he had been a minister of war, in which capacity he accompanied Emperor Gao-zu in the latter's southward campaign. His name is variably given as *You* 幼 (*PS* 22/8b) because of a Tang taboo (*Zhi* 稚 is a homophone of *Zhi* 治, the name of Emperor Gao-zong 高宗, who reigned between A.D.650 and A.D.683).
- 236 Guo Zu served both Emperors Gao-zu (regnant A.D.471-499) and Shi-zong (regnant A.D.499-515). The highest position he ever obtained was as given in the text. For his biography, see *WS* 64/1a-7a.
- 237 The text (1/19b) gives Xing Luan 邢鸾, Luan 鸾 being an error for *Luan* 峦. He was a military as well as a civil leader under Emperor Shi-zong (regnant A.D.499-515). Xing Luan died in A.D.514. For his biography, see *WS* 65/1a-12b.
- 238 In A.D.517, he sponsored the creation of Cang-zhou 沧州 (southeast of modern Nan-pi 南皮, He-bei) after the pacification of a local uprising. For his biography, see *PS* 15/33b. His and Zhang-sun Zhi's mother were sisters. See *PS* 22/10b.
- 239 In A.D.530, he took part in a conference on Buddhist and Taoist teachings. For more information about him, see *Xu Gao-seng zhuan*, 23/624-625.
- 240 Cheng-xing was his courtesy name; his name was Yu 聿. A principled man, he defied Yuan Yi's authority. See *WS* 26/10a-b.
- 241 The text reads Liang-zhou 梁州, Liang 梁 being a mistake for Liang 凉. *IS* (1/15a), *YHNC* (3/6a), and *WS* (26/10a-b) all given Liang-zhou 凉州.
- 242 The *wu-tong* (*sterenlia plafamifolia*) tree was believed to be the only species on which the phoenix would perch. See *Shi-jing* 17.4/7b (ode 252, verse 9, line 3) text and Zheng Xuan's commentary. See also Tjan Tjoe Som, tr., *Bo Hu Tong, the Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall* (Sinica Leidensia, no.6; Leiden, 1949), p.243.
- 243 Emending *chang* 常 to *chang* 尝 after *YHNC* (3/6a).
- 244 The text (1/19b) is Luan 鸾, which is a mistake for *Luan* 峦.
- 245 Literally, *chan-fang* 禅房, a room for cultivation and meditation. *Da-fang guang-fu hua-yuan-jing yin-yi* (chapter A) 大方广佛华严经音义卷上 as quoted in Hui-lin's *Yi-qie-jing yin-yi* (*Taishō* ed.) 21/439: 禅那, 此云静虑, 谓静心思虑也。旧翻为思虑修也, 略也, "Chan-na (dhyāna), known in our land as abstract contemplation, refers to meditation in quietude. For the sake of brevity, the old translation is meditation and cultivation."
- 246 Literally, *zhi-huan jing-she* 祇洹精舍 (vihāra), *huan* 洹 being a variant of *tuo* 陀, a park of Srāvasti that was donated to honor Tathāgata. See Hui-jue, tr., *Xian-yu jing* (*Taishō* ed.) 10/418.
- 247 Adding the character *bi* 比 after *CT* (1/22b) and *IS* (1/15b).
- 248 Changing *jing* 静 to *jing* 净 after *CS* 1/65.
- 249 This sitting posture and the practice of counting breaths are common among Buddhist



monks.

250 Bai-tou was his baby name. For more information about his life, see *PS* 30/26b-27b.

251 Literally, *xing ai tian jing* 性爱恬静, "By nature he was fond of quietude".

252 Literally *zhu men* 朱门, "the red gate," meaning government office.

253 According to other editions, the Chong-xu Temple entry appears in Chapter 3, at note 234. *Chong-kan* (1/11a) gives no convincing reason why this section should be moved to Chapter 1 immediately after the Jing-lin Monastery account. The present translation follows the conventional arrangement, leaving the Chong-xu Temple entry intact in Chapter 3.

254 A subdivision of Da-hong-lu, the Great Usher in Charge of State Guests. It had the function of taking care of imperial parks during this period. *WH* 3/66 张衡东京赋: 奇树珍果, 铭盾所职. "The Office of Imperial Palace Parks has the responsibility to look after exotic trees and treasured fruits." 薛综曰: 钩盾, 今官, 主小苑. Xue Zong's commentary: "Gou-dun is the current name of an official [in charge of the office]. His function is to take care of imperial palace parks."

255 *Ji-tian*, or Office of the Sacred Field, the produce of which was used for imperial ancestral sacrifices. It was customary for the emperor to perform in this field a ceremonial plowing in spring as an example for the people to follow. See Bodde, *Festivals*, p.223.

256 Adding the character *xi* 西 after *YHNC* (3/6b) and *SCC* (16/13a).

257 *Zuo-zhuan* Xi 17/1b-2a: 公会王子虎晋狐偃...盟于翟泉. Legge 5, P.214: "The duke had a meeting with King Hwuy's son Hoo... when they made a covenant at Tieh-ts'euen."

258 The text (1/20b) and *IS* (1/16a) read *ming jing* 明静, "glittering and calm." *CS* (1/66) changes *jing* 静 to *jing* 净 by following *CT* (1/23a); hence the translation.

259 Lu Ji's Luo-yang ji, as quoted in *SSC* (16/13a), identifies the location of Bu-guang Ward as to the east of the Luo-yang palaces.

260 Originally known as Fang-lin Park 芳林园 (Fragrant Forest) under Emperor Ming (regnant A.D.227-239), it was renamed Hua-lin Park under Cao Fang 曹芳, Prince of Qi (regnant A.D.240-254). See *WH* 20/12b 应贞晋武帝华林园集诗 Li Shan's commentary quoting *Luo-yang tu-jing* 洛阳图经.

261 Blue Dragon refers to a group of constellations in the east (*SC* 27/5), hence the name for a lake that was located to the east of the Imperial Park.

262 *CS* (1/67), on the basis of a *Wei-zhi* entry (2/65a), which gives April to May of A.D. 226 as the date of the construction of the Jiu-hua Terrace, adds the character Wei.

263 The foundation was made of old stone monuments found in Luo-yang. See *SCC* 16/2b.

264 Peng-lai was one of the three legendary islands of the immortals in the high seas east of China. Here the concept "east" is again emphasized.

265 This park was designed very much like the Xi-yu Park described under the Yao-guang Nunnery. For the special meaning of an angler's life in the Chinese mind, see note 178.

266 During the Western Chin, residents of Luo-yang gathered along the Luo River for this festival, but those of royal blood observed the rites on the Tian-yuan Pond, a site described earlier in the text. Participants would let cups of wine float downstream; others on the receiving line would pick them up and drink. See *Jin-shu* 21C/28b-29a. For information on the lustration festival, see Bodde, *Festivals*, pp.273 ff.

267 The exact date is hard to determine: the text reads *si-chen* 巳辰 (name of a day in a cycle of 60), as against *jiu-chen* 九辰 (nine days) in *CT* (1/23b) and *liang-chen* 良辰 (nice days)



in *IS* (1/16b).

268 During the Han, the emperor would take a ride in a boat that "had the design of a dragon and a bow painted with the picture of an *yi* (a huge bird)." *Huai-nan zi* 6/4a 龙舟鹳首. Gao Yu's commentary: 龙舟, 大舟也, 刻为龙文, 以为饰也. 鹳, 大鸟也, 画其象著船, 故曰鹳首也. "A dragon boat is a large vessel with the design of a dragon carved on it as an ornament. *Yi* is a huge bird, a painting of which is affixed on the boat. Therefore, it is known as a boat with an *yi* bow." During the Song of the Southern Dynasties (A.D.420-589), the ceremony was held in late spring. See *Song-shu* (Yi-wen facsimile ed.) 15/7b: 暮春天子始乘舟, "In late spring the emperor began to ride in a boat."

269 After a *SCC* entry (16/2a-b: 穀水枝分... 历景阳山北, ... 其水东注天洲), *CS* (1/67) suggests that Jing-shan *dian* 景山殿 be changed to Jing-yang *shan* 景阳山. The palace was constructed under Emperor Ming 明帝 of the Wei (regnant A.D.227-239) using quartz and multicolored stones as the most important materials. See *SCC* 16/1b and *YHNC* 2/20b.

270 Xi-he 羲和 was the legendary charioteer of the sun, hence the ridge faced the east to welcome the rising sun.

271 Huan-e was the goddess of the moon, believed to be the wife of Yi 羿, the archer.

272 The term Xuan-wu referred to the one of the five elements, water, associated with the north.

273 The name was intended as a constant warning to the monarchs who should take everything just as seriously as they would when facing a grave crisis.

274 The Kun-lun Mountains were a legendary mountain range in the extreme west of China. It was an important source of Chinese mythology.

275 Xi-wang mu 西王母, Queen Mother of the West, was a legendary goddess. For more information, see Michael Loewe, *Ways to Paradise* (London, 1979), pp.86-125.

276 The text (1/21b) is *de shuang ji shu* 得霜即熟, "It ripened as soon as frost fell." *CS* (1/68) emends *ji* 即 to *nai* 乃 after *TPYL* (967/6b).

The Hua-lin Park was already famous for such date and peach trees during the Western Jin. According to *TPYL* (965/5b and 967/5b quoting the *Jin gong-que ji* 晋宫阙记), the park had 14 goddess's date trees and 733 different kinds of peach trees. *YYTT* (18/19) gives an identical description of the date tree as the *Qie-lan ji*.

277 The text (1/21b), *miao ci zhi bei* 苗茨之碑, is a source of great controversy. *Miao* 苗, meaning young rice plant, is actually the ancient script for *mao* 茅, "thatch." Scholars among Yang Xuan-zhi's contemporaries as well as of later periods have misinterpreted *miao* 苗 as rice plants, where it should have been considered as a substitute for *mao* 茅, "thatch."

278 The text (1/2b) names Emperor Gao-zu as the emperor responsible for its construction, whereas *SCC* (16/11b) names Emperor Wen of the Wei instead. According to *WS* 19b/18a-b), it was actually Emperor Gao-zu, who, in the company of the prince of Ren-cheng, suggested that a thatched hall be built to serve as a constant warning to monarchs in their drive for thriftiness.

279 Li Tong-gui was a scholar who died in A.D.546. For his biography, see *WS* 84/21a-b.

280 *Ming* is an error for *Wen*. By Emperor Ming's time, the two scholars mentioned below had already died.

281 The text reads Zu Gan Xuan 祖幹宣, which should have read Gong-gan Zhong-xuan 公幹仲宣. Gong-gan 公幹 is the courtesy name of Liu Zhen 刘楨 (d.A.D.215 or 217),



whereas Zhong-xuan is that of Wang Can 王粲 (A.D.177-217). Both Liu Zhen and Wang Can belonged to the "Seven Masters of the Jian-an period" 建安 (A.D.196-220).

282 Contrary to what the term may suggest, *Feng chao-qing* simply refers to persons who were summoned or invited to attend social gatherings at the court as occasions demanded. It was not an official title. See Deng Si-yu, *Family Instructions*, p.151 n.2. See also *Tong-dian* 29/12b: 无员, 本不为官。

283 The text (1/21b-22a) reads Xuan-zhi 銜之—the author's given names.

284 *Gao* 蒿, an alternate for *gao* 藁 or *gao* 藁, meaning dried hay. See *Guang-yun* 3/35b-36a; *Shuo-wen jie-zi*, 7A/33b.

285 Same as Du-ting 都亭, referred to in the *WS* (21A/30a). It was located in the west part of the Hua-lin Park, which was used as a lodging house for visiting officials. See Iriya, *Rakuyō garan ki* 1/32 n.16.

286 Liu-shang Pond was the place where the ceremonies were held on the third day of the third month. See n.266 above.

287 Fu-sang Lake was the name of another island of the immortals, said to be located in the east sea. Fu-sang was the residence of the sun after sunset until dawn.

288 Literally, "When the God of Drought created hardship" —a reference to the *Shi-jing* (18.2/18b: *han ba wei-nūe* 旱魃为虐. Mao Heng's 毛亨 commentary: 魃, 旱神也. "Ba is the god of drought."

289 The text (1/22a) is *li Bi pang-run* 离毕滂润, a reference to the *Shi-jing* (15.3/9a: ode 232, verse 3, lines 3 and 4): 小雅渐渐之石: 月离于毕, 俾滂沱矣. Waley, *Book of Songs*, p.120 "The moon is caught in the Net/There will be deluges of rain."



NOTES

CHAPTER 2

1 A reference to the *Yi-jing* 7/29a 系辞上: 悬象著明, 莫大乎日月. Richard Wilhelm, *Yi Ching*, 1, p.343. "Of the images suspended in the heavens, there is none more light-giving than the sun and the moon."

2 Younger brother of Emperor Gao-zu. See also Chapter 1 under the Yong-ning Monastery, and *WS* 21B/1a-15a. Yuan Xie must have been a devoted Buddhist and well-liked by the monks, for when the news of his death reached the two temples associated with him, more than one thousand monks were so saddened that they decided to fast. See *PS* 19/24b-25a.

3 Emending *lou* 楼 (tower) to *qiao* 桥 (bridge) after *Gou-chen* 2/1a.

4 Adding *shi* 石 (stone) after *YHNC* 3/9a.

5 The meaning is not clear. According to *SCC* (16/14b 穀水注), there were two (should read four) stone pillars at one end of the bridge (*qiao shou* 桥首). Could "the end" mean "the entrance"? Were the pillars on or near the bridge? Judging from the statement "on the south side of the road," it seems that the pillars were near rather than on the bridge.

6 Adding *jian-zuo* 监作 (built under the supervision of), after *SCC* 16/14b 穀水注.

7 This official title is added according to *SCC* 16/14b 穀水注.

8 Literally, *shi* 始.

9 The full title is *Si-zhou shan-chuan gu-jin ji* 司州山川古今记 (*An Account of Mountains and Rivers, Ancient and Contemporary in Si-zhou*), 3 *juan*, by Liu Cheng-zhi, Minister of Public Works (*Du-guan shang-shu*) during the Liu-Song. (For the function of this office, see *Song-shu* 39/22a-b 百官志.) See *Sui-shu* (Yi-wen facsimile ed.) 33/24a 经籍志.

10 By Dai zuo 戴祚, styled Yan-zhi 延之, 2 *juan*. See Zhang Zong-yuan, *Sui-shu Jing-ji zhi kao-zheng* (*Er-shi-wu-shi bu-bian* ed.) 6/37-44. The title given by the *Sui-shu* (33/24a) is *Song[-Wu] bei-zheng-ji* 宋[武]北征记 (*An Account of the Northern Expedition by Emperor [Wu] of the [Liu-]Song*), 1 *juan*.

11 Literally, *deng* 等.

12 Literally, *zhong-tu* 中土, the Central Land (the Yellow River valley).

13 Literally, *chuan-zao* 穿凿, "to bore and chisel," that is, illogical or unreasonable.

14 Literally, *zu-chang* 租场, Tax-Grain Yard.

15 Adding *nei* 内 after *YHNC* 3/9a.

16 It occupied a high point of the city, where officials were stationed to regulate business activities. See *WH* 2/8b 张衡西京赋: 旗亭五重, 俯察百队, "Flag Pavilion stood five stories high, overlooking one hundred roads below." Xue Zong's 薛综 commentary: 旗亭, 市楼也.

17 A reference to the life of Confucius, who constantly warned himself against luxurious living and reminded everyone of the ever-present danger even when no danger was visible. See *Li-ji* 51/1a ff. 孔子闲居.

18 The text (2/2a) gives *jiang nei dian* 讲内典. Here the translation follows *IS* 2/1b.

19 Adding *Xiao-chang* 孝昌 after *IS* 2/1b.

20 Adding *zhong* 钟 after *CT* 2/2a.

21 *Liang-shu* (Yi-wen facsimile ed.), 55/2b-3a has a complete record of this group of

three poems, which reads as follows:

1

Listening to the ringing bell,  
 I know the sound comes from the capital city.  
 Hard to count, since it is struck without rhythm,  
 But hundreds of worries spring up after so many hardships.  
 Departing sounds linger with elegance,  
 An echoing toll whirls in great haste.  
 Who pities the time keepers  
 Working so hard at the Jian-zhang (To Establish Grandeur) Terrace 建章台?\*

\*A major palace built in 104 B.C. after a fire had destroyed the Bo-liang (Cypress-beamed) Terrace 柏梁台.

2

Listening to the ringing bell,  
 Listening at many places.  
 Throwing away such precious stones as *jin* 瑾 and *yu* 瑜 which have been in my possession,  
 No helping hand for my attempts at ascension.\*\*  
 Old friends and loves are all scattered, east and west,  
 Just as fallen leaves are no longer together.  
 Wild goose, drifting and lonely, where will it perch?  
 Crane, parting with passion, cries at midnight!

\*\*Literally, to climb up the pine tree and to break cassia branches—to climb up high.

3

Listening to the ringing bell,  
 Where is the end of my sorrow?  
 For more than twenty years,  
 I have been living aimlessly in the capital.  
 Looking into the bright mirror:  
 A sallow countenance.  
 In vain, I try to suppress  
 [My sorrows] as thick as the clouds, and  
 [My thoughts] as vast as an ocean.

22 *IS* (2.2a) gives his name as *Zan* 赞, which is in error. The translation follows the *Liang-shu* (55/1a), which reads *Shi-qian* 世谦.

23 That is, people under his control.

24 Modern *Xiang-yang* 襄阳, Hu-bei.

25 In A.D. 502, Xiao Bao-rong, then known as Emperor He 和帝 of the Qi, was murdered by one of Xiao Yan's confidants. He was then fifteen years *sui*. See *TC* 145/6b-7a.

26 Literally, *Mei-ren* 美人 "Beauty," one of many titles for palace women.

27 He was born seven months after the alleged affair.

28 Literally *sheng-que* 圣阙 "holy tower," that is, the imperial palace.

29 Emending *zan* 赞 to *zuan* 纘 after the *Liang-shu* 55/2b.

30 Emending *Shi-wu* 世务 to *De-wen* 德文 after the *Liang-shu* 55.2b.

31 That is, *xia-guan* 下官, "subordinate official," a polite term commonly used during



the southern dynasties by officials in referring to themselves when addressing their colleagues. See Xu Shi-ying, "Shi-shuo xin-yu zhong di-yi-shen cheng-dai-ci yan-jiu", *Dan-jiang xue-bao* 2 (1963), 19-21.

32 The text (2/2b) reads *shou* 授, meaning "appointed as," which is not as precise as the *IS* text (2/2a) *hou chu* 后除, "later promoted to." Hence, the translation.

33 Emending Xu 徐 to Qi 齐 after *IS* (2/2b) and *WS* (59/20b).

34 He died soon afterward either of natural causes (*WS* 59/20a) or by execution (*Liang-shu* 55/2b).

35 Cousin of Er-zhu Rong and Er-zhu Zhao, the latter being responsible for the recapture of the capital in A.D. 530. See *WS* 75/1a, 7a.

36 The monologue is lengthier in *CT* (2/3a), with the following additional couplet: "I would rather be stabbed to death than be despoiled by the rebellious barbarian!"

37 Emending *chi* 池 to *di* 地 after *IS* 2/2b.

38 Emending *bei* 辈 to *nian* 年 after *IS* 2/2b. Dong Jing 董京, styled Wei-nian 威年, was a hermit of the Western Jin. He lived as a beggar in Luo-yang. See *Jin-shu* 94/3b-5b; *Bao-pu-zi* 抱朴子 (*SPTK suo-ben*) *Nei-pian* 内篇 15/80 杂应篇.

39 Literally, *san-bao* 三寶: Triratna or Ratnatraya, "the three jewels or treasures" for taking refuge, include Buddha, Dharma, and sangha. See Fa-yun, *Fan-yi ming-yi ji* (*SPTK suo-ben*) 1/2-3 十种通号 quoting "Fu-tian lun-xu san-bao" 福田论叙三宝: 佛也..., 法也..., 僧也. "They are Buddha..., Dharma..., and sangha."

40 Emending *sha-yang* 剃养 to *li-yang* 利养 as given in *IS* 2/2b.

41 That is, Buddha.

42 Thirty-two major (*xiang* 相) and eighty minor (*hao* 好) marks. The Buddha was supposed to have them all. See Di-po-he-luo, tr., *Fang-guang da Zhuang-yan jing* (*Taishō* ed.) 3/557.

43 Literally, *mu bu zhan shun* 目不暂瞬, "without winking, not even for one moment".

44 The translation follows *IS* 2/2b: *yan-guang hui-he* 炎光赫赫, "The lights are illuminating and dazzling." The text (2/3a) reads *yan-guang teng-hui he-he* 炎光腾辉赫赫, "The lights are soaring, illuminating and extremely dazzling," instead.

45 The text (2/3h) is Hui-ning 惠凝, but both the *FYCL* (111/1326) and the *Shi-men zi-jing lu* (*Taishō* ed.; A/811) give Hui-yi 慧凝. The transliteration follows the latter version.

46 Literally, *zuo-chan* 坐禅.

47 Literally, *ku-xing* 苦行.

48 The text (2/3b) reads *si-nie-pan* 四涅槃, but *IS* 2/3a gives *si-shi-juan nie-pan* 四十卷涅槃. The *Mahāsparinirvāṇa sūtra* has two popular editions: the forty-volume version translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa (Tan-wu-chen 昙无讖 in A.D.423, generally referred to as the Northern Text (Bei-ben 北本), and the thirty-six volume Southern Text (Nan-ben 南本), the same work translated by Dharmarakṣa revised in Jian-ye by Hui-guan 慧观 and Xie Ling-yun 谢灵运 (A.D.385-433).

49 A native of China, he was referred to as "the Buddha of the East" by Bodhiruci (an Indian monk active in Northern Wei in the early sixth century; see Chapter 4 at note 244), and was highly respected by the Wei court around A.D. 520. See *Xu Gao-seng zhuan* 23/624-625 and Chapter 4 at note 244.

50 The popular editions of this sūtra are: 1. the sixty-volume version translated by



Buddhabhadra (Fo-tuo-ba-tuo-luo 佛陀跋陀罗) during the Jin; the so-called "Jin sūtra," 2. the eighty-volume edition translated by śikṣananda (Shi-yi-nan-tuo 实义难陀) about A.D. 700 during the Tang; the so-called "Tang sūtra," and 3. the forty-volume edition translated by Prajña around A.D.810.

51 Literally, *xin huai bi wo* 心怀彼我. For the Buddhist, to have the dualistic distinction between one's self and others is bad enough.

52 Literally, *yi jiao ling wu* 以骄凌物, to bully others through arrogance.

53 Literally, *si bei* 四辈, "four groups," that is, the *bhikṣu*, *bhikṣuṇī*, *upāsaka*, and *upāsikā*.

54 That is, *tan-yue* 檀越, *dānapati*.

55 The text (2/4a) is *zao* 造, to make.

56 Adding *jin* 金 after the FYCL 111/1327.

57 *San du* 三毒, "three poisons" that is, concupiscence, anger, and stupidity (or greed, hate, and delusion). See Kumārajīva (Jiu-mo-luo-shi), tr., *Da zhi-du lun* (*Taishō* ed.) 31/286: 释初品中十八空义: 有利益我者贪欲, 违逆我者生瞋恚. "One is greedy for what benefits him. One hates what stands against him. The root of the trouble does not rise from intelligence; it rises from bewilderment known as delusion. These three poisons are the roots of all perplexities that originate from oneself."

58 Adding *deng* 等 "others" after TPKC 99/2b 释证部惠凝.

59 Adding two sentences 死来七日, 生时业行如窳所论不差 after FYCL 111/1327.

60 Northwest of modern Wei-xien 卫县, He-nan. The mountain resembles a deer; hence the name. See *Tai-ping huan-yu ji* (Wen-hai facsimile of 1803 ed.; Tai-bei, 1963) 56/8b: 卫州共城县白鹿山 quoting Lu Si-dao's 卢思道 *Xi-zheng ji* 西征记.

61 Deleting *nan* 南 after IS 2/4a.

62 To the east of the Jian-chun Gate and south of the Yang Canal was the Horse Market, one of the three major markets (the other two were the Sheep Market and the Gold Market) during the Wei-Jin period. See SCC 16/15a 穀水注.

63 Xi Kang (A.D.223-262), one of the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove," was condemned to death by the usurping Si-ma family for Xi Kang's loyalty to the doomed Wei dynasty. For his biography, see *Jin-shu* 49/16a-26a.

64 He-jian was a subdivision of Ying-zhou.

65 Liu Xuan-ming was an associate of Yang Yu 杨昱, member of a famous family known for its loyalty to the Wei (WS 58/14a-17b). According to an official record (WS 9/9b), Liu Xuan-ming was executed in the ninth month of A.D. 519, for treason discovered in the planning stage. In all probability this was a fabricated charge, from which he was at least partially exonerated here.

66 The translation follows the CS (2/79) in placing the Wei-chang Nunnery under a new paragraph. The *Chong-kan* (2/14a), on the other hand, treats the Wei-chang entry as part of the foregoing passage.

67 Li Ci-shou, also known as Jian 坚, was a native of Gao-yang. He had been a Court Secretary, Supervisor of the Court of Imperial Stud (*Tai-pu-si qing*), and Governor of Ying-zhou. He was also given the title Earl of Wei-chang 魏昌伯, after which the nunnery was named. For his biography, see WS 94/15b.

Ying-zhou was created in A.D.487(modern He-jian, He-bei). See WS 106A/13a 地形志.





68 This passage is repetitious.

69 *SCC* (16/15a) makes no mention of any inscription, but Yang Xuan-zhi theorized that there might have been one that Liu Cheng-zhi might have seen.

70 The *Chong-kan* (2/14a) includes the nunnery in the preceding passage. The translation follows the *CS* (2/79) and *CC* (2.88) arrangement instead.

71 Given as *chi* 尺, "one Chinese foot" in a variety of editions. The translation follows the *YLIT* (13823/1b) in emending *chi* 尺, to *zhang* 丈, "ten Chinese feet."

72 That is, gold, silver, glazed material, glass, coral, agate, and sea shells.

73 The text (2/5b) reads *fei tian ji yue* 飞天伎乐, "flying musical entertainers in the sky," which, according to the *CS* (2/79), has the same meaning as *zhu tian shi cong* 诸天侍从, "attendants of heavenly gods." The *CS* assertion is based on a similar description of an image-carriage as recorded in the *Gao-seng Fa-xian zhuan* (*Taishō* ed.), p.851. *Tian* 天, "heaven," is often translated as *devas*.

74 Literally, *yang-que* 扬推, which originally means "to give a general outline" but now has the meaning "to discuss or to describe." For its origin, see *WH* 4/9a 思蜀都赋: 请为左右扬推而陈之, "Allow me to discuss and describe them for you." Li Shan's commentary: 扬推, 粗略也 "Yang que means a sketchy outline."

75 Yang Ji, styled Xian-lüe 显略, a native of Ji-xian 冀县, Tian-shui 天水, was known for his morality as a youth. He had been acting magistrate of He-yin, Senior Administrator in the Office of the General Quelling the West (*Ping-xi-fu zhang-shi*), before his transfer to the Luo-yang post. In the capital he won respect for his firmness. In the Yong-xi years he was General of the Guards (*Wei jiang-jun*), Palace Grandee on the Right (*You guang-lu da-fu*) before his promotion to the position of Minister of Finance (*Du-zhi shang-shu*). Unselfish and impoverished, he could not afford a horse for transportation, but had to rely on a calf-drawn cart. He was thus highly respected for his honesty. Because of his loyalty to the doomed Northern Wei, in A.D.533 he was executed by the usurper Gao Huan. See *WS* 77/18b-19a.

76 Literally, *qing-de* 清德, "pure virtue." Here the term refers to Yang Ji's steadfast virtue in dealing with his powerful colleagues.

77 The *CC* (2/88) treats the following passage as part of the main text, but I follow the *CS* (2/80) to make this a footnote. No further information about Du Zi-xiu is available.

78 The campaign was concluded in A.D.280. In recognition of his accomplishments, Wang Jun was promoted to Generalissimo Aiding the State (*Fu-guo da-jiang-jun*) and ennobled as Marquis of Xiang-yang 襄阳侯. He was given the additional honor of Palatine Ceremonially Equal to the Three Authorities. He died in A.D.285. See *Jin-shu* 42/9b-23b.

79 Emending *shu-shi-wan* 数十万 (*wan* is the equivalent of ten thousand) to *shu-wan* 数万 after the *TPYL* 658/6b 释部寺 and *TPKC* 81/22b 异人类赵逸. A three-storied stupa would not need "several hundred thousand" bricks.

80 According to Chen Yuan's 陈垣 authoritative concordance, the eighth day of the ninth month of A.D.285 should be *gui-hai* 癸亥, and the first day of the same month, *bing-chen* 丙辰 (rather than *jia-xu* 甲戌). Accordingly, the eighth day should be October twenty-third in the Gregorian calendar. See Chen Yuan, *Er-shi-shi shuo-run biao* (*Yi-wen* facsimile ed.), p.50.

81 Emending *xun zhu-zhi* 寻逐之, "then pressed him" to *xun zhu-wen* 寻逐问, "then pressed him with questions" after the *IS* 2/5b.



82 *IS* (2/5b) reads *jing min* 京民, "people in the capital".

83 Literally, *he-ru jin-ri* 何如今日, "how did it compare with today."

84 That is:

Name	Founded by	Regnant
Former Zhao 前赵	Liu Yuan 刘渊	A.D.304-310
Later Zhao 后赵	Shi Le 石勒	A.D.319-333
Former Yan 前燕	Mu-rong jun 慕容廆	A.D.348-360
Former Qin 前秦	Fu Jian 苻健	A.D.351-355
Later Qin 后秦	Yao Chang 姚萇	A.D.384-394
Shu 蜀	Li Xiong 李雄	A.D.304-334
Later Liang 后凉	Li Guang 吕光	A.D.386-400
Later Yan 后燕	Mu-rong Chui 慕容垂	A.D.384-396
Western Qin 西秦	Qi-fu Guo-ren 乞伏国仁	A.D.385-388
Northern Yan 北燕	Feng Ba 冯跋	A.D.409-431
Southern Liang 南凉	Tu-fa Wu-gu 秃发乌孤	A.D.397-399
Southern Yan 南燕	Mu-rong De 慕容德	A.D.400-404
Northern Liang 北凉	Ju-qu Meng-xun 沮渠蒙逊	A.D.401-433
Xia 夏	He-lian Bo-bo 赫连勃勃	A.D.407-425
Former Liang 前凉	Chang Kuei 张轨	(fl.A.D.301-314)
Western Liang 西凉	Li Song 李嵩	A.D.400-420

85 Reigned A.D.355-357. He was dethroned and murdered by Fu Jian 苻坚.

86 Fu Jian (A.D.338-386) reigned (A.D.357-386) as the third emperor of the Former Qin. For more information about him, see the *Jin-shu* 113/1a-31a, 114/1a-33b.

87 A reference to Cao Pei's 曹丕 essay (*WH* 52/5a 典论文): 常人贵远贱近, 向声背实. "All men attach great value to what is remote but belittle what is nearby; they look up to the superficial but turn away from the substantial."

88 A reference to Liu Kun 刘昆 of the Later Han, whose benevolent rule as the Grand Warden of Hong-nong 弘农 for three years had been so effective that tigers within his area, with cubs on their backs, crossed the river and ran away. Before his time, however, the tigers had played havoc with travelers along the post roads under his jurisdiction. See *HHS* 109/3b-5a.

89 In A.D.142 Zhang Gang 张纲 was one of the eight censors appointed by the emperor to investigate conditions of local government. He was the youngest in this group. Although all others took their orders and left for their assigned areas, Zhang Gang buried his chariot wheels in a Luo-yang depot and said: "While the [ravenous] wolves stand in our way, what is the use of investigating the [less vicious] foxes?" Accordingly, he submitted a memorial charging Liang Ji 梁冀, generalissimo at the time, with fifteen crimes. See *HHS* 86/2b-6a.

90 A legendary robber in the state of Lu 鲁 during the Chun-qiū period (722-481 B.C.) who killed innocent people every day and ate their liver and flesh. See *Zhuang-zi* 9/207 盗跖.

91 Two worthies of the twelfth century B.C. who refused to join the Zhou after the downfall of the Shang. They fled into mountains, refrained from eating grain grown under the new regime, and finally died of starvation. They symbolize the loyal and incorruptible official. See *SC* 61/7-17.

92 No detailed information about him is available.

93 In the eighth month (September–October) of A.D.416 Liu Yu, founder of the Liu-Song dynasty (A.D.420–479), led an army to attack the Later Qin (A.D.384–417) then ruled by Yao Hong. Two months later, Liu Yu captured Luo-yang. See *Jin-shu* 10/20b; *Song-shu* 2/10b.

94 Literally, *bai* 拜.

95 Guo Pu, a famous occultist and scholar, is best remembered for his commentaries for the *Mu-tian-zi zhuan* 穆天子传, *Shan-hai jing* 山海经, *Er-ya* 尔雅, and *Chu-ci*. He was executed in A.D.324 by the rebel general Wang Dun 王敦 (A.D.266–324), who was infuriated by Guo Pu's unfavorable prognostication. See *Jin-shu* 72/1a–16b.

96 That is, *bu-wan* 步挽 (same as *wan* 挽) *ju* 车. *TC* 112/3a [凉王曰]纂醉乘步挽车, "[The King of Liang Lü] Cuan took a ride in *bu-wan-ju* while intoxicated." Hu San-xing's comm: 步挽车不用牛马若羊等, 令人步而挽之, "*Bu-wan-ju* did not use such animals as cattle, horses, or sheep, but was drawn by human beings while stepping forward."

97 Emending *yi* 仪 to *yi* 义 after *YHNC* 3/9b.

98 A farewell party in Du Yu's honor prior to his successful campaign against the Kingdom of Wu in A.D.280 was held here. See *Shi-shuo xin-yu* (Yi-wen facsimile ed.) B/6b–7a; Mather, *New Account*, pp.155–156. See also the *Jin-shu* 3/29b.

Du Yu was a renowned general responsible for the conquest of the Kingdom of Wu. He was also an authority on the *Zuo Commentary*, which still carries his name as the most distinguished commentator. See the *Jin-shu* 34/18a–29a.

99 Emending *huang* 恍 to *yue* 悦 after *YHNC* 3/9b.

Si-ma Yue was the grandson of Si-ma Chu-zhi 司马楚之, who deserted the Liu-Song to the Northern Wei. See *WS* 37/6a–7b. The title Commandant of Attending Cavalry was reserved for the husband of a princess, but his biography makes no mention of such a marriage. [Si-ma] Yue's son Fei 隄, however, was married to the younger sister of Emperor Shi-zong. See *WS* 37/7b.

100 Emending *fen* 分 to *Diao* 刁 after *YHNC* 3/9b. Diao Xuan was defeated by, and subsequently surrendered to, Chen Qing-zhi following the latter's victorious entry into Luo-yang (A.D.529). He was married to the younger sister of Yuan Lüe 元略, Prince of Dong-ping 东平王. See *Liang-shu* 32/4a; *WS* 38/7b.

101 The name of Li Xin 李昕 as a youth. He was a native of Fan-yang who had been governor of Xiang-zhou and Xu-zhou. See *WS* 46/4b–8b.

*YHNC* (3/9b) mistakenly gives *Zhi-nu* 直奴 for *Zhen-nu* 真奴.

102 *YHNC* (3/9b) gives *rang* 让 for *xiang* 骧. No detailed information about him is available.

103 Hu Guo-zhen had been acting governor of Yong-zhou 雍州, which lay in a general area known as Qin. Hence, he was ennobled as the Duke of Qin.

104 The following passage (thirty-two characters in all) appears in the middle of the next paragraph. Designed as an explanation of the Empress Dowager Hu's motive in deciding to build this monastery, this paragraph should be moved up. *Ji-zheng* (24b) and *CS* (2/84) are in agreement with this arrangement.

*Chong-kan* treats this passage as part of the main text.

105 The text (2/8b) has an additional character *mu* 母, which is an obvious interpolation.

In A.D.394, Lady Li of the Jin, Emperor Xiao-wu's 孝武帝 mother, was honored as the empress dowager and her palace was known as Chong-xun (*Jin-shu* 9/24b). The Wei followed





this precedent and used the same name, Chong-xun, for the empress dowager. In fact, Chong-xun appears in another source as part of her official title. See *MCCS* plate 40.2 魏故胡昭仪墓志铭.

106 Adding *yi* 仪 after the *CT* 2/9b.

107 Zhang Pu-hui 张普惠, an authority on ancient rituals, argued in a lengthy memorial that there had never been such titles conferred on any empress's father in the past, but his objection was brushed aside by a reviewing board. See *WS* 78/9b-11b.

108 She died in A.D.502, sixteen years before her husband's death (May 7, 518 A.D.). See *WS* 83B/5b-6b. A separate temple was built in his honor. See Chapter 3 below.

109 Adding *wai* 外 after *YHNC* 3/9b.

110 Cui Guang was a native of Eastern Qing-he 东清河 (east of modern Shang-xian 商县, He-nan) and a member of the famous Cui clan of Bo-ling 博陵 (east of modern Bo-ye 博野, He-bei). He had been an Erudite of the Central Secretariat (*zhong-shu bo-shi*), Archivist (*Zhu-zuo lang*), Chief Palace Attendant, and Minister of Public Instruction, and finally the Grand Guardian (A.D.522). He was a leading supporter of Buddhism. For his biography, see *WS* 67/1a-14b.

111 The text (2/8b) gives 寔 instead of 实: 实 is as given in his biography (*WS* 83B/8b-9a). A native of Long-xi 陇西 (modern Lin-tao 临洮, Gan-su) Li Yan-shi was the eldest son of Li Chong 李冲, Vice President, Department of State Affairs (*Shang-shu pu-ye* 尚书仆射). He was appointed as the Grand Tutor after Emperor Zhuang's ascension.

112 Emending *Zhao* 诏 to *Shao* 韶 after *YHNC* 3/9b. The eldest son of Li Bao 宝, Li Shao had been Governor of Yan-zhou and Ji-zhou. See *WS* 39/2a-3b.

113 Zheng Dao-zhao, son of Zheng Xi 郑羲, was a native of Ying-yang 滎阳 (southeast of modern Ying-ze 滎泽, He-nan), where the Cheng clan had been particularly influential. He served as an archivist before his transfer to the position of Supervisor of Archives. He died in A.D.516. See *WS* 56/3b-6b.

114 No further information is available for this man.

115 Emending *wang* 王 to *zhu* 主 after the *CT* 2/9b. It is a scribal error.

116 Zhang Hua was a statesman of the Western Jin (A.D.265-316) and author of the *Bo-wu-zhi* 博物志, *Record of the Investigation of Things*. For his biography, see the *Jin-shu* 36/27b-40b and also Anna Straughair, *Zhang Hua: A Statesman-poet of the Western Chin Dynasty* (Canberra, 1973).

117 Emperor Zhuang's mother was the daughter of Li Chong and the younger sister of Li Yan-shi. See *MCCS* plate 186: 彭城武宣王[懿]妃李氏墓志铭.

118 According to Wu Ting-xie 吴廷燮 (*Yuan-Wei fang-zhen nian-biao* A/10, column C 青州; *Er-shi-wu-shi bu-bian* ed.), the exact date for this event is the tenth month (November-December) A.D.529.

119 Literally, *sang-yu* 桑榆, "mulberry and elm," referring to the fact that the sun's last rays can be seen only in the tops of these trees. Hence, "late." *HHS* 47/6a 冯异传: 可谓失之东隅, 收之桑榆. "This can be said that what is being lost at sunrise has been restored at sunset." Li Xian's 李贤 (A.D.651-684) commentary: 桑榆, 谓晚也, "*Sang-yu* means 'late'."

120 Literally, *Wei yang* 渭阳, "north of the Wei River," which alludes to a nephew's intimate feeling toward his maternal uncle, particularly after the death of his mother. When this conversation took place (A.D.529), the emperor's mother had been dead for more than five years (she died on February 4, A.D.524; see *MCCS* plate 186). For the origin of *Wei yang* 渭阳, see the *Shi-jing*



6.4/11a (ode 133, verse 1, lines 1 and 2): 秦风渭阳: 我送舅氏, 曰至渭阳。Waley, *Book of Songs*, p.197: "I escorted my mother's brother/As far as the north of the Wei."

121 Literally, *ye xing zui ren* 夜行罪人, "a criminal who walked at night." This is a reference to Tian Yu 田豫 of the Three Kingdoms who declined to stay on as the Commandant of the Palace Guards (Wei-wei 卫尉), arguing, "For me, over seventy years old, to occupy this position is the same as to walk endlessly when the day bell has struck (a signal to stop) and the clepsydra has dropped all its water (another signal to stop). This will make me a criminal!" See *Wei-zhi* 26/11b.

It should be noted that during the Han, a bell was struck during the daytime as a signal to stop, whereas a drum was beaten during the night as a signal to rise. *HHS* 5/9a 礼仪志中 quoting Cai Yong's 蔡邕 (A.D.133-192). *Du-duan* 独断: 鼓以动众, 钟以止众。故夜漏尽鼓鸣则起, 昼漏尽钟鸣则息, "A drum is beaten to signal people to advance, whereas a bell is struck to signal people to withdraw. Therefore when in the night the clepsydra has dropped all its water and when the drum is beaten, [people] should rise; when in the daytime the clepsydra has dropped all its water and when the bell is struck, [people] should rest." The same custom seems to have been carried into the Wei. (*Wei-zhi* 26/11b quoting Zhao Yi-qing 赵一清 [1710?-1764?]). No one was permitted to walk on the street during the curfew hours. Referring to this basic idea, Tian Yu implied that one should not seek government position after the attainment of old age.

122 Literally, *cai jin wan li* 裁锦万里, "to cut brocade and rule a district of 10,000 li." A reference to *Zuo-zhuan* Xiang 襄 31 40/20b-21a. Zi-pi 子皮 wanted to appoint Yin-he 尹何 as a magistrate. Zi-chan 子产 (sixth cent. B.C.), the minister of the state of Zheng 郑, however, objected, saying: "This can not be done. Now you have a piece of fine brocade and you are unwilling to let someone cut it. People are seeking protection under the rule of a high government official in a large district, yet you are asking some [ordinary person] to run it. How much more care you have for the brocade than [for the people]!" Also see Legge 5, P.566.

Such expressions as *sang-yu* 桑榆, *zhao-lu* 朝露, *song-qiu* 松丘, and *ye-xing* 夜行 used in this paragraph all mean "old age." They often appear in the works of contemporaries, such as Yu Xin 庾信 (A.D.513-581) (*Yu Zi-shan ji zhu*, *SPPY* ed., 14/32a): 周柱国楚国岐州刺史慕容公神道碑铭: 钟鸣夜漏, 露露朝阳, "It's like the ringing of a bell [in the daytime] and the dropping out of water in a clepsydra at night; it is also like the morning dew under morning sunlight"; You Ming-gen 游明根 (*WS* 55/2b 游明根传): 臣桑榆之年, 钟鸣漏尽, "Your subject, at his declining years, is like the ringing of a bell and the dropping out of water in a clepsydra"; Xu Ling 徐陵 (A.D.507-583) (*Xu Xiao-mu ji jian-zhu*, *SPPY* ed. 1/15b 为王仪同致仕表): 钟鸣漏尽, 史有夜行之戒, "History has warned those who walk at night: it is the same as ringing of a bell and the drain of a clepsydra"; and Liu Yu 柳彧 (d. A.D.606) (*Sui-shu* 62/10a 柳彧传): 其人年八十, 钟鸣漏尽, "That man is eighty years old, same as a ringing bell and draining clepsydra."

123 Yang Kuan 杨宽 was at the time the Attending Secretary within the Imperial Yellow Gate. He escaped to the Liang after the fall of Luo-yang into the hands of rebels in A.D.530, but returned to Wei after the restoration of peace. For his biography, see *PS* 41/43b-45b.

124 The text (2/9a) reads *She-ren* 舍人, which is an abbreviation for *Zhong-shu she-ren* 中书舍人. His biography (*PS* 83/7b-10b) verifies that he had held this position for some years.

125 This is a free translation of *bin-ke* 宾客.



126 *IS* (2/7b) and *CT* (2/10b) reads *fu-zhong* 腹中, "inside the belly" rather than *chang-zhong* 肠中, "inside the intestine." This is a free translation.

The classical compound *huai-zhuan* 怀砖, "carry brick," originates from this passage.

127 *Xun Ji*, born and raised in *Jian-kang*, was a close friend of Emperor *Wu* of the *Liang* (regnant A.D.502-549), who was a fervent Buddhist devotee. *Xun Ji*, however, attacked Buddhism in a memorial. Infuriated by this document, the emperor decided to have him arrested and executed. As a consequence, *Xun Ji* ran to the Northern *Wei*, where he plotted with *Yuan Jin* 元瑾 to try to murder *Gao Cheng* 高澄, a powerful minister disloyal to the *Wei*. Instead, *Xun Ji* was killed after the disclosure of the plan. See *PS* 83/10a-b. For his memorial denouncing Buddhism, see *Guang Hong-ming ji* 7/74-79.

128 *Cui Shu-ren* was the son of *Cui Xiu* 崔休 and younger brother of *Cui Ling* 崔陵. It was in the house of *Cui Ling* that *Xun Ji* stayed after his flight from the *Liang*. *Cui Shu-ren* had been General of the Whirling Cavalry (*Biao-qi jiang-jun*) concurrently Governor of *Ying-zhou*. See *WS* 69/3a.

129 The important character *Ji* 济 is added at the suggestion of *CC* 2/98. Without this addition, the whole dialogue would be meaningless.

130 Literally, *ce-jian* 侧肩, "to turn the shoulder sideways," that is, for speedy entry.

131 The text (2/10a) has only three characters *tian ran nong* 甜然浓, which do not constitute a balanced sentence. The fourth character *hou* 厚 is added after the *YLIT* (7328/27b) quotation.

132 Adding *bi* 比 after *YLIT* 7328/27b.

133 Literally, *si-fang* 四方, "four directions," that is, everywhere in the nation.

134 *Lin-zi*, the name of the provincial capital of *Qing-zhou*, is used figuratively to refer to the entire area of *Qing-zhou*.

135 Emending *you* 有 to *bu* 布 after *IS* 2/8a.

136 The text implies that *Cui Xiao-zhong* was a native of *Qing-zhou*, but actually he was from the *An-ping* 安平 district of the *Bo-ling* area, where a major branch of the famous *Cui* clan originated. Son of *Cui Xiu-he* 崔修和, he had been an Attendant Censor (*Shi-yu-shi*) and archivist. See *WS* 57/16a. For more information about the *Cui* clan, see *Patricia Buckley Ebrey, The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China*, Cambridge, 1978.

137 *Ying-qiu*, "encircled mound" is so named because in the inner city of *Lin-zi*, a mound, three hundred paces (1,500 Chinese feet) in circumference, was surrounded by the *Zi* 淄 River. See *SCC* 26/13b-14a 淄水注.

138 *Tai-gong Wang* 太公望 received *Ying-qiu* as a fief from King *Wu* of the *Zhou* (regnant 1027-1005 B.C.). *Tai-gong* is known otherwise as *Lu Wang* 吕望 and *Jiang Tai-gong* 姜太公. He was the chief minister of King *Wu* of the *Zhou*. See *SC* 32/2-10 齐太公世家 and *Hsiao Kung-ch'uan, A History of Chinese Political Thought*, tr. F. W. Mote (Princeton, 1979) 1, 49, 73 ff.; also pp.167-169 for King *Wu*.

139 Name of a city gate in the western section of *Lin-zi* in the state of *Qi* underneath which scholars met and held discussions. Later, an academy was built by King *Wei* 齐威王 in about 357 B.C. on its site. See *SC* 46/31 田敬仲完世家: [宣王时,] 是以齐稷下学士复盛, 且数百千人. "Subsequently, once again scholars came to *Ji-xia* [Academy] of the *Qi* in increasing numbers, ranging from several hundred to one thousand." See also *Hsiao, History of Chinese Thought*, 1, 5n.



140 Xu Shao(A.D.153-198),a person renowned for his skillful appraisal of other men. He and his associates held characterization sessions known as "first-of-the-month critiques" (*yue-dan ping* 月旦评),the outcome of which might be fatal or beneficial to those being reviewed. See *HHS* 98/7b-8b and Zhen Ji-yun, *Xun Yue*, p.146.

141 Guo Tai(A.D.128-169), better known by his style Lin-zong 林宗,was the leader of these literati skilled at characterization. See *HHS* 98/1a-3a.

142 A reference to a fool who lived to the west of Confucius' house, and, in complete ignorance of the importance of Confucius, called the latter "my eastern neighbor Qiu" (*dong jia Qiu* 东家丘). See *WH* 41/18b.

The counterpart of this parable is "a fool in the western house" *xi jia yu fu* 西家愚夫. See *Wei-zhi* 11/26a 郗原传, commentary quoting 郗原别传.

143 *Shi-jing* 12.1/10a (ode 192, verse 2, line 6) 小雅正月: 莠言自口. Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes* (Stockholm, 1950), p.135: "bad words come from mouths." Mao Heng's commentary: 莠, 丑也, "Xiu means ugly."

144 Emending *xi* 西 to *nan* 南 after the *IS* 2/8a and *YLTT* 13823/3a.

145 That is, *Dian-yu cao* 典虞曹, a subdivision of the Court of Imperial Stud (*Tai-pu si*) during the Jin. See the *Jin-shu* 24/23b 职官志.

146 The text (2/10b) reads *cong-lin* 丛林, but both the *IS* (2/8a) and *YLTT* (13823/3a) give *jing-lin* 景林. *Ji-zheng* (6b) prefers the latter; hence, the translation.

147 Oranges planted north of the Huai River would change into this variety. See *Zhou-Li* 39/5a 考工记总目: 橘踰淮而北为枳.

148 Cui Guang was a great Buddhist devotee, even more so in his old age. He used to hold discussion sessions for monks and court dignitaries. For his official career, see Chapter 2 at note 110 under the Qin Tai-shang-jun Monastery.

149 Li Chong(A.D.455-525) was the nephew of Emperor Wen-cheng. He inherited the title Marquis of Chen-liu from his father and had been Generalissimo Governing the West. In his later years he was demoted to Marquis of Chen-liu, General Pacifying the East. See *WS* 66/1a-11a.

150 Son of You Ming-gen 游明根, You Zhao had been Attending Secretary within the Imperial Yellow Gate, and concurrently Chief Palace Attendant, and finally Vice President on the Right, Department of State Affairs. See *WS* 55/3b-6b.

151 Emending *Yu-shi wei* 御史尉 to *Yu-shi zhong-wei* 御史中尉 after *YHNC* 3/10a. As Chief Censor, Li Biao was noted for his stern and merciless rule. See *WS* 62/1a-20b.

152 Emending *Bing-bu shang-shu* 兵部尚书 to *Qi-bing shang-shu* 七兵尚书 after *YHNC* 3/10a; emending Cui Lin 崔林 to Cui Xiu 崔休 after *WS* 69/1a-3a.

Cui Xiu started his career as a major and, concurrently, Ministrant of the Imperial Yellow Gate (*Ji-shi huang-men shi-lang*) under Emperor Gao-zu, but was promoted to the Minister of Seven Forces (*Qi-bing shang-shu*) and Minister within the Palace (*Tian-zhong shang-shu*). The seven forces refer to the left middle and right middle, left external and right external, cavalry, special, and metropolitan forces. Minister of Five Forces (*Wu-bing shang-shu*) was an old Wei-Jin institution, but that of Seven Forces was a Northern Wei innovation.

153 See Chapter 1 at note 16 under the Yong-ning Monastery.

154 Zhang Lun, a native of Shang-gu 上谷 (west of modern Guang-ling 广灵, He-bei), was the son of Zhang Bai-ze 张白泽. He served Emperor Hsiao-chuang (regnant A.D. 528-531) as the Grand Minister of Agriculture, in which office he died. See *WS* 24/9a-11a.



155 There was another mountain bearing the same name in the Hua-lin Park. Possibly Zhang Lun's garden was an imitation. See Chapter 1 at note 269 under the Jing-lin Monastery.

156 Literally, *qin yin* 嵌崑, descriptive of a state of loftiness.

157 Jiang Zhi is mentioned in the biography of Cheng Yan 成淹 (WS 79/7b). He is reported as a friend of Cheng Xiao 成霄, son of Cheng Yan, and both liked to write poems and rhymed prose, which were not highly regarded by their contemporary literati. Nevertheless, they were popular among the less educated. This Jiang Zhi was identified as a native of Hedong (modern An-yi 安邑, Shan-xi), not Tian-shui as recorded in the *Qie-lan ji*. See WS 79/5b.

158 Emending ting 亭 to ting 庭 after YHNC 3/10a.

159 The text (2/11a) reads *jin* 今, but on the basis of an ancient manuscript of the *Qie-lan ji*, *Qian Hou-Wei wen* (54/9a) gives *fu* 夫 instead. Both characters can be translated as an introductory "now", however.

160 The text gives *pian zhong* 偏重, meaning personal preference.

161 Deleting a repetitious *zhong* 重 after the CHWW 54/9a.

162 Emending *jin mian* 津勉 to *jin liang* 津梁 after IS (2/9a) and CHWW (54/9a). *Jin* 津 rhymes with *chun* 纯; hence, a more logical choice.

163 That is, Zhuang-zi, who on one occasion engaged himself in a dialectic argument with his friend Hui-zi 惠子 (or Hui Shi 惠施, fourth cent. B.C.) at a dam near the Hao River. Zhuang-zi, a leader of the Taoist teaching, asserted the freedom that the swimming fish enjoyed in the water, whereas Hui-zi, a logician philosopher, questioned the ability of Zhuang-zi, not a fish himself, to know how and what fish enjoyed. *Zhuang-zi* 6/128 秋水: 庄子与惠子游于濠梁之上. Burton Watson, tr., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York, 1968), p.188, "Autumn Floods": "Chuang Tzu and Hui Tzu were strolling along the dam of the Hao River...."

164 That is, Lao-zi (ca. 300 B.C.): believed to be the founder of the Taoist school of philosophy). SC 63/2-3 老子韩非列传: 老子者, ...周守藏室之史也, "Lao-zi... was a historian who took care of the archive room of the Zhou [dynasty]." Commentary: 按藏室史, 周藏书室之史也。又张苍传: 老子为柱下史, 盖即藏室之柱下, 因以为官名, "The historian of the archive room was the one who took care of the archive room for the Zhou [dynasty]. Again, according to the 'Biography of Zhang Cang' [in the *Shi-ji*], Lao-zi was a Historian under the Pillar, that is, the pillar of the archive room. Hence, he took this as his official title."

165 Emending *wo* 卧 to *wu* 悟 after IS 2/9a.

166 Literally, *zhang-fu* 章甫, ceremonial caps of the Yin dynasty. Li-ji 59/1a 儒行: 孔子对曰: 长居宋, 冠章甫之冠。"In reply Confucius said: 'When I grew up and stayed in Song, I wore a *zhang-fu* cap.'" Commentary (59/1b): 章甫, 殷冠也。"Zhang-fu is the name of a Yin cap."

167 *Lao-zi dao-de jing* 老子道德经 (SPTK suo-ben, B/12) 仁德第三十五: 道之口, 淡乎其无味。Wing-tsit Chan, tr., *The Way of Lao Tzu* (New York, 1963), p.162, "But the words uttered by Tao/How insipid and tasteless!" Actually, the opposite is true. See *Quan Han wen* 全汉文 (Tai-bei, 1961, 53/4b) 扬雄解难: 大味必淡, 大音必希 "Great flavors are necessarily tasteless; big sounds are necessarily inaudible."

168 Literally, *yin fang* 隐放, which is a contraction of *yin-ju fang-yan* 隐居放言. See *Lun-yu* (Yi-wen facsimile SSCSS ed., 18/6b), 微子. Arthur Waley, *The Analects of Confucius* (London, 1938), p.222: "... lived in seclusion and refrained from comment."

169 The text (2/11b) reads *qu-dong* 曲栋, a curved beam in a roof or ridgepole. Probably it is used here figuratively for the ridge of a mountain.





170 *Tian-jin* 天津, also known as *Tian-han* 天汉 or *Tian-jiang* 天江, a group of nine stars. See *Jin-shu* 11A/31a 天文志. See also Ho Peng-yoke, *The Astronomical Chapters of the Chin-shu*, Paris, 1966.

171 Literally, *Cang hai* 沧海, "Black Sea." It was supposedly in the north but was actually in the east. *Hai-nei shi-zhou ji* (IS ed.) 8a-b, has a mention of it.

172 Literally, *wu xun* 五寻, "five *xun*". Each *xun* is equal to eight Chinese feet (*Shuo-wen jie-zi* 3B/21a) 度人两臂为寻, 八尺也, "In measuring a person, [the combination of] two arms' length is a *xun*, or eight [Chinese] feet"; *Shi-jing* 20.2/15b (ode 300, verse 9, line 4) 鲁颂閟宫: 是寻是尺. Commentary: 八尺也. Translated by Arthur Waley as "cubits"; *Book of Songs*, p.273.

173 A reference to the treacherous Wu Gorges 巫峡 in the Upper Yangtze, where, in an area of seven hundred li, both banks of the river are continuous cliffs and precipices that so completely block the sky and shut off the sun that one can hardly see any light except at noon or midnight. *SCC* 34/3b 江水注: 自三峡七百里中, 两岸连山, 略无阙处, 重岩叠嶂, 隐天蔽日, 自非停午夜分, 不见曦月.

174 One of the three legendary and inaccessible islands in the high seas to the east of China, where immortals are supposed to live. The other two islands are *Fang-zhang* 方丈 and *Ying-zhou* 瀛州. See *SC* 28/24 封禅书.

175 *Yin* and *yang* are two cosmic forces whose interaction produces all patterns, ideas, systems, and culture of the Chinese society. See Needham, *Science and Civilization*, 1, 153-154.

176 *Fen-bo* 纷泊, a bound form, means "to alight and settle." See *WH* 4/15a 思蜀都赋: 羽族纷泊. Liu Kui's 刘遵 commentary: 纷泊, 飞薄也.

177 The text (2/12a) reads *hao cui lian fang* 好翠连芳, "bright green is blended with fragrance." Although *fang* 芳, "fragrance," rhymes with *huang* 黄 in the couplet immediately preceding, it can hardly be used to describe a bird. The meaning is therefore unclear; the text may be in error.

178 The text (2/12a) gives 鸛, a character not listed in any dictionary. *CS* (2/93) suggests that it may be a variant of 鸛, which is another name for *he* 鹤, "stork"; hence the translation.

179 Sun Xing-yan 孙星衍, *Xu Gu-wen yuan* (Ye-cheng shan-guan ed., 1812, 2/25a) has the additional character *shi* 实; hence, the translation.

180 *Xu Gu-we yuan* (2/25a) suggests that one character is missing. I speculate that the missing character must be a verb; hence the translation.

181 *Zi-ying* was a skilled fisherman. Once he caught a carp, took it home, and let it grow in his pond. In one year it grew to more than ten Chinese feet, with a horn and wings. Much surprised, *Zi-ying* bowed to it. The fish then asked *Zi-ying* to ride on its back, and ascended to heaven. See *Lie-xian zhuan* (IS ed.) B/7b-8a.

The text (2/12b), which reads *Zi-ying you-yu yu yu zhi* 子英游鱼于玉质 may be in error.

182 Prince Qiao (sixth cent. B.C.) was the son of Emperor Ling 灵 (reign 571-545 B.C.) of the Zhou. He was a skillful ban-pipe (*sheng* 笙) player. At the invitation of the Taoist monk *Fu-qiu gong* 浮丘公, he went into the Song Mountains, where he stayed for more than thirty years. Eventually he took a ride on the back of a white stork and soared into the sky. See the *Lie-xian zhuan* A/12b-13a.

The text (2/12b) reads 王乔系鹤于松枝, which may again be in error.

The two legends concerning *Zi-ying* and Prince Qiao are introduced in the work of

rhymed prose to dramatize the fabulous splendor of Zhang Lun's garden of hills and streams, where similar things might be expected to happen.

183 One of the three major islands in the Eastern Sea. See note 174 above. *Chong-kan* (2/17a) is perhaps in error in punctuating this couplet.

184 Style of Ruan Ji (A.D.210-263), a famous poet and whistler and one among the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove." For his biography, see *Jin-shu* 49/1a-8b; for a study of his poetry, see Wang Yi-tong, "The Poetical and Intellectual World in the Poetry of Ruan Ji," editions 7 (Hong Kong, 1977), 48-61.

185 Style of Xi Kang (A.D.223-262), a renowned lute player and poet and another member of the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove." See *Jin-shu* 49/16a-26a; Donald Holzman, *La vie et la pensée de Hi K'ang* (223-262 A.P.J.C.) (Leiden, 1957); and Robert H. van Gulik, *Hsi K'ang and His Political Essay on the Lute* (Tokyo, 1968).

186 Adding the key character *ting* 庭, "courtyard," after the *IS* (2/10a) and *YLTT* (13823/4a).

187 Literally, *tian* 田, "land, field." This is a loose translation.

188 Literally, *zhong* 种, "to plant." Possibly it is an error.

189 Deleting the redundant character *xin* 心, which appears after *fang-cun* 方寸.

190 *Ping-deng*, or *samtá*, refers to Buddha's universal, impartial, and equal attitude toward all beings.

191 Yuan Huai (A.D.488-517), son of Emperor Xiao-wen, had been Generalissimo of the Whirling Cavalry, Minister of Public Work, Grand Guardian, and Acting Minister of Public Instruction (September 11, A.D.515). His biography in the *WS* (22/6b) is by no means complete, but a rubbing of a stele inscription erected in his honor is available in the *MCCS* (plate 193).

192 According to a monument inscription written in A.D.572 to consummate major repair work, this temple enjoyed a spectacular view. "With the lofty Mang Mountains in the back, it faced the clear Luo River. On the right was the parapet of the city wall; on the left, a vast lake. The Song Mountains stood attentively in the front, while the holy [Yellow (?)] River floated in the rear." See Wang Chang, *Jin-shi cui-bian* (Jing-xun-tang ed.) 34/30b 冯翊王修平等寺碑.

193 *Jin-shi cui-bian* (34/28b) supplies this additional bit of information.

194 Literally, *kong shi-li wang er guan zhi* 空市里往而观之, "The exodus was such that the market places and wards were emptied."

195 In late A.D.530, after the downfall of Emperor Zhuang, Yuan Ye 元晔, Prince of Chang-guang 长广王, was enthroned with the support of Er-zhu Shi-long and Er-zhu Zhao. Soon afterward, however, the new emperor was forced to abdicate in favor of the Prince of Guang-ling, who was later known as Qian-fei 帝 前废帝 ("The Former Dethroned Emperor"). On January 6, A.D.531, Er-zhu Zhao entered Luo-yang, but Er-zhu Du-lü and Er-zhu Shi-long were the two generals actually responsible for security in the capital. The Prince of Chang-guang, then in Jin-yang, did not arrive in Luo-yang until April first of the same year (the twenty-ninth day of the second month), *TC* 155/2a. (*WS* 11/1b is mistaken in giving the "third month" instead.) This explains why "for one hundred days there was no ruler" in the capital. See *WS* 10/14b-15a 孝庄纪, 11/1a-2a 前废帝纪 and 75/9a 尔朱世隆传.

196 *TC* 155/1b quotes this passage in full.

197 The name of the Prince of Chang-kuang's regnal period changed into Pu-tai (A.D. 531-532) when the Prince of Guang-ling became emperor.





198 An area south to the Mang Mountain and outside the east gate of the capital city, where an abdication ceremony later took place. See *WS* 11/1b.

199 The prince was the great-grandson of Emperor Jing-mu 景穆 (d.A.D.451), therefore only indirectly related to the reigning emperor.

200 Adding *Gong* 恭 after the *IS* 2/11a.

201 A commandery of Luo-zhou 洛州 (*WS* 106C/18b-19a); modern Shang-xian 商县, Shan-xi.

202 *PS* 66/11b gives his personal name as *Xian* 仝 (an immortal) rather than *Qi* 企 (to hope for). An influential general in the Western Wei dynasty, he was captured in A.D.534 by the rival Eastern Wei dynasty. See *PS* 66/116-13a 泉仝传.

203 A temple founded by his family, possibly by his father Yuan Yu 元羽. It was located in the southern suburbs of Luo-yang. For the Long-hua Monastery, see Chapter 3 after note 110.

204 Literally, *yan you wan bang* 奄有万邦, "to cover and possess myriad countries." For the origin of *yan-you* 奄有, see the *Shi-jing* 20.2/1b (ode 300, verse 1, line 12) 鲁颂閟宫: 奄有下国. Waley, *Book of Songs*, p. 269. "He took possession of all lands below." Zheng Xuan's comm.: 奄犹覆也, " 'Yan' means 'to be possessed of'".

205 Literally, *dao yi bai wang* 道溢百王, "Our principle brims over [the level set by] the Hundred Kings," that is, we are much superior to all of them.

206 Literally, *de jian wu wai* 德渐无外, "No [place] lies outside [the area] imbued with our virtue", that is, all are within the realm of our benevolent influence.

207 A reference to the Duke of Zhou and Duke of Shao, who, as prime ministers, ruled to the east and west of the Zhou metropolis, respectively. See *Chun-qiū Gong-yang zhuān* (*Yi-wen* facsimile *SSCCS* ed.); Yin 隐 53/4a: 天子三公者何? 子之相也。天子之相何以三? 自陝而东者, 周公主之; 自陝而西者, 召公主之。一相处乎内, "Who are the three lords of the Son of Heaven? They are his ministers. Why are ministers of the Son of Heaven three? [The area] from the Shan eastwards is under the jurisdiction of the Duke of Zhou; west of the Shan is under the jurisdiction of the Duke of Shao. An additional minister takes his position between them."

208 Tao Kan 陶侃 (A.D.259-334), a powerful Eastern Jin general-governor was concurrently prime minister from his post outside the capital. *Jin-shu* 66/29a 侃传论: 超居外相, 宏总上流, "He was promoted, rather unconventionally, to the position ora prime minister outside of the capital, enjoying an usual position in the upper [Yangtze] River."

209 According to one source, nine tripods were cast under the sage-king Emperor Yu of the Xia dynasty (trad.2205-1766 B.C.) to symbolize the nine provinces. According to another, these nine tripods were moved to the capital of the Shang following the downfall of Xia, and to the Zhou capital after the downfall of the Shang. By tradition, Zhou rule lasted for seven hundred years because of the tripods in its possession. *HS* 25A/29b 郊祀志: 禹收九牧之金, 铸九鼎, 象九州, 皆尝禘上帝鬼神, "Emperor Yu collected metals from the governors of nine provinces, which were cast into nine tripods as a symbol of nine provinces. The contents of the nine tripods were all presented as offerings to gods, ghosts, and spirits." *Zuo-zhuan* Xuan 3 21/16b: [王孙满曰]: 商纣暴虐, 迁鼎于周。...成王定鼎于郊廓, 世三十, 卜年七百, 天所命也. Legge 5, 293: "[Wang-sun Mwan replied]: Chow of Shang proved cruel and oppressive, and they (that is, the tripods) were transferred to Chow ... King Ch'ing fixed the tripods in Kēah-juh, and divined that the dynasty should extend through thirty reigns, over seven hundred years."

210 A reference to contenders struggling for power. *Chu-ci* 3/58 天问: 会鼃争盟, 何距吾期, 苍鸟群飞, 孰使萃之. David Hawkes, *Chu Ci*, p.53: "On the morning of the first day we took our oath. How did we all arrive in time? When the geese came flocking together, who was it made them gather?"

211 "Inundation" is analogous to "troubled world". Fan Ning, *Chun-qi Gu-liang-zhuan ji-jie xu*(Yi-wen facsimile SSCCS ed.; 4b)孔子观沧海之横流, 喟然而叹曰: 文王既没, 文不在兹乎? "After viewing the inundation of the vast sea, Confucius said with a sigh: 'Now that Duke Wen has died, could culture still be here?'"

212 *WH* 44/8a 陈琳檄吴将校部曲文: 其馀包身架裨特起, 鸱视狼顾, 争为枭雄者, 不可胜数, "Many others sprang up spiritedly. Like owls wide-eyed, wolves with heads turned and struggling for hegemony, they are simply countless." Commentary quoting the *Huai-nan-zi* 淮南子: 鸱视虎顾, "Peeping like owls and turning back their heads like tigers."

213 Emending *yue-li ji-zhi* 岳立基趾 to *yue-li ji-zhi* 岳立基峙, "Unmoving as mountains and stalemated as in chess" after *Ji-zheng* 2/7a. The latter is based on a contemporary passage written by Li qian 李骞(*WS* 36/11a 李骞释情赋): 既云扰而海沸, 亦岳立而基峙, "Not only are they like scurrying clouds and embroiling seas, they are also like unmoving mountains and stalemated chessmen."

214 That is, Emperor Xiao-zhuang (regnant A.D.528-531).

215 Literally, *ren ren* 壬人, which is the same as *ning-ren* 佞人. See *HS* 9/7b 元帝纪: 是故壬人在位, "Therefore flatterers are in authority." Fu Qian's 服虔 (A.D. 2nd cent.) commentary: 壬人, 佞人也, "*Ren-ren* is the same as *ning-ren*."

216 Bi-gan (12th cent. B.C.) reprimanded his nephew, Emperor Zhou, the last wicked king of the Shang dynasty, for his use of cruel tortures. Infuriated by this, Emperor Zhou had Bi-gan killed, then opened up his heart to find out whether there were indeed seven apertures, as a good-hearted man was supposed to have. See *SC* 3/32 殷本纪.

217 The source of this allusion is unknown. It might refer to Fan Ju 范雎(early third cent. B.C.), also known as Marquis of Ying 应侯, who was so badly beaten by his suspicious superiors that his ribs and teeth were broken. See *SC* 19/3 范雎

218 Following the execution of Long-feng 龙逢(minister of the ancient tyrant Jie 桀, d. 1763 B.C.), on the *geng-zi* 庚子 day, an inscribed golden tablet emerged from the ground as a proof of his innocence. See *WH* 40/18b 任彦昇百辟劝进今上版牒: 金版出地, 告龙逢之怨。

219 Yang Zhen 杨震, the Grand Commandant under Emperor An 安帝(regnant A.D. 107-125) of the Later Han, was slandered by the powerful eunuch Fan Feng 樊丰 and subsequently dismissed from office. Yang Zhen poisoned himself. More than ten days prior to his burial, a huge bird came to the funeral site, calling bitterly and shedding tears to such a degree that the ground was soaked. After Emperor Shun's 顺帝 ascension, an order was issued to the local government that a magnificent banquet be offered to Yang Zhen's shrine and all charges hitherto brought against him be dismissed. See *HHS* 84/6b-7a.

220 Emending *yi* 以 to *jiu* 久 after *IS* 2/12a.

221 Literally, *shen-qi* 神器, "a divine utensil." For its origin, see *Lao-zi A*/11 无为第二十九: 天下神器, 不可为也. Zhan, *The Way of Lao-zi*, p.151, "The Empire is a spiritual thing, and should not be acted on."

222 Reversing *bo gua* 薄寡 after *IS* 2/12a.

223 Emending *yi* 异 to *ji* 冀 after *IS* 2/12a.



224 Literally, *wan gu* 万古, "10,000 past generations."

225 Adding *zao* 遭 after IS 2/12a.

226 That is, *ao-zhu* 奥主. *Zuo-zhuan Zhao* 1346/12a: 共有宠子, 国有奥主. Legge 5, P.650: "There is [another] favourite son of [King] Kung; there is [another] lord more honoured in the state." Commentary: 奥主, 国内之主.

227 *Yi-jing* 7/17ab 系辞上: 言行, 君子之枢机, 枢机之发, 荣辱之主也.

228 Literally, *zhu-zhu* 伣属, "to stand on tiptoe and hope for acceptance," that is, to hope for prompt acceptance.

229 Literally, *bie-di* 别邸, "other lodging house"; that is, to vacate the main palace for the emperor.

230 *Shu-jing* 4/8b 大禹谟: 惟精惟一, 允执其中. Legge 3, pp.61-62, "The Counsels of the Great Yu: Be discriminating, be undivided, that you may sincerely hold fast the mean."

231 *Shu-jing* 19/25a 吕刑: 虽畏勿畏, 虽休勿休, "Being respected, do not think you are respectable; being praised, do not think you are praiseworthy."

232 Literally, *san cai* 三才. *Yi-jing* 8/22a 系辞下: 有天道焉, 有人道焉, 有地道焉. 兼三材而两之, 故六六者非它也, 三材之道也. Richard Wilhelm, *I Ching*, 1, 377: "The tao of heaven is in it, the tao of earth is in it, and the tao of man is in it. It combines these three primal powers and doubles them; that is why there are six lines. The six lines are nothing other than the ways (tao) of the three primal powers."

233 *Di tu* 帝图, that is, *di wang pu lu* 帝王谱录 as translated.

234 *Shi-xi* 师锡, "all". *Shu-jing* 2/24a 尧典: 师锡帝曰. Legge 3, p.26, "The Canon of Yao: "All in the court said to the emperor."

235 *Tu-lu* 图篆, maps and charts in which a legitimate ruler is supposed to have recorded place.

236 Emending *er* 二 to *san* 三 after IS 2/12b. *San* 三 agrees with tradition, whereas *er* 二 does not.

237 *Ming Shao* 劭, which was taboo during the Wei (*Shao* 劭 being the name of the prince of Peng-cheng); therefore he was known by his style. He and Wen Zi-sheng 温子昇 were the best-known essayists in the closing years of the Wei. See PCS 36/1a-5b.

238 Customarily, a general amnesty was granted at the ascension of a new emperor or on other equally important occasions.

239 Cheng Ji, Chamberlain of the Crown Prince (*Tai-zi she-ren*) was the murderer of a Wei emperor (Duke of Gao-gui xiang 高贵乡公). He committed this crime at the instigation of Sima Zhao 司马昭, who soon after usurped the Wei. See *Wei-zhi* 4/57b-58a.

240 Literally, *men-xia* 门下, "[a bureau] underneath the palace gate," that is, a bureau for instant service of the emperor. Along with the *Shang-shu sheng* (Department of State Affairs) and *Zhong-shu sheng* 中书省 (Central Secretariat), it exercised overwhelming authority in China's traditional political system.

241 *Si-sheng* 肆眚, "to grant pardon for past offenses." For the origin of this term, see TC 155/2b Hu San-xing's commentary quoting the *Chun-qiū* (Zhuang 22; not available in modern ed.): [春王正月], 肆大眚. 注: 赦有罪也. ... 放赦罪人. 涤众故, 以新其心. "[In the first month of the spring], a pardon was granted for serious offenders." Commentary: "This was to pardon criminals ... Criminals were pardoned to eradicate their various offenses and renew their life [literally, heart]."



242 Reversing *shu shi* 庶士 to *shi shu* 士庶 after *Gou-chen* 2/15b.

243 *Jiu-xi* 九錫, symbols of imperial authority, customarily awarded by the captive emperor to successful usurpers during the Wei-Jin period. They are: 1. chariots and horses, 2. ceremonial costumes, 3. musical instruments, 4. a vermilion gate, 5. a raised dais for stairways, 6. one hundred *hu-ben* guards (palace guards), 7. bows and arrows, 8. axes and halberds, and 9. special wine for ancestral sacrifices. For its origin, see *Chun-qiū Gong-yang-zhuan* (6/5b). Zhuang 1, He Xiu's 何休 commentary. See also Mather, *New Account*, p.644.

244 Not much information about Liu Ji-ming is available, but there is a mention of his name in the "Treatise on Rituals" of the *WS*(108.4/16b-17a). An Erudite of the Four Gates near the end of A.D.518, he participated in a court discussion about mourning costumes to be worn by officials at the burial ceremony of Empress Dowager Wen-zhao 文昭皇太后.

According to *TC* (155/3a), Liu Ji-ming at this time took charge of the discussion. According to the same source (155/2a quoting the *Tong-dian*), ten such posts were created in A.D.530 under the Commandant of Justice to review cases of impeachment brought before him by the censors.

Among the three brothers Er-zhu Chong-yuan, Er-zhu Yan-bo, and Er-zhu Shi-long, the first named was the most vicious. See *WS* 75/7a.

245 That is, Empress Dowager Hu.

246 The literal translation of *sheng xin* 圣心.

247 The Tai-hang Range is in the borderland of He-nan, He-bei, and Shan-xi provinces.

248 Literally, *wang-fen kui-san* 望风溃散, "dispersed at the sign of the wind."

249 Modern Hua-xian 滑县, He-nan.

250 The text (2/17b) gives no surname. *WS* 44/5b-6a makes a mention of Yi Yuan 乙瑗, grandson of Yi Huai 乙瓌, who was married to Princess Huai-yang 淮阳 (daughter of Emperor Gao-zu) and held the same post.

251 Emending *you* 有 to *yi* 亦 after *IS* 2/13b.

252 Literally, *deng* 等, "and others."

253 Literally, *zuo* 坐, "a seat; to sit." *WS* (75/9b) reports that, as President of the Department of State Affairs, Er-zhu Zhong-yuan ordered his subordinates Song You-dao 宋游道 and Xing Xin 邢昕 (both secretaries in the same department) to perform their official duties in his private residence; hence, the translation "at home".

254 Literally, *tai-sheng* 台省, "tribunals and departments."

255 Literally, *wan-ji* 万机, "a myriad matters."

256 Literally, *gong-ji nan-mian* 拱己南面, "to fold both hands on the breast and face the south" descriptive of an effortless imperial sway. For the origin of *gong-ji*, see *HS* 3/8a 高后纪赞: 故惠帝拱己, "Therefore Emperor Hui held both hands on the breast"; for the origin of *nan-mian*, see *Zuo-zhuan Xiang* 26 37/15a: 郑于是不敢南面, "On this Zheng no longer ventured to turn its face to the south."

257 He was later known as Emperor Xiao-wu.

258 Wei Shou (A.D.506-572) was a famous man of letters and the author of the *Wei-shu*. For his biography, see *PCS* 37/1a-14b.

259 A similar gathering was held in A.D.518 under the empress dowager to honor her deceased father. The attending "myriad monks" (*wan-seng* 万僧) were given free meals and invited to participate in scriptural discussions. See *WS* 83B/6b.



260 Also known as Lu Bian 卢辩, younger brother of Lu Jing-yu 卢景裕. Lu Bian served as a Drafter of the Central Secretariat around A.D. 531, but became more influential in later years. He was most responsible for institutional reforms during the Northern Zhou dynasty. See *PS* 30/27b-32b.

261 This is a reference to an *HS* entry(27.B.A./29a)which indicates that when a stone stands up by itself, there will be a new emperor rising to power from the rank of commoner.

262 The text (2/18a) gives no exact date. According to *WS* (11/19b), this occurred on August 21, A.D.534 (*TC* 156/23a gives August 22), which marks the beginning of the Western Wei.

263 Emperor Xiao-Jing (Yuan Shan-jian) left Luo-yang on the twenty-seventh of the tenth month (November 18, A.D.534;*WS* 12/1b) and arrived at Ye on December 2, 534 (*TC* 156/29a).

264 A native of Hua-yin 华阴 of Hong-nong commandery (south of modern Ling-bao 灵宝, He-nan), Yang Chun was the younger brother of Yang Bo 杨播, another member of this famous Yang family. He was a general and governor under six emperors before his execution by Er-zhu Shi-long in A.D.531. See *WS* 58/7a-14a.

According to his biography (*WS* 58/13b), he was then seventy-seven *sui*. He was therefore born in A.D.453, not 455 as claimed by Iriya Yoshitaka (*Rakuyō garan ki*, p.55 n.121).

265 *WS* 58/18a gives his name as *Shun* 顺 rather than *Shen* 慎 as recorded in the *Qie-lan ji*. These two characters were often mixed up by scribes of the Tang. Yang Shun was Governor of Ji-zhou, carrying at the same time a military title, General Quelling the North (*Ping-bei jiang-jun*) (*WS* 58/18a). Iriya (*Rakuyō garan ki*, p.56 n.122) gives his dates as A.D.467-531. According to his biography, however, Yang Shun died in A.D.531 at the age of sixty five; hence, he was born in A.D.465.

266 *Shun* 顺 should read *Shen* 慎. See note above.

267 Iriya (*Rakuyō garan ki*, n.123) gives his dates as A.D.469-531. His biography (*WS* 58/22b-23a) reports that he died in A.D. 531 at the age of sixty-three. Therefore, he was born in A.D.467 instead of 469.

268 Literally, *San-cong* 三从, defined as brothers of one's great-grandfather, grandfather, and father in *Er-ya* (Yi-wen facsimile *SSCCS* ed.) 4/14b-15a 释亲.

269 In the biography of Yang Yuan-rang 杨元让 (Yang Chun's nephew), the author speaks very highly of the generosity and congeniality of the Yang brothers. There were one hundred males and females in the household who lived together and shared meals prepared in the same kitchen. During the Wei, only the Lu Yuan 卢渊 brothers could compete with the Yangs in this respect. See *WS* 58/25a-26a.

270 The exact date is the seventh month(July-August), A.D.531.

271 Su Qin(d. 317 B.C.)was a leading statesman during the period of Warring States. He was the chiefadvocate for a "vertical alliance" of six states against the state of Qin in the west. He died in 317 B.C.

272 That is, *yu-yi* 羽仪. See Robert des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires et de l'armée* 1,362.

273 Emending *si* 寺 to *shi* 市 after *YHNC* 3/10a and *IS* 2/14b.

274 His biographical sketch is not available elsewhere.

275 The text (2/19a) is in error; the date should be A.D.501 (the second year of Jing-ming 景明) —the year Xiao Bao-yin deserted his native Qi dynasty to join the Wei. See *WS* 59/



7b.

276 YHNC 3/8a gives 30 (*san-shi* 三十) instead of 3,000 (*san-qian* 三千).

277 Emending *si* 寺 to *shi* 市 after YHNC 3/8a and YLTT 13823/4a.

278 Emending *si* 寺 to *shi* 市 after YLTT 13823/4a and IS 2/15a.

279 Literally, *zhao huai huang-fu* 招怀荒服, "to give inspiration to, and show care for those in outlying regions [within three thousand li from the national capital]." For the origin of *huang-fu* 荒服, see *Ji-zhong Zhou-shu* (SPTK suo-ben) 7/42 王会解: [方]三千里之内为荒服, "Within three thousand [square Li from the capital] is *huang-fu*."

280 Literally, *jian-chang du yu Jiang zhe* 褰裳渡于江者, "to cross the river by pulling up the lower garments," that is, those deserters from the south who had made no contributions to the Northern Wei.

281 Literally, *wu han-ma zhi lao* 无汗马之劳, "without the toil of causing the horse to sweat"; that is, without military merit.

282 Chen Qing-zhi, a confidant of Emperor Wu of the Liang, was charged with the responsibility of escorting the Wei refugee, the Prince of Bei-hai, to return to the capital city Luo-yang. At the time Chen Qing-zhi was given the title Commissioner Holding Imperial Credentials, General of Whirlwindlike Bravery (*Jia-jie biao-yong jiang-jun*). See *Liang-shu* 32/3a.

283 No biography or any other information is available.

284 No biography or any other information is available.

285 The text (2/19b) reads *Biao* 彪, which is probably an erroneous interpolation. First, the following sentences define Yang and Wang as the only northerners present at the banquet, implying that both Xiao and Zhang were southerners. Second, another sentence reads that "Chen Qing-zhi...talked with Xiao and Zhang" as a group, suggesting once again that both were migrants from the south. The translation therefore does not follow the text as given.

286 No biography or any other information is available.

287 No biography or any other information is available.

288 The Tuo-ba tribesmen were traditionally classified as a branch of the Xian- bei 鲜卑, one of the "Five Barbarians," *Wu-hu* 五胡. For a study of the "Five Barbarians," see Wang Yi-tong, "Wu-hu tong-kao," *Zhong-guo-wen-hua yan-jiu-suo hui-kan* 3(Cheng-du, 1943), 57-79.

289 Literally, *zheng shuo* 正朔 refers to the official calendar (*zheng* 正, meaning the first day of a year; *shuo* 朔, the first day of a month). The term is taken as a symbol of a legitimate and sovereign government.

290 Literally, *Jiang-zuo* 江左, "on the left bank of the Yangtze." In Chinese historical geography, the region is variably referred to as *Jiang-zuo* 江左, *Jiang-you* 江右, *Jiang-nan* 江南, and *Wu* 吴.

291 The seal carried an eight-character inscription handwritten by Li Si 李斯 (d. 208 B.C.), the man most responsible for the unification of China by the Qin, which reads *shou-ming yu tian, ji-shou yong chang* 受命于天, 既寿永昌, "Receiving the mandate from heaven, [the Qin] will enjoy both longevity and prosperity." It had been passed on from the Qin to the Han, then to Wang Mang 王莽 (regnant A.D. 9-23), Emperor Guang-wu of the Later Han (regnant A.D. 25-57), through the Wei and Jin courts to Liu Cong 刘聪 (regnant A.D. 301-318) of the Former Zhao 前赵, Shi Le 石勒 (regnant A.D. 319-333) of the Later Zhao 后赵 (A.D. 319-352), and again Emperor Mu 穆帝 (regnant A.D. 344-361) of the Eastern Jin in A.D. 352. From the Eastern Jin, in turn, the seal was passed on to the the Song 宋 (A.D. 420-479), Qi 齐 (A.D. 479-





502), and now the Liang 梁 courts (A.D.502-557), as noted by Chen Qing-zhi. It was considered that any dynasty in possession of the seal was the one recognized as legitimate by heaven. For more information about the history of its transmission, see Cui Yu 崔纘, "Chuan-guo-xi jian" 传国玺笈, as quoted in *Nan-cun chuo-geng lu* (Yu-lan cao-tang [Ming] ed.) 26/1a-9b.

292 WH 6/17b 左思魏都赋: 巷无杼首, 里罕耆叟, "In the streets, there are no elongated heads; in the wards, no elderly gentlemen." Commentary: 方言曰: 燕记曰: 丰人杼首。杼首, 长首也。...交益之人, 率皆弱陋, 故曰无杼首也, "The *Yan-ji* as quoted in the *Fang-yan* reads: 'Healthy persons have elongated heads. *Shu-shou* means elongated heads.' People in the Jiao [-zhou] and Yi[-zhou] are generally weak and ill-developed; hence, there are no persons with elongated heads."

293 Among the many possible interpretations of the "three rivers," *san-he* 三河, the one dealing with the Lou 娄, Dong 东, and Song 松(all in modern Jiang-su) Rivers seems to have more direct bearing on the Wu region, from where Chen Qing-zhi came to Luo-yang. See *Shu-jing* 6/12a 禹贡: 三江既入. Kong An-guo's commentary quoting the *Wu-di ji* 吴地记: 松江东北行七十里得三江口, 东北入海为娄江, 东南入海为东江, 并松江为三江, "The Song River runs seventy *li* northwesterly before it reaches a point where three rivers meet. Flowing northeasterly to the sea is the Lou River, southeasterly is the Dong River. Together with the Song River, they are known as the 'Three Rivers'."

294 Possibly, the "five lakes" refer to the Ge 潞, Tao 洮, She 射, Gui 贵, and Tai 太, all in the Wu region, the general area of modern Yi-xing 宜兴 and Wu-xi 无锡 prefectures in Jiangsu. See *HHS* 58/8b 冯衍传 commentary quoting Yu Fan 虞翻.

295 Emending *gu* 沽 to *zhan* 沾 after *IS* 2/15b.

296 Liu Shao (d.A.D.454), son of Emperor Wen of the Liu-Song (A.D.420-479), committed regicide when he noted that the emperor was about to hold him accountable for treasonous acts. See *Song-shu* 99/1a-5a.

297 Styled name of Liu Jun 刘骏(A.D.426-464), who reportedly had illicit relations with his own mother, Empress Dowager Lu 路(Empress Wen's wife). See *Song-shu* 41/14b-17a.

298 In a request to her brother, the emperor, for consorts, the princess argued that, while the emperor had ten thousand ladies in the harem waiting on him, she herself had only one husband in her household. It was therefore totally unfair. As a result, the emperor gave her thirty male companions for compensation. See *Song-shu* 7/7b.

299 A disease said to be common among the people of Yang-di 阳翟 (modern Yu-xian 禹县, He-nan). See *Yun-yu yang-qiu* (in *Li-dai shi-hua*, Yi-wen facsimile ed., 10/2b).

300 For "holy maps", see Yang Xuan-zhi's Preface and Chapter 2 under the Ping-deng Monastery.

301 That is, Mountains Tai 泰(in modern Shan-dong), Hua 华(in modern Shan-xi), Huo 霍(in modern Shan-xi), Heng 恒(in modern Shan-xi), and Song 嵩(in modern He-nan), all lying within the Wei domain.

302 Emending *wu-chang* 五常 to *wu-di* 五帝 after *YLTT* 13823/4b.

303 Emending *he* 合 to *han* 含 after *IS* 2/16a.

304 Another name for Jian-ye 建业, Bai-xia 白下, Mo-ling 秣陵, and Jin-ling 金陵 (modern Nan-jing). Jian-ye was the capital of Wu, Eastern Jin, and four other dynasties in the south.

305 "A" 阿, now pronounced in the fifth tone in the Wu dialect, was pronounced in the



first tone during the Southern Dynasties period and used as a prefix for surnames, given names, and even in addressing the second and third person. See *Ri-zhi lu* 日知录 (SPPY ed.) 32/11b-12a under 阿.

306 For the phrase *yu ze a pang* 语则阿傍, the translation is speculative, since the exact meaning is unclear.

307 *Gu* 菰, also known as *jiang* 蒋, the seeds of which are edible. *Guang-ya* 广雅(SPPY ed.) 10A-44b 释草: 蒋也, 其米谓之雕胡。"The seeds of aquatic grass (*jiang*) are known as *diao-hu* 雕胡." *Diao-hu* is translated as "bog rhubarb" by Burton Watson. See his *Chinese Rhyme-prose, Poems in the Fu Form from the Han and Six Dynasties Periods* (New York 1971), p.32.

308 *Bai* 稗, a weed that looks like a rice plant. *Shuo-wen* 7A/30a: 禾别也。"Bai is different from *he*(rice plant)." Duan Yu-cai's comm.: 谓禾类而别于禾也, "It belongs to the rice family but is a different species."

309 *Jiang* 浆, "thick fluid." The meaning is not clear.

310 *Chun* 菡, an edible water-lily (*brasenia purpurea*) which was a southern delicacy.

311 Literally *qie-sou* 唼啣, descriptive of the noise of waterfowls when feeding.唼 is also written as 敎. *Ji-yun* 集韵(SPPY ed.) 9/12a.

312 A southern delicacy when seasoned with spices. See TPYL 942/8b 鱗介部蟹 quoting the *Ling-biao lu-yi* 岭表录异: 蟹壳内有膏如黄苏, 加以五味, 和壳煨之, 亦有味 (passage not available in modern version of the same work), "Inside of the crab carapace is a paste that looks like *huang-su*, 'yellow crisp', that is, crab spawn. Blended with five spices and roasted in the carapace, it is also tasty."

313 The aromatic seeds of *myristica fragrans*, which were used as spices. Ji Han 嵇含, *Nan-fang cao-mu zhuang* (Facsimile ed., Shang-hai, 1955) A/2: 豆蔻花, 其苗如芦, 其叶似姜, 其花作穗, 嫩叶卷之而生, "Myristica fragrans has stalks like those of reeds, leaves like those of ginger, flowers like the ears of grains. When it grows, it is rolled inside of tender leaves."

314 *Nan-fang cao-mu zhuang* 槟榔树: 实大如桃李, ...出林邑, 彼人以为贵, "The fruits are as big as peaches and apricots, ... [and] are produced in Lin-yi (in modern Vietnam).... People over there treasure them."

315 Literally, *zhong-tu* 中土. See n.12 above.

316 *Dan-yang* 丹阳, southeast of Jian-kang, is used here to mean the region south of the Yangtze River.

317 The text (2/21a)? *tou you xiu*? 头犹脩? "head is oblong," with the first character missing. The meaning of the sentence is not clear.

318 *Ji-tou* 鸡头, same as *qian* 苒. *Fang-yan shu-zheng* (with commentaries by Dai Zhen, SPPY ed.) 3/4a: 苒, 苒, 鸡头, ...南楚江湖之间谓之鸡头, "Yi, qian, ji-tou ... are known as *ji-tou* in Southern Chu, and along the Jiang and Xiang Rivers." *Ji-tou* 鸡头 was also a colloquialism in the central Yangtze during the Southern Dynasties.

319 All in the central Yangtze area.

320 Literally, *yan-yong* 唼咽, descriptive of a school of fish surfacing for air. WH 5/3b 左思吴都赋: 沂泗顺流, 唼咽沈浮, "This fish swim against or with the current, surfacing or submerging in the water."

321 *Zhu-yi chi-fu* 纁衣绋服, common attire worn by the Wu people (WH 5/9b); also title



of a popular song prevailing during the Jin (Guo Mao-qian, *Yue-fu shi-ji*, *SPTK suo-ben*, 55/411).

322 The passage consists of two sections, with four characters for each line and rhyming at the end of alternate lines. The key rhyme word in the first half (eight couplets) is *yang* 阳; the second half (nine couplets), *you* 尤.

323 As a result of this insult, those from Wu were reluctant to ask for spells.

324 Adding *qi* 其 after *IS* (2/16a) and *YLIT* (13823/5a).

325 Actually there had been two provinces of Si-zhou, the southern and the northern, which bordered on the Wei. Chen Qing-zhi was governor of both (*Liang-shu* 32/6a). For more information, see Xu Wen-fan, *Dong-Jin Nan-Bei-chao yin-di biao* (*Er-shi-wu-shi bu-bian* ed.) 7/119.

326 A scholar well-versed in classics, history, and literature, Zhu Yi (A.D. 483-549) was denounced in the standard histories for his role in aggravating Hou Jing's 侯景 rebellion between the years A.D. 548 and 552. See *Liang-shu* 38/1a-4b.

327 A paraphrase of the *Shi-jing* 20.4/12b (ode 205, verse 5, lines 1 and 2) 商颂殷武: 商邑翼翼, 四方之极. Waley, *Book of Songs*, p.280: "Splendid was the capital of Shang/A pattern to the peoples on every side."

328 Actually this style of ceremonial garments had been worn ever since the Han (*HS* 舆服志: 褒衣博带, 盛服至门上谒). Also popular during the Liang dynasty, when a big hat and high clogs were added, it was not necessarily the result of Chen Qing-zhi's sponsorship. See Yan Zhi-tui, *Yan-shi jia-xun* (*SPPY* ed.) 4/21a 涉务篇; Deng, *Family Instructions*, p.116.

329 Another name for Jian-ye (modern Nan-jing).

330 In early A.D. 423, in the wake of the death of Emperor Wen of the Liu-Song, the Wei general Shu-sun Jian 叔孙建 led his troops across the Yellow River to conquer Song lands such as Qing-zhou and Yan-zhou, whereas many Liu-Song generals then surrendered to the Wei. Yang Tai's desertion might have taken place in conjunction with this. See *WS* 3/13b-14a.

331 Emperor Ming-yuan 明元, otherwise known as Emperor Tai-zong 太宗. Here the character Yuan 元 is missing in the text (2/21b).

332 The text (2/22a) is *Zhong bo-shi* 中博士, a rare title. Its exact function is unclear. The character Zhong probably means "palace", and Zhong bo-shi is probably an abbreviation for *Zhong-shu bo-shi* (Erudite of the Central Secretariat).

333 Shu 叔, that is, Yang Ci's younger brother.

334 The equivalent of 24.50 liters.

335 Literally, *yi bu qing-diao qin-zhi* 亦不庆吊亲知, "without offering congratulations or condolences to his relatives and acquaintances."

336 The exact date is the fifth month (May-June), A.D.526. See *WS* 9/24a.

337 Because of a Tang taboo, his name is variably given as *Yuan* 渊 or *Shen* 深.

338 The text (2/22b) mistakenly gives Prince of Guang-ling 广陵王.

339 Ge Rong was a follower of Xian-yu xiu-li 鲜于脩礼, who started a rebellion in A.D.526.

340 Adding the two characters *Yuan-shen* 元慎 after *YYTT* 8/49 梦.

341 The text (2/22b) is Guang-ling 广陵, which is an obvious mistake for Guang-yang 广阳.

342 The text (2/22b) reads *Si-kong gong* 司空公, which is a mistake for *Si-tu gong* 司徒公. His son's stele inscription ("Yuan Zhan mu-zhi" 元湛墓志, *MCCS* plate 96.2) as well as other sources (*PS* 16/30a and *YYTT* 8/49) all give *Si-tu* 司徒; hence, the translation.

343 Adding *chu* 初 after *IS* 2/17b and *YLIT* 12823/5b.

344 Modern Huang-chuan *xian* 潢川县, He-nan.



345 See Chapter 1 under the Yong-ning Monastery at note 59.

346 This is a reference to the *Zhou-li*. The lamb symbolizes faithful adherence to the herd, whereas the wild goose stands for punctuality. *Zhou-li* 18/23b 春官大宗伯: sub-commentary: 云羔, 小羊, 取其群而不失其类者; …云雁, 取其候时而行者, "By *gao*, it means lamb that adheres faithfully to the herd and will not part with it. By *yan*, it means wild goose that migrates according to schedule."

347 Sheep (*yang* 羊) is a homophone of *yang* 阳.

348 The text (2/23a) is *fang* 方, which is an obvious mistake for *wan* 万 (same as 萬).

349 Zhou Xuan, a renowned dream-diviner of the Three Kingdoms period, (A.D.221-280) was the author of the *Zhan-meng shu* 占梦书 (*Yi zhuan*), which is listed in the *Sui-shu* "Treatise on Literature." See *Wei-zhi* 29/18a-19a 方技传; Yao Zhen-zong 姚振宗, *Sui-shu jing-ji-zhi kao-zheng* (*Er-shi-wu-shi bu-bian* ed.) 36/582

350 In modern Shang-xian 商县, Shan-xi.

351 The text (2/23a) has three additional characters, *Tai-chang min* 太常民, which, according to Tang Chang-ru, *Wei-Jin Nan-bei-chao shi lun-cong xu-bian* (Bei-jing, 1959), p.50 n.1, means persons held in bondage under the Ministry of Grand Ceremonies. See also Yi-tong Wang, "Slaves and Other Comparable Social Groups during the Northern Dynasties," *HJAS* 16 (1953), 293-364.

352 *TPKC* 439/5a 畜兽豕 has an additional character *Hu* 胡.

353 Wei Ji-jing, an uncle of Wei Shou, was a famed man of letters. He had been a Secretary on the Right, not on the Left, as reported here. See *PS* 56/21b.

354 Zhang Tian-xi, the youngest son of Zhang Jun 张骏, became the king of Former Liang in A.D.363. His kingdom, founded by his grandfather Zhang Gui 张轨, was conquered by Fu Jian 苻坚 in A.D.376. See *Jin-shu* 86/42a-45a.

The event under discussion here occurred in A.D.365 under Zhang Tian-xi, eleven years before his downfall. See Tang Qiu, *Shi-liu-guo chun-qiu ji-bu* (Guang-ya shu-ju ed., Guangdong, 1895) 73/1b 前凉录.

355 The Prince of Guang-ling was deposed in A.D.532 and murdered on June 21 the same year. See *PS* 5/8a-b.



## NOTES

## CHAPTER 3

1 Emperor Xuan-wu, otherwise known as Shi-zong, was the second son of Emperor Gao-zu, also known as Xiao-wen. He reigned from A.D.499 to A.D.515.

2 Literally, *dong nan xi bei* 东南西北, "from east to west and from south to north," that is, length and breadth.

3 A measure of length variably determined at eight Chinese feet; six Chinese feet four inches (*Li-ji* 13/25a-b 王制: 古者以周尺八尺为步, 今以周尺六尺四寸为步. "in ancient times eight Zhou feet was the equivalent of one *bu*, but now six Zhou feet and four inches equal to one *bu*"); or six Chinese feet (*Guo-yu* 3/29 周瓌下: 不过步武尺寸之间, "the difference is no more than one *bu*, *wu*, *chi* and *cun*), Comm.: 六尺为步. "Six Chinese feet equal to one *bu*."

4 The Song Mountains were the Sacred Mountains of the Center (中岳) in ancient China. Its eastern range was called the Tai-shi 太室; the western range, the Shao-shi 少室—the two ranges were seventeen li apart. Here the text (3/1a) is Shao-shi, *WH* 22/14a 沈约钟山寺应西阳王教: 少室迤王城, "Shao-shi was close to the king's capital." Li Shan's commentary quoting the *Xi-zheng ji* (by Dai Yan-zhi): 嵩, 中岳也. 东谓太室, 西谓少室, 相去十七里. 嵩高, 总名也, "Song is the Central Sacred Mountain. Its eastern range is known as Tai-shi, and western range, Shao-shi. 'Lofty Song' is the collective name."

5 *Zuo-zhuan* Zhao 3 42/12b: 请更诸爽垲者. Comm.: *shuang* 爽, *ming* 明. Sub-commentary: *Kai* 垲, *zao* 燥.

6 Different editions give different readings, but none makes good sense. The text (3/1a) reads: *shan xuan tang guang guan sheng* 山悬堂光观盛; the *IS* (3/1a), *shan xian tai guan guang sheng* 山悬台观光盛, and the *YLIT* (13822/11b): *shan xian tang guan guang sheng* 山悬堂观光盛. The translation is based on conjecture rather than textual evidence.

7 Literally, *jiao shu* 交疏. *WH* 29/2b 古诗: 交疏结绮牖, 阿阁三重阶, "Silkcovered windows stand on opposite sides; pavilions with four raised roof-corners have a stairway of three steps."

8 *Shi-ming* 释名(*SPTK suo-ben*)5/24 释宫室: 霑, 流; 水从屋上流下也; "Liu equals liu, into which water drops from the roof." *Li-ji* 8/18a 檐弓上: 池视重霑. Zheng Xuan's commentary: 承霑以木为之, 用行水, 亦宫之饰也, "Cheng-liu is made of wood, into which water flows. It is another ornament of the palace."

9 *Fang yan* 房檐, "eaves."

10 Literally, *bai ren* 百仞, "one hundred *ren*." Each *ren* is eight Chinese feet high.

11 *WS* 114/20b 释老志: [永宁寺] 佛图九层, 高四十餘丈. …景明寺佛图, 亦其亚也. "The stupa in [the Yong-ning *si*] has nine stories at a height of more than four hundred Chinese feet....The stupa in the Jing-ming *si* is next to it in height."

12 The text (3/1b) reads 碾, a rare character not found in dictionaries. In modern Chinese it is replaced by *nian* 碾, "rolling."

13 A very lucrative industry since the end of the Western Jin, water mills were owned almost exclusively by privileged individuals or groups, including Buddhist temples. They were used as an important source of power to produce flour by grinding and sifting the wheat. For a



discussion of this matter, see Yang Lien-sheng, "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty" in *Studies in Chinese Institutional History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), p.130 and n.59. See also Nishijima Sadao, "Tenkai no kanata" in his *Chūgoku keizaishi kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1966), pp.235-278.

14 The text (3/1b) reads *miao* 妙, a character with a wide range of possible meanings. Following the previous sentence that deals with water mills and the like, I suggest "riches" or "wealth" as the most appropriate and logical translation.

15 *Ci-bu cao* 祠部曹, "Office of Sacrifices."

16 The text (3/1b) reads *ba-yue jie* 八月节 "eighth-month festival," but *IS* (3/1b) gives *ba-ri* 八日 "eighth day". The eighth day of the fourth month is generally accepted as Buddha's birthday.

17 It is so recorded in the *WS*(114/8a) 释老志: 世祖初即位, 亦遵太祖太宗之业, ... 于四月八日與诸佛像, 行于广衢, 帝亲御门楼, 临观散花, 以致礼敬, "Soon after Emperor Shi-zong's ascension to the throne (A.D.499), he also followed the precedent of Emperors Tai-zu (regnant A.D.386-409) and Tai-zong (regnant 409-424)... On the eighth day of the fourth month, when the various Buddhist statues were placed in carriages and paraded on main streets, Emperor [Shi-zong] would ascend the watchtower of the palace [facing the street], and scatter flowers in person so as to show his respect for [the Buddha]." To worship the Buddha on his birthday is therefore an obvious tradition of the Wei.

18 Literally, *ju-qi tian-yan* 车骑填咽. *WH* 5/9a 左思吴都赋: 冠盖云荫, 闾阎阗噎, "caps and canopies formed a shade like a cloud; lanes and streets were congested [with people]." Liu Kui's 刘逵 comm.: 闾阎阗噎, 言人物遍满之貌, "*Lü-yan tian-ye* describes the overcrowded conditions."

19 *WH* 4/14a 左思蜀都赋: 舆鞅杂沓, 冠带混并, 累轂叠迹, "Carriages moved on tumultuously; caps and belts [of officials] were intermixed in disorder. The carriages, one after another, left piles of tracks, spreading out one atop the other." Li Shan's commentary quoting Si-ma Biao's 司马彪 commentary for the *Zhuang-zi*: 叛衍, 犹漫衍也, "*Pan-yan* is the same as *man-yan*-spreading out."

20 Style of Xing Shao 邢邵, son of rising Qiu, who had been Superintendent of the Imperial Household (*Guang-lu qing*). Xing Shao's other name was Ji 吉. He used his style because his name 邵, a homophone of 劬, was taboo under the Wei dynasty. For Xing Shao's biography, see *PCS* 36/1a-5b; see also Chapter 2, at note 237.

21 Literally, *zhi-xing tong-min* 志性通敏, "by nature penetrating and sagacious," referring to his natural endowment.

22 Literally *feng-qing ya run* 风情雅润, "an elegant and broad air," referring to his acquired qualities.

23 Literally, *xia wei tan si* 下帷覃思, "to pull down the curtain and think hard." This is a reference to Dong Zhong-shu 董仲舒 (179?-104? B.C.), who, as an Erudite, studied for three years in his library behind closed curtains, without venturing once outside to the garden. See *HS* 56/1a-b Dong Zhong-shu's biography.

24 *Lun-yu* 2/4a 为政 comm.: 温, 寻也; 寻绎故得, 又知新者, 可以为人师矣, "*Wen* (to refresh) means search. To search and understand what one has already heard, and to know what is yet new-one can be a teacher of others by so doing."

25 Ban Gu(d. A.D.92) is the author of the *History of the Former Han* and the famous



rhymed prose of the Western and Eastern Capitals. Si-ma Qian (ca.145–ca.86 B.C.) is the author of the first general history of China, the *Shi-ji*.

26 Literally, *ying-gui sheng-fan* 英规胜范, “an excellent pattern and a distinguished example.”

27 For Xu Shao, see Chapter 2 at note 140 under the Qin Tai-shang-jun Monastery; for Guo Tai, see Chapter 2 at note 141.

28 Literally, *yi-guan zhi shi* 衣冠之士, “literati wearing [ceremonial] robes and caps,” that is, officials.

29 Literally, *ruo deng Kong-zi zhi men* 若登孔子之门, “same as entering Confucius’ door,” that is, to receive Confucius’ teaching in person. See *Lun-yu* 11/5a-b 先进: 门人不敬子路。子曰: 由也, 升堂矣, 未入于室也。 Arthur Waley, *The Analects of Confucius*, p.156: “Whereupon the disciples ceased to respect Zi-lu. The Master said, The Truth about You is that he has got as far as the guest-hall, but has not entered the inner rooms.” Hence, Yang Xiong 扬雄 (53 B.C.–A.D.18) of the Former Han (206 B.C.–A.D.5) classified Confucius’ disciples into two categories: (1) “those who had entered the guest-halls,” that is, those who were accepted but not favored by the Master; and (2) “those who were in the inner rooms,” that is, those closer to Confucius and therefore favored. See *Fa-yan* 法言 (*SPPY* ed.) 2/1b 吾子: 如孔子之门用赋也, 则贾谊升堂, 相如入室矣, “If rhymed prose had been a subject taught by Confucius, then Jia Yi would have been an accepted disciple and [Si-ma] Xiang-ru a favored one.”

30 Source of the subject, “Dong-wu” 东吴 (Eastern Wu), is unclear. Zhou Yan-nian (*Luoyang qie-lan ji zhu*, 3/1b) suggests Lu Su 鲁肃 (A.D.172–217), who commented favorably on Lü Meng 吕蒙 (A.D.178–219), a famous general of the Kingdom of Wu (A.D. 222–280), as the source, but Fan Xiang-yong (*CC* 3/137–138) believes “Tong-wu” refers to Kong Rong 孔融 (A.D.153–208) instead. Kong Rong once spoke very highly of Yu Fan’s 虞翻 (A.D.164–233) *Commentaries for the Book of Changes*. For Lü Meng, see *Wu-zhi* (in *San-guo zhi ji-jie*) 9/23b; for Yu Fan, see 12/5b.

*PC* (114–115) believes that “Dong-wu” 东吴 is an abbreviation for Dong-wu-men 东吴门, who was not emotionally affected by the death of his own son (*Lie-zi* 列子 6/12a–b 力命, *SPPY* ed.). Although Xing Shao maintained his composure when his nephew Xing Shu 邢恕 died, this is not relevant here: this reference is to hearing a person’s comments, not to something he might have done.

31 Literally, *shi he* 释褐, “to get rid of a nonofficial garment of coarse fabric.” For its origin, see *WH* 45/6a 扬雄解嘲: 或释褐而傅。

32 That is, *wan-lang* 挽郎. This is a Jin institution. In A.D.341, for example, sixty youngsters were selected from among the children of officials with sixth rank to serve as pallbearers for the deceased Empress Du. See *Jin-shu* 20/25b 礼志. No record of this post is available in the *WS* chapter on Government Officials, which is chapter 113.

33 The text (3/2b) has only *huang-men* 黄门. The remaining part of his title is added according to his biography in *PCS* (36/2b).

34 That is, *Hu-men ye-fei* 虎门业废, a reference to the White Tiger Hall, where a meeting of scholars was convened by Emperor Zhang of the Eastern Han in A.D.79 to discuss different texts of the classics. See *HHS* 3/6b 章帝本纪. See also Tjan Tjoe Som, tr., *Bo Hu Tong*.



35 *Qing-jin* 青衿, blue collar worn by literati. *Shi-jing* 4.4/6a (ode 91, verse 1, line 1) 郑风子衿: 青青子衿. Sun Yan's 孙炎 commentary: 衿与襟音义同. 衿是领之别名, 故曰青衿; 青领也, "Pronunciation and meaning of *jin* 衿 and *jin* 襟 are alike. *Jin* 衿 is another name for *ling* 领 (collar). Therefore it is known as *Qing-jin*, meaning a blue collar." Waley, *Book of Songs*, p.49: "Oh, You with the blue collar." *Yan-shi jia-xun* 6/6b 书证篇: 古者斜领不连于衿, 故谓领为衿, "In ancient times the sloping collar (*ling*) was not connected with the lapel (*jin*), and thus *ling* and *jin* could be used alternatively." See Deng, *Family Instructions*, p.162.

36 *Ya-shu* 雅术.

37 *Zhu Si* 洙泗, names of two rivers in the ancient state of Lu (modern Shan-dong), where Confucius gave instructions to his disciples. *Li-ji* 7/8b 檀弓上: (Zeng-zi 曾子 spoke to Zi-xia 子夏): 吾与女事夫子于洙泗之门, "You and I had waited upon our Master between the Zhu and Si Rivers."

38 Literally *zu-dao* 祖道, sacrifices offered to the god of the road for a pleasant journey.

39 A reference to Shu Guang 疏广 and his nephew Shu Shou 疏受, who jointly asked for voluntary retirement. At the time they left the capital (58 B.C.), court officials in "several hundred chariots" rode to see them off. Spectators also sighed and sobbed at the scene. See *HS* 71/4a Shu Guang's biography.

40 *Bu-ling* 簿领. *WH* 29/8b 刘桢杂诗: 沉迷簿领书, "Busily engaged in official records." Li Shan's commentary: 簿领, 谓文簿而记录之, "*Bu-ling* means to keep records of official documents."

41 Many officials participated in the codification of the laws that took place in the Lin-zhi Pavilion; hence the name. The resultant law code was promulgated on November 19, A.D. 541. See *WS* 12/8b.

42 According to his biography, he was an effective administrator who watched over his subordinates vigilantly to guard against possible corruption. For this reason, people within his jurisdiction remembered him fondly at the end of his tenure. See *PS* 43/24a.

43 Literally, *rong ma zai jiao* 戎马在郊, "war horses were in the suburbs."

44 Altogether the collection of his writings came in thirty *juan*, "rolls." See *PCS* 36/5b.

45 On one occasion when the Wei envoys arrived in the rival Liang dynasty, they were asked why such a talented man as Xing Zi-cai was not sent over as a good-will delegate. See *PS* 43/23a-b.

46 Also known as Li-ren li 利仁里, Ward of Benefit and Benevolence, (*Tai-ping huan-yu* *ji* 3/14b 河南道洛阳县 quoting the *Jun-guo zhi* 郡国志).

47 Gao Xian-lue's name is alternately given as Gao Xian-luo 高显洛 (*TPKC* 391/1b 铭记部高显洛) and Gao Xian-ye 高显业 (*Tai-ping huan-yu* *ji* 3/10b 河南道洛阳县.) The *Qie-lan ji* refers to his name later in the paragraph as "Luo", suggesting that his correct name might have been Gao Xian-luo, or that later editors changed it. Gao Xian-luo was active in A.D.520.

48 According to the *Tong-dian* (22/19b 职官四令史), the Foreman Clerk is a Later Han institution. From eighteen to twenty-one clerks were selected from among officials in the Orchid Terrace (*Lan-tai* 兰台) (Bureau of Archives) to keep official papers. With some modification, this institution was followed in the southern and northern dynasties.

49 *IS* (3/3a) reads *yi qian* 一千, "one thousand."

50 Literally, *zao gong de* 造功德. Mine is a free translation.

Su Qin (d. 317 B.C.) was an active statesman long before the introduction of Buddhism





into China. The statement here is therefore quite fictitious.

51 The text (3/3b) gives Luo 洛. For an explanation, see n.47 above.

52 The text (3/3b) reads *Tai-shi* 太師(Grand Preceptor), which had never been the official title of Hu Guo-zhen 胡國珍 (d. A.D.518), the empress dowager's father, at any time of his career (WS 83B/5a ff). *Tai-shang-gong* 太上公, "Grand Father of the Empress" was his title. IS (3/3a) gives *Tai-shang*; hence, the translation.

Liu Teng 劉騰(d.A.D.523) supervised the construction; see WS 94/17a. For the *Tai-shang-jun* Monastery, see Chapter 2 at note 103 ff.

53 Literally *huang yi* 皇姨, "the emperor's aunt," that is, the empress dowager's younger sister, who was married to Yuan Cha. She was at first enfeoffed as the Duchess of Xin-ping commandery 新平郡君(in modern He-nan; no exact identification available), but later was renamed the Duchess of Ping-yi 馮嬪(modern Gao-ling 高陵, Shan-xi). See WS 16/15a 元義傳.

54 Literally, *fu-shu* 扶疏. *Fu* 扶 is a variant of *fu* 扶, meaning "spread out in all directions." *Shuo-wen jie zi* 6A/17b 扶: 扶疏, 四布也.

55 See Chapter 1 under the Jing-le Nunnery at note 198.

56 *Chen shi* 施. Dao-cheng, *Shi-shi yao-lan* (*Taishō* ed.) AJ276 嚧钱: 梵語達觀拿(dakṣinā), 此云財施, 今略達拿, 但云觀. 五分律云: 食后施衣物, 名達觀. "In Sanskrit it is known as *da-chen-na*, abbreviated now as *da-na*. In our [land] it is called donation of valuables, or simply called *chen*. According to the *Wu-fen lü*, '*Da-chen*' means to provide [monks] with clothing and other articles after meals."

57 The original observatory was sixty Chinese feet high with a foundation twenty paces (*bu* 步) square. SCC 16/22b 穀水注: 穀水又迤灵台北, 望云物也. 汉光武所筑, 高六丈, 方二十步; "The Gu River passed by the north of the Imperial Observatory, which was designed to view astronomical phenomena. [The observatory] was constructed [during the reign of Emperor Guang-wu of the [Later] Han, at a height of sixty Chinese feet and a foundation of 20 *bu* square." The *Han gong-ge shu* 汉宫闕疏 as quoted in the YHNC 2/15a, however, asserts that the Han Observatory was thirty Chinese feet high, with twelve gates. For a historical study of the Imperial Observatory, see Hashimoto Masukichi, "Reidaikō", *Shigaku* 13:4(1934), 1-23. For recent archaeological discoveries of the Ling-tai remains of the Han-Wei periods, see Zhong-guo Ke-xue-yuan Kao-gu-yan-jiu-suo Luo-yang gong-zuo-dui, "Han-Wei Luo-yang-cheng nan-jiao di Ling-tai yi-zhi," *Kao-gu*, 1(1978), 54-57.

58 Emending Han Wu-di 汉武帝(140-87 B.C.)to Han Guang-wu 汉光武(regnant A.D. 25-57)after IS 3/3b. Han Wu-di had his capital in Chang-an, whereas Han Guang-wu had his in Luo-yang, where the Ling-tai was located. The Imperial Observatory of the Later Han was built in A.D.56. See HHS 1B/22a.

59 *Bi-yong*, also known as Imperial Academy(*Tai-xue* 太学) was the place where rituals and music were performed as part of education. It had circular walls to resemble heaven and a circular moat to symbolize the flow of education. See Ban Gu, *Bo-hu-tong de lun*(*SPTK suo-ben*)4/39-41; see also Tjan, *Bo Hu Tong* 2, 482-488.

Construction of a *Pan-gong* 泮宫(same as *Bi-yong*, but *Pan-gong* was for an emperor whereas *Pan-gong* was for a feudal lord)in A.D.217 is mentioned in *Wei-zhi*(1/118b). It was located, however, in Ye, not Luo-yang.

60 Four gates were intended to welcome each of the four seasons, whereas eight windows

were designed to give passage for eight different winds. The round top resembled heaven. See WS 32/15a-16a 封軌明堂辟雍記; J.J.M. de Groot, *Universismus, die Grundlage der Religion und Ethik, des Staatswesens und der Wissenschaften Chinas* (Berlin, 1918), pp.263 ff.; Otto Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, 5 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1930-1952), 1, 74; and Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 4:3.P.70.

61 See Chapter 1 at note 198 under the Jing-le Nunnery.

62 CC (3/144) has prepared a long list of such disturbances.

63 The text (3/4b) gives *Kuang-ye* 旷掖; both IS (3/3b) and YLTT (13822/12b) give *Kuang-ye* 旷夜 instead. WS (113/30a) reads *Kuang-ye* 旷野, which is more conventional and is therefore followed in the translation.

An imperial rescript was issued on January 13, A.D.526 regarding the recruitment. See WS 9/22a-b 肅宗紀.

64 The General of the Wilderness was the ninth rank according to the Wei scale, whereas the Flanks and Adjunct Generals were Quasi-Ninth. See WS 113/30a-31b 官氏志.

65 The *Jun-guo zhi*, as quoted in the *Tai-ping huan-yu ji* (3/13a), reads Luo 洛 instead of Luo 駱, and gives his official title as *Hu-ben zhong-lang-jiang* (Commandant of Tiger-rushing Squires). The story given there is about the same as that given here, but he was later enshrined as god of the Luo River. The official title is a later embellishment, for, according to the *Qie-lan ji*, he was no more than an ordinary soldier stationed (*xu* 戍) in Peng-cheng (modern Xu-zhou 徐州, Jiang-su).

66 The text (3/4b) has an additional character *xi* 昔, which does not appear in the FYCL (113/1340 酒肉篇), nor in the TPKC (292/4a 神类洛子渊). The translation follows the latter two versions.

67 Literally *xi yi* 徙倚, which comes from the *Chu-ci* (5/87) 远游: 步徙倚而遥思兮. Hawkes, *Chu Ci*, p.81: "Restless I paced, with my mind on distant things." Commentary: 彷徨東西, 意愁憤也。 "Wandering aimlessly eastward and westward is the state of mind when one is worried and vexed." Compare with Xian-yi and Gladys Yang's translation in *The Man Who Sold a Ghost* (Hong Kong, 1974), p.133.

68 The text (3/6a) read *dong qing* 东倾, "pouring toward the east." IS (3/4a) and YLTT (13822/12b) both give *lian-yi* 涟漪, "rippling." The former expression connotes a far more powerful flow of water, which would be fatal to a boy fifteen years old; hence the translation.

69 The temple was built on the old site of the *Ying-shi cao* (Office of Hawks' Trainers), which had been abolished to show the emperor's concern for life. See WS 13/7a 文成文明皇后传 and 114/16a 释老志.

70 The lecture hall of the academy was built in A.D. 51, according to the SCC (16/25a 穀水注 quoting a Yang-jia 阳嘉 stone inscription; the YHNC (2/15a) gives the date as A.D.29 instead). It was one hundred Chinese feet long and thirty Chinese feet wide. As the title suggests, the Imperial Academy for the Sons of the Noblemen was reserved for members of the nobility, whereas the Imperial Academy (*Tai-xue*) was open to other candidates.

71 The three-script "stone classics" were cut during the Wei, not the Eastern Han. In the latter case, Cai Yong's (A.D.132-192) calligraphy executed between A.D.175 and 183 was confined to one script. It has been suggested that Yang Xuan-zhi, a learned scholar, could not have confused the two distinctly different sets of stone inscriptions. The CC (3/151 n.3) therefore suggests that an interpolation might exist in the text: the sentence about Cai Yong's



calligraphy should have followed "the four classical works: the *Zhou-yi*...and the *Book of Rites*" in the next paragraph.

TC (148/28a-b) also has a mention of the stone classics.

72 For Cai Yong's biography, see *HHS* 90B/1a-20b; for his role in stone inscription, see *HHS* 90B/7b.

73 Emending *Du-shu bei* 读书碑 to *Zan-xue bei* 赞学碑 after *YHNC*(3/7a). *YLTT* (589/7a) 文部碑 quoting the *Xi-zheng ji* gives *Tai-xue zan* 太学赞 (In Praise of the Imperial Academy) instead. It was also Cai Yong's calligraphy.

74 Emending *yun* 云 (so said) to *liu* 六 (six) after *IS* 3/4b.

75 Cao Pei 曹丕 (A.D.187-226), the eldest son of Cao Cao and the first monarch of the Kingdom of Wei as Emperor Wen (regnant A.D.200-226) was the author of many essays, poems, and the *Dian-lun*, a work of literary criticism.

76 The text(3/6a) attaches this sentence of twelve characters to the next paragraph, but *Ji-zheng*(92) suggests that it be moved here; hence the translation. The text (3/6a) also gives *Ying* 颖, which is an obvious error for *Ye* 邺. The move took place in the eighth month of A.D. 546 (*TC* 159/15b; *PCS* 6/4b 孝昭纪). Fifty-two monuments were involved. See *PCS* 4/11b 文宣纪; *TC* 159/15b.

The stone inscription of both the Han and the Wei has been a subject of extensive studies, among which one may list the following:

Zhang Guo-gan, *Li-dai shi-jing kao* (Bei-Ping,1930).

Zhang Bing-lin, "Xin-chu san-ti shi-jing kao," in *Zhang-shi yi-shu xu-bian* (Bei-Ping, 1933), vol. 3.

Liu Chuan-ying, *Han-Wei shi-jing kao*(Dun-cheng,1886).

Liu Wen-xian, *Han shi-jing Yi-li can-shi ji-zheng*(Tai-bei,1969).

Bai Jian, *Wei shi-jing can-shi ji*(Shan-ghai[?],1930).

Sun Hai-bo, *Wei san-ti shi-jing ji-lu*(Yi-wen facsimile ed.,Taipei,1975).

Sun Xing-yan, "Wei san-ti shi-jing yi-zi kao," in *Ping-jin-guan cong-shu*,vol.6, Lan-ling, 1806.

Wang Guo-wei, "Wei shi-jing kao," in *Guan-tang ji-lin*(Yi-wen facsimile ed.,Tai-bei, 1956),16/12-12b.

Wu Wei-xiao, *Xin-chu Han-Wei shi-jing kao* (Shang-hai,1927).

77 Adding *nei* 内 after *CT* (3/6b).

78 Emending *Wen-jue* 文觉 to *Da-jue* 大觉 after *IS* (3/4b) and *CT* (3/6b).

79 That is, Buddha, the Law, and Monastic Discipline.

80 *CT* (3/6b) gives more information about this special variety of pear. They were also known as "han-xiao" 含消 (hold in the mouth and melt away) pears. It is said that each weighed ten catties (roughly equivalent to 2.22 kilograms), although if such a pear dropped to the ground, it changed into juice. The character for "ten" (*shi* 十) is perhaps a mistake for "six" (*liu* 六), as is given in *TPYL* (969/3b) 果部梨 and *YTTT* 10/56.

81 The text (3/6a) gives *gong* 公, which is an error for *gong* 恭.

82 *Chong-kan* (3/23a) treats this sentence as a separate note, but I prefer to consider it a continuation of the statement immediately preceding.

Wang Huan, General Governing the North (*Zhen-bei jiang-jun*) and concurrently Governor of Yong-zhou, was killed by Emperor Wu of the Qi in A.D.493, along with four other sons. At the

time Wang Su was twenty years old. See *Nan-Qi shu* (Yi-wen facsimile ed.) 49/1a-6a.

83 The text gives A.D.494 as Wang Su's surrender to the Wei. It should be A.D.493. See *Nan-Qi shu* 3/17a and *WS* 63/1a.

Emperor Gao-zu received Wang Su at Ye following the latter's desertion from the South. See *WS* 63/1a-b.

84 The text gives *zao-zhi* 造制, of which *zhi* 制 is equivalent to *zhi* 製 (CT3.5a). After *chih* there is another character *lun* 论, which is deleted after *IS* 3/5a and *CT* 3/5a.

85 Daughter of Xie Zhuang 谢庄, Palace Grandee on the Right. See "Wang Shao mu-zhi" 王绍墓志 (MCCS plate 218) and "Shi-zong Gui-hua Wang Pu-xian mu-zhi" 世宗贵华王普贤墓志 (MCCS, plate 22).

Wang Shao (A.D.492-515) was the son of Lady Xie.

86 younger sister of Emperor Gao-zu, who was first enfeoffed as Princess of Peng-cheng but later as Princess of Chen-liu 陈留. See *WS* 63/4b 王肃传. She was married to Liu Cheng-xu 刘承绪, son of Liu Chang 刘昶 (A.D.435-497), who, like Wang Su, was a deserter from the south. After Liu Cheng-xu's death, she was remarried to Wang Su. See *WS* 59/5b 刘承绪传.

87 The translation is based on a *TPKC* (493/1b 杂录) quotation from the same passage of the *Qie-lan ji*, which contains the following sixteen characters: 其后谢氏入道为尼, 亦来奔肃. 见肃尚主。

88 The text (3/5b) reads *lu* 路, which should have been *luo* 络, the spinning wheel. *Luo* 络 is used here for *lu* 路 as a pun. See *Quan Bei-Wei shi* 全北魏诗 10b 王肃妻谢氏赠王肃 [诗].

89 *Sheng* 胜, a spindle, also has the meaning "to win, to have the upper hand." It is used as a pun here. A free translation of this line is: "Now you have found a way to better yourself."

On the basis of a *Shi-ming* (5/21 释首佛) entry, the *CC* (3/155 n.19) defines *sheng* 胜 as a type of barrette for women. This, however, is unrelated to spinning, silk, and other ideas expressed in the lines, and therefore does not fit.

90 *Na* 纳 "to accept," another pun. It means the same loom would not take back the silk that was finished and removed.

91 The rhyming characters of both poems are identical (*si* 丝 and *shi* 时).

Jiao Hong, in his *Jiao-shi bi-sheng xu-ji* 焦氏笔乘续集 (Tai-bei, *Guo-xue ji-ben cong-shu* ed., 1968; 3/193), believes this to be the beginning of the *ci-yun* 次韵 style (poems exchanged between friends or married couples using the same rhymes) that became very popular during the Tang, particularly between Bai Ju-yi 白居易 (A.D.772-846) and Yuan Zhen 元稹 (A.D.779-831). Jiao Hong says: 次韵非始唐人: 世传诗人次韵, 始于白乐天元微之, 号元和体. 然杨街之洛阳伽蓝记, 载王肃入魏, 舍江南故妻谢氏而娶元魏帝女, 其故妻赠之诗曰: …继妻代答, 亦用丝诗两韵, 是次韵非始元白也, "It has been accepted by contemporaries that the *ci-yun* style was started by Bai Le-tian (style of Bai Ju-yi) and Yuan Wei-zhi (style of Yuan Zhen), a literary style also known as the Yuan-he (name of regnal period, A.D.807-820). But according to Yang Xuan-zhi's *Luo-yang qie-lan ji*, which records that when Wang Su went to Wei, and when he deserted his former wife Lady Xie of Jiang-nan, and when he was remarried to the daughter of the Yuan-Wei Emperor, his former wife presented him a poem, which read: …In reply to her, his new wife wrote [a poem] for him, using the same rhymes *si* and *shi*. From this, [we know] the *ci-yun* did not begin with Yuan [Zhen] and Bai [Ju-yi]."

92 *WS* (63/6b) Wang Li's 王理 biography) states Wang Su's first wife came to meet with Wang Su in Shou-chun 寿春 shortly before his death. This information appears to be in



disagreement with the *Qie-lan ji* account. Actually, this is not the case. The wife of the Xie clan came to the Wei at an earlier date, but was ordered by Wang Su to stay in Luo-yang while he lived with his new wife in Shou-chun. Accompanied by two daughters and a son, Wang's first wife came to Shou-chun from Luo-yang, not from the Southern Dynasty Qi, to join her dying husband.

93 Both Wu Zi-xu's father, Wu She 伍奢, and elder brother, Wu Shang 伍尚, were killed by King Ping of the Chu 楚平王 (regnant 6th cent. B.C.). Wu Zi-xu then fled to the kingdom of Wu, where he raised an army and successfully avenged himself against Chu in 506 B.C. See SC 66/2-12 Wu Zi-xu's biography.

94 The text (3/6b) reads *bei shen* 卑身, "to debase oneself," but IS (3/5b) and CT (3/7b) both give *bi shen* 毕身 (where *shen* 身 "self" means *sheng* 生, "life"), "throughout his life" when he was in mourning.

95 One *dou* during this period measured around 2.45 liters.

96 Literally, *qing zhong-guo zhi wei ye* 卿中国之味也, "you of the Chinese taste," which may contain some interpolation. IS (3/5b) gives *ji* 卽 for *qing* 卿, after which one character such as *wei* 谓 should be added. The whole sentence may be translated as "This is what you call Chinese taste."

Fish and tea were at this time exotic products of the south and popular only among the southerners.

97 Qi, Lu, Zhu and Ju were all states in North China. Zhu and Ju were two small states neighboring Qi and Lu.

98 For Li Biao, see Chapter 2 under the Zheng-shi Monastery at note 151. I am grateful to Dr. Ding Bang-xin 丁邦新 of the Academia Sinica (Taiwan) for the ancient phonetics that appear in parentheses.

99 The text (3/7a) reads *You cheng* 右丞, Assistant President on the Right, but the *TPKC* (174/7b-8a) gives *Zuo cheng* 左丞, Assistant President on the Left instead. Zhen Chen had been an Erudite of the Central Secretariat (*Zhong-shu bo-shi*), Grandee Remonstrant, and General of Chariots and Horsemen. For his biography, see WS 68/1a-9b.

It should be noted that the verses exchanged between Emperor Gao-zu, Li Biao, and Zhen Chen also used the same rhymes: 横, 纵, 钟, 珉, 同, 工, 空. Therefore they constitute another early example of the *ci-yun* style.

100 The couplets of Li Biao and Zhen Chen both emphasize the idea of constant practice; hence the answer *xi* 习, "accustomed to."

101 For an interpretation of *ba zhen* 八珍, "the eight delicacies," see the *Zhou-li* 4/1b 天官膳夫, Zheng Xuan's commentary.

102 The term *shui e* 水厄, "water peril," was coined by Wang Meng's 王濛 (A.D. 309-347) visitors, who were often forced to drink tea against their will. See *Gan-zhu ji* (1137 Manuscript in the Harvard-Yenching Library), vol. 4: 王濛好茶. 人至辄饮, 士大夫甚以为苦, 每欲候濛, 必云: 今日有水厄. "Wang Meng liked tea. As a rule he forced his visitors to drink it. Greatly annoyed by this, each time literati who wanted to visit with him would say: 'Today we will have water peril.' " I am indebted to Mr. Bao-liang Zhu, who made this entry available to me.

103 Literally, *cang tou* 苍头, "black-haired." It means masses or skilled servants. It is also used as a derogatory term. See Chapter 1 at note 48.

104 A reference to an anecdote about a man with offensive odor. None of his relatives,



brothers, sisters, wife, or concubines could stand him, so he withdrew into the seas. There, however, some people who were particularly fond of his odor followed him day and night in order to enjoy the smell. See *Lü-shi chun-qiū* (*SPTK suo-ben*) 14/88 孝行览遇合篇。

105 A reference to Xi-shi 西施, a famed ancient beauty who frowned as a result of heart pain. An ugly woman in the same block so admired the beauty that she too held her hands against her breast and frowned. Rich men closed their doors and stayed inside so as to keep themselves away from such an ugly sight, and poor people even took their families and fled. See *Zhuang-zi* 5/110 天运。

106 He was the third son of Xiao Yan's half brother, Xiao Hong 萧宏 (d. A.D.526), who was adopted by Xiao Yan prior to the birth of Crown Prince Xiao Tong 萧统 in A.D. 501. Xiao Zheng-de deserted to the Wei in A.D.522, but returned to the Liang court the following year when he became dissatisfied with the treatment he received in the Wei. See *Liang-shu* 55/6a-7a and *Nan-shi* (Yi-wen facsimile ed.) 51/20a-23a; see also *TC* 149/28b-29a.

107 The custom of drinking tea began in the period of Three Kingdoms. *Nan-chuang ji-tan* 南窗纪谈 (Anonymous, *Xue-hai lei-pian* 学海类篇 ed.) 9a-b 饮茶: 饮茶或云始于梁天监中, 事见洛阳伽蓝记, 非也, 按吴志韦曜传: 孙皓时每宴饗, 无不竟日。坐席无能否, 饮酒率以七升为限。虽不入口, 皆浇灌取尽。曜所饮不过二升, 初见礼异时, 为或裁或减。或赐茶, 即以当酒。如此言则三国时已知饮茶, 但未能如后世之盛。"Some said the custom of drinking tea began with the Tian-jian period (A.D.502-521) of the Liang [dynasty] as was recorded in the *Luo-yang qie-lan ji*. This is untrue. According to the 'Biography of Wei Yao' (same as Wei Zhao, A.D.204-273) in the *Wei-zhi*, when Sun Hao (regnant A.D.264-280) hosted a feast, the feast would last a whole day. Among those present, regardless of their capacity to drink, they were as a rule given a quota of seven *sheng* of wine. They might not drink it up, but they [pretended] to finish it by pouring it [on the ground]. [Wei] Yao could drink no more than two *sheng*, so when he was at first received [by the emperor] with unusual kindness, his [quota of drink] was either eliminated, reduced, or [he was] given tea as a substitute for wine. According to the statement, then, people of [the period of] Three Kingdoms (A.D. 220-265) already knew how to drink [tea], but drinking tea was not as popular as in later times."

108 Literally, *xia-guan* 下官. See Chapter 2 at note 31 under the Long-hua Temple.

109 The term Marquis of Yang 阳侯 refers to an ancient nobleman drowned in a river whose spirit was able to stir up waves. See *HS* 87A/6a Yang Xiong's biography, commentary quoting Ying Shao 应劭 (ca. A.D.140-ca.206).

110 That is, Yuan Yu 元羽, younger brother of Emperor Gao-zu. For his biography, see *WS* 21A/13b-20a. Yuan Yu's son, Yuan Gong, was also enfeoffed as Prince of Guang-ling. He pretended to be dumb for eight years while living here. See Chapter 2 after note 200 under the Ping-deng Monastery.

111 That is, Yuan Xiang 元详, younger brother of Emperor Gao-zu. For his biography, see *WS* 21A/27b-32b.

112 The text (3/8a) reads *Bao-en si* 报恩寺, *en* 恩 being an obvious error for *de* 德.

113 Known as *fu-hang* 浮航 (a floating ferry) in *WS* 79/5a Cheng Yan's 成淹 biography, it was constructed in about A.D.495 under the auspices of the Office of Waters 都水. The bridge connected Luo-yang proper and the four lodging houses of "barbarians" who had abandoned their own land to settle in the Northern Wei.



114 The Luo River 洛水 was situated seven *li* south of the city. See Yang Quan-qi's 杨俊期 *Luo-yang ji* 洛阳记, as quoted in the commentary for Pan Yue's "Xian-ju fu" 闲居赋 (WH 16/3a).

115 According to another source, the bridge was five *li* south of the city. See commentary for "Xian-ju fu," quoting *He-nan jun-xian jing-jie bu*.

116 Should read "*Luo rui song*" 洛汭颂; *rui* 汭 means a bend. See WS 82/8b 常景传.

117 *Shu-jing* 6/28b 禹贡: 导洛自熊耳. Legge 3, P.139, "The Tribute of Yu": "He survcyed the Luo from Xiong-er." Xiong-er 熊耳 is southwest of modern Lu-shi 卢氏, He-nan.

118 *Zhou* 周 refers to *Cheng-zhou* 成周, another name for Luo-yang.

119 Bo 亳 refers to Xi Bo 西亳, the old capital of Shang situated west of modern Yan-shi 偃师, He-nan. The River Luo passed by both ancient cities.

120 Literally, *jin da He zong* 近达河宗. *He zong* 河宗 means "to take the Yellow River as its master."

121 *Hai-ro* 海若, God of the Sea. See *Zhuang-zi* 6/119 秋水篇. See Watson, tr., *Chuang-tzu*, p.96.

122 A reference to the *Shu-jing* 15/13b 洛诰: 予惟乙卯, 朝不能过于洛师, 我卜河朔黎水, 我乃卜涧水东, 灋水西, 惟洛食. 我又卜灋水西, 亦惟洛食. Legge 3, pp. 436-437, "The Announcement Concerning Lo": "On the day Yih-maou, in the morning, I came to the city of Lō. I first divined concerning the country about the Li water on the north of the Ho. I then divined concerning the east of the Kēen water and the west of the Ch'en water, when the ground near the Lo was indicated." Kong An-guo's comm. (15/16a): 卜先墨画龟, ...然后灼之, 求其兆顺食, 此墨画之处.

123 *Shu-jing* 15/8b 召诰: 王来绍上帝, 自服于土中. HS 28B/56a 地理志: 昔周公营雒邑, 以为在于土中. 诸侯蕃屏四方, 故立京师.

124 HS 28B/55b-56a 地理志: 柳七星, 张之分野也. 今之河南雒阳, 数成, 平阴, 偃师, 巩, 缙氏, 是其分也. "[It lies in the domain of Zhou], bordered by the seven stars in the Liu constellation and the Zhang constellation. Luo-yang, Gu-cheng, Ping-yin, Yan-shi, Gong, Hou-shi of the present-time He-nan are all within its domain."

125 *Shu-jing* 2/4a 尧典序: 昔在帝尧, 聪明文思, 光宅天下 Kong An-guo's comm.: 言圣德之远著.

126 The text (3/8b) reads ? *han xia feng* 函下风, but IS (3/7a) gives *han xia ? feng* 函夏同风. Sun Xing-yan's *Xu Gu-wen yuan* 续古文苑 (1812 ed.) 14/10b is *han xia tong feng* 函夏同风, which the translation follows. *Han-xia* means "all China," hence, *tong-feng* (to have similar influence everywhere) is more meaningful.

127 See Chapter 3 at note 4 under the Jing-ming Monastery.

128 The Tai-hang range originates in Ji-yuan xian 济源县, He-nan, and runs northward into Shan-xi. It is located to the north of Luo-yang; hence, the expression "backs on" 却负.

129 *Zuo-zhuan* 左传, 12/16a: 制, 岩邑也. 虢叔死焉. Legge 5, P.5: "It (that is, the city of *Chih*) is too dangerous a place," was the reply. "The Younger of Kwoh died there...." The site lies west of modern Fan-shui xian 汜水县, He-nan.

130 Both CC (3/165, n.18) and CS (3/129) suggest *qiao* 峭 as a mistake for *Yao* 峭.

131 *Er-ya* B.1/9a 释言: 六达谓之庄. Hao Yi-xing's 郝懿行(1757-2825) comm.: 按庄之言壮, 壮亦大也.

132 A reference to Wu Qi 吴起(d.378 B.C.), who advised Duke Wu of Wei to rely on



virtue, not physical impregnability, for national security. *SC* 65/14 吴起传: 在德不在险。

133 The translation follows the *Xu Gu-wen yuan* (14/10b) version: 详观古昔, 列见丘坟。For *qiu-fen* 丘坟, see *Zuo-zhuan Zhao* 12 (45/37a: 是能读三坟五典, 八索九丘; see also Yang Xuan-zhi's Preface at note 1.

134 *Jiu-lie* 九裂, that is, splits (*lie*) within the nine (*jiu*) provinces.

135 *San-fen* 三分, that is, Han was divided into Three Kingdoms after A.D. 220.

136 *WH* 3/5a 张衡东京赋: 龙图授羲。龟书异姒。

137 *Quan Liang wen* 全梁文, *Quan Shang-gu San-dai Qin-Han San-guo Liu-chao wen*, edited by Yan Ke-jun 严可均(Tai-bei facsimile ed., 1961), 15/1b 梁元帝玄览赋: 粵我皇之握镜, 实乃神而乃圣。

138 According to *Xu Gu-wen yuan* (4/10b), this couplet *xi-yun hui-chang* 玺运会昌, *long-tu shou-ming* 龙图受命 is redundant.

139 A reference to the first Emperor of the Qin, who is given credit for the standardization of carriage axles, measurements, and scripts. See *SC* 6/29.

140 Emending *bao* 宝 to *bao* 保 after *IS* (3/7a). *Shi-jing* 9.3/7b (ode 166, verse 1, lines 1 and 2) 小雅天保: 天保定尔, 亦孔之固。Waley, *Book of Songs*, p.175: "May Heaven guard and keep you/In great security."

141 Emending *hong mo* 洪漠 to *hong mo* 洪模 after *IS* 3/7a.

142 Luo-yang lies between the capital of Western Zhou (trad. 1122 or 1027-771 B.C.) to the west and the state of Zheng to the east; hence its geographical importance.

143 Adding *jin* 金 "golden" after *YHNC* 3/7b. The same source gives four pillars instead of two.

144 Literally, *xia* 夹, "sandwiched." Actually the text strongly implies that on each side of the drive were four houses and wards in symmetrical arrangement.

145 Yan-ran is the name of a mountain in the land of the Xiong-nu. Dou Xian 窦宪(d. A.D. 92) of the Later Han erected a slab monument on the mountain to commemorate his victory over the Southern Xiong-nu in A.D.89. Hence it is a term loosely referring to the northern lands.

146 Twelve characters are left out in the text (3/9a). The translation follows *YHNC* 3/7b.

147 Jin-ling is another name for Jian-ye, the national capital for all Southern Dynasties.

148 Xiao Bao-yin 萧宝寅 (寅 also written as 贲) of the Qi court surrendered to the Wei in A.D.501, but later rose against it in the wake of his repeated failures to crush the rebel Mo-qi Chou-nu 万俟丑奴. He was defeated by the Wei and ordered to commit suicide in A.D.530. See *WS* 59/7a-19b.

149 Senior Princess of Nan-yang was Emperor Xuan-wu's (regnant A.D.499-515) elder sister.

150 Adding *lie* 列, "among" after *IS* (3/7b) and *CT* (3/11a).

151 Adding *hou* 后, "after," after *YHNC* 3/8a.

152 This passage dealing with Xiao Zheng-de is treated as main text in the *Chong-kan* (3/24a), but my translation reclassifies it as a footnote, like the Xiao Bao-yin passage.

153 His name is variably given as ? ? *zhi Du-jiu-lu a-na-hong* □□至都久闻阿那肱(3/9b of our text), *Rui ? zhu Yu-jiu-lu-he-na-gong* 芮□主都久闻河那肱(*IS* 3/8a), *Ru-ru zhu Yu-jiu-lu a-na-hong* 蠕蠕主都久闻阿那肱(*CT* 3/10b), and *Bei-yi Yu-jiu-lu a-na-hong* 北夷郁久闻阿那肱(*YHNC* 3/8a). *Ru-ru* is name of a tribe. For his domestic troubles and his eventual surrender to the Wei, see *WS* 103/10b-17b 蠕蠕传 and 9/11a-b 肃宗纪。





154 Chan-yu was the leader of the Xiong-nu 匈奴.

155 This occurred in A.D.279. See *Jin-shu* 3/29b-30a 武帝纪.

156 A special honor granted to meritorious generals, dukes, and high-ranking officials. It carried no real power.

157 The text (3/10a) reads *na hong* 那雄, which is incomplete.

158 This advice is also recorded in his biography. See *WS* 82/7b.

159 Literally, *ru shi* 入侍, "to enter to serve." The term refers to a sort of hostage system by means of which China controlled her vassal kingdoms. See Yang Lian-sheng, "Hostages in Chinese History," pp.43-59.

160 Literally, *yan chen* 雁臣, "migrating goose subjects." This seasonal migration was a common practice among the Tuo-ba and the Chi-le 敕勒 peoples. See *WS* 15/10b Yuan Hui's 元晖 biography, and *PS* 54/22b Hu-lü Jin's 斛律金 biography.

161 Fu-sang 扶桑, name of a tree in which the sun rises. The term also loosely refers to any place to the east of China. See *Shan-hai jing* 山海经 (*SPTK suo-ben*) 9/54 海外东经.

162 The place where the sun sets. The term also loosely refers to any place to the west of China. See *Chu-ci* (1/15) 离骚: 吾令羲和弭节兮, 望崦嵫而勿迫. Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u*, p. 28: "I ordered Hsi-ho to stay the sun-steeds' gallop change, to/To stand over Yen-tzu mountain and not go in." Comm.: 崦嵫, 日所入山也. 有蒙水, 水中有虞渊, "Yan-zi is the mountain into which sun sets. Underneath [the mountain] is the Meng River, in which is the Yü-yüan."

163 The "Green Onion Range" generally refers to the present-day Pamirs.

164 Emending *huan fu* 欢附 to *kuan fu* 款附 after *IS* 3/8a.

165 A paraphrase of *HHS* (118/26b) 西域传论: 商胡贩客, 日款于塞下, "Barbarian traders and peddlers daily came to pay tribute at our frontier lookouts."

166 The text (3/10a) mistakenly gives *le* 乐 for *luo* 洛.

167 The text (3/10b) is *wei Yong qiao shi* 谓永桥市, whereas *IS* (3/8b) gives *wei Yong qiao shi* 为永桥市. The translation combines both versions to make better sense.

168 Here "lion" may be used figuratively to refer to a tiger, which Majursi usually rides on.

169 The text (3/10b) reads Qian-luo 乾罗, but *YHNC* (3/8b) is Qian-tuo-luo 乾陀罗, a country then(A.D.509) occupied by Ye-da 叶咄(*WS* 8/17a). It is also transliterated as Jian-tuo-luo 健驮罗 (*Da-Tang Xi-yu ji*, *SPTK suo-ben*) 4/40 under 杰迦国.

170 Emending *wu-cai* 五彩 to *wu-cai* 五采 after *YHNC* 3/8b.

171 See Chapter 2 at note 72 under the Jing-xing Nunnery.

172 For the Sheng-huang Stable, see Chapter 1 at note 153, Jian-zhong Temple.

173 It is otherwise known as Bo-zhi 波知(in a hilly area between modern Zebak and Chetral). See *WS* 102/20b.

174 To commemorate this event, Mo-qi Chou-nu changed the name of his regnal period into Shen-shou 神兽, "The Holy Animal." See *TC* 152/18a-b. For the correct pronunciation of Mo-qi, see Yao Wei-yuan, *Bei-chao Hu-xing kao*, p.248.

175 The text (3/11a) reads Li Huo 李或, *Huo* 或 being an error for *Yu* 毓. Li Yu, son of Li Yan-shi 李延寔, was married to the elder sister of Emperor Zhuang. He held a variety of high offices, including those of Chief Palace Attendant, Palace Grandee on the Left, Director of the Central Secretariat, Generalissimo of the Whirling Cavalry, Palatine Ceremonially Equal to



the Three Authorities, and Governor of Guang-zhou 广州刺史. See WS 83B/9a (in Li Yan-shi's biography).

176 A dog-sized beast is recorded to be as frightening to other animals as a lion would be. It was shipped to China from the Western Regions for the first time during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han(140-87 B.C.). Emperor Zhuang might have referred to this animal. See *Bo-wu zhi* 博物志 (IS ed.) 3/1a-b 异兽.

177 The text (3/11a) reads *jin shan jun xian* 近山郡县. This is a free translation.

178 During the Wei, it was a subdivision of Cheng-gao 成皋 commandery of the Northern Yu province. It corresponds to modern Gong-xian, He-nan. See WS 106B/16b-17a.

179 A subdivision of Ji commandery(modern Xiu-wu *xian* 修武县, He-nan) of Si-zhou. See WS 106A/3b-4a.

180 For the Hua-lin Park, see Chapter 1 at note 260 under the Jian-chun Gate.

181 For the Prince of Guang-ling, see Chapter 2 after note 198 under the Ping-deng Monastery.

182 The text (3/11b) reads Hua-lin Du-tang 华林都堂. There is a mention of Du-tang 都堂 in Chapter 1 under the Jian-chun Gate. *TPKC* (375/2a 再生部崔涵) gives Hua-lin tang 华林堂, without the character *du* 都.

183 For Xu He, see Chapter 1 at note 50 under the Yong-ning Monastery.

184 This is also referred to in the *Bo-wu zhi*(7/4a-b 异闻), but the time given is the "end of Han" (*Han mo* 汉末) rather than the Wei. Perhaps the story began to prevail in the Jian-an period, when for all practical purposes it was already Wei though still known as Han. Fan Ming-yu was Commandant of the Wei-yang (Boundless) Palace Guards (*Wei-yang[-gong] wei-wei* 未央[宫]卫尉). He was executed in 67 B.C. along with many members and relatives of the Huo family. See *HS* 8/10b and 68/14b.

185 Huo Guang was a powerful minister of the Western Han (206 B.C.-A.D.5). After the death of Emperor Zhao in 74 B.C., Huo Guang enthroned Liu He 刘贺, King of Chang-yi 昌邑王, as the new ruler, but a rift soon developed between them. Huo Guang then deposed Liu He in favor of Emperor Xuan 宣帝 as the new ruler (regnant 73-49 B.C.). See *HS* 68/4b ff.

186 Modern An-ping 安平, He-bei.

187 The text (3/12) reads Zhang Xiu-xi 张秀攜, but *FYCL* (116/1386) gives Zhang Jun 张儁 and *TPKC* (375/2a 再生类崔涵), Zhang Jun 张儁. The translation follows the latter for three reasons:(1) it was unconventional to have two-character given names at this time, (2) *xi*, meaning "hold," has seldom been used as a given name, and (3) *xiu* means *jun*, therefore Zhang Jun is preferable to Zhang Xiu-xi.

188 The text (3/12a) gives *han* 涵, which is an error for *hong* 洪.

189 Emending *zhu ren* 主人 to *zhu shang* 主上 after *FYCL* (116/1386).

190 Peach-tree branches were believed to have the power of warding off evil spirits. *Zhou-li* 32/13b 夏官戎右:赞牛耳, 桃茢. "Cut off a bull's ear and let it bleed into a container; then stir the blood with a peach broom." For the mythological power of peach trees in warding off evil demons, see Bodde, *Festivals*, pp.127-129. *Zuo-zhuan* Zhao 4 42/23b: 桃弧棘矢, 以除其灾. Legge 3, P.596: "a bow of peach wood and arrows of thorn were employed to put away calamitous influences."

191 *Ji-shou* 急手, a popular colloquialism during the Northern Wei. See also Chapter 2 after note 315, before note 322, under the Jing-ning Temple.



192 That is, Yuan Yue, son of Emperor Gao-zu. A great believer in Taoism, he therefore gave Taoist garments to Cui Han. For his biography, see *WS* 22/7a; see also Chapter 1 after note 204.

193 It was customary to use large coffins of cypress wood, a symbol of longevity, during the Northern Wei. The coffins were often decorated with bronze rings on each end, for rings were believed to have a magical function. See *YTT* 13/70 尸穿篇.

194 Literally, *ren* 人, "someone." For a translation of the same story, see Yang and Yang, *The Man Who Sold a Ghost*, pp.129-130.

195 Yuan Yong was killed at He-yin (east of modern Meng-jin, He-nan) in A.D.528. See Chapter 1 at note 59 under the Yong-ning Monastery.

196 The text (3/13b) reads *ban-jian* 班剑, meaning wooden swords painted in patterns. For his luxurious life, see also *WS* 9/11a-b 肃宗纪 and 21A/21a-b Yuan Yong's biography.

197 *WH* 2/7a 张衡西京赋: 反宇业业, 飞檐翼翼, "With lofty elevated eaves and magnificent gutters."

198 *Ibid.*, 3/11a 张衡东京赋: 闾戟缪缪. Hughes, *Two Chinese Poets*, p.58: "A mass of halberds." Xue Cong's comm.: 缪缪, 参差纵横也, "Jiao-ge means unmatched and disorderly."

199 Hui-lin, *Yi-qie-jing yin-yi* (*Taishō* ed.) 21/438 quoting Hui-yuan's 慧苑 *Da-fang guang-fou Hua-yan-jing yin-yi* 大方广佛华严经音义: 妓, 女乐也...妓, 美女也. "Ji is a female musician..., ji is a beautiful girl."

200 Literally, *Sui-zhu* 隋珠, which refers to a large pearl presented to Marquis Sui 隋侯 by a grateful snake whose life he saved. *Huai-nan-zi* 8/40 览冥训 Gao Yu's comm.: 隋侯见大蛇伤断, 以药傅之. 后蛇于江中, 衔大珠以报之, 因曰隋侯之珠, 盖明月珠也, "Seeing that a large snake was wounded, Marquis Sui applied a coat of medicine [on its wounds]. Later in the river the snake repaid him with a large pearl held in its mouth, so it was since known as 'the Pearl of Marquis Sui,' 'It was a pearl [as lustrous as] the moon.'"

201 The text (3/13b) and *YLTT* (13822/13a) read *fang cao ru ji* 芳草如积. *WH* 2/4b 张衡西京赋: 嘉木树庭, 芳草如积, "Splendid trees are planted in the courtyard; aromatic grasses are as luxuriant as a carpet." Li Shan's comm.: 韩诗曰: 绿如薺蕒. 蕒, 积也. 薛君曰: 蕒, 绿蕒, 盛如积也. 薺音竹.

202 Emending *yi-ri* 一日 to *yi shi* 一食 after *YLTT* 13822/13a and *IS* 3/11a.

203 Literally, *fang zhang* 方丈, "ten square Chinese feet." See *Meng-zi* 14B/6a 尽心下: 食前方丈, 侍妾数百人. Lau, *Mencius*, p.201: "Their (that is, men of consequence) tables, laden with food, measure ten feet across, and their female attendants are counted in the hundreds." Zhao Qi's comm.: 极五味之饌食, 列于前, 方一丈.

204 For Li Chong, see Chapter 2 after note 149 under the Zheng-shi Monastery.

205 East of modern Shang-cheng 商城, He-nan.

206 See n.202 above.

207 The text (3/14a) reads *zhi-you jiu-ju* 止有韭菹, but *TPYL* (976/8a 菜菹部韭), *TPKC* (165/8a 菹部李崇) and *YLTT* (13822/13a) all give *zhi you jiu-ru jiu-ju* 止有韭菹韭菹, "There are only leeks and preserved cut leeks." The character *jiu* 韭 should be repeated in order to fit into Li Yuan-you's sarcasm as recorded in the following text.

*Ju* 菹 is a mixture of cut vegetables, which contains leeks. See *Zhou-li* 6/3b 官醯人: 七菹 Zheng Xuan's commentary.

208 The text (3/14a) is Li Yuan-you 李元祐, but *IS* (3/11a) gives *You* 祐 instead of *You*



佑. No other information about him is available.

209 Literally, Li Ling-gong 李令公, "The Venerable President Li" (*Ling* is an abbreviation for his official title, *Shang-shu ling* 尚书令 (President of the Department of State Affairs). Gao Yun 高允 (A.D.389-487), as the President of the Department of State Affairs, established a precedent when he was addressed as "Ling-gong" (Venerable President) by Emperor Gao-zu. See *WS* 51/12a Gao Yun's biography.

210 The text (3/14a) is *jiu* 九, "nine," which should be *jiu* 韭, "leek," a homophone of 九 "nine." Here Li Yuan-you is using it as a sarcastic pun.

A parallel can be drawn with Yu Gao-zhi 庾杲之 of the Southern Qi Dynasty, whose food often contained three kinds of leeks: *jiu-ju* 九菹, *yue-jiu* 藟韭, and *sheng-jiu* 生韭 (preserved cut leeks, pickled leeks, and fresh leeks). For this Ren Fang 任昉 made fun of him, saying, "Who would say that Master Yu is poor? When eating he often has twenty-seven (3 × 9) varieties [of food]!" See *NCS* 34/9a and *Nan-shi* 49/1b Yu Gao-zhi's biography.

211 She is unidentifiable.

212 A twenty-three-string lute plucked with both hands. Xu Yue-hua's talent is also referred to in *YTT* 6/41 乐篇.

213 A song composed during the Jin by Shi Chong 石崇 (A.D.249-300) in honor of Wang Zhao-jun 王昭君 (Zhao 昭 was changed to Ming 明 because of a Jin taboo), a concubine of Emperor Yuan of the Han (regnant 48-33 B.C.), who was given away to the Xiong-nu chieftain as his wife. She never had a chance to see the emperor until she was about to go. See *WH* 27/15a 石季伦王昭君辞; *YFSC* 29/256-257 quoting *Gu-jin yue-lu* 古今乐录.

214 One of the five songs attributed to Cai Yong 蔡邕 of the later Han, the other four being "You-chun" 游春, "You-ju" 幽居, "Zuo-chou" 坐愁, and "Qiu-si" 秋思. See *YFSC* 59/437 quoting *Qin-li* 琴历.

215 The text (3/14b) is *huo-feng* 火凤, but both *IS* (3/11b) and *YLTT* (13822/13a) give *yao-feng* 么凤, "a young phoenix."

216 Emending Xun Ying Zi-wen 荀颖子文 to Ying-chuan Xun Zi-wen 颖川荀子文 after *IS* 3/11b.

217 Grandson of Huang Qiong 黄琼 (A.D.86-164), Huang Wan (A.D.140-192) was known as a prodigy. He was opposed to the warlord Dong Zhuo's decision to move the capital to Chang-an, so eventually he was killed by Dong Zhou's associates in A.D.192. See *HHS* 91/19a-21a Huang Wan's biography.

218 Style of Kong Rong 孔融 (A.D.153-208), one of the seven master writers of the Jian-an period (A.D.196-220). For his biography, see *HHS* 100/3a-15a.

219 *Gou-chen* (3/14a), on the basis of *PS* (81/7a-b 儒林传序), suggests Chong-he 崇和 as the ming of Pan Shu-qian 潘叔虔, a well-known scholar in the Fu Qian 服虔 (A.D. 2nd cent.) tradition of the *Chun-qi*. The style, Shu-qian (literally, "Qian the Junior") suggests that Pan Chong-he was a great admirer of Fu Qian and therefore seems to verify the *Gou-chen* theory.

220 A subdivision of Si-zhou (west of modern Xin-xian 析县, Shan-xi). See *WS* 106A/4a.

221 For Fu Qian (A.D.2nd cent.), see *HHS* 109b/12a-b 儒林传. His work on the *Zuo-zhuan* was as popular in the north as was Du Yu's 杜预 (A.D. 222-284) commentaries for the same work in the south. See *PS* 81/7b.

222 Literally, *cheng dong* 城东, "to the east of the city."



223 Literally, *she qi* 摄齐, "to pull up the lower part of the robe" as a way to show respect for the teacher. See *Lun-yu* 10/3a 乡党: 摄齐升堂, 鞠躬如也. Sub-comm. (10/3b): 衣下曰齐, 摄齐者, 扱衣也.

224 Literally, *bei mian* 北面, "to face the north" in the subordinate position, the opposite direction from the teacher, who faces the south.

225 Literally, *cheng nan* 城南, a phrase repeated twice in as many sentences.

226 Literally, *zhao-ti* 招提.

227 That is, Yuan Huai 元怀. For his biography, see WS 22/6b.

228 This passage consists of fourteen sentences, each with four characters. Except for the first two sentences, the remaining twelve are couplets, which rhyme at the end of alternate lines. The rhyming characters are: 蝶(*rong*), 经(*jing*), 明(*ming*), 平(*ping*), 城(*cheng*), and 卿(*qing*).

229 Southwest of modern Shang-cai 上蔡, He-nan.

230 East of modern Yan-xian 偃县, He-nan.

231 Name for a general area in the northern part of modern He-bei.

232 Name for general area in the southern part of modern He-bei.

233 锥(*zhui*, awl) rhymes with 锤(*chui*, hammer).

A Six Dynasties colloquialism; 锥 is also written as 槌. Similar remarks were exchanged between Zu Na 祖纳 (late 3rd cent. A.D.) and Zhong Ya 钟雅 (d. A.D. 328 or 329). See *TPYL* 466/5b 人事部嘲戏 quoting Pei Qi's 裴启 *Yu-lin* 语林.

234 *Chong-kan* (3/26b) moves this section to the end of Chapter 1, a suggestion with which *CC* (3/183) concurs. The translation follows the original textual order.

235 *CS* (3/141) suggests that the text should perhaps be amended to read "southwest."

236 Emending *Yue-long ge* 跃龙阁 to *Zhuo-long yuan* 濯龙园 after *YLTT* 13822/1a. According to de Crespigny, "The Harem of Emperor Huan: A Study of Court Politics in Later Han," in *Papers in Far Eastern History* 12 (Canberra, 1975), p.21, n.28, the *Zhuo-long* Palace-not Pavilion or Park, as it appears in my translation-was built to house an increasing number of imperial concubines.

237 See *HHS* 7/14b 桓帝纪.

238 Emending *shi* 室, "room," to *she* 设, "setting up" after *IS* 3/12a and *YLTT* 13823/1a.

239 *Gu-jin zhu*, A/4a 舆服篇: 华盖, 黄帝所作也. 与蚩尤战于涿鹿之野, 常有五云气, 金枝玉叶, 止于帝上, 有花葩之象. 故因之作华盖也. "A floral canopy was made [on the order of the] Yellow Emperor. When he fought Chi-you in the countryside of Zhu-lu, there were always clouds in five colors above the emperor. They were shaped like gold branches and jade leaves, resembling a flower. As a result, a floral canopy was made."

240 The suburban sacrifice (*jiao-tian* 郊天) to heaven was normally performed by the emperor at an open-air altar south of the capital. It took place around the winter solstice. See *Bodde*, *Festivals*, pp.213-214.

241 *CS* (3/141) questions the accuracy of this statement. The Dragon-washing Park of the Han was inside the city walls (*HHS* 18/8b), whereas in all probability the Wei temple was outside the city. Hence, the temple could not occupy the same Han site.

For Emperor Huan's motivation and participation in this ceremony, see de Crespigny, "The Harem of Emperor Huan," p.40.



NOTES

CHAPTER 4

1 Emperor Xiao-ming(Su-zong) ascended the throne on January 31,A.D.515.Yuan Yi, uncle of the new emperor, was promoted to Grand Tutor on March 10 of thesame year. See *WS* 9/1a-b.

2 The Prince of Gao-yang was known for his wealth and extravagance; hence, one would expect his residence to be unexcelled. See also Chapter 3 after note 195.

3 For the Ling-yun Tower, see Chapter 1 at note 177 under the Yao-guang Nunnery.

4 For the Nineteen Ancient Poems, see *WH* 29/1b-5b. These two lines appear in Poem 5 (29/2b). As a group, the Nineteen Ancient Poems are believed to be the earliest examples of the five-character verse. For English translation, see Arthur Waley, *170 Chinese Poems* (London,1918),pp.59-68.

5 Because of this quotation,the author was criticized by the compilers of the prestigious *Si-ku quan-shu zong-mu ti-yao*(Yi-wen facsimile ed.) 70/9b-10a 史部地理类四. Actually the criticism itself is not well-grounded. Yang Xuan-zhi quotes the existing poem to prove the spectacular height of the tower; he did not mean that the poem was written to describe this particular Northern Wei tower. Furthermore, the criticism mistakenly attributes the tower to the Prince of Gao-yang instead of the Prince of Qing-he. See also Yu jia-xi, *Si-ku ti-yao bian-zheng*(Yi-wen facsimile ed.) 8/427-431 史部地理类三.

6 Emending *Tui-bin* 退宾 to *Yan-bin* 延宾 after the *YHNC* 3/10b. The following text emphasizes the prince's hospitality, so it is logical to call it "Hall of Welcome."

7 In the Hua-lin Park. See Chapter 1 after note 260 under the Jian-chun Gate.

8 See the *Shi-jing* 9.3/1b (ode 165, verse 1, line 2) 小雅伐木:鸟鸣嚶嚶. Waley, *Book of Songs*, p.204: "Ying, ying, cry the birds." Zheng Xuan's comm.:嚶嚶,鸟声也, "Ying, ying are the cries of two birds."

9 These four lines, in two couplets, are yet another good example of the parallel prose style that demonstrates the symmetrical placing of each component character according to its phonetics and semantics. They read as follows:

First couplet: *xié fēng rù yǒu* 斜峰入牖, *qū zhǎo huán táng* 曲沼环堂;

Second couplet: *shù xiǎng fēi yīng* 树响飞莺, *jiē cóng huā yào* 阶丛花药.

Note that the second characters in the second couplet function as verbs.

10 Emending *nan-tai* 南台 to *gao-tai* 高台 after the *YLTT* 13823/6a.

11 The Rabbit Park was built on the order of the Filial Prince of Liang 梁孝王 of the Han, and he entertained his guests there every day. See, *Xi-jing za-ji* 2/8.

12 Upon the completion of the tower in A.D.210, Cao Cao ordered each of his sons to compose a piece of rhymed prose to commemorate the occasion. Cao Zhi 曹植, posthumously known as the Prince Si of Chen 陈思王, promptly finished one, which impressed his father greatly. See *Wei-zhi* 1/78a-b and 19/4b-6a.

13 *Xia-sheng* is the abbreviation for *Men-xia-sheng*, Bureau in Waiting for the Emperor's Service. He was killed at the age of thirty-four. See Chapter 1 at note 198 under the Jing-le Nunnery.



14 The text reads *Tai-zi* 太子, which is an obvious mistake for *Tai-hou*; hence, the translation.

15 Axes of gold were normally reserved for imperial use. He who received such an axe would have the same authority as the emperor himself in administering martial law. See *Gu-jin zhu A/2a* 輿服篇.

16 *Zhou-li* 37/13a 秋官大行人: 上公之礼, ...建常九旒, "The rites for high-ranking dukes ... called for the provision of nine fringes for their banner." Zheng Xuan's comm. (37/14a): 常, 旌旒也. 旒其属, 幡垂者也, "Fringes were those attached to and drooped from the banner."

17 *Zhou-li*, 22/3b 春官冢人: 及葬, 言鸾车象人, "By the time of funeral, [the official would give] words that the bell-equipped carriage and the figure of a man [made of straw be moved toward the tomb]." Jia Gong-yan's 贾公彦 sub-comm.: [郑注云:] 亦设鸾旗者, 以其遗车有鸾和之铃, 兼有旌旒, "By 'the equipment of *luan-qi*', it meant the dispatched carriage was equipped with bells ringing as harmoniously as the cry of phoenix, and also with banners."

18 *HS* 1A/36a 高祖纪: 纪信乃乘王车, 黄屋左纛, "Ji Xin then rode the king's cartage tined with yellow silk and feathered pennant hoisted on the left carnage rail." Homer H. Dubs, tr., *The History of the Former Han Dynasty* by Pan Ku, 1 (Baltimore, 1938), 85 n.1 gives: "the emperor's chariot had a yellow silk lining to its roof, and the 'plumes' 纛 were a bunch of feathers or of yak tail hair attached to the left end of the yoke at the end of the chariot tongue or attached to the left outer horse of the quadriga." A similar passage translated in Burton Watson's *Records of the Grand Historian of China* (New York, 1961, 1, 64) reads: "*Chi Hsin* then rode forth in the yellow canopied royal carriage with its plumes attached to the left side." Comm.: 李斐曰: 天子车以黄绘为盖里, 纛, 毛羽幢也, 在乘舆车衡左方上注之, "The carriage of the Son of Heaven is lined with the yellow silk from the top [of the cabin]. *Du* is a feathered pennant planted above the left arm rest of the carriage."

19 *SC* 87/15-16 李斯传: [始皇崩], 置始皇居辒辌车中, "[After the death of the first Emperor (of the Qin, regnant 221-208 B.C.)], he was placed in a windowed hearse." *Ji-jie* comm.: 如衣车, 有窗, 关之则凉, 故名之辒辌车也, It was like a lined carriage with windows. When the windows were closed, the hearse became warm [inside], and when open, it became cool. It was therefore known as a 'warm and cool' hearse."

20 *WH* 58/16a 王俭褚渊碑文: 给节羽葆鼓吹, 班剑为六十人, "[He was given a marching] band to play the *yu-bao* music, [accompanied by] sixty persons each bearing a sword." *YFSC* 16/174-175: 鼓吹曲辞: 唯羽葆诸曲备叙功业, 如前代之制, "Only the songs like *yu-bao* that narrated details of past meritorious achievements, [were played] in the same way as they were done in previous dynasties."

21 For *wan-ge* 挽歌, "hearse-puller's songs" see Chapter 3 at note 32 under the Jing-ming Monastery.

22 *Si-ma Fu* 司马孚 was the younger brother of *Si-ma Yi*, founder of the Jin. He died in A.D. 272 at the age of ninety-three. At the time of his funeral, he was treated with signal honors by the reigning emperor. See *Jin-shu* 37/6a-7a.

23 *Han Zi-xi*, a former subordinate of *Yuan Yi*, submitted a moving memorial to the empress dowager asking for the immediate exoneration of the prince. This memorial, now available in his biography, was instrumental in bringing down *Yuan Cha*, the man responsible



for Yuan Yi's tragic death. See WS 60/3b-7a.

24 The text has *zhong* 中. [*Lang-zhong* [郎]中 is added after IS 4/2a and YLTT 13823/6a.

25 Literally, *xi* 徙, "moved" (the text 4/2a gives *cong* 从, "follow", which is emended to *xi* 徙 after IS 4/2a) *wang-guo san qing* 王国三卿, "to transfer three ministers of [the former] principality."

26 For the Yao-guang Nunnery, see Chapter 1 at note 174 ff. The Yao-guang Nunnery still rose five hundred feet from the ground.

27 Adding *Hui* 徽 after IS 4/2a.

28 Son of Yuan Luan 元鸾 and great grandson of Gong-zong 恭宗, (Jing-mu 景穆; Crown Prince of Emperor Shi-zu; died in A.D.451). He had been President, Department of State Affairs prior to the post mentioned in the *Qie-lan ji*. See WS 19C/19b-21b.

29 Emending *Yong-kang* 永康 to *Yong-an* 永安 after IS 4/2a.

30 Adding *wang* 王, "prince", after YHNC 3/10b.

31 That is, Yuan Hao, the Prince of Bei-hai, who was supported by the Liang to recapture Luo-yang on June 17, A.D.529. See Chapter 1 after note 66 under the Yong-ning Monastery.

32 West of modern Zhang-zi xian 长子县, Shan-xi. See Chapter 1 at note 96 under the Yong-ning Monastery.

33 Literally, *guo dao chong hui* 国道重辉, "The way of the court shines again."

34 Emending *yu* 于 to *wei* 未 after the *He-jiao* 4/2a and *Gou-chen* 4/2b.

35 The wording varies from *te zhi* 特至, "specially to go [visit]" (our basic text 4/2b), *chi zhi* 驰至, "rush to" (YLTT 13823/6b), *chi zhao zhi* 驰诏至, "to rush an imperial edict to" (IS 4/2b) to *chi qi zhi* 驰骑至, "to gallop to" (TC 154/13a). As always, the CC (4/191) follows the TC. The translation follows the basic text.

36 Literally, *gao yun huang-chu dan-yu* 告云皇储诞育, "to inform him about the birth of an heir-designate." Emperor Chuang was the son-in-law of Er-zhu Rong.

37 Modern Chang-zhi xian in southeastern Shan-xi.

38 The text (4/3a) reads *Tai-shi si-ma* 太师司马, meaning Sergeant-at-Arms in the Office of Grand Preceptor, a position too low for such an imperial confidant as Yuan Hui. I suggest the character 大 (*Da*) be added to *Si-ma*; hence, the translation.

39 Albert E. Dien translates the same story from a *Yuan-hun zhi* entry, which is believed to have been based on the *Qie-lan ji*. However, there are obvious textual variants. See Dien, "The Yuan-hun Chih (Account of Ghosts with Grievances): A Sixth-Century Collection of Stories," *Wen-lin* 文林, *Studies in the Chinese Humanities*, edited by Chow Tse-tung (Madison, Wisc., 1968), pp.220-221, and n.27 on p.270.

Possibly, Kou Zu-ren was the style of Kou Mi 寇弥, the son of Kou Zhen 寇臻. Kou Zhen had three sons, whose style all had the character *zu* 祖 "ancestor" in common: Kou Gui 寇轨, Zu-xun 祖训; Kou Zhi 寇治, Zu-li 祖礼; and Kou Mi, Zu-ren. Mi was also written as 祢. See *Zi-zhi tong-jian kao-yi* 资治通鉴考异 (SPTK suo-ben 7/47). For Kou Mi's biography, see WS 42/8b.

40 CS (4/147) suggests that the text might have mistaken Kou Zu-ren for his elder brother Kou Zhi, who had been prefect of Luo-yang, whereas Kou Zu-ren had not.

41 TC (154/21a) sets the number at three, and CC (4/193, n.9) enumerates them as the following:

Kou Zhi, Governor of Eastern Jing-zhou and He-zhou;





Kou Fei-zhi 寇貽之, son of Kou Zhi, Governor of Eastern Jing-zhou;

Kou Zun-gui 寇遵貴, son of Kou Gui 寇軌 (Kou Gui was the eldest son of Kou Zhen), Governor of Guang-zhou 光州.

CC (4/193) bases its information on WS 42/8a-b, 42/9a, and "Kou Yin-zhe mu-zhi" 寇胤哲墓志 (MCCS plate 355).

42 Adding *jiao* 校, "colonel," after IS (4/2b).

43 There are two versions as to how Yuan Hui was killed. According to Yuan Hui's biography (WS 19A/21b), Kou Zu-ren advised Yuan Hui to leave his house on the pretense that police were about to come and arrest the latter. He then sent someone to kill [Yuan] Hui after the latter's departure. According to Kou Mi's biography (WS 42/8b), however, he never admitted [Yuan] Hui into his house, but ordered someone else to kill him.

Yuan Hui's stele inscription (MCCS plate 145) gives January 9, A.D.531 as the date of his death.

44 Literally, *si-fu zhi nei* 總服之內, that is, the coarse mourning garments worn by one's distant relatives for a period of three months.

45 A common saying of the Zhou dynasty as recorded in the *Zuo-zhuan* (Huan 10). Du Yu's comm.(7/7b): 人利其璧, 以璧為罪, "As people are greedy for his jade, he who is possessed of jade constitutes a crime."

46 This is, *huang jin* 黃金, "gold." YLTT (13823/6b) and IS (4/3a) give only *jin* 金, "metal."

47 Literally, *lu-wei long-zhong* 祿位隆重, "high position and rich salary." YLTT (13823/6b) and IS (4/3a) both read *wei-wang long-zhong* 位望隆重, "occupied a prestigious position."

48 Literally, *chang zi ru qi jia cai-lue* 常自入其家探掠, "Often went to his house in person to plunder." The last character, *lue* 掠, "plunder," is perhaps in error. IS (4/3a) reads *ji* 迹, which also seems erroneous.

49 Emending *wu-shi pi* 五十匹 to *san-shi pi* 三十匹 after YLTT (13823/7a) and IS (4/3a).

50 According to his biography (WS 42/8b), Kou Zu-ren died a natural death in the Western Wei. But FYCL (84/1009 怨苦篇 quoting *Yuan-hun zhi*) gives a story similar to the *Qie-lan ji* version. The *Yuan-hun zhi* account is believed to have been based on the *Qie-lan ji*. See Introduction.

51 A paraphrase of the *Yi-jing* (1/26a 坤文言): 積善之家, 必有餘慶; 積不善之家, 必有餘殃. Richard Wilhelm, *Yi Jing*, 2, 26-27, hexagram no.2 "Kun-The Receptive"; "A house that heaps good upon good is sure to have an abundance of blessings. A house that heaps evil is sure to have an abundance of ills."

52 Literally, *fu-en fan shi* 負恩反噬, "to betray the favors of someone and bite him instead."

53 Literally, *Qiong qi tu-tan* 窮其塗炭, "tasting mire and charcoal to the fullest" that is, to suffer great distress. For the origin of *tu-tan* 塗炭, see the *Shu-jing* 8/6b 仲虺之誥: 民墜塗炭. Legge 3, P.178, "The Announcement of Chung-wuy:...and the people were as if they were fallen amid mire and charcoal." Kong Ying-da's 孔穎達 (A.D.574-648) sub-comm.: 民之危險, 若陷泥塗火, 無救之者, "People faced the perils as if they had fallen into mud and fire and had no one to save them."

54 The text (4/4a) is *Wei-hou zhi chi Tian Fen* 魏侯之咎田飴, Wei-qi Hou (Marquis of Wei-qi) being Dou Ying's title of nobility. Tian Fen (d. 131 B.C.), as the prime minister, had a



grudge against Dou Ying and Guan Fu 灌夫(d.131 B.C.), both of whom were executed as a result of Tian Fen's slander. When Tian Fen fell ill, he hired a witch to ward off the evils, but the witch saw the spirits of Dou Ying and Guan Fu coming to demand Tian Fen's death. See SC 107/27 魏其侯武安侯列传, Burton Watson, tr., *Records of the Grand Historian of China* 2, 107-129, and *Yuan-hun zhi* as quoted in FYCL 87/1049-1050.

55 The text (4/4a) is *Qin zhu zhi ci Yao Chang* 秦主之刺姚长. The term *Qin-zhu* (the Qin ruler) refers to Fu Jian 苻坚, a former superior of Yao Chang. After Fu Jian's defeat at the Fei River in A.D.383, Yao Chang turned against Fu Jian and committed regicide. As a further expression of his hatred, he exhumed Fu Jian and disrobed and beat his remains. When Yao Chang fell ill, he saw Fu Jian in a dream, leading an army of ghosts chasing after him. Holding spears in hand, Yao Chang's ladies in waiting came out to stab the ghosts, but by mistake they hit Yao Chang instead. The ghosts said to each other, "Good, they have hit the right and fatal spot." Consequently the ghosts pulled out the spearhead, causing Yao Chang to bleed. When he awoke, he had a swollen scrotum. A physician operated on him, causing him to bleed in the same way as did the ghosts. He therefore died. See *Jin-shu* 116/18a and *Yuan-hun zhi* as quoted in FYCL 87/1050-1051. See also *Shi-liu-guo chun-qiu zhi-bu* 38/4b 前秦录 and 50/8a-b 后秦录.

56 *Chong-kan*(4/29a) treats the Wang Dian-yu Monastery as a continuation of the previous entry. My translation, however, starts with this monastery in a new paragraph.

57 Between "the eunuch" and "Wang Tao-tang," the text (4/4b) has another character Yang 杨, which bears an orthographic resemblance to Tang 汤 and was thus inserted by mistake. It is deleted in the translation.

58 Wang Tao-tang served both Emperors Gao-zu (regnant A.D.471-499) and Shi-zong (regnant A.D.499-515). For his biography, see WS 94/20a-b. He was killed in A.D.528 at He-yin along with a great number of court officials.

59 The text (4/4b) has a blank between *cheng* 称, "called," and *ying xiong* 英雄, "hero," but both *YLIT* (13823/7a) and *IS* (4/3b) give *zhi* 之, "it," as the direct object. Hence the translation. "Hero" here perhaps means "outstanding" or "unusual."

60 *Zhao Yi* 昭仪. The second character is erroneously given as Yi 义 in the text (4/4b). For the Zhao-yi Nunnery, see Chapter 1 after note 207.

61 The text (4/4b) reads *zhao-ti* 招提 (*catuṛ-dēśa*). See Preface, note 17.

62 For *liu zhai* 六斋 see Chapter 1 at note 203 under the Jing-le Nunnery.

63 Emending *Fo* 佛 "Buddha" to *Fo jiao* 佛教 "Buddhism" after TPYL 658/6a 释部寺.

The text (4/4b) is *Fo ru Zhong-guo zhi shi* 佛入中国之始, "the beginning of Buddha's entry into China." This is a loose translation.

64 Literally, *xiang-bei ri-yue guang-ming* 项背日月光明, "as bright as the sun and the moon around the neck and on the back." *IS* (4/4a) mistakenly writes *jie* 皆, "all," for *bei* 背, "back." For "neck," see Yang Xuan-zhi's Preface at notes 7 and 8.

65 That is, *jing xiang* 经像, "scriptures and images." The envoys, Cai An (or Yin) 蔡愔 and Qin Jing 秦景 were reported as having acquired *The Sūtra in Forty-two Sections* 四十二章经 and a statue of the Buddha that they took home in A.D.67. See WS 114/1b 释老志 and Mou-zi's "Li-huo-lun" 牟子理惑论 as quoted in Seng-you's *Hong-ming ji* (Taishō ed.) 1/4-5.

66 Adding *yi* 以 after TPYL 658/6a 释部寺.

67 Adding *jing* 经, "scriptures," after TPYL 658/6a 释部寺 and *IS* 4/4a.

68 *Jetavana*-a term that derives from a garden donated by Prince Jeta for the or-phanned

and helpless. See *Xian-yu jing* (*Taishō* ed.) 10/418 须达起精舍品第四十。

69 The text (4/5a) reads *nai lin* 奈林 (crabapple orchard), but *CS* (4/151), on the basis of a *TPYL* (972/2b 果木部蒲萄) quotation, suggests *tu-lin* 荼林, otherwise known as *tu-lin* 塗林. *Tu-lin* 塗林, or *an shi-liu* 安石榴 (pomegranate), was imported into China on Zhang Qian's 张骞 return (126 B.C.) from the Western Regions (*CMYS* 4/13a). *CC* (4/196), however, maintains that *nai* 奈 should stand unchanged; *nai* 奈 and *liu* 榴 belong to the same generic family.

70 Literally, *zhong jing* 中京, "the central capital," meaning Luo-yang, as compared to Kai-feng to the east and Chang-an to the west. On the basis of a *Li-ji* (10/24a 檀弓下释文) entry that considers *jing* 京 "capital" as a possible mistake for *yuan* 原, "plain," *CC* (4/99 n. 4) suggests *zhong jing* 中京 as a variant of *zhong yuan* 中原, "Central Plain."

71 Literally, *zhi shu shi* 至熟时, "at the time of ripening."

72 The couplet rhymes at the last (the fourth) character of each line (that is, *liu* 榴, "pomegranate," and *niu* 牛, "ox").

73 This monk remains unidentified. Some suggest he is to be identified with *Bao Zhi* 宝志 of the Liang dynasty, a famous Buddhist prophet who died in A.D. 514 at ninety-seven sui, but no visit of this monk is recorded. Others believe the monk to be the same hermit of the Song Mountains referred to in Hou Jun-su's 侯君素 *Jing-Yi ji-lu* 旌异记录 (quoted in *FYCL* 109/1301).

74 Literally, *san shi* 三世, "three ages."

75 "Zhu, zhu" is descriptive of the sound used to call chickens. Here "zhu" is doubled, possibly referring to both Er-zhu Rong and his Er-zhu associates.

76 No other information is available for this man.

77 *Chen* 辰 is the equivalent of two hours. A twenty-four-hour cycle of day and night is divided into twelve *chen*. Consult also Jao Tsong-yi and Paul Demiéville, eds., *Airs de Touen-Houang* (Paris, 1971), pp. 72 and 301.

78 The exact implication of this sentence, *zhong qi yan ye* 终其言也, is not clear.

79 The text (4/5b) and *CT* (4/6b) reads *Bao-guang si* 宝光寺, but *IS* (4/4b) and *YLTT* (13823/15a-b) give *Guang-bao si* 光宝寺 instead.

80 The text (4/5b) is *hua-gong diao-ke* 画工雕刻, after which another sentence seems missing.

81 *WS* 114/5a 释老志 and the preface to the *Qie-lan ji* both give forty-two as the number of temples in the Jin capital. Thus thirty-two is perhaps a mistake for forty-two. Hence, the translation.

82 Emending *yuan chi* 园池, "garden pool," to *yuan di* 园地, "garden land" after *IS* 4/5a and *YLTT* 13823/15b.

83 *Xian-chi* is identified either as the name of a constellation or of a pond where the sun bathes, *Chu-ci* 1/15 离骚: 饮余马于咸池兮. David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u*, p. 29: "I watered my dragon steeds at the Pool of Heaven." *Comm.* 咸池, 日浴处也. ... 咸池, 星名.

84 Han officials in the capital took every fifth day off as a holiday. *TC* 23/5a: [霍]光每休暇出. Hu San-xing's *comm.*: 汉制: 中朝官五日一下里舍休沐, 三署诸郎亦然, "According to the Han regulation, court officials took every fifth day off so as to go home for rest and to bathe. The various grandees in the *San-shu* 三署 (Three Bureaus, that is, *Wu-guan shu* 五官署, *Zuo-shu* 左署 and *You-shu* 右署, each under the jurisdiction of a *Zhong-lang-jiang* 中郎将, that is, Commandant) had the same privilege." See also Yang Lian-sheng, "Schedules of Work





and Best in Imperial China, in *Studies in Chinese Institutional History*, p.19.

85 Literally, *lei ju* 雷车, "thundering carriages." *WH* 4/16a 左思蜀都赋: 车马雷骇, "[The noise of running] horses and carriages was as frightening as thunder."

86 *Jie zhen* 接轸, "touched bumpers," *zhen* 轸 being the horizontal wooden bar attached to the back of a vehicle.

87 *Er-zhu Tian-guang*, cousin of *Er-zhu Rong*, was defeated in A.D.532 at the famous Battle of Han-ling 韩陵 by *Hu-si Chun* 斛斯椿, another general who was disloyal to the Northern Wei; *Er-zhu Tian-guang* was subsequently captured and executed at the age of thirty-seven *sui*. See *WS* 80/5b 斛斯椿传 and 79/15b

88 The text (4/6b) reads *beng* 崩, "to fall with a booming sound." Here the exact condition of the collapse is not clear.

89 The text (4/6b) reads *Seng-mo-luo* 僧摩罗, but *TPYL* 655/7a and *IS* (4/5b) both give *Tan-mo-luo*, the first two characters being a transliteration of *Dharma*.

90 Also written as *Wu-yang* 乌阳 (*IS* 4/5b) and *Wu-chang* 乌莛 (*WS* 102/20b 西域传). See Chapter 5 at note 113.

91 *IS* (4/5b) gives *Guang-bao si* 光宝寺 instead.

92 The text (4/6b) reads *Zhi-yuan si* 祇洹寺. *Zhi-yuan* (see note 68 above) is a retreat or abode of Buddhist saints, not the name of a temple. Therefore the character *si* 寺 is not warranted (*IS* 4/5b reads *Zhi-yuan* 祇垣 without *si* 寺).

93 Emending *dan-su* 丹素, "red and white," to *dan-qing* 丹青, "red and blue," after *CT* (4/7b).

94 *Zhang liu* 丈六, "one *chang* six *chi*"=16 [Chinese] feet, that is, Buddha. See *Jia-liu-tuo-qie*, tr., *Fo-shuo shi-er yu jing* (*Taishō* ed.), p.146: 佛身长丈六尺.

95 *Lu-yuan*, or *Mṛgadāva*, is the name of a park northeast of Varanasi where Śākyamuni is reported to have preached his first sermons and converted his first five disciples. See *Shi-shi yao-lan*, A/262.

96 Literally, *jin-kang* 金刚, the diamond indestructible body. See *Fan-yi ming-yi ji* 3/92 七宝篇.

97 Literally, *shuang lin* 双林, a grove of *sāla* trees where the Buddha is reported to have attained complete extinction of individual existence (*parinirvāṇa*). *Fa-xian*, tr., *Da-ban nie-pan jing* (*Taishō* ed.)B/198: 汝今当知, 我于今昔, 后夜分尽, . . . 沙罗双树间, 入般涅槃, "You should know now that I shall attain the state of complete extinction in the grove of *sā la* trees at midnight day after tomorrow."

98 Literally, *Yan fu* 阎浮, *Jambu-dvīpa*. See Chapter 1 at note 27 under the *Yong-ning Monastery*.

99 *Śātra* means Buddha's bone. See *Fan-yi ming-yi ji* 5/153 名句文法篇.

100 Southeast of modern *Lin-bi xian* 临壁县, *An-hui*.

Along with *Yuan Yan-ming*, the Prince of *An-feng*, and *Yuan Xi*, Prince of *Zhong-shan*, they were known as the trio of scholars of the imperial household.

*Yuan Yu* had been Chief Palace Attendant, General of the Guards, and Vice President on the Right, Department of State Affairs. In A.D.528, following *Er-zhu Rong*'s execution of many in the aristocracy, he took refuge with the *Liang* dynasty, but soon returned to wait on his old mother. In A.D.530, he was murdered during *Er-zhu Zhao*'s uprising. See *WS* 18/2b-6a.

101 Literally, *san yuan* 三元, "three firsts": the beginning of the first day of the first



month of the new year.

102 A Han tradition. See *WH* 1/16a 班固东都赋: 是日也, 天子受四海之图籍, 万国之贡珍, "On that day, the Son of Heaven accepted the maps and documents [from countries] in the four seas, and [also] tributary treasures from myriad states."

103 Emending *zhen* 珍, "rarities," to *zhen* 臻, "assemble," after *IS* 4/6a.

104 The *hu* 笏 was a tablet about three Chinese feet long, made of different materials according to the rank of the holder. Notes were written on its back when the holder had an imperial audience. Possibly because of its size, the text (4/7b) reads *fu* 负, "to carry," *he* 荷, "to shoulder," and *zhi* 执, "to hold."

105 *Jun min* 俊民, "outstanding people."

106 Literally, *yu-shang liu-xing* 羽觞流行. For *yu-shang* 羽觞, see *HS* 97B/9a 孝成班婕妤传: 酌羽觞之消忧, "Drink from winged goblets to dispell worries." Meng Kang's comm.; 羽觞, 爵也, 作生爵形, 有头羽翼, "A winged goblet is one that looks like a live bird. It has head, tail, and feathered wings."

107 The text (4/7b) reads *Zhang Pei-chang* 张裴裳, *Pei* 裴 being a mistake for *Fei* and *Chang* 裴 for *Chang* 常. *IS* (4/6a) has an additional character *Chang* 常 after *Chang* 裴. *YHNC* 3/11a reads *Zhang Fei* 张斐: hence the translation.

108 Emending *qiu* 秋, "autumn," to *lin* 林, "forest," after *IS* 4/6a and *YHNC* 3/11a.

109 *Shi* or *dan* 石, a measurement for both weight and capacity. It is the equivalent of ten *tou* when used for capacity (each *tou* is the equivalent of about 2.45 liters).

110 Emending *ba-ri* 八日, "eight days," to *ba-dou* 八斗, "eight *dou*" after *IS* 4/6b. *Ba-dou* agrees with the story of Shan Tao referred to in the next line.

111 A high-ranking official (A.D.205-283) of the Jin in charge of civil service. One of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, he was known for his ability to drink up to eight *dou* of wine. He died in A.D.283 at the age of seventy-nine *sui*. See *Jin-shu* 43/9a.

112 The text (4/8b) reads *shi nan* 市南, "south of the market," but *IS* (4/6b) gives *shi dong-nan* 市东南, "southeast of the market." The *SCC* (16/20b-21a) makes mention of Ping-le *guan* 平乐观, which is believed to be identifiable with the Princess' Tower.

113 Liang Ji was a dictator of the Later Han who hand-picked three emperors (Chong 冲, Zhi 质, and Huan 桓) at will (*HHS* 64/10b). *SCC* (16/20b-21a) and *YHNC* (3/11a) make no mention of Liang Ji as the one responsible for the construction.

114 See also *Luo-yang zhi* 洛阳志 as quoted in *YLTT* 13823/7a.

115 Emending Hou Zhao 侯钊 to Hou Gang 侯刚 after *IS* (4/6b). Hou Gang worked his way up as a chef, but later in his life he was a powerful minister, largely due to his association with Yuan Cha. He died in A.D.526. See *WS* 93/18a-20b; *MCCS* plate 249.

116 This is, *HHS*. See n.113 above.

117 The Yao Mountain is sixty *li* north of the modern Luo-ning *xian* 洛宁县, He-nan.

118 Emending from *yi* 一, "one," to *shi* 十, "ten," at the suggestion of *CC* (4/157).

119 Literally, *zu-ji suo-lu* 足迹所履, "wherever there were footprints."

120 Deng Tong, a fabulously rich man and a male favorite of Emperor Wen (regnant 179-157 B.C.) of the Former Han, was given a copper mine by the emperor and given the special privilege to mint coins for circulation throughout the empire.

121 Guo Kuang 郭况, the younger brother of Empress Guo, the first consort of Emperor Guang-wu (regnant A.D.25-57), received lavish gifts of money and silk from the emperor,



who frequently paid him visits. He became so rich that people in the capital referred to his home as a "gold mine." See *HHS* 10A/4b 郭皇后传.

122 The text (4/8b) reads *wang zhe* 王者, "princes," which is followed in the translation. *YHNC* (3/12a) gives *hou-wang* 侯王, "marquises and princes," instead.

123 No additional information about him is available.

124 A song dedicated to Chen An 陈安 for his bravery. Chen An, a general of the Western Jin (A.D. 265-316), was defeated by insurgent forces of Liu Yao 刘曜 (ruler of the Former Zhao, regnant B.C. 318-329) at Long-cheng 陵城. Hence, the song is also known as "Long-shang ge" 陇上歌. See *YFSC* 85/584.

125 The same famous song dedicated to Lady Yu 虞姬 shortly before the downfall of Xiang Yu 项羽 (232-202 B.C.). The song contains the three characters *li-ba-shan* 力拔山, so it is also known as "li-ba-shan cao 力拔山操." *YFSC* 58/438.

Tian Sen-g-chao's musical talent is also recorded in *YYTT* 6/41 乐篇, whose account is perhaps based on the *Qie-lan ji* entry.

126 Cui Yan-bo was a general noted for his fortitude and strategy. Cui Yan-bo was at one time a subordinate of Xiao Bao-yin (for Xiao Bao-yin see Chapter 2 under the Jing-ning Temple and Chapter 3 at note 148 under the Bao-de Temple). He was likened to Guan Yu 关羽 and Zhang Fei 张飞, two renowned generals of the Three Kingdoms period (A.D. 220-265). For his biography, see *WS* 73/8b-11b.

127 Modern Gu-yuan *xian* 固原县, Gan-su.

128 Emending *nüe-li* 虐吏, "cruel officials," to *hu li* 虎吏, "tiger-like officials," after *IS* 4/7a.

129 Emending 万侯 to 万俟 (pronounced Mo-qì). *Hou* 侯 is an obvious scribal error.

130 Literally, *gan-shi* 盱食, "to take a late meal" because of the pressure of business. For the origin of *gan-shi* 盱食, see *Zuo-zhuan* Zhao 20 49/4a [伍奢闻] [伍员不来, 曰: 楚君大夫其盱食乎. Legge 5, P.680: "and when Woo, [that is, Wu] Ch'ay heard that [Woo] Yun had not come, he said, 'The ruler of Ts'oo and his great officers will [now-Legge's own addition] take their meals late.' "Du Yu's comm.: 将有吴忧, 不得早食, "Because of the pending Wu invasion (literally, worried), he will be unable to have meals served on time."

131 For the Zhang Fang Bridge, see Chapter 4 at note 296 under the Yong-ming Monastery.

132 In the western suburb of Luo-yang. The official send-off for Jia Chong 贾充 (A.D. 217-282), father-in-law of Emperor Hui (regnant A.D. 290-306) of the Western Jin, occurred in this pavilion when he was about to set out to assume his new post in Chang-an. The farewell gathering lasted from dawn to sunset; hence the name. See *YHNC* 2/14b.

133 The term *zu-dao* 祖道 also appears in Chapter 3 at note 38 under the Jing-ming Monastery.

134 *Wei-guan chang-jie* 危冠长解, "jaunty cap and [unbuckled] long [sword]." *Zhuang-zi* 9/210 盗跖篇: 使子路去其危冠, 解其长剑, 而受教于子. Burton Watson, tr., *The Complete Works of Chuang-tzu*, p.328, "Robber Chih"; "(With your honeyed words) you persuaded Tzu-lu to become your follower, to doff his jaunty cap, unbuckle his long sword, and receive instruction from you."

135 *Di* 笛, "flute." This character is not given in *YHNC* 3/11a.

136 Adding *chang* 常, "always," after *IS* 4/7b.

137 *San-jun* 三军, "Three Armies." According to the Rites of *Zhou*, in determining the

military strength of the kingdom and state, the kingdom should have six armies (*liu-jun* 六军); a large state, three armies; a smaller state, two armies (*er-jun* 二军); and the smallest state, one army (*yi-jun* 一军). Each army consisted of 12,500 men, therefore three armies totaled 37,500 men. The term *San-jun* is used loosely here. *Zhou-li* 28/2a 夏官序官: 凡制军, 万有二千五百人为军。王六军, 大国三军, 次国二军, 小国一军。

138 Whenever Bo-ya played his lute, Zhong Zi-qi fully understood where the musician cast his mind—now high mountains, now flowing water. After Zhong Zi-qi's death, Bo-ya destroyed his Jin—refused to play again, knowing that there was no longer anyone to understand him fully. See *Lü-shi chun-qiū* 14/80 孝行览本味篇。

139 He died on May 25, A.D.525, in Jing-chuan 泾川. See *WS* 9/21a 肃宗纪。

140 Also known as Liu Duo 刘堕, he later became a legendary winemaker. The wine, made of grain, was famous for its purity and translucence. See *SCC* 4/8b 河水注 and *CMYS* 7/18b-19b 笨曲并酒篇。

For the same story about Liu Bai-duo's strong wine, see Yang and Yang, *The Man Who Sold a Ghost*, p.132.

141 Modern An-yi 安邑, Shan-xi.

142 A native and a leader of Bei-di 北地 commandery (modern northern Shan-xi), he and his elder brother Mao Xia 毛遐 raised an army of local people to maintain order. Mao Hong-bin was later captured by Gao Huan's generals. See *PS* 49/25b-26b 毛遐传。

143 The text (4/9b) correctly has the character *nan* 南, "southern," which is missing in *TPKC* 233/1b 酒部摘奸酒。The name was changed to *Nan Qing-zhou* 南青州 "southern Qing-chou" in A.D.498 (*WS* 106B/27b)(modern Yi-shui xian 沂水县, Shan-dong)。

144 The text (4/9b) is *feng-lu* 逢路, but *YHNC* 3/12a gives 路逢盗, 饮之即醉, "He met with bandits en route, who drank the wine and immediately became intoxicated," which the translation follows.

145 The text (4/10a) is *you-xia* 游侠, normally an underground organization or an individual unfriendly to the government. For a general description of *xia* 侠 in Chinese literature, see James J. Y. Liu, *The Chinese Knight Errant* (Chicago, 1967). It covers such fields as prose, poetry, fiction, and drama, ranging from the period of Warring States (403-222 B.C.) to the Manchu dynasty (A.D.1644-1911).

146 This couplet rhymes at the end of each line: *dao* 刀, "knife," and *lao* 醪, "sediment." The latter character here is used loosely for wine.

147 That is, Ward of Homage to the Deceased. See Introduction at note 15.

148 The text (4/10a) gives *er* 輻, which, according to Duan Yu-cai (*Shuo-wen jie-zi* 14A/39b), should be written *er* 輻. The component element on the right side of the character *er* (輻) is descriptive of ornaments hanging from a hearse.

149 Emending *mao* 毛, "hair," to *wei* 尾, "tail," after *TPKC* 447/3b 狐孙岩。

150 The text (4/10a) is *yi-fu jing-zhuang* 衣服靓妆。For *jing-zhuang* 靓妆, see *WH* 8/8a-b 司马相如上林赋: 靓妆刻饰, "Wearing elegant makeup and rich ornaments." Li Shan's comm.: 郭璞曰: 靓妆, 粉白黛黑也, "Elegant makeup refers to powder-white and black color."

151 *IS* (4/8a) has a slightly different wording: 人见而悦之, 近者被截发, "People were pleased with her [appearance] when she came into sight. The hair of those who approached her would be cut off."

152 *WS* (112/25b-26a 灵徵志毛虫之孽) keeps a similar account of the episode, which

lasted between the spring and the sixth month of A.D.517. It is supposed to reflect heaven's disapproval of the undue power of the empress. For the same fox story, see Yang and Yang, *The Man Who Sold a Ghost*, p.131.

153 The text (4/10b) gives *zhun-cai* 淮财, *zhun* 淮 being a scribal error for *fu* 阜.

154 That is, Ward of the Wealthy. See Chapter 3 after note 186 under the Pu-ti Temple.

155 Literally, *qian jin* 千金, "[those whose property amounted to] one thousand [catties] of gold."

156 *Qi shan* 启扇, here tentatively translated as "open screens". The exact meaning is unclear.

157 Adding *dui chu* 对出 after *IS* (4/8b) and *CT* (4/11b).

158 This pair of couplets is yet another good example to show how difficult it is to translate parallel prose into good English. The meanings of the individual words are often repetitious, and, in this particular case, the sentences are in reversed word order. The text (4/10b) reads: 金银锦绣, 奴婢缋衣; 五味八珍, 仆隶毕口, "Articles of gold and silver, brocade and embroidery, what the slaves and maids wore; five flavors and eight treasures, what male servants and slaves ate." Note that the order of verb and object is in reverse. Furthermore, *nu-bi* 奴婢, *nu-li* 奴隶, and *bi-pu* 婢仆 may come as compounds in different combinations, but they have only one meaning: servants and male or female slaves.

This is a free translation, including *wu wei* 五味, "five tastes," and *ba zhen* 八珍, "eight rarities." For *ba zhen* 八珍, see Chapter 3 note 101 under the Bao-de Temple.

159 The Prince of Gao-yang proposed in a memorial that concubines other than those of the nobility be prohibited from wearing brocade, articles of gold, jade, or pearl, and that violators be punished to the same degree as those disobeying an imperial order. He further suggested that servants not be permitted to wear silk, and that slaves be permitted to wear only cotton. Neither should use hairpins and belts of gold or silk. Violators were liable to be caned with one hundred strokes of a bamboo rod. The empress dowager accepted his advice, but was lax in enforcing this new regulation. See *WS* 21A/24b-25a 高阳王雍传.

160 A commandery of Yong-zhou, northwest of modern Chang-an, Shan-xi. See *WS* 106C/1a.

161 Emending *yue* 约, "to invite," to *na* 纳, "to take in" after *IS* (4/8b), *TPKC* (371/5a 精怪凶器梁氏) and *FYCL* (43/511).

162 Emending *ying-xuan er dao* 应弦而倒, "to fall in response [to the released] string," to *ying jian er dao* 应箭而倒, "to fall in response [to the released] arrow," after *IS* (4/8b) and *TPKC* 371/5a.

163 Possibly they all changed into funerary articles (*ming-qi* 明器).

164 *YYTT* (13/68 冥途篇) keeps a record of the same story. It may be based on the *Qie-lan ji*.

165 Modern Nan-yang *xian* 南阳县, He-nan.

166 The text (4/11a) gives *zhang* 丈, "ten Chinese feet," rather than *chi* 尺 "one Chinese foot." *CS* (4/162) argues that Hou Qing, as an ordinary citizen, could not own any Buddhist image of this size; hence the translation.

167 Emending 像自然金色 to 像自有金色 (substituting the character *you* 有 for *ran* 然) after *IS* (4/9a); the original version is an incomplete sentence.

168 The text (4/11b) reads Yuan Zhen 元稹. *CS* (4/162-163) suggests that *Zhen* 稹 is an





error for *Shen* 慎, which in turn is a mistake for *Shun* 顺. Yuan Shun was the son of Yuan Cheng, Prince of Ren-cheng, a learned member of the imperial family and a ranking official between A.D.516 and A.D.528, when he was murdered. The reasoning of CS is strengthened by a *YHNC* (3/12a) entry that actually gives Yuan Shun as the man's name. For Yuan Shun, see *WS* 19B/22b-27b and *MCCS* plate 127.

169 The text (4/11b) gives *Shang-shu you pu-ye* 尚书右仆射. The translation follows *YHNC* (3/12a) which gives *Zuo pu-ye* 左仆射 instead. The *YHNC* entry agrees with *WS* 19B/26b.

170 *Qi-xie* is the name of an ancient narrator of strange stories. See *Zhuang-zi* 1/3 逍遥游.

171 The text (4/11b) reads *tui* 退, which is a mistake for *yan* 延.

172 The creek under the Zhang Fang Bridge. See Chapter 4 at note 297 under the Yong-ming Monastery.

173 *IS* (4/9a-b) reads *huang-zong suo li ye* 皇宗所立也, "established by members of the royal family," of which *li* 立 is an error. *YHNC* (3/12a) gives *jie huang-zong suo ju* 皆皇宗所居, "occupied completely by members of the royal family."

174 Literally, *ba-huang shuai-zhi* 八荒率职, "[countries] in eight corners fulfilled their [vassal] obligations." For *ba-huang* 八荒, see Liu Xiang 刘向, *Shuo-yuan* 说苑 (*SPTK suo-ben*) 18/82 辨物篇: 八荒之内有四海, 四海之内有九州, 天子处中而制八荒耳, "Within the eight corners are the four seas; within the four seas, nine provinces. The Son of Heaven is located in the center and controls the eight corners."

175 Literally, *piao-nang ji qing* 缥囊纪庆. *Piao-nang* is blue cloth used as wrappings for books; hence, books, records. For *piao-nang*, see *WH* 2a 序: 词人才子, 则然溢于缥囊, "For the literati and the gifted men, their names are overflowing the records."

176 Literally, *yu zhu tiao chen* 玉烛调辰. For *yu-zhu* 玉烛, see *Er-ya* 6/5a 释天: 四时和谓之玉烛, "When the four seasons follow each other in harmony, it is called *yu-zhu*."

177 Literally, 嫠寡不闻犬豕之食, 劳独不见牛马之衣, "Widows and widowers have heard nothing about the fodder of dogs and pigs; orphans and the unmarried have never seen the rugs for cattle and horses." For the reverse of this couplet, see *HS* 24A/16b 食货志: 故贫民常衣牛马之衣, 而食犬彘之食, "Therefore the poor people had to wear horse- or cattle-rugs and eat dog or pig fodder."

178 Literally, *shan shan-hai zhi fu* 擅山海之富. For its origin, see *SC* 106/30 吴王濞传: [吴王]能薄赋敛, 使其众, 以擅山海利, "[Prince of Wu] was able to reduce taxation, utilize his masses, and reap profit from the mountains and seas."

179 The text (4/12a) reads *fang shu* 芳树, "scented trees," but the translation follows *CS* (4/163) which suggests that *fang shu* 芳树 be emended to *fang xie* 芳榭, "scented towers" (*CT* 4/13b also gives 芳榭).

180 *Yi-qie-jing yin-yi*, 8/355 瓦瓶, 汲水器也.

181 Emending to *yi wu-se kui wei sheng* 以五色纁为绳, "to make rope of multi colored silk" after *YHNC* 3/12b. (*CT* [4/13b] gives *yi wu-se si xu wei sheng* 以五色丝续为绳, "to connect multicolored silk and make it into a rope.")

182 团扇歌 or 团扇郎歌, a love song created by Xie Fang-zi 谢芳姿, a maid of the sister-in-law of Wang Min 王珉 (A.D.361-388), who was in love with Wang Min (then president of the Central Secretariat). The song comes in three lines: three, five, five characters for each

line, with the last characters in the second and third lines in rhyme. See YFSC 45/353 清商曲辞团扇郎歌。

183 See notes 124 and 125 of this chapter.

184 Southwest of modern Tian-shui 天水, Gan-su.

185 *Jian-er* 健儿, "agile fighters," and *kuai-ma* 快马, "fast-running horses," are complementary. See YFSC 25/234 折杨柳歌辞: 健儿须快马, 快马须健儿。

186 See Chapter 3 at note 173 under the Xuan-yang Gate.

187 Literally, [*yi jin wei suo-huan*] [以] 金为锁环 "ring-locks made of gold." The text (4/12b) suggests this as a type of ring device to hold the trough in position, but the exact meaning is unclear.

188 For Shi Chong 石崇, see Chapter 1 at note 220 under the Zhao-yi Nunnery and *Jin-shu* 33/25b-32a.

189 Literally, *zhi tou* 雉头, "pheasants' heads"; the colored feathers collected from pheasants' heads were sewn on garments.

190 Skins of the foreleg area are considered the softest and warmest, and also purest in color.

191 The text (4/12b) reads *mao* 卵, the fourth of the twelve Terrestrial Branches, but *TPKC* 236/7b 奢侈元祿 and *YHNC* (3/12b) give *luan* 卵, "egg"; hence the translation.

Both "painted eggs" and "carved firewood" are exaggerated statements of luxurious life among wealthy men in olden times. See *Guan-zi* (SPTK *suo-ben*) 12/72 侈靡篇: 雕卵然后沦之, 雕榱然后爨之, and Zong Lin, *Jing-chu sui-shi ji* (SPPY) 6a: 古之豪家, 食称画卵, "In ancient times, extravagant families were known to eat painted eggs."

192 Emending to *ma-nao bei* 玛瑙杯, "agate goblets," after *CT* (4/14b).

193 Literally, *bing-luo* 冰罗, "icy gauze."

194 Literally, *wu-hu* 雾縠, "misty gauze," of which, according to Duan Yu-cai (*Shuo-wen jie-zi* 13A/7b 系部), *hu* 縠 is the equivalent of modern *zhou-sha* 绉纱, "crepe silk."

195 Literally, *xiu-xie* 绣纈, "embroidered silk." Gu Ye-wang 顾野王, *Yu-pian* 玉篇 (SPTK *suo-ben*) 27/97 系部: 五彩备也, "Cai means silk complete with five colors."

196 Literally, *chou ling* 绸纒, meaning heavy and light gauge of silk fabric, respectively. *Shuo-wen jie-zi* 13a/8a 系部: [纒], 大丝绘也, "Chou is silk of heavy gauge." Duan Yu-cai comm.: 大丝, 较常丝为大也, "Heavy-gauge silk means it is heavier than the average." *Shuo-wen jie-zi*, 13A/8b 系部: 东齐谓布之细者曰纒, "In the eastern part of Qi(modern Shandong), light-gauge silk or other fabric is known as *ling*."

197 That is, *cai* 綵. *HS* 91/7b 货殖传: 文采千匹, "one thousand bolts of silk." Yan Shi-gu's comm.: 帛之有色者曰采, "Cai refers to colored silk."

198 *Shu-jing* 6/13a 禹贡: 岛夷卉服. Legge 3, P.111, "The Tribute of Yu": "The wild people of the islands brought garments of grass." Comm.: 南海岛夷草服葛越, "The barbarian islanders wore garments of *ge-yue* grass." Sub-comm.: 葛越, 南方布名, 用葛为之, "*Ge-yue* is the name of cloth made of *ge*(a kind of bean stalk)."

Ordinarily Yue refers to the name of an ancient state, corresponding to modern Chekiang and Fukien provinces. According to the sub-commentary, it is used here as part of a common noun.

199 Yuan Rong had been Governor of Bing-zhou, Qing-zhou, Supervisor of Archives, and Protector of the Army within the Capital (*Zhong-hu-jun*). He was a corrupt official. See *WS*



19C/23a-b.

200 Yuan Ji(d. A.D.529) had been the Grand Commandant, Chief Palace Attendant, Grand Tutor, and Chief of Ministers under Emperor Su-zong(regnant A.D.515-528). He was another well-known corrupt prince of the Wei. See WS 16/13a-15a.

201 *Zhan zhi zai qian* 瞻之在前 is a quotation from the *Lun-yu*(9/5a 子罕), which should have two sentences if quoted in full(the next sentence is: *hu yan zai hou* 忽焉在后). Waley, *The Analects of Confucius*, p.140: "I(that is, Yan Hui) see it in front; but suddenly it is behind." The dialogue, as it appears in the text (4/13b), stops at the end of the first sentence-a style of conversation known as *xie-hou-yu* 歇后语, "stop-short."

202 A reference to Yuan Shu 袁术 (d.A.D.199), who, in cooperation with Lü Bu, (a warlord killed in A.D.198), defeated Liu Bei in a battle and therefore did not consider him a serious contender for power. A few years later, Yuan Shu himself, defeated by Cao Cao, would have liked to seek refuge in his nephew Yuan Tan's 袁谭 stronghold. His passage, however, was blocked by Liu Bei, the same person he had despised before. Frustrated, Yuan Shu fell ill and died in disgrace. See *HHS* 105/5b-9b 袁术传 and 105/9b-15a 吕布传.

203 The affluent state described here is also referred to in WS 110/10a 食货志.

204 Emending *guo xing* 过性, "surpass human nature," to *guo ren* 过任, "over-did," after *TPKC* 165/2b 廉俭部崔光.

205 WS 13/17b (宣武灵皇后传) treats Yuan Rong and Li Chong separately. It reads: "[Li] Chong came to injure his back, and [Yuan] Rong, his foot. Contemporaries have a saying [as follows]:

Chen-liu and Zhang-wu 陈留章武

Injures his back or breaks his thigh. 伤腰折股

The greedy and notorious 贪人败类

Have brought disgrace to our enlightened rulers!" 秽我明主

Note that the last characters at the end of the first, second, and last lines (*wu* 武, *gu* 股, and *zhu* 主) rhyme.

For Li Chong, see Chapter 2 at note 149 under the Zheng-shi Monastery and Chapter 3 at note 204 under the Temple of Prince of Gao-yang. *TC* 149/4a-b has a full account of this story, which seems to have been based on the *Qie-lan ji*.

206 For Cui Guang, see Chapter 2 at note 110 under the Qin Tai shang-jun Monastery and also at note 148 of the same chapter.

207 For the He-yin episode, see Chapter 1 at note 59 under the Yong-ning Monastery.

208 Literally, *yu qi* 郁起, "rise up in great numbers."

209 This festival marked the commemoration of the Buddha's birthday, when the Buddhist images in various temples would be put on parade.

210 Most likely this temple was the former residence of the Prince of He-jian, which had been converted into a temple.

211 That is, "ze,ze 啧啧," sound of admiration.

212 For the Rabbit Park, see Chapter 4 at note 11 under the Chong-jue Temple.

213 Emending *Zhui-guang si* 追光寺 to *Zhui-xian si* 追先寺 after *YHNC* 3/12b.

214 Adding the four characters *zai Shou-qiu li* (在寿丘里, "in Shou-qiu Ward" after *YLTT* 13823/7b).

215 Fourth son of Yuan Ying, Prince of Zhong-shan 中山王. For his biography, see WS



19C/15a-16a and MCCS plate 139.

216 A contraction of *ke-qi ke-yi* 克岐克巖 (*Shi-jing* 17.1/11a [ode 245, verse 4, line 4] 大雅生民). Waley, *Book of Songs*, p.242: "Well he straddled/Well he reared" is not a precise translation. Karlgren's version is: "then he was able to (straddle =) stride, to stand firmly" (*The Book of Odes*, p.201).

217 Literally, *bo-qia qun-shu* 博洽群书.

218 Literally, *nüe-jia zai-fu* 虐加宰辅, which refers to the execution of Yuan Yi, Prince of Qing-he in A.D.520. For Yuan Yi, see Chapter 1 at note 118 under the Jing-le Nunnery, Chapter 4 before note 1 under the Chong-jue Temple.

219 West of modern Lin-zhang *xian* 临漳县, He-nan. For Yuan Xi, see WS 19C/11b-14b; MCCS plate 134.

220 The text (4/14b) gives *si* 四, "four," which is a mistake for *san* 三 "three." See below.

221 Ten days after Yuan Xi's uprising, his subordinates turned against him and effected his arrest. Yuan Xi and his three sons were all subsequently killed. See WS 19C/13b (Yuan Xi's biography) and 14b (Yuan Jing-xian's biography).

222 Literally, *cheng fa she guan* 承乏摄官, a typical expression of humility meaning that Yuan Lie was employed not because of his qualifications but because of an opening. The phrase is a quotation from *Zuo-zhuan* Cheng 215/12b: Legge 5; P.345: "... and to undertake the office [of your charioteer], so supplying your present need." Du Yu's comm.: 摄承空乏.

223 Literally, *luan luan jie yi* 鸾鸾接翼, "wing to wing, the *luan* and *luan* (of the phoenix family)."

224 *Qi* 杞, "medlar," and *zi* 梓, "camphor," (*catalpa kaempferis*) are fine woods; hence good timber. *Guo-yu* 17/124 楚语上: 其[楚]大夫皆卿才也, 若杞梓皮革焉, "The lords of the state of Chu are as talented as you (that is, Qu Jian 屈建), and [as precious as] medlar, camphor, and hide." Wei Zhao's comm.: 杞梓, 良材也, "Medlar and camphor are good timbers."

225 Zhao Zi of the Wu was sent in A.D.200 as an envoy to the Wei. In reply to Emperor Wen of the Wei (regnant A.D.220-226), Zhao Zi said: "[In our country] we have eighty or ninety persons who are unusually wise. As for men of my caliber, there are cartloads-full and bushels-full, impossible to give a clear account." See *Wu-zhi* 2/16b-17a 吴主权本纪 commentary.

226 Modern Xuan-cheng 宣城, An-hui.

227 Literally, *mo bu dan qi jin-zhi* 莫不惮其进止.

228 Modern Ying-de *xian* 英德县, Guang-dong.

229 Jiang Ge was an official of the Qi (A.D.479-502), but later joined the Liang (A.D. 502-557). As a Senior Administrator in the office of the General Quelling the North, he was captured in A.D.525 when the general's headquarter in Peng-cheng (modern Xu-zhou, Jian-su) fell into the hands of the Northern Wei. Repatriated in the same year, he died in his native Liang ten years later. For his biography, see *Liang-shu* 36/4b-8a.

230 The text (4/15b) reads *qin* 亲, "intimate." *Qin* is preferable, since it agrees with a statement in the preceding paragraph that the prince was treated "with courtesies comparable to those of the emperor's own sons," but *IS* (4/12a) gives *ci* 此, "this," instead.

231 Then the border line between the Northern Wei and Liang of the Southern Dynasties.

232 Yi-yang bordered on the Liang. Modern Xin-yang *xian* 信阳县, He-nan.

233 Liu Cang, the eighth son of Emperor Guang-wu, was ennobled as Prince of Dong-ping (modern Dong-ping *xian*, Shan-dong) in A.D.41. When asked by Emperor Ming (regnant A.D.



58-75) what he enjoyed most in his fiefdom, the prince replied: "Doing good deeds is most enjoyable." See *HHS* 72/11a 东平宪王苍传.

234 Cao Zhi, enfeoffed as the Prince of Chen in A.D.232. See *Wei-zhi* 19/36b.

235 Literally, *sheng-biao pan-shi* 声彪磐石, "distinguished himself for his loyalty to the emperor." *SC* 10/3 孝文本纪: 高帝封王子弟地, 犬牙相制, 此所谓磐石之宗也, "Emperor Gao-zu (regnant 206-195 B.C.) ennobled his sons with fiefs, interlocked like dog's teeth. This is to assure [their loyalty to the emperor and mutual assistance among themselves] as solid as a large stone." Sub-comm.: 言其固如磐石, "Meaning the solidarity is comparable to that of a large stone."

236 Literally, *yi-yu wei-cheng* 义郁维城. *Shi-jing* 17.4/20a (ode 234, verse 7, line 6) 大雅板: 宗子维城. Zheng Xuan's comm.: 宗子谓王之适子. "Zong-zi (king's relations) means his legitimate heirs." *Pan-shi* 磐石, "a great stone," and *wei-cheng* 维城, "an alliance of cities," both refer to assistance among feudal lords and their loyalty to the king.

237 Literally, *chi-dan* 弛担. *Zuo-zhuan* Zhuang 庄 22 9/22b: 弛于负担. Du Yu's comm.: 弛, 去离也, "Chi means to be released."

238 Literally, *chuan mei dan qing* 传美丹青, "to transmit good reputation through red and green (that is, paintings)."

239 The text (4/16a) reads 寓食他邑, 求之二三, 未为尽善, the exact meaning of which is not clear. One may surmise that since Yi-yang bordered on the Liang territory, there was no guarantee of political or economic stability. Hence the translation.

240 The famous massacre staged at He-yin (east of modern Meng-jin, He-nan) by Er-zhu Rong, husband of Yuan Lile's aunt. Yuan Lile died on May 17, A.D.528 at forty-three *sui*. See *MCCS* plate 139.

241 See *WS* 19C/16b and *MCCS* plate 139.

242 That is, Yuan Gui 元颢 (颢 is the same as 颢), styled Jing-shi 景式. See *MCCS* plate 139 (*WS* 19C/16b only mentions his style without giving his *ming*).

243 The exact meaning of this sentence *yu Chong-jue si qi deng* 与冲觉寺齐等, "equal to the Chong-jue *si*" is not clear. Originally the Chong-jue Temple was also the Prince of Qing-he's residence. As a very lofty tower was built there, we may surmise that the stūpa in the Rong-jue Monastery was comparable in height to the Chong-jue Temple tower.

244 See *Xu Gao-seng-zhuan* 23/624-625 and Chapter 2 at note 49 under the Chong-zhen Monastery.

245 *Chan-xue* 禅学, literally, "meditational studies," refers loosely to Buddhist studies and is interchangeable with the terms *yi-xue* 义学 (*JS* 4/13a) and *Shi-xue* 释学 (*YLIT* 13823/8b).

246 Dharmakṣema is the translator of this work (Nie-pan 涅槃) in forty *juan*.

247 Buddhahadra (who arrived in China in A.D.406) is the translator of this work (*Hua-yuan* 华严 or 花严) in sixty *juan*. It is known as the Jin 晋, or old, *sūtra* 旧经 as against the Tang 唐 or new 新 *sūtra* translated by Śikṣānanda in about A.D.700.

248 For more information about him, see Chen, *Buddhism in China*, pp.182-183, and *Xu Gao-seng zhuan* 1/428-429 唐译经篇魏南台永宁寺北天竺菩提流支传.

249 According to *Xu Gao-seng zhuan* (1/428-429), he translated some thirty-nine works (totaling one hundred twenty-seven *juan*) into Chinese, a figure at variance with the *Qie-lan ji*. For a partial listing of his translation, see *Xu Gao-seng zhuan*, 1/428.



250 The text (4/16b) comes in a parallel prose couplet that reads:

石室之写金言，草堂之传真教。

The *shi-shi* 石室, "Stone Chamber," is an indirect reference to the "Sūtra of Forty-two Sections" rendered into Chinese by Kāśyapa Mātāṅga after his arrival in Luo-yang in about A.D.67. It was housed in the Stone Chamber of the Orchid Terrace (Bureau of Archives, see Chapter 3 n.48 under the Da-tong Temple); hence the allusion.

251 The Cao-tang Monastery was the place where Kumārajīva (A.D.344-413, var.409) translated Buddhist works into Chinese after his arrival in Chang-an in A.D.401. Both "golden words" and "true transmissions" refer to Buddhist scriptures.

252 *Tan-zhi* 弹指, an expression of greetings among the Indians during the period under discussion. See Mather, *A New Account*, p.86 note 2.

253 The title "Sage of the East," which implies the recognition of China as a center of Buddhism, had been applied earlier to Dao-an 道安 (A.D.312-385) by Kumārajīva. See WS 114/6a 释老志, and *Gao-seng zhuan* 5/354.

254 The text (4/17a) reads *Luo-rui* 洛纳, *rui* 纳 meaning the junction of two rivers. In addition to the Luo River, the other river within sight was the River Yi.

255 That is, *Qi-ting* 旗亭. For its origin, see Chapter 2 at note 16 under the Long-hua Temple.

256 Emending *chan gao* 禅皋 to *shen gao* 神皋 after IS 4/13b. For *shen gao* 神皋, see WH 2/2b 张衡西京赋: 寔惟地之美区神皋. "They are indeed the auspicious and sacred areas of the land." Li Shan's comm.: 广雅曰: 局也, 谓神明之界局也. "*Gao* means an area. It refers to a sacred area."

257 The title of this essay is *Da-jue si bei* 大觉寺碑 "The Memorial of Da-jue Temple." See below. For Wen Zi-sheng, see Chapter 2 at note 124.

258 Identification of the Seven Buddhas varies from one source to another. The *Dirghāgama Sūtra* 长阿含经, as quoted in FYCL 139B/140 七佛部, gives the following seven: Vipasyin 毗婆尸, the first of the seven Buddhas of antiquity; śikhin 尸弃, the second of the seven Buddhas, born in Prabhadvaja; Viśvabhū 毗舍婆, the third of the seven Buddhas, who converted 130,000 persons on two occasions;

Krakucchanda 拘楼孙, the fourth of the seven ancient Buddhas;

Kānakamuni 俱(拘)那含牟尼, the fifth of the ancient Buddhas;

Kāśyapa 迦叶, the sixth of the seven ancient Buddhas;

Śākyamuni 释迦, the historical Buddha.

259 For the Jing-ming Monastery, see Chapter 3.

260 The Prince of Ping-yang was the third son of Yuan Huai. He became the emperor in A.D.532. See Chapter 2 at note 257 under the Ping-deng Monastery and WS 11/10a.

261 See Chapter 2 after note 257 under the Ping-deng Monastery.

262 An incomplete version of this work is available in Ou-yang Xun's *Yi-wen lei-jū* (facsimile ed., Tai-bei, 1960) 77/1b-2a 内典部下寺碑. It does not include the two sentences quoted above at note 257 in the text.

263 Literally, *xian lai fu cou* 咸来辐辏, "All came like spokes [to a hub]."

264 A reference to *Shi-jing* 5.3/12b (ode 113, verse, line 6) 魏风硕鼠: 适彼乐土. Waley, *Book of Songs*, p.309: "And go to that happy land."



265 That is, the Byzantine Empire, also known as Li-xuan 黎轩, believed to be 39,400 *li* away from Ping-cheng (Da-tong, Shan-xi), the old capital of the Northern Wei. "Da-Qin" was a name given by countries in Central Asia because of the resemblance of its costumes, carriages, and banner with those of China. See WS 102/16b 大秦国.

266 Adding *geng-yun* 耕耘 after HCTY 4/15a.

267 The text (4/17b) reads *yi-fu ju-ma, ni-yi Zhong-guo* 衣服车马, 拟仪中国,

"They imitated Chinese costumes, carts, and horses," which bears a striking resemblance to the WS (102/16b) account. The latter is: *yi-fu ju-qi, ni-yi Zhong-guo* 衣服车旗, 拟仪中国, "They imitated Chinese costumes, carts, and banners."

268 Also transliterated as *Jia-ying* 加营, which Fujita Toyohachi identifies as Kulam (He Jian-min, tr., *Zhong-guo Nan-hai gu-dai jiao-tong cong-kao* [Shang-hai, 1936], "Ye-diao, Si-diao ji Si-he-tiao kao," 叶调斯调及私河条考, p.557). Paul Pelliot ("Quelques textes chinois concernant l'Indochine hindouisée," *Études asiatiques* 2 [1925], 243-263), however, believes this state should be located to the south of the Malay Peninsula. Su Ji-qing, on the other hand, asserts that Ge-ying stands for Koyam, an abbreviation for Koyampadi or Koyammaturu, an ancient island state in southern India ("*Jia-ying-gou kao*," *Nan-yang xue-bao* 7:1 [1951], 18-24); see also Sugimoto Naojirō, *Tōnan Ajia-shi kenkyū* 1 (Tokyo, 1968), p.516.

269 The text reads *Pu-ti ba-tuo* 菩提拔拖, which Édouard Chavannes identifies with Buddhahdra. See Chen, *Buddhism in China*, p.109 and Feng Cheng-jun, tr., *Shi-di cong-kao xu-bian* (Shang-hai, 1933), p.45.

270 The text (4/18a) gives *Gou* 勾 for *Ju* 句 through a scribal error. The state is also written as *Jiu-zhi guo* 九稚国 and *Ju-zhi guo* 句稚国. See *Liang-shu* 54/7a 海南传扶南国. Paul Pelliot theorizes that *zhi* 稚 is an error for *li* 离, and that *Jiu-li* 九离, on its part, is another transliteration of *Ju-li* 拘利, a nation mentioned in *Tong-dian* 188/22b-23a 边防典南蛮边斗. See also Feng Cheng-jun, *Shi-di cong-kao xu-bian*, p.13.

271 Emending Sun-dien 孙典 to Dian-sun 典孙. The kingdom of Dun-xun 顿逊, identified with Dian-sun 典孙, is mentioned in *Liang-shu* 54/7a 海南传扶南国. It corresponds to the modern Malay Peninsula.

272 It corresponds to modern Cambodia.

273 That is, Champa (modern Vietnam), famous for such products as tortoise shells, cowries, and cotton trees. See *Liang-shu* 54/1b-2a 林邑传.

274 That is, Yang-zhou 扬州, which during the Liang was a vast territory including what is known today as Jiang-su, Zhe-jiang, and Fu-jian provinces. See Hong Yi-sun, *Bu Liang jiang-yu zhi* (*Er-shi-wu-shi bu-bian* ed.) 1/11.

275 Adding the two characters *jing shi* 京师, "capital," after IS 4/14a.

276 According to Su Ji-qing ("Zhi-hu-li da-jiang yu Jia-na-diao zhou kao" 枝离黎大江与迦那调洲考 as quoted in CC p.236), the correct text should be *Gu nu-diao guo* 古奴调国, identified as the state of Kurnadvipa (one of the modern South Sea Islands). Our text (4/18a) *gu you nu-diao guo* 古有奴调国 is erroneous. See also Sugimoto, *Tōnan Ajia-shi kenkyū* 1, pp. 482-483, 493-494.

277 According to *Nan-zhou yi-wu zhi* 南州异物志 (as quoted in TPYL 787/3a 四夷部南蛮斯调国), Si-diao 斯调 was an island state about three thousand *li* to the southeast of Ge-ying. Fujita Toyohachi identifies this nation with Ceylon. See He Jian-min, tr., *Zhong-guo Nan-hai gu-dai jiao-tong cong-kao*, p.570.



278 Emending *Xi guo* 西国, "Western Kingdoms," to *Xi-yu* 西域, "Western Regions," after *IS* 4/14b.

279 The text (4/18b) is *huo san fang si fang* 或三方四方, "perhaps three directions, four directions," the exact meaning of which is obscure.

280 Emending *Yi-niu li* 宜牛里 to *Yi-nian li* 宜年里 after *YHNC* (3/13a).

281 *Yuan Jing-hao*, son of *Yuan Zuo* 元祚, a member of the imperial clan of the Wei, was later killed by *Gao Yang* 高洋 (later Emperor of Northern Qi, regnant A.D.550-559), in the latter's drive against the royalists of the Wei. See *PCS* 41/10a 元景安传.

282 Style of *Hu Xiang* 胡祥. Son of *Hu Guo-zhen* 胡国珍, he had been Minister within the Palace (*Dian-zhong shang-shu*), Director of the Central Secretariat (*Zhong-shu jian*), and Chief Palace Attendant. For his biography, see *WS* 83B/7b-9a.

283 Name of a commandery created during Northern Wei. It is located in modern He-nan.

284 The text (4/18b) gives *He-nei* 河内, of which *nei* 内 is an obvious mistake for *zhou* 州. *Zhou* 州, as a province, was under the rule of a governor, whereas *jun* 郡 as a commandery, had a grand warden as its chief executive. See *PS* 15/32a 陈留王虔传.

285 Emending *shi* 事 to *shi* 士 after *IS* 4/14b. *Hao-shi* 好士 is a compliment, while *hao-shi* 好事, "to be fond of meddling," is not.

286 Literally, *Dao jia* 道家 "the school of the Way," which means Buddhism here.

287 These four monks have not been positively identified, but *WS* (114/14a-24a 释老志) lists *Seng-chao* 僧超 and *Zhi-dan* 智诞 (*WS* 114/17a gives 诞 for 疑, the latter being a possible corruption for 诞). *Guang* 光 may refer to *Hui-guang* 慧光 (*Xu Gao-seng zhuan* 21/606-608 齐郡下大觉寺释慧光传), and *Rong* 荣 might stand for *Dao-rong* 道荣. *Dao-rong* is often referred to in Chapter 5. *Gou-chen* (4/18a) suggests *Seng-xian* 僧暹, *Hui* (a substitute for *Hui* 慧) *guang* 惠光, *Dao-xi* 道晞, and *Fa-rong* 法荣, all touched upon in *WS* 114/24b 释老志.

*Tsukamoto Zenryū* offers a more detailed discussion of the four monks. See his *Gisho Shaku-Rō-shi no kenkyū*, pp.226, 256, and 307.

288 No additional information is available for *Meng Zhong-hui* and his father *Meng Bin*.

289 Modern Wu-wei, Gan-su.

290 Modern Lan-zhou 兰州, Gan-su.

291 Literally, *Si-di* 四谛, that is, *ku* 苦, "misery"; *ju* 聚, "accumulation of passion"; *mie* 灭, "extinction of passion"; and *dao* 道, "the path that leads to the extinction of passion."

292 *ren zhong* 人中. See also Chapter 2 at note 56 under the *Chong-zhen* Monastery.

293 The text (4/18a) reads *Xu-yu-mi bao-zuo* 须臾弥宝座, "the holy seat of Sumeru." *Xu-mi* 须弥 is the translation of Sumeru, and *Xu-mi bao-zuo* 须弥宝座 (*zuo* 坐 also written *zuo* 座) is a holy throne for Buddha. The character *yu* 臾 is perhaps an interpolation.

294 The text (4/19b) gives *kai fu* 开府, "palatine." The governor to whom this passage refers cannot be identified.

295 From the next paragraph to the end of this chapter, the description is unrelated to the *Yong-ming* Monastery under discussion. *Chong-kan* (4/36b) therefore treats all of them as footnotes, which, according to the author, should be moved up to the section dealing with the *Tiao-yin* and *Yue-lü* Wards (under the *Xi-yang* Gate of this chapter).

296 Literally, *zhong chao* 中朝. For a discussion of *zhong-chao* 中朝, see Chapter 1 at note 167 under the *Yong-ning* Monastery and under the *Chang-qiu* Temple of the same



chapter.

297 See *Jin-shu* 59/38b-42b 河间王颙传 and 60/16a-18b 张方传.

298 Phonetically, a contraction of "fu-ren" yields the sound "fen."

299 The exact locality of the dam is controversial. It is determined either at twenty-five *li* west of Luo-yang (Yang Quan-qi's 杨佺期 *Luo-yang ji* 洛阳记 as quoted in Li Shan's comm. for *WH* 30/14b 沈约三月三日率尔成篇) or fifteen *li* east of He-nan *xian* (*SCC* 16/7a 穀水注 quoting *He-nan shi-er-xian-jing-bu* 河南十二县境簿).

300 Chen Xie's personal name is written as Xie 颉 in the text (4/19b). Chen Xie was appointed by Emperor Wen of the Jin on the recommendation by Ruan Ji, one of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, who often received gifts of wine from Chen Xie. In the process of construction, Chen Xie is said to have found underground six antique bronze, dragon-shaped water receptacles. The dam was also known, then, as the Jiu-long-yan 九龙堰 "Nine-dragon Dam." See *SCC* 16/7b 穀水注 quoting *Yu-lin* 语林.

The mention of water power in this paragraph is an obvious reference to the many water mills built along the dam for business purposes. See also Chapter 3 at note 13 under the Jing-ming Monastery.





NOTES

CHAPTER 5

- 1 CS(5/179) suggests the inclusion of the character *wai* 外, "outside," which is not in the text.
- 2 YLTT 13824/1a gives Feng Seng-xiang 冯僧相 instead.
- 3 The text (5/1a) is *di-jiao* 抵角, but *jiao-di* 角抵 is more conventional in Chinese literature. For its origin, see SC 87/36 李斯传: [二世]方作殿抵优俳之观; HS 6/27b 武纪: [元封]三年春作角抵戏。The game often involved wrestling, acrobatics, archery, and horse racing.
- 4 Adding *qu* 渠 after YLTT 13824/1a. A bodyguard (*bei-shen zuo-you* 备身左右) loyal to Empress Dowager Hu, he and a score of others were killed by Liu Teng after their abortive uprising in A.D.520 against the latter. See PS 13/20a 宣武灵皇后胡氏传。
- 5 The text (5/1a) is *lou* 楼, which might have been a raised platform as part of the reviewing stand.
- 6 The Western Jin is indicated by the term *zhong-chao* 中朝。See Chapter 1 at note 7 under the Yong-ning Monastery, note 167 under Chang-qi Temple of the same chapter, and also Chapter 4 at note 296 under the Yong-ming Monastery.
- Actually, the grounds had been in use during the Wei and Western Jin periods. The "Zhu-lin qi-xian lun" 竹林七贤论, as quoted in the SCC 16/13b 穀水注, makes a mention of Wang Rong 王戎(A.D.234-305) then a boy of seven years and later a member of the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove," as among those on the reviewing stand. See also Shi-shuo xin-yu B/25a 雅量篇(Mather, *A New Account*, p.181). For Emperor Wu's (regnant A.D.265-290) review under the Jin, see *Shi-shuo xin-yu* B/36b 识蓂篇(ibid., p.198).
- 7 Alfalfa, usually called *huai-feng* 怀风, is also known as *guang-feng* 光风 for its bright color. A favorite food of horses, it is also suitable for human consumption. See *xi-jing za-ji* 1/2 and CMYS 3/15a.
- 8 Emending to Ning-xuan 凝玄 after IS (5/1a) and YLTT (13824/1a).
- 9 WS 94/18b gives *Can* 粲 as Jia's personal name. A eunuch partisan of the Yuan Cha and Liu Teng clique, he was responsible for the initial downfall of Empress Dowager Hu in A.D.520. Following her restoration to power in A.D.525, Jia Chan was first moved out of the capital, then murdered soon after in Ji-zhou. See WS 94/18a-b.
- 10 This is the only case in which the author used the character *zhu* 注, "note," to draw a line between the note and the main text (*He-jiao* 5/1a-b), but Chen Yin-ke considers the presence of this character more accidental than intentional ("Du Luo-yang qie-lan ji shu hou" A/600-605).
- 11 The text (5/1b) reads *guang* 广, "wide", which, according to CS (5/180), might have been a corruption for *miao* 廟 "temple." The abbreviated form of *miao* 廟 is 廡(or 庙), which has a striking graphic resemblance to *guang* 广。The location of this shrine, however, is not given elsewhere.
- 12 That is, father of the founder of the Han, Liu Bang, otherwise known as Gao-zu 高祖。
- 13 Adding *Can* 璨 at the suggestion of CS 5/181.
- 14 The text (5/1) is *wu-yan* 五言, meaning poems in the style of five characters per line.



The term 五言 is, therefore, used here loosely to mean poetry or songs.

15 The text (5/1b) is Shang gao jing 上高景 (IS 5/1b gives Shang-gao li 上高里). According to HHS 59/6a, Emperor Guang-wu gave Bao Yong 鲍永 a residence in the Shang-li 商里 in Luo-yang, a location identified with the Shang-shang Ward in the northeast of the capital city, so named because it was originally a settlement of the Yin (or Shang) people. (Before Emperor Pan-geng 盘庚 [regnant 1525-1506 B.C.] moved the capital to Yin 殷 [west of modern Yan-shi 偃师, He-nan]; Yin is also known as Shang.) The HHS entry agrees with the *Qie-lan ji* in both historical background and geographical location of the ward in question. HHS 59/6a 鲍永传: [光武] 赐永洛阳商里宅. Comm.: 东观记曰: 赐洛阳上商里宅. 陆机洛阳记曰: 上商里在洛阳东北, 本殷顽人所居, 故曰上商里宅也.

16 For the origin of the term *wan min* 顽民, "refractories," see *Shu-king* 16/1a 多士序: 成周既成, 迁殷顽民. Legge 3, P.10: "Preface to the Shoo King": "When Ching Chow was completed, the obstinate people of Yin were removed to it." Kong An-guo's comm.: 殷大夫士心不则德义之经, 故徒近王都教诲之.

17 To establish geographical and genealogical relationships between the Luo-yang residents and the Yin people was a favorite satirical practice among intellectuals of the time. See the exchange of such remarks between Cheng Yan 成淹 and Wang Su (WS 79/3b 成淹传).

18 Literally, *zao wa zhe* 造瓦者, "those who make tiles"; possibly all makers of earthenware are included.

Compare with Ho Ping-ti's translation, "Lo-yang, A.D.495-534," P.88.

19 The text (5/1b) reads Luo-yang *cheng* 洛阳城 "Luo-yang city," but IS 5/1b has only two characters Luo *cheng* 洛城, "Luo[-yang] city." The IS version is perhaps better since it limits the line to seven characters to agree with the following three lines. The translation follows IS.

20 Parenthesized phonetics in this and following notes represent those of the Northern Dynasties period. I am grateful to Dr. Ding Bang-xin for his assistance in providing the phonetics.

*Li* (lǐei) 里, which rhymes with *zhi* 止, *zi* 子, and *chi* 耻 in the next three lines.

21 *Zhi* (tǐei).

22 *Zi* (tsǐei).

23 *Chi* (thǐei).

24 Literally, *yu-qi qi-zhong* 游憩其中, "to live leisurely in it."

25 Literally *bang jun* 邦君, "rulers of [vassal] kingdoms."

26 No further information about him is available.

27 Southeast of modern Lin-tao 临洮, Gan-su.

28 Known as *shuang-sheng* (song-šjɛŋ) 双声 or *ti-yu* 体语 (PS 90/6a-b 艺术徐之才传), it was a favorite pastime among intellectuals in both Southern and Northern Dynasties.

29 *Shi-shui* (dǐjæjī-dǐjiei) 是谁.

30 *Di-zhai* (diei-dreŋ) 第宅.

31 *Guo-jia* (kuǎ-kæi) 过佳.

32 *Guo guan-jun jia* (Kuak-kuan-kjuen ka) 郭冠军家.

33 *Fan-bi* (bjuam-bjæi) 凡婢.

34 *Shuang-sheng* (song-šjɛŋ) 双声.

35 Literally, *ning-nu* (nrɛŋ-nuo) 俾奴.

*Ning* is a contraction of *ning-xin* 宁馨. See Wen Ting-shi, *Chun-chang-zi zhi-yu* (Shang-

hai?, 1943) 14/32b-33a: 俾即宁馨之合音, 与此字义相对, 又宋以来, 词曲多称彼人为那人, 那字亦宁馨合音, “*Ning* is a contraction of *ning-xin*; its sound and meaning fit well here. In the *ci* and songs written after the Song [dynasty], *na-ren* is used to mean ‘that man’-*na* is also a contraction of *ning-xin*.”

36 Man-ma (man-mā) 慢骂。

37 Song Yun was the chief delegate to go to India in search of Buddhist scriptures. The following pages are based on his account of the pilgrimage.

38 Created as a commandery in A.D.526 under the jurisdiction of Gua-zhou 瓜州 (modern Dun-huang, Gan-su). See *Tong-Jin Nan-bei-chao yu-di biao*, 3/283.

39 Hui-sheng accompanied Song Yun to India. This and the following sentence about Hui-sheng and Song Yun's trip to the Western Regions are repetitious. *IS* (5/2a) deletes twenty-three characters in the same paragraph and makes it more meaningful.

40 For a brief account of Song Yun's travel to Gandhāra and Udyāna, see also Joseph E. Schwartzberg, ed., *A Historical Atlas of South Asia* (Chicago, 1978), p.183.

41 The conventional order for keeping a chronological record is (1) year, (2) season, (3) month, and (4) day. In this case, season (winter) comes after month 榷 n unusual order. The *TPYL* quotation (657/2b 释部经) omits the character “winter” and is therefore more acceptable.

42 The exact date of their departure and subsequent return to Luo-yang varies greatly from one source to another. The following is a partial listing:

Source	Date of Departure	Date of Return
WS 102/19b-20a 西域啾哒传	between A.D.516 and A.D.518	between A.D.520 and A.D.525
PS 97/25a 啾哒传	between A.D.516 and A.D.518	between A.D.520 and A.D.525
WS 114/10a-b 释老志	A.D.516	A.D.522(winter)
<i>Fo-zu tong-ji</i> 38/355	A.D.521	A.D.523
<i>Shi-jia fang-zhi</i> B/969	A.D.518	
<i>Bei-Wei seng Hui-sheng shi Xi-yu ji</i> ( <i>Taishō</i> ed.) pp.866-867	Dec.A.D.518 or Jan.A.D.519	A.D.521

For a French translation of Song Yun's travels, see Édouard Chavannes, “Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra,” *BEFEO* 3(1903), 279-441. See also Nagasawa Kazutoshi's Japanese translation of the Chinese, entitled *Sōun kōki in Tōyō bunko*, vol. 194, first ed. (Tokyo, 1971), pp.163-216; Uchida Ginpū, “Kōgi Sōun shaku Keisei Seiiki kyūkyōki kōsho josetsu,” in *Tsukamoto hakushi shōju kinen Bukkyōshigaku ronsō* (Kyoto, 1961), pp.113-124.

43 Emending *Chong-li* 崇立 to *Chong-ling* 崇灵 after *TPYL* 657/2b.

44 A city by that name close to the river Bu-ka-yin-ge-er 布喀音噶尔 (Boukhaingol) bordering on China and the Tu-yu-hun. It lies in modern Qing-hai 青海, (Tsinghai or Kokonor). *Xin Tang-shu* (Yi-wen facsimile ed.) 40/3b-14a 地理志 (under Shan-zhou 鄯州) lists a number of cities between Shan-zhou 鄯州 and Chi-ling 赤岭, (at an interval of sixty or one hundred li. *CC* (5/260) suggests that the *Xin Tang-shu* account may have been based on Song Yun's recorded itinerary.

45 The story about cohabitation of birds and mice is recorded in many ancient texts, including *Er-ya* 10/9a 释鸟 and *HS* 28B/3b-5a 地理志陇西郡, and such accounts seem to have



been common in Gan-su and Chinese Turkestan. See *Yi-wen lei-ju* 92/3b quoting *Sha-zhou ji* 沙州记 and Xu Song, *Xi-Yu shui-dao ji* (Facsimile ed., Tai-pei, 1966) 5/2a 赛喇木淖尔所受水. The size and color of such birds and mice vary from one source to another, but they belong to "different species of the same family." It is likely that the birds made no nests but lived in the caves of the mice instead.

46 Liu-sha, also known as Sha-zhou 沙州, refers to the desert stretching from west of modern An-xi 安西, Gan-su, to Tu-lu-fan (Turfan) 吐鲁番, Xin-jiang 新疆.

47 For Tu-yu-hun (in modern Kokonor), see Wada Hironori, "Toyokukon to Nambokuryōchō to no kankei ni tsuite," *Shigaku* 25:2(1951), 80-103.

48 Emending *kuang tong Wei* 况同魏 to *Yi-fu tong Wei* 衣服同魏 after *Chong-kan* 5/39a.

49 Shan-shan, otherwise known as Lou-lan 楼兰 during the Western Han, was located to the east of Lopnor. Lou-lan is sometimes translated as Lao-lan 牢兰 (*Shi-shi Xi-yu ji* 释氏西域记, as quoted in SCC 2/7a-b). For an exhaustive study of Lou-lan, see Nagasawa Kazutoshi, *Rōran-ōkoku*, in *Regulus Library* vol.64 (Tokyo, 1976).

50 Between *jin cheng* 金城 "now the city," and *shi* 是, "is," *IS* (5/2b) and *CT* (5/3a) have two additional characters *nei zhu* 内主, "within ruler." Hence, the translation.

51 Zuo-mo 左末, which Thomas Watters (*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 629-645 A. D., 2 vols., London, 1904-1905, II, 343-344) identifies as modern Charchan, is also transliterated in Chinese as Qie-mo 且末 (*Bei-Wei seng Hui-sheng shi Xi-yu ji*, p.866 and WS 102/4a 西域传), Ju-mo 沮末 (*Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 12/140), or 沮沫 (*Shi-jia fang-zhi* A/951 遗迹篇第四).

52 The text (5/2a) gives *bu-zhi yong niu, lei-si er tian* 不知用牛, 未耜而田 which my translation follows. After the character *tian* is a blank, followed by two more characters *Zhong-guo* 中国, making the meaning unclear.

53 Adding *shi* 时, "time," after *Bei-Wei seng Hui-sheng shi Xi-yu ji*, p.866.

54 The expedition took place between A.D.383 and 385. See Richard B.Mather, tr., *Biography of Lü Kuang* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959), pp.31-37.

55 Identified by Ding Qian, *Song Yun qiu-jing-ji di-li kao-zheng*, in *Zhe-jiang tu-shu-guan cong-shu* (Hang-zhou, 1915) as Mo-guo 末国. Also see *Liang-shu* 54/34a. It was also the site of *Jing-jue guo* 精绝国 of the Han.

56 The text (5/3a) is *ping-tou* 平头, "flat-headed," the exact meaning of which is not clear, and which is here tentatively translated as "flat-roofed."

57 *TPYL* (657/4b 释部像) quotes the *Qie-lan ji* and gives Han-mo 捍摩 (west of modern Yu-tian), which is identified as Han-mi 扞弥, and Pi-mo 婢摩 in the *Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 12/139-140. See also Sir Mark Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan* (Oxford, 1907), I, pp.455-460.

58 The assignment of certain numbers of households to render manual services for temples is a Northern Wei institution initiated by Tan-yao 昙曜. See Chen, *Buddhism in China*, p.154 ff.

59 Literally, "statues sixteen Chinese feet tall" - the symbolic height of Buddha.

60 The importance of these three dates is not clear.

61 Identified by Chavannes ("Voyage de Song Yun," p.393 n.6) as the banner of Fa-xian 法显, the first important pilgrim who left China in A.D.399 for India in search of Buddhist sutras. See Chen, *Buddhism in China*, pp.89-93.

The text (5/3b) gives Yao-Qin 姚秦, but *IS* (5/3b) gives Yao Xing 姚兴 (regnant A.D.

394-416). The translation follows *IS*.

62 See Ji Bin, tr., "Yu-tian guo kao" ("Utenkokukō") by Hori Kentoku, *Yu-gong* 4 (September 1935), 67-82.

63 For the *jin-ze* 金釧, "golden crown," see *Liang-shu* 54/33b 于闐國傳.

64 Literally, *zuo you dai dao* 左右帶刀, "the attendants on both the left and right carried knives."

65 To slash the face as an expression of sorrow was a Xiong-nu custom followed by the people of other countries in the Western Regions. See *HHS* 49/12a 耿秉傳: 匈奴聞秉卒, 舉國號哭, 或至梨面流, "When the Xiong-nu heard about [Geng] Bing's death, everyone in the country cried out. Some even slashed their faces to cause bleeding." Comm.: 黎即劓字, 古通用也。劓, 割也, "Li 梨 is the same as li 劓; they were interchangeable in ancient times. Li 劓 means to slash." *Xin Tang-shu* 122/27b 郭元振傳: 召为太御, 将行, 安西酋长有劓面哭送者, "[Guo Yuan-zhen] was summoned [by the court] to be the supervisor [of the Court] of Imperial Stud. By the time of his departure, some chieftains of the An-xi [area] slashed their face, cried out, and sent him off."

66 Chavannes ("Voyage de Song Yun," p.396 n.2) suggests *si* 思, "think," as a mistake for *si* 祀, "sacrifice." But *yi shi si zhi* 以时思之, "at times think of him," is a direct quotation from *Xiao-jing* 9/3a 喪祭章, so Chavannes's suggestion is irrelevant.

67 Adding *xi* 昔, "in the past," after *CS* 5/189.

68 Adding *hu* 胡, "barbarian," after *TPYL* 968/2b 果部杏.

69 Also known as Mahāvairocana, he is considered by some as the Tathāgata who reveals the far-reaching treasure of his eye, that is, the sun.

70 Emending *hu nu* 忽怒, "suddenly angry," to *fen-nu* 忿怒, "angry," after *TPYL* 968/2b 果部杏.

71 *Ru-lai* 如来, that is, Tathāgata. For *Ru-lai* 如来, see *Fan-yi ming-yi ji* 1/3 十大弟子篇。

72 Emending *qu* 窟, "body," to *suo* 所, "place," after *CS* 5/190.

73 For Luo-hou-luo 罗睺罗 (Rāhula), one of the ten chief disciples of Śākyamuni, the master of the esoteric.

74 *SCC* (2/5a-b 河水注) refers to the same object as made of stone, but *YYTT* (10/57) agrees with the *Qie-lan ji* account.

For Pi-zhi fo 辟支佛 (Pratyeka Buddha, one who is diligent and zealous in seeking wisdom, loves loneliness and seclusion), see *Fan-yi ming-yi ji* 1/10 三乘通言篇。

75 Also transliterated as Zhu-ju-bo 朱俱波 (*WS* 102/10a 于闐疏勒傳, Zhu-ju-pan 朱俱槃 (*Xin Tang-shu* 221A/22b 疏勒傳, Zhe-ju-jia 遮拘迦 (*SPC* 12/103), and Zuo-ju-jia 斫句迦 (*Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 12/135).

Identified by P.C. Bagchi (*CS* 5/191) as Cokkuka between the Yarkand and Tisnaf Rivers.

76 Emending *mian mai* 面麦, "wheat noodles," to *mai fu* 麦麸, "wheat and bran," after *IS* 5/4a.

77 Also transliterated and written as Ke-pan-tuo 渴槃陀 (*WS* 102/20a 渴槃陀傳), 渴盤陀 (*Liang-shu* 54/34a 渴盤陀), He-pan-tuo 喝盤陀, Han-tuo 汉陀, Ke-fan-tan 渴飯檀, or Ke-luo-tuo 渴羅陀 (*Xin Tang-shu* 121A/22b 疏勒傳) and jie(?)-pan-tuo 揭盤陀 (*Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 12/133). It lay in what is known today as Tashkurghan and in the Sarikol area. See Mizutani Shinjo, ed., *Dai-Tō Seiki ki* (in *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikai*, Tokyo, 1971), p.384 n.1. See



also Zhang Xing-lang, *Zhong-xi jiao-tong shi-liao hui-bien*, 6 vols. (Bei-ping, 1930), 6, 313; and Feng Cheng-jun, tr., *Xi Tu-jue shi-liao* (a translation of *Documents sur les T'ou-Kiue occidentaux* by Édouard Chavannes, St. Petersburg, 1903; Shang-hai, 1934), pp.93-94.

For Ke-pan-tuo and other neighboring countries that Song Yun visited, see Matsuda Xiao, *Kodai rekishichirigaku-teki kenkyū* (revised ed., Tokyo, 1974), "Gisho Seiikiden no gimmi" 魏書西域傳の吟味.

78 That is, the Pamirs.

79 *IS* (5/4a) gives Bo-meng 钵猛. No identification is available.

80 *San-bai* 三百, "three hundred," is added after a quotation of the *Qie-lan ji* in *TPKC* 418/6a 龙类宋云, but the *TPYL*(930/31 麟介部龙) quotation of the same source reads *wu-bai* 五百, "five hundred."

81 Emending *zhou* 咒, "curse," which agrees with *IS* (5/4a) and *CT* (5/6a), to *fan* 泛, "overflowing," that is, to drown them by inundation, after the *TPYL* and *TPKC* quotations referred to in note 80.

82 *IS* (4/4a) reads Wu-chang 乌苾, which is the state of Udyāna. For Wu-chang 乌苾, see below at note 113.

83 For the Tai-hang, see Chapter 2 at note 247 under the Ping-deng Monastery and note 128 in Chapter 3.

84 The Meng-men range is located to the east of the Tai-hang near Hui-xian 辉县, He-nan. Both Tai-hang and Meng-men are referred to in the *SC* (65/15 吴起传) as strategic points.

85 Same as Yao-shan 姚山, which is the east end of the Han-gu Pass 函谷关, Shan-xi.

86 Northwest of Long-xian 陇县, Shan-xi, a strategic point in the western section of the Han-zhong 汉中 area.

87 The text (5/5b) is *yi yue zhong xia* 依约中下, the exact meaning of which is unclear.

88 Adding three characters *ru Xi-hai* 入西海, "into the West Sea," after *IS* 5/4b and *CT* 5/6b. The phrase is perhaps derived from *HS* 96A/17a 西域传: 于阗之西, 水皆西流, 注西海, "West of Yu-tian, all waterways flow westward into the West Sea."

89 Identified as the Fu-xi-duo River 负徙多河 (the Sita), by Zhang Xing-lang, *Zhong-xi jiao-tong* 6 古代中国与印度之交通, P.213 n.15; and Li Guang-ting, *Han Xi-yu tu-kao* (1870 ed.) 1/13a, in a note quoting the *Tang-shu*.

90 Same as Shu-le 疏勒, modern Ka-shi go-er 喀什噶尔 (Kachgar). See Feng Cheng-jun, *Xi Tu-jue* p.92 and Zhang Xing-lang, *Zhong-xi jiao-tong* 6, 313 n.16.

91 A comparable account of this state is also available *WS* (102/20a) 钵和国. It reads in part: 其土尤寒, 人畜同居, 穴地而处, 又有大雪山, 望若银峰, "It was particularly cold. People and animals lived together in caves. There was a great snowy mountain, which resembled a silver cliff."

92 Emending He-da 嚙哒 to Ye-da 叶哒 after *WS* (102/19a) 叶哒传 *IS* 5/5a reads, 嚙哒). The people of Ye-da were a branch of the Da-yue-zhi, the Indo-Scythians who resided in Central Asia.

93 Literally, *xiang-tu bu-shi wen-zi* 乡土不识文字. Here *xiang-tu* 乡土 is translated freely.

94 For *yin* and *yang*, see Chapter 2 note 175.

95 The text (5/6a) is *yue wu da-xiao* 月无大小, "[They knew not] the difference between a plus and a common month." It perhaps refers to the lunar system.



96 Identified as modern Tirthut by Zhang Xing-lang, *Zhong-xi jiao-tong* 6, 313 n.20.

97 That is, modern Tölbö or Teulès. See Feng Cheng-jun, *Xi Tu-jue* p.157 n.3.

98 That is, Persia, modern Iran.

99 Literally, *chao-he* 朝贺, "To pay tribute at court and offer congratulations [as occasions demanded]."

100 Literally, *yi-jiao* 一角, "a cornered or horned [turban]." These three sentences are misplaced under "three Chinese feet long." The translation follows the sentence order as suggested in *CS* 5/196 and *CC* 5/288.

101 The text (5/6b) gives *qi* or *ji* 奇, which has the same meaning as *xie* 斜 (old script for modern 斜, meaning "diagonal"). See *CC* 5/295, note 7.

102 Adding the character *chu* 珠, "pearls," after *CS* 5/196-197.

103 The text (5/7a) reads *ru zuo jin-chuang, yi liu-ya bai-xiang si shi-zi wei chuang* 入金床, 以六牙白象四狮子为床. According to *CS* (5/197), *shi-zi chuang* 狮子床 (*sinihāsana*) is a bejeweled sedan chair placed on the back of an elephant. The text uses the character *chuang* 床 twice in as many sentences and thus sounds repetitious.

For the "six-tusked white elephant," see Chapter 1 at note 169 under the Chang-qi Temple.

104 The text (5/7a) gives *you jiao* 有角, "to have a cornered [turban]." According to *WS* (101/19a), it was customary among the Ye-da women to knot the corners of their turbans to indicate how many husbands they had. Xuan-zang 玄奘 (*Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 12/131 晒摩咀嚩国) claimed that this custom originated among the Turks.

105 The text (5/7a) is *si-yi* 四夷, "four barbarians," normally meaning the four barbarians bordering on China's east, west, north, and south. Here the term seems to refer to the state of Ye-da as more powerful than the four others in the same area: the Die-luo, Chi-le, Bo-si and Yu-tian.

106 Possibly Zoroastrianism.

107 The definition of the seven treasures varies from one source to another. Generally, the terms refer to such valuables as gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, agate (or coral), rubies, and amber. See Jiang-liang-ye-she, tr., *Fo-shuo Guan-wu-liang-shou fo jing* (*Taishō* ed.), p.342.

108 The text (5/7a) gives Bo-si 波斯, *si* 斯 being an error for *zhi* 知. See Fujita Toyohachi, *Hui-chao wang Wu-tian-zhu zhuan jian-shi* (Bei-ping, 1931), pp.83b-84a.

109 *WS* (102/20b 波知国) gives three, rather than two, ponds, occupied by the dragon, its wife, and its son.

110 The text (5/7b) is 祭祀龙王, 然后平复. The term *ping-fu* 平复, "restoration to normalcy," seems to refer to the lost vision. The translation is based on *WS* 102/20b, which reads: 行人经之, 设祭乃得过: 不祭, 多遇见雨.

111 Same as Bo-lu-luo 钵露罗 (*Bolora*) in the *Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 3/31. Also see *WS* 102/20b under *She-mi guo* 舍弥国, and *Xin Tang-shu* 221B/8b under *Xiao Bo-lu* 小勃律.

112 Literally, 是以行者望风谢路耳, "As a result, travelers would gaze at the wind and decline to take [this] route." *WS* 102/20b (*She-mi guo*) states explicitly that Song Yun was unable to reach this state because of the hazards involved.

113 Also written as Wu-chang 乌苾 (*WS* 102/20b), Wu-chang 乌长 (*Kao-seng Fa-xian zhuan*, p.858 and *SCC* 1/5b 河水注, Wu-cha 乌茶 (*Kai-yuan shi-jiao lu* 6/543 and *Fan-yi ming-yi ji* 3/1098), and Wu-zhang-na 乌仗那 (*Da-Tang Xi-yu ji*) 3/28.





For a detailed study of Wu-chang (on the bank of modern Swat or Svat River), see Mizutani, *Dai-Tō Seiki ki*, pp.99-100 nn.1 to 7; and A.Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, I, *The Buddhist Period* (London, 1871), pp.69-70.

114 Lin-zi was a major metropolis in the ancient state of Qi. See Chapter 2 note 134.

115 A reference to *Shi-jing* 16.2/16a (ode 237, verse 3, line 1) 大雅绵: 周原膺膺. Waley, *Book of Songs*, p.248: "The plain of Chou was very fertile."

116 The capital city of the ancient state of Qin near modern Xi-an, Shan-xi.

117 Bi-luo is also known as Xu-da-na 须大拿(Sudāna) who, against the will of his wife, gave up a son and a daughter to serve as slaves of a Brahmin. Buddha was a reincarnation of this prince. See Sheng-jian, tr., *Tai-zi Xu-da-na jing* (*Taishō* ed.), p.422; and *Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 2/25 under Jian-tuo-luo guo 健驮罗国.

118 A reference to Mahāsattva, the youngest son of King Mahāratha, who fed a tigress and its newly born cubs with his own blood. Mahāsattva was an incarnation of the future Tathāgata. See Fa-sheng, tr., *Pu-sa tou-shen si-e-hu qi-ta yin-yuan jing* (*Taishō* ed.), pp.426-427.

119 Literally, *ren qi yin zhuo* 任其饮啄, "Let him drink and peck."

120 The text (5/8a) is *qing zhuo ze yan* 清浊则验, "Innocent (clear) or guilty (dirty) is verified."

121 The text (5/8a) is *bai-gu* 百谷, "hundred crops," and *wu-guo* 五果, "five fruits." According to the *Fan-yi ming-yi ji* (3/88 五果篇), the "five fruits" refer to (1) stone fruits (such as dates and apricots), (2) soft-skinned fruits (such as pears), (3) shell fruits (such as coconuts and walnuts), (4) cone-fruits *gui-guo* 榧果(such as pine seeds), and (5) five-cornered fruits *wu-jiao guo* 五角果(such as beans).

122 Literally, 夜闻钟声, 遍满世界, "At night one could hear bells [reverberating] everywhere in the world."

123 Literally, *dong xia xiang jie* 冬夏相接, "Winter followed summer in the production of such flowers."

124 Emending 国王见宋云云: 大魏使来 to 国王见大魏使宋云来 after *IS* 516a.

125 A custom prevailing in this area to show the utmost respect. *Mu-tian-zi zhuan* 穆天子传 (*SPTK suo-ben*) 吾乃膜拜而受. Guo Pu's 郭璞 (A.D.276-324) comm.: 今之胡人礼佛, 举手加头, 称南膜拜者, 即此类也.

126 The nineteen characters between "learning" (Chinese *wen* 闻) and "Wei languages" (Chinese *Wei-yu* 魏语) are not found in *IS* 5/6a.

127 This sentence ends with the particle *ye* 也, which is an equivalent of *Ye* 耶, the latter signifying a question. See Wang Yin-zhi, *Jing-zhuan shi-ci* (Bei-jing, 1956; a facsimile of 1868 ed.) 24/98-100.

128 One of the three fabulous islands in the eastern sea where immortals lived. The other two islands were Fang-zhang 方丈 and Ying-zhou 瀛州. See *HS* 25A/12b 郊祀志; also see Chapter 1 at note 287 under the Jing-lin Monastery.

129 Guan Lu (A.D.208-256) was a famous diviner of Wei during the Three Kingdoms period. See *Wei-zhi* 29/19a-43b.

130 A famous physician of Wei during the Three Kingdoms period, who was killed on the order of Cao Cao(A.D.155-220). See *HHS* 112B/5b-8a.

131 A well-known magician of the Later Han (A.D.25-220) and a contemporary of Cao Cao (A.D.155-220). See *HHS* 112B/12b-13b.

132 For more information about Tathāgata's attempt at converting the populace, see *Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 3/28, *Fo-shuo pu-sa ben-xing jing* B/116; Jia-ba-tuo-luo, tr., *Shan-jian lü-pi-po-sha* (*Taishō* ed.) 2/685; and An Fa-qin, tr., *A-yu-wang zhuan* (*Taishō* ed.) 4/16 摩提提因緣.

133 Also transliterated as *seng-jia-di* (samghāṭi) 僧伽胝 (*CC* 5/310), a patch-garment of a monk reaching from shoulders to the knee and fastened around the waist. See Takakusu Junjirō, tr., *Nankai kiki naihō den* (Kyoto, 1913), p.54.

134 For *jia sha* 袈裟, see *Fan-yi ming-yi ji* 7/212-213.

135 For more information about this stone, see *Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 3/28.

136 The text (519a) reads *dai* 待, "awaits," but *TPYL* 930/3a 鱗介部龙 is *shi* 诗, "to rely upon." The translation follows the latter.

137 Also known as *chi-mu* 齿木, the willow branch that was used by Indians to cleanse the teeth. See Takakusu, *Nankai kiki naihō den*, p.55.

138 Identity unknown.

139 *IS* (5/7b) reads *liu shi* 六十, "sixty."

140 This perhaps refers to the quinquennial assembly touched upon in the *Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 1/5 under *Qu-zhi guo* 屈支国.

141 Adding the character *zhi* 至, "arrive," after *CS* 5/203.

142 Adding the character *si* 饲 (or *yi* 饴) according to the title of a famous sūtra devoted to this subject. The title is *Pu-sa tou-shen si-e-hu qi-ta yin-yuan jing* (p.424), as noted earlier. It deals with the youngest son of Mahāratha, Prince Mahāsatva, who let out his blood to feed a tigress and its newly born cubs, which were unable to find food for themselves. See *Pu-sa tou-shen si-e-hu qi-ta yin-yuan jing* p.426; Shao-de and Hui-xun, trs., *Pu-sa ben-sheng man lun* (*Taishō* ed.) 1/332-333 投身饲虎缘起第一; *Xian-yu jing* 贤愚经 1/352 摩诃萨埵以身施虎品第二; and Kang Seng-hui, *Liu-du ji-jing* (*Taishō* ed.) 1/2 布施度无机章第一.

143 Mo-xiu is perhaps identifiable with Mo-yu 摩愉 (Masura) as recorded in *Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 3/29. See *CC* 5/314.

144 For the sake of recording the holy law (*jie* 偈, *gāthā*), the Buddha as Brahmā-Saṃghapati (the father of all living things) cut off a piece of his own skin to be used as paper. See *Fo-shuo pu-sa ben-xing jing* C/119.

145 Same as *Tan-te-shan* 檀特山 (*WS* 102/21a 乌长国) and *Tan-duo-luo-jia-shan* 弹多落迦山 (Dantaloka). See *Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 2/25 under *Jian-tuo-luo guo* 健驮罗国.

146 Literally, *tai-zu yu-chen* 太族御辰, "[when] the third semi-tone in a standard ancient pitch pipe is in season," that is, the third month or early spring. For *tai-cu* 太族, see *Li-ji* 14/9a-b 月令孟春之月.

147 According to the *Tai-zi Xu-da-na jing* (p.422), Prince Sudāna was forced out of his home for twelve years. There he met with and studied under the saint A-zhou-tuo 阿周陀 (also known as Acyuta, see note 150 below), staying in a thatched cottage built by himself. A Brahmin requested that both his children—a son and a daughter—be given away as slaves. Although the prince complied with the request, the children and his wife Princess Madri refused to leave him. As a result, both children were beaten to the point of bleeding by the demanding Brahmin. Meanwhile, Śakra transformed himself into a lion to prevent Princess Madri's further interference.

148 According to Indian mythology, Śakra is one of the ancient gods who fights the



demons with his thunderbolt. Buddhism adopted him as its defender, though he is considered inferior to a Buddha or any who have attained bodhi.

149 See note 147.

150 Transliteration is as given by Chavannes, "Voyage de Song Yun," p.414.

151 The text(5/10b-11a) reads *men-zi* 门子, *men* 门 being a mistake for *shan* (same as 陕, see CS 5/207). Chavannes ("Voyage de Song Yun," p.414) mistranslated 门子 as "the disciples." According to Sheng-jian, tr., *Fo-shuo shan-zi jing* (Taishō ed.), pp.438-440, at the age often Shan-zi lived with and waited upon his blind parents in the mountain. One day he was critically wounded by the king, who shot him by mistake while hunting. Learning of the boy's utmost devotion to his parents, Śakra appeared and saved his life.

152 The same story about the donkeys is available in WS 102/21a 乌莢园. See also *You-yang za-zu xu-ji* (SPTK suo-ben) 8/159.

153 Emending *chu-hui* 除灰, "remove ashes," to *tu-hui* 塗灰, "smear with ashes," after CS 5/209. Pāṃsupatas, followers of Śiva, smeared themselves with ashes as away of spiritual discipline.

154 Superintendents of works in a monastery.

155 Literally, *pi lian gu li* 皮连骨离, "the skin was attached but the bones had gone."

156 Ye-cha are demons in the earth, in the air, or in the lower heavens. They are malignant, and devourers of human flesh. See *Fan-yi ming-yi ji* 2/44 八部篇.

157 No additional information about Dao-yao 道药 is available, but Chavannes ("Voyage de Song Yun," p.383 n.4) believes him to be the same Dao-rong referred to elsewhere in the *Qie-lan ji*.

158 PS(97/26b) reads *Chi-de* (identified as Tegin by Chavannes, "Voyage de Song Yun," p.416). For a study of Tegin as a title of the Turkish nobility, see Mori Masao, *Kodai Toroku minzokushi kenkyū*, vol.1,3rd ed. Tokyo,1976), pp.299 ff., and p.380 n.1.

For Gandhāra, see Alfred Foucher, "Notes sur la géographie ancienne du Gandhāra," *BEFEO* 1(1901), 322-369.

159 Chavannes, ("Voyage de Song Yun," p.417 n.6) gives the king's name as Mihira Kula (regnant A.D.515-550). See also Foucher, "Notes," pp.348 ff., and Mark Stein, *Kalhana Rajatarangini* (Delhi, 1961), pp.43-48.

160 According to WS 102/17b, Gandhāra stretched eight hundred *li* from east to west and three hundred *li* from south to north. On all four sides it was protected by mountain ranges. This natural strategic situation is perhaps the main reason that encouraged the king to undertake a protracted war.

For Ji-bin, see Shiratori Kurakichi, "Keisenkoku kō," in *Seiikishi kenkyū* II (Tokyo, 1941), pp.377-462.

161 That is, *cha* 槎, "driftwood."

162 Adding *qin* 亲 after IS 5/9b.

163 The text (5/12b) reads Ba-ba-ti *guo* 跋跋提国, but IS (5/10a) gives only Ba-ti *guo* 跋提国, which perhaps refers to Ba-di-yan 跋底延(Baktria, modern Balkh), the capital city of Ye-da. See Chavannes, "Voyage de Song Yun," p.418 n.5.

164 The site is identified as modern Shah Dheri ("Voyage de Song Yun," n.8; and Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p.115).

At the request of an old Brahmin, Tathāgata agreed to let himself be beheaded. The head

was bound to a tree, but the Brahmin, who wanted to cut off Tathāgata's head by himself, was only able to hit a branch of the tree. See Zhi-qian, tr., *Pu-sa ben-yuan jing* (*Taishō* ed.) B/64 月光王品第五。

165 The text (5/13a) reads *san yue* 三月, "three months," but should be *san ri* 三日, "three days," in view of the short distance involved. *IS* (5/10b) reads 三日。

166 Name for a legendary fish in Indian mythology, sometimes identified as a whale. See Xin-xing, *Fan fan yu* (*Taishō* ed.) 7/1032, 鱼名第三十九: 摩伽罗鱼王, 亦云摩竭, 译曰鲸鱼。

As a sea monster, Tathāgata had for twelve years offered bits of his blubber or flesh to cure those suffering from skin disease. *Fo-shuo pu-sa ben-xing jing*, B/119.

167 Emending *shi-san* 十三, "thirteen," to *san* 三, "three," after *IS* (5/10a). This city was on the west bank of the Indus River, which Song Yun had just visited. It should not take thirteen days to travel between these two points. Hence the translation follows *IS*.

168 Identified as the city Ba-lu-sha 跋婁沙 (Paluṣa) by Chavannes ("Voyage de Song Yun," p.419 n.5). It is referred to in the *Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 2/25.

169 The text (5/13a) reads *fan you gu si* 凡有古寺, which is not a complete sentence. The phrase "quite a few" in the translation is added to make the sentence complete.

170 The prince was driven out of the home by his father when he gave away the latter's favorite white elephant. Hence, the name of the monastery. See *Tai-zi Xu-da-na jing*, p.419.

171 While living in the Tan-te Mountain, the same prince gave away his own son and daughter to a Brahmin who wanted to keep them as slaves. See *Tai-zi Xu-da-na jing* (p.422) cited above and note 147 of this chapter.

172 In his previous life, Tathāgata as a prince agreed to have both his eyes torn out as the ingredient of a drug to benefit the ailing masses. The two eyes, however, were returned to him intact on the order of Śakra. See *Fo-shuo pu-sa ben-xing jing* C/120; and Zhu Fa-hu, tr., *Mi-le pu-sa suo-wen ben-yuan jing* (*Taishō* ed.), p.188.

173 Jia-ye fo was a Buddha of Brahm in origin, believed to have a height of one hundred sixty feet. See Seng-you, *Shi-jia pu* (*Taishō* ed.) 1/9.

174 According to Chavannes ("Voyage de Song Yun," p.420 n.4), the waterway was located at a point where the Svat and Kabul met.

175 This city, the capital of Qian-tuo-luo (Gandhāra), is also known as Fu-lou-sha 弗楼沙 (*Gao-seng Fa-xian zhuan*, p.858) and Bu-lu-sha 布路沙 (*Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 2/22 under the *Jian-tuo-luo guo*). It corresponds to modern Peshawar (*CS* 5/214).

176 *PS* (97/26b) *Qian-tuo guo* 乾陀国) places the stūpa at seven *li* to the southeast of the city. It was seven hundred Chinese feet high, with a circumference of three hundred paces (*bu*, or one thousand eight hundred Chinese feet). The meaning of this renowned stūpa and its exact spelling remain controversial.

177 Emending *san-bai* 三百, three hundred, " to *er-bai* 二百 after *FYCL* 51/615.

178 The king (regnant A.D.120) was of Yue-zhi 月支 origin. His ancestors resided in Bactria around 140 B.C. His name is also transliterated as Jia-ni-se-jia 迦膩色迦 (*Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 2/22 ff.).

The king sponsored the construction of many stūpas, among which the present one, the Sheng-ta 圣塔 (Holy Stūpa; *Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 2/22 ff.) and the Que-li are best known.

179 For more information about this episode, see *Gao-seng Fa-xian zhuan*, p.858.

180 *Jie* 偈 (*gāthā*), a metrical hymn or chant that often appears in sūtras, is usually four,



five, or seven characters to the line.

181 The text ( 5/14a) gives 悉用文木为陛階, "all used grained wood as foundation platform" as against 悉用文石为陛階, "all used grained stone as foundation platform" in IS 5/11a. The translation follows IS.

182 The size, height, and actual features of this stūpa are a subject of debate among scholars. But it seems certain that the wooden stūpa had thirteen stories, topped by an iron mast and supported by a five-storied foundation with a circumference of between 1,800 and 2,400 Chinese feet.

183 Emending *san bu* 三步, "three paces" (three *bu*), to *san bai bu* 三百步, "three hundred *bu*," after FYCL 51/615.

184 *Tian-gong* (devapura) is the abode of the gods. The term is used here figuratively.

185 Emending *suo* 所, "by" used in the passive voice, to *qi* 七, "seven," after FYCL 51/614 and *Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 3/23.

186 Adding *lou* 楼, "towers," after IS 5/11b.

187 Emending *jing* 精, "essence," to *qing* 请, "beg," at the suggestion of Chavannes ("Voyage de Song Yun," p.425 n.4). The full phrase is *zhi xin jing shen* 至心精神, which could also mean "to exercise greatest sincerity and animate spiritual power."

188 They are the four guardians of the world: Dhṛtarāṣṭra in the east, Virūḍhaka in the south, Virūpākṣa in the west, and Vaiśravaṇa in the north.

189 Emending *wu shi* 物事, "things," to *fo shi* 佛事 after FYCL 51/615 and IS 5/11b. *Fo shi* 佛事 as a term appears quite often in the *Qie-lan ji*.

190 The text is *qian-bian wan-hua, nan-de er cheng* 千变万化, 难得而称, "One thousand changes and ten thousand transformations it is hard to praise."

191 IS 5/11b reads *zhen* 珍, "rare," but the text (5/15a) and TPYL 658/4a 释部塔 both give *zhen* 真, "real." The two graphs are perhaps interchangeable.

192 See also *Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 2/22 under *Jian-tuo-luo guo*.

193 Emending *ze* 则, "then," to *ji* 即, "immediately," after IS 5/12a and TPYL 658/4a 释部塔.

194 Literally, *shi ren* 世人, "men of the world."

195 Śibi is also transliterated as Shi-pi-jia 尸毗迦 (Śivika) (*Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 3/29 under *Wu-zhang-na guo*). He was the ruler of the city of Ti-po-ti 提婆提 (Devapati), India.

King Śibi was the transformation of Tathāgata in his previous life. Both the dove and hawk were transformations of Śakra and Viśvakarman, who plotted jointly to test Tathāgata's determination. The dove (the transformation of Viśvakarman), being pursued by the hawk (the transformation of Śakra), sought shelter under the armpit of King Śibi. The hawk asked the king for the release of the dove, saying that otherwise it (the hawk) would be starved to death. The king then cut off his own flesh with a sharp knife to feed the hawk. See *Pu-sa ben-sheng man lun* A/333 to 334 尸毗王救鸽命缘起第二; *Fo-shuo pu-sa ben-xing jing* C/119; *Jiu-mo-lou-shi* (Kumārajīva), *Da-zhi-du lun* 35/314 释报应品第二, *Xian-yu jing* 1/351 梵天请法六事品第一 and *Liu-du ji jing* 1/1 布施度无五章第一.

196 This refers to the four most famous stūpas in northern India, each of which was built at the site where Tathāgata performed noble deeds. The sites were: (1) where Tathāgata tore out his eyes, (2) where he offered himself to feed a starved tiger, (3) where he cut off his own hand to benefit others, and (4) where he cut off his own flesh to save the life of a dove.



197 There is also a reference to the medicinal effect of scorched rice in the *YTTT* 10/57 物异篇。

198 The text (5/16b) is *xu jin-ri qu-zhi* 须禁日取之, "It should be taken on forbidden days," but *IS* (5/12b) reads *xu yao-ri qu-zhi* 须药日取之, "It should be taken when the medicine is needed." The translation follows the latter since the meaning of "forbidden days" is unclear. *TPYL* 839/10b 百穀粮 reads *xu yi-wei yao* 须以为药, "It would be taken as medicine." See also Iriya Yoshitaka, *Rakuyō garan ki*, p.112 n.78.

199 The following quotations from *Dao-rong's Account* are unrelated to Song Yun's travel. Even the wording does not reflect any editing by the author.

200 The text (5/16b) reads *fang yuan* 方圆, "square and round," the exact meaning of which remains unclear. My interpretation follows Chinese tradition, which considers round inside and square outside as ideal.

201 Emending *shan-ran* 闪然, "flashingly," to *chu-ran* 舛然, "numerously," at the suggestion of *CS* 5/221.

202 *Qi-he-lan* is the Chinese transliteration of *khakkhara*, the staff held by Buddhist monks when begging for food. According to the *Gao-seng Fa-xian zhuan* (pp. 858-859), the Buddha's robes and his staff were kept separately, but the *Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* (2/21 under *Lan-bo guo* 滥波国) asserts that they were placed together in the same room.

203 The depository of Buddha's hair and teeth in this city (capital of *Nagarahāra*) is also referred to in the *Gao-seng Fa-xian zhuan* (pp.858-859), but when it came to *Xuan-zang's* time, the teeth were already lost. See *Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 2/21 under *Xiao Su-du cheng* 小率堵城。

204 The text (5/16b) reads *Qu-luo-luo-lu* 瞿罗罗鹿, which makes little sense. *CS* (5/223) suggests that one of two *luo* 罗 characters should be deleted, and the last character *lu* 鹿 is a mistake for *ku* 窟. *CC* (5/347,n.12), on the other hand, suggests that the name of the place be read *Qu-bo-luo-long* 瞿波罗龙, and the text should be rephrased to read 瞿波罗龙见佛影窟, 户向西开, 却行五十步。The translation follows the latter version. In any event, the text contains significant interpolations that defy reasonable interpretation.

205 On the basis of *Da-Tang Da-ci-en-si San-zang-fa-shi zhuan* by Hui-li (*Taishō* ed., 2/229 from *A-qi-ni guo* 阿耆尼国 to *Jie-ruo-ju-she guo* 羯若鞠阇国), *CC* (5/223) suggests that the text be changed from *shi-wu bu* 十五步, "15 paces," to *wu-shi bu* 五十步, "fifty paces."

206 For more information about the Buddha's footprints and the place where he washed his garment, see *Da-Tang Xi-yu ji* 2/21 under *Jie-luo-he guo* 揭罗曷国。

207 *Mu-lian* was one of Buddha's disciples; also known as *Mu-jian-lian* 目犍连。See *Fan-yi ming-yi ji* 1/15 十大弟子篇。

208 Emending *liu* 六, "six," to *da* 大, "big," after *IS* 5/13a and *CT* 5/19a. *CS* (5/224) suggests that *liu* 六 is a mistake for *qi* 七, "seven" (*Qi-fo* 七佛, "seven Buddhas," are referred to in Chapter 4 under the *Da-jue* Monastery), but in light of the text immediately following, his suggestion does not seem acceptable. The translation follows *CC* (5/341) in changing *liu* 六 to *da* 大。

209 See note 208 above.

210 Emending *Zheng-yuan* 正元 to *Zheng-guang* 正光。

The text (5/17a) should read *san-nian* 三年 rather than *er-nian* 二年。

According to Hui-sheng's travel account, he left *Luo-yang* in the eleventh month of the first year of the *Shen-gui* period (December A.D.518 to January 519), and arrived in *Wu-chang*



in the early twelfth month of the same year (January to February A.D. 520), where he stayed for two years after his visit to Qian-tuo-luo in the middle of the fourth month (mid-May) in A.D.520. Taking into consideration the time he spent on the return trip, he would not have been able to reach Luo-yang before the third year of Zheng-guang (A.D.522).

211 Literally, *Tian-que* 天阙, "the Heavenly Palace."

212 *Hui-sheng's Travel Diary Account* (*Hui-sheng xing zhuan* 慧[惠]生行传) is registered in *Sui-shu* (33/24a 经籍志; in one *juan*), and *Song Yun's Account* is recorded in *Jiu Tang-shu* (Yi-wen facsimile ed., 46/46b 经籍志; in one *juan* under the title of *Song Yun Wei-guo yi xi shi-yi guo shi* 宋云魏国以西十一国事) and *Xin Tang-shu* (58/32a 艺文志, under the same title). *The Account of Dao-rong* is referred to in Dao-xuan's *Shi-jia fang-zhi* (*Taishō* ed.; B/969 游履篇; Dao-yao 道药 [not Dao-rong 道荣] is given as the author's name). These three major works, covering an important chapter in China's relations with the west, are no longer extant. The *Luo-yang qie-lan ji*, however, preserves some fragments of them in the form of quotations.

213 Lao Gan, "Bei-Wei," p.300, suggests that the *li* here refers to wards, the subdivision of a city, rather than a measure of length. But his interpretation does not agree with the city planning as described in *Di-wang shi-ji* 帝王世纪 and *Jin Yuan-liang dao-di ji* 晋元良道地记 (both are quoted in *HHS* 19/6a 郡国志 comm.). Instead, both *CS* (5/227-228) and *CC* (5/351; Appendix 3, PP.382 ff.) assert that Yang Xuan-zhi's record includes both the inside and outside of the city of Luo-yang, thus depicting Luo-yang as a rectangular-shaped city (longer east to west than south to north).

214 That is, Feng Xi's Monastery.

215 That is, Gao Huan's Monastery.

216 Emending *shi-guan* 石关 to *shi-que* 石阙 after *IS* 5/13b.

217 That is, Yuan-yi's Temple.

218 That is, Liu Teng's Temple.

219 Adding the character *si* 寺, "temple," after *CT* 5/20a.

220 Emending *que* 阙 to *xian* 闲 after *CT* 5/20a. The monastery was built under the reign of Emperor Xuan-wu (regnant A.D.499-515). See *WS* 90/9a 冯亮传 (the text gives 闲居, 闲 being interchangeable with 閒). During the Sui, it was renamed Song-yue Monastery 嵩岳寺 (the Sacred Song Mountain). See Li Yong, *Li Bei-hai ji* (*Si-ku quan-shu Zhen-ben*, 5/4b-5a).

221 Referred to in Bi Yuan's *Zhong-zhou jin-shi ji*, Wang san-yi zhai ed., 1/14a-b). It was built in May to June A.D.536.

222 See *WS* 90/3a cited in note 220 above.

223 Other monasteries built in Yi-que 伊阙 during the Wei but not mentioned here are: Qian-yuan 乾元 (The First), Guang-hua 广化 (To Broaden the Rule), Chong-xun 崇训 (To Respect the Instructions), Tian-zhu 天竺 (The Hindus), Feng-xian 奉先 (To Worship the Ancestors), and Xiang-shan 香山 (The Fragrant Mountain). See Wei Xiang and Lu ji lu, *Luo-yang xian-zhi* (1813 ed.) 22/14a 伽蓝记.

224 For the Chan and Jian River, see *SCC* 15/26b-28.



## Abbreviations

### Frequently Cited Editions of the Luo-yang qie-lan ji

- CC** Fan Xiang-yong 范祥雍, *Luo-yang qie-lan ji jiao-zhu* 洛阳伽蓝记校注
- CS** Zhou Zu-mo 周祖谟, *Luo-yang qie-lan ji jiao-shi* 洛阳伽蓝记校释
- CT** *Jin-dai mi-shu* 津逮秘书, ed.
- Ji-zheng** Wu Ruo-zhun 吴若准, *Luo-yang qie-lan ji ji-zheng* 洛阳伽蓝记集证
- Chong-kan** Xu Gao-ruan 徐高阮, *Chong-kan Luo-yang qie-lan ji* 重刊洛阳伽蓝记
- HCTY** *Xue-jin tao-yuan* 学津讨原, ed.
- He-jiao** Zhang Zong-xiang 张宗祥, *Luo-yang qie-lan ji he-jiao* 洛阳伽蓝记合校
- Iriya** Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高, *Rakuyō garan ki* 洛阳伽蓝记
- IS** *Gu-jin yi-shi* 古今逸史, ed.
- Ru-yin-tang** Ru-yin-tang 如隐堂, ed.
- Gou-chen** Tang Yan 唐晏, *Luo-yang qie-lan ji gou-chen* 洛阳伽蓝记钩沉

### General Reference

- BEFEO** *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*
- BMFEA** *Bulletin of the Museums of Far Eastern Antiquities*
- Jin-shu** *Jin-shu jiao-zhu*
- Zhou-shu** *Ji-zhong Zhou-shu*
- CHWW** *Quan Hou-Wei wen*
- CMYS** *Qi-min yao-shu*
- CYYCY** *Zhong-yang Yan-jiu-yuan Li-shi Yu-yan Yan-jiu-suo Ji-kan* 中央研究院历史语言研究所集刊 *Guang-dong, Bei-ping and Shang-hai, 1928-1948; Tai-bei, 1950-*
- FYCL** *Fa-yuan zhu-lin*



HHS	<i>Hou-han-shu ji-jie</i>
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
HS	<i>Han-shu bu-zhu</i>
IS	<i>Gu-jin yi-shi</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
Lao-zi	<i>Lao-zi dao-de-jing</i>
Legge 3	Legge, James, tr. <i>The Chinese Classics, 3, The Shoo King or The Book of Historical Documents</i> . Reprint, Hong Kong, 1960.
Legge 5	Legge, James, tr. <i>The Chinese Classics, 5, The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Zuo Chuen</i> , Reprint, Hong Kong, 1960.
MCCS	<i>Han-Wei Nan-bei-chao mu-zhi ji-shi</i>
NCS	<i>Nan-qi shu</i>
PC	<i>Luo-yang qie-lan ji di ji-tiao bu-zhu</i>
PCS	<i>Bei-qi shu</i>
PS	<i>Bei-shi</i>
SC	<i>Shi-ji hui-zhu kao-zheng</i>
SCC	<i>Shui-jing zhu</i>
SPC	<i>Li-dai san-bao ji</i>
SPPY	<i>Si-bu bei-yao</i> , Shang-hai, Zhong-hua Book Co., 1927-1935
SPTK	<i>Si-bu cong-kan</i> , Shang-hai, Commercial Press, 1929-1936
SSCCS	<i>Shi-san-jing zhu-shu</i>
Taishō	<i>Taishō shinshū daizōkyō</i> , Tokyo, 1922-1933
TC	<i>Zi-zhi tong-jian</i>
TPKC	<i>Tai-ping guang-ji</i>
TPYL	<i>Tai-ping yu-lan</i>
trad.	Traditional
Zuo-zhuan	<i>Chun-qiū Zuo-zhuan zhu-shu</i>
WH	<i>Wen-xuan</i>
WS	<i>Wei-shu</i>
YFSC	<i>Yue-fu shi-ji</i>
YHNC	<i>Yuan He-nan zhi</i>
YLTT	<i>Yong-le da-dian</i>
YYTT	<i>You-yang za-zu</i>



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